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Education for *All or* Enrolment for *All?*

Linking Global Commitments and Local Reality
The Case of Geita District, Tanzania

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Abstract

In a dialectical manner, several interacting actions - on local, national and global level – have paved way for changes in Tanzania's education policy in the latest years. As a result, the Government of Tanzania launched the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) in 2002. This reform plan aims to materialize Tanzania's commitment towards the global Education for All (EFA) targets articulated by the international community in Jomtien and Dakar. The main priority of PEDP is to increase overall enrolment of girls and boys. Core government strategies for achieving this have been abolition of school fees and information campaigns aiming for increased awareness of the importance of education. The reforms have brought about substantial increases in enrolment which in turn brings one central question to the fore: what are the local effects of this new EFA policy?

The objective of this thesis was – by means of field studies in Geita District - to examine how a substantial quantitative expansion of pupil enrolment affects primary school education in qualitative terms. In this undertaking I was guided by a self-developed indicative framework for school quality. However my main interest lied in disclosing generative mechanisms through which school quality is affected. My sample was strategic. Consequently I allowed Geita to represent a critical case, arguing that if there are mechanisms affecting school quality that starts operating as a result of hasty enrolment increases in poor communities they ought to be present in today's Geita. The study's relevance is foremost related to its emphasis on school quality, a subject far too often neglected in the international debate on education. Further to its multi-level approach through which global commitments becomes interlinked with local reality. Finally, it could be argued that the research problem entails a certain historical relevance.

The thesis has a normative and qualitative point of departure. Important fields of theoretical inspiration are critical realism, human rights theory, school quality research and critical international political economy. Methodologically the thesis encompasses strategic samples and a triangulation approach based on methodological triangulation and data triangulation. Being inspired by critical realism abduction has been an important research tool. Thus, instead of merely establishing empirical correlations between enrolment increase and indicators of school quality I have strived by means of conceptualizations and theory generating abstractions to isolate aspects of a deeper unobservable reality - the hidden domain of generative mechanisms.

Although the general attitude towards PEDP is positive and although the plan has brought about some important improvements *the main conclusion of the thesis is that the enormous expansion of pupil enrolment have had certain negative effects on school quality in the selected field sites of Geita District.* The fast enrolment expansion in a context characterized of resource shortages – foremost shortages of classrooms and teachers - has generated mechanisms that are troublesome from a school quality perspective. These mechanisms, disclosed through abduction, are captured in a collection of concepts. An important overall mechanism has been designated *loophole solutions*. It incorporates several dimensions: *collectivism, marginalization, peeling* and *repression/laissez-faire behaviour*. These loophole solutions are particularly troublesome since they all tend to reproduce the prevailing structure. Further disclosed mechanisms are *chaos mechanisms, jading* and *relative deprivation*. I maintain that the mechanisms can be generalized beyond the local context in accordance with so-called realistic generality. Remaining empirical findings must however be understood – in scientific meaning – as ideographic. All this denotes that Geita is still far from the global EFA target of Universal Primary Education with good quality. This conclusion, in combination with the admittedly impressive Net Enrollment Rate of 97 %, points towards a situation where Geita District is close to *Enrolment for all* but hardly to *Education for all*.

In accordance with its normative departure point the thesis argues that EFA demands a substantial inflow of resources and improved planning. It further pins faith to the revived local awareness of the importance of education. If this new awareness, combined with perceived educational deficiencies, can be channeled in a war of position and interlinked with progressive forces on a global level, necessary structural transformation could be brought about. The global level is crucial in such a process since structures and decisions on a global level can limit or, inversely, widen the room of maneuver for local and national actors.

Keywords: Tanzania, Geita District, Education, Enrolment, School Quality, Primary Education Development Plan, Education for All, Universal Primary Education, Millennium Development Goals, Development studies, Critical realism, Human rights, Critical International Political Economy

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Abbreviations

CG	Capitation Grant
CIPE	Critical International Political Economy
DACC	District Aids Control Coordinator
DALDO	District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer
DED	District Executive Director
DEO	District Education Officer
DG	Development Grant
EFA	Education for All
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
IDA	International Development Association
IECs	Information, Education and Communication campaigns
IFF	International Finance Facility
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PCR	Pupil-Classroom Ratio
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTR	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
RAEO	Regional Academic Education Officer
REO	Regional Education Officer
RMO	Resident Mines Officer
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SC	School Committee
SCC	School Committee Chairperson
TINA	There Is No Alternative
Tsh	Tanzanian shillings
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollars
VC	Village Chairperson
VEC	Village Executive Officer
WEC	Ward Education Coordinator

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1. Introduction

Ever since the United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was proclaimed in 1948 there have been innumerable policy statements aiming to substantially improve basic life for the miserable of the world. Since education has often been regarded as both a mean and end in the quest for human rights and social development, it is not strange to see why many institutions have put emphasis on Universal Primary Education (UPE) in solemn declarations during the latest 50 years. The fact that the quantitative UPE goal – because UPE is in my view foremost a numerical concept - was not materialized in half a century did not prevent the *World Conference on Education for All* in Jomtien 1990, and the *World Education Forum* in Dakar 2000, from further raised ambitions. In Jomtien a new concept was coined - Education for All (EFA) – encompassing the issue of quality (World Conference on Education for All 1990). Ten years later in the *Dakar Framework for Action* it was proclaimed that by year 2015, “*all children should have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.*” (World Education Forum 2000, p. 8). Later in the same year the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted (UN 2000). Albeit ignoring the issue of quality, hence more or less reconfirming what had already been stated in 1948, this framework further enhanced the global commitment for UPE.¹ The fact that the countries of the world – rich and poor – in this way acknowledge their mutual responsibility for measurable global development is of course a good thing. Yet, I find it difficult to be entirely optimistic.

Taking Tanzania as a point of departure the official primary school net enrolment rate (NER) in 2000 was 57 % (Tomasevski 2003, p. 140). Moreover, the education sector was struggling with severe quality deficiencies (Närman 2004, p. 11). Bearing this in mind it is safe to say that reaching a NER of 100 % – with some kind of quality education – in 2015 poses a true challenge. In fact, World Bank estimations suggest that it is highly unlikely that sub-Saharan Africa will reach UPE by 2015 (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 6).

However, what trouble me are possible side effects of hasty donor-driven UPE efforts. Historically it has been shown that quick, quantitative expansions of the educational system in Africa, seldom walks hand in hand with quality education (Närman 2001a, p. 325). More recent studies from Uganda and Malawi also conclude that hasty enrolment expansion tends to erode quality (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 45). My point is simply that enrolment and actual learning are not necessary the same thing. To put it differently I do not question children’s *right* to education, instead I emphasize children’s right to *education*. On the other hand, and this might be important to point out, in a global and longer time perspective there are no indications of contradictions between quality and quantity (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 28).

In 2002 the Government of Tanzania launched the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP). This reform plan is aiming to materialize Tanzania’s commitment towards the international EFA targets articulated in Jomtien and Dakar (URT 2001a, p. 2). PEDP has four strategic priorities: 1) Enrolment expansion. 2) Quality improvement. 3) Capacity building. 4) Optimizing human, material and financial resource utilization. However the

¹ In my view a considerable degree of conceptual confusion reign the international debate on education and this is unfortunate from a school quality perspective. An attempt to disentangle some of this confusion is presented in Appendix 1. The appendix further includes the EFA Dakar Goals and the education MDGs.

articulated *main* priority of PEDP is to increase overall enrolment of girls and boys (URT 2001a, p. 3). Core government strategies for achieving this has been abolition of school fees and so-called Information, Education and Communication (IEC) campaigns aiming for increased awareness of the importance of education. This, in turn, has substantially increased the enrolment rates in primary schools. According to Tomasevski reduced school fees in 2001 immediately led to an increase in enrolment rate to 75 % (Tomasevski 2003, p. 140). Buston remarks that, one year later, the abolition of fees resulted in a floodgate enrolment of 1.6 million prior deprived children (Buston 2003, p. 17). According to the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2004 the national Net Enrolment Rate (NER) has increased to 90.5 % whereas the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) is 106.3 % (URT 2004a, p. 23). According to the District Education Officer of Geita the equivalent figures in the district in 2005 are 97 % and 111 % respectively. In my view this rapid expansion could be regarded as a strong foretaste of what full implementation of UPE would denote. Moreover, it brings one central question to the fore. What are the local effects of this policy?

1.1. Objective and relevance

My overall aim is to examine a Tanzanian context of EFA implementation efforts. It should be pointed out that I am more interested in the actual effects of the adherent quantitative enrolment expansion, rather than the achievement of the quantitative goal as such. *My specified objective is – by means of field studies in Geita District - to examine how a substantial quantitative expansion of pupil enrolment affects primary school education in qualitative terms.* In this undertaking I have been guided by a self-developed indicative framework for school quality. However my main interest lies in disclosing generative mechanisms, operating within the existing school structure, through which school quality is affected. My sample is strategic. Consequently I allow Geita to represent a so-called critical case, arguing that if there are mechanisms affecting school quality that starts operating as a result of hasty enrolment increases in poor communities they ought to be present in today's Geita. This, due to extreme enrolment increases in a short period of time. Against the backdrop of my Field Studies the thesis will end up in a discussion on possible paths for the future, i.e. what measures must be taken in order to achieve Education for All rather than Enrolment for All. In this discussion I encompass Tanzania *and* the international donor community.

The study is relevant of foremost four reasons. First, as stated, it is time to address the issue of quality within the framework of the international education discourse. I find this debate marginalized. Second, global targets such as EFA and MDGs are normally monitored by means of official macro statistics that are highly questionable. If we want to illuminate the true state of affairs we must enter the field and build a picture of what is happening on a local level, i.e. global commitments must be more closely interlinked with local reality. Third, as will be evident in chapter 2, I argue that the present development of the education sector in Tanzania could be interpreted as a historical recurrence. Hence, from a social development perspective the research problem entails a certain historical relevance. The question whether or not history will repeat itself is close at hand. Finally, since several studies regarding the effects of user-fees have been undertaken in Geita District in later years within the research project *A matter of choice? – Cost sharing in health and education from a rights of the child perspective* (Ewald et al. 2005) it could be argued that this study, in some respect, constitutes a

relevant follow-up – due to the ongoing changes in the education sector - of these previous studies in the district.

1.2. Disposition

Including this brief introduction the thesis entails six chapters. Chapter 2 provides a historical background which will hopefully further elucidate the research problem. Chapter 3 outlines the author's normative, meta-theoretical and theoretical points of departure. Chapter 4 describes the different methodological procedures on which the study is founded. Chapter 5 presents empirical findings and analysis from the field. Chapter 6 summarizes the main conclusions of the thesis and elaborates briefly on possible progressive paths for the future.

2. Towards UPE in Tanzania - A historical recurrence

The intention of this chapter is to provide some background information which will hopefully further elucidate the research problem. The present development of the education sector in Tanzania, with a revived emphasis on UPE - framed by PEDP and commitment to the international EFA targets - could in some respect be regarded as a historical recurrence. Hettne, amongst others, has moreover emphasized the importance of historical perspectives in development related research (Hettne 1995, p. 14). Consequently I would like to outline a historical recapitulation which will function as a point of departure for my further discussion.

2.1. The challenge of independence

At the time of independence, year 1961 to be precise, Tanzania faced an enormous challenge.² British colonial rule had been based on the assumption that Africans in general had very little use of any sophisticated education. The little formal schooling that was available for the people of Tanzania was normally provided through the missionary societies, although a small proportion of government schools also operated. Nevertheless, they all functioned within the framework of a colonial discourse. Access to schooling was severely limited, and the ones lucky enough to be enrolled got an education that was ill-suited to a Tanzanian context, that served British interests and that taught Tanzanians that they were inferior (Davidson 2001, p. 188).

Independence involved a huge switch in perspectives.³ Education was now thought upon as a basic human right. President *Mwalimu* (“teacher”) Nyerere regarded education as the cornerstone of individual consciousness, collective welfare and nation building. All of which he considered to be integral parts of both the specific educational philosophy called *Education for Self-Reliance* and the general political *ujamaa*-philosophy⁴ (Nyerere 1967, p. 273). It is also important to point out that independence involved huge popular pressure for access to primary schools. Education was generally regarded as a gateway to social mobility (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 220). Accordingly enormous effort was made to transform an insignificant educational sector characterized by low enrolment rates and poor infrastructure

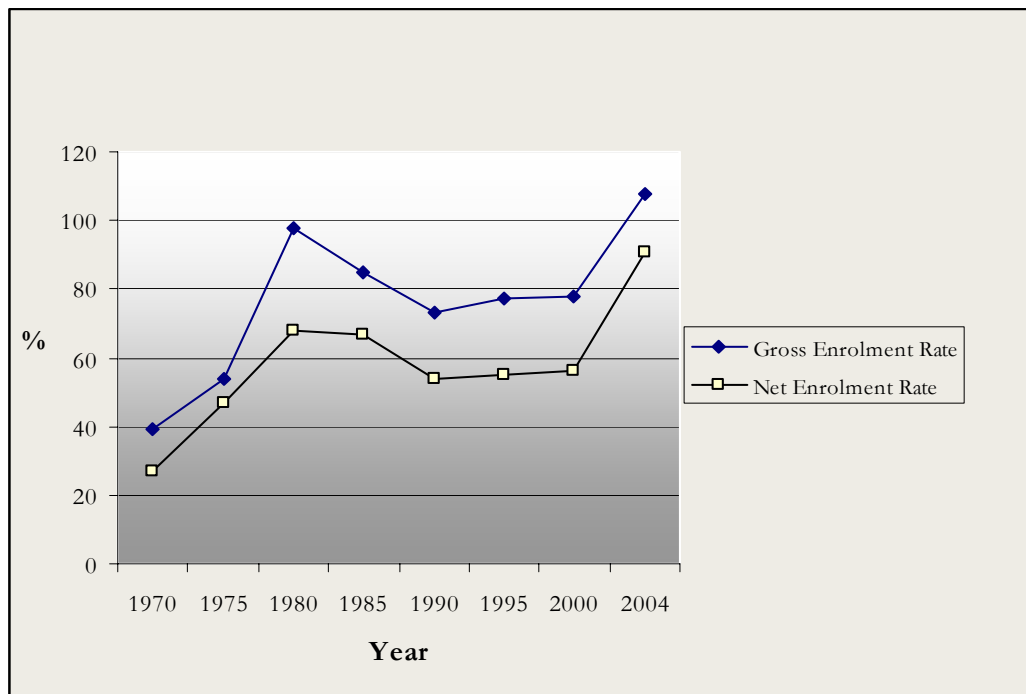
² The Republic of Tanganyika was formally independent from British rule in 1961. Two years later Zanzibar was independent, but unlike the case on the mainland the new post-independence government lacked public support. After a violent uprising a new government was formed which in turn approached the mainland politically. In 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged into the United Republic of Tanzania (Twaddle et al. 1999, p. 244).

³ However, it might be important to point out that Tanzania initially was less radical. Due to huge shortages of well-educated Tanzanians, needed in the new administration, higher education was initially prioritized at the expense of primary education. Moreover during this initial so-called “neo-colonial” era (1961-1967) Tanzania pursued a quite liberal, open-economy, export-orientated policy. A series of crises in the mid 1960s, involving popular discontent, paved way for the radical development strategy formulated in the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 214-216).

⁴ The concept *ujamaa* (familyhood) is ambiguous. It denotes Tanzanian socialism and is often referred to in terms of practical policy programs, i.e. village programs for rural development (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 212). However, according to Nyerere himself *ujamaa* is foremost an “attitude of mind” in which the individual is responsible, self-reliant and committed to the well-being of the whole community (Nyerere 1966, p. 227) (Nyerere 1967, p. 273). *Ujamaa* had two main sources of inspiration: a quest for poverty alleviation and anti-colonialism (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 213). However, several critical voices – e.g. Shivji and Havnevik - has accused *ujamaa* for being a rudimentary ideology without any real political program (Ewald 1997, p. 55).

to a national provider of UPE. The goal was to make primary education available, compulsory, and provided free of cost to all members of society. Consequently Tanzania launched an UPE-policy based on huge increases in the numbers of primary schools and teachers through campaign-style programs with the help of donor financing (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 1). Other important measures were elimination of certain examination procedures and abolition of primary school fees in 1973 (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 233). Given the poor prerequisites the result of the first two decades was impressive (Närman 2001a, p. 324). The common apprehension is that Tanzania was close to UPE around 1980, at least in terms of GER.. Figure 2.1 provides a longitudinal overview of enrolment rates which illustrates the enormous expansion. The data is collected from Galabawa (2001, p. 13) and URT (2004, p. 23). I find it reasonable to question the exact accuracy of these figures, notwithstanding they are useful since they illuminate the general trend.

Figure 2.1. Primary school enrolment in Tanzania 1970-2004.



Comment: Note that the diagram is composed of data from two different sources. The figures 1970 – 2000 are from Galabawa 2001. The figures 2000 – 2004 are from URT 2004a. Both sources presented figures from 1995 – 2000. These figures do not coincide completely but the deviation is very small.

