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Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted.

Implementation of Public Policy at the Grass-roots Level in Tanzania: The Case of the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP I and PEDP II)

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the research was to investigate whether the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP I and II) had achieved the objective of providing quality education in Tanzania. In order to do this the study aimed to uncover the different stakeholders in the implementation process and their roles and contributions towards success or failure regarding quality improvements. This challenge was explored through document analysis and empirical enquiry. The document analysis and the in-depth interviews and observations on the ground shows that several factors impacts upon implementation of primary school reforms in Tanzania. The policy formulation process, the clarity of policy goals and objectives, inter-organizational coordination, street-level bureaucrats, the target group of the policy, the resources available and the socio-economic conditions were selected as important factors affecting the policy implementation of the PEDP reforms after the literature review.

A qualitative framework applying in-depth semi-structured interviews was selected in order to uncover the experiences of the main implementers and the target group which is affected and influence the implementation of the PEDP policies on the ground in Tanzania. A sample of local stakeholders was purposefully selected in Morogoro district. The aim was to get the personal experiences of stakeholders at different levels.

The empirical data collected points towards two main influences in the policy formulation phase. The first one are the pressure from external influences like donor agencies, and the second one is the Tanzanian governments tendency to make policy decisions by the president and the ministers on top without involving other stakeholders. An example of the latter is the teachers unequivocal statement that they have never been involved, but just told to implement orders from above. As a result of this the same teachers are not sufficiently aware of the reform objectives and do not have adequate ownership of the goals and objectives. The research also found that the resources available for the quality improvements are unrealistic, there is a funding gap and the funding is unpredictable. This makes the full implementation of the reform objectives unlikely and a policy slippage appears. The research. The inter-organizational cooperation at the central level has also complicated the full implementation of the reform.

Moreover, that the majority of the population lives in extreme poverty and pupils and other stakeholders suffers from hunger causes great challenges for learning and management of the school sector.

Furthermore, the study uncovers that the PEDP reforms has been managed in a top-down way and not been adapted to different socio-economic circumstances and local culture. Additionally, politics in Tanzania trumps policy and this makes the reforms incoherent.

The research study concludes that important measures of the quality improvements like the `competence based curriculum` and the `child-friendly violence free environment` has not been properly implemented at the two schools in Morogoro region. The results on the dependent variable (pass-rate of the PSLE tests) does show positive results for the two schools implicated for the year of 2013. The results of this research can only give partial explanations and an insight into the reasons for the results on the dependent variable.

The recommendations made on the background of the findings is to start with the educational visions and logically go backwards in the implementation process and make a more cohesive and logically connected reform where funds are realistically tied to actual costs for the quality improvements. In order to make this work the implementers on the ground and the local stakeholders should have a seat at the table.

Moreover, the quality improvement objectives of the `competence based curriculum` and the `child-friendly violence free environment` needs to be properly operationalized in the policy documents.

REFERENCES

List of Abbreviations

BEDC: Basic Education Development Programme
D by D: Decentralization by Devolution
DEO: District Education Officer
ESDP: Education Sector Development Programme
LGA: Local Government Authority
LGRP: Local Government Reform Programme
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
MMC: Morogoro Municipal Council
MoEVT: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MVDC: Mvomero District Council
NSGRP: National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NECTA: National Examination Council of Tanzania
PEDP: Primary Education Development Programme
PMO-RALG: Prime Ministers Office Regional Administration and Local Government
PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSLE: Primary School Leaving Examination
SC: School Committee
SCM: School-Committee member
URT: United Republic of Tanzania
WEC: Ward Education Coordinator

Definition of important contextual terms

Local Government Authorities: There are two types of local government authorities in Tanzania. District Councils for rural areas and City, Municipal and Town Councils for urban areas (UN-HABITAT 2002). These are empowered to make by-laws and to collect revenue. The Minister for Local Government, approves their budget, appoints senior officials and generally oversee the local authorities. A council will be headed by a mayor in the urban areas, or a chairman in the districts.

Primary Education: Is a seven year mandatory education for all children in Tanzania from the age of seven to the age of fourteen. The purpose is both to give the pupils life skills to enable them to join the workforce and to prepare them to attend secondary education.

School committee: A group of members from the local school community which are elected by the parents of the pupils at the school. Their mandate is to manage and oversee the activities of the primary school and to help to promote participation by the local community members in educational development.

School community: The people in a certain area which have an interest in the day to day activities at the local school. These include: the pupils parents, local leaders and other stakeholders.

The Ward: Is an administrative sub-unit in a district or a municipal which is responsible for coordinating, overseeing and reporting the LGAs development programs and the service delivery activities.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

"*Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.***"**

Nelson Mandela

Government in all countries, developed and developing alike, strive to provide education to their citizens with the understanding that education is essential, not only for economic growth, but also for social stability. Primary education has been singled out as the minimum level of education that should be imparted to all citizens, since it at least equips an individual with the basic skills required in life. It is for a similar reason that primary education is advocated as a basic human right. Globally, many initiatives have been taken to ensure universal access coupled with gender parity, quality delivery and completion of a full primary education course (Mbelle 2008:1). In individual countries, primary education has been singled out as an important tool in the fight against poverty, with the strong argument that attainment of education helps in the success of other poverty reduction targets, such as health, raising incomes, containing HIV and AIDS infections, etc. It is for this reason that primary education has occupied a central role in poverty reduction strategies of many reforming countries (ibid.).

Primary education in any country is immensely important because it lays the foundation both for later school achievement, and for an active and socially engaged public population. Educations significance in relation to economic development is widely recognized. Education experts at the Center for Global Development emphasise that in many poor countries an additional year of schooling gives a person 10 percent higher wages, which contributes to economic growth on the national scale (Education and Development World 2006, No. 6, cited in IBP 2009, No. 8). There is however a growing body of evidence that indicates that simply spending more time in school does not necessarily lead to improved economic conditions. These studies states that the educational quality, particularly the pupils cognitive abilities, is a more significant predictor of individual earnings, distribution of income and macroeconomic growth (World Bank Policy Research Paper 4122, 2007, cited in IBP 2009, No. 8).

The quality of primary education in Tanzania has been of questionable quality since the start of the PEDP reforms in 2002. As stated by Galabawa (2001) and Therkildsen (2000) the quality of education had deteriorated in Tanzania prior to the PEDP reforms. According to the Tanzania Human Development Report (THDR) 2014 Background Paper No. 9:3 , the quality of education is

still in decline even though the schooling is increased, still little learning takes place in the schools.

The **main purpose** of this study is therefore to examine the implementation process of the PEDP reforms and its output with the view of identifying factors and actors responsible for the successful implementation of the PEDP object of providing quality education education at the local level in Tanzania. The main research question of the study was: `Has the implementation of the PEDP reforms succeeded in achieving the goal of providing quality education in primary schools?`

The time frame is from the start of the first PEPD reform in 2002 until the end of PEDP phase II in 2012. In order to narrow the scope of the assignment the research will focus on primary education since this part of education have been devolved to the local level. This have the additional benefit of making the access to involved participants in the research more realistic and practical.

An implementation theoretical framework which tested six hypotheses was applied in order to answer the research question.

Within the frames of the local government educational sector in Tanzania there are several different actors. The research undertaken particularly focussed upon the pupils, the parents and other influential members of the local community, the local teachers and head masters at two different schools, and finally the mid-level implementers at Ward, Council and District level. The policy design of the educational reform PEDP and the political context it was created in was also a central object of the research.

1.2   Statement of the problem

In the pursuit of the vision of achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE), the government of Tanzania established the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP). The first phase of the program, PEDP I 2002-2006, which had four strategic priorities (expansion enrolment, improving the quality of teaching and learning processes, capacity building and strengthening institutional arrangements) was by most accounts an outstanding success. (PEDP II Evaluation Report 2012). The highest priority of the PEDP was to increase overall gross and net enrolment of girls and boys (URT:2001,4). Beyond this the PEDP policy considered improvements in the quality of primary education to be a priority (URT:2001:9). In order to improve the quality of education the PEDP plan aimed to improve teachers instructional styles and methods in the classroom and ensuring the necessary support for maintaining educational standards (URT:2001:9).

According to Therkildsen (2000) the current reforms in the civil sector are driven both by domestic forces and external influences. An important domestic rationale for reforming of primary education was the widespread dissatisfaction with its quality. It was regarded as low by many educationalists and parents (Omari and Mosha, 1987; Syrimis, 1988; Malekela, 1995, cited by Therkildsen 2000). Moreover, enrolment levels had stagnated at around 60–70% for almost 10 years, although intakes have now again begun to exceed the population growth (Tadreg, 1992; MOEC, 1995). Disparities in both quality and enrolment across districts are substantial (Sumra, 1995, table 8; Malekela, 1995, p. 70, cited by Therkildsen 2000).

The focus on continual improvement of the quality of primary education has been at the top of the governments agenda since the late 1990s. The government consistently communicates that education is the foundation and the key to the future development of the country. Due to the mandatory school fees millions of children were kept out of schools because of their families poor economic state. Another factor that limited universal education in Tanzania were the lack of awareness by a large part of the citizens about its importance (HakiElimu 2005).

In addition to the challenges mentioned above, primary education face and faced the problems of insufficient amount and quality of classrooms and the same when it comes to school-desks for pupils (Njumwa 2010). In many cases the pupils sit on the floor in the classroom and sometimes they have to get their education outside. The classrooms may have leaking roofs, have dust floors, lack electricity and so on (ibid**)**

It was on the basis of the different viewpoints mentioned above that I wanted to research and explain what factors that hindered or facilitated the quality of education in primary schools in Tanzania.

1.3   Facts about Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 when Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) united with the offshore island state Zanzibar. Tanzania (Mainland) got her independence in 1961, while Zanzibar finally became independent in 1963. Tanzania is a vast country which covers 945 090 square kilometres and is located on the East African coast. Zanzibar alone is 2 460 square kilometres. According to the last population census conducted in 2002, Tanzania (Mainland) had an estimated population of 36 588 225 (in 2004) while it in Zanzibar is about one million inhabitants. The country has a high annual population growth rate of 2.9 percent (Mkapa 2003, cited by Chediel 2009).

The country is a unitary republic with 26 administrative regions. 21 of the regions are located on yje mainland and the other f regions are in Zanzibar. The regions are furthermore divided into 130 districts and out of these again 120 are in the mainland while 10 are located in Zanzibar. The

districts again are further sub-divided into divisions, wards and villages which in themselves are administrative units in the Local Government Authorities (LGAs) (Masue 2007).

Tanzania has been spared the international strife that has blighted many African states. Though it remains one of the poorest countries in the world with many of its people living below the World Bank poverty line, it has had some success in wooing donors and investors. Unlike many other African countries , whose potential wealth often contrasted with their actual poverty, Tanzania had few exportable minerals and a primitive agricultural system. In an attempt to alter this, the first president of the country, Julius Nyerere , issued the 1967 Arusha declaration, which emphasized self-reliance through the creation of cooperative farm villages and the nationalization of factories, plantations, banks and private companies (BBC News Africa). But a decade later, despite financial and technical aid from the World Bank and sympathetic countries, this program had completely failed due to inefficiency, corruption, internal resistance and the rice in the price of petroleum (ibid.)

A costly war with Uganda from 1979 until 1981 depleted the country of much of its resources. Nyerere resigned in 1985 and his successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, applied a different political path. He attempted to raise productivity and attract foreign investment by dismantling government control of the economy(ibid.). The major political and economic changes with a liberalization of the economy saw the formerly public sector led economy of the country open up to a private sector led economy were the public sector were playing a regulatory role (UN-HABITAT 2012). Tanzania, which had had a one party political system since independence replaced this with a multi-party system in 1993. The first multi-party elections were held in 1995. The two factors taken together resulted in a drive to reform the public sector, and to improve governance. The local government reform which were initiated in 1995 was focused on improving both governance and efficiency (ibid.) It exists two kinds of local government authorities in Tanzania. These are the District councils for Rural areas, and the City, Municipal and Town Councils for urban areas.

1.3.1   The Educational System

Tanzania has two years of pre-primary education and seven years of mandatory primary education. After this follows four years of secondary education for about half of the school leavers from primary school. Furthermore there is a the possibility of two more years of upper secondary college education and a minimum of three years of university education (Chediel 2009). Primary education was made universal and compulsory in 1995 due to the Education and Training Policy reform.

After the pupils have completed the seven years of basic education the sit for the Standard VII Primary School Leaving Examination. If the pupils pass the PSLE they are able to continue their

education in a secondary school. After four years of lower secondary education the students take the Form IV National Examination and may qualify for Form V if they do well. For those who does not qualify for Form V awaits tertiary institutions with the possibility to study teacher education, nursing or full technician certificate courses. The students then sit for the Form VI National Examinations, and they may eventually qualify for the apex of the educational structure, the institutions of higher learning (ibid.)

1.3.1.2   Educational Reforms in Tanzania- an historical perspective

Post-Colonial Education

The issue of education has occupied a central place in most African countries. In the newly independent states on the African continent there emerged an urgent need to develop national education systems that met the specific demands of each particular country. The inherited school systems were made in order to ensure the colonial powers needs were met and were inadequate to deal with the concerns of a sovereign country. According to Julius Nyerere, Tanzanias first president the British system of education they inherited did not serve its purpose (Nyerere, 1968 cited by Mrutu 2007). Not only did it not meet the needs of the African countries, but also the inherited educational system did not cater to African values and culture. It was deemed to be infused with western values. Furthermore, colonial education was provided along racial lines. There were separate school for particular ethnic groups. On this background and the new African states had little choice but to create a whole new educational system that could serve their ambitions. In the Tanzanian context the development of the new educational policy was very closely linked to the new policy of the total society development in the country. In order to address the total development and the new aspirations of the country, the Arusha Declaration was formulated in 1967 (Mrutu 2007)

In order to understand Nyereres philosophy of education it is necessary to briefly outline the particular nature of development ideology that Nyerere articulated. During the formulation of Nyereres educational philosophy, the United Republic of Tanzanias development goals and strategies were based on the policy of socialism and self-reliance enshrined in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 (Nyerere, 1968a cited by UNESCO 2000). According to Nyerere the objective of socialism in Tanzania was to build a society were all of its citizens had equal rights and equal opportunities. A state were everyone could live in peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury (Nyerere, 1968e)

Education for Self-Reliance

The bulk of Nyereres educational philosophy is contained in his 1967 policy document entitled Education for Self-Reliance which deal with formal schooling (Nyerere, 1968b). This policy has some parallels with Mahatma Gandhis basic education proposal, particularly in relation to the introduction of productive work and self-reliance in schools, as well as a radical restructuring of the sociology of school knowledge (Kumar, 1989, cited by UNESCO 2000). The essence of Self-Reliance is: that the new role of education is to prepare the pupils in such a way that they after their completion of their education shall be in a position that enables them to live in their existing true rural society. This because the majority of Tanzanians live in rural areas. Therefore schools must instil a sense of commitment by and for the whole community. The final outcome is intended to be learners and pupils who adopts appropriate norms and values for society (Mrutu 2007)

Nyerere also insisted that educational system should enable the pupils a critical way of thinking. They should not just passively take orders from above. This in order to empower people to make their own plans and make their own judgements. Nyerere (1968b) adds:

"*They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgements on all issues affecting them; they have yo be able to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society, and to implement them in the light of the peculiar local circumstances where they happen to live*".

Additionally; teachers and students were supposed to cooperate and participate in productive activities and that the pupils and students should be able to participate in the planning and decision making process of organizing the same activities. A final point worth adding is his emphasis on the importance of primary education being complete in itself rather than just a ladder towards secondary and higher education.

According to Mbilinyi (2000) many aspects of the ESR policy were tried in the school system, but in a decreasing number of schools. Teachers, students and school administrators alike faced some critical barriers by the 1980s. Some of these were: An economic crisis that limited the financial resources available for purchasing school equipment, paying teacher salaries, buying textbooks and other equipment. The classrooms were overcrowded something that made more innovative child-centred pedagogy challenging. In relative terms the teacher salaries were declining steadily from year to year. Furthermore there was a problem with upward mobility since only a small minority were able to access secondary and higher education. Finally there was in place a very centralized and highly bureaucratized institutional structure that was expensive to sustain and cost ineffective.

By the end of the 1980s there was a general agreement that within the government and the political set up that a reform designed to improve service delivery as well as governance was required (UN-HABITAT, 2002). After several studies, commissions and work-shops were undertaken to deal with

this issue the conclusions were unambiguous; there was a need to downsize central government, to increase efficiency, to decentralize power, to improve service delivery and to emphasize the importance of transparency and accountability.

In the 1990s there was collective agreement worldwide that the education sector in most developing countries had deteriorated in the 1980s. There were clear evidence of falling enrolment rates, a decline in completion rates, poor learning outcomes and low attainment in the same countries (Brock-Utne, 2000, cited by Mrutu 2007). During the Jomtien Conference in 1990 arranged by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, UNICEF and UNESCO a conflict arose between the developing countries and the developed countries. This conflict was related to the impact of the debt burden on the educational sector in the developing countries (Brock-Utne 2000). The developing countries blamed the donor countries and institutions for their strict emphasis on loan paybacks. They argued that the heavy monetary instalment they had to make to the developed countries because of the Structural Adjustment Program hampered their investments and possibilities for providing adequate educational services. Likewise the developed countries accused the developing countries for making poor and ineffective policies. Moreover they claimed that the Structural Adjustment Programs were necessary and would in time improve the poor economic state of the developing countries (Brock-Utne, 2000).

1.3.1.3   The Institutional Structures

A restructuring of the delivery of primary education after recent government reforms has left the responsibility of management and co-ordination of the sub-sector in three ministries. These are: The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), the Prime Ministers Office- Regional and Local Government (PMO-RALG and the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children). Within this framwork again, six major institutions at different levels are involved. The roles of these institutions are outlined in the Basic Education Master Plan (URT 2001, cited by Masue 2010) The different institutions and their functional responsibilities are described below.

1)   The Prime Ministers Office, Regional Administration and Local Government.

Following the Decentralization by Devolution policy, PMO-RALG has the role of coordination and administration and management of Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education. The core functions are:

* To coordinate and supervise the delivery of Pre-Primary, Primary, and Secondary Education services.

* To monitor and evaluate administration and management of Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education services.

* To oversee and take remedial measures on management and administration of Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education services.

* To prepare and disseminate operational guidelines and circulars on management and administration of Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education services.

* To create, update and maintain database on Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education services. (URT 2001)

2)   The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, MoEVT

The MoEVT is the parent Ministry with the following roles:

* Education policy formulation, provision of regulations and guidelines, setting standards, quality control and assurance, assessment, curriculum development and teacher education.

* Conducts monitoring and evaluation of the Basic, Technical, Vocational and Higher Education performance.

* Undertakes educational research, planning, coordination of education programmes and capacity building for education managers and practitioners for quality education delivery.

* Through alternative methods, provides post primary and secondary education training opportunities and skills development required for working in different sectors of the economy. The opportunities lead to careers as skilled workers, technicians and professionals. (Ibid.)

1.3.1.4   Policies guiding the Education Sector.

The provision of education in Tanzania is guided by National Macro-policies, Sector Education Policies and Programmes. The macro-policies include, but not limited to The Tanzania Development Vision (2025) and The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP/MKUKUTA).

The National policies are supplemented by sector policies and programmes which include :

- The Education Sector Development Programme (1997) revised in 2001 and 2008,
- The Education and Training Policy (1995) which is currently under review,

- The Technical Education and Training Policy (1996)
- The Higher Education Policy (1999).
- Community Development Policy (1996) currently under review
- The Child Development Policy (1996).

The main focus of sector policies and ESDP is to transform the education sector into an efficient, effective, outcome-based system which would facilitate the achievement of the educational goals as delineated in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025. Specifically, the objectives are to:

* address poor levels of performance across the sector, thus improving resource utilization and bringing better targeting of resources in the sub-sectors;
* achieve properly managed, better performing and a more motivated teaching force as key catalyst to attain quality outcomes;
* ensure out of school children and adults access the basic learning opportunities;
* ensure the youth, adults, out of school children and vulnerable groups (both men and women) access folk and vocational skills;
* promote teaching and learning of science, mathematics and languages at all levels;
* improve teaching and learning environment including school/college infrastructure;
* ensure adherence to policy, laws, regulations, norms and standards in the provision of quality education at all levels;
* ensure training of qualified teachers to cater for all levels of education; and
* ensure quality assurance in the entire system of administration, supervision, governance and management of education.

Guided by the stated policies, the sector is guided by the following programmes, plans and strategies:

* Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP II) 2007-2011

* Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP II) 2010-2014

* Teacher Development and Management Strategy (TDMS) 2007 -2012

* Folk Education Development Programme (FEDP) 2007 – 2012

* Adult Education and Non-formal Education Strategy; 2003/4-2007/8

* Adult and Non Formal Education Development Plan (Under Way)

* Higher Education Development Programme (HEDP) 2010-2015

* Technical and Vocational Education Development Programme - TVEDP (under way)

* Technical and Higher Education Sub Master Plan, 2003–2018

* Gender Strategic Plan (2010/11 – 2014/15)

* HIV/AIDS Strategic Plan (2008/09 – 2011/12)*

* Environmental Education Strategy (2010-2014)

*Human Rights Education Strategy (2012-16)

* Inclusive Education Strategy (2009-2017)

(ED DPD, net-site, accessed 12/5-2014)

1.4 Local context in Morogoro Region

1.4.1 Morogoro Municipal

Morogoro Municipal Council is the regional head-quarter of the Morogoro region. It is one of the oldest towns in Tanzania, established in the 18th century.

With an annual urban growth (1988-202) of about 2,6 percent, Morogoro municipality is among the fastest growing urban centres in Tanzania (UN-HABITAT 2009). It is located about 190 kilometres west of Dar es Salaam and is situated on the lower slopes of the Uluguru Mountains rising to about 1600 feet above sea level (URT 2003). Moreover it covers an area of 260 square kilometres constituting 4 percent of the total regional area. The major physical features include the Uluguru mountains, which lie in the south-east and Mindu mountains in the west (MMC 2008). The current population size is about 300 000 people, compared to around 100 000 in 1998 (URT, 1998 and 2002 census reports). Because of the rapid rise in its population Morogoro has to face major urban challenges within the municipality. There are problems related to the growing proportion of people living in urban poverty. Almost 2/3 of the population are living on unplanned land and do receive limited or no basic services (ibid.).

Lack of general capacity constrains governance in Morogoro and this makes it unable to cope with the great extent of social and economic changes locally. In Morogoro , the local government lacks the human resource capacities to properly deal with the reforms under the decentralization process in Tanzania, the Devolution by Decentralization programme (D-by-D). The municipality has 43 primary schools, out of which 3 are privately owned (ibid.).

The major economic activity in Morogoro municipality is agriculture and the majority of the population are farmers. The main other activities include industrial activities and small-scale enterprise. The municipality is one of the six Councils of the Morogoro region, and has 19 elected councillors. The municipality has 7 departments that are accountable to the Municipal Director (Njunwa 2010)

The Morogoro Municipal Council as one of the Local Government Authorities is responsible for the provision of primary schools education in its area of jurisdiction. One of the schools administered by the Morogoro Municipal Council is the Sokoine University Primary School (SUA). The MMC administers and controls the primary schools through its department of education headed by the District Education Officer (DEO). This is the outcome of the decentralization policy initiated by the government of Tanzania.

1.4.2 SUA Primary School

SUA primary school was established in 1992 as a result of the need for a primary school for the employees at Sokoine University. It used to be a private school, but the government made it a public school. In 1992 the school had 200 pupils and 6 teachers and had two buildings. Today it consists of 14 buildings. The added buildings are constructed by the parents and local community citizens. In 2014 the school has 24 teachers, of which 3 are men and has 835 pupils, 411 boys and 424 girls. It is located within the University Campus. The school has a gardener and a security guide paid by the parents. Todays chair of the School Committee was a member of the SC when the school was founded. The school is part of the Morogoro MC and therefore is urban.

1.4.3 Mvomero district

Mvomero is one of the six districts of the Morogoro Region of Tanzania. It is bordered to the northeast by the Tanga Region, to the east by the Pwani Region, to the east and south-east by Morogoro Rural District and Morogoro Urban District and to the west by Kilosa District. (Wikipedia accessed, 1/1-2014).

1.4.4   Mlandizi Primary School

The school has 470 pupils and 17 teachers. The first buildings were constructed in 2000. It is located in Mvomero district in the Morogoro region and is a rural community. The school is located about 50 kilometres from both Mvomero DC and Morogoro MC but in different directions. According to local sources almost all of the members of the local community are animal keepers or subsistence farmers. The school has no electricity, phone-lines, fax or water. There is a rainwater tank with restricted access on the premises.

Many people migrate from different parts of Tanzania to work in the mines and in agriculture and live for a limited time adjacent to the the Mlandizi primary school. This means large fluctuations in enrolment for the school. The majority of the population is poor and live in extreme poverty. They live in poor houses often only constructed of mud, without a proper floor and with poor sanitation facilities. The poor socio-economical situation impacts the possibilities for the local people to participate in the development in the educational learning environment

1.5   Research Questions

According to King et al. (2009) The first criteria of a research study is to pose a question that is important in the real world. The topic should be consequential for political, economic or social life, for understanding something that significantly affect many peoples life, or for understanding and predicting events that might be harmful or beneficial. The research questions in this study are relevant because they put the focus on important issues such as: quality of education, results of important reforms, implementation challenges and reasons for reform failure and success.

The main research question of the study is: Has the implementation of the PEDP reforms succeeded in achieving the goal of providing quality education in primary schools?

In order to uncover the main research question the researcher asks additional questions:

1) How does the design of the policy and the policy formulation process affect the implementation of the PEDP reforms?

2) How does the inter-organizational coordination and cooperation affect the policy implementation?

3) How does the availability of financial, human and technical resources affect the implementation process

4) How does the key implementers affect the reform objectives?

5) How does the target group affect the implementation?

6) How does the socio-economic status of the people in the local community influence the implementation of the policy?