However, as stated by Närman, there is a strong relationship between a fast quantitative expansion of the education system and the inability to uphold quality (Närman 2001a, p. 325). From a qualitative standpoint the education system in Tanzania had severe difficulties to keep pace with the fast expansion of enrolment. Main problems were shortage of qualified teachers, lack of relevant teaching material, inadequate school buildings and poor pedagogy. The general conclusion ought to be that the post-independence educational policy of Tanzania – albeit politically necessary – compromised quality for quantity (ibid. p. 329). As a result there was a general decline in pupil achievement, albeit with huge regional differences (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 250). Samoff draws the conclusion that the educational system neither provided the pupils with enough skills to leave the farm and enter

modernity (in fierce opposition to parents general expectations), nor did it contribute much to improve everyday life on the farm. Accordingly, the result was frustrated aspirations (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 252). As time went by, Tanzania faced increasing difficulties to finance the social sector service. This was a result of several interacting factors:

- In the late seventies there was a remarkable decline of Tanzania's terms-of-trade. Economic growth and tax revenues declined accordingly.
- The international donor community was less interested in financing the recurrent costs of education, as opposed to the initial capital costs.
- Substantial population growth increased the demand for education which put further constraints on the sector (Alonso I Terme 2001, p. 1).
- Several years of severe drought stagnated agricultural production. This decreased economic growth which in turn affected tax revenues negatively.
- The sharp rise in oil prices played an important part.
- The war with Uganda in the late 1970s further strained the Tanzanian economy (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 217-218).

In line with the financial difficulties school quality deteriorating accelerated (Alonso I Terme 2001, p. 1). In this process internal problems related to deficiencies of the rapidly expanding state bureaucracy also played a part (Ewald 1997, p. 56).

2.2. Tanzania in the era of neo-liberalism

In the 1980s there was an alteration from human rights perspectives to more economic considerations. This was partly a result of the national financial crisis but also an effect of ideological changes of the West in general and powerful financial institutions and donors in particular (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 39). In the wake of neo-liberal policies, imposed on Tanzania by IMF and the World Bank through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP), the approach to education changed (Närman 1998, p. 113). Although the World Bank accepted the notion that there is a strong relationship on the macro-level between education and economic growth, as well as on the individual level between education and income, it was no longer self-evident that education should be provided for free, nor that it should be distributed by the government (World Bank 1988, p. 93). One of the key objectives of SAP is to achieve macro-economic balance, partly through cut backs in public expenditures (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 62). In the case of Tanzania, as in many other cases, reduction of governmental spending on education was partly to be compensated through cost-sharing (Ewald et al. 2001, p. 57). Accordingly user-fees for primary schools were re-introduced in 1984 (Carnoy & Samoff 1990, p. 242).

According to Adepoju (1993, p. 6) and Närman (1998, p. 118) SAPs resulted in a substantial reduction of public educational service in Africa. Tanzania was no exception from this rule (Ewald et al. 2001, p. 57). Moreover, through the introduction of school fees large segments of the population – the poorest in particular – were excluded from education. (ibid. p. 79). Although official policies vindicated children unable to pay from being expelled, *de facto* they were (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 2). Sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly since harassment of children unable to pay occurred which, in turn, made some drop out (Ewald et al. 2001, p. 67). Thus in the mid 1980s – as illustrated in figure 2.1 - the positive quantitative expansion of primary school enrolment from independence and onwards was reversed (Närman 1998, p. 118).

Besides declining enrolment rates due to poor people's inability to pay, the school fees generated huge social discontent. Although the fee as such was resented, the fact that it was misused by the authorities reinforced these feelings. The district administrations treated the fees as any taxation to finance general administrative expenditures. This contradicted the original idea that the fees should be redirected to the local school in order to obtain teaching material and raise quality. Parents never saw any result from their payments and accordingly the presupposed sense of ownership never appeared (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 2).

Bearing in mind that educational service was partly erroneous and that Tanzania had difficulties in financing its educational sector before SAP was introduced, it might be incorrect to solely put blame on the neo-liberal agenda for the negative development from the mid 1980s onwards (Närman 2001b, p. 1). Nevertheless during these decades, and I find this remark very important, the Bretton Woods institutions *never* treated the issue of education as an issue of human rights (Tomasevski 2003, p. 71-72). Education was basically seen as a commodity that some people can afford and others not. Moreover, there is strong evidence that suggests that SAP actually contributed to the economic decline in sub-Saharan Africa (Adepoju 1993, p. 6). These facts, in combination with the Bretton Woods-institutions enormous power over poor countries like Tanzania, justify in my view the criticism. The power performance can be understood in two senses. First, Ewald (1997, p. 57f.) has illuminated how the Bretton Woods institutions in a straightforward manor, through strangled credit and aid, brought about policy changes in Tanzania. Second, power have been pursued through what can be designated *the financial-intellectual complex*, i.e. a combination of Tanzania's financial dependence and internalization of the neo-liberal development discourse (Samoff 1994, p. 163). In the later signification I find the concept *discursive power* highly applicable (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 17).

2.3. *Glocalisation* and the abolition of school fees

However, in a dialectical manner, several interacting actions - on local, national and global level - paved the way for changes in Tanzania's educational policy. Within the research fields of Human Geography and Development Studies this kind of mutual reinforcing process on global and local level are often labeled under the concept *glocalisation* (Ewald 2001, p. 141). Further, in my view, the process to be outlined here could be designated as an example of a gramscian *war of position* (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 92-93). I wish to point out that we are dealing with a complex struggle. It is not sufficient to approach the abolition of school fees in Tanzania as a singular political battle. It must also be understood as a part of global politics involving the World Conferences on Education, PRSPs and the HIPC-initiative (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 3). Obviously, the UNs Millennium Declaration must also be remembered. The reader is offered a simplified overview of the process in figure 2.2.

As stated above the school fees resulted in declining enrolment rates and social discontent. The popular non-violent anger was channeled through local, as well as global, representatives for civil society. Tanzanian and international NGOs conducted research, advocacy and carried out lobbying of the Tanzanian government and the international donor community. The constrained government of Tanzania supported the maintenance of school fees. This due to the country's financial difficulties and due to the fact that it was required by

the international financial institutions in exchange for further donor assistance.⁵ Moreover, the district administrations were negative to the abolitions of fees since they constituted important revenues (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 3-5).

The mainstream of the international donor community obviously supported the cost-sharing educational policy in the 1980s and 1990s. Main arguments were the presupposed sense of ownership that it would bring about and, perhaps more important, economic considerations (ibid., p. 6). The neo-liberal TINA-logic (There Is No Alternative) that swept over the world must be kept in mind here (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 83).

Nevertheless, in the late 1990s the work of NGOs started to pay off. The World Conferences on Education in Jomtien 1990 and Dakar 2000 revitalized the claim for UPE, including quality. Consequently the concept EFA was coined.

In addition, it has been suggested by Alonso I Terme (2002, p. 3) that the more general ongoing PRSP-process played an important role. In the later half of 1990s the World Bank and IMF started to change their policy concerning debt relief and accordingly the HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries)-initiative was born. The aim of the initiative is to ensure that poor countries do not face a debt burden they cannot manage⁶ (Hermele 2003, p. 17). This policy shift was to a great extent a result of immense pressure from NGOs world wide within the framework of the Jubilee 2000 (Abrahamsson 2003b, p. 176). In fact, President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania has in a letter expressed his personal gratitude to the Jubilee 2000 for its successful work to promote debt relief and thus the creation of enhanced opportunities for poverty alleviation in Tanzania. The intimate relationship between debt relief and expanded primary education – including abolition of school fees - is underlined in the letter (URT 2004b, p. 1). In 1999 Tanzania reached the so-called *decision point* for debt reduction (IDA & IMF 2000, p. 4). However, the prerequisite for implementation of debt relief - the so-called *completion point* - is a functioning SAP (“*a good track record*”) and a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). A PRSP is a written comprehensive country-based strategy for poverty reduction (Hermele 2003, p. 18-19). Consequently the Tanzanian government initiated a PRSP-process in 2000. According to Alonso I Terme this was an important step towards upcoming events, since the PRSP involves civil society and puts poverty reduction at the center of the debate (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 3). However, in the name of justice it should also be pointed out that a lot of criticism has been articulated about the inability of PRSP to really involve broad segments of civil society (Hermele 2003, p. 24).

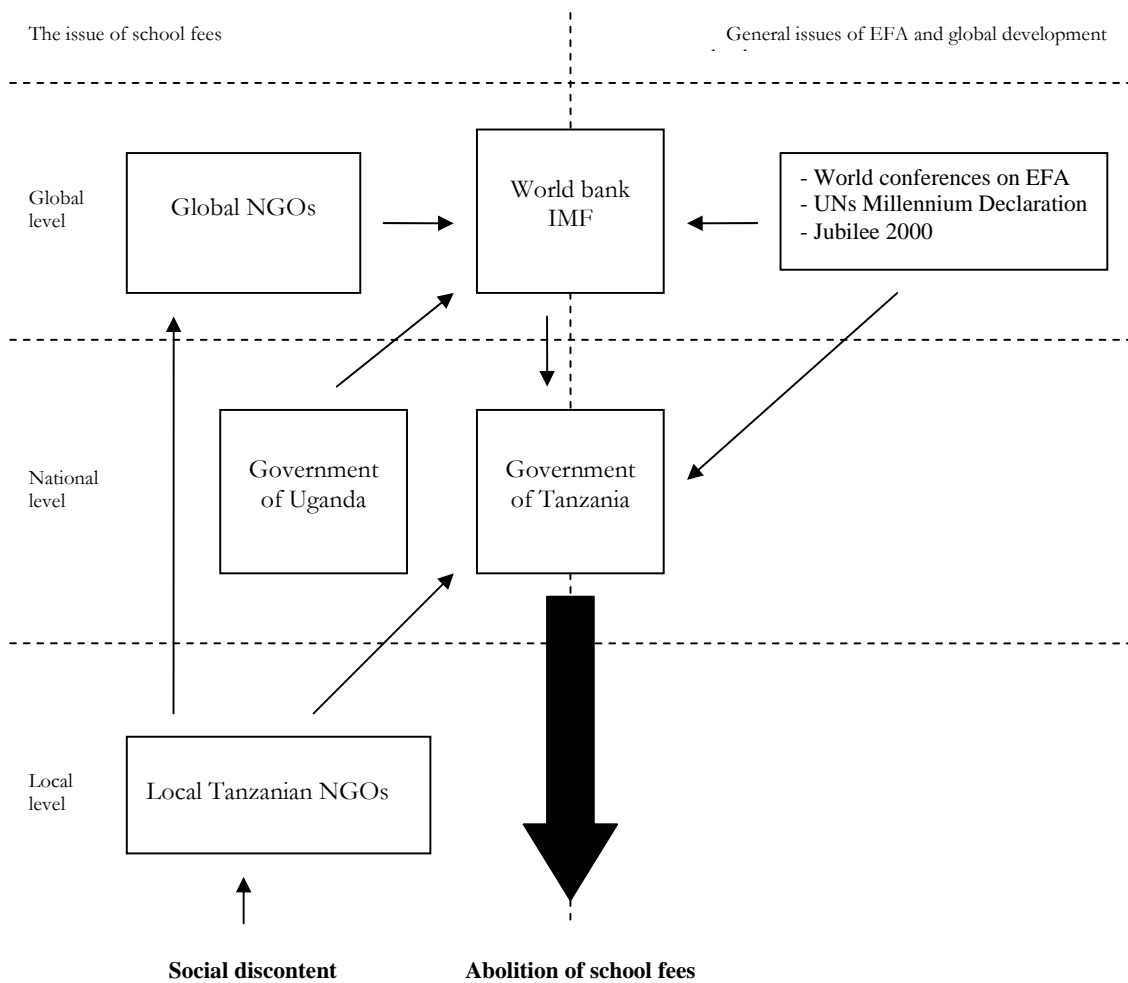
Another issue that might be important to address is that Uganda’s elimination of school fees for up to four children per family in 1996, had resulted in a rapid rise in enrolment rates (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 45). This perceived success-story probably influenced the donor community even further (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 6).

⁵ In this context it might be important to point out that 40 % of Tanzania’s state budget is donor financed (Exportrådet 2004).

⁶ It might important to point out that there is an ongoing, quite polarized, debate on what should be regarded as a *manageable* level of debt (Hermele 2003, p. 17). My aim is not to discuss this matter here, although I find it relevant to note that Tanzania spends more on debt service than on primary education (Buston 2003, p. 16).

The overall result of these interacting processes was changes in the mindsets of a substantial share of individuals in the World Bank, IMF and other important donor institutions. All of a sudden a large part of the international donor community supported the abolition of school fees and addressed that they were prepared to provide the necessary funding for such reform. This support played an important role for the Tanzanian government's decision to abolish fees (Alonso I Terme 2002, p. 7). What we see is how NGOs pressure from bellow, and ultimately international donor-policy changes from above, created an opportunity for national political reforms in Tanzania. The abolition of school fees was consequently integrated in the PRSP for Tanzania (URT 2001b, p. 21) and the PEDP (URT 2001, p. 5).

Figure 2.2. Simplified model of the glocalization process leading to the abolition of school fees in Tanzania.



Comment: This glocalization process involves actors on global, national and local level. Moreover it must be understood both as a single issue of user-fees *and* as a part of general issues of EFA and global development. This is represented in the model by the backdrop of broken lines. The arrows represent different forms of influential impact. The model is a simplification and must not be understood as full coverage of the process.

In 2002 the Government of Tanzania introduced the education reform PEDP. This is a five year plan with four strategic priorities:

- **Enrolment expansion**
- **Quality improvement**
- **Capacity building**
- **Optimizing human, material and financial resource utilization**

Apparently PEDP sets out an agenda that emphasizes both increased enrolment and quality improvements. However, the articulated *main* priority of PEDP is to increase overall enrolment of girls and boys (URT 2001, p. 3f). In this context it should be pointed out that PEDP has been criticized for focusing on enrolment expansion and paying little attention to actual learning (Mmbaga 2003, p. 5). Apart from the crucial abolition of school fees a core strategy for enrolment expansion has been IEC-campaigns aiming at creating awareness among people about the significance of education.

2.4. Present day: same old challenge

So what has been the outcome of all this? According to Tomasevski reduced school fees in 2001 immediately led to a net enrolment increase from 57 to 75 % in Tanzania (Tomasevski 2003, p. 140). Buston remarks that, one year later, the abolition of fees resulted in a floodgate enrolment of 1.6 million prior deprived children (Buston 2003, p. 17). According to the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Culture in 2004 the national Net Enrolment Rate (NER) has increased to 90.5 % whereas the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) is 106.3 % (URT 2004a, p. 23). The general conclusion ought to be that Tanzania has taken huge steps in the right direction to achieve UPE. But it is also fair to address that in this process Tanzania is struggling to make ends meet. Therefore it is depressing to note that the international donor community has failed to take advantage of Tanzania's progressive policy. So far, the donors have not lived up to their commitments to fill the financing gap for Tanzania's revived UPE efforts. Another problem is poor donor co-ordination of support to the education sector (Buston 2003, p. 18). As will be discussed later on I fear that this lack of commitment from the North might imply that neither UPE, nor quality encompassing EFA, will be materialized.

As stated in the beginning of this chapter the present day situation might be regarded as a historical recurrence. Likewise the case by the time of independence, Tanzania is now showing a revived commitment to UPE manifested through free and compulsory education. Low enrolment rates are once again being alleviated quickly. At the same time it is important to keep in mind Närman's remark about the strong relationship between fast quantitative expansion of the education system and the ability to uphold quality. Historically it has been shown that quick, quantitative expansions of the educational system in Africa, seldom walks hand in hand with quality education (Närman 2001a, p. 329). More recent studies from Malawi and the portrayed success-country Uganda, both which are ahead of Tanzania with abolition of school fees in 1995 and 1996 respectively, conclude that hasty enrolment expansion tends to erode quality (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 45). Additionally, Buston gives vent to concern about the quality implications of the present floodgate increase of pupil enrolment in Tanzania (Buston 2003, p. 17). This concern is the very foundation of my objective.

Finally I find it important to point out that the historical recapitulation outlined here is by no means an isolated Tanzanian experience. Rather it should be viewed as a part of a greater pattern characterizing sub-Saharan Africa in general. Although this study revolves around Tanzania I would like to encourage the reader to elaborate on the thought that reaching worldwide EFA, after two decades of devastating decline of enrolment rates and deteriorating standards, is a global challenge. In this context a few financial considerations might be appropriate. The *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005* provides some important remarks regarding aid flow to education. With current levels of aid flow to education it is simply impossible to reach neither the ambitious quality encompassing EFA-goals nor the quantitative UPE goal by 2015. Today's level of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to education is approximately USD 5.5 billions per year. Out of this approximately USD 1.5 billions per year are directed towards basic education. If the commitments of the Monterrey Conference would be pursued this would denote an additional USD 0.4 billions per year to basic education. If we, in thought, elaborate on a materialization of the British proposal of an International Financial Facility (IFF) this would mean - in combination with the post-Monterrey pledges - an additional USD 1.6 billions to basic education. Hence the Monterrey commitments and IFF combined would denote a doubling of the current ODA to basic education. Even if so, a significant financial gap would remain to reach the – compared to today's level of USD 1.5 billions - estimated necessary additional USD 5.6 billions⁷ per year required just to achieve the quantitative UPE goal (Colclough et al 2005, p. 195-196). What is needed to achieve real quality encompassing EFA remains an open question.

⁷ As a point of reference it could be mentioned that Oxfam International and Global Campaign for Education has estimated that an additional 7-8 billions per year are needed to reach UPE by year 2010 (Fredriksson 2005, p. 70).

3. Theoretical inspiration

The academic discipline Development studies can be characterized in accordance with the following five features. First, the discipline is concerned with societal *change*. Second, the theoretical and methodological departure points of Development studies are by nature *interdisciplinary*. Third, the discipline must be conceived as *problem-oriented*. Further, Development studies analyses reality in a world context and is accordingly distinguished by an *internationalist* approach. Finally, the discipline is explicitly *normative* (Hettne 1995, p. 15-17). This thesis shares all of these features and should therefore be filed under Development studies. In my view the correspondence between this study and the first four features outlined above is self-evident and requires no further elaboration. However, I would like reason briefly upon the normative dimension.

Development studies have rightfully been labeled as a *normative* discipline (Hettne 1995, p. 16). There are in my understanding two aspects that justify such a designation. First, the discipline is profoundly unsatisfied with the conditions of the present world - characterized by poverty, global inequalities and war - and consequently argues that it has a mission to contribute to changes in these unjust circumstances (ibid.). Such a standpoint is highly controversial. This, since the mainstream of social sciences argue that researchers should attempt to design theories that contributes to people's understanding of the world, not attempt to change it (Abrahamsson 2003b, p. 23). From a counterpoint position Nilsson has even coined a concept, *normative strength*, functioning as a gauge of the research's ability to achieve its emancipatory objective (Nilsson 1999, p. 247). Second, Development studies are underpinned by the assumption that there is no value-free knowledge. The discipline thereby finds itself in opposition to the notion of "objective knowledge" or positivism. This is logical since it deals with development - which in view of the discipline - must be treated as an "open-ended" concept (Hettne 1995, p. 252). However, this epistemological position obliges. Nilsson argues that we - as researchers - must be aware of our own paradigmatic profiles while approaching reality. This involves, in a "myrdalian" sense, to recognize our political and social value premises (Nilsson 1999, p. 248). Not only is it crucial to recognize these premises but also - from a methodological perspective (c.f. 4.4.1) - to make them transparent to the reader. It is my intention in this chapter to give a brief outline of my own theoretical inspiration, which - undoubtedly - has affected my interpretations on the field. Obviously, this inspiration entails interdisciplinary eclecticism. According to Nilsson it is very important that eclecticism coexists with paradigmatic coherence, i.e. that a unifying base could be sustained (ibid. p. 251). In my view the thesis meets this requirement.

3.1. Critical realism

It would not be fair to designate myself as *a* critical realist (Danermark et al 2003). Nonetheless, many insights have been acquired from this meta-theoretical school of thought and these have undoubtedly influenced the design of the study. My meta-theoretical departure point lies, in this sense, somewhat in between positivism and social constructivism. I accept the positivistic notion that there is a reality beyond language and that reality can be explained. However I strongly reject the positivist reduction of reality to the observable and hence the false conclusions that so often are drawn in the tradition, i.e. confusion of correlation and causality. I totally agree with the social constructivists that our perception of

the world is socially biased – hence the importance of transparency - but I disagree with the conclusion that we are captured in our own language and that everything is a matter of subjective perspectives. Reality is reachable through theories. Some theories, undoubtedly, are better than other's. In accordance with a critical realist approach I strive in this study to disclose generative mechanisms operating within the existing school structure, i.e. *not* – as is custom in positivistic mainstream research - to establish correlations between independent and dependent variables. I admit that descriptive elements permeate the thesis, but – again - as far as possible the aim has been to disclose generative mechanisms. In this undertaking *abduction* becomes an important tool (Danermark 2003, p. 179f.). Abduction basically means that the researcher interprets and recontextualises separate phenomenon from a new imagined pattern, i.e. he/she understands something in a new way by approaching it through a new set of ideas. An abductive conclusion is always an abstraction. Abstraction, in turn, is a way to isolate certain aspects of complex reality in thought. This means that we – through conceptualizations and theory generating abstractions – can reach mechanisms that reveal themselves through their effects although they are not directly observable as such.

3.2. Human rights and human capabilities

This thesis is written from a human rights perspective. Two important sources of theoretical inspiration have been Katarina Tomasevski (2003) and Amartya Sen (1999). Likewise Tomasevski I argue that education is a basic human right that functions as a multiplier. “*It enhances all other human rights when guaranteed and forecloses the enjoyment of most, if not all, when denied.*” (Tomasevski 2003, p. 1). This is why the issue of education is crucial in the overall millennium framework for poverty eradication. Sen holds a similar position in his human capability approach where he defines poverty in terms of capability deprivation (Sen 1999, p. 87). In a human capability perspective education is viewed both as a mean and an end, since it enhance capabilities of people. Flipping the coin capability poverty refers to deprivation of choices and opportunities. Education deprivation constitutes a part of capability poverty and thereby poverty in itself (ibid., p. 90).

Tomasevski further emphasizes that quality ought to be one of the core contents of the right to education (Tomasevski 2003., p. 51). As pointed out in Appendix 1 access to education has normally overshadowed the issue of quality in the human rights debate. An important theoretical departure point in this study could be found in a meeting point of human rights theory and school quality research. If we as Amartya Sen perceive development as enhanced capabilities we must recognize the right to access and quality simultaneously. The undisputed right to poor education is not much of a right. Neither is high quality teaching within an educational system that deprives large segments of the population acceptable. Following the last line of thought Colclough et al concludes: “*education systems that lack a strong, clear respect for human rights cannot be said to be of high quality.....any shift towards equity is an improvement in quality*” (Colclough et al 2005, p. 224).

3.3. School Quality Research

The prime focus of this thesis is the issue of *school quality*. In fact, the departure point of the study, somehow, lies in the interface of Development Studies and School Quality Research. Hence the broad field of School Quality Research has contributed profoundly to the thesis.

The methodological and interpretative consequences of this inspiration are elaborated upon, in detail, in chapter 4. Nevertheless, a few remarks could be made in this section. Albeit limited in scope the thesis is *broad based* in the sense that it picks up a variety of indicators from the extensive field of school quality research. Within the field there are basically four overall areas of concern: 1. Enabling inputs. 2. Educational outcomes. 3. Learner characteristics. 4. The social context in which education is taking place (Colclough et al 2005a, p. 36). This thesis combines three of these areas, i.e. educational outcomes, enabling inputs and the social context. Issues of learner characteristics are left out of the analysis. The thesis is limited in this regard. Main sources of theoretical inspiration on issues of school quality have been Colclough et al. (2005a), Teddlie & Reynolds (2000) and Mayer et al. (2000). All of which constitute authorities in the field of school quality research.

3.4. Critical International Political Economy

Since this thesis primarily deals with school quality in a remote part of Tanzania, *not* with the economic world order and presumptive means of changing it, it might be a bit awkward to notice that theoretical references are made to Critical International Political Economy (CIPE). Notwithstanding insights from CIPE – foremost as shaped by Hans Abrahamsson (2003a, 2003b) - has been an important source of theoretical inspiration.⁸ *First*, CIPE shares the two normative departure points elaborated upon in the introduction of this chapter (Abrahamsson 2003b, p. 23-24). CIPE-scholar Robert Cox articulates this position in an illuminating manner: “*Theory is always for someone and for some purpose. We need to know the context in which the theory is produced and used; and we need to know whether the aim of the user is to maintain the existing social order or to change it.*” (Cox 1995, p. 31). *Second*, and obviously in line with my objective, CIPE stresses the importance of a multi-level approach, i.e. we must strive to understand the connections between global macro-politics and local need satisfaction (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 86). Hettne argues that one of the main contributions from International Political Economy to Development theory has been the “*overall perspective, which transcends the nation state.*” (Hettne 1995, p. 155). A crucial important CIPE contribution is further the recognition of vertical power structures in this multi-level world (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 88). As will be evident I argue that the prerequisites for education in Geita are, to a large extent, determined on a global level. *Third*, I share the fundamental CIPE interest in analyzing structures under stress (*ibid.*, p. 91). Following that line of thought I subscribe to the CIPE view on development as a dialectical process in which contradictions sooner or later emerge in societies. These contradictions as such, and the way they are perceived, are crucial in societal transformation. Contradictions can be met by means of problem-solving measures (correcting dysfunctions in a given framework) or structural change (changing the framework). The general viewpoint of CIPE is that the later is paramount. However, what has been inspiring to me in my specific endeavor is Abrahamsson’s view that: “*problem-solving measures might, under certain circumstances, initiate dynamics that in the long run will lead to a change of some of the prevailing structures on the local level.*” (*ibid.*, p. 92). Put differently, problem-solving measures and contradictions can create an entry point for structural transformation. As will be obvious later on, this perspective has had a bearing on my interpretation of the situation in Geita. *Fourth*, I share the CIPE recognition of civil society’s role in the war of position for structural transformation.

⁸ Albeit applied in a somewhat unconventional way, in terms of topic and interpretation.

4. Method

As stated in my objective (c.f. 1.1.) this thesis is in itself a call for qualitative field work as a complement to more quantitative approaches. I maintain that macro data are of limited use if we want to illuminate the state of affairs on a local level. This position is challenging but hardly radical. The EFA Global Monitoring Reports 2002 and 2005 comprises extensive discussions, warning about problems of data and the difficulties in monitoring the various aspects of EFA on a macro level (Colclough et al. 2002, p. 26; Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 108). Further, Colclough et al judge it as unfortunate “*that the quantitative aspects of education have become the main focus of attention in recent years for policy makers and many quantitatively inclined social scientists*” (Colclough et al. 2005, p. 29). In addition, studies by Samoff in Tanzania indicate that the collection of quantitative data has often been compromised by political motives on various levels of the education system (Jansen 2004, p. 81). Regarding the inaccuracy of official figures similar conclusions have emerged within the partly Geita-based research project *A matter of choice? – Cost sharing in health and education from a rights of the child perspective* (Ewald et al. 2005, p. 18 and 106).

However my biased standpoint towards qualitative fieldwork does not imply that I find such approaches unproblematic. Nothing could be more wrong. The intention of this chapter is to describe the different methodological procedures on which this study is founded. From a methodological point of view it is indeed very complicated to perform school quality research. *First*, school quality is an ambiguous concept. In the report *Defining Educational Quality* Don Adams identifies about 50 different definitions of the term (Colclough et al 2005a, p. 29). School quality have obviously been perceived in very different ways in different theoretical traditions and in different cultural contexts (ibid., p. 32f). In fact, this was one of the main reasons that the quality concept was so difficult to incorporate in the MDG-framework (cf. Appendix 1.). *Second*, even if you come up with a reasonable definition of school quality there are probably innumerable indicators that could be taken into consideration within that very definition. Colclough et al. concludes that no single or simple set of indicators will enable the assessment of progress towards improved school quality. Instead a range of indicators is needed to capture the complex nature of the concept (Colclough et al 2005a, p. 108). To put it differently. Not only the research field is extensive, but also the research design within the various approaches to the field (Teddlie & Reynolds 2000) (Mayer et al. 2000) (Colclough et al. 2005a). This is logical since schools constitute very complex environments. *Third*, the issue of measuring instruments. Once your conceptualizations and limitations are done you have to find an acceptable way to deal operationally with school quality, which in itself is a complicated process. *Fourth*, the longitudinal dimension. If you are dealing with social change, studies of longitudinal design are normally preferable (Bernard 1995, p. 282). This is especially important in school research since education itself is a very slow and inert process. Consequently it takes time before changes and effects can be measured in a reliable way. Moreover, measurement ought to be done on a regular basis.

My approaches to these four problems are the following. I strive to measure the ambiguous concept through a framework of indicators that previous research have found characterizing quality education, and, that I find relevant and manageable with regard to my objective. In this undertaking I put a special emphasis on disclosing mechanisms operating within the

existing school structure (Danermark et al. 2003, p. 274). However, one should not disregard the fact that my framework is limited. With a different approach to school quality the conclusions might very well be different. On the other hand I strived to use indicators that could be regarded omnibus and, if you wish, culturally neutral. Further, the framework was to a large extent built on indicators of processes leading to educational outcome, not just educational outcome. This, since educational outcome to a great extent is a result of circumstances outside school, e.g. socio-economic factors. Moreover, the indicative framework functioned as a ground for the interviews. I also used a flexible approach in which I was ready to adjust to the knowledge of the different respondents (c.f. 4.3.16). Regarding measurement difficulties careful operational procedures and a high degree of methodological awareness were my most important tools. Hopefully my triangulation approach minimised biases. Finally, even though this study - to some extent - can be regarded as a follow up to previous studies in Geita district (c.f. 4.1.), it deals with school quality in a quite different manner. Since my approach to the context was somewhat new and since time and resources were limited I was unable to take longitudinal data into consideration. This posed a problem in itself. However, the problem is even more obvious if you take into consideration that my objective is to deal with changes before and after the substantial increases in enrolment rates. This is very unfortunate and implies a severe limitation to my study. One way of dealing with the problem was probing and the urge for motivations in my interviews.

4.1 Selection

The area of my field study – Geita District (c.f. 5.1.) - was selected through a non-probability purposive sampling method (Bernard 1995, p. 95-96). Geita is a district in Tanzania with a recent substantial increase of enrolment rates in primary schools. Since year 2001 the amount of pupils enrolled in school has more than doubled. Hence my sample is strategic. I allow Geita to represent a so-called critical case, arguing that if there are mechanisms affecting school quality that start operating as a result of hasty enrolment increases in poor communities they ought to be present in today's Geita, i.e. here - if anywhere - the mechanisms ought to be easy to disclose (Danermark 2003, p. 204). This, due to extreme enrolment increases in a short period of time. Another motive for selecting Geita district is the fact that several field studies regarding the effects of user-fees has been undertaken in the area in later years within the research project *A matter of choice? – Cost sharing in health and education from a rights of the child perspective* (Ewald et al. 2005, p. 31). In some respect this study can be regarded as a relevant follow-up – due to the ongoing changes in education policy - of these previous studies in the district.

4.1.1 Locations and schools

Within Geita district I wanted to use the very same sample of locations that was used in the studies conducted within the project *A matter of choice?* (ibid., p. 90). There were three main reasons for this. First, it was a logical approach since this study to some extent aims to represent a follow up to *A matter of choice?* Second, I wanted to select different contexts, representing a varying degree of economic and infrastructural marginalisation. This, in order to examine whether there was any relation between various degrees of marginalisation and differences in educational policy implementation and policy effects. The *A matter of choice?* samples were based on the very same line of thought and accordingly also met this criterion.

Third, a sample of three locations seemed reasonable with regard to the limited time at my disposal. Consequently, three different locations, each situated in different wards, were selected. Within each of the three locations I selected one school. The different schools, locations, wards and their degree of marginalisation are presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Selection of schools in different locations and wards and their varying relative degree of economic and infrastructural marginalisation.

School	Location	Ward	Relative degree of economic and infrastructural marginalisation
Kalangalala Primary School	Geita town	Kalangalala ward	Low. <i>Urban center of the district. Comparatively diversified economy and good communications.</i>
Bugogo Primary School	Bugogo village	Bukoli ward	Medium. <i>Intermediate village. A certain diversification of economy and reasonable communications.</i>
Ikulwa Primary School	Ikulwa village	Ihanamilo ward	High. <i>Poor village. Undiversified economy and bad communications.</i>

Comment: The very same sample of locations was used within the research project *A matter of choice?* (Ewald et al 2005, p. 90).

4.1.2. Respondents

The respondents can be divided in to three major categories. *First*, and most important, different respondents with a direct bearing on my empirical findings regarding *the education sector in Geita*. My aim has been to absorb different stakeholders' perspective on how the situation in the education sector in Geita has developed and how school quality has been affected by the enrolment increase. These respondents, in turn, can be sub-divided in to two over-arching levels with regard to their position in the education system: A. Different respondents on school level. B. Respondents on different levels of the education sector's administrative and political super-structure, i.e. educational officials on regional, district and ward level. Moreover, on village level, the political chairpersons. *Second*, a category of different respondents contributing to my general understanding of what we might call *the overall context(s)* of Geita and the different locations. These respondents had little bearing on the empirical findings regarding the education sector as such, but they contributed to my general understanding of the communities. Hence, indirectly, they have been important. *Third*, a small category of respondents composed of scholars from the University of Dar es Salaam. All in all 156 persons have been interviewed. The different respondents are listed on page 69-73. However, of ethical reasons, when quoting or referring to the interviews in the text the persons are not identified.

4.1.2.1. Respondents on school level

The respondents on school level can be divided into five major categories: head teachers⁹, teachers, parents, pupils and School Committee Chairpersons¹⁰ (SCCs). In each school the selected respondents consisted of the head teacher and the SCC. This implies that my samples are representative in terms key persons of school management.

The selection of teachers was more complicated. It was done through what we might call a mixture of snowball sampling (Bernard 1995, s. 97) and purposive sampling. I wanted to conduct gender balanced group interviews with teachers, preferably teachers with enough years in service to be able to pinpoint the changes since 2001. Consequently I asked the head teacher to help me select teachers in accordance with these criterions.¹¹ In other words, the purposive elements consist of the gender balance and the teachers' history of service, but since I did not select the individual respondents myself it might be fair to call the selection method snowball sampling. I requested groups of around 6-8 teachers. The amount of groups depended on the size of the teaching staff. It might be important to point out that through snowball sampling there is always a potential risk of biases. The key informant might have certain interest in getting you connected to certain respondents. This should be kept in mind.

The selection of parents was problematic. My intention was once again to use a sampling method in the borderland of snowball and purposive sampling. I wanted to conduct two gender balanced group interviews. One with poor and one with better off parents. This, in order to be able to pinpoint possible diversity in attitudes along income lines. Consequently I asked the Village Executive Officers (VEOs) to help me select respondents in accordance with these criterions. I requested groups of around 8-10 parents. However – of several reasons - it turned out to be difficult to arrange this in complete accordance with my requests. I decided to pursue a humble and pragmatic approach to these shortcomings. At Kalangalala primary school everything turned out well. However, at Bugogo primary and Ikulwa primary I settled for only one group of parents, including both poor and better off parents.