All of the questions above will particularly focus on the measures of quality in the PEDP reforms.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is significant to policy implementation in general. Additionally, since it contains a synthesized theory of implementation as well it might add a more holistic understanding of implementation issues than a more top-down approach that would focus on fewer legitimate actors. The reason for including more actors is that there is always some level of discretion and autonomy given to lower level implementers. According to Lipsky; lower-level staff also makes policies under certain circumstances (Lipsky 1980). The mixed approach that comes out of Winters integrated implementation model may also give input from the two different perspectives that can give fruitful information to policy makers from a wider perspective. This is due to the top-down view that much contemporary analyses are founded on. The synthesis gives the added benefit of view from the bottom-up perspective. Goggin et al, (1990:12), Elmore (1985) Winter (2003) elaborate on the issue at hand: Each of the positions (bottom-up/top-down) tends to ignore the portion of the implementation reality explained by the other.

It particularly provides useful understanding and knowledge about factors that may explain effective implementation of educational policy reforms at the local levels in developing countries and Tanzania in particular.

Lastly, few studies have been undertaken to assess the quality of primary education delivery in the context of recent reforms in Tanzania (URT (2003d, f; 2005g, cited by Mbelle 2008).

1.7 Scope of the Study

The research project will mainly focus on the results of the PEDP reform at the community level in Tanzania when it comes to providing quality education. The intention is to uncover which parts of the reform that were successful or failed and the reasons for the respective results. The local districts are Morogoro Municipal Council and Mvomero District Council. Both are located in t Morogoro Region in eastern Tanzania. The unit of analysis in the study will be the PEDP reform and the two sub-units of analysis will be the two different school districts. Both process (the independent variables) and results (quality of education) are explored and explained. There are different variables that could have been used, and the theoretic framework is therefore a partial and incomplete theoretical framework.

The PEDP reform was initialized in 2002 and the follow up reform PEDP II was initiated in 2007 and lasted until 2012. Both reforms had the enhanced level of quality education as a clear goal. Other output goals like for example enrolment expansion and drop-out rate are outside of the limits of this particular research.

1.8   Theoretical Framework

The research project is based on parts of theories that are woven into a synthesized theoretical framework. It was originally inspired by Emmanuel Lukumais master thesis regarding civil service reforms in Tanzania and Daniel Kipos study regarding Health Care reforms in Ghana (These works are listed in the references). Lukumai had a more top-down approach based almost entirely of Van Meter and Van Horn, while Kipo employed Van Meter and Van Horn along with more bottom-up theories, in the spirit of Soren Winters Synthesised Implementation Model (1990, 1994). In order to put a sharper focus on resources, the research undertaken also applied a part of Thomas and Grindles (1990) implementation theory which explains the necessity of sufficient material, financial, political and managerial resources. The factor that is different from the studies mentioned above is the addition of Michael Lipsky`s (1980) theory about the street level bureaucrats. In this case, this pertains to the possibility of the teachers as key-implementers to influence the outcome of the implementation process in different ways. Lipsky views front-line

personnel like the teachers as possible sources of considerable power since they have an professional discretion that the bureaucrats higher placed in the bureaucracy just to a limited degree can control.

A research study undertaken by Zhang(2005) of students from different urban and rural areas in southern and western Africa found that students in rural areas had inferior literacy scores and lower levels of socio-economic status. They were also more likely to have repeated a grade and had less home support for their academic work. Moreover, rural schools were more likely to have poorer school buildings and facilities and less instructional resources (ibid.) Additionally, data from various international student assessments generally highlights that there is under-achievement in less developed countries, and that students from rural areas are being particularly vulnerable to underachievement (UNESCO 2004, cited by Zhang (2005).

Four variables are taken from Van Meter and Van Horns model. These are; policy standards and objectives, financial and human resources, inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities and socio-economic factors. Regarding resources Grindle and Thomas is also applied in order to incorporate both managerial, financial and technical resources. Additionally Lipskys formerly mentioned Steet-Level Behaviour in Winters framework is added. Moreover, target group behaviour is taken from Winters model in order to analyse the effectiveness of the effectiveness of the PEDP reform in order to provide quality education. Finally Socio-Economic factors from Winter `s model is applied.

1.9   Overview of the Methodology

This research project employs a quality case design and the rationale behind this is to tease out deep data from the formulated research questions. The questions are of a "*how*" and "*why*" nature and they are best explained by a qualitative design (Yin 2005). Parts of the study is of deductive nature; the testing of data against empirical findings, and some of the study is of a more inductive nature. According to Layder (2007) most societal research are a combination of inductive and deductive nature. An extension of this is that the study is both exploratory and explanatory. Different methods of data collection were employed; interviews, direct observation and documentary analysis were conducted. Samples were purposively collected from different parts of the implementation structure as well as the target group. 26 interviews were made and all of them were recorded and transcribed.

Direct observation was used in order to supplement and try to triangulate data. Documentary research was a third source of information. This was important legislative information, reports and,

website information, the daily newspapers in English language in Tanzania; The Daily Mail and The Guardian and other written sources. Some of the most important and in the researchers mind maybe the most exciting findings were collected from the Target Group of education; the pupils. This group also served as triangulation of people by being on the receiving end of the policies. Content analysis of collected data comprising conversational and textual analysis will be undertaken in the data analysis phase.

1.10 Outline of the Chapters of the Thesis

The thesis consists of six chapters. These are:

Chapter One: An introduction to the thesis which seeks to explain the background for the study, the particular context in Tanzania, the educational system, the local context in two school districts and the statement of the problem. Furthermore, the research questions are clarified, the significance of the study is discussed and the scope of the research is presented.

Chapter Two: This presents the theoretical framework of the research study undertaken. It presents the concept of civil service reforms and civil service reforms in Africa. Later on it aims to define the important concepts of public policy and policy implementation. Additionally, it presents the different approaches to the study of implementation and comments on reviewed theses. Finally the chapter introduces the variables of the research and the conceptual framework.

Chapter three: This chapter presents the research methodology employed during research in detail. The research design is presented, the research methods are discussed and the sample of the study is stated. This chapter presents the blueprint for the conduct of the research. Finally, it addresses the issues of validity and reliability, the limitations of the study, important ethical considerations and the main challenges the researcher faced during field work.

Chapter four: Is a deeper introduction of the Tanzanian educational reforms in order to provide important contextual information. It describes different government reforms that has contributed and shaped the educational sector. The PEDP reform is presented as well as the Capitation Grant that followed it. Lastly, the qualitative aspects of the PEDP reforms are discussed.

Chapter five: Is a presentation of the empirical findings and analysis of the research. The empirical findings and analysis are based on data collected mainly during field work. It outlines the different effects the indirect variables of the study has on quality education.

Chapter six: This final chapter aims to summarize the main findings, its implications and provide the conclusions of the research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Literature review is focused on civil service reform, policy and implementation theories and reforms in Africa and the Tanzanian national context.

2.2 Civil Service Reforms

"Public management reforms consists of deliberate changes to the structures and processes of public sector organizations with the objectives of getting them (in some sense) to run better" (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004, p.8) Emphasis of the definition lies with the reforming to structures and processes. These areas in public management are deemed to be a grey area, which demand constant and timely updates. Aiming at the concerns, such a reform take place. (Ghimire 2008)

Public sector reforms starts with a deliberate plan and ends with intended outcomes. It is the process of reform rather than change. Common elements of these reform processes include: *"deliberate planned change to public bureaucracies; synonymous with innovation; improvements in public service efficiency and effectiveness; and the urgency of reform is justified by the need to cope with the uncertainties and rapid changes taking place in the organizational environment"* (Turner and Hulme, 1997)

2.3 Civil Service Reforms in Africa

During the last five decades in Africa there have been four rather distinct phases of reforms (Hyden 2013). The first wave of reforms was characterized by independence and the break with the colonial past. The main objective was to restore order and this period lasted from 1955-1968 (ibid.) Strong nationalist leaders exercised power in order to secure their own position. This changed later on in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s (ibid.) The main objective shifted away from order to development, because of the need of the same leaders to show their leadership qualities in developing their countries. We saw the rise of the development state. In the 1980s and 1990s we went into a third wave of reforms characterized by international efforts aimed at contracting the state and enhancing its supremacy (ibid.) The fourth wave of reforms began in the 1990s and are still being implemented today. These reforms are characterized by the introduction and focus on

democratic forms of governance. The main objective in this period was modification of the public sector.

Civil Service Reforms implemented in developed, developing and countries in transition were considered as part of the wider public reform agenda (Peters L, 1999, cited by Lukumai 2006). However, it often confronted resistance as it was seen as a tool for curbing government spending through personnel and wage cuts. It is true that, personnel and wage cuts were primary components of reform goal with ultimate aim of achieving the creation of a skilled and efficient workforce (Schiavo, 1996, cited by Lukumai 2006)

According to Therkildsen (2000) there was a reform wave in Africa during the 1960s and the 1970s. Political, economic and and social pressures initiated this need for reform. Public sector expanded in this period but remained very hierarchical and centralized. The reforms in this period were not significantly different in nature than the earlier reforms. Therkildsen (ibid) adds that the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s are quite different than the former ones.

Most recent reforms are inspired by new public management ideas. They have a much more far reaching scope. The main measures are to reduce the core functions of the state and to outsource and privatize functions that are no more state functions. The focus is furthermore on efficiency, accountability, exploiting new technological opportunities, transparency, reorganization of organizations and to change the values and attitudes of public employees.

Therkildsen additionally focuses on a paradox of reform in Tanzania: Multiple changes are pursued simultaneously in the public sector without the necessary political support from major stakeholders, and few service delivery improvements had materialized by the year 2000. This is possibly due to pressure from external organizations, a tendency towards fragmented domestic policy making, not strong enough links between policy making and implementation and lack of belief and support for some of the key aspects of the new public management (NPM) inspired reform measures (ibid).

2.4 Civil Service Reforms defined

2.4.1 Public Policy

Policy-making is a deliberate course of action taken by constrained actors pursuing to match policy goals with policy means in a problem solving approach. There is no universally accepted definition of the concept of public policy. Thomas Dye defines it as; "Anything a government chooses to do or not to do" (Dye, 1972). This definition is very wide but it clarifies that the primary agent of public policy making is a government (Howlett et al. 2009). Only the government can make authoritative decisions on behalf of the people. It additionally underlines that public policy-making involves

choices by the government to act or not act on a problem, and that the actors are publicly elected politicians and officials. Finally, it emphasizes that public policy is a conscious choice made by the government (ibid.)

According to Jenkins (1978) public policy is; "*a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those to achieve*". This definition clearly specifies that the essence of any given policy consists of the choosing of alternative of goals and means to solve a particular problem. Furthermore it underscores the dynamic nature of policy-making. Additionally, it points to the multifaceted reality of it; "most policies involve a series of decisions that cumulatively contribute to an outcome", (Howlett et al. 2009) Jenkins definition also sheds light on the governments capacity to implement policies and that this constrains the possible options to be taken. Finally, Jenkins definition highlights that policy-making is a goal-oriented action.

2.4.2 Policy Implementation

Policy reforms may or may not be implemented. This means that there may have been a prior political formulation process and a political valid decision may have been taken. But, in the implementation phase the actions that follows the political document could look different from the intentions or the statements on the paper. Due to for example political compromises among different parties in the policy formulation process, the reform or law may be unclear to bureaucrats and front line implementers. This is why we have to study the implementation phase as well to see what really happens on the ground.

Policy implementation refers to the act of putting policy into effect. It entails all efforts, knowledge and resources directed to translating policy decisions into action (Howlett et al. 2009). Implementation means; "to carry out, accomplish, fulfil, produce and complete" (ibid.). The verb implementation is joined with the object of policy. Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) stress that for implementation to take place there must be a starting and an ending point. Implementation cannot begin without action and cannot succeed or fail without goals to judge it by. (Hill &Hupe 2009)**.**
An influential definition of implementation was made by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983: 20-1)
"*Implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions. Ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued, and in a variety of ways, "structures" the implementation process.* "
In contrast to the top-down view above, the view from the bottom-up approach is somewhat

different. Here it is described as a policy-action relationship. The policy-action relationship, *"needs to be regarded as a process of interaction and negotiation, taking place over time, between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends"* (Barrett and Fudge, 1981). These contrasting viewpoints is highlighted in the three major implementation perspectives described below.

2.4.3 Policy Implementation in Tanzania

According to the Swedish researcher Goran Hyden (1984), Tanzania has a particular way of making policies. This process is marked by different features that constructs policy-making problems (Babeiya 2011). Four factors seems to affect policy-making in Tanzania and which greatly impacts the sub-sequent policy implementation phase. One important factor is that most of the policies continues to be made without adequate background information. Secondly, the past is not used as valuable input when shaping the new policies. Moreover, that these to inputs taken together in the policy making process tends to create a desire by the policy makers to do everything at the same time (Hyden 1984, Therkildsen (2000), Babeiya 2011). The effect of this again is unrealistic expectations towards the policy implementers. This trend is recorded from Tanzania became independent in 1961. Some of the steps taken by the first president Julius Nyerere were the rhetoric of; "*We must run, when others walk*" which proposed that Tanzania because of different factors such as the heritage of colonialism and climate was so far behind the developed states that it could not afford the time the democracy took in order to thoroughly discuss every step of the way. Nyerere`s solution to the problem was to concentrate the power in the executive branch of the government and especially with the president himself. An example of this is the *Ujamaa* policy that dictated that a large section of the population resettled in different areas and produced agricultural products in cooperation. This decision was made mainly by the president and the only other influence was the little circle of executives around him in the ruling party. According to Babeiya (2011), the general conclusion from the implementation of U*jamaa* policies was that the expected achievements to a great extent were not realized.

Nyerere resigned in 1985 after the national economy was in great turmoil. In order to get help from foreign agencies to resurrect the economy Tanzania needed to embark on structural adjustment programs that changed the power and the policy making process, Kuder (2005), Mmuya and Hyden 2008). According to Babeiya (2011: 1), one indicator of the power shift in policy making is the; "*technicization of public policy making which has in turn given donor agencies especially the IMF and the World Bank complete control over policy processes in Tanzania.*" The problem arising from this new policy making paradigm is that Tanzanian policy makers are co-producing policies uncritically with western technocrats and do not take into consideration the situation on the ground.

The adoption of pre-packaged reform components from the west made in a totally different context may not travel well to countries that are on a very basic level of development like Tanzania. Babeiya concluded that the policy making that Hyden observed in 1984 was not significantly improved upon in Tanzania in 2011 (ibid.)

Jerve (2006) has made some of the same points. His findings are that even though Tanzania has gone through major ideological shifts, the changes on the ground are less dramatic. The study concludes that; "education policy in Tanzania has been suffering from the inability of the system to translate policy statements into effective policy instruments and implementation strategies. "For instance, education for self-reliance policy remained as political platitude until it was abandoned..." Another point expressed by Jerve is that the skill of translating excellent policy statements into feasible educational practices seems to be a missing link in Tanzania (Omari 1994: 16, cited by Jerve 2006:3). Furthermore, Jerve comments upon the policy formulation process in Tanzania and that it has changed from being dominated by the ruling party from 1961 until the early 1990s where it changed and the policy formulation in the education sector has become the responsibility of Government officials, experts and professionals. (Kalegual and Pambe 2002:10, cited by Jerve (2006:4). Additionally Jerve describes policy making in developing countries as marked by policy-makers that are not interested in research findings unless they support their own politics and that there exists a culture of personalised policy making that is subject to international pressures. An example here is president Mkapas last minute change of the PEDP reform by removing all direct school fees after pressure from the World Bank (Chediel 2009).

Hyden (1994) and Omari (1994) states that policies in Tanzania often are made in a rushed way where the policy makers often puts the blame on a crisis in order to push reforms through without consultation. Finally, there is no tradition of knowledge-based politicians in Tanzania and the elite politicians and senior bureaucrats has viewed local implementers and the research community with great scepticism. According to Jerve (2006) this has made all senior educational experts in his research study to state that no indigenous experts are listened to by the government or the World Bank.

According to the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 section 2.2.4 there is a history of ineffective implementation in Tanzania;

"Ineffective Implementation Syndrome

Tanzanians have developed a propensity to prepare and pronounce plans and programs, and ambitions which are not accompanied by effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. As a result, implementation has been weak. This situation has given rise to the erosion of trust and confidence among the people on their leaders. It is evident that the people are now less

enthusiastic about participating in national endeavors. Apathy has set in." (Tanzanian Development Vision 2025.)

Another scholar Njunwa (2010) observed that regarding the implementation of the Universal Primary Education reform (UPE) in Tanzania in 1974, it was to a large extent top-down initiated. The program was highly criticized for using the same top-down approach and failed to involve local people in decision making. Moreover, Njunwa (2005) observed that most of President Nyereres initiatives were largely of his own personal making and did not allow other people to come up with their own views. This resulted in poor implementation of the UPE program (Njunwa 2010: 27).

Regarding implementation capacity, Hyden (2013) comments that in Africa in general there is a lack of implementation capacity.

According to Nkyabonaki (2013) the curriculum activity in Tanzania is engrossed with political activities. He discusses various examples from Tanzania related to political influence on the curriculum.. His conclusion is; "that curriculum is having a condomnium relationship with politics." (Nkyabonaki 2013:109)

From the input of the scholars above we can conclude that the implementation context for the PEDP reforms will be challenging.

2.5 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Public Policy Implementation

Modern day implementation theory started out in the 1970s (Hill & Hupe 2009) because this particular part of the policy process was little explored at the time. The functions and the scope of the state grew all over the world at that time and it created a need to evaluate if the money that government spent was effectively and properly utilized. Albæk (1996) explains that the expansion of the role of the state brought with it this need for evaluation studies. Furthermore, the evaluation studies initiated another need to look into what really happened to reforms, and why. The first studies focused mainly on the rule of law and the formal aspects of policy implementation. It had at its foundation an understanding that democratic elected politicians made laws and that the bureaucracy as a neutral instrument implemented those laws accordingly. This is known as the top-down approach. Later on the great implementation gap between intended results and actual results led to a school of thought called the bottom-up approach. Contributors such as Lipsky started to investigate what the key implementers at the bottom of the pyramid actually did. This bottom-up approach according to Lipsky meant that the discretion provided at the street-level gave these actors power to actually make politics. Later development tried to synthesize the top-down and the bottom-up approach in order to get a wider view and a deeper of implementation challenges. Søren

Winter and Richard Matland were important contributors to this direction in implementation studies. A further elaboration of the theories will be discussed below.

2.5.1 The Top-Down Perspectives

According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) implementation is manifestly defined "*in terms of a relationship to a policy laid down in official documents*" (Hill & Hupe 2009, p. 45). They add that; " A verb like "implement" must have an object like "policy". The authors elaborate on this issue and state that; "*policies normally contain both goals and the means for achieving them*". Their focus of attention is towards the complexities that occur when multiple organizations and departments co-operate in the implementation phase of public policy. If this co-operation is not near 100 per cent an implementation shortfall, or deficit will occur (ibid.).

The Top-Down approach makes a clear distinction between *policy formulation* and *policy implementation,* and it is primarily concerned with the control of the implementation process (Hill & Hupe 2009). This implies that policy is made by senior politicians and officials at the top, and carried out entirely as determined in the policy document by mid-level officials and lower level officials at the bottom of the pyramid. It is normative in the sense that it regards the democratically elected politicians as the representatives of the people and that these representatives should then decide upon policies, because they represent the same people. The bureaucracy is looked upon as a neutral instrument in an hierarchical organization that shall implement the policies to the letter.

Van Meter & Van Horn (1975) regard implementation as; "a process that starts from an initial policy decision: policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (and groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions" (1975, p. 447). According to Hill and Hupe (2009) Van Meter and Van Horn provide a valuable starting point for the study of implementation processes.

Sabatier (1986) builds on the theories of van Meter and Van Horn, but adds to it by the recognition of a feedback process. This perspective converge with the other top-down theorists in their focus on the control aspect of the implementation process-*"and recommendations to the "top" about steps to be taken to try to control implementation."*

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) further adds to the theory of top-down implementation by explicitly making the aspect of adequate and necessary resources imperative in order to reach the goals of a policy. These resources can be financial or in the form of human or organizational capacities.

2.5.2 The Bottom-Up Perspective

The bottom-up approach came into existence in the early 1980s in response to the perceived flaws of the top down approach. The bottom-up approach merely starts at the other ends of the

implementation chain of command and demands that the activities of street level bureaucrats be fully taken into account (Howlett et al., 2009)

The reaction to the top-down perspective came first by Michael Lipsky which is regarded as the father of the bottom-up perspective. Lipsky expressed that "*the decisions of the street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out*" (1980, xii) Lipsky focus on that; the large classes that teachers have to handle and the inadequate resources they may employ in combination with the uncertainties of pedagogical methods and the unpredictability of their target group defeat their initial aspirations as service workers. His point is that teachers and other service workers have a certain degree of professional discretion in their practice that they use in order to cope with the limitless pressures from above. All in all, Lipsky shifts the normative concern "*away from questions about how those at the top can exert their wills*", and it is this change of perspective that characterizes the bottom-up approach. According to Lipsky 1980 in Meyers & Vorsanger 2007, the role of the Street-Level Bureaucrats in shaping the policy delivery is often overlooked. This is related to the methodological difficulty of studying S-LBs. Scholars within this tradition has attempted to study them from different angles and have come up with a cluster of factors that may influence S-LBs behaviour towards reform measures (Chipimo 2012). According to Brehm & Gates (1997) it is not political or organizational control that has most influence on Street-Level bureaucrats but individual interests, the professional norms and the method they construct meaning in their work practice. Thus, S-LBs are acting on behalf of their own individual preferences and their discretional decisions are guided by their own belief system. Ultimately this gives the government a range of challenges when it comes to the implementation process and achieving the intended reform objectives. According to Meyer & Vorsanger (2007), cited by Chipimo 2012. "*Policy goals may be shifted in importance or distorted when Street-level bureaucrats follow their beliefs and norms.*" Another factor that affects policy implementation according to Meyers & Vorsanger is the possibility of the S-LBs to use their discretionate powers to modify the policies to the realities on the ground. In order to maximize successful implementation good cooperation and communication between the policy makers and implementers on the ground is critically important. Finally, inclusion of street-level bureaucrats in the policy making process and providing them with adequate information about the goals and means of the policy is important in order to secure successful implementation (Hanf & O`Tool Jr. 2006, cited by Chipimo 2012).

2.5.3 Synthesis of the Top-Down and the Bottom-Up Perspectives

According to Winter (2003) the different competing viewpoints of the top-down and the bottom up perspective was useful in drawing increased attention to more relevant actors in the implementation

process. However, each of the perspectives tended to be blindfolded for the implementation reality that the other perspective explained (ibid.)

A more constructive angle emerged from the dialectic process between the perspectives. In spite of the respective importance of the top- down and bottom-up perspectives, the rivalry between them led to the synthesis of two approaches by picking out key ideas. In fact these two perspectives are complementary rather than contradictory and explain the actual policy implementation with combination (Hill and Hupe 2009). The mixed approach we can conclude with then is a merger of the two former perspectives. This might give a more holistic understanding of the implementation process and the weaknesses of either perspective can be supported by the respective strengths of the other perspective.

Richard Elmore (1979-80) recommends using forward mapping and backward mapping as instruments for policy makers. Forward mapping is the process of carefully designing appropriate policy instruments and to consider the availability of the realistic resources involved in order to create successful policies. He additionally points out that there should be in place an incentive structure for the target group and the street-level bureaucrats involved in the implementation of the policy. When it comes to backward mapping this should start with "a statement of the specific behaviour at the lowest level of the implementation process that generates the need for a policy" and afterwards plan backwards what is needed in order to support that behaviour (Elmore 1982, p. 21). Simply having a policy of intent wont work by itself. According to Caroline (1999) what is needed in the design phase of a program is a clear understanding of the divergence among what is really happening in the classrooms and how it is supposed to be. Additionally, a clear interpretation of which unit or instrument that can influence the intentional changes to behaviour that is the goal of the policy. Likewise; specify the adequate amount and quality of resources that is acquired. When these concerns are determined then the reform process can attend to them (Caroline 1999).

Matland (1995) focused on the characteristics of the policies. He criticized the top-down researchers for focusing on clear policies and bottom-up researchers for policies with greater uncertainties involved during implementation. His general view was to use different models for implementation based on the level of conflict and ambiguity involved in the respective policy.

Winter (2006) view is that the conflict between social scientists of either camp "was not fruitful" (ibid.) His solution was to advocate for more theoretical diversity, rather than to look for grand theory explanations. Winters view was that researchers should focus on developing and testing partial theories and hypothesis. Winter did not introduce "a model in the strict sense of a simple causal model. It is rather a framework for analysis presenting key factors and mechanisms that affect implementation outputs and outcomes. For each set of factors a number of more specific hypotheses can be developed" (Jensen et al., 1991, Winter, 1990, 1994).

The intention of the different advocates of the mixed perspective was first of all to merge the different approaches to implementation. This could give a wider and more holistic perspective of the implementation process. Furthermore this gives a more complete and realistic view of the challenges to implementation. The mixed approach gives a fruitful perspective to the challenges of implementing the educational reform in primary education in Tanzania.

2.6   Reviewed Theses

Lukumai, E (2006) in his master thesis `Implementation of civil service reform in Tanzania` used the six variables of the Van Meter and Van Horn model in order to measure their impact on the implementation of reforms. The study was focused on the question of how civil service reforms (CSR) were implemented and revealed that institutional incentives (low remuneration of employees within civil service hampered the success of the reform, i.e. CSRP (Civil Service Reform Program) suffered from low base of internal sources. Additionally the study found that poor communication and coordination as well as scarcity of competent personnel impeded the reform measures. The success element of the reform was the total reduction of employees and ghost workers in the public sector which met its targets.

Kipo, D. (2011) in his study of: `Implementation of Public Policy at the Local Level in Ghana.` used the variables; policy design, implementation structure, resources, target group behaviour and socio-economic conditions as explanatory variables from Winter's integrated model of implementation. The research concluded with the following points: 1) that adequacy of resources had a significant upon reform success, 2) implementers perceived understanding of the program design had an impact upon successful implementation, and 3) target group trust and positive response towards implementing institutions accounted for effective implementation of NHIS (National Health Insurance Scheme).

Masue, O. (2010) In his research of: `The Effectiveness of Primary School Committees in Tanzania; experiences from two Local Authorities`, studied grass-roots politics within the same region as this field work was done in the Morogoro region of Tanzania. Masues research approach was using empowerment theory, but it had the same focus on local participation in educational management.