The selection of pupils was also done through a mixture of snowball and purposive sampling. I wanted to conduct interviews with pupils from various standards¹² in the schools. Nevertheless, I decided to omit the youngest pupils. There are two reasons for this. First - given the nature of my research tools, i.e. interviews - I assumed that interviews with somewhat older pupils would be more fruitful. This assumption was based on the prejudice that somewhat older pupils are more loquacious and more intellectually mature. Second, I found it more interesting to select somewhat older pupils since they had been enrolled long enough to witness the changes of the latest years. Accordingly they would be better prepared

⁹ Equivalent to *principal*.

¹⁰ The School Committee is responsible for the management of the school. It is comprised of the head teacher and a number of locally elected representatives for parents and/or the local community. The most important of these elected representatives is the SCC.

¹¹ It might be important to point out that it was difficult to get *exactly* 50 % gender balance, and *only* teachers who had been in service before 2001. On the field I tend to carry out a somewhat humble and pragmatic approach. Sometimes you just have to appreciate what you get.

¹² Equivalent to *grades*

to make comparisons. Hence, I asked the principal to help me select two gender balanced groups of pupils with approximately 8-10 pupils in each. I requested one group with standard 4 and 5 pupils, and another with standard 6 and 7 pupils. This process was very smooth, although - once again - it is reasonable to consider the disadvantages of snowball sampling. Table 4.2. provides an overview of the selected respondents.

Table 4.2. Overview of selected respondents on school level in the different locations.

Location	School	Head teachers	Teachers	Parents	Pupils	School Committee Chairperson	Total
Geita town	Kalangalala Primary School	1	12 (in two groups)	17 (in two groups)	26 (in two groups)	1	57
Bugogo village	Bugogo Primary School	1	13 (in two groups)	12 (in one group)	16 (in two groups)	1	43
Ikulwa village	Ikulwa Primary School	1	7 (in one group)	9 (in one group)	20 (in two groups)	1	38

4.1.2.2. Respondents within the education sector's administrative and political super-structure

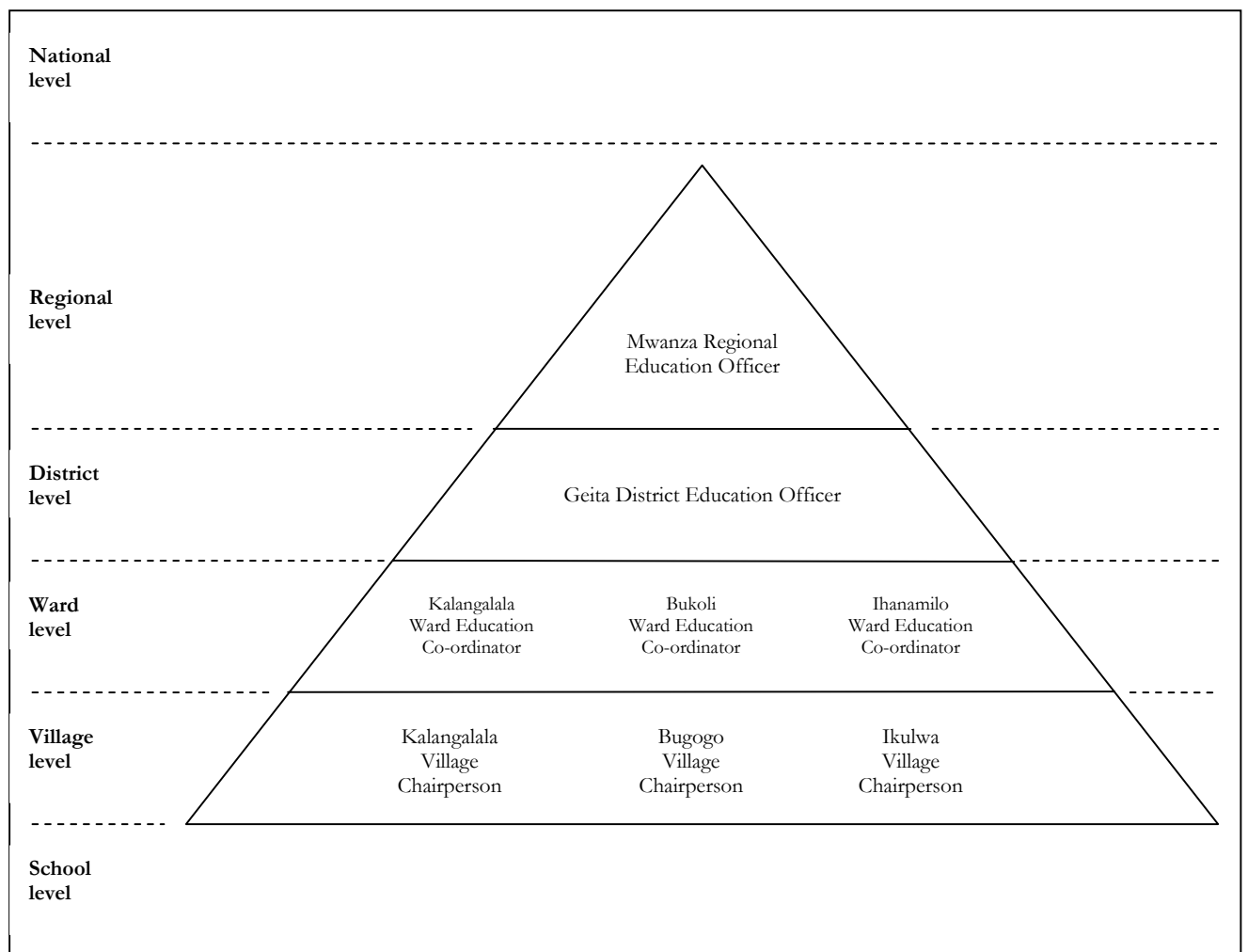
I further selected 8 respondents on various levels within the education sector's administrative and political superstructure. On regional level I conducted an interview with the Regional Education Officer (REO).¹³ On district level I conducted interviews with the District Education Officer (DEO). On ward level (Kalangalala Ward, Bukoli Ward, Ihanamilo Ward), I interviewed the Ward Education Coordinators (WECs). All these respondents are officials by profession. On village level (Kalangalala Village, Bugogo Village, Ikulwa Village) I conducted interviews with Village Chairpersons (VCs). Unlike the previously mentioned officials this is a political position, hence not a profession.¹⁴ In my view these different respondents compose important representatives of the education

¹³ The respondent was in fact acting REO and had been doing so for about a month. Normally his administrative position is Regional Academic Education Officer (RAEO), this position he had held in Mwanza Region for 10 years.

¹⁴ On village level there is no official specialized in education. In fact there is only one official on this level, i.e. the Village Executive Officer (VEO). However according to my informants the VCs have more thorough insight regarding the situation in the schools compared to the VEOs. This, since they are interacting very closely with the SCs. Consequently, I decided to conduct interviews with the VCs instead of the VEOs on this level. Hence the mixture of administrative and political super-structure in the study.

sector's administrative and political superstructure. They ought to have a general over-view of the education sector. Moreover, they ought to have elaborated channels upwards in the system which hopefully allows them to identify possibilities and constraints within the system. The information provided by these respondents was triangulated with information from the school level (c.f. 4.2). Figure 4.3. provides an overview of the selected respondents.

Figure 4.1. Overview of selected respondents on various levels of the administrative and political super-structure.



Comment:: Note that the figure is somewhat misleading since it mixes administrative and political super-structure. The respondents from regional to ward level are officials with in the education sector's administrative super-structure. Note that the Village Chairperson is a political post and hence not a profession. There are no officials dealing exclusively with education on village level. Consequently, I decided to conduct interview with the top politicians on village level.

4.1.2.3. Respondents contributing to my general understanding of the context(s)

On the behalf of my supervisor Jonas Ewald at Göteborg University, team leader of the *A matter of choice?*-project, I carried out a number of interviews with officials representing different sectors of society. As it turned out these interviews were useful to me as well. It should be pointed out that the interviews had little bearing on my empirical findings regarding education in Geita as such, but they certainly contributed a lot to my general understanding of the context(s). Interviews were conducted on district level and village level. On district level I conducted interviews with: the District Executive Director (DED), the District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer (DALDO), the Resident Mines Officer (RMO), the District Health Secretary (DHS) and the District Aids Control Coordinator (DACC). On village level I conducted interviews with the Village Executive Officers (VEOs) in Kalangalala, Bugogo and Ikulwa. To this we might add informal discussions with several inhabitants in the different locations.

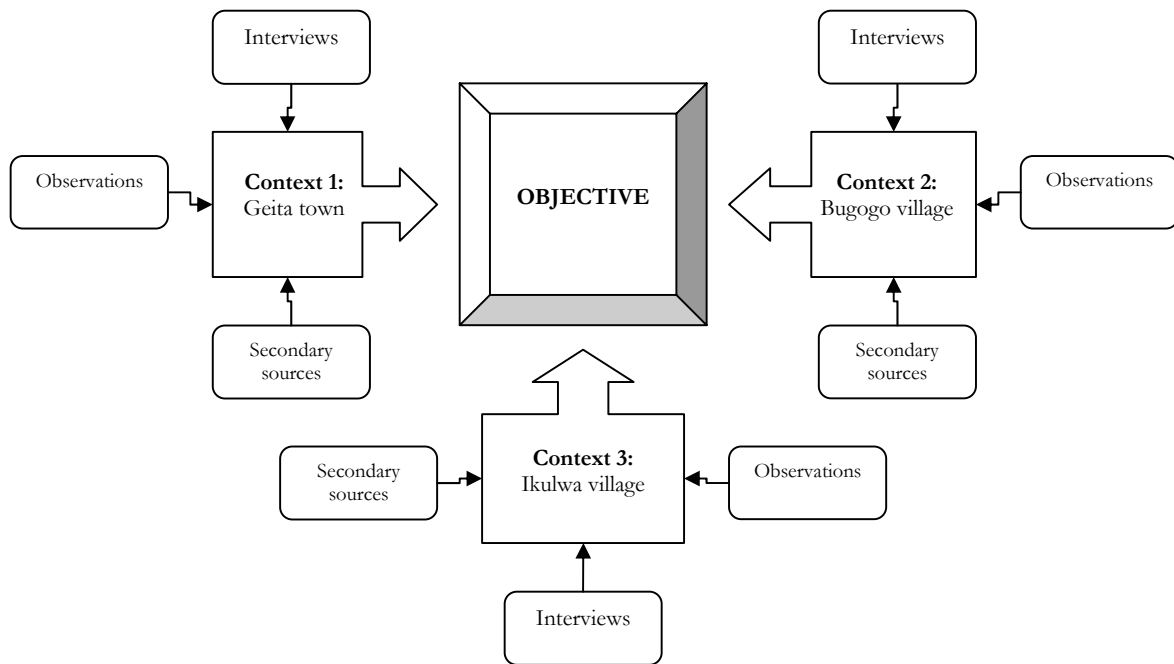
4.1.2.4. Scholars

Finally I decided to conduct interviews with two scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). There were mainly two reasons for this. First, I wanted to conduct interviews with respondents with enough knowledge and experience to approach the Tanzanian education system in its entirety and from a historical perspective. Second, I wanted to conduct interviews with university scholars since they could be presumed to be in a more autonomous position towards political power compared to respondents within the education sector's administrative and political super-structure. Since the departure point of this study, somehow, lies in the interface of Development Studies and School Quality Research. I decided to conduct one interview with Ass. Professor Ibrahim Shao from the Institute of Development studies at UDSM and one interview with Professor Justinian Galabawa from the Faculty of Education at UDSM.

4.2 A triangulation approach

In order to cross-check findings I practised two forms of triangulation – methodological triangulation and data triangulation (Mikkelsen 2004, p. 82). The methodological triangulation approach was based on so-called between-method triangulation, i.e. different methods are used in relation to the same object of study. I chose to use between-method triangulation based on semi-structured interviews, observations and interpretation of secondary sources. Further – in two senses - I practised data triangulation in form of so-called space triangulation. First, I compared three different locations related to the same objective. Figure 4.2. is an attempt to illustrate these two processes of triangulation. Second, I compared perceptions and information on school level with perceptions from respondents in the administrative super-structure and from the university level (c.f. 4.1.).

Figure 4.2. Illustration of methodological approach based on method and data triangulation.



4.2.1 Interviews

The backbone of this study is the interviews. In qualitative research the social context of the interview – and the actual interaction within it – is essential to the understanding of the data obtained (Trost 1993, p. 15). On both school level and within the administrative superstructure I conducted semi-structured interviews (Mikkelsen 2004, p. 75). Accordingly I worked with a pre-developed checklist of questions and topics that needed to be covered in a particular order. Moreover I worked with open-ended questions and I used probing to get more information. It is important to point out that the checklists for the different category of respondents differed (cf. Appendix 2.). The checklists for the head teachers and the teachers were very similar. The checklists for the parents and pupils differed a little more although not substantially. The checklists for the officials and politicians were quite different. These questions were more overarching and less detailed. During all interviews I did jottings. This was done to make it easier to interpret the data collected.

During the three weeks that I spent in Geita I was collaborating with my field assistant and translator Zephaniah Kambele. In fact we worked and lived together non-stop throughout all this time. In virtually all respects this was a great advantage. Zephaniah had been in my hometown Göteborg and undertaken 4 months of studies at the Department for Peace and Development Research at Göteborg University (PADRIGU). In this sense he had some insights in Swedish culture and society and we immediately found ourselves on quite equal terms. Moreover, Zephaniah was one of the employed field assistants in the *A matter of choice?*–project. This meant that he knew the Geita context fairly well which made most practical arrangements much easier. In fact, he had also met several of the respondents before. However Zephaniah – originally from Arusha - is living in Dar es Salaam. In this

respect he had an independent role, i.e. no particular loyalties, towards the local community. I regard this combination of context specific knowledge and independence as a huge advantage. Another good thing about Zephaniah living in Dar es Salaam was that this gave me the opportunity to introduce him to my research work in good time before departure to Geita. In fact I perceived him much more as a co-worker than an assistant. Regarding Zephaniah and the interviews the following should be pointed out. All interviews with officials and a few interviews on school level were conducted by me in English. Nevertheless, at most occasions Zephaniah was present and I always gave him the opportunity to ask complementary questions in the end. Most interviews at school level were conducted in Kiswahili. Zephaniah then functioned as my translator. Translation is of course always somewhat problematic since the translator becomes a filter of information (Mikkelsen 2004, p. 258). However, in this context I did not perceive it as a big problem. Zephaniah was more like a bridge to a different culture than a filter closing me out. Moreover, every night – as soon as we came back from the field - we did transcriptions of the interviews. I did approximately 2/3 of the transcripts and Zephaniah about 1/3. However, we always went through the finished transcripts together. This gave us the opportunity to discuss our impressions and correct possible misunderstandings. In a sense – although not entirely since I alone am responsible for the design and conclusions of the study – we were pretty close to what could be designated investigator triangulation (ibid., p. 82).

The interviews with officials and politicians were conducted individually in their respective offices. The same applies for the interviews with the head teachers. The interviews with the teachers, parents, pupils and parents were conducted in groups. The average length of the interviews on school level was 1.5-2 hours. The average length of the interviews with the officials and politicians was 1-1.5 hours.

4.2.2. Observations

In accordance with my triangulation approach I decided to supplement the interviews in each school with observations. In this case my observations could be filed under what is termed rapid assessment (Bernard 1995, s. 139). This means that I went in to the field situation under a short period of time, focused on a few topics, armed with a checklist of questions that I wanted to answer. By observing the environment and the course of events I expected to develop an understanding of the school quality situation in the current schools. Becker & Geer states that comparing whether responses given in interviews are replicated by what people actually do is useful (Silverman 1993, p. 44). Another reason for observations is that it can provide the researcher with by-products of significance (Bernard 1995, p. 152).

The actual observational fieldwork consisted of the following elements:

- **Gathering data:** i.e. looking around, with focus on the – for my study - relevant topics, in classrooms, school yards and the schools' surroundings.
- **Structuring data:** i.e. writing fieldnotes. My field notes consisted of jottings. The fieldnotes included descriptions of what I saw.
- **Interpreting data:** i.e. reflection upon gathered observational data and comparison with my interview data. Drawing conclusions and making broader links.

However there are several problems with my approach. First, my own presence might have had impact on the situations I wanted to observe – the so-called Hawthorne effect (Silverman 1993, p. 49 & p. 156). I did not get around this problem. The only thing I could do was to reflect upon it while gathering and interpreting data. Second, informants in one social setting might be entirely unrepresentative of the less open participants (ibid., p. 49). Accordingly I was impelled to be cautious in my conclusions. Third, another problem was what we might call the cultural gap. Is it possible for a young westerner to draw conclusions about school quality in a different culture through observations? I admit that the task is not easy. Once again I would like to remind the reader that my triangulation approach was one way of dealing with this problem. Moreover Zephaniah was a great asset in the observation work.

4.2.3. Interpretation of secondary sources

The third component of my triangulation approach is interpretation of secondary sources. According to Mikkelsen it is a crime in research not to allocate time for documentary studies (Mikkelsen 2004, p. 74). In this context it might be important to distinguish – although the line might sometimes be difficult to draw - between:

- A. The literature, reports and statistics used in this study for historical recapitulation, the framing of the research problem and the founding of theoretical and methodological underpinnings.
- B. The reports and statistics used as empirical field data, i.e. secondary sources which have been triangulated against interview data and observational data. This material has had a more direct bearing on the result.