2.7 The Policy Implementation Model of Van Meter and Van Horn

The model comprise of six variables that are linked dynamically to the production of an outcome

"performance" (Hill and Hupe 2009). These consists of; policy standards and objectives, resources and incentives made available, the quality of inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities, the characteristics of implementing agencies, the economic, social, and political environment and finally the disposition or response of the implementers (ibid). Van Meter and Van Horne were oriented towards identifying possible factors that might reduce the impact of implementation and other factors that when they were identified could to some extent be controlled. Furthermore, they came up with recommendations to the top of the power apex about how to control the implementation phase (ibid).

Policy Standards and objectives

In order to secure a successful implementation of the reform one needs clear and specific standards in order to monitor and evaluate the results. This implies making performance indicators which ongoing performances will be measured against. "The performance indicator assesses the extent to which the standard policy's standards and objectives are realized" (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975: 464. Van Meter and Van Horn makes this explicit; "implementation can not be a success or a failure without a goal against which to measure it"(ibid). Quantitative standards like the Pupil Teacher ratio in the PEDP reforms are in most cases easy to measure. More qualitative aspects of standards and objectives are not as easily measured and are more complex. Regarding the PEDP measures this is the goals of enhancing the teaching process. In order to determine standards and objectives, these needs to be derived from policy documents, statements of policy makers and clear guidelines that specifies the criteria for the evaluation of the policy performance.

According to Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) vague and contradictory objectives will not generate effective implementation. In their view implementation studies must identify the main goals and objectives and measure these. These views are also explicitly made clear by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973).

Policy Resources

Adequate resources is furthermore very important in order for any programme or reform to succeed. These consists of funds and other incentives to serve in order to facilitate the administration of the implementation process. During policy implementation the realistic allocation of sufficient resources are amid the details to be thought-trough considerably ahead of the implementation phase, in order for successful implementation to take place. The resources consists of financial or other material incentives that can trigger, incite, instigate and foster effectual implementation.

A lot of the reforms in Tanzania in the public sector are donor driven. If donors holds back financing, or the government can not deliver their amount of the costs this will restrict the scope of some programs, or in the worst case scenario result in failure of implementation. One of the challenges in Tanzania is the budgeting system. According to the Education Sector Development Programme (EDSP) 2008 there exists a funding gap between resource requirement and the approved budget. The approved budget in 2003/04 was 34 per cent lower than the estimated financial requirements. In addition to this the actual funds released were less than the affirmed pledges by the development partners. Pertaining to the latter aspect there was a funding gap of 54 per cent in 2003/04.

An illustration of this point is a implementation study done in federal governments research in the USA; *"it suggested that the limited supply of federal incentives was a major contributor to the failure of local government to develop new towns"* (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975)

In Tanzania one parallel to this might be that lack of public funds towards building teachers houses might reduce the success of building sufficient and adequate houses around the schools for local teachers.

Inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities

Standards and objectives needs to be both communicated and understood with accuracy and clarity. Performance indicators needs to be delivered with consistency over time as well, to have the necessary impact. If civil servants do not have the sufficient cognitive abilities to execute the reform this will also impact the likelihood of successful implementation. If there is loose coupling between the intended reform with weak enforcement mechanisms the level of success will also be reduced. The potential problem of different offices not communicating the same messages can potentially lead to ambiguity and misinterpretation of the intended goals. If various offices have different agendas as well this might lead to tweaking of objectives and conflict in the implementation phase. In order to control this process there need to be in place an institution with the mandate to monitor, coordinate and enforce standards upon lower level agencies, according to Van Meter and Van Horn (1975). Since superiors have institutional mechanism powers like recruitment and selection, assigning and relocation, advancement and promotion and ultimately dismissal they are able to apply the same mechanisms to influence subordinates to achieve the desired standards and objectives (Lukumai 2006, p.17). Superiors also have financial power from budgetary allocation which they may sanction to inflate or reduce in response to satisfactory or unsatisfactory performance (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975 p. 466). Central level officials does furthermore have additional instruments that they may use in order to secure compliance. These are a range of different coercive power mechanisms. According to Van Meter and Van Horn this can be

to require localities to draw up elaborate plans for the administration of central programs. The funds will only be allocated or imbursed when certain assurances are made, and the resources may be withdrawn if not the conditions in the plan are not fulfilled. Through this arrangement central level officials seek "Compliance in advance" (Derthick, 1970: p. 209, cited by Van Meter and Van Horn 1975:468). A parallel to this practice is to clearly state particular conditions, such as thorough reporting and accounting systems which follows the allocation of central funds

In the educational local context in Tanzania this pertains to the coordination and cooperation of both central and local actors like DEO`s, Wards, local school boards and the monitoring and management of local schools.

Implementers disposition

This variable stresses the understanding of the policy objectives and the disposition by the implementers towards the objectives of the reform. Do they favour it, are they neutral or do they oppose it. The intensity of the response furthermore adds to possibility of successful implementation (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975)

The model further acknowledge that, implementers may resist or reject to implement the policy all-together if a particular policy is likely to conflict with their personal value system, sense of self-interest, extra-organizational loyalties or with their relationships (ibid.).

The characteristics of implementing agencies

This pertains to the imperative importance that skills, education and the general competence of the workforce have in the implementation process. In order to execute a complex reform you need people that have the capacity to put the intent of the reform into adequate goal oriented actions. Another measure here is that the government also needs enough of these competent people. The vitality of the organization is a third embedded variable. Are the agencies stable, and is there a "*can-do*" attitude there? In that case that will help facilitate success. The formal and clear lines of hierarchical control of sub-units is critical in this instance. Additionally; "*the degree of open communication (i.e networks of communication with free horizontal and vertical communication, and a relatively high degree of freedom in communications with persons outside the organization) within an organization*", and; "*the agency`s* (in this case the respective schools) *formal and informal linkages with policy enforcing body*" (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975)

Finally, if the reform fits the culture of the organization this will enhance the possibilities of reform success. Relevant in this regard is the path-dependency of the organization. An organization have a history and time has made an imprint in the organization of the proper or appropriate actions of

behaviour. Persons in the administrative apparatus furthermore are socialised during their education for a certain kind of professional behaviour. If the reform ideology fits the values of the disparate professions involved this will also enhance the success opportunities.

Socio-economic context

In this study this variable pertains to the resources available at both the local level and the central level. If the government have financial stability and has allocated adequate and realistic resources to the PEDP reform then the possibility of success is high. If it is underfunded and the government has to cut budget spending the reform measures are less likely to succeed. At the local level it is assumed that the higher the socio-economic status the target group have the higher the possibility of success. One of the reasons for this is that school in Tanzania are dependent upon special contributions from parents to supply limited funds from the government. According to Van Meter and Van Horn this environmental variable can significantly affect the performance of implementing agencies. This variable comprises sufficient economic resources available to implementers, the nature of public opinion, elites' favour or opposition in implementation and reaction from private interest groups to policy. The sufficiency of economic resources has the significant impact on the effectiveness of policy implementation. Secondly, the extent to which the prevailing economic, social and political conditions is affected by policy implementation. Besides, elites support and public opinion are crucial for the successful implementation. (Van Meter & Van Horn 1975: 472).

Figure 2.7.1 The Van Meter and Van Horn model of policy implementation process

Independent Variables   **Dependent Variable**

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│ Policy Standards    │ ──────────╲
│ and objectives      │            ╲
└─────────────────────┘             ╲
                                     ╲
┌─────────────────────┐               ╲        ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ Policy Resources    │ ───────────────→        │ Successful               │
└─────────────────────┘                         │ implementation           │
┌─────────────────────┐                         │                          │
│ Inter-organizational│                         │                          │
│ communication and   │ ──────────────→         │                          │
│ enforcement         │                         │                          │
│ activities          │                         │                          │
└─────────────────────┘                         │                          │
                                                │                          │
┌─────────────────────┐               ╱         │                          │
│ Implementers        │ ─────────────╱          │                          │
│ disposition         │                         │                          │
└─────────────────────┘                         └──────────────────────────┘
┌─────────────────────┐              ╱
│ The  characteristics│ ────────────╱
│ of      implementing│
│ agencies            │
└─────────────────────┘
┌─────────────────────┐
│ Socio     Economic  │ ──────────╱
│ Contextual          │
└─────────────────────┘
```
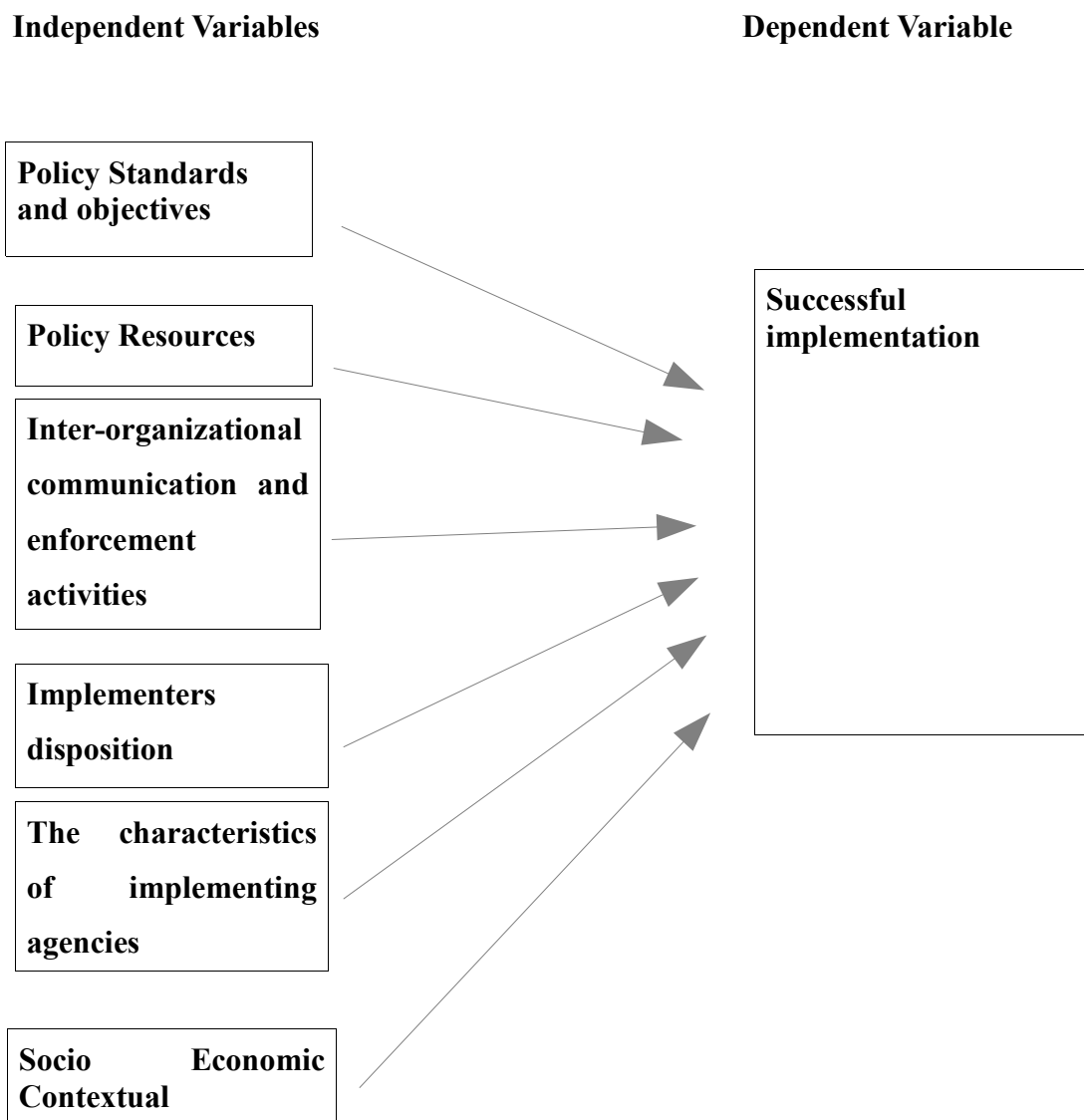
Source: Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975

2.8 Winters Integrated Implementation Model

According to Winter (2003) the formerly discussed perspectives of bottom-up and top-down were important because they both shed light on different actors in the implementation process. However both of them lacked an understanding of the other approach. Each view tended to see just parts of the whole complex of implementation. Winters suggestion was to try to merge the two perspectives in order to get a more holistic understanding of the implementation challenges.

Winters view was that implementation research needs to provide theoretical diversity. His solution was that researchers rather should test partial theories and hypothesis than the former orientations

focus on a grand theory.

By integrating the features of top-down and bottom-up perspectives on policy implementation, Winter developed an "Integrated Implementation Model" composed of five sets of variables that affect implementation output and outcome. They include policy formulation and design, inter-organizational relations, street level bureaucratic behaviour, target group behaviour and socio-economic condition. Winter's model in strict sense is not a causal model but rather a 'framework of analysis' that presents factors and mechanisms which affect implementation outputs and outcomes (Winter 2003).

The first set of factors affecting implementation results is the policy formulation process and policy design (ibid.). May (2003) expresses; "*well designed policies are necessary but not sufficient for improving implementation prospects*". The causes to some of the challenges towards successful implementation can be found in the previous policy formulation process. According to Winter, conflict and struggles in the policy formulation process frequently tends to create policies that are distinguished by ambiguous goals and an invalid causal theory that lacks the logical coherent and consistent bond between goals and means in the policy design involved. Policy design or policy formulation does to a high degree involve an effort to match potential policy tools to policy problems Howlett et al. 2009). Most mixes of instruments makes it hard to optimize the final result. Policy design is often a highly political struggle between opponents which tries to maximize their opposing concerns. This may imply the power to choose an organizational structure that facilitates the control of the implementation process. The actors that lost out in the policy formulation process also have a role to play in the long implementation process of the PEDP reform from 2002 until present day. The opposition could according to this view try to score political points by continually playing the blame game in the media regarding the PEDP reform. When it comes to reforms in poor dependent countries like Tanzania, external factors like donor pressure and the economical and ideological pressure from western ideological models regarding different conditions relating to aid from bi-lateral and multilateral organizations is an additional factor. This is particularly related to the balance of motivations between the needs of the recipient country and the interest of the international donor community.

The research undertaken aimed to uncover (1) if the policy formulation process generated conflicts that has implications for the implementation of the PEDP reforms, and (2) if the goals and objectives in the PEDP document are stated clearly so that they may be identified and measured.

The next variable of Winters model is organizational and inter-organizational behaviour. The degree

of commitment and coordination can have a major impact on the success potential of the reform process. Do the different agencies have the same agenda? This might not always be the case and the result can be a tweaking of reform objectives to the interests of the diverse interests of the particular agencies. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) likewise focus on this *"complexity of joint action"*. Their assumption is that implementation is a challenge when multiple actors with diverse interests cooperate in order to execute a policy. Furthermore they highlight that the total number of decisions and possible veto points may hamper the process.

Winters third variable is the behaviour of street-level bureaucrats (S-LBs). Street-level bureaucratic behaviour is another critical variable in the implementation of most policies Winter (2003). The Successful implementation of the PEDP objectives depends to a certain extent on the street-level bureaucrats in order to deliver quality education and for adequate and effective monitoring of the education in the classroom. The street-level bureaucrats are the last link in the implementation process. These are the persons that come in direct contact with the target group. According to Lipsky (1980),; *"Street-level bureaucrats are public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work."*. Since S-LBs link the organizations and citizens this gives them an influential position. This is related to their possibility of getting information from both sides of the implementation process. Moreover, their professional discretion gives them space to manoeuvre within the policy regulations. The allocation of resources as well as personal interpretation of rules and regulations does affect the process of policy implementation. The Street-level bureaucrats often shape and actively manipulate the policies they are supposed to carry out. Or, according to Lipsky (1980): "the decisions and routines of the street level bureaucrats as well as the mechanisms created to cope with the situation effectively become the public policies they carry out." Their role in shaping policy is often overlooked (Meyer and Vorsanger, 2007). This is related to the difficulty of studying street-level bureaucrats. However, some researchers have undertaken research studies about the factors that affect street-level bureaucratic behaviour. The most important findings are as follows. First: Who exercises control over the street-level bureaucrats? One research branch has focused on organizational control of street-level bureaucrats discretion (Simon 1983, Meyers and Dillon 1999, Meyers and Vorsanger 2007, cited by Chipimo 2012). The extent to which S-LBs exercise discretion in their work depends on the organizational environment of the policy. If the environment of the policy is complex, the more discretionary judgements are made by S-LBs. Another factor that also has an impact in a complex environment is the challenge of monitoring the service delivery. Moreover if there is a scarcity of resources in the implementation phase studies has found that S-LBs ration their services and rationalize program objectives (Lipsky 1980, Winter 2001 cited by

Chipimo 2012). Additionally scholars such as Brehm and Gates (1997) points out that individual self interests and their professional norms shapes the S-LBs behaviour in their work practice. Thus, the decisions of front line personnel may undermine the goals made by elected officials (Meyer and Vorsanger 2007). This implies that the official goals and objectives of a policy may be distorted or changed by the actions of S-LBs. Moreover. Inclusion of S-LBs in the policy making process and providing them with adequate information about the goals and means is important for a successful implementation (Hanf & O`Tool Jr. 2006).

When it comes to school reforms these are represented by the teachers as the front line personnel.. They are ones that comes in direct contact with the target group on a daily basis. According to Winter street-level bureaucrats make important discretionary decisions in their direct contact with citizens (Winter 2003). This discretionary power gives the teachers (in this study) the latitude "to systematically bias the delivery behaviour in relation to the mandates".
Another group of Street-level bureaucrats are the different school management personnel that monitors the work practice of the teachers. These are mainly the School Inspectorate, the Head Teachers and the WECs.

Moreover, Winter focuses on the Target group behaviour
This particular variable is also imported from Winters model. A target group is a specific group of people that the reform measures are aimed at. In this case the pupils, parents and other members of the local communities. These citizens play a decisive role when it comes to the effects of the policy in conjunction with affecting the performance of the street-level bureaucrats by the agency of positive and negative actions in co-producing the results of public services. The level of their awareness, commitment and participation can significantly affect policy implementation.

Finally; socio-economic context locally is expected to influence the quality of education because of the availability of extra resources for schools in better off areas of Tanzania. This is one of the variables that is included in Winters integrated model. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) also emphasise the socio-economic context and states that this involves identifying societal and environmental factors that does affect policy output and outcome. According to Berman (1980) the implementation of public policy should consider the different "context within which a policy is to be implemented" (Berman 1980: 206, cited by Buabeng 2009 and Kipo 2011). Following this rationale, local level politics should be adapted to local circumstances. The same point is made Pressman and Wildavsky, (1979: 45) who explicitly states that it is important that a project is based on actual socio-political conditions of the locals, rather than general economic conditions.

In Tanzania the particular socio-economic conditions in the country as a whole should be considered. The different local context in rural and urban context should also be considered in the implementation process. Since the majority of the people in Mvomero are animal-keepers and subsistent farmers with low educational levels and limited financial resources the implementation of the PEDP reforms should consider these challenging circumstances and have special features to deal with the problems. According to Wedgwood (2003, cited by Jidamva (2012) rural schools face more challenges in terms of quality than urban schools. The proposition is that if the PEDP plan has extra resources and communicates the program objectives in a way that is adapted to the local context the higher the chances of success

2.9   Grindle and Thomas

Grindle and Thomas (1990) focus on the implementation of policy reforms in developing countries. What is very practical about their model is that it specifies the different resources that are critical to successful implementation. According to Grindle and Thomas bureaucratic resources may be needed by public managers in order to encourage and sustain the implementation of policy reforms. Three bureaucratic resource components are instrumental in developing countries. These are financial, managerial and technical resources and they may be instrumental to successful outcomes of many reform initiatives (Grindle and Thomas 1990:1177). Financial resources are money allocated in the budgets for the reform and may come from different sources. In Tanzania in the implementation of the PEDP reform this may be money allocated by the central government, by foreign aid support, money from local government, contributions from parents, the individual schools own small businesses, donors and CSOs. It will be important that these resources are adequate, come on time and are paid in full in order to implement all the activities of the reform. Managerial resources are also imperative for reform success (ibid.). "*Control of budget, personnel appointment and promotion; and control of support services ranging from transportation to purchasing are important elements of bureaucratic power.*" The last of the bureaucratic resources are the Technical resources. These are the technical capacity needed for evaluation of a reform. On the ground in Tanzania it will also be important for local implementers to have sufficient office space, to have computers with internet connection in order to facilitate communication and gathering information and access to phone-lines, electricity and water.

A research study by Islam & Rahman (2008), found that the Primary Education Policy Plan in Bangladesh was marked by policy slippage due to lack of human resources (skilled manpower), technical (infrastructure) and financial resources.

2.10 Variables

According to Nachmias (1996), the variables lead us from conceptual stage to the empirical stage and usually explain causal relationships. This explains the resultant changes to the dependent variables due to change in the independent variable in terms of quality and quantity. The next section operationalizes the variables that explain or may affect the effectiveness of the of the delivery of quality education.

2.10.1 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable will be the intended enhanced level of quality education. This will be operationalized as an increased level of school completion from primary education. Or more precisely: An increase in the percentage of pupils who pass the Standard VII Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), (USAID 2013). It is plausible that if the percentage of pupils that pass the school completion test rises, that it is due to the better quality of education. According to Vavrus and Moshi (2009) the most frequently used measure when it comes to educational quality is the pass rate on the national Primary School Leaving Examination at the end of the seven-year primary cycle. The effect of the independent variables listed below will after the rationale of the PEDP I and II reforms have a direct causal impact on the dependent variable and provide quality education.

2.10.2 Independent Variables

According to our synthesized model of implementation developed by the discussed theories : The effective implementation of the PEDP reforms depends on the design of the policy, its implementation structure, availability of resources, street-level bureaucrats/disposition of the implementers, the target group and socio-economic conditions.

In order to make the variables measurable in the research the independent variables are operationalized. Operationalization is to define and specify the concepts and variables and to link these again to their empirical determinants.

2.10.2.1 The Policy formulation process.

According to Winter (2008) the policy design phase is affected by the former political decision making process that took place before the actual enactment of the law, policy or program. In order to understand the context to better understand how the policy design came out the way it did, it is important to take a step back in time and study the former policy formulation process. The policy formulation process is often marked by conflicts, symbolic politics and invalid causal theories. The

conflicts may arise because of different political orientations by the participants. This may produce ambiguous or conflicting goals. There may be lack of coherence between goals and objectives. Additionally, the policy design may have been built on an invalid causal theory. Symbolic policies can result, which appear to address a problem without actually offering the means (like financial resources) that could achieve the stated objectives (Winter 2003). The study undertaken wants to uncover if conflicts in the policy formulation process has an impact on the implementation of the PEDP plan, or if the financial resources allocated and disbursed in the program are realistic for the successful implementation of the reform measures pertaining to quality education.

2.10.2.2   The Policy Design.

Adapted from Winters synthesized model. Every policy has a particular mix of goals, objectives and instruments in order to reach the stated goals in the policy document. According to Winter (2003) a well designed policy has been crafted with the right goals and values, mixes of policy instruments and target group and implementers access to information on how to execute policies (Winter 1990, cited in Winter 2003 and Kipo 2011) This has been operationalized as the PEDP programs phase I and II performance indicators. The research intended to uncover if the PEDP programs had clear standards and objectives when it comes to providing quality education. These can be of a quantitative or qualitative nature. The research undertaken investigated the central goals in the policy when it came to quality improvements, and measured to what degree there has been a successful implementation of these goals and objectives. In order to uncover this the research undertaken identified the main goals and objectives regarding quality education in primary education in Tanzania. This was be done by a documentary review of relevant documents.

Furthermore the local actors like the; teachers, head teachers, school-board members, Ward Educational Coordinators, District Educational Officers and representatives from the School Inspectorate was interviewed regarding their understanding of the reform goals and objectives. The better the key actors in the implementation process understands the goals and the objectives and have the skills and the motivation to perform their part, the better are the chances of a successful implementation.

2.10.2.3 Inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities

This variable is included in both Van Meter & Van Horns rational model of implementation theory and in Winters Integrated Implementation Model. In order to uncover these issues the researcher focused on the local implementers understanding of the main objectives of the policy, and particularly the goals and means stated in the program for achieving quality education. The research furthermore assessed the local implementers capacity, their willingness to follow through on the

goals regarding the providing of quality education and their will to carry out their functions. Additional questions for the local implementers was how they cooperated locally, and if there aware any challenges when it came to the implementation of the PEDP policy. Local Government Authorities (LGAs) are the urban and rural implementation structures in the Local government system that are meant for consolidating and giving more power to the local people in Tanzania when it comes to participation in the planning and implementation of development programmes within their geographical area. Important local structures and sub-structures are The Ward, The Village/`Mtaa`, the Inspectorate and the School Committees. (Masue, 2010).

Another central question related to Van Meter and Van Horn is in what way the central level controls local level implementation of the reform measures. What sources of power, control and enforcement mechanisms are in place for the central level in order to ensure local compliance with national policies related to quality education?

2.10.2.4 Street-Level Bureaucratic Behaviour of Key Implementers.

In this case it is the teachers potential use of their professional discretion to also be policy makers by themselves (Lipsky 1980). The study aimed to uncover if the teachers as key-implementers of the PEDP reform influenced the impact of the reform measures by their coping behaviour.

2.10.2.5 Target Group Behaviour

According to Winter (2003) a target group is a specific group of people that the reform measures are aimed at. And the target group relate to the policy when they connect with the policy goals and objectives. In this study this is operationalized as the pupils, the parents and other members of the school community`s possible impact on the reform measures in their cooperation with the teachers and the school in co-producing the results. The extent of the pupils cooperation with their teachers and the trust the school and the school-committee received from their community were important indicators here. Other factors that were integrated in the variable was the extent that community members participated in school information meetings and contributed actively towards school development.

2.10.2.6 Resources

Policy resources are recognized as essential factors in the effectiveness of policy implementation (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975: 460-461, Thomas and Grindle (1990), Hogwood and Gunn (1984). As pointed out by the academics above; the financial, human and technical resources available

might hamper or facilitate the effective execution of the PEDP policies.

Financial resources is a critical instrument if policies are to be implemented fully and with sufficient quality. Key academics like Sabatier and Mazmanian (1983) and Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) found that financial resources were important policy instruments in policies in general.

In order to secure a successful educational policy implementation, the financial resources therefore needs to be provided. Financial funds from the government .

According to the government of Tanzania the Capitation Grant that each school receives each year should be sufficient to run the schools effectively and thus provide quality education. The research therefore investigated if the schools received the Capitation Grant in full, and if it came at predictable predetermined intervals. Another question that arose during field work was if the Capitation Grant was realistic for the full funding of sufficient and adequate learning materials. The local capacity to generate additional funds through other contributions were also measured. Teacher houses for the teachers

Furthermore, human resources was operationalized by the teacher pupil ratio at the school, the implementers formal educational level and the in-school training that was given to teachers, head-teachers, ward education officers and school committee members. The research also uncovered which institutional level that controlled the budget, the recruitment of personnel and the promotion of personnel.

A high pass rate and high pupil performance depends upon multiple capacity dimensions. Another one of them is the quantity and quality of the technical resources. Technical resource in this context looks at whether there are present sufficient amount of office space, enough classrooms of adequate standard, if there was a well-equipped science room at each school, adequate numbers of text-books, enough desks for pupils and teachers, access to a school library, computers, internet connections, telephone lines, fax machines, transportation vehicles or fax machines.

2.10.2.7 Socio-Economic Factors

The socio-economic conditions locally and centrally are likely to have an impact, both directly and indirectly on policy implementation effectiveness (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975:450, Sabatier and Mazmanian , 1980: 544).

In this study this was operationalized by examining if the more affluent and well educated urban school community were more positive and contributed more financially towards the running of the schools than the less affluent and less educated clientele in the rural area. Moreover, the research aimed to uncover if the PEDP program was adapted to the more challenging environment in the rural area.

2.11   Conceptual Framework for the Research Study

Figure 5.1 The synthesized model of policy implementation process
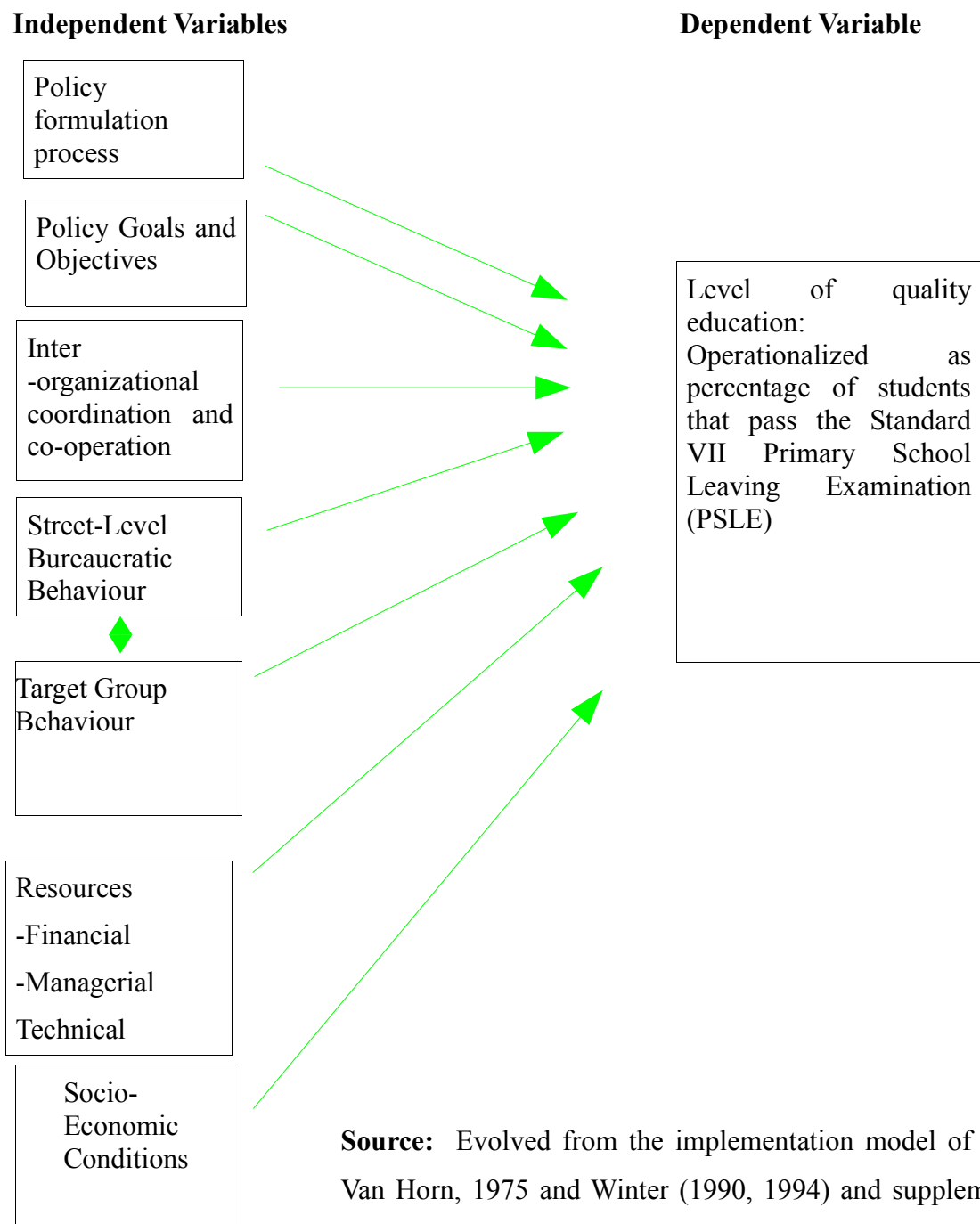
Independent Variables   **Dependent Variable**

Source: Evolved from the implementation model of Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975 and Winter (1990, 1994) and supplemented by other reviewed literature

The connection between the S-LBs and the target group indicates that the two groups influence each other.

Source: Evolved from the implementation model of Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975 and Winter (1990, 1994) and supplemented by other reviewed literature.

2.12   Hypothesis for the Study

An hypothesis is a predicted answer to a research question (Punch 2005). According to Punch; if we have constructed a hypothesis then we can predict the answer to a question. The specific research questions states what we are trying to find out, and the hypothesis *a priori*.

Hypotheses 1: The clearer and more coherent the goals and the means in the policy is stated, and the less conflict that was generated in the policy process, the higher the possibility for a successful implementation of the PEDP reforms.

Hypotheses 2: The degree of successful implementation of the PEDP reforms is dependent upon the level of cooperation, commitment, and coordination between implementing institutions, and the implementers clear understanding of the programs goals and objectives.

Hypothesis 3: If expected reform results are positive and aligned with the mind-sets and professional ethics of the key implementers, the resistance will be small and the PEDP reform is more likely to succeed

Hypotheses 4: If members of the target group, the pupils, the parents and other community members are positive to the reform measures, the reform will be met with positive actions and the possibility of successful fulfilment of the reform measures will be higher.

Hypothesis 5: The degree of successful implementation of the PEDP is dependent upon adequate financial and technical resources as well as sufficient numbers of well qualified implementers.

Hypotheses 6: The better the socio-economic conditions are locally and centrally, the higher the possibility of achieving the goal of providing quality education.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section of the thesis will explain and discuss the methodological choices that has been done and are applied in the research. According to Yin (2003) research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn from the initial questions of study. Research design is also described by many sources as a blueprint for what a researcher are going to do.

The units of analysis will be described, the sample selection method will be commented upon and the methods of data collection and analysis will be identified. Furthermore the chapter additionally sheds light upon the ethical issues that may raise, and arose during field research. The reliability and validity of the research undertaken is also commented upon. Lastly, the chapter describes some challenges the researcher met during field study data collection.

3.1 Research Strategy and Reasoning behind choices.

According to Yin (2003) case study is one of several ways of doing social science research. Other possible methods are experiments, surveys, histories and archival studies. There are particular advantages and disadvantages associated with each strategy. Three conditions decide which research strategy that is most appropriate. These are; the researchers type of research questions, the control the researcher has over behavioural events, and finally the focus on contemporary or historical phenomena (ibid). Some of he same points are made by Ragin (1994) which also emphasises that depending on the position of the researcher there are fundamentally three different research approaches; quantitative, qualitative and comparative research. The main focus of quantitative research is on the quantitative measures that can be counted and aim at testing proposed theories. It follows from this that it entail a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and empirical evidence. Qualitative research on the other hand emphasise words rather than quantitative data in data collection and data analysis, and applies an inductive orientation towards the relationship between theory and empirical evidence Layder (1998, 2005). The third approach is the comparative method Ragin (1994) does criticise the two different paradigms of the qualitative-camp and the quantitative-camp that rivalled each other. Ragins main point is that it is more practical to view the dichotomy between the qualitative and quantitative approach as a continuum. He places the comparative approach in in-between the two other approaches. Based on the points made by Ragin this research sets out without a preference for any of the methods. The assumption is that the method depends on the problem at hand. Which approach can best follow up on the

research questions in the investigation?

The research questions were based on "*how*" and "*why*" questions so that applies for a case study according to Yin. The research study undertaken does not have any control over the behavioural events. The PEDP reform and the people involved carry on regardless of my research. And finally, the focus of the investigation is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context.

An adaptive strategy (Layder 1998, 2005) is applied. According to Layder every research strategy implies use of both deductive and deductive methods. Deductive is theory testing by making hypotheses and using those in order to see if empirical findings can be explained by the pre conceived theory. An inductive or theory-generating approach is usually more explorative with the aim of making new theory without former theoretical propositions. This research make use of both pre-existing theories and hypothesis testing. This is done in order to make the study cumulative.

Most of the data that were needed in order to answer the research questions were of a qualitative nature. Creswell (2003) point out that qualitative researchers primarily are concerned with (1) process (2) meaning; how people makes sense of their life and their experiences (3) that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis (4) It involves field-work (5) it is descriptive since the researcher is interested in the process and (6) qualitative research is inductive. Some of the data in the research are of a more quantitative nature. Use of official statistics during archive research and quantitative numbers when it comes to results on the dependent variable will be necessary to uncover if the reform has succeeded in its main objective of providing quality education. The pupils average national test scores, and the respective schools pass rates are the main quantitative indicators.

To sum it all up: A qualitatively oriented research approach was applied. This was related to the qualitative designs possibility of exploring the real persons in-depth insights and their feelings and opinions towards the qualitative aspects of the PEDP reforms in primary education in Tanzania. The qualitative approach can uncover finer details in the persons beliefs, feelings and experiences that would be hard to detect in-depth with a quantitative framework.

3.2 Operationalizations

Operationalization of the Policy Formulation process was done through a document research of government reports and the review of other research material. The documents gave information about which persons and institutions that contributed towards the making of the PEDP plan, how

they co-produced the program and which important persons and institutions that were left out of the same process. Information from in-depth interviews with local implementers also provided valuable input regarding their role in the decision-making process.

When it came to policy standards and objectives the researcher studied the two original documents of the PEDP, that is the PEDP and the PEDP plans. The PEDP I and II programs again are based on different policies like the PRSP, NSGRP, the MDGs, LGRP and the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 which also were analysed in order to find if the goals and objectives were clear and if there were any consistences in the documents. All this was supplemented by the key-implementers awareness and understanding of the goals and objectives.

Inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities was researched through document review and in-depth interviews. The documents gave both a formal overview of the implementation structures, the hierarchy and the co-operation procedures. In-depth interviews with local implementers gave additional information. These were asked questions about how they co-operated with different organizations and if there were any challenges towards proper co-operation. Street-level bureaucratic behaviour was researched by applying another set of in-depth interviews with local implementers and target group.

Target group behaviour, or the local communities participation in the co-production of quality education. The aim here was to measure the attitudes of the pupils, their parents and other members of the community`s impact on the reform measures.

Documents and in-depth interviews with implementers and target group were done in order to investigate if the necessary PEDP resources were provided as stated in the policy documents and if these again were realistic. Additionally, the resources were specified as financial, technical and human resources. Financial resources were measured in terms of the sufficiency of the total amount of funds towards supporting the school`s planned activities. Technical resources were measured as the adequacy of sufficient teaching materials, classrooms, science rooms, library access and water and electricity. Human resources were measured in terms of sufficient number of adequately qualified teachers, well-qualified school-board members and adequately qualified WECs, DEOs, and school inspectors. Another important aspect of human resources was to uncover which institutions that had the control of budget, personnel recruitment and promotions.

Finally, Socio-Economic factors were operationalized as local context in the two local school districts. The researcher investigated if the difference in average education background, occupation and salary between the rural district of Mvomero and the urban district of Morogoro Municipal had a significant impact on the impact of the reform measures.

3.3 Area of the Study

The field study was undertaken in Morogoro Municipal Council (MMC) and in Mvomero District Council (MVDC). Morogoro Region is one of Tanzanias 30 administrative regions. The regional center and capital is the Municipality of Morogoro. The region is administratively divided into six districts. These are; Gairo, Kilombero, Kilosa, Mvomero and Ulanga. According to the 2002 Tanzania National Census, the population of the Mvomero District was 260,525. At the same time the population of the Morogoro Urban District was 228,863 (2002 Population and Housing General Report).

3.4   Units of Analysis

According to Yin (2003, 2005) the unit of analysis can be an individual, a group, a case, a policy, a program, the economy, an industry or an event. In this case, two school districts within the Morogoro Region are selected. These are the Morogoro urban district (Morogoro Municipal Council) and the Mvomero district (Mvomero District Council) which is a rural district. The SUA Primary School in MMC and Mlandizi Primary School in MVDC are the primary units of analysis. The selected districts are chosen because of resource and time constraints due to the costs of moving around in Tanzania and the additional contacts it would require to choose another part of the country. The researcher was able to meet the necessary persons that could answer the research questions in this area thanks to excellent contacts at the University of Bergen.

The two different districts are sufficiently contrasting when it comes to the rural and urban dimension which is often highly correlated with differences in education and income in Tanzania. The general idea was to contrast the higher socio-economic district of Morogoro MC with the lower socio-economic district of Mvomero DC

3.5 Research Strategy

The study applies a qualitative approach as discussed under section 3.1.

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Individual interviews and personal observations at the research field were the primary sources of data. Document analysis of the process of policy formulation and policy design of the PEDP, PEDP I and II reviews and reports, other relevant policies like the Education and Training Policy of 1995, The LGRP policy, the PEDP I and II documents, and newspaper articles were some of the other sources of secondary data.

3.5.1 Sample Selection and Size

Creswell indicates that is very important for a researcher to identify the population in the study

(Creswell, 2009). However, (Layder 1998, 2005) makes a contrary point by expressing that "there is nothing predetermined about the size of these samples and flexibility is the keynote" (ibid p. 46) The participants were selected on the basis of their function and their ability to provide valuable information. Purposive sampling is the strategy Layder recommends since these are the respondents with rich information.. The initial number of interviewees was 26 as stated stated below. Because of the nature of the data emerged in the study I needed to be flexible and the number of interviewees changed sometimes as new information made other actors relevant in order to answer the research questions. These participants were chosen because they were the persons which are represented in some of the indirect variables of the study (policy makers, mid-level implementers, street-level bureaucrats (teachers) and target group (pupils, parents, community members). The two embedded cases are one school from Morogoro Municipal Council and one School from Mvomero District Council. The two cases provided the researcher with the possibility of comparison and hence triangulation of data. The two schools are both located in the Morogoro region in Tanzania. The selection criteria was that one of the units of analysis would be from an urban area, while the other would be located in a rural area.

Sample size

Morogoro Municipal Council	**Mvomero District Council**
1 Education officer	1 Education officer
1 Ward education coordinator	1 Ward education coordinator
1 school committee (3 participants)	1 school committee (3 participants)
1 Head teacher	1 Head teacher
Teachers (3 participants)	Teachers (3 participants)
Pupils (4 participants)	Pupils (4 participants)1
1 School inspectorate officer	1 School inspectorate officer

3.6 Data collection methods

The most frequently used method of gathering information in social science research is by directly asking respondents to express their views (Bless & Higson-Smith 1995). According to Yin, most popular sources of data are: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artifacts (Yin 2009:101) In order to get a triangulation of sources and get more valid data the researcher opted to use both primary and secondary sources. I furthermore intended to get a triangulation of persons as well by interviewing persons in different positions in the implementation structure. This was done by interviewing implementers in organizations, school supervisors/head teachers, teachers, pupils and school-board members. Direct

observations on the different arenas was conducted in order to supplement the interviews. Finally, data from documents and archives was used to verify and support the interviews.