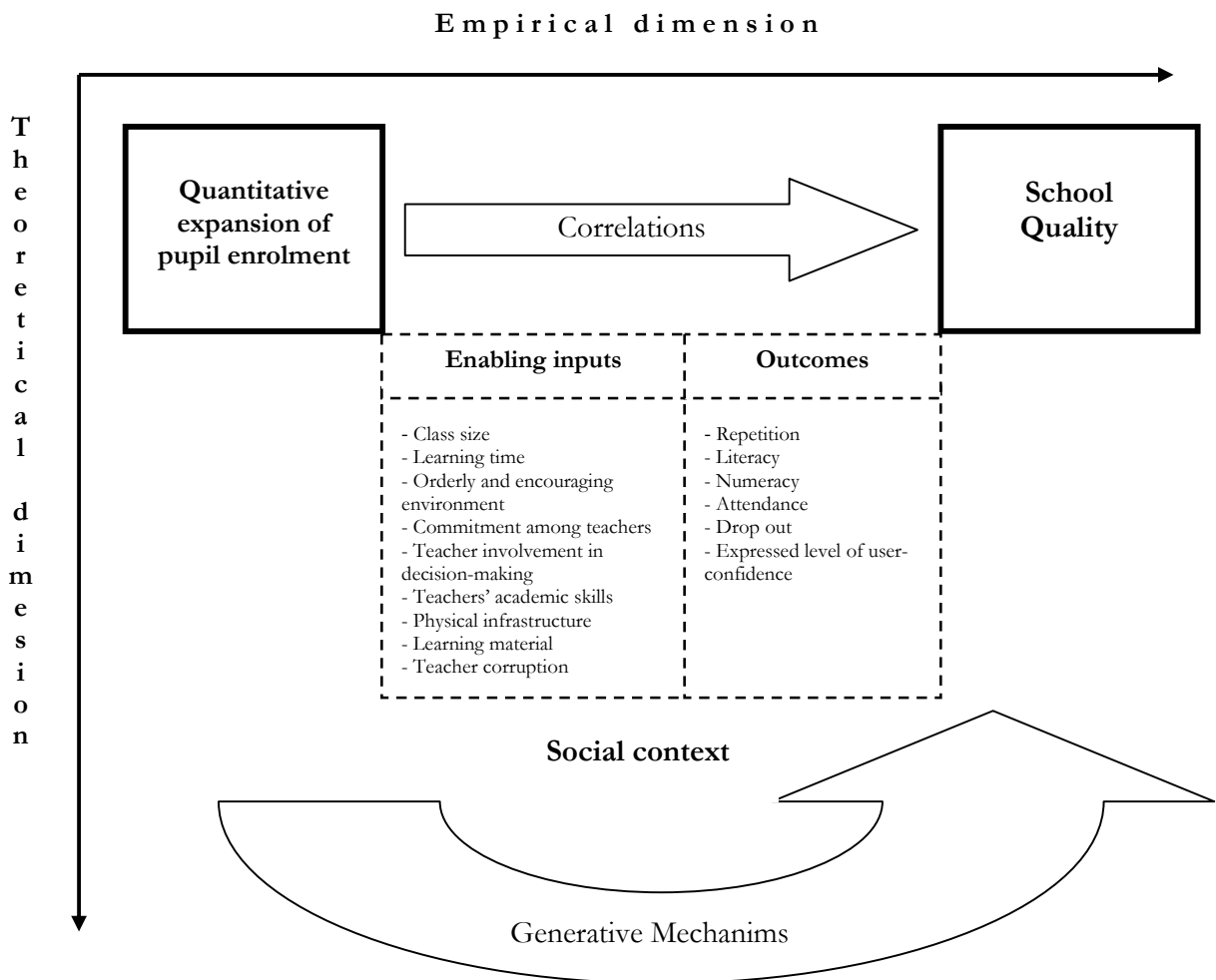
When I refer to secondary sources in my triangulation approach I aim at category B. The secondary sources used as empirical field material consists of reports and statistics obtained at District level in Geita and statistics and written material obtained at school level in the different locations. To this we might add some reports and statistics on a national level. Information obtained through interviews and observations were cross-checked with these secondary sources.

4.3 Indicative framework

This section is an attempt to outline the indicative framework used to attain my specified objective (c.f. 1.1.). The key concept of this study is *school quality*. However, my research approach is not based on a narrow conceptual definition of school quality, instead I strive to approach the ambiguous concept through a framework of indicators that I find relevant and manageable with regard to my objective. The selection of indicators is based on findings of previous research. However, once again it is important to point out that my indicative framework is limited, this in order to make the study manageable. For readers interested in a more thorough review of different approaches to, and indicators of, school quality I recommend Teddlie & Reynolds (2000), Mayer et al. (2000) and Colclough et al. (2005a). Further I have chosen to focus on indicators that I find relevant with regard to the objective, i.e. indicators that are likely to be affected by the enrolment increase. I am not only interested in the effects on these indicators per se, but also in disclosing mechanisms generated by the enrolment increase (Danermark et al. 2003, p. 273). This implies that although the theoretically based indicative framework for school quality functions as a

resource, I have a relatively open approach to empirical data and in a sense I pursue a theory generating approach. I regard scientific work as interplay between theory and empirical data. Hence, the indicative framework should be regarded as a resource *not* as a deductive framework for theory verification/falsification. Notwithstanding, I find it important to explain – based on the findings of previous research - what processes the different indicators are composed of. Moreover to clarify the operational procedures through which the indicators – and thus the components of the concept - becomes measurable. I encourage the reader to critically consider this operationalism. This section provides an outline of, and discussion on, the indicators that the framework is composed of. An overview of the framework is presented in figure 4.3. Appendix 2 exposes in detail the operational procedures.

Figure 4.3. Indicative framework



As presented in figure 4.3. I refer to indicators 4.3.1.- 4.3.9 as *enabling inputs*, whereas indicators 4.3.10-4.3.15 are referred to as *outcomes*. This in line with the *Framework for understanding education quality* constructed by Colclough et al. (2005a, p. 36).

4.3.1. Class size

According to several studies evidence suggests that pupils achieve more in smaller classes, especially primary-grade pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. Class size is considered to influence instructional behavior and pupils' engagement which, in its turn, affect achievement. Research indicate that teachers in small classes deal with less disciplinary problems, spend more time on instruction and offer better opportunities for pupil participation. Moreover, teachers with small classes tend to express greater satisfaction and better moral. Opinions on optimal class size differs, though the majority of studies suggest around 15-20 pupils (Mayer et al. 2000, p. 31-33). The World Bank expresses interest in class size using pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) as an important benchmark for primary education efficiency and quality within the FTI:s *EFA Indicative Framework* (Bruns et al. 2003, p.18). PTR is used as a proxy for class-size (ibid., p. 6). I do not fully support such an approach. Although it is reasonable to believe that class size and pupil-teacher ratio is correlated, I am not convinced that they are synonymous on class room level. Accordingly I find it more relevant to focus on actual class sizes. Moreover, in light of the findings of previous research, it is interesting to note that the World Banks benchmark of optimal, *cost-effective*, PTR is 40:1 (ibid., p. 73). Tanzania's official PTR-goal within the PEDP is 45:1 (URT 2001a, p. 5). Being a teacher myself I must say that I find these figures high. However, in this context my main interest revolves around structural conditions that enforce enlargements of classes. Further around possible problematic mechanisms generated from this enlargement.

4.3.2. Learning time

Teddlie and Reynolds state that management of time is crucial in determining the effectiveness of teaching. Protecting learning time from leakage has been a characteristic of effective schools in many studies. Ensuring that lessons start and finish on time is vital, as is minimizing the amount of time lost in routine administrative matters, disciplinary interventions or transitions from one topic/subject/activity to another. Maximizing the proportion of time that is spent interacting with learners may be particularly important (Teddlie & Reynolds 2000, p. 146). According to Colclough et al. loss of instructional time is a major constraint to improving school quality in development countries and thus deserves a high degree of attention (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 151). Grosin points out another aspect concerning the importance of keeping time on task. He maintains that not only is it essential for the practical means of teaching, but also that the keeping of time transmits an underlying message to the learners. If the teachers are keen on protecting learning time from leakage they show the learners the importance of his/her teaching (Grosin 1991, p. 19). Of particular interest to this study is how, and through which mechanisms, enrolment increase affects learning time.

4.3.3. Orderly and encouraging environment

Several studies stress the importance of generating a positive school culture. Important components of this are orderliness and encouragement. Orderliness concerns two levels of daily life in school. Firstly that orderliness at classroom level is upheld, since peace is an

obvious condition for making effective teaching possible. Secondly that orderliness is present in the whole school, thus creating a safe and reliable environment for each pupil (Teddlie and Reynolds 2000, p. 148). However, it is essential that orderliness is upheld by moderate sanctions. Management by fear is hardly the right way to create a positive learning atmosphere. Upholding orderliness demands the adults in school to take action as soon as bad behaviour and disturbances occur. But it is important that these actions are reasonable in comparison with the magnitude of the bad behaviour. Corporal punishment is not considered as being a reasonable sanction, no matter the offence. Neither are insults nor terms of abuse. Grosin notes that corporal punishment in several studies has shown a negative correlation with learner outcome (Grosin 1999, p. 5). It is also important that sanctions are used concordantly by the adults, thus enhancing a collective awareness about rules and sanctions. Rutter et al. noted that consistency in the applications of rules and in disciplinary sanctions was present in more effective schools (Teddlie & Reynolds 2000, p. 147).

It is hardly surprising to note that previous research indicates a strong relationship between encouraging environment and successful learner outcome (Teddlie and Reynolds 2000, p. 148) (Grosin 1991, p. 14). Nevertheless, the process is not self evident. I have chosen to focus on two main aspects. The first aspect deals with a verbally encouraging atmosphere in the classroom. It is important that the pupils feel free to speak their minds, not fearing scorn or mockery if they suggest a wrong answer. This is facilitated if the educator carries a warm and friendly approach to his/her pupils, and handles the learners' answers with respect and a positive attitude. The rewarding of good behaviour, achievement, effort and attributes is highly likely to be productive (Teddlie & Reynolds 2000, p 148). The second aspect deals with the way pupils receive feedback. Reviews of teacher effectiveness suggest that effective feedback as well as reward-policies should be quick in time, fair and specific, to be most effective (ibid.).

In this study I am particularly interested in whether the enrolment increase has affected the culture of order and encouragement at the schools. Further, if this is the case, through which mechanisms these changes come about?

4.3.4. Commitment among teachers

According to Grosin a staff of committed teachers is a sure sign of a well-functioning school (Grosin 1991, p. 23). I consequently maintain that a school can hardly provide quality education without commitment among its teachers. Surprisingly enough, most school quality studies do not explicitly discuss this, from my perspective, obvious indicator (cf. Teddlie & Reynolds 2000 and Mayer et al. 2000). A possible explanation for this void might be methodological difficulties. One direct way of measurement is the respondents' own declarations of their and other roleplayers' level of commitment. This is not a entirely reliable indicator, so the quest for this indicator demands further proof. I have chosen the following criterias as signs of commitment among teachers:

- Low absence-level
- Being in time for one's lessons
- A notion of being responsible for the pupils' results
- Belief that one's teaching is of vital importance

- A notion of being committed

As always it's important to have a critical mindset. Can one trust the official figures of absence level? Might there be explanations of teacher absence that is not primary related to lack of commitment? Obviously, triangulation is of great importance. In this study I am especially interested in the possible mechanisms through which enrolment increase might affect teacher commitment.

4.3.5. Teacher involvement in decision-making

From previous research it has been noted that a participative approach towards the staff characterize quality schools. Rutter et al. noted the importance of ensuring that all teachers felt represented and that their views had been taken into account (Teddlie & Reynolds 2000, p. 143). This is what Grosin would call a "democratic leadership", which he asserts is a characteristic of effective schooling (Grosin 1999, p. 7). One great benefit of letting the staff into the decision-making process is that it increases the chance for a sense of ownership. With a sense of ownership the quality of teaching will most likely improve. Moreover, it increases the probability that good decisions will be taken, this since more views are taken into account. The prerequisite for this indicator to be fulfilled is consequently that teachers are allowed into the decision-making process. Of particular interest in this context is also the question whether the sense of ownership has been affected by the enrolment increase. Further, if the teachers' opinions on how to handle the enrolment increase have been taken into account by the school management.

4.3.6. Teachers' academic skills

There is a broad agreement within the field of school quality research that pupils learn more from teachers with strong academic skills. This has been concluded through different methods of measurement (Mayer et al. 2000, p. 5). Moreover, in a macro study of development countries Hanushek found that there is a very strong correlation between teacher education and the level of student performance (Colclough et al. 2005a p. 64-65). This implies that the more teachers with strong academic skills at a school, the greater chance that the pupils receive high quality education. Ehrenberg and Brewer used the teachers' institutional background as an indicator of teachers' academic skills. They investigated the relationship between the quality of teachers' institutional background and student learning and found a clear correlation (*ibid.*, p. 6). Likewise I intend to focus on the teachers' institutional background, i.e. whether they have undertaken teacher training, when estimating this indicator. Since this is an indirect way of estimating teachers' academic skills I find it well worth questioning. Nevertheless, I do believe that teacher training has a bearing on a person's ability to teach. Further, from a time perspective – which in my case is crucial - it is an effective way of measuring this indicator.¹⁵ Of particular interest in this study is the following. Given that enrolment increase has brought about a need to appoint more teachers it might be of interest to find out if it is difficult to find trained teachers. Moreover – with regard to the enrolment increase - I find it reasonable to believe that a trained teacher is better prepared to handle large groups of pupils.

¹⁵ Other potential means of measurement – albeit ignored in this study – are: subject related academic qualification; years of service; ability or aptitude; content knowledge (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 108).

4.3.7. Physical infrastructure

School infrastructure is a very broad concept. In my view it entails: availability and conditions of classrooms, condition of buildings, asset to facilities such as electricity, water and toilets. Moreover, equipment such as telephones, faxes, copy machines and computers. Against the background of quantitative enrolment expansion I find it very important to take infrastructural considerations into account. This, since an infrastructure adapted to a smaller number of pupils might create great constraints. The notion that facilities make a difference has support in previous research. Hanushek has found that school facilities have a considerable impact on student performance in developing countries (Colclough et al. 2005, p. 64-65). Colclough et al. conclude that increased resources for schools in development countries do influence student performance positively – more strongly than in rich countries with high average resource levels (ibid.).

4.3.8. Learning material

Learning material is also a broad concept. In my opinion it entails: textbooks, exercise books, exercise sheets, pencils, paper, blackboard, crayons etc. Against the background of quantitative enrolment expansion I find it very important to take the availability and quality of learning material into consideration. This, since learning material adapted to a smaller number of pupils might generate considerable confinement. Further, one could argue that the availability and quality of learning material becomes even more important in a context characterized of large groups of pupils, especially if the teacher has difficulties to find time during lessons to help every child. As stated above Colclough et al. conclude that increased resources for schools in development countries do influence student performance positively – more strongly than in rich countries with high average resource levels (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 65).

4.3.9. Teacher corruption

According to Colclough et al it is important to distinguish between graft and corruption, the former being a minor offense (Colclough et al 2005, p. 184). It is also important to keep in mind that teachers' salaries in development countries often are insufficient to provide a reasonable living standard. Tanzania is not an exception from this rule. In fact, Teachers' real salaries in Tanzania are comparatively low (ibid., 164-165). Notwithstanding, and in line with my basic human rights approach, I have chosen the designation *teacher corruption*. According to Colclough et al corruption is a sure sign of a dysfunctional education system and can by no means be co-existent with school quality. The main objections are that corruption affects the poorest most and hence undermines equity. Further, that it threatens public confidence of the education system (ibid., p 184). Unfortunately I have a severely limited approach to the phenomena. My main focus is tuition and other possible means of economic exploitation of pupils. My main interest lies in whether the enrolment increase has generated an increase in these kinds of activities.

4.3.10. Repetition

Although a school is not responsible for circumstances outside school, e.g. the pupils' home environment, repetition rate can be regarded as a quality indicator. A high level of repeaters can under no circumstances be viewed as sign of neither quality nor efficiency. According to Colclough et al. a high level of grade repetition is a sign of a dysfunctional school system

(Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 99). Further, the World Bank uses repetition rate as benchmark for primary education efficiency and quality within the FTIs *EFA Indicative Framework* (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 18). According to the World Bank successful countries – by their definition - presents an average repetition rate below 10 % (ibid., p. 8). Nevertheless I, unlike the World Bank, find it important to point out that a low level of repetition does not automatically indicate quality. A school might let pupils proceed to a higher grade although they did not really “pass”.¹⁶ Consequently, one must use the indicator much more cautiously than the World Bank does and triangulate. Of particular interest in this study is whether the enrolment increases have resulted in a relative increase of repetition rates.

4.3.11. Literacy

Goal 6 in the *Dakar Framework for Action* commits nations to improve every aspect of education quality, especially in literacy (World Education Forum 2000, p. 17). Literacy is obviously a core indicator of quality education. However, as stated by Colclough et al., it is not altogether easy to define and measure literacy (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 127). In this study I intend to focus on the different respondents’ perception of the pupils’ level of literacy and the amount of basic literates. Bearing in mind that this is not a very precise measurement tool I further intend to look for indications in official documents. Once again triangulation must be emphasised. More evolved literacy tests would of course be preferable but lack of time scourage such an approach. In this study I am especially interested in possible changes in level of literacy and the amount of basic literates related to the enrolment increase. Moreover, in possible mechanisms bringing this about.