3.6.1 Face to Face Interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews were made with the; District Education Officers, the Ward education coordinators, selected members of the school committees, head teachers, pupils and an School inspectorate officer from Mvomero. A total of 25 interviews were collected. Some of the respondents became more like informants over time based on the many contact points and the continual dialectic process in the communication between us. The different interviews were semi-structured and this made it possible to change and refine the questions along the way in order to get better and deeper answers. The nature of the most essential questions in the interview-guide were open ended (Creswell 2009) and this gave the interviewees the opportunity to openly express their opinions and concerns relating to the concept of quality education.

3.6.2 Direct Observations

When attending the different school districts the researcher observed the day to day activities of teachers, staff and pupils of the schools. This did provide an additional set of data that filled voids in the data collection. The method was useful in order to uncover some relevant behaviours or conditions for observation (Yin 2009). I observed how teachers and pupils interacted in different contexts. Observation of school facilities like buildings, the school ground, textbooks and desks were also important supplemental data.

3.6.3 Documentary Sources

Data were obtained from various documents (laws, acts, newspaper articles, official statistics, reports, archival records etc. This is the main source for secondary data. School statistics and government websites provided some information. The Municipal Councils school reports, Local Government reports National test-scores etc. gave additional information. There was furthermore a plethora of other sources like donor reports, official statistics and newspaper articles for example. A highly relevant source was the Education Act of 1978 and its 1995 amendment. Other important sources were to some extent: the PEDP reviews, the ESDP, PEDP I and II documents, international reports etc. This information clarified the formal structures and the formal roles of the persons within the same structures. The documentary analysis complemented the primary data collected from the field work.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data was collected by using qualitative methods. The process was recorded and a log was made each day during field research. The interviews were transcribed and multiple sources were applied in order to get a triangulation of the data collected. This point is emphasised by King et al. (1994) who furthermore states that it is important to maximize the validity of measurements and to ensure that the methods of data collection are reliable.

Data analysis additionally involves making meaning out of the text and data collected, making interpretation of the meaning of data (Creswell 2009). The search for patterns, explanations and meanings in the respondents answers and in the archival records was an on-going process throughout the research. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse both written and verbal documents in order to get an interpretation of the meanings behind the data collected. Content analysis refers to the ongoing analysis of communication while reading or listening to text or the word of communication and interpreting and summarizing it. The whole process is categorized by the subjective assessment and evaluation of content and material (Burnham et al, 2008). The study used coding of the data. This was done by applying labels to particular extracts from the interviews in order to be able to identify them as belonging to various descriptive categories (Layder 1998, 2005)

3.8 Addressing the Issues of Validity, Reliability and Generalization

According to Yin (2003 p. 33) there are four tests that can evaluate the research quality of a study. These are; construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. In general validity refers to how the researcher regularly controls for the accuracy of the data collected and the studys findings by the use of certain procedures (Creswell 2009). Regarding reliability this concerns the researchers approach and that it is "consistent across different researchers and different projects" (Gibbs 2007, cited by Creswell 2009.)

Construct Validity

Construct validity is demonstrated by quality empirical research. A researcher can ensure construct validity by "establishing correct operational measures of the concepts being studied" and stating them explicitly to those reading the study (Yin 2003, p 34)

This aspect was evaluated carefully in the study by the continual reviewing of the theoretical implications, and by including all the relevant measures and information. This aspect can be enhanced by using multiple sources of evidence, creating a chain of evidence and the reviewing of the case study report by key informants (ibid.) This was done in the study undertaken.

Internal Validity

In this study the causal relationship between the variables is stated and was tested and controlled for throughout the research period. One can never be sure that there are other critical variables that influence the dependent variable and this was considered from start to beginning. It is important to know that the framework in the research study by no means pretends to be complete. Rather it is a testing of of seven different variables developed from the literature review of the implementation theories. The intention of the research was to test to what extent the success of the PEDP policies were influenced by the selected variables when it came to provide quality education. However, there are several other variables that may impact the quality of education in Tanzania. The main concern though was to find variables that were relevant for the educational context in the country. The variables applied in the theoretical framework are tested for and tried in different contexts and are used in developed and developing countries.

External Validity

This has to do with the possibility of making generalizations of the study. This is hard to do with only two cases being pursued. However, since it is two cases that can give information they can be triangulated and give increased generalization prospects. Analytical generalizations are made from qualitative case studies.

According to Yin (2003) analytical generalization is not generalization to some defined population as in quantitative statistical research, but rather to a theory or phenomenon being studied. In this case this could be to general implementation studies and theory formulation or, contribute to decentralization and local reform studies. The main point is that taken together with additional similar studies one could make certain generalizations.

Reliability

Can a different researcher use the same data and come to the same results. This is hard to do in any qualitative case study. To enhance this very important aspect it is important to transcribe all interviews, record all data collected in a systematic way and make the results public (Creswell 2003). This procedure was followed in this research project. Yin (2009) is an advocate for the use of case study protocol during data collection and to develop a case study data base throughout the subsequent conduct of the case study and not just the research. By ensuring that these measures were implemented in the data collection and data analysis helped in order to minimize distortion of the data and resulting low reliability. The researcher documented the different steps in the research process from start to finish. This consists of the theories employed, the data collection instruments and the discussion and arguments. The different interview guides is attached to the final thesis in

order to make it possible for other researchers to replicate the study or to get deeper insight. The interviews were done by a voice recorder and thereafter transcribed by the researcher. A diary of each day of research was filled with contextual information. The details of the field study was additionally described in a formal research report. The transcribed interviews are preserved and stocked in a safe place. It is therefore possible for other researchers to replicate the study.

3.9   Limitations of the Study

Time limitation was to be something that the researcher considered since I only had 8 weeks to collect all the data. An European researcher in Africa can expect to find some challenges in a different cultural context. There might be challenges to getting information for an outsider. This could possibly lead to problems regarding access to certain organizations and lack of coordination from intended participants. This was not an issue during this field work.

To get access to interviewees at higher levels of government will be an additional challenge. I therefore choose to focus mainly on the local level for the data collection pertaining to doing the interviews.

An additional limitation was language barrier. Most members members of the community do use Kiswahili as their language and did not understand the English research questions. In order to deal with this challenge I used an interpreter to help in data collection with these groups.

3.10   Ethical Considerations in the Research

There are many challenges when it comes to data collection in a research project. Quite a few of these regards the ethical issues a researcher might meet in the research field. The researcher did this by having the research plans reviewed by the mentor and other lecturers at the   University of Bergen. In Tanzania the researcher discussed the questions with the DEOs, the teachers, the Head Teachers and pupils before doing the actual interviews.

Important rights of the participants according to Creswell (2003) are: The right to participate voluntarily and the right to withdraw at any time, that the researcher communicates the purpose of the study, to be explained the procedures of the study, the right to ask questions and have their privacy respected. The researcher furthermore studied the many aspects of the ethical issues in depth and acquired additional information pertaining to local traditions. This was done by pre-interviews with local people and local school personnel. All voice-recordings were done after obtaining the clear consent of the participants, and guaranteeing them that the data would be handled with maximum confidentiality. In addition the privacy and anonymity of individual respondents was communicated to the respondents in order to ensure that they felt free to give their opinions and feelings, and thus also secure ecological validity.

The researcher used the formal procedures with the authorities in order to get the permission to do research. A letter of introduction was produced from the University of Bergen which stated that the research study intended to do research in Morogoro in two schools. The formal procedures continued in Morogoro and Mvomero ii order to get a final official clearance from the LGAs. These documents were provided at the research sites along with the Student Card from the University of Bergen.

3.11   Challenges Faced during Field Study

The main challenge I faced during data collection was the funding part of it. Lånekassen released the funds only days before the field study was finished and I was going back home. Thanks to family and friends generosity I was still able to follow through with the research. However, I had to make up to four interviews a day in Mvomero district due to the costs of financing the translator, hiring a driver and renting a car. It was a constant struggle to transcribe all the voice recordings and to analyse the data on site. As a result of this some of the interviews were transcribed some days later. The data analysis however was continuous   from day one and through the whole process until the finished product.

Due to time constraints I did not get to do the interview with the school inspectorate in Morogoro Municipal.

Some of the pupils were quite anxious in some settings because of the limited space available to do interviews in overcrowded schools. The researcher therefore had to move to different locations to provide a secure environment for these pupils.

Moreover,the first interpretor was not fluent in English and did not have the adequate pedagogical skills to make thorough follow-up questions. All the data from the first interviews were therefore discarded from the research.

CHAPTER 4: POLICY CONTEXT AND MAIN FEATURES OF THE PEDP REFORMS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to describe the policy context of the PEDP reforms, and the main features of the same reforms pertaining to quality improvements in primary education.

The Government of Tanzania has been implementing the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP 1 and II) since 2002. According to the PEDP III document (2012) the program is an effort to translate the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025, the Education and Training Policy (1995), the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) and the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) together with the Education for All (EFA 2000) goals and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) into adequate strategies and actions for the development of pre-primary and primary education (p:3).

4.1   Alignment with other international and national policies.

On the international level the PEDP reforms are aligned with the Education for All (EFA) goals and the Millennium Development goals (MDGs). Tanzania has also ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child and are therefore committed to ensure that there is equity and access to quality primary education for children (ibid.).

Moreover, at the national level, the national policy frameworks being addressed by the PEDP reforms are the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 (formerly the Tanzanian Development Vision 2015), The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), the Education and Training Policy (ETP) 1995 and the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP 2008-2017). In order to put the PEDP reforms into a holistic context a short overview of the key policy documents is provided below.

4.1.1 The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP)

The new NSGRP policy (2006) is aligned with the aspirations of the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 which emphasises high and shared growth, high quality livelihood, peace stability and unity, good governance, high quality education and international competitiveness (URT 2005a). NSGRP builds on the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PSRP) (200/01-02/03, which was the Medium Term Plan for Growth and Poverty Reduction, which emphasized the growth momentum, to fast track the targets of vision 2025 (URT 2005a, cited by Mrutu 2007). Furthermore, the NSGRP

is also linked to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Goals and objectives in the NSGRP which are integrated in the PEDP II plan regarding quality education are: At least 75 % of boys and girls pass Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) by 2010. Moreover to: Improve learning environment of all children in schools with all educational institutions; safe, violence free, child friendly and gender sensitiveness. (PEDP II 2007-20011, P:4)

4.1.2 Universal Primary Education in Tanzania (UPE) 1974.

The government introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) 1n 1974 in order to improve the access for primary education all over the territory. It was firmly based on the United Nations Development goals and aimed at giving every child in Tanzania access to primary education (Njunwa 2010). To facilitate this the government abolished school fees and thus made primary education free for all its citizens within the ages of seven to fourteen.

The background for the UPE goals were that enrolment rates within primary education were falling in the 1990s in most developing countries. This was criticized on a broad basis and led to the first Education for All (EFA) conference (Krohn-Nydal 2008). The emphasis at the conference was on the childrens fundamental right to receive a basic education.

4.1.3 Tanzanian Development Vision 2025

The need to formulate a new and social economic and social development vision for Tanzania emanated from the outcomes of economic reforms, especially those which were pursued from 1986. These social and economic reform measures were taken in response to the economic crisis that had persisted in the country and the world as a whole since the early years of the 1980s. Secondly, the government had realized that earlier development policies and strategies were not in consonance with the principles of a market led economy and technological development occurring in the world (The Tanzanian Development Commission 2025). The government and the society in general realized that the nation lacked direction and a philosophy for long-term development. The new Development Vision 2025 fills this vacuum (ibid.)

The Development Vision 2025 was formulated in 1995. The main intention was to eradicate poverty by 2025. Education is described as the major agent for the transformation of the peoples mindsets, and for the creation of a well educated citizenry adequately equipped with the competences and the knowledge needed to face and solve the development challenges which face the nation locally and as a whole. As a result of these goals the Vision 2025 focuses on restructuring and transforming education   qualitatively,   with a focus on promoting creativity and problem solving. The

Development Vision 2025 devolves power and authority to local actors to own and drive the process. The clear message of the document is that the people closest to the problem or challenge knows the most effective way to deal with it (Masue 2010). In the local context in Tanzania this means that people in local communities and at the local government level are going to decide and implement the PEDP plan.

4.1.4   Education and Training Policy

The Education and Training Policy (ETP, 1995) is the major policy governing the provision of education in Tanzania. The reforms were geared towards enrolment expansion with the main emphasis on equity, quality improvements and capacity building.

The ETP document emphasized the increased role of the private sector, the continued liberalization of the economy, an increased investment in infrastructure and social sectors, and it necessitated a review and restructuring of the educational system (URT, ETP 1995). The new policy was formulated on the background of several reviews, reports and recommendations about the educational system. These internal and external reports were supposed to guide the future development in Tanzania. The policy intentions were to; decentralize education and training by devolving power and authority to the local level. To improve the quality of education by upgrading schools and colleges physical facilities, revise the curriculum, change the examination and certification forms, to improve the teacher training and to improve the supply of teaching and learning materials. Additional features was to expand all forms of provision of education, to promote science and technology, to promote access and equity by making primary education for all a basic right and to broaden the financial base for the financing of the program (ibid.).

The policy is a result of the Globalization Policy which started in Tanzania in Tanzania from 1986 after the country signed an agreement with the IMF and the World Bank. ETP therefore represents a watershed in the political climate of the country. It went from Nyerere`s socialist ideology and policy of Self-Reliance towards western liberalism (Mrutu, 2007).

Related to delivery of quality education, the policy is dedicated to quality improvements, devolution of authority to LGAs, communities and schools and the abolition of fees in primary schools.

4.1.5 Educational Sector Development Programme (ESPD 1997)

The Education Sector Development Programme (ESPD) was formulated in 1996. This is a follow up on the ETP program. The intention was to attend to the existing problems and challenges in the educational sector as a whole (URT, 2001b). The novelty with this new orientation was the sector-wide angle directly linked to the operationalization of the different policies regarding the sub-

sectors in the Education and Training Policy. ESPD attends to all the sub-sectors in the educational system. More specifically, it covers; basic education which consists of; pre-primary, primary, adult, secondary and teacher education, higher education and vocational education of both formal and informal character (ibid.)

In the build up towards the initiation of the ESPD, the government formulated sub-sector master plans like the Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) for primary education, the Secondary Education Master Plan (SEMP) and the Teacher Education Master Plan (TEMP) for teacher training and education. These sub-sector plans again directly led to the creation of sub-sector policies. These were the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) that was initiated in 2001 and the Secondary Education Development Plan (SEPD) which started in 2004 (Mrutu 2007)

Furthermore, the ESPD framework was followed up by several reforms elsewhere in the political system, some of this were the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) and the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP). The LGRP had a clear focus towards improvements in service delivery, more autonomy in decision making, transparency, accountability and good governance (ibid.). The new Local government system was based on the principles of political devolution of power and the decentralization of functions and finances within the framework of a unitary state (URT, 2001b).

The ESPD is also guided by the broader national development strategy of the MKUKUTA program (NSGRP) and the long-term Tanzania Vision 2025. Of special relevance to primary education is the significant efforts made towards the improvements in the delivery of quality education, the focus on increasing access and equity for all the children in the country, the decentralization of management, the formerly mentioned devolution of authority and the intended broadening of the financial base of the educational system (Masue, 2010).

The ESPD objective of improving the quality of the education process is derived from the ETP policy (PEDP II, 2007, P:5)

4.1.6 Local Government Reform Programme

The intention of the Local Government Reform Programme was to be a vehicle through which the Government was promoting and driving the decentralization process. The over-arching goal was to contribute to the national drive towards the reduction of the large proportion of Tanzanian living in poverty. The stated purpose was to devolve political, administrative and fiscal responsibilities from centrally managed to the local level. The rational behind this was to enable and empower Local

Government Authorities (LGAs) to provide this services more effectively than the central level was able to do. Program implementation started on the 1ˢᵗ of January 2000 (Mmari, 2005).

4.1.7   The PEDP Reforms

The Primary Education Development Programme I (2001-2006)

The Government of Tanzania launched the PEDP program in 2001 and the implementation started in January 2002. The main goal of the program was that every eligible child in Tanzania got the best quality education (PEDP II, 2007-2011). The program was a result of the governments efforts to translate the ETP and the ESDP goals into adequate strategies for the development of primary education (ibid.).

The first and highest priority of the Primary Education Development Programme was to increase the overall enrolment of children in Tanzania. The intention was that all boys and girls from the age of 7 to 14 attended primary education. The second priority was to revitalize and to further improve the quality of primary education. This meant to improve the capacity building for teachers, to increase the availability of quality teaching and provide better and more teaching materials. The third priority of the program was to strengthen the institutional capacity and competence of the central and local authorities and at school levels. The last component of the PEDP reform was to optimize the use of human, material and financial resources. The introduction of the PEDP reintroduced universal primary education in Tanzania following the global Education For All program (Chediel, 2009). Through the program school fees were abolished and this was part of the cause of the high net enrolment in primary education.

The PEDP reform is a plan that clearly states the ambition and vision of universal primary education in the context of the wider Tanzanian policy of the Education and Training Policy, the Education Sector Development Programme, the Local Government Reform Programme, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty and the Tanzania Vision 2025 (Mrutu, 2007).

When it comes to the improvements towards higher quality of education the PEDP has a sharp focus on teacher training and education. Parts of this intention will be to build the capacity of teachers by arranging development courses for in-service teachers. The intention is that the teachers will improve and evolve their teaching styles and methods in the classroom so that the learning environment will be better for the pupils (URT, 2001a). Likewise, the pre-service training will be improved in order to educate the substantial number of new teachers which are needed to implement the reform related to the enrolment expansion.

Capacity building is an important program component in the PEDP reform when it comes to enhancing the quality of education. All staff and personnel at each and every primary school in the country are directly responsible for the PEDP implementation were supposed to be given training in order to make sure that they had the skills and competences for participatory, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

The government introduced the Capitation Grant (CG) and the Development Grant(DG) and abolished school fees and enrolment related contributions in order to relieve the parents of the financial burden and thus to enrol all children.

PEDP II (2007-2012)

The Primary Education Development Programme second phase, (PEDP II) was structured within the national overarching government reforms of the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), Public Financial Management Programme (PFMRP) and the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) among other policies. (URT 2006).

Building on the achievements and lessons from the first phase of the PEDP, the second phase reform sought to contribute towards the realization of the long-term goals of the EFA through the implementation of seven program components. These were continued enrolment expansion, quality improvements, capacity building in governance and management, addressing cross-cutting issues, strengthening institutional arrangements, undertaking educational research and conducting educational monitoring and evaluation. In order to accomplish this each component had specific sub-components, strategies and targets to be achieved (URT, 2012). The component on strengthening capacity in governance and management focused on the building of competences of all of the key educational actors in order to secure an enhanced efficiency and a more effective provision of primary education (ibid.)

The overall performance of the PEDP II was rated as unsatisfactory. The components were evaluated by an independent evaluating commission appointed by the government of Tanzania as follows: Satisfactory performance had been achieved in teacher training and when it came to decreasing the pupil retention rate. Moderately satisfactory satisfactory performance were reported for the financing of the programme, when it came to addressing teacher incentives and the implementation measures to handle the cross-cutting issues. Moderately unsatisfactory performance were reported from the results of the capacity building regarding organizational, management and governance. The same applied to teacher recruitment, the conduct of school inspections and promoting pupil enrolment expansions. Unsatisfactory performance were reported from the

achievements in constructing new classrooms, the procurements of desks, the issue of monitoring and evaluation, drop-out rate and generally enhancing learning outcomes (these were pupil completion rates, pass rate and transition rates. Highly unsatisfactory performances were reported in the case of provision of books and the construction of toilets (URT, 2012).

4.1.8 The Capitation Grant

When the government of Tanzania introduced a free and universal primary education in 2002 through the PEDP program, it had a particularly important innovation: the capitation grant (Policy brief TZ.08/2010E). The main intention for introducing the grant was to compensate the schools for the abolition of school fees and to improve the quality of education by making resources available at school level (ibid.).

However; the intention of allocating 10 US dollars per pupil has never been fulfilled. Various reports indicate that the full capitation grant of 10 US dollars is yet to reach the school level (Makengo, HakiElimu 2003). Secondly; even if the money were supplied in full the money would not be sufficient to cover the real cost of learning materials. Thirdly; the actual capitation grant expenditure is less than what is allocated in the budget. And finally; the disbursements are so unpredictable that proper planning is not possible (Policy Brief TZ. 08/2010E).

4.1.9 The main objectives of the PEDP reform regarding quality education.

According to the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) which started its implementation phase in July 2001, there were four major components of the plan; enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building and institutional arrangements (URT 2006). The quality improvement issues were related to human resources including teachers teaching competences, pedagogical styles and methods, teaching and learning resources. Teaching and learning resources were operationalized as the supply of adequate textbooks and other learning materials (ibid.).

According to the government of Tanzania; (ESPD 2008) "The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training is committed to ensuring provision of quality primary education to all as this is the most reliable process of putting opportunities directly into peoples hands. In doing so MoEVT collaborates with the PMO-RALG, which oversees the decentralization of Education service delivery by Local Government Authorities (LGAs)".

The PEDP II document lists some operational education targets for the 2007-2011 period. The ones that are directly linked to quality improvements are the NSGRP targets of raising the PSLE pass rate towards at least 75% by 2010 and: "To improve the learning environment of all children in schools with all educational institutions; safe, violence free, child friendly and gender sensitiveness;" (URT

2006b, p. 4) In the same document there is a reference to Tanzanias commitments to international education goals and targets. "Tanzania is committed to Education for All (EFA) targets set by the 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for all." The main quality component listed under this section of the document is; *"improve all aspects of the quality of education and ensure excellence",* on page 3. (URT 2006b). Other factors in the PEDP document that are central to quality performance are listed in section 4.2.3 `Curriculum Development and Assessment` on page 21 which puts forward a strategy of: "Improve quality of examinations by making them gender sensitive and competence and learner centred". Furthermore, on page 22 there is a reference to the Capitation Grant that is set as Tshs. 10.000 per pupil, and "*Lower the current average of Book-Pupil Ratio (BPR) from 1:3 in 2005 to 1:1 in 2010.*" Under section 4.3.1 `Governance and Management training`, on page 24 two of the strategies to ensure quality is; "*Allocate USD 500 per school to enable training of School Committee members;*" and "Build capacity for head-teachers and WECs to enable them to handle management issues in schools within their areas of jurisdiction;"(URT 2006b)

According to the MKUKUTA II document (p: 64) quality education is defined as; `Quality education encompasses improvements in physical infrastructure, teaching and learning materials, human resources and school governance- It also includes quality teaching and learning environment to motivate learning, and development of reading, strategic thinking, communication, and problem solving skills and culture.

4.2   Summary

This chapter has given an oversight of the main reforms and policies that the PEDP reforms are based on. The chapter has shown that several national reforms in Tanzania, financed by donor organisations shapes the PEDP policies. The qualitative aspects of the PEDP reforms were also stated and defined.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0   Introduction

This chapter aims to present the analysis of the data gathered from the field research in Tanzania and the key research findings. The main objective of the research undertaken is to explore the impact of the PEDP reform policy on the ground in the country and how it played out in Morogoro District.

The research has been structured by a modified model of Soren Winters Synthesized Implementation Framework. Central contributors to the theory were Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), Thomas and Grindle (1990), Lipsky (1980) and Winter 2003.

The data analysis is a result of the interviews with key implementers at the local level, pupils bureaucrats and government officials combined with document search. When it comes to the process of analysing the recorded interviews, it was done by transcribing all the interviews into large text-files and then to identify and uncover patterns in the data. The researcher then aimed at making meaning of the collected data and to build a chain of evidence based on the original six research questions.

The main purpose of the study was to uncover if the PEDP reforms in Tanzania has contributed to providing quality education. It sought to uncover which factors that contributed towards the successful implementation of the PEDP measurements regarding quality education, and the main challenges towards successful implementation. This chapter aims to present the findings in the study in relation to the six research questions that were stated in chapter 1.

The first part of this chapter attempts to explore if the policy formulation process of the PEDP has had any implications for the later implementation process.

The second part of the research aimed to investigate how the design of the policy affects the implementation of the PEDP reforms. This was sought to be uncovered by asking the local implementers about their understanding of the main objectives of the PEDP when it comes to providing quality education. It also focused on the same implementers capacity, their willingness to execute the goals in the policy and their willingness to carry out their functions.

The third part of the findings and analysis investigates how the local organizational structures of coordination and co-operation influenced the implementation of the PEDP policy and which challenges the policy were met with regarding this issue in the implementation phase.

The fourth part explore if and how the key-implementers, the teachers used their professional discretion and in that case also became policy makers. The rationale behind this was that the teachers professional discretion gave them a possibility to tweak and affect the reform measures.

The fifth part investigates whether the receivers of the service (the target group) have an impact on the outcome of the implementation of the reform. These are the pupils, their parents and other members of the community. The extent of the pupils cooperation with their teachers and the trust the school and the school committee received from their community were important indicators here.

The sixth part of the analysis will explore whether the availability of financial, human and technical resources were adequate in order to carry out the full implementation of quality education according to the PEDP measures.

Finally, the different socio-economic settings of the school districts were analysed in order to see if these had an impact on the implementation of the reform.

5.1. The policy formulation process

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, Winter (1990, 2003) remarks that: "The roots of implementation problems can often be found in the prior policy process". Another factor that may affect policy implementation is if conflicting interests among the actors in the policy formulation phase created a policy design where the goals were ambiguous.   Thus, the author intends to explore if any actions or non-actions in the policy formulation process has any implications regarding the implementation of the PEDP program.

According to MoEC 2001, in the production of the PEDP I in 2001 significant attempts were made by MoEC to develop a more inclusive planning approach. This brought together interested parties from development partners, civil society organizations (CSOs), non-government organizations (NGOs), and other community-based organizations (CBOs) into a series of technical working groups (MoEC 2001). However, according to Sumra (2003) there was little involvement from local practioners and participation from the community was non-existent. Another study by Kuder (2005) concludes that external donors which were providing most of the funding got a disproportionate

influence regarding the policy options that were considered. The World Bank took the lead in framing the Local Tanzanian challenges in education; "skewed both the report and subsequent planning discussions towards problems linked with the achievement of externally generated targets that can be statistically measured (Kuder 2005: 166). Chediel (2009) found in his study that: "*educational reforms in the primary education sub-sector were developed by a team involving external teams and internal teams consisting of members from the donor community*". According to the same study an official from MoEVT stated; "*All education reforms need funding from outside to implement them, so donors have to agree on what you want to reform before they give you funds to implement the reform*" (ibid.) Vavrus and Moshi (2009) describes the current set of reforms in Tanzania as rooted in the policies of the debt relief for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative (IMF & IDA, 1999, p.37). This was an initiative that was co-produced by the IMF and the WB in 1996. In order to get debt relief every country had to develop their own Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which clearly states how the government will re-allocate the funds they otherwise would pay on international loans.

According to Manyelezi (2011) the new aid modality with more of the donor support received in the form of General Budget Support (GBS) has made the central government more powerful in terms of centralized decision making and control of policies. This has left actors such as local government, civil society and local communities with little control. An example of this is that the government decided to change certain primary school text-books. The procedure the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training followed in order to make the change was not transparent. MoEVT did not inform donors or CSOs about the change before after it was implemented. The Government felt able to make a decision unilaterally and it was a top-down decision indeed (Manyelizy (2011:54). Moreover Manyelizy found that district level government and civil society are left out of the policy-making process and that a consequence of this district governments face limited resources and top-down guidelines. This are consistent findings with the in-depth interviews with the DEOs at Morogoro Municipal and Mvomero District where the DEOs expressed that their role as DEOs was to facilitate, oversee and report what happens locally to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