4.3.12. Numeracy

Goal 6 in the *Dakar Framework for Action* commits nations to improve every aspect of education quality, especially in numeracy (World Education Forum 2000, p. 17). Numeracy is accordingly also a crucial indicator of quality education. However, likewise the case of literacy, it is complicated to define and measure numeracy. In this study I will focus on the different respondents’ perception of the pupils’ level of numeracy and the amount of pupils with basic numeracy skills. Bearing in mind that neither this is not a very precise measurement tool I intend to search for further indications in official documents. Once again the importance of triangulation should be emphasised. More evolved numeracy tests would be preferable but the shortage of time at my disposal makes this impossible. Of particular interest to me are possible changes in level of numeracy and amount of pupils with basic numeracy skills related to the enrolment increase. Moreover, possible mechanisms that brings this about.

4.3.13. Pupil absenteeism

As stated above a school is not responsible for circumstances outside school, e.g. the pupils’ home environment. Nevertheless, in my view, pupil absenteeism is an important indicator to take into account if we are interested in disclosing the true state of affair regarding UPE and EFA. A high level of pupil absenteeism can under no circumstances be viewed as sign of neither quality nor efficiency. According to Colclough et al. pupil absenteeism is a major problem in many development countries and imposes constraints on improved quality

¹⁶ This could be compared to the ongoing debate within the Swedish educational system about the inflation of marks.

(Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 151). In this study I am foremost interested in possible increases – and mechanisms behind increases - in pupil absenteeism related to enrolment expansion.

4.3.14. Drop out

Goal 2 in the *Dakar Framework for Action* (World Education Forum 2000, p. 15), as well as the education MDG (United Nations 2000), stress the importance of school completion. Colclough et al. conclude that once children are enrolled it is crucial to ensure that they remain in school long enough to complete the curriculum. They further maintain that although there are reasons outside school that causes retention, one must also consider possible push factors out of school such as child-unfriendly environment and quality deficiencies (Colclough et al 2005a, p. 99). In this context I am especially interested in possible increases – and mechanisms behind increases - in drop out related to enrolment expansion.

4.3.15. Expressed level of user-confidence

User-confidence is another ambiguous concept. In this context I use it as a mean to capture possible local changes in attitude towards school. Theorists on participatory democracy, or if you wish user-democracy, normally define *users* as persons who are affected by a public enterprise and use the provided service continuously over a longer period of time. In school contexts pupils and their parents are normally defined as the main users (Jarl 2004, p. 27). This implies that a school community with a participatory ideal really ought to take parents and pupils opinions in to consideration. In this study user-confidence means that the parents and the pupils in the local community have trust in the schools capacity to provide quality education and make a change. My main interest revolves around how the parents respond – in terms of confidence - to the quantitative expansion of pupil enrolment.

4.3.16. Transcending the framework

My indicative framework functioned as a ground for the interviews and observations. However I was always ready to transcend the framework. I find it important to have a flexible approach, i.e. be ready to adjust to the knowledge of the different respondents. I used open questions and probing as a way to get more information. New questions were sometimes formulated in the context of the interview.

4.4. Transparency, abduction and realistic generality – answers to reliability, internal validity and external validity

In this final section of the method chapter I intend to present some reflections on the scientific value of the produced knowledge. In this undertaking I counterpoise traditional mainstream scientific concepts with some alternative dittos that underpin the scientific logic of this study.

This thesis is built on a case study. Case studies can be relevant in two different meanings, in turn, related to two different scientific schools of thought, i.e. *ideographic* and *nomotetic* science (Danermark 2003, p. 161-162). Ideographic science focuses on, and explores, the particular or the unique. In this sense a case study can be valuable since it deepens our knowledge of a particular social and geographical context. In many ways this thesis entails ideographic

features. I strive to describe a specific context to the reader. Moreover, since I was unable to disclose mechanisms in relation to all of my indicators, some findings must be perceived – since I work with non-probability samples – as mere empirical examples. Nomotetic science, on the other hand, searches for generality or the universal. In my view case studies are not traditional approaches in nomotetic social science, but rather grand surveys aiming for external validity. However, in accordance with a critical realist approach science – in order to be science – must strive for generality. Moreover, from a critical realist standpoint case studies can actually be a fruitful tool in the quest for general knowledge. It is important, however, to point out that this general knowledge and this scientific value is different from the general knowledge and scientific value we normally relate to, i.e. that which have grown out of the positivistic tradition. I intend to expose these and some other relevant methodological differences bellow. By this I would also like to argue that my thesis, despite some ideographic features, also contributes with general knowledge.

4.4.1. Transparency

When it comes to case studies of qualitative design I have a very sceptical attitude towards the concept reliability. If we accept the notions that the researcher's point of departure is likely to have a certain influence on her/his findings, moreover that the social world is immensely complex and open, then it seems a bit ridiculous to suggest that the demarcation criterion of scientific knowledge ought to be that anyone should be able to remake the study and end up with the exact same results (cf. Bernard 1995, p. 38). Obviously this thesis is not an exception from that line of thought. Therefore I would like to replace the concept reliability with the concept *transparency*. Reliability might be a useful concept in studies of positivistic design, but I find it ill-suited in qualitative field work. To me, transparency is ultimately about two things. First, clarification of the researcher's normative, meta-theoretical and theoretical points of departure, this since they are likely to influence her/his findings. Second, thorough descriptions of the researcher's methodological procedures. I maintain that I have given a clear presentation of my normative, meta-theoretical and theoretical biases in chapter 3. I further maintain that I have thoroughly outlined my methodological procedures throughout this chapter. Consequently, the findings of the thesis are presented in a transparent way, i.e. the reader has been provided with enough information to pass sentence upon my work. Accordingly, I maintain that my findings fulfil the requirements of what we might call scientifically produced knowledge.

4.4.2. Abduction

In my view the concept internal validity is also ill-suited to a qualitative field study of this design. This, since it is permeated with positivistic connotations. Being influenced by the critical realism I do not strive to isolate, and search for correlations between, independent and dependent variables. This would mean that I would run the risk of drawing false conclusions, i.e. confuse correlation and causality (Danermark et al 2003, p. 24). Instead I strive to understand what mechanisms that start to operate in the context of hasty enrolment increases in resource starved communities, i.e. through what mechanisms the enrolment increase affect school quality. In this undertaking *abduction* becomes an important tool. Abduction basically means that the researcher interprets and recontextualises separate phenomenon from a new imagined pattern, i.e. he/she understands something in a new way by approaching it through a new set of ideas. An abductive conclusion is always an abstraction. Abstraction, in turn, is a way to isolate certain aspects of complex reality in

thought. This means that we – through conceptualizations and theory generating abstractions – can reach mechanisms that reveal themselves through their effects although they are not directly observable as such. Thus, instead of isolating independent and dependent variables out of observable, empirical data, I strive by means of abduction to isolate aspects of a deeper and unobservable reality, i.e. the hidden domain of mechanisms. From this we can conclude the following. First, I do not strive to isolate empirical observable variables. I try to isolate, in thought, unobservable mechanism by means of abstraction and conceptualisation. Second, I do not search for correlations I search for causality.

4.4.3. Realistic generality

The concept external validity refers to whether data can be generalized outside the selected population, i.e. by means of statistic representativity (Bernard 1995, p. 61). This is desirable in most positivistic mainstream research. Thus, to obtain external validity we need to collect empirical data that are representative of larger populations. In order to do this we should undoubtedly work with probability samples (ibid., p. 73). However, this thesis is based on a completely different research design. This is an intensive case study. Moreover an intensive case study oriented towards an approach that can be called critical case. The collected data as such can not be generalized in terms of empirical patterns, i.e. external validity is insignificant. However my aim is more theoretical. My objective is to conceptualise, i.e. disclose, the kinds of mechanisms that starts operating as a result of hasty enrolment increases in a poor community. Put differently: in a context characterized by a school structure under stress. I study a case where the generative mechanisms – if existing – ought to be relatively “pure” and hence easy to disclose. This implies that although external validity or, if you wish, empirical generality is low in this study it still contribute with general knowledge in terms of disclosed mechanisms or *realistic generality* (Danermark et al. 2003, p. 164f.). However, it is important to recognize that we must understand these mechanisms in terms of tendencies, i.e. causal mechanisms that are likely to start operate under certain circumstances – i.e. extreme and hasty enrolment increases in resource starved countries - albeit not *determined* to do so (ibid., p. 99).

5. Education for All *or* Enrolment for All? – The case of Geita

This chapter presents empirical findings and analysis from the field. The first section entails a brief introduction to Geita District and the three different field sites. The following section present comprehensive triangulated empirical findings and analysis from the field filtered through my indicative framework. Since divergence in terms of empirical findings and disclosed mechanisms between the field sites was relatively small I decided to pursue a comprehensive approach. However, wherever differences between the field sites occur this is pointed out in the text. Occasionally I present some aggregated district and national data as points of comparison.

5.1 General introduction to Geita District and the field sites

Geita District is located in the northern part of Tanzania by the south eastern shores of Lake Victoria. It is one of the 8 districts of Mwanza Region. Geita district covers an area of 7.825 km² of which 6.775 km² is dry land and 1.050 km² is covered by the water of Lake Victoria. In terms of population Geita is one of the bigger districts in the country. The population in 2005 is estimated to 783.891 and the annual population growth rate is 3.4 %. Immigration – directly or indirectly related to the development of the mining sector – compose a part of this high growth rate. Administratively Geita is divided into 7 Divisions, 33 Wards and 185 Villages. The economy of the district mainly depends on agricultural activities including farming, livestock keeping and fishing. This sector amounts to approximately 75 % of the district economy. Major food crops are: maize, cassava, paddy, beans, sweet potatoes, millet and bananas. Major cash crops are: cotton¹⁷, peanuts, pineapples and horticultural crops. The remaining 25 % of the district economy is predominately composed of mining industry, small scale business in trade and service, and the government sector. The average yearly income in the district has been estimated to 140.547 Tsh (\approx USD 140) and 80 % of the population has been estimated to live below the poverty line. As indicated above the mining industry has imprinted the district in various ways. Geita District is rich in gold and other minerals. Small scale mining exploded in the 80s and early 90s and in a sense Geita town (c.f. below) still has the appearance of a “settler community” leading the thoughts – at least for those with imaginative predispositions - to Klondike. However, paradoxically or typically (depending on one’s political departure point), liberalisation in the late 90s has resulted in huge claims concentration among a few large trans-national mining companies. Geita District now holds one of the biggest (the biggest outside South Africa) and most modern gold mines in the world. As a consequence small scale mining has decreased profoundly leading to a big number of people losing income opportunities, especially in the villages. Nevertheless it should be recognized that large scale mining also – at least in Geita town – has generated economic spin-off effects. Moreover the large mining companies contribute financially to the district authorities. Notwithstanding, the wealth that trickles down to the community is insignificant compared to what is excavated and flown out of the country on a weekly basis (Ewald et al 2005, Geita District Council 2004a, Geita District Council 2004b, Mukungu 2005).

¹⁷ Geita has historically been known as a cotton-growing district. However due to falling prices production is on the decline (Ewald et al. 2005, p. 97).

It might further be of interest to present some brief indications on the primary school situation in the district. Note that some of the data are from 2004 and some from 2005. Throughout Geita District there were 171 927 primary school pupils (90 228 males and 81 699 females) enrolled in 2004. The pupils of the district are enrolled in a total of 238 primary schools in 2005. There were 2293 primary school teachers employed in the district in 2004. Hence, the shortage of teachers was estimated to 46.6 % in accordance with official PEDP targets. The average PTR was accordingly 75:1. There were 1296 class rooms in the district in 2004. This denotes a 70.1 % shortage of class rooms in accordance with PEDP targets. Hence the average PCR was 133:1 (Geita District Council 2005).

5.1.1. Geita town and Kalangalala primary school

Geita town was established in the 1950s along with an expansion of cotton cultivation in the area. The initiation of mining in the area further enhanced the urbanisation process. Geita Town is the urban centre of Geita District. It is located on both sides of a bumpy and dusty gravel road connecting Mwanza and Bukoba.¹⁸ The town is more or less entirely composed of low buildings and gives the impression of a “settler community”. In the city centre there is a market place, quite a number of small scale businesses in trade and service, some guest houses, two bank offices, a cash machine, a post office, two internet cafés and a couple of gas stations. A small park and some lawns have recently been bedded out along the main road by a cotton company in the area. Not far from the city centre you find the district’s only hospital and several governmental offices. The official number of inhabitants in 2005 is 52.800, but it is safe to say that the actual number is much higher.¹⁹ Moreover, the town is expanding quickly due to urbanisation. An important reason for this is increasing job opportunities often - directly or indirectly – related to the development of the mining industry. However, it should also be pointed out that the number of unemployed migrators is increasing, i.e. the local job market can not fully absorb the increasing supply of potential workers. The main occupations among the urban population is small scale business (in trade and services), mining and governmental professions.

Kalangalala primary school is located along the main road in Geita town. It was established in 1956. In 2004 – due to huge enrolment increases - it was split in to two schools: Kalangalala primary school and Nyanza primary school. Kalangalala primary school is composed of several buildings forming a quite asymmetric pattern. In the middle you find a dusty closed-in school yard with some small plants. The school has 9 class rooms, giving a PCR of 160:1. Further the school has one staff room, a small library and a head teacher office. The toilet facilities are composed of 18 pit-latrines. There is a well with a hand pump in the school but it tends to dry out in the dry season. The water is not drinkable but suitable for washing. The school has no access to electricity. In Kalangalala primary school there are 1419 pupils enrolled (689 males and 730 females). There are 39 teachers employed at the school (18 males and 21 females). This denotes a PTR of 40:1.

5.1.2. Bugogo village and Bugogo primary school

Bugogo village could be characterised as an intermediate village in terms of poverty and relative degree of economic and infrastructural marginalisation. It is located approximately

¹⁸ A construction process upgrading it to tarmac road will be initiated in July 2005.

¹⁹ The figure 120.000 was mentioned by the WEO according to Ewald et al (2005, p. 98).

1.5 hours drive from Geita town, by a dusty but otherwise reasonable trunk road connecting Geita and Kahama. There are a few busses going every day between Geita and Kahama which makes regular transport available for those who can afford it. A vast majority of the population in the village are small scale farmers. Nevertheless, there is a certain diversification of economy. The village centre is quite big, with several different roads leading in different directions. You can walk around the centre for at least some 15 minutes before you cover it all. There are a certain number of small scale businesses - e.g. shops, craftsmen, two guest houses - but generally business has declined since small scale miners were out-manoeuvred by large-scale mining companies in the end of the 90s, e.g. a vast majority of guest houses and restaurants has disappeared. The village has not yet recovered from this economic setback. Some households in the village have access to electricity but most of the population lacks it. There is one health centre in the village. The number of inhabitants according to the 2004 village census is 6074 (2973 males and 3111 females).

Bugogo primary school is located close to the centre of the village. It was established in 1978. Bugogo primary school is composed of 4 buildings forming a “u” around a school yard with some small trees. The school has 11 class rooms which denote a PCR of 130:1. The school is further composed of a staff room, a library and a head teacher office. There are further four unfinished foundations for class rooms. The toilet facilities are composed of 17 pit-latrines. There is no water or electricity at the school. There are 1430 pupils (666 males and 764 females) enrolled in Bugogo primary school and the amount of employed teachers is 18 (10 males and 8 females). Accordingly the PTR is 85:1.

5.1.3. Ikulwa village and Ikulwa primary school

Ikulwa village could be designated as poor village, characterized by a high degree of economic and infrastructural marginalisation. Ikulwa is located only around 10 km from Geita town, but the condition of the road leading there is extremely bad. Hence driving time is about an hour. There are no buses or other regular transports to Geita town. Walking or bicycling are main means of transportation. A vast majority of the inhabitants in the village are small scale farmers. The village centre is very small and composed of approximately 10-15 buildings along the two sides of the road leading to Geita town. By foot you cover the village centre in a couple of minutes. The economy of the village is undiversified. There are a few small businesses in the centre of the villages, i.e. a shop, a few craftsmen and two very simple restaurants which operate irregularly. There are no guest houses in the village. Further there is no access to electricity or land line telephones. The village has no dispensary which means that in case of emergency travel distance is a problem. The number of inhabitants according to the 2004 village census is 3880 (1897 males and 1983 females).

Ikulwa primary school is located close to the village centre. It was established in 1956. It is composed of seven buildings forming a “u” around a school yard with a huge tree in the middle. The school has eight class rooms, giving a PCR of 123:1. Ikulwa is further composed of one completely unequipped staff room, a small library and a head teacher office. There are 6 unfinished foundations for new class rooms at the school which are quickly becoming grassed. The toilet facilities are composed of 16 pit-latrines. The school has no access to water, neither to electricity. There are 907 pupils (467 males and 440 females) enrolled in Ikulwa primary school. To this we can add 30 COBET pupils (17 males and 13 females) and

44 pre-primary school pupils (21 males and 23 females). There are 10 teachers (8 males and 2 females) employed at Ikulwa primary school. The PTR is 98:1.

5.2. Comprehensive triangulated empirical findings and analysis

The following section present comprehensive triangulated empirical findings and analysis from the field filtered through my indicative framework. It is *very* important to understand that the different mechanisms affecting school quality are interrelated in an integrative and complex web. My indicative division is an analytical and hence a confined way of dealing with a complex reality. Since mechanisms are interrelated reiterations occur throughout the text and I further encourage the reader to elaborate on inter-linkages and complexity.

5.2.1. Enrolment increase

Since the inception of PEDP in 2002 there has been a remarkable enrolment increase. The amount of pupils has more than doubled in all of the three schools. All respondents unanimously pointed out two main explanations to the enrolment increase: the *abolition of school fees* and *increased awareness*.²⁰ The school fees used to be a heavy burden for many families, especially for poor families with many children. Hence school fees often forced families to exclude some – sometimes even all - children in the households from education. The abolition of school fees generated enhanced opportunities and abated deprivation. Apparently the issue of cost is crucial. Notwithstanding, it should be pointed out that other contributions and expenses prevail and constitute economic burdens according to parents and pupils, e.g. class room construction, desks, uniforms, shoes, books, pens and examination costs. There are further indications that the abolition of school fees leads to greater school access for girls.

Increased awareness of the significance of education was also emphasized as a very important factor. According to the respondents there are several explanations behind this. Governmental information campaigns - IECs - aiming for increased awareness of the importance of education and, consequently, enrolment expansion have had an impact on the mindsets of people. In this context stricter government regulation, requiring all school children to be enrolled, could also be mentioned.²¹ However, the overall societal development also seems to have an impact on peoples' awareness. People notice that education is correlated to wealth and opportunities to take advantage of societal development and globalization, e.g. more qualified work opportunities in the mining sector. Further that lack of education is correlated to poverty and lack of opportunities. As one respondent put it: *"If you are not educated life becomes very tough."* A similar quote from another respondent: *"People without education are not needed in society. That's why education is so important."*

Several respondents also made remarks on the material improvements in schools, e.g. upgrading of buildings and increased number of class rooms. These material improvements were said to give the school environments a more attractive impression which mobilizes parents to send children to school. Hence the schools' *appearance* might play a part. Better co-

²⁰ This further reflects the main findings from the *A matter of choice?*-study (Ewald et al 2005, p. 123).

²¹ Legal measures may be taken if this regulation is violated. The village government have the responsibility to control that all children in school age are enrolled. This task is delegated to the VCs, the VEOs and the Sub-village Chairpersons. However, legal action seems very uncommon.

operation between schools and communities through the SCs was also mentioned as a contributing factor by a few respondents.

Most category's of respondents at Kalangalala primary school further mentioned urbanization and high birth rates as explanations to the enrolment increase. In my view this seems to be a farfetched explanation considering the enormous relative enrolment expansion in such a short period of time. This is not to say that the population growth rate in the district is low and that this has no bearing on absolute enrolment figures.

5.2.2. General attitudes towards PEDP

Although the examination of all upcoming indicators is related to PEDP it might be useful to start out with some remarks on the respondents overall opinions about the program. The general attitude towards PEDP among the respondents is undoubtedly positive, albeit with some significant reservations. First and foremost, the substantially increased enrolment figures are perceived as a very good thing. Far more children now have access to schooling. Moreover PEDP has generated improved access for girls, which is very positive. PEDP has also generated a considerable inflow of resources in absolute terms, e.g. Development Grants (DG) and Capitation Grants (CG). DGs are central governmental grants earmarked for construction units, i.e. classrooms, teachers' houses, pit-latrines, water tanks, desks and other types of furniture. CGs are central government grants intended to amount USD 10 per pupil and annum. The CGs are distributed to cover facility repair, purchase of textbooks, teaching guides and supplementary teaching materials, chalks, exercise books, pens, pencils, administrative materials and examinations papers. As a result of this new class rooms have been constructed, more teachers have been employed and more text-books are now available.²² The condition of school buildings has also been upgraded. However, despite the inflow of resources literally all respondents agreed that funds are not sufficient and that it is difficult to keep pace with the huge enrolment expansion, i.e. an increase of resources in absolute terms does not necessary imply an increase in relative terms. A quite typical quote, provided by a respondent on school level, is the following: *"Resources do not go hand in hand with enrolment. We need more funds to handle the increased number of pupils."* Some respondents maintained that things have improved in terms of resources (or rather that shortages have decreased) other maintained that is more or less a zero sum-game due to the expanded number of pupils. Some even suggested deterioration relatively to enrolment increase. Regardless, all respondents agreed that the current situation is not satisfactory since basically all kinds of resources are in shortage. These shortages, in turn, hamper education in qualitative terms. Some respondents emphasized that the planning of PEDP has been poor. They forwarded the opinion that things have been done in the wrong order. The proper infrastructure should have been put in place before the enrolment expansion, instead of the other way around which is the present case. Back on the positive side several respondents noted an increased sense of school "ownership" in the communities. This, due to the inception of SCs which has generated improved co-operation between schools and communities. On the other hand it should also be recognized that there, at times, have been tensions between schools and communities, not least regarding financial contributions.

²² However it should be pointed out that there are differences between Geita town and the villages in terms of teacher recruitment, c.f. 5.2.3. and 5.2.8. Another important remark made by the parents where their contributions - i.e. not only government funds - for the construction of class rooms c.f. 5.21. and 5.2.9.

Finally – and in itself illuminating - a serious cause of concern among many respondents was the presupposed ending of PEDP in 2006. It was mentioned that quality improvements demands an extension of the program. An ending would denote a serious setback.

5.2.3. Class size

The official goal of the PEDP is class sizes amounting to 45 pupils. My empirical findings indicate that this target is far from attained. In line with the enrolment increase there has been substantial increases of class sizes at all three schools. It should be pointed out class sizes differs but based upon interviews and observations I have concluded that classes normally range between 80 and 120 pupils. The worst case I observed myself was a class containing 170 pupils, but it was mentioned by several respondents that figures can even exceed 200. Regardless, class sizes are by far bigger than the official policy goals. Classes are too big over the whole spectra of standards, but it should be pointed out that the lower standards, i.e. 1-4, normally entail the biggest classes. It should also be pointed out that all respondents, particularly the pupils, maintained that they would prefer smaller class sizes if this opportunity were at hand.

In my view it is important to understand the structural conditions that generate enlargement of classes, but also to understand the mechanisms and social practices that big class sizes, in turn, generates. The structural conditions that generates enlargement of classes are foremost shortages of class rooms and teachers.²³ Hence what we see is how structural strains limit the schools' room of maneuver and thereby leading them to a one-way-out solution, i.e. class enlargement. Shortage of class rooms was a big problem in all three schools. However, regarding shortage of teachers the problems were bigger in the village schools Bugogo primary and Ikulwa primary compared to urban Kalangalala primary (c.f. 5.2.8.). This brings us back to above mentioned issue of planning. As one respondent put it: "*Teachers and class rooms are supposed to be available before the increase of enrolment.*". However, without denying deficiencies regarding planning, I find it important to recognize that lack of resources scourge the Tanzanian government. Moreover, that the donor community has put severe pressure on the government, by demanding fast achievements.

Literally all respondents agreed that quality is affected negatively by the large class sizes. A quite typical quote: "*In a class with 100 pupils, pupils do not get proper education*". Several mechanisms and social practices are generated by the enlargement of classes. Several of these will be elaborated upon in the following sections. However in this section I would like to pay attention to what I designate as *loophole solutions*. By this I mean that teachers in a context characterized by unreasonable class sizes search for the easiest way to handle an unsustainable situation. The teachers are aware that these actions threaten the quality of education but they perceive that they do not have much of a choice. This overall mechanism that I call *loophole solutions* could in turn be narrowed down to several different mechanisms. Three of them will be elaborated upon in this section: *collectivism*, *marginalization* and *peeling*. In my view, and in line with my critical realist approach, the overall concept *loophole solutions* carry a great deal of realistic generality, i.e. it is a disclosed mechanism that is highly likely to be generated anywhere under similar circumstances.

²³ As indicated in section 5.1. PCR and PTR are far from the official PEDP goal. The average PCR and PTR throughout Geita District are 133:1 and 75:1 respectively. In Kalangala primary PCR is 160:1 and PTR 40:1. In Bugogo primary PCR is 130:1 and PTR 85:1. In Ikulwa primary PCR is 123:1 and PTR 98:1.

My finding suggests that enlargement of classes generates a social practice among teachers which I refer to as non-participatory *collectivism*. Due to the large number of pupils in each class, in turn generating time per pupil limitation (c.f. 5.2.4.) and congestion (c.f. 5.2.9), teachers often feel forced to approach pupils as a collective. The individuals of this collective are not really participating in the true sense of the word. Albeit realizing the importance of individualization – I wish to point out that teachers were very conscious about this - the circumstances were perceived by the teachers as leading them with few options but to lecture. Hence lecturing prevails and most forms of individualization vanish. One quote: *"Instead of teach, you preach"*. Similar priest metaphors were articulated by several different respondents. In this process the individual pupil disappears. It should be underlined that we are talking about tendencies here. Individual assistance is of course sometimes given, but the general approach to teaching seems to be teacher centered lectures. The fact that teachers avoid approaching the pupils as individuals is very troublesome from a quality perspective. First, since pupils do not get enough individual assistance from the teachers they tend to get stuck quite often. When they get stuck it becomes very difficult to proceed and hence learning is hampered. Literally all pupils complained about not getting enough individual help from teachers. Moreover, it was articulated that many pupils are afraid to ask out loud questions to the teacher in front of a class of 100 pupils. Second, it becomes very difficult for teachers to know the individual pupils' difficulties and capabilities. This in turn makes it virtually impossible to pursue teaching adjusted to the individual pupils' level of cognitive development. The absence of individualization in the current schools is underlined by the fact that most teachers admitted that they do not even know the names of all pupils in their class. Hence we find a situation where teachers lecture crowds of nameless faces. From a quality perspective I find both these aspects to be very problematic.

Another grave mechanism generated by class enlargement and framed by non-participatory *collectivism* seems to be *marginalization* of weaker pupils. A tendency perceived by several respondents is that as classes grow bigger weaker pupils tends to lag behind. There are probably several explanations for this. One forwarded by respondents was that teachers, busy lecturing the class as a collective, have difficulties to approach these pupils as individuals and hence giving them the necessary extra help. In education based on lecturing the pupils are pretty much omitted to their own capacity to understand. Moreover, in big classes it becomes more difficult for teachers to prioritize weaker pupils. This, since "the mass" of pupils is perceived as inclined to move on. One respondent complained: *"There is simply no time to go back and help the one's who doesn't understand."* Another interesting and grave remark made by some respondents was that teachers normally know the names of the top achievers but not of the weak pupils. Under no conditions can marginalization of weak pupils be regarded as consistent with school quality.

In my understanding the huge class sizes also seem to generate what I would like to call *peeling*. By this I mean that teachers in a context characterized by unreasonable class sizes take different actions to ease their workload, i.e. they "peel away" potential workloads. These actions, in turn, threaten the quality of education. For instance several teachers admitted that they have reduced the number of assignments and the amount of questions at tests. Moreover assignments and tests are designed on terms of easy marking rather than pedagogic principles. Marking is very time consuming process when classes are so big and some teachers then simply tend to reduce and simplify the marking that has to be done.

From my perspective there is a danger in all these three social practices, apart from the fact that they erode school quality, since they are likely to *reproduce* the prevailing structure. As long as teachers tend to deal with the current situation (i.e. huge class sizes in turn generated by shortages of class rooms and teachers) by means of *loophole solutions* such as *collectivism*, *marginalization* of weaker pupils and *peeling*, and as long as this is accepted by pupils and parents there are few entry points for *transformation* of the structure. I believe that there is a danger that status quo will remain and that additional resources will be something beyond the horizon. It is of course important to understand the phenomenon I designate as *loophole solutions* in a Tanzanian context. Tanzania is a resource starved country and it is an enormous challenge for it to provide schools with the necessary additional resources. However, with respect for the troublesome context, I still maintain that loophole solutions are much more likely to reproduce the problems rather than contributing to their solution.

5.2.4. Learning time

Regarding learning time several findings emerged. Once again it is crucial to understand the structural conditions that schools face. Besides the overall enlargement of classes, the huge inflow of pupils has generated an introduction of a double shift arrangement at Kalangalala primary and Bugogo primary. This means that pupils have been split up in two streams: a morning stream and an afternoon stream. At Kalangalala primary school they ran double shifts in standard 3, 5 and 6. At Bugogo primary school they ran double shift in standard 1 and 2. The problem with these arrangements is that involved pupils miss out on their entitled amount of sessions. At Kalangalala primary the affected pupils loose 1-2 sessions per day. At Bugogo primary they miss 1 session per day. On an annual basis this constitutes a substantial loss of learning time. It further denotes that these pupils actually do not receive the necessary amount of learning hours to complete the syllabus. To this fact one respondent added: "*Still they pass on to the next standard*". What we see is that the huge inflow of pupils collides with an inadequate school structure which, in turn, generates a structural adjustment incompatible with the school quality objective. In my view this practice can also be understood as an example of the loophole solution *peeling*, albeit now on a school management level. The school management realize that it is wrong, but do not see any other solution under current circumstances. Another problem related to the double shift arrangement is that many pupils do not get any lunch. Consequently many of them are very tired in the afternoon sessions and effective learning is hampered. It should be pointed out that Ikulwa primary has not introduced double shifts, hence enough hours to complete the syllabus – at least in theory – is provided.

Moving focus from the double shift arrangements two other problems regarding learning time remains. Both of these are intimately related to the large class sizes. First, the substantial enlargement of classes triggers *chaos mechanisms* such noise, chatting, fights, disturbances and other disciplinary problems (c.f. 5.2.5.). These disorders cause leakage of learning time. This, since teachers spend a lot of time on disciplinary interventions. Hence time that should be used for teaching is used for maintaining order. Virtually all respondents agreed that learning time is lost due to disciplinary interventions and that this leakage has increased due to the enlargement of classes. Second, from point of view of the individual pupil, learning time is often hampered due to lack of individual assistance (c.f. 5.2.3.). When pupils do not understand something, and when they do not get the necessary individual help to overcome this problem, they tend to get stuck. This means that they are physically present in the class

room but in reality time is not used for learning. Hence we can not speak of effective learning. As mentioned above there were a lot of complaints about this among respondents – particularly among the pupils.

Another important component of learning time is that sessions start and finish on time, i.e. that teachers show up timely and do not end earlier than required. On this topic my findings point in somewhat different directions. A vast majority of respondents maintained that teachers generally keep the timetable. However, some critical respondents maintained that late-coming and early departures occur on a more regular basis, especially in the afternoon sessions. Due to this divergence in information it is difficult to draw any certain conclusions.

5.2.5. Orderly and encouraging environment

Basically all respondents agreed that discipline has deteriorated along with the enrolment increase and that this constitutes a serious problem. As mentioned above it seems as if the enlargement of classes generates what we might call *chaos mechanisms* such as chatting, noise, teasing, fights and other disciplinary problems on a class room level. This, in turn, generates concentration difficulties and reduced motivation among pupils. Further, and as mentioned previously, teachers are forced to use valuable learning time for disciplinary interventions. These chaos mechanisms seem to be triggered by the extreme congestion (c.f. 5.2.9.) and the mere amount of children in the class room in combination with the teachers' inability to monitor so many children simultaneously. Moreover these different mechanisms tend to reinforce each other and escalate, hence the chaos metaphor. In the school yards similar chaos mechanisms seem to have increased. Once again the relative shortage of teachers compared to the increasing amount of children in the yard were said to play an important part.

What is troublesome in my view is that the perceived deterioration of discipline seems to generate two, completely different, mechanisms which both must be perceived as utmost unwanted: *repression* and *laissez-faire behaviour*. However, and this might be important to point out, there were more indications pointing towards *laissez-faire behaviour* in urban Kalangalala primary compared to the village schools. In the village schools *repression* seemed to be more predominant. Nevertheless, at all three schools pupils maintained that there are substantial differences between different teachers regarding disciplinary interventions. It was stated that some are much stricter than others and accordingly there seems to be no compiled common code of conduct at the schools.

Through the concept *repression* I try to capture a tendency among teachers to become stricter and more inclined to carry out corporal punishment. Several respondents provided information pointing in this direction. Two quite typical quotes from two different respondents: “*Teachers are forced to become stricter. Otherwise it would be impossible to maintain discipline*”. “*If the teacher is weak the pupils become disorganized.*”. Regarding disciplinary interventions three different kinds of actions seem to prevail: corporal punishments, so called “soft punishments” such as cleaning toilets and tilling the school farm, and thirdly, parental contacts. However several teachers complained that parental contacts are useless since the parents normally do not understand the magnitude of the problems. I personally witnessed corporal punishments on an every day basis in all three schools. In my view *repression* can also be understood as a *loophole solution*, i.e. in a context characterized by

unreasonable conditions teachers search for the easiest way to handle an unsustainable situation. Repression becomes a visible alternative when the necessary resources are not in place. More teachers and more class rooms would obviously be a more reasonable solution to the disciplinary problems. According to several teachers the disciplinary problems was said to be one of the most frequent topics of discussion on the staff meetings. However, and this is important to point out, my findings regarding the repression mechanisms is somewhat contradictory to the responses I got regarding encouragement. I elaborate on this below.

By *laissez-faire behaviour* I mean that teachers simply surrender to the chaos mechanisms and proceed without any real interventions. Pupil respondents witnessed about teachers ignoring disciplinary problems and simply stating that they do not care about the pupils' behaviour since they get paid anyway. It was also stated that teachers sometimes even leave the class room when the class becomes too unorganized. In my view *laissez faire behaviour* must also be understood as a *loophole solution* generated by the same triggers that cause *repression*. These are two completely different social practices but they are generated by the same fundamental problems.