According to a report by HakiElimu 2012; "School Children and National Examinations: Who Fails Who?" on page 15 there is a section regarding teachers` involvement in curriculum development and examination setting. Basically it points out that; "*Curriculum development process requires that the key stakeholders such as teachers should be fully involved in the development and implementation process. When teachers are adequately involved on the development of the curriculum, they tend to implement the curriculum more enthusiastically and optimistically*" (Rampsarad, 2001, cited by HakiElimu 2012). The same report states that generally, teachers

reported that they are seldom involved in the curriculum development process. Moreover, that the curriculum they implemented was prepared in a top-down approach that in many cases is not relevant to their context and they do not feel part of it.

A research undertaken by Mrutu (2007) in Tanzania found that teachers were not involved at the initial stage of PEDP reform preparations, meaning design and planning. And that teachers were just implementing what they had been asked to do by the central authorities. Furthermore, that the same teachers were not involved in decision making concerning the issues regarding to educational quality improvement. Mrutu cites in her concluding chapter from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2003) which states:

"*The isolation of teachers from the program design and development process has the effect of weakening the political legitimacy of many reform programs in basic education and further tends to result in programs that lack relevance and practical application in such areas as teacher training, material development and curriculum reform*" (ibid. p:27). This may be illustrated by finding from Mmuya and Hyden (2008) that indicate that the view of the general Tanzanian public is that: `*most public policies are implemented in arrogant fashion by alienating citizens and that in most cases the government listens only to donors while ignoring the role of internal stakeholders*`, cited by Babeiya 2011.

The finding above shows that the government were influenced by external forces during the policy formulating process, that it was top-down engineered and that there could be ambivalence when it comes to certain goals in the policy because the government were heavily dependent upon donor financing. Moreover, that the government of Tanzania has gained strength in the recurrent policy making and implementation of the PEDP reforms. This findings are consistent with the majority of informants from the local implementation structure which are very clear that the government never asked about their input neither in the policy formulation process nor in the implementation phase.

5.2   policy goals and objectives

Any policy or reform needs performance indicators that are specified in detail and time in order to be clear and operational. The study of implementation requires that goals and objectives can be identified and measured since "implementation cannot succeed or fail without a goal against which to judge it" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: xiv, cited by Van Meter and Van Horn 1975).

5.2.1   Documentary research regarding goals and objectives

PEDP 1

During archive studies the researcher did an interesting observation. After carefully examining the

PEDP official document; `Status of Implementation of Primary Education Development Plan` (PEDP), (URT 2006b), the researcher only found the objective of quality improvement described as one of the four core objects of the plan in the beginning of the document (p 2.) Later on quality is only mentioned as one of MoEVTs responsibilities (quality assurance) (ibid.). However, when it comes to the formal description of the key achievements the quality gains reported are all quantitative, such as; improved book/pupil ratio and improved infrastructures. There is no information about teacher methods or outcomes there. When the documents sums up with the key lessons learned there is no references for quality. The document moreover states the main challenges to reform objectives, and the quality issues is not once mentioned directly. Finally, the new strategies to overcome the challenges smooth implementation of the reform are stated. The reference to the goal of improving the teaching methods of the teachers are not commented upon. This is supported by the PEDP II document that states that: `Over the past five years, PEDP I focused mainly on enrolment expansion with little attention paid to quality aspects`(URT 2006b) . This is evidence for weak focus on the quality improvements that are not of a quantitative nature in PEDP I.

Other sources that makes the same points as above are King (2003) and Durkin (2003). Durkin comments the downside in the PEDP implementation when it comes to the quality related issues. He states that on page 42 that: `Though policies and planned targets for the access and quality improvement components were developed concurrently and given equal weighting in the PEDP plan, programmes and actions relating to quality improvement have been accorded lesser priority compared to elements of the access component; implementation of quality improvement strategies in the area of teaching and learning at teacher college and school levels, as well as the capacity development of key cadres at the district, ward, school and community levels, has seriously lagged behind infrastructural developments`. The author moreover states that the quality improvement programmes and strategies developed during the PEDP has been mainly in the traditional `ìnput` areas of the quality education input-process-outcome framework espoused by EFA (Unesco 2003:81). And, that very little attention has been paid to the development of strategies to enhance competencies and management/leadership skills of the change agents at various levels in the system who deal directly with the `process` part of the quality framework (Durkin 2003). Durkin makes a point out of stating that even though PEDP (MOEC :9) identified the teacher as a major change agent and critical to the successful implementation of quality education, the teacher does again appear to be a silent, un-regarded, undervalued and much put-upon onlooker in the unfolding reform process (ibid.). King (2003) emphasise the lack of a clear vision for quality education in the PEDP goals. According to him this affects the implementation process in two ways. Firstly, it reinforces the perception that access and expansion goal are `hard` and achievable while quality

goals are `messy` and distant. Secondly, it enhances the tendency to see monitoring of quality interventions and outcomes as an reactive event rather than as a proactive instrument built into the process from the beginning (Durkin, 2003), (King, 2003).

PEDP II

Regarding the qualitative aspects of the policy there exists different sources that appears to be somewhat unclear. The researcher finds the intentions more or less clear if you read several documents together, but some of the documents could have been more specific about particularly the delivery of education by the teachers.

According to the PEDP II Evaluation Report (p. ix) the quality component had the objective of providing improved quality of teaching and learning and promoting of quality in order to enhance learning outcomes. The factors addressed were the process of teaching and learning, training and improvement of teachers and improvement of the quality of human resources for managing the education process (ibid.) The process of teaching is not specified in the report, only that the reform aims to improve the quality of teaching and learning processes, and the competence based curriculum is only mentioned twice. The examinations are meant to be based on the competence based curriculum and when it comes to the necessity to provide clearer guidelines that address the apparent confusion and the inadequacies related with the implementation of the competence based curriculum`(ibid.).

In the original PEDP II document (URT 2007), Quality education is supposed to be delivered through a conducive learning/teaching environment for students and teachers (P:12). On page 12 under the Pre-primary section it is mentioned that the program will promote a participatory teaching process. In section 4.2.3 on page 21 the documents points out that the examinations shall be learner centred and competence based.

Furthermore, according to the 2010-11 Annual Education Sector Performance Report, quality improvement is the major component which focuses on improved teaching approaches and methods in the classrooms. Quality delivery of teaching is mentioned throughout the document, but never operationalized.

According to the PEDP II Evaluation Report (2012) The PEDP II planned to recruit a 51510 new teachers between 2008 and 2011. The actual number of new recruits were 17351 which is 33.7 percent of the programs target for the period. The same report shows that in-school training of teachers were done on a large scale during the period and better teachers were recruited. The results of this was that the amount of well qualified Grade A teachers increased by 52 percent. Regarding the national teacher-pupil ratio which has a national target of 1:40 there was a marginal improvement from 1:52 to 1:48.

The NSGRP (MKUKUTA) goal of a improving the learning environment of all children in schools with a safe, violence free, child friendly and gender sensitive environment is part of the PEDP II program (P.4). There is however no clear operationalization of how and what exactly this signifies in the PEDP programs.

All in all, the program is clear on the quality inputs needed, particularly when it comes to infrastructure and upgrading of teachers skills. It is also clear when it comes to outcomes regarding the level of outputs that it wish to accomplish. There are targets for PSLE pass-rate that are time bound. When it comes to the link between the output and the ultimate outcomes of delivering a highly educated population that possess the gift of critical thinking skills, and that can compete in a globalized community the link is more diffuse. This means that regarding the delivery part, the teacher pedagogy in the classroom the PEDP document is like more of a black-box. Quality outcomes are expected without a clear specific focus on the teaching process.

Goals for improving the learning environment. PEDP II, Quantitative goals

In 2010/2011 the quality components were addressed like this (2010-11 Annual Education Sector Performance Report). The Capitation Grant (CG) was set to Tsh. 10000 and on average Tsh. 2769 of the allocated budget were disbursed nationally per pupil. The Book Pupil Ratio (BPR) was set to 1:1. Furthermore as mentioned above the TPR was set to 1:40. Additionally a target of building 21.936 teacher houses annually was set, 293 of these were actually built in 2010. According to the same document 17864 pit latrines were planned and 117 actually constructed (P.45) Lastly, the fabricated desks were 6502.

Pass rate target of 75% percent at the PSLE is set by 2010 (PEDP II). This goal is concrete and very measurable. It is easy to measure if reform outcome is successful when a goal is this concrete. The problem for future references comes to the changing of evaluation standards. In 2012 NECTA changed the examination form at the PSLE testing to a multiple choice format that makes it hard to compare the earlier pass results with the new ones.

Summing up; There has been a focus on quantitative inputs in first phase of the PEDP reform that overshadowed the quality aspects when it came to outputs.

The quantitative targets and goals of PEDP II were operationalized and given a time frame. There still exists some uncertainties though because the targets do not seem realistic when the results are so meagre on several of the parameters. One may communicate the measures consistently, but when people see the results on the ground they find it confusing. The qualitative aspects of the delivery of education is not sufficiently operationalized in the PEDP documents.

5.2.2 Interview with key local implementers regarding clarity of policy objectives.

The local implementers interviewed were; teachers, head teachers, school-committee members, Ward Educational Coordinators, District Educational Officers and representatives from the School Inspectorate. The respondents were asked regarding their understanding of the reform objectives.

Field data content analysis found that the quantitative aspects of the reform were adequately understood by Head Teachers, teachers, WECs, DEOs, and SCMs. All of the interviews with these actors were full of information about different quantitative inputs of the PEDP reforms. Some of the teachers and SCMs thought that the reform was over. One teacher pointed out: "*During the PEDP reform there were built some buildings and we had more books and chalk*". This shows that there is a lack of continuity of the communication chain in the reform process. The pupils did not have any awareness of the reform measures. Furthermore, all of the interviews includes that the book ratio is far from the goal of 1:1. The respondents indicate that it is from at the best of 1:5 and up to 1.12. The size of the classes of the teachers interviewed are from 55 to 129. Far from the national standard of 1:40, There is one teacher house at each school. The intention of the program is to provide housing for all the teachers that needs it, particularly in rural areas. There is a lack of desks at each school and few have been provided the last years.

The teachers and Head Teachers indicate that this makes the program confusing. One teacher points out: "*We have had this program for more than a decade now. Very few of the goals seems realistic, and the words on the paper don`t mean anything to me anymore*".

Regarding teaching methods. Most of the teachers were aware of the new competence based curriculum and the participatory method of teaching. Only the Head Teachers and a select few teachers did have a thorough understanding of it though. There was no evidence at any of the schools for other participatory methods than teacher initiated ones. This means that no questions originated from the pupils. The teachers were the focal point during all these classes. Moreover, the use of participatory methods were actively used by a minority of the teachers. This is indicated by the interviews with the pupils at the schools that mostly indicated passive teacher oriented instruction from the blackboard. There was no clear understanding among the teachers regarding competence based teaching or curriculum. The answers from the interviews indicated no deep understanding of the concept except for the same group mentioned above. One of the teachers explained; "*The Government did not involve the teachers during the program. Even the teachers themselves did not understand the program well. The Government did not communicate clearly what the core objects were. Therefore it existed a lot of misunderstanding.*" When probed further

about constructivist approaches most of the teachers say that this is not realistic in this context. A typical comment from one of the teachers were: "*Please understand, constructivist approaches are not possible with 88 pupils in my class. The number of pupils has increased and this makes it unrealistic.*" An interview with a school committee member indicated that proper communication of the reform measures has not been taken. He pointed out:

"Now we take this programs from Holland, Switzerland, the World Bank, the UN. I don`t care. The teachers are not trained to accommodate the programs. Capacity building has not taken place. Now, we come up with something new. And what you do is; you bring a book with ready made answers and you give it to the teachers: Go and teach!. But for Gods sake, this guy is not trained how to adopt what you want him to adopt. The thing is, not even the educational officers knows exactly what to tell this guy (teacher)".

Some of the teachers interviewed expressed that the competence based curriculum with the objective of educating critical independent thinkers was confusing. One teacher pointed out;

"I think the way the examination system works is inconsistent with the goal of educating critical thinkers. The PSLE test which since 2011 is a multiple choice test and is not really suited to measure critical thinking skills. In mathematics the pupils are not asked to show any calculations and they are not deducted points for marking the wrong answer. This leads to pupils guessing and the pupils might pass the test without any mathematical skills whatsoever. This taken together with the PSLE as the only measurement of the pupils abilities leads to teachers "teaching for the test" and pupils being lazy and not learning how to apply their fractional knowledge. The PSLE does not make the pupils construct a single sentence whether it is in English or Kiswahili. How easy is it to make the pupils write anything in English when they know that they will not have to write anything on the big all important test?" Another teacher expressed; "How do we even know that a pupil can write a newspaper article when the PSLE tests does not ask the pupils to construct an actual one?"

This was confirmed as a problem for many of the teachers in the classroom and for the motivation of the pupils for homework. The pupils interviewed also expressed that this is something that is confusing for them. They added that all of the focus of the pupils was on the final test and this led to many pupils being complacent with their studies until the final grade.

The field data does also show that corporal punishment is part of standard routine in Morogoro region. The practice of institutionalized corporal punishment seems to be in conflict with the

objective of a safe, violence free and child friendly environment.

Very few of the respondents are aware of this formulation in the PEDP documents. During the interviews with the teachers, school committee members and pupils at the two schools there were clear evidence of institutionalized punishment. The Head Teachers had to accept to the use of punishment and formally note it in a particular protocol. This practice created problems between the school and the teachers and the pupils of the parents. One School Committee Member said; "Sometimes the father of the punished pupil comes to the school and starts to fight with the teachers". There seems to be a weak understanding about what a child centred violence free environment actually is in the PEDP document. In no part is it further explained or operationalized what actions that are appropriate or not appropriate in the documents. Clear evidence of this is seen on the ground at the two schools. Some of the pupils said that corporal punishment was making them very afraid of the teachers and that it was detrimental to their learning process.

During document researcher it was uncovered that in the Teacher Colleges (TCs) in Tanzania many of the tutors expressed a frustration with the lack of clear policies on teacher education, poor remuneration, uncertain promotion aspects, and poor working conditions (Hardman et al. 2012). The same study also concluded that none of the (TCs) they visited had any "strong professional links with schools and currently they play little role in curriculum development and implementation at school level (Hardman et al. p. 833). Furthermore they found that: `The current teacher education curricula suffer in varying degrees from a lack of integration of theory and practice, and a failure to address the everyday realities of the Tanzanian primary classroom. Written materials for trainers and trainees have often been in short supply and derived from a variety of sources which lack coherence or consistency in approach` (ibid.)

Conclusion: On the ground there is a weak understanding of the qualitative measures of the PEDP plan such as the competence based curriculum, a child friendly and violence free environment There is ambiguity in formulation in the PEDP documents when it comes these quality measures because they are not operationalized in the original documents.

5.3 Inter-organizational communication and enforcements activities.

In order for the PEDP reform to be effectively implemented the standards and objectives pertaining to quality education need to be adequately understood be the persons responsible for its execution. Above all, it is of critical importance that the reform measures pertaining quality of education are clear and unambiguous, that they are communicated with accuracy to the implementers and that they are consistent over time and by different sources (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975, p. 466). This way the different levels and actors of the implementation structure will know what is expected of

them and what they will be accountable for. The authors additionally points out that communication within and between organizations is a complex process, and that the transmitting of orders and messages downward, or to another organization inevitably will be distorted (ibid.)

Another task in the research was to uncover what sources of power, control and enforcement mechanisms that are in place for the central level in order to ensure local compliance with national policies related to quality education?

The documents research found that there is a large complex of government structures at local, regional and central level that has different roles in the implementation of the PEDP reforms. At the central level the responsibility of MoEVT is to formulate policy, quality assurance, setting standards, planning, monitoring and evaluation (EcomResearch Group 2012) Five core support institutions help to facilitate the delivery of quality education. These are: The Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) which are responsible for developing curricula and production of teaching materials. The National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) which arranges examinations and produce the examination materials. The Agency for development of Education Management (ADEM) which trains educational managers and supervisors. Tanzania Library Services (TSL) and the Institute for Adult Education (ibid.) The Permanent Secretary (PS) was responsible for providing strategic leadership of the PEDP II implementation. The PS was assisted by the PEDP-coordinator who had the additional responsibilities of coordinating PEDP II implementation and facilitating consultations with NGOs, Development Partners and other stakeholders.

5.3.1 Inter-organizational communication and enforcements activities at the central level

According to the PEDP II Evaluation report released in 2012 by URT (URT 2012) there were clear efforts made during PEPD II design to align some ministries, especially the Ministry of Finance, PMO-RALG and MoEVT regarding coordination of roles and responsibilities. Furthermore, efforts were made to align the program with other overarching Government reforms like the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), the Public Financial Management Reform Programme (PFMRP), and the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) (ibid.)

"The PMO-RALG was to work in collaboration with MoF and MoEVT to develop an implementation strategy towards harmonization of the education grant system and LGAs grant system in context of the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP)" (URT 2012, p.21). A

coordination challenge arises because the Decentralization by Devolution (D-by-D) policy which devolves functions from central to local and regional level has not been implemented as stated in the policy documents. Related to primary education this means that some of the responsibilities regarding the management of the education sector such as recruitment, transfers, discipline, promotions among other functions have been allocated across different agencies and institutions at central level (ibid.). The result of this is that the existing decentralized structure appears to pose some coordination problems especially between the MoEVT and PMO-RALG, and this is particularly related to the areas of planning, resource allocation and management of primary school teachers (ibid.) According to Nkyabonaki (2012) the hiring of teachers to implement the curriculum is a function of politics. The employment of teachers is governed by different ministries. A primary school teacher is responsible to the Ministry of Educational Training, the Ministry of Finance and to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government. This kind of political arrangement increases the difficulties when it comes to implementing the curriculum. These arrangements are politically motivated for they have an implication on power (ibid). The bigger the unit of command the more victims of power, thus increase the potential of professionalizing experts and elevate the image of politicians in the curriculum process. Nkyabonaki moreover adds that the School Inspectorate also is affected by politics.

Chediel (2009) found that power and decision making in MoEVT remained heavily concentrated at the higher echelons of the organizational structure (URT, 1998, cited by Chediel 2009). That study as well uncovered that the government of Tanzania did not fulfil its D-by-D principles when it came to decentralization of responsibilities, powers and resources, and that top-down patterns of control and communication of decisions still prevail with limited delegation of authority (ibid.).
According to Chediel the above mentioned situation exists because: "there are no formal delineation of roles and responsibilities for most education managers." (Chediel 2009, p. 58).

According to the Local Government Reform Programme II (URT 2009) there are major challenges when it comes to the coordination and integration of cross sectoral reforms at Ministries, Departments and Agencies, Regional Administration and LGAs. Some of these challenges are; The lack of commitment from top leadership, both political and technocratic in the MDAs. Empire building and protection by senior officers in MDAs. The issue of capacity constraints regarding inadequate skilled staff, weak systems and tools needed for coordination and integrated implementation. And, the lack of effective systems for coordination and integration.

Furthermore, The Assessment Report for the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (URT

2007: p.3) is very clear when it expresses concerns about devolution of education in Tanzania. It points out: "*...,the pace and effort to embark on serious decentralisation by devolution in the education sector have been rather dissipated and lackadaisical because of an unyielding centralist legal framework as manifested in the Education Act, No.25 of 1978 and its subsequent amending Act. No 10 of 1995. The provisions and consequential institutions have fettered policy actions to embed D by D principles in the education sector..*"

Moreover, critical comments are also fronted in another government report (the Draft Capacity Building Strategy for Basic Education, URT 2009) which expresses that according to the stakeholders within the field of basic education the provision of capacity building is either lacking or is inadequate for teachers, tutors and education managers (p:9) and that; "*the desire to provide capacity building inn all its forms and aspects as evidenced in all the policy documents has not been translated into a coherent strategy and has therefore remained ad-hoc, is not adequately co-ordinated, and is not comprehensive. There is an absence of any overall strategic plan.*" Another finding in the same document is that there is an issue with the decentralization by devolution policy. It states; "The REOs and DEOs are the representatives of the Commissioner of education and are therefore the custodians of the Education Act and they would be expected to promote adherence to its provisions. However, in practice and as indicated elsewhere in this report this is not the case. Forces beyond their control and external pressure make them bend the rules and not abide by the Act.", (p. 21) on page 22 the report sums up that; "The capacity of school inspectors in terms of working tools and provision of transport have been identified as contributing to weak fulfilment of the Education Act." Another matter related to co-ordination is the position of the Ward Education Office. In the same report it is stated that both the Education Act and the Local Government Act are silent about the position, the roles and the responsibilities of the Ward Education Office and that this has to be legally established as part of the Decentralization by Devolution framework. As in other reports it concludes with the statement that embedded bureaucracies of parent/sectoral ministries do not easily relinquish power. The reason for this is the central bureaucrats low opinion of the lower ranks of the government capacity regarding service delivery.

Finally, the report explains that there is a challenge of poor communication between PMO-RALG and MoEVT which often is a result of the complex reporting modality. Another point is the location of PMO-RALG at Dodoma which is geographically far from the location of MoEVT in Dar es Salaam and other key ministries. This means that the PMO-RALG risks being excluded from key decision making processes. And that, the attempts to implement D by D have given rise to tensions between PMO-RALG and sector ministries like MoEVT because of a common understanding and consensus regarding what has to be done cooperatively. Likewise, there is some

uncertainty about the new roles and responsibilities of MoEVT, a general reluctance towards giving up existing powers and resources and an overall lack of confidence on the ability of LGAs ability to manage. Other factors are the teachers dissatisfaction with the ability of the LGAs to manage their affairs. There is a systematic problem at every level; "*the Ministries do not trust the ability of LGAs and likewise LGAs do not trust the ability of Ward to deliver and also the ability of schools to be accountable.*"

Another challenge when it comes to coordination of the PEDP program was that 40percent if the disbursed capitation grant did not reach schools in time (REPOA 2004, 2009). A major part of the problem was that the system was overly complex and where the single grant was disbursed by multiple ministries using different criteria, time-frames and mechanisms (p.6) And this created a `spaghetti-like-mess`that made it impossible for even the most diligent administrators to know what was going on and follow up (ibid.)

A recent research study of basic education in Tanzania undertaken by HakiElimu (2012) points out that; "*Teacher`s also observed that, while the focus of the curriculum has recently changed from content to competence based, they had never been given any orientation on the philosophy of this curriculum and how to implement it in the actual classroom teaching. As a result teachers were implementing the curriculum based on their own experiences. Indeed, many teachers expressed that they were not even clear with the concept of competence based curriculum.*"

Moreover, a research study by REPOA (2012) about local government management structures within primary education found that PEDP has increased school autonomy, but the role of local governments at district, ward and village levels relating to the delivery of primary education remained unclear. And, that interference by the District Primary Education Office, Ward Education Coordinators and village government officials have been creating tensions between the school committee members and the teachers. Finally it concludes with: "The school committee is the lynch-pin of the success of the PEDP at the community level (Tanzania Education Network, 2003), but members do not have full mandate on school management".

According to the Draft Capacity Building Strategy for Basic Education (PMO-RALG 2009) the analysis of the context of education concludes that it exists a; "range of capacity challenges that compromise of administration under-performance, infrastructural deficiencies, supply inadequacies, and non compliance to the D by D policy as well as the education minimum standards of achieving quality in enrolment and quality outputs and overall ability to meet individual expectations, National Poverty Reduction expectations and international targets. This far, the Nation`s desire to provide capacity for the education sector as articulated end embodied in many Government policies

has been eluded (Ibid p:6).

Monitoring of Teaching and Learning Activities

Monitoring and evaluation is a key role in ensuring effective effective implementation of the PEDP II within the framework of planned targets. It also provides feedback to education agencies, managers, school owners and educational actors at basic education and vocational training levels on how the program is implemented (URT, 2008).

A problem persists when it comes to the monitoring of schools and teachers. Objective: There will be a school inspection at a minimum of every two years (By 2006, 35 percent of primary schools were inspected (URT, 2006, p.82). Currently, 37.4 percent of primary schools that are targeted are inspected in a given year (URT 2014). This shows that nationally the government has problems with implementation of the stated goals of an inspection of all schools biannually.

Capacity building

The PEDP II evaluation report states that there is a gap in governance and management skills among curriculum implementers, Including school committees, Head Teachers, teachers, WECs, TRC coordinators as well as councils, regional and national levels. Reports shows that school committees were trained in 2003 (PEDP III, 2012:30). This shows that systematized capacity building has not taken place over the life span of the PEDP reforms.

5.3.2 Inter-organizational communication and enforcements activities at Local level in Morogoro Region.

In order to uncover these issues the researcher asked the local implementers how they understood the quality aspects of the PEDP reform how, they cooperated locally, and if there were any challenges when it came to the implementation of the PEDP policy. Moreover the research uncovered the central local relationship regarding the enforcement of the PEDP policy.

All of the four interviewed school committee members at Mlandizi primary school (rural) reported that a lot of the citizens of the local community saw them as colluding with the school administration and the teachers in order to misuse government funds for the school. There was generally low trust between the parents of the pupils and the local school committee, the teachers

and its administration. The low trust climate made it harder for the school to secure more resources from the parents locally and the low level of community engagement reduced the local community`s monitoring of the local school activities. The extreme poverty locally gives extra operational challenges for the school committee because the school committee members are hungry and thirsty in the meetings, and think about how to feed their families during the meetings. Findings show that he WEC and the Head Teacher is very clear about their roles and the quality aspects of the PEDP reform. Other interview findings from the pupils and the teachers show that the teachers are not sufficiently equipped to implement the reform because they do not have in-depth understanding of the reform measures and that very little capacity building has taken place locally regarding in-school training. The WEC attends the school meetings and makes a report to the DEO.

At the urban school all the interviews with the local implementers indicates that there is good collaboration between the different implementing institutions. All the teachers report that the school committee is doing a competent and important job at the school. The WEC also attends the school committee meetings and reports to the DEO afterwards.

The content analysis of the interviews with the local implementers does indicate that most of the teachers are generally not well equipped and informed when it comes to implementing the competence based curriculum. This is critical when it comes to proper implementation. Moreover, even though the competence based curriculum has been implemented since 2005 the majority of the interviews with pupils and teachers indicate that it is still not implemented in the classrooms. The Head Teachers however does have a thorough understanding of the competence based curriculum.

When it came to the assessment of the local teachers competency to implement the competency based curriculum, the chair of the school committee in the urban school expressed it like this;

"The primary education system has been changing over the years from the 1970s. Now, where they bring this from; Holland, Switzerland, The World Bank or the United Nations. I dont care. The teachers are not trained to accommodate the programs, whatever the program. Capacity building has not taken place. Now, we come up with something new. And what you do is, you bring a book with ready made answers an you give it to the teachers; Go and teach! But for Gods sake. This guy is not trained how to adopt what you what you want him to adopt.. The thing is not even those who are telling the teacher; "go and teach this way" know what they are doing. That`s worse! Not even the educational officers knows exactly what to tell the teachers to do when it comes to constructivism and critical thinking where the students themselves actively are constructing their

own learning experience."

There is also a confusing element of the Continuous Assessment (CA) praciced by the local teachers. The local teachers CA is supposed to be integrated in the final gradings of the SPLE candidates. NECTA officials claims that this is regular practice (HakiElimu (2012), while the local teachers at the two schools did not believe this to be the standard practice.

What sources of power, control and enforcement mechanisms are in place for the central level in order to ensure local compliance with national policies related to quality education?

The interviews with school committee members, WECs, DEOs and the Head Teachers show that there are clear roles and responsibilities at the local level. The function of the leader of the school committee is to supervise the school committee on behalf of the community which has elected him/her to supervise the school at large. To supervise the development of education at the school and to supervise the use of the capitation grant. The government has put in place structures that controls that the CG is used in accordance with the earmarked centrally given allocation of the funds. When the CG arrives the members of the school committee, the WEC, the village chairman has to sign personally for the allocation and use of the funds. The DEO comes to the school in order to control that the money is used in accordance with the objectives. The DEO reports to the central level if the use of funds and the performance of the schools are at an adequate level. The DEO is therefore the link between the local level and the central level.

The Education Act of 1978 states the roles of the DEO, the School Inspectorate, the Commissioner and the Minister of Education.
The formal roles regarding the enforcements mechanisms are stated in the Education act of 1978 and in its 1995 amendment. "The District Education Officer means any government officer appointed by the Minister to be in charge of education services in a district and includes any person to whom he delegates his duties;" (Education Act of 1978, Education Amendment Act 1995:2). The power of the DEO is regulated by the same Act. It states that: "the Minister may by regulations prescribe the powers and functions of Regional Education Officer and the District Education Officer (ibid:10). Moreover, the central government through the Minister and the Commissioner of Education is the enforcement mechanism at the apex of the power structure. Their status is stated in the amendment of a new section 33. It states"32. The Management of all government schools shall be in accordance with the direction of the Commissioner."
Curriculum control is centralised. The Education Act of 1978 section 37. (1) states that; "Every school shall provide national education within the curriculum and in accordance with syllabi

approved by the Commissioner, after consultation with the Minister." Moreover in section 58 in the Education Act of 1978 it is stated that"The Minister may, by order in writing, prohibit the use in any school of any book or material for any reason he may think fit."

The inspection of schools is regulated by the Education Act of 1978. In section 40. (1) it states; "The Minister shall appoint, by name or office, public Officers each of whom shall Perform the functions of an inspector of schools under this Act".

Lastly, the control of the hiring and provision of teachers and other educational personnel is also clearly stated in the Education Act of 1978. In Part II, Central Administration of National Schools, Duties and Power of Minister, section 4. (2) it is stated "The Minister shall ensure that there is available an adequate supply of teachers and other skilled personnel for thr provision of educational services. Thus, the power is controlled and enforced by the central government.

5.4   Street-Level Bureaucratic Behaviour

Lipsky (1980) refers to front line personnel as key implementers. They do often have a certain amount of discretion and autonomy in their work as professionals and they are the ones that are in direct contact with the target group of the policy. In this case it is the teachers that through their work are responsible for providing quality education to the pupils, their parents and the local community. The teachers values and beliefs, their level of motivation and their acceptance of the PEDP measures are therefore of critical importance for successful implementation at the local level. As discussed in the theoretical overview in chapter two, multiple factors shape the delivery of the street-level bureaucrats. The significant ones in this study are: (a) Control and enforcement, (b) Discretion, (c) Communication, and (d) Resources.

Control and enforcement.

The control of the teachers delivery of quality education is controlled and monitored by various institutions. This was uncovered during the in-depth interviews with the local implementers. At the urban school the teachers informed the researcher about their routines. One teacher stated; *"At this school the Head Teacher and the Academic Teacher within the school do walk around to the classrooms and check out what the teachers are doing in their practice and if the students are learning. And if there is a problem, he or she faces a penalty. Apart from that we have the school inspectors and the Ward Educational Coordinator."*

The Ward Educational Coordinators interviewed confirmed that they actively take part in the monitoring of the teachers. One of them expressed; *"I check out if the schools have got sufficient number of teachers, if the schools have a sufficient infrastructure, if the teachers are attending their classes, how the teachers are performing their duties and teaching. I report everything to the DEO at the Municipal"*. The WEC reported that the majority of teachers teach at an adequate level, but

some does not teach well because they live far away from the school. This leads to problems because they come late to work and their performance is lacking. They do not perform well because of the long travelling time according to the WEC. The WEC also informed that the formal role of the Ward Educational Coordinator not gave any direct powers in order to discipline the teachers. Only the DEO could do this. This was confirmed by the other interviewees.

At the urban school the Head Teacher and the other teachers informed the researcher that there were inspections from time to time and that the recommendations of the school inspectors were followed up.

From the interviews with the pupils it was revealed that some of the teachers do not attend certain classes at the rural school and that one teacher does not teach in the classroom.

From the interview with the school inspectorate officer in Mvomero it was uncovered that the Inspectorate could not fulfil its obligation as stated in the PEDP documents to inspect the schools every two years. This was a problem for the primary school in Mlandizi which has not inspected for a long period according to the same officer. This is in line with the findings by other scholars.

If there is a scarcity of resources in the implementation phase studies has found that street-level bureaucrats ration their services and rationalize program objectives (Lipsky 1980, Winter 2001).

The lack of effective inspections results in S-LBs making discretionary decisions at the rural school.

Discretion.

In order to answer the discretion given to the teachers the researcher asked the teachers about how they perceived their workload. The proposition was that if the work load was high, the teachers would use their discretion in order to cope with the demanding environment.

All of the teachers were clear about this point. They all expressed that the workload is heavy and that they have challenges when it comes to preparing the classes.. The research findings from the in-depth interviews show that the majority of the teachers cope with this by giving shorter and less frequent homework, and prepare for the various classes with little or minimal preparation. One teacher expressed;

"There is a lot to do for a teacher at this school with such large classes and with more than one subject. Each class may have 70 or 80 pupils and we simply do not have enough time to control and give feedback on what they have done. The teachers get tired and do not have the capacity to give homework everyday because he/she knows that this will add to the workload. He or she has to

come early and correct the homework. Therefore the teachers sometimes dont give homework. The problem is the large number of pupils. To pass through 70 or 80 exercise books for one class and then do it again for a another class takes a lot of time. Then in the post-period you might have to do the same again and you dont have enough time to correct everything. And even if you do that you have another period in another class thereafter".

Some of the teachers rarely gave any home assignments at all. This is consistent with the findings from the interviews with the pupils. One pupil stated; " Some teachers are not giving us homework and some do, but they dont control if the pupils has done what they are supposed to do. These teachers dont check if the pupils understand what they have been taught.

The teachers at both schools were instructed to teach without any extra compensation in the afternoon as well after orders from the DEO. This added to the already heavy workload and demoralized the teachers. One of the Head Teachers stated;

"*We have two teaching sessions: One in the morning and one in the afternoon. The same teachers are supposed to do both sessions. There is no extra payment for this. The children are more focused in the morning, and tired at the last session after almost 6 hours of learning.. The teaching process in the afternoon is therefore challenging. The quality of teaching in the afternoon is not at all at the level of the teaching in the morning. The teachers are also demoralized by this*".

Conclusion: A heavy and demanding workload made the majority of the teachers do discretionary decisions in order to do their jobs. Some of the teachers were doing all of their tasks, but admitted that this took most of their time whilst not at work.

Communication

According to Hanf and O`Tool Jr. (2006) ; "*The inclusion of Street-level bureaucrats in the policy making process as well as providing them with adequate information about the goals and means is important for implementation*". The researcher therefore asked the local implementers whether the teachers had any involvement in the policy formulation of the PEDP plans. Moreover, if the teachers and other local implementers had adequate awareness and knowledge about the main quality aspects of the plan. And, finally, if the teachers had the necessary skills to implement the delivery of quality education.

The interviews with the teachers showed that: None of the local teachers had any involvement in the policy making process. There are no signs of a systematic in school training of the teachers,

only short *ad-hoc* courses has been held the last five years for a few of the teachers. There are clear indications that the curriculum is not adequately implemented and that this is related to the teachers not being sufficiently educated and informed in-depth about, how to implement the competence based curriculum. One of the teachers stated;

"I have never attended any courses for refreshing my teaching skills. I heard someone at the school got a course a few years ago, but no one else. I wish we could have a written guide from the government that we could get information from. As it is now, none of the teachers gets information directly from the government. I believe that the PEDP reform would have been better implemented if we as teachers had access to a document, or if the representatives from the government came to the school and informed us directly."

Informal power enforcement structure.

During field study the researcher did an interesting observation. As one teacher explained: *"Due to the different learning capabilities of the pupils; some learn quickly and some learn slowly. I have to work an extra shift after my scheduled classes are done in order to reach all of the pupils. All the teachers have orders to do this".* When the researcher followed up this question with; *"What happens if you tell them that you refuse to do the double shift?."* The senior teacher said: *"I think all of us knows that it would be met with negative sanctions from the government. A teachers that refuses the orders from the LGA office will not work here next year, but will be transferred to a remote rural district with a very bad working environment! The Head Teacher would tell the DEO, who would take decisive action."* Other teachers that were asked the same question agreed to the teachers statement. This is evidence of an existing informal power structure that disciplines teachers.

Inclusion in policy process.

The conclusion regarding this point is unanimous. The teachers or any other local implementers had not been able to contribute at all to policy formulation or policy design. This is consistent with other findings from HakiElimu (2012) from Tanzania.

Adequate knowledge of goals

The general level of commitment and motivation towards the implementation of the reform measures was low. This was due to different factors such as limited knowledge of the quality educational goals and objectives. Most teachers were familiar with the quantitative inputs towards

the improvements of quality education. When it came to the qualitative aspects of teaching some were familiar with participatory methods but the great majority of these again did not have any in-depth understanding of how to use these in the classroom. All of the teachers were aware of the teacher/pupil ratio, the pupil/textbook ratio, the lack of teacher houses and the capitation grant. The teachers were also quite familiar with the universal enrolment goals.

The teachers were clear that the PEDP-reform does not contribute much when it comes to enabling and empowering teachers. One teacher pointed out; `The PEDP reform is not effective in that way. It does not build capacity for the teachers and it is not satisfactory to the teachers needs`.

Most of the teachers reports that frequent curriculum changes distorts proper implementation of quality education.

Some of the teachers were sceptical to the reform process. One teacher pointed out; *"The goals of the PEDP reform looks very good on paper, but are really only symbolic politics. Thats why we teachers say that politicians are the ones that destroys all our professional faith. Because they say; "Don`t contribute anything because the government supply grants for school ". Therefore when the school asks parents for contributions they think everything is taken care of by the government. And people really believes that the school actually receives the Tssc. 10.000 in full from the government."* When probed about whether this was government politicians, she confirmed that it was government officials.

Another teacher stated ; *"The government did not communicate to the people what the core objects of the MEM (PEDP) reform was. Therefore the people did not understand the program. Even the teachers themselves did not understand the program well and a lot of misunderstandings has been happening".*

Conclusion: In order for discretionary decisions by S-LBs to be in accordance with official overarching goals and objectives, there needs to be in place a clear communication of these. The lack of direct communication between the government and the key-implementers, and not sufficient attention towards precise and adequate communication regarding goals, objectives and outputs leads to suboptimal implementation of the quality of education. The further one goes down the line of command in the PEDP implementation process the more blurred is the understanding of the quality objectives.

Resources

"If resources are scarce, studies has shown that the Street-level bureaucrats ration services and rationalize program objectives". (Lipsky 1980, Winter 2001 in: Meyers and Vorsanger 2007)

In order to answer this question the Street-level bureaucrats, other local key-implementers and pupils were asked about the availability of sufficient resources and if the availability of resources

had any impacts on the delivery of education to the target group. Moreover, the teachers were asked about their salary. The theory here was that adequate salary would have positive impact on job performance and the street-level bureaucrats focus on the reform measures.

The teachers clearly expressed that the enrolment expansion put great strain of the resources and made their working environment very challenging. This meant that both school had a shortage of teachers, particularly science teachers. All of the teachers interviewed also categorized their workload as high or very high. This was related to the high number of pupils in each stream, the double-shifts and the many different classes they have to teach. The teachers points out that they have to mark and correct exercise books in all their subjects and this takes a lot of extra time. They do all the extra classes because of the great demand put upon them due to the scarcity of qualified teachers. One of the teacher pointed out; "There has been some challenges with the program because a lot of things were not implemented, and a lot of things were not done as said in the documents. It was not realistic to implement everything in full". This is the experience of the majority of teachers. They all say that the PEDP plan is not realistic, because it does not provide sufficient resources to adequately address the implementation objectives.

Moreover, all of the teachers expressed their basic salary as too low for living a good life. Many of them think about their family economy which is very challenging for them. They mention that their teaching post demands a lot of their time, and some of the time after the work is done has to be spent looking for more income to their families. The same teachers say that these economical worries has negative implications for them at work, because they reflect upon their financial problems when they are working.

Conclusion: The majority of the street-level implementers did not feel sufficiently obligated to implement PEDP objectives regarding quality delivery of education because of lack of adequate resources to implement the policy, and the salary was also considered too low to motivate the teachers.

5.5   Target Group Behaviour

According to Winters Integrated implementation Model, the target groups or the recipients of public policies, which in this case these are the pupils, their parents and other members of the local community, also play a vital role in the implementation of the PEDP reforms. Not only regarding the effects of the policy, but also when it comes to affecting the street-level bureaucrats (in this case the teachers) through positive or negative sanctions in co-producing public services. Thus, the

nature of the interactive relationship between the target group and the teachers has a significant impact on the process and outcome of quality education in the two schools. The target groups behaviour consists of their awareness, their motivation and their active participation in the co-production of quality primary education.

According to Winter (2003) policies and programs should take into account the nature of the target group. This means that target groups with distinct socio-economic backgrounds requires distinct implementation strategies in order to enhance policy implementation. In this case it will be relevant to uncover if the PEDP reforms were tailor made for the different contexts of rural and urban areas.

Important factors here are: a) Pupils participation with their teachers co-producing learning outcomes, b) Parents active participation in their kids learning process. And c) Community members participation in the decision making process and the monitoring of school activities.

a) Pupils participation with their teachers co-producing learning outcomes.

The views from the pupils on the achievements and the learning environment are polarized at the both of the two schools. This might be related to the selection criteria. The two pupils that the separate schools selected for the research at each school were generally content with their schools, while the two research selected informants which were selected on the basis of low socio-economic status were more critical. There were however issues that were common to all the pupils.

Data from the interview s with teachers and pupils uncovered that the extensive enrolment causes extra challenges towards providing quality education. The teachers get limited time to interact with each pupil when they have so many children in each classroom. The Head Teacher expressed;

"One of the biggest challenges towards providing quality education is that a big number of pupils enrolled at the same time at the beginning of the reforms in 2002. This is still a problem at this moment because of all the children that are supposed to be enrolled in schools. The classrooms are very few. During the PEDP program only one building has been built by the government. While the number of pupils has doubled in the same period. The government insists that all children that has reached school age must be enrolled, but they have not been building classroom capacity in order to accommodate the numbers".

This is a general problem at the two schools that have streams or classes with 55 children and up to 129 as the high point at one school and 119 at the other. The majority of the pupils, teachers and school committee members interviewed stated that this was a problem for the co-production of

quality education.

At both of the schools the majority of the pupils expressed that not all of the teachers controls if the pupils are attending classes or giving them enough homework. One pupil stated; " The school should have a fence, so that the pupils have only one entrance. If it was a fence here the school could better control who is leaving. And another thing that the school should do is to better control that all children are following classes, and get enough home assignment."

The interviews show that; some teachers does not follow up what the pupils are doing in the classroom or their homework assignments. The same teachers does not check or control that the pupils understand what they have been taught.

The in-depth interviews revealed that fear of corporal punishment was a major obstacle to learning, especially at the rural school. One pupil stated;

"If the kids dont do the work they are supposed to do they will be punished. For me this is an obstacle for learning because I am afraid of getting punished a lot of the time. I do get discouraged and afraid. I live far away from the school, and this leads me to come late. Me and a lot of the other children fear the corporal punishment we receive from the teachers when we come late. I am very fearful and uncomfortable because of this. I do sit in class and fear for the punishment a lot of the time. It is very hard to concentrate when I am afraid that the teacher at any time may take me to punishment".

At the rural school there was a pronounced problem with the teacher-pupil interaction. One pupil pointed out; "Teachers should use polite language when a pupil have done a mistake in class. The teachers should use correct language and not abuse children with harsh words. Some of the teachers use a language that disturbs the children. Teachers should collaborate in a positive way from the bottom of their hearts".

Parents active participation in their kids learning process.

Generally there is a problem that some of the parents of the children does not take an active part in the childrens learning process. At the rural school one of the teachers stated; " Many parents take part, but not all of them. Some of them are not interested in the school at all, especially the animal-keepers. Parents themselves has not gone to school and do not see the value of education. The same happens with the farmers.".

Another teacher expressed: "Many parents are not interested in what is happening with their children at school. The reason for this is that the parents dont have any education or that they have negative experiences from their own schooling. But some are interested. But even those that are

interested come to make problems or fail to follow up on their children. Many parents have no idea about the importance of education. This leads to them not coming to school in general in order to see whats going on, or how their children are doing at school. In general, the parents do not come to meet with the teachers. Some of the parents think that after enrolling their child in school the responsibility is for the teachers to know each and every thing about their child. It is not his or her responsibility. After enrolment they do not care anymore, they leave it to the teachers. One of the teachers also stated; "Some of the schools come when the school asks them to come, but some of them do not show up. This is due to economics. Most of the parents are poor. Therefore if they get invited they do not know what to happen."

Community members participation in the decision making process and the monitoring of school activities.

At the rural school the local participation is low due to poor economic and social conditions. Most parents of the pupils are very reluctant to paying any fees at all because they live in extreme poverty and have no financial resources to contribute. Very few of the parents and other members of the community attend the meetings with the local school committee. The school committee members and the teachers related the absence of the community people in the meetings to the poverty that people are living in locally.

At the urban school the interviews with local implementers and target group indicates that people are going to school meetings and do participate in the meetings with the local school committee. The parents are asked for contributions towards running the school and generally everyone pays. The findings are in line with general findings in implementation theory. "Ìmplementation of policies is shaped not only by the policy instruments available to the state, but also by the organized support it receives from key societal groups" (Hill, 1997: 135)

5.6   Resources

This refers to the financial, technical and human resources available to the implementers towards fulfilling policy goals and objectives (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975: 470-475, Grindle & Thomas 1990:1167), Hogwood and Gunn (1984).

According to Van Meter & Van Horn (1975, p. 465) policies also make make available resources which facilitate their administration. The resources may include funds or other incentives that are integrated in the program, and these resources might help or facilitate effective implementation (ibid.).

5.6.1 Financial resources

Document research uncovered that the PEDP program from the year of its inception in 2001 has had challenges due to the financial gap between the planned PEDP budget and the approved budget. Throughout both PEDP phase I & II there has been financial gaps every year (URT MoEVT 2012). These has been from the low of 5 % in 2010/2011 and up to the highest high gap of 43.7 % in 2007/2008. This implies that PEDP I and II would not be able to fully achieve its programme objectives as planned (ibid.).

The Draft Capacity Building Strategy for Basic Education PMO-RALG (2009) point out that what was observed in the field and from the review of the documentation of the stakeholders views was that, currently the provision of capacity building is either lacking or is inadequate for teachers, tutors and education managers. Additionally it clarifies that maintenance of buildings and replacement of worn out books and equipment is not done due to lack of funds (p:5). Lastly, it points out that the capacity building in basic education that is stated in official policy documents has not been translated into a coherent strategy and has therefore remained *ad-hoc*, not adequately co-ordinated, and not comprehensive. And that there is an absence of any overall strategic plan (ibid.).

According to IBP Budget Brief No. 8, 2009 the government of Tanzania has blamed irregularity in the flow of funds from donors for delays in implementing some activities regarding PEDP and SEPD implementation.

The **Capitation Grant** which was heavily donor funded were never implemented as it is described in the policy documents. It was supposed to be 10 US dollars per pupil in order to help the schools buy textbooks, maintain the school buildings, supply learning and teaching material, provide for examination material and school administration. The Capitation Grant was introduced in order to provide available economical resources for the schools in order to compensate for the loss of school fees following the implementation of the PEDP policy (ibid.).

According to a research study By REPOA (Special Paper, 12/1, 2012) only Tshs. 92 million of the budgeted Tshs. 274 million capitation grant to primary schools in Morogoro MC was disbursed from the Ministry of Finance (p:20). Furthermore, the study found that capitation grant governance was undermined by erratic disbursements. Finally the REPOA study concluded that: " Access to quality education by the poor is among the most important pathways out of poverty. And the quality of education relies on schools` access to adequate teaching and learning materials which the introduction of the capitation grant was intended to secure. Yet, this study found that schools in almost all districts (Mvomero included) do not receive capitation disbursements in time and in full.

Given that most of the pupils in these schools are from disadvantaged, marginalised and vulnerable households, the Government of Tanzania may never realise its poverty reduction targets if governance challenges facing the capitation grant in primary schools are not overcome." And, thus concludes that; "the study results clearly show how good education policy instruments, such as the capitation grant, can be introduced but never implemented as intended."

Both **SUA** primary and Mlandizi Primary have through the whole period of the PEDP reforms received a lower amount of the Capitation Grant than indicated in the policy documents. The timing of the resources has also been infrequent and complex according to the implementers locally. This has led to both of the schools having to postpone or not implementing various activities.

When it comes to the schools possibilities to spend the allocated funds in an effective way there seems to be little room to manoeuvre. The decentralization by devolution reform has given local school committees the mandate to prioritise and implement the school activities. However, from the interviews with the school committee members and the DEO it was revealed that the capitation grant and the development grants are tied to earmarkings made at the central government. The school committee has no mandate to spend any of the funding outside of the central directives. This is happening even though school committees are supposed to be an independent decision-making and implementation making body. This makes the local freedom to make decisions severely restricted and very top-down oriented.

Salaries: All the teachers at both schools indicate that the salaries they receive is too small to live a good life and that they have to depend upon other sources to provide for themselves and their families. Teachers generally felt that their needs were not respected or taken into consideration by the government. The research material from the in-depth interviews show that the majority of the teachers could not support themselves and their families on their current wage, and needed to work with other activities outside of the school to make ends meet. Thisare similar findings as Benell and Mukyanuzi (2005) and Jidamva (2012).

Incentives: According to all actors involved in the local implementation structures there are no financial incentives for the teachers for doing a job particularly well.
A major incentive for teachers motivation could be the possibility of access to a teacher house, especially in the rural areas where the shortage of teachers is more acute and more linked to the housing problems. But the government intention to provide teacher houses to all teachers lacks

follow through in the implementation phase. The first PEDP document (2001a:8) states; `*Allocation of funds for teacher housing will give priority to rural and remote areas. Detailed criteria for Investment Grant (IG) allocation will be developed as the basis for including housing construction needs in the annual Local Government Authorities (LGAs) education plans*`.

Only one teacher house is located at each school for the 17 teachers at Mlandizi and 23 teachers at SUA respectively. There is no extra salary for the teachers that works double-shifts and on saturdays or holidays.

The local contributions from the parents providing extra resources for their children was providing for electricity, running water, guarding, a janitor and tuition at the urban school of SUA.

5.6.2   Human Resources

Managerial/human resources was operationalized by the teacher pupil ratio at the school, the implementers formal educational level and the in-school training that was given to teachers, head-teachers, ward education officers and school committee members. Additionally, there was a document study regarding which government documents that controls the registration of teachers.

Teacher Training

Teachers needs in-service training in order to improve and update their teaching skills. Furthermore, professional development is also known to be the highest motivational factor for individuals. Regarding the need to upgrade the skills of the teachers through teacher training , this is emphasised in different government policies in Tanzania. The ETP (URT, 1995) the ESPD (URT, 2001b) and the PEDP II (URT (2006) Primary Education Development Programme II (2007-2011) explicitly states this need. The ETP (URT, 1995:50) stipulates:

`Teacher professional development constitutes an important element of quality and efficiency in education. Teachers need to be exposed regularly to new methodologies and approaches of teaching in consonant with an ever changing environment. The teaching effectiveness of every serving teacher will thus need to be developed through planned and known schedules of in-service training programmes. Therefore in-service training shall be compulsory in order to ensure teacher quality and professionalism`.

Each school had teachers that were adequately qualified according to the PEDP plan. The teachers were Form Four Grade A teachers as stated in the policy documents. There were however too few teachers to accommodate the great increase in enrolment. Especially in primary one there were a

severe lack of teachers.

At the rural school there was a great problem of teacher absenteeism. One of the school-committee members pointed out; *"Many of the teachers does not come to work and does not give any messages to the Head Teacher that they are sick or not coming, and this affects the pupils learning environment and the school at large "*.

The research uncovered that no planned and structured in-set training had been provided for the teachers at either school. A small minority of the teachers had received very short courses during the last five years in order to upgrade their teaching methods in the classroom. These teachers again expressed that the courses were insufficient if the intentions were to transform their teaching methods.

According to Grindle and Thomas (1991) the control of managerial and human resources is an important aspect that affects the implementation of a reform.

It was uncovered through document analysis of the formal roles and structures of the PEDP plan as well as in the interviews with the local implementers, that the central level controlled the disposition of the central funds through the earmarking of the Capitation Grant and other central funds, and the recruitment and promotion of local implementers.

Regarding the recruitment of teachers, the registration is done in accordance with The Education Act No. 25 of 1978 part VI, and its amendment No. 10 of 1995 and The Education Regulations 2002. The approval of management and and ownership of schools is controlled by the Commissioner for Education and the Minister for Education and is regulated by the The Education Act No. 25 of 1978. Thus, the central level controls the hiring and promoting of teachers and school managers.

5.6.3 Technical Resources

The ETP (1995: 103) states 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 good good quality education". In the PEDP II document this has been specified as for example to; "Lower the current average of Book-Pupil Ratio from 1:3 in 2005 to 1:1 in 2010 (p:22). And; "Construction of Primary School Classrooms for primary schools will be given priority in order to make the school environment conducive for effective learning and teaching. The Government will carry out a demand-driven programme in construction of primary school infrastructure. This will include construction/rehabilitation and regular maintenance of classrooms, teacher` houses, sanitary facilities and supply furniture for primary schools using a Development Grant (DG) (PEDP II:14).

Technical resource in this context looks at whether there are present sufficient amount of office space, computers, internet connections, telephone lines, fax machines, transportation vehicles or fax machines. At the school the availability of sufficient number of ordinary classrooms of adequate quality, was measured. The availability of special rooms like fully functioning science rooms and the access to a school library was also investigated.

Technical: Challenges at **SUA** in order to get access to computer-time, there are a few computers, but no internet connection, SUA has electricity and water.

Ward executive officer at SUA does not have access to transportation, the office is very basic and there is no phone-line. It is not possible to photocopy any papers and that makes it hard for the WEC to transmit communication to the teachers at the school.

At **Mlandizi**: No computers, no internet connection, no phone-line, no water or electricity, limited and unreliable bus connection.

The majority of the interviews indicates that the general lack of water and electricity is on factor that has an impact on the pupils learning process in a negative way. This is related to the pupils helping out their families collecting water and firewood after school. This also makes it harder to study at night when they do not have electrical light. The sanitational standard at the rural school was in a very poor state. Moreover the toilets were very few. One student expressed; "The school should have better toilets for the kids. They have pit toilets at this school, and there is no water. Some people go there but they fear for the sanitary conditions. Contaminations and infections may result from this".

Lack of textbooks and other instructional materials was a major challenge at both the schools. The goal of one textbook pr. Pupil is nowhere near its realisation. If the Textbook ratio for 2005 was 3:1 as reported above, the data from the school interviews indicates that now it is closer to 10 pupils pr. textbook This problem is also reported in Tanzania by Makombe et al. (2010); HakiElimu (2007): Komba and Nkumbi (2008), cited by Jidamva (2012: 122).

Maintenance of school building and replacement for worn out books and adequate supply of text books is not done because there is a limited supply of funds.

Mvomero District Council: No phone or scanner, does have internet connection

The data analysis from the interview with the School Inspectorate(SI) indicates clearly that the SI lacks resources in order to do their job properly and fulfil their role. At the office in Mvomero they lack funds for gas and sufficient vehicles for transportation to the schools. According to the school inspectorate officer at Mvomero this in turn leads to a problem when it comes to inspecting schools in remote areas. She explains; "I*t is much easier to inspect in town (Morogoro town) than in Mdlandizi, because it is far from here. Some places are located really far from here and have poor roads, and are therefore hard to get to. When we have access to a car and petrol we go there and walk the last part of the trip. Some of the schools have no infrastructure at all. They have no water, no electricity and not even a mobile phone in order to communicate"*.

According to the majority of the teachers this is common practice. The point they make is that this makes the PEDP implementation an uneven playground since the urban schools get better quality assessment and more reference points on the quality of education than the rural ones.

Nationwide data from HakiElimu (2010) found similar evidence. According to this report only 277 of the 21936 teacher houses that were planned in the PEDP II were actually built. And only 1263 classrooms out of the 10753 planned in the PEDP II document were constructed.

Nationwide: A general problem with power shortage.

5.7   Socio-Economic factors

"Three-quarters of the world's poor live in rural areas, where agricultural workers suffer the highest prevalence of poverty. They are caught in intractable cycles of low productivity, seasonal unemployment and low wages and are particularly vulnerable to changing weather patterns." (Summary, Human Development Report 2014:7).

Tanzania is among the poorest countries in the world and the majority of the population lives in absolute poverty. The term absolute poverty means that an individuals inability to satisfactory meet his/hers basic needs such as food, clothes and shelters. The World Development Report (2005) estimates that the majority of Tanzanians are living in absolute poverty struggling to survive with 300 US dollars a year which is less than a dollar each day.

The research aimed to uncover if the different socio-economic contexts of the rural and urban primary school affected policy implementation as proposed in the theoretical framework of Winter (2003). The researcher therefore examined if the more affluent and well educated urban school community in MMC was more positive and **contributed** more financially towards the running of the schools than the less affluent and less educated clientele in MVDC in the rural area. Moreover, the research aimed to uncover if the PEDP program was adapted to the more challenging

environment in the rural area. As stated earlier in chapter two, target groups with different socio-economic backgrounds needs different implementation strategies in order to provide effective policy implementation. This is particularly important in Tanzania were poverty is on of the main concerns of the country. According to URT (2005) states that over a third of the population live below the basic poverty line.

Morogoro Municipal

At the urban primary school located in Morogoro Municipal the parents have diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Many of the parents do have regular paid work and some work informally doing petty business. The teachers live in or close to the town of Morogoro. The school-committee consists of several highly educated members, most of them from Sokoine University which hosts the primary school. The school has had professors as chairs of the school-committees from the start.

All the interviews with the different educational actors indicates that the school-board committee and the school has a well functioning cooperation. There is a high level of continuity of the members in the school-committee.

Most of the parents attends the school meetings and contributes the extra money for the expenses not paid for by the government. This includes extra fees for the guards, electricity and water, tuition and for the gardener. Sometimes it is a challenge to collect the extra fees from the parents since some of them have limited resources, but most of the time it goes through. This is related to the parents putting a high priority of their children`s education. The school has computers donated from a NGO and a well kept school-ground.

The teachers do not have any challenges relating to transportation, but there is only one teacher house for the 23 teachers. Most of the pupils live nearby.

Mlandizi in Mvomero District

The great majority of the people living in the area surrounding the rural school in Mlandizi in Mvomero district are animal keepers or subsistent farmers that live under very harsh living conditions and struggle to get by from day to day. Most of the teachers live 50 kilometres away in Morogoro town, this gives the teachers extra costs that makes it harder to live on the teacher salary. This also leads to teachers coming late to school regularly because of the poor state of public communication. The members of the school-committee (SC) does all have primary education except for the Head Teacher.

According to the chair of the school-committee for the past 14 years the greatest challenge the school faces in Mvomero district is that if the SC invites the parents to come to the school to

discuss different issues they do not come to attend the meetings. He further elaborates;

"This means that they do not like the thought of coming to the school. The main cause of this situation is the poverty which many of the families lives in. They struggle to earn money for their families. This is even a problem for myself. They think about what they are going to eat today- The life that they are living is very poor, and they know that when they attend the meetings they will also be asked to pay different kinds of contributions. They will feel forced to pay money and they have none. They are not employed, they just do different activities to get some money".

Another SMC member points out; " *Parents does not like to pay for tuition! Because they think that the money will be used by the SCBM and the teachers.* " The Head Teacher expressed; " *It is difficult to run the school when the government do not fulfil their obligations. The people of the community do not believe the teachers and the School-Committee when we say that the money from the authorities has not arrived.*" In the interviews with the teachers at the school they were clear that the location of the school in such a rural context meant that they had a lot of extra challenges. Among these were the issues of: No electricity either at the school or in the one teacher house. No extra incentives were provided to the teachers for living in the remote area. The high cost and poor availability of transportation made it very hard to get to school in due time for teaching their classes in the morning. The problem of not having access to fresh water at the school was also a great concern for all actors at Mlandizi.

The pupils interviewed expressed that most people locally were living in poverty and had no form of regular work. Some of them very very hungry and said that this was a major problem for many of the pupils at school. One girl said; "*My mother stays at home, she fetches water and do other house activities. My father spends his time working with dogs that takes care of pigs. They use dogs to prevent someone from stealing the pigs at night. He is given a little amount of money for this. He has no regular work. It is informal of course*".

The interviews with the pupils and teachers indicated that many lived quite far away from the school and this made it hard to get to school in due time for class. Hunger was also a factor since many pupils were coming to school without anything to eat and this made some of them leave early looking for something to eat. One girl stated; "It is very hard to stay in school for me because I may not have been eating for up to three days". The lack of water also was a problem. Pupils and employees were supposed to bring their own water to school. Most of them did not bring water. The pupils were supposed to ask teachers for water, but this was complicated. A boy expressed; "The teachers ask the pupils for money if we ask for water. If we do not have any, we get no water. Sometimes we are punished for asking for water and having no money by certain teachers".

The data collected at the two schools show that there are not allocated any extra resources towards the different conditions in the rural area.

Because of the bigger resource base in the urban area the school-committee can ask for extra contributions for school material, tuition, electricity, water and guarding which gives the urban school better conditions.

According to the chair, the other members of the school board and the teachers there are no special resources allocated for the rural area to compensate for the extra challenges of living in the rural area. The local findings are similar to findings by Galabawa , 2001, cited by Kuder 2005) that point out that no analysis was built into the PEDP plan towards any compensation measures redressing regional differences in actual transport and distribution costs for rural schools. Each school was to receive a flat rate regardless of whether they were located next door to a bookshop in Dar es Salaam, or deep into western Tanzania (ibid).

This shows that the PEDP plan does not adapt to the local socio-economic circumstances. It shows that the policy is based on the general socio-economic conditions in urban areas rather than the actual socio-economic conditions of locals, making the projects not fully solve the problem (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1979: 45).

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5.8   Dependent Variable; Pass Rate

The pass rate at SUA primary school in the national examinations for Standard VII PSLE was 100 percent according to the statistics on display in the head teachers office. Controlling with NECTAs statistics this showed to be somewhat optimistic. NECTAs pass-rate for SUA primary for 2013 is 91 percent.

The pass-rate on display in the Head Teachers office at Mlandizi primary school showed a pass-rate of 85 percent as well, and this did corresponded to the NECTA PSLE Standard VII official statistics for 2013 (accessed from the NECTA website 7/7 2014). An interesting element to the results of the pass rate at Mlandizi is the increase in pass rate from 2012 to 2013. According to the NECTA statistics only 31 percent of the pupils passed in 2102.

A number of challenges exists when it comes to using this variable as a measure of success. Some of the teachers expressed their concern regarding the form of education the pupils were exposed to. Since 2012 the examination form of the Standard 7 PSLE has been changed to multiple choice

format. One teacher pointed out; *"If a pupil knows a little bit of Kiswahili and just makes guesses for the rest of the subjects like English or mathematics there is a good chance that the pupil will pass the PSLE. The reason is that a pupil only needs to get 100 of the 250 questions shaded correctly and Kiswahili counts the most of the five subjects. And the researcher should also know that the government lowered the pass-rate to 70 last year for being eligible for attending secondary education"*. The researcher followed up on this question by asking the interviewee if he knew of any pupils that might have passed, but did not know how to read and write. The teacher pointed out: "Yes, I can confirm that. Some pupils I have had as a teacher through the years could not understand a word of English and were not capable of even writing one sentence in Kiswahili correct. But they did not have to produce one word of text or show any computations at all in mathematics. They just guessed and passed."

Other aspects that needs to be commented upon is that the main quality component of the Competence Based Curriculum at the schools is not fully implemented. The teaching in the classroom is still mainly content based, and there is a clear tendency of the delivery to be `Teaching to the test.  The `violence free child friendly environment` is not well practised at the schools. The evidence from the interviews with the local pupils, particularly at the rural school shows that this lacks implementation. As we have seen in chapter 4. these were both quality objectives of the PEDP II document.

5.9   Summary

This chapter has found different factors that influence the implementation of the PEDP policies in the two schools in Morogoro region. The chapter has presented that the PEDP reforms were top-down implemented and that the local implementers had not been involved in the policy making. As a result of this many of the teachers felt detached from the implementation of the reform measures. The document analysis and the in-depth interviews and observations on the ground shows that several factors impacts upon implementation of primary school reforms in Tanzania. The policy formulation process, the clarity of policy goals and objectives, inter-organizational coordination, street-level bureaucrats, the target group of the policy, the resources available and the socio-economic conditions are all important factors affecting the policy implementation of the PEDP reforms.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.0   Introduction

This chapter is the final chapter of the research project. It is divided in three main sections. The first section is a summary of the main factors that influence policy implementation of the PEDP reforms.

The main aim of the research study was to explore how the PEDP policies were implemented in Tanzania and whether the implementation of the policies succeeded in achieving the goal of providing quality education in primary schools. Two councils in Morogoro region were selected in the study. One rural school in Mvomero District Council (Mlandizi Primary School) and one urban school in Morogoro Municipal Council (SUA Primary School) were chosen in order too see if the different contexts gave different implementation challenges and results. The study explains some of the challenges in the implementation of the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP I and II).

Studying the implementation of the PEDP has been guided by a partial framework adapted from the elements of the top-down theories of Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), parts of Winter`s (2003, 2006) Integrated Implementation Theory, and supplied with other theorists like for example Grindle (1990). In implementation of policies Van Meter and Van Horn identified six critical variables that influence the possibility of successful implementation. These are: (a) policy standards and objectives, (b) availability of resources, (c) inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities, (d) the characteristics of implementation agencies, (e) economic, social and political conditions, and the (f) disposition of the implementers. Most of these were used explicitly in the study, some of the others were used with a different angle such as the disposition of the implementers that were applied in Winters Street-Level Bureaucrats theory inspired by Lipsky (1980). Van Meters top-down approach was mixed with elements of Winters Integrated Implementation Theory in other to get a synthesized and wider look at the implementation process. Based on the addition and merger of different theories a partial analytical framework was developed in order to achieve the main ambitions of the study. These were to uncover which variables that had an important impact in the implementation of the quality aspects of the delivery of education in Tanzania, both seen from the central governments perspective and also from the local implementers and target group.

6.1 Summary of the main factors influencing implementation.

6.1.1   The Policy Formulation Process

The content analysis of document sources found that the policy formulation process was driven by donors and central government officials. It was shaped by the big reforms that started at the end of the century. In order to receive donor funding as an aid-dependent country Tanzania needed to accept conditionalities attached to the funds. Tanzania was obligated to make a range of policies in order to receive debt relief as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC). Policies that were shaped by this includes the PSRP, the educational reforms in the form of BEMP (Basic Education Master Plan) and The Tanzanian Vision 2025. These policies were mainly formulated by external experts and central government ministers and technocrats. Later on the change of aid-modality of the general budget support(GBS) initiated by the Paris convention in 2007 has changed balance of power in favour of the Tanzanian government.

The key implementers on the ground in Tanzania are left out of the process and feel detached and alienated from the top-down policy making process and in the subsequent implementation process. This weakens the political legitimacy of the PEDP reforms and leads to policy slippage.

6.1.2   Policy goals and objectives

Document analysis of the first PEDP policy reveals that the main focus of the reform was on enrolment and quantitative inputs. The qualitative aspects of the reform did not receive much attention. When quality was commented, the focus was on quantitative inputs like infrastructure. The competences and leadership skills of the main change agents in the system were not paid sufficient attention. The result of this was that the quality improvement strategies were detached from the people that filled the roles. The key implementers were generally not aware of the qualitative aspects of the reform. This led to a massive underestimation of the less visible `soft` objectives of the reform and to poor implementation of quality education in the classrooms.

According to the document analysis of the PEDP II document and subsequent follow up reports and documents from the government there seems to be some ambiguity when it comes to some of the qualitative aspects of PEDP II. Some of this is connected to the operational targets for quantitative inputs towards providing quality education were the actual costs are not connected with the stated targets. When teacher houses built in 2008 is only one (1) percent of the PEDP II target of the same period this makes the policy objectives unclear. There are clear and operational performance targets but these are not met regarding the capitation grant, teacher training, technical infrastructure and so on. These lack implementation or receive lower funding than stipulated and this creates

confusion on the ground.

Regarding the different objects of quality education like; the competence based curriculum, a child-friendly violence free environment and the delivery of education in the classroom this lacks proper operationalization in the PEDP II plan. Evidence on the ground at the two schools from the interviews show that this leads to policy slippage and suboptimal implementation.

6.1.3 Inter-organizational coordinating and cooperation

The document analysis of the inter-organizational cooperation on the central level showed that recent reforms related to the devolution of power posed problems for the implementation of the PEDP objectives. This was related to the power struggle between the Ministry of Education and the Prime Ministers Office-Regional and Local Government. This led to lack of commitment from the top leadership, and in the Ministries Departments and Agencies (MDAs) (Local Government Reform Programme II (URT 2009). Moreover, there has been issues with capacity constraints regarding inadequately skilled staff, weak systems and tools needed for coordination and integrated implementation (ibid). Furthermore, the research material showed a lack of formal delineation between between most of the educational managers (Chediel 2009).

At the local level the school inspectors only had resources to inspect the urban school regularly. The front line personnel (the teachers) did not receive direct information about the reform objectives from the government. Local implementing institutions at the urban school performed effectively. The implementing institutions at the rural school had cooperation problems because of low trust from the school community towards the school.

There is a centralized chain of command in place that secures the governments power through the Minister of Education and Vocational Training and the Commissioner of Education. This does however limit the local autonomy.

It is plausible that lack of commitment from the top leadership and the power struggle between government branches has had a negative effect on the implementation of the PEDP plan. Moreover the low trust between the community and the school at the rural primary school led to a challenging environment to implement the PEDP plan. The lack of monitoring from the school inspectorate and the local community led to poor implementation of quality education in some classes.

6.1.4 Street-level Bureaucratic Behaviour

The emphasis on the teachers as key personnel regarding the implementation of the PEDP plans is clear in the official documents. At the two schools investigated in this study however, a lot is to be decided. There is a lack of control of the delivery of education in the classroom. This is clearly

more explicit in the rural school where the inspectorate has not had sufficient funds to control lately. The room for making discretionary decisions in the rural school is therefore high for the S-LBs. Furthermore, to ensure that the possibility of the discretionary decisions made locally are consistent with the overarching policy goals, a clear and consistent communication of the objectives needs to be implemented. When it comes to the quality aspects of the delivery of education this is not clear. The Head Teachers and one or two of the other teachers close to the Head Teacher were well aware of the constructivist methods of teaching and the competence based curriculum, while the majority of teachers were not having any in-depth understanding of this. This was clearly illustrated in the interviews with the pupils. The pupils at the two schools did not have any concept of any part of the reform. This does also make the possibility of the teachers making discretionary decisions higher. The teachers at the two schools were all having heavy workloads. At both schools this led to the majority of teachers displaying coping behaviours in order to get the work done. This coping behaviour was characterized by teachers teaching less, giving less home assignment and suboptimal preparation of their classes. The room for dicretionary decision-making was quite large at the rural school and more moderate at the urban school. This led to certain teachers shaping the policies by making their own policies. The majority of the teachers at both schools did not feel sufficiently validated by either the government nor the parent of the pupils. This led to disengagement and detachment from their teaching objectives. The teachers also indicated that they could not live a good life on their current teaching salaries and that they worried a lot about their financial problems. It is clear that this has implication towards providing quality education in Tanzania.

6.1.5 Target Group Behaviour

Pupils participation with their teachers co-producing learning outcomes.

The content analysis of the interview data showed that the teachers had very little time to interact with the pupils. The teaching methods was mostly rote learning from teacher directed activities like copying notes from the blackboard. The majority of the pupils at the urban schools had a positive and productive relationship with the teachers. Some of the pupils at the urban school reported of fear of corporal punishment and that this made it hard to have a close accord with the teachers.

Parents active participation in their kids learning process. At the urban school the pupils and the teachers interviewed both had the experience that this was something that parts of the parents did follow up on and other ones did not take active part. At the rural school it was clear that the majority of parents did not participate actively.

Community members participation in the decision making process and the monitoring of school activities. At the urban school it was clear that the people of the community participated in meetings and in monitoring of school activities. The story was quite different at the rural school where the interviews showed that parents and other members of the community rarely participated.

6.1.6 Resources

The reform is underfunded both in terms of centrally allocated resources and in terms of a realistic tie between the policy goals objectives and the connected funding. The research of documents and the interviews with the local implementers and target group shows that the Capitation Grant (CG) has never been received in full at the schools. This leads to schools postponing or drop some of the scheduled activities. Some times the schools stops up because of lack of for example chalk.

At the central level there exists a funding gap for the reforms each year due to among other things donor dependency. This leads to schools lacking in infrastructure and technical resources. Even if the schools received the capitation grant in full it would be insufficient in order to provide the necessary quality aspects. The four dollars, or Tssh. 4000 that a school is supposed to receive each year is not enough to buy one textbook for a pupil that year. As a result of this the textbook ratio is not 1:1 as stated in the PEDP document but rather closer to 1:10. This had implications towards how the teachers are able to deliver their lectures.

At the rural school in this research the school lacked basically all elements of infrastructure. There were classrooms with dust floors and lack of furniture, no library, no electricity, no computers, no available water and very poor sanitational conditions. The technical resources at the school are severely limited. This does make it very challenging to implement activities in most classes. The lack of science equipment makes all or most of the science education theoretical since they can not do any experiments..

The human resources at the local schools lacked the training that is stated in the PEDP documents. No capacity building has taken place for the local school committees. The teachers and the Head Teachers has had none or very short capacity building courses. This leads to the majority of the teachers not being equipped with the necessary pedagogical tools and methods in order to implement the competency based curriculum. The school Inspectorate lacks resources in order to fulfil its obligations. This does severely impact the delivery of education at the rural school because teachers make discretionary decisions disconnected to the PEDP objectives.

6.1.7   Socio-Economic conditions

The socio-economic conditions in Tanzania are quite different from the conditions in the western societies that provides the pre-packaged models of school reforms that Tanzania are implementing.

In the two schools in this research project as indicated in section 6.1.6 the reality of available resources is quit different. The implementation of western style reforms in overcrowded classrooms with overworked teachers and hungry children is not realistic. If the international donor society and the national technocrats intend to fully implement the content based and child-friendly curriculum, they need to follow up with resources.

There is no evidence on the ground in the two schools of the government adapting the reforms to different socio-economic contexts. Rather the contrary, an example here is that rural school with more challenges does not get inspected as much as the school in the urban area. If the government of Tanzania had clear ambitions of changing the balance between the areas, surely this would have been planned and implemented differently. This leads to better implementation in the urban school because it has inhabitants that has a higher level of socio-economic background than the rural population. The interviews made locally shows that the majority parents at the rural school suffers from extreme poverty. These people making a living from subsistence farming and animal-keeping does simply not have any more money for funding of school activities. This has led to a confidence issue between the local school committee and the rest of the school community. Community members and parents rarely show up in school meetings and this reduces the political legitimacy of the reform and the possibilities for extra funds from the parents. The more affluent and educated parents in the urban school do to a much greater degree trust the school committee and they do regularly contribute extra money to the school. This gives the schools an uneven playground. The pupils at the rural school does live further away from the school than the pupils in town. The rural pupils have access to less food and their access to water is restricted. All these factors complicates the learning process at the rural school and makes it harder to deliver quality education in the rural area.

6.2   Implications of the Findings

From the research findings it is recommended that a broader participation in the policy formulation process and in the policy-making should be applied. This would make the policy objectives clearer to the implementers on the ground and lessen the distance and detachment the local implementers feels towards the policy objectives. Input from the people in the front line about what works locally could make the implementation better adapted to the particular Tanzanian contexts. Another recommendation made on the background of the findings is to start with the educational visions and logically go backwards in the implementation process and make a more cohesive and logically connected reform where funds are realistically tied to actual costs for the quality improvements. Another aspect that needs addressing is the capacity building in the educational system. The local and central implementers needs systematic and thorough capacity building in order to secure the

delivery of quality education. Moreover, the resources allocated in the budget process should be tied to the activities put forward in the reform. Schools need to have predictable incomes in order to achieve high targets. Additionally the implementers on the ground lack incentives that could have motivated them towards better performance. Lastly, the PEDP II objectives of `the competence based curriculum` and `the child-friendly violence-free environment` should be properly operationalized in the PEDP II document and its relating documents.

6.2.1 Limitations of the Study and Future Research

Qualitative research studies findings and conclusions face the challenge of empirical generalizations. This study is no exception since it is restricted to the sample of only two primary schools in one region of Tanzania. The studies conclusions can however illustrate some of the different challenges that schools in Tanzania faces when implementing the PEDP reforms.

The focus on pass rate as the only measure of success of the reform objectives of providing quality education is to narrow. Further studies should add the different quality components like; a child friendly environment and competency based delivery as dependent variables in order to get a broader picture of the reform. Outcome based studies of the relevance of the education given in primary education should be emphasised in order to uncover if the PSLE tests gives adequate measures of competences.

Moreover, since the elite in the country do not send their children to government schools it would be beneficial to illustrate the differences between private and government schools.

6.2.2 Contributions of the Study

The study has added to a body of literature on policy implementation in general and towards the implementation of PEDP reforms at local levels in Tanzania. The study is bringing in a new and broader picture about policy implementation because it consider the views of implementers on the ground in addition to the top-down view from the top of the implementation chain.

6.3 Conclusions

The research has uncovered important variables that impacts the effective delivery of education at two schools in Morogoro region in Tanzania. The empirical data collected points towards two main influences in the policy formulation phase. The first one is the pressure from external influences like donor agencies, and the second one is the Tanzanian governments tendency to make policy decisions by the president and the ministers on top without involving other stakeholders. An example of the latter is the teachers and other local implementers unequivocal statement that they

have never been involved, but are just told to implement orders from above. As a result of this the teachers are not sufficiently aware of the reform objectives and do not have adequate ownership of the goals and objectives.

The research also found that the resources available for the quality improvements are unrealistic, there is a funding gap and the funding is unpredictable. This makes the full implementation of the reform objectives unlikely and a policy slippage appears. The inter-organizational cooperation at the central level with power struggles among government structures has also complicated the full implementation of the reform objectives.

Moreover, that the majority of the population lives in extreme poverty and pupils and other stakeholders suffers from hunger causes great challenges for the learning and management of the school sector, particularly at the rural school.

Furthermore, the study uncovers that the PEDP reforms has been managed in a top-down way and not been adapted to different socio-economic circumstances and local culture. Additionally, that politics in Tanzania trumps policy and this makes the reforms incoherently communicated.

The results on the dependent variable (pass-rate of the PSLE tests) does show positive results for the two schools implicated for the year of 2013. The results of this research can only give partial explanations and an insight into the reasons for the results on the dependent variable. The research study concludes that important measures of the quality improvements like the competence based curriculum and the child-friendly violence-free environment has not been properly implemented at the two schools in Morogoro region.

The research concludes that the lack of broad participation in the policy formulation process, the lack of the government meeting operational quantitative targets in the operational goals and objectives in the PEDP policies, the ambiguity created by unclear and missing operationalization of the qualitative measures of the delivery of education, lack of cooperation between implementing agencies, lack of direct communication between the government to the implementers on the ground, lack of proper control of Street-level bureaucrats, inadequate financial, human and technical resources, level of target group trust and socio-economic conditions locally to varying degrees had an impact on the delivery of quality education in Tanzania. Additionally, politics in Tanzania trumps policy and this makes the reforms incoherently communicated.

Despite all of the limitation mentioned above the two schools delivered good results on the SPLE test which was the dependent variable in this research. The urban school scored 91 percent on the SPLE test in 2013 and the rural school scored 85 percent. Both of the schools improved upon their test scores in the PSLE test from 2012 until 2013. The research study undertaken can not adequately explain the local results. The final document may give some explanations and insights in the processes though. The results from the study uncovered that the PEDP II objectives of `the

competence based curriculum`, and `the child-friendly violence-free environment` was not properly operationalized in the PEDP II document and its relating documents this led to policy slippage in form of poor implementation on the ground.

The six hypothesis of the study were all shown to a certain extent to affect the two quality objectives commented upon above and are therefore verified. The same conclusion can not be made towards their impact on the operationalized variable since the pass-rate at the schools were high with 85 and 91 percent recorded at the NECTA PSLE in 2013.

A final question hangs in the air: Are we measuring the things that really counts?

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Appendix A

Interview Guides

Questions for the teachers

1) Could you describe your qualifications?
1) For how long have you taught at this school?
2) How many classes do you teach?
3) Do you have a body such as a teachers union through which you agitate your needs as a group to the higher authorities?
4) Are the school facilities sufficient in coping with the pupil numbers?
5) Does the pupils parents generally take an interest in their school work?
6) Does the Primary Education Development reform bring any benefit to you, if yes then how? If no, then why?
7) Does the PEDP reform cause any challenges? If yes, then how?
8) In what way is the standard of education evaluated by the authorities?
9) Does the PEDP reform relate well to the professional values of the teachers?
10) Do you think that the PEDP reforms have succeeded in improving the quality of education?
11) In what way do the school management and government reduce your discretion to ensure that you implement the PEDP as it is on paper?
12) How easy is it to be sure that you have done your job correctly? Please explain.
13) How heavy is the workload? How do you cope with that?
14) Do you have sufficient time to prepare all classes? If no, then how do you cope?
15) Does the recent reforms in the educational sector change classroom practice? If yes, then

how? If no, then: how is a typical class organized.

Questions for the Inspectorate

1) What are the main responsibilities of your office?
2) Can do describe how the coordination between the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, The PMO-RALG and the Inspectorate works?
3) What are the main challenges with the PEDP (MEM) reform?
4) What kind of capacity building has been done locally for teachers, head teachers, school board members and the Inspectorate the last year?
5) What kind of educational background do the inspectors have?
6) Are there any incentives for high performing teachers?
7) Do the teachers locally have the necessary training for using constructivist methods?
8) What are your recommendations regarding the PEDP (MEM) reform in the future?
9) How are the objectives of the reform communicated to the school and the local school boards?
10) Does the multiple choice testing for primary 7 allow for testing of competences?
11) Are there any inconsistencies between the MEM documents goal of a child friendly and violence free environment and the practice of corporal punishment in the primary schools?

12) Are there any other more relevant questions that we should have asked?

Questions for the District Educational Officer

I) Can you describe the responsibilities of your office and your main functions?

II) In your mind: What are the main components of the PEDP-MEM reform?

III) What does the reform say about quality education?

IV) Has the reform had any political complications at the central or regional-local level through the years?

V) How is the cooperation between the PMO-RALG, MFO and MoEVT organized?

VI) Does the policy change due to new persons in the central government?

VII) How clear are the goals in the policy documents regarding quality education?

VIII) Has there been any capacity building locally for facilitating the reform?

IX) How are the reform measures communicated to the local stakeholders?

X) What are the main obstacles for successful implementation of quality education in your district?

XI) What are your suggestions regarding what improvements can be made to the reform?

XII) Are there any question(s) we should have made that would have been more relevant than these questions?

Questions for the Head Teacher

1) Can you tell me something about this school?

2) How do the school relate to the local school board?

3) How does the School Board communicate with the other implementation structures?

4) What do you think are the main objectives of the PEDP (MEM) reform?

5) How do you communicate the main objectives of the PEDP (MEM) reform to the teachers?

6) What are the biggest challenges to the PEDP reform?

7) Has there been any *capacity building* activities for HT, teachers or the local school-board? Which kind?

8) Do you receive the capitation grant and other allocated funds in *full and at the time* you are supposed to do?

9)How has the PEDP reform measures been received by the teachers and other members of the local community?

10) What are your suggestions regarding improvements to the reform in the future?

11) Are there other more relevant questions that could have been made about the *quality of education.*

Questions for pupils

1) Tell us a little about yourself. What do you like to do?
2) Do you regularly attend classes?
3) What is your favourite subject at school, and why?
4) What are the best things with this school?
5) What are the biggest obstacles for learning in the classroom?
6) In what classes do you learn best? What happens in class then?
    a. Does your parents help you with school work? What do they say about school?

7) Does your parents pay any school fees. If yes:Please explain which.
8) Please describe how it is in your home when you are doing school work?
9) How is your relationship with the teachers?
10) Do the teachers give you enough home work?
11) Does the teachers use various teaching methods?
12) What do you think the school can do to improve the learning for the pupils?
13) Do your teachers regularly give you specific feedback on how you can improve your academic skills? If yes, how?
14) Are there some groups of pupils that lack the necessary discipline ? If yes: what could be the cause of this?
15) Are there any other questions we should have made?

Questions for the Head Teacher

1) Can you tell me something about this school?
2) How do the school relate to the local school board?
3) How does the School Board communicate with the other implementation structures?
4) What do you think are the main objectives of the PEDP (MEM) reform?
5) How do you communicate the main objectives of the PEDP (MEM) reform to the teachers?
6) What are the biggest challenges to the PEDP reform?
7) Has there been any *capacity building* activities for HT, teachers or the local school-board? Which kind?
8) Do you receive the captivity grant and other allocated funds in *full and at the time* you are supposed to do?
9) How has the PEDP reform measures been received by the teachers and other members of the local community?
10) What are your suggestions regarding improvements to the reform in the future?

11) Are there other more relevant questions that could have been made about the *quality of education?*

Questions for school board members

16) What are the main functions of the Leader of the School board committee?

17) What are the main functions of the School Board and how do you communicate with other important actors like the Ward, the DEO and the auditor institutions?

18) In your mind: What are the core objectives of the PEDP (MEM) reform?

19) How do you communicate the main objectives of the PEDP (MEM) reform to the teachers?

20) What are the biggest *challenges* to the PEDP reform?

21) Has there been any *capacity building* activities for HT, teachers or the local school-board? Which kind?

22) Do you receive the capitation grant and other allocated funds in full and at the time you are supposed to do?

23) How has the PEDP reform measures been received by the teachers and other members of the local community?

24) What are your suggestions regarding the reform in the future?

25) Do you think that the PEDP (MEM) reform is a clear document? If yes, please elaborate.

26) Are there other more relevant questions that could have been made about the quality of education?

Appendix B: Permissions

These are documented in a separate file that is included in the mail delivery.