The issue of encouragement can be subdivided into two different processes: verbal encouragement and feed back on school work. Regarding verbal encouragement most pupils actually maintained that the teachers give them enough encouragement. They further seemed to think that the atmosphere in the class room was conducive in this respect. They mentioned that teachers give verbal encouragement on a regular basis moreover that the school tries to encourage pupils by means of different prizes for top achievers at exams. Personally, I find it difficult to understand how these quite inconsistent states of affairs can be present at the same time, – i.e. that the class room atmosphere can be perceived as encouraging despite the fact that teachers are perceived as strict and inclined to carry out corporal punishment. Maybe my interview questions did not fully capture the inner meaning of the concept encouragement. Another possible interpretation is that some Tanzanian pupils simply have a perception on what an encouraging atmosphere is like that differs from my – Swedish biased – perception. On the other hand I had the privilege to interview a female standard 5 pupil with a very elaborated and – in my view – conscious view on corporal punishment. She emphasized in a quite remarkable way how corporal punishments counteract learning and how it generates a sense of insecurity. With all this in mind I find it difficult to draw any certain conclusions. Nevertheless, I find the situation quite interesting since it might – although not necessarily – point towards the importance of contextualizing corporal punishment, which is not to be confused with legitimizing or accepting it.

Regarding the second process of encouragement – i.e. feed back on school work - the situation is far from satisfactory and this was emphasized by a vast majority of respondents. Moreover, it was perceived that feed back have deteriorated in line with the enrolment expansion. The problem is that the enrolment expansion and the enlargement of classes have more or less made individual feed back impossible. More elaborated feed back is only given collectively on the black board. On written school work pupils only get their mark, i.e. the feed back is unspecific, which in turn is bad from a feed-back-as-a-tool-for-learning perspective. This brings us back to the loophole solution I call *collectivism*. What we see is that the huge classes generates a social practice characterized by collective black board based feed back. Another problem is the following. Although - in my view - a simple mark could not be considered feed back in the true sense of the word, it at least gives the pupil some indication

of his or her achievement. However, in line with the enrolment expansion marking has started to lag behind substantially. This was emphasized by many respondents and it constitutes a problem since marking should be quick in time to be effective as a tool for learning. The reason that marking lags behind is simply that teachers can not get it done in time. In this context I would like to remind the reader of the *peeling* mechanism mentioned above (c.f. 5.2.3.).

5.2.6. Commitment among teachers

Regarding teachers' commitment the picture is not altogether clear. Nevertheless, some tendencies can be disclosed. A majority of respondents, albeit not everybody, maintained that most teachers are committed. In line with this it was further maintained that teacher absenteeism is low and that most teachers take their work seriously in terms of preparations and so forth. As stated by one of the head teachers: *"They complain but they are working"*. Another quite typical quote forwarded by a teacher is the following: *"We work as required although we can not deliver as supposed"*. Although the majority subscribed to the general picture of committed teachers there were also some more critical voices. These respondents maintained that lack of commitment and teacher absenteeism in fact constitutes a problem. For instance it was stated that teachers ought to be inspected on a regular basis, e.g. by the DEO. They believed that this might increase the teachers' performance. Another remark was related to the issue of tuition: *"Few teachers are committed, otherwise tuition wouldn't be there."* (c.f. 5.2.11). Regardless, a vast majority of respondents agreed that the enrolment increase and the enlargement of classes at least constitute a serious challenge to teachers' commitment. Most respondents perceived that teachers have been affected psychologically by the enrolment increase. Several respondents further maintained that this affects the instruction quality. The word *"tired"* came up in virtually all interviews. Two quite typical quotes by two different respondents: *"It is tough for teachers to teach so many pupils at one time"*. *"The joy of going to session is reduced"*. A forwarded opinion by several respondents was further that PEDP neglects the teachers' situation, i.e. the program prioritizes other issues than the wellbeing of teachers.

The general picture seems to be that teachers still are committed although this commitment is being increasingly worn out along with enrolment increases and shortages of resources. Hence I think we can imagine a mechanism which I would like to refer to as *jading*. By this I mean that current situation slowly but surely jade the teachers' level of commitment. Although teachers maintain that they still feel motivated the question at stake is for how long this state of affairs can be sustained? In my view huge classes and disciplinary problems are generating a *jading* mechanism. If more resources are not put in place I strongly believe that commitment among teachers will degenerate.

5.2.7. Teacher involvement in decision-making

Previous research indicates that teacher involvement in decision-making generates a sense of ownership among the staff and moreover that it increases the likelihood that good decisions will be made. My question here is whether the sense of ownership has been affected by the enrolment increase. Further, if the teachers' opinions on how to handle the enrolment increase have been taken into account by the school management. Bearing in mind that literally all teachers agreed that the current situation is not satisfactory (c.f. 5.2.2.) it could be

assumed that this, in combination with a lack of influence over the decision-making process, would generate an *alienation* mechanism, i.e. a sense of meaninglessness and inability of influencing one's own situation which, in turn, would be likely to have a negative impact on the quality of education. However, my findings point in a completely different direction. In fact this was undoubtedly the indicator where I got the most positive answers. Basically all teachers agreed that they are involved in the decision-making process and that they feel that the school belongs to them. The general opinion was that even though the teachers do not always get what they want their opinions are always heard and the SCs try their best to find reasonable solutions. In fact the teachers were of the opinion that the whole SC structure has led to a situation where the whole community – including the teachers - now feel a sense of ownership. The decision-making process starts out with staff meetings at school level. These opinions and suggestions are thereafter forwarded to the SC which constitutes final decision-maker. The SC, in turn, collaborates with the Village government.

Several respondents maintained that the sense of ownership has improved since the inception of PEDP. PEDP constitutes decentralization elements which enhances teachers' responsibilities and their sense of ownership. For instance teachers are now responsible for the purchase of learning material. This has contributed to the sense of ownership. Accordingly PEDP – albeit the substantial enrolment increase and the different problems this has generated – has rather enhanced than reduced the sense of ownership among the teachers.

5.2.8. Teachers' academic skills

There is a broad agreement within the field of school quality research that pupils learn more from teachers with strong academic skills. Of particular interest in this study is whether the enrolment expansion has been tackled with appointment of new qualified teachers or whether the education sector is strained in the provision of qualified teachers. Further, if in-service training is provided. It could be mentioned, as a point of reference, that two very critical respondents in this study maintained that the poor quality of teachers constitutes the biggest problem that the education sector in Tanzania faces today.

I chose to focus on teachers' institutional background as a proxy for academic skills. In this context Geita – and Tanzania as a whole for that matter – seem to face a two-folded challenge. First, as already mentioned there is a shortage of teachers, in turn aggravated by the hasty enrolment increase. This shortage is particularly big in remote schools. Second, the schools do need to upgrade academic skills, i.e. to upgrade employed teachers by means of in-service training and to recruit new well trained teachers not least due to curriculum changes and introduction of new subjects. PEDP has set out goals to expand both in-service and pre-service teacher training aiming for an adequate number of Grade A teachers (URT 2001a, s. 12). Albeit some improvements this process does not seem to have been altogether successful in Geita. However, before elaborating on this it is necessary to provide some background information on Tanzanian teacher certificates and the process of teacher deployment. There are basically three levels of teacher certificates in Tanzania. Grade C certificate entitles the holders to teach standard 1 and 2 at primary school. Primary school Standard 7 graduation used to be enough to get a Grade C certificate. Grade B certificate is obtained by promotion or completing a four year course at a teacher training college after Standard 7. Grade A certificate is obtained by completing a two year course after graduation

from lower secondary school, i.e. standard 11. A Grade A certificate entitles the holder to teach all seven standards of primary school. Regarding recruitment and deployment the following could be mentioned. The central government constitutes the head of all teacher training courses. After graduation the teachers are allocated by the Ministry of Education and Culture to the regional centers, i.e. the REOs. The REOs in turn allocates teachers to the district level, i.e. the DEOs. Thereafter the DEOs deploy teachers to particular schools. Allocation of teachers do not favor the teachers area of origin which means that they can be deployed anywhere in the country. Accordingly the deployment process is a top-down enterprise. Requests for teacher deployment are inversely a bottom-up enterprise from the individual schools via district level and regional level to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

At Kalanglala primary there is no shortage of teachers compared to PEDP targets. Out of 39 teachers 20 holds a Grade B certificate, 18 holds a Grade A certificate and 1 holds a University Diploma. This denotes that all Grade C teachers have been upgraded. Kalangalala primary has employed 10 new teachers since the inception of PEDP. They all hold Grade A certificates. Regarding in-service training it was stated that it is provided – albeit rarely – by NGOs and governmental teacher resource centers. However few are given the opportunity to attend them.

At Bugogo primary there is a severe shortage of teachers. The school has 18 teachers but the required amount is 32. Hence there is a 44 % shortage in accordance with the official PEDP goal of PTR 45:1. Out of these 18 teachers, 7 hold a Grade B certificate and 11 hold a Grade A certificate. Since the inception of PEDP 9 new teachers have been employed. According to the staff at Bugogo primary in-service is provided by NGOs and governmental teacher resource centers, but not on a regular basis. Virtually all teachers agreed that they would like much more in-service training.

At Ikulwa primary there is also a severe shortage of teachers. The school has 10 teachers but the required amount is 22. This denotes a 55 % shortage in accordance with PEDP targets. Out of these 10 teachers, 4 hold Grade C certificates and 6 hold Grade A certificates. It should be emphasized that there is no program to upgrade the Grade C teachers. Since PEDP was launched 2 new teachers have been appointed. Further, regarding in-service training, it was stated that in-service training is carried out by NGOs and governmental teacher resource centers. However, the staff had not received any in a very long time. All teachers agreed that this was a problem, especially since new subjects are regularly introduced in the curriculum. There was an agreement that teachers are forced to teach subjects that they do not fully master. In-service training, if provided, could be a way to tackle this problem.

The following can now be concluded. In urban Kalangalala primary the situation seems reasonable in terms of teacher deployment and teachers' academic skills. However, it should be pointed out that the school is far from the ideal situation of 100 % Grade A certificate holders. In the village schools a different picture emerges. At Bugogo primary and Ikulwa primary the situation is virtually disastrous in terms of teacher deployment. Shortages of teachers are astounding. Further, at Ikulwa primary, the situation is terrible in terms of academic skills. Almost half of the staff is but Grade C certificate holders. This situation is

very far from the vision articulated in PEDP. Moreover, Ikulwa primary seem to be marginalized in terms of in-service training.

There are overall problems related to the visions of PTR 45:1 and substantial increases of Grade A certificate teachers articulated in PEDP such as lack of financial resources and shortages of trained teachers, i.e. the education sector is strained in provision of teachers and keeping pace with the enrollment increase. However, the differences between urban Kalangalala primary and the village schools are far too great to be neglected. Basically all respondents agreed that there are biases favoring urban schools in terms of deployment and upgrading of academic skills. Among the respondents several explanations to this state of affairs emerged. First, there seem to be a general reluctance among teachers to work in the villages. Life in the villages is not perceived as comfortable compared to life in urban areas. Poor infrastructure and lack of diversion seem to be deterrent. The fact that there are very few teachers' houses available seems to contribute a lot to this general reluctance. For instance Bugogo primary does not have a single one. There were a lot of complaints about these shortages. One respondent in the administrative super-structure pointed out that: *"PEDP funding for construction of teachers' houses is peanuts in comparison with other expenses"*. The average shortage of teachers' houses in the district was 77.1 % in 2004 (Geita District Council 2005, p. 3). According to several respondents it is not unusual that deployed teachers visit the villages to investigate the circumstances. Afterwards they leave, never to return. A second explanation to the uneven distribution of teachers was said to be the fact that many female teachers are married to government officials. Government officials are generally located in urban areas and there was a notion that the wives are often offered jobs geographically close to their husbands' ditto. The third explanation, which could possibly be related to the second one, was different forms of corruption favoring urban areas in terms of deployment and in-service training.

To sum up. Due to hasty enrolment increase the education sector seem to be strained in provision of qualified teachers, i.e. it is difficult to keep pace with the enrolment increase. The geographical imbalances, i.e. the problems of recruiting qualified teachers to village schools and uneven distribution of in-service training, does not seem to be primarily related to the enrolment increase, although the general situation in the village schools are not likely to make an employment more attractive to a deployed teacher. However – inversely - the difficulties of recruiting teachers to village schools seem to aggravate some of the problems generated by the enrolment increase.

5.2.9. Physical infrastructure

The overall situation concerning physical infrastructure is quite similar at all three schools. Available infrastructure is not adapted to present volumes of pupils. This denotes that the enrolment increase has led to great constraints on existing infrastructure. Moreover, the schools lack many of the physical resources that could be considered a necessity in a quality school environment. As stated there is a severe shortage of classrooms at all three schools. This has generated substantial enlargement of classes which, in turn, generates extreme congestion. A vast majority of the classrooms were extremely overcrowded. Many classrooms appeared as follows. In the back of the classrooms are the desks, since desks are also in severe shortage they are shared by 3-4 pupils. Despite this there are not enough desks for everybody. Accordingly some pupils have to sit on the floor. At several occasions

congestions were so immense that pupils had sit very close to the blackboard. This leaves the teacher with approximately a 1 meter room of maneuver in front of the blackboard. Consequently moving around in the classroom and assist pupils individually becomes impossible. This in turn contributes to the mechanism I refer to as *collectivism*. The Congestion further contributes to the so called *chaos mechanisms*. Many respondents also expressed concern about transmittance of diseases as result of congestion. This problem, and the ability to concentrate, is further aggravated by the poor air in most class rooms.

In the context of severe classroom shortages it is highly relevant to remind ourselves of the unfinished classroom foundations. As previously mentioned there are 4 unfinished foundations at Bugogo primary and 6 unfinished foundations at Ikulwa primary, which are quickly becoming grassed. If these classrooms were finished it would denote a substantial improvement for the schools. Within the PEDP framework there has been an agreement between the District government and the local communities that if local communities mobilize resources and construct classroom foundations the District government will contribute with additional funds for roofing and fitting up. There is now a strong notion among the local communities that they have kept their part of deal but that the government has failed to deliver. In my view this constitutes a potential source of *relative deprivation*. I will elaborate further upon this problem in section 5.2.17.

In general terms the classrooms are in a reasonable condition, apart from blackboards which were generally worn out. PEDP funds have been used for upgrading buildings, i.e. roof, floor and walls. Most respondents agreed that there had been considerable improvements regarding the conditions of class rooms and buildings. Nevertheless, in the village schools there were some exceptions to the generally positive picture. A few class rooms in Bugogo and Ikulwa were in a very bad condition. Moreover, one of the better classrooms in Ikulwa co-functioned as the school farms' maize storage. From a sanitary perspective this seems highly inappropriate. As indicated above the availability of desks is not satisfactory at any of the schools, although shortages are much bigger in the village schools compared to urban Kalangalala. It should be pointed out that more desks have been constructed since the inception of PEDP but that it is difficult to keep pace with the enrolment increases. On the other hand, with current class sizes it would probably be a mere impossibility to fit in an appropriate amount of desks into the classrooms, i.e. children would have to sit on the floor anyway. To conclude class rooms are generally in a good condition at all three schools albeit the overall standard seems somewhat lower in the village schools. There is also a general shortage of desks, but once again the situation is especially unfavorable at the village schools.

The enrolment increase has further generated shortages of toilet facilities. Existing facilities are far from sufficient. Kalangalala primary has 18 pit-latrines, Bugogo primary has 17 and Ikulwa primary has 16. In accordance with official PEDP goals these figures should be tripled or even quadrupled. Throughout the District there was an average shortage of 48.7 % in 2004 (Geita District Council 2005, p. 3). Moreover – or if you wish consequently – the toilets were in very bad condition from a sanitary perspective. Especially at Kalangalala primary where sanitary conditions were simply disastrous. The sanitary problems are aggravated by the fact that there is a limited access to water at Kalangalala primary (they have a well but it tends to dry out in the dry season) and no access to water at all at Bugogo and Ikulwa primary. Water – in my view – must be considered a basic need in any school environment. The devastating shortage of toilets in combination with lack of/shortage of

water is very troublesome from a sanitary perspective. The situation is moreover aggravated by the extreme congestion in the classrooms and this brings the issue of transmittance of diseases to the fore.

The schools further lack other infrastructure that could be considered valuable from a school quality perspective. All three schools lack electricity. However, even if they had electricity they would not have much use for it. The schools completely lack electronic office equipment such as computers, copy machines, faxes, telephones, projectors, TV-sets and so forth. Further there are no typewriters available. From a technical standpoint the schools operate under extremely simple conditions. In the class rooms the chalk and the blackboard is predominating means of instruction. Moreover, administrative paperwork is done by hand writing.

5.2.10. Learning material

As previously mentioned basically all resources are in shortage (c.f. 5.2.2). Learning material is not an exception from this rule. All schools underlined that they are in shortage of: text books, exercise books, mathematical sets, maps, atlases, sports gear, art and drawing material, laboratory equipment and science kits, and, technical equipment for the subject work skills. Concerning science and technical subjects the problem was perceived as extremely grave. A quite typical quote: *"We rely on theory only"*. Similar statements were made by several respondents. However, the most important question in this context is how availability of learning material has been affected by the quantitative enrolment increase. The following can be concluded. Regarding text books the situation has improved substantially since the inception of PEDP, i.e. shortages have decreased. At Kalangalala primary the average pupils-per-book ratio has improved from 10:1 to 4:1. At Bugogo it has improved from around 20:1 to 3:1. At Ikulwa the ratio has improved from 10:1 to 6:1. These improvements are of course a big step in the right direction. Nevertheless it should be remembered that many pupils still have to share one book during sessions – which constitutes a problem from a quality perspective - and that there are huge variations in different subjects. Another improvement regarding text books is that the quality and relevance seems to have increased. In line with PEDP the schools are responsible for purchasing their own books. This decentralization process has made it possible for schools to choose their own material. At Bugogo primary and Ikulwa primary both pupils and teachers were very satisfied with the new text books. They agreed that relevance of the books has increased. However at Kalangalala both pupils and teachers expressed discontent with the quality and relevance of text books. The teachers complained that the local process of purchasing books needs to improve. There has not been enough discussion with the teachers.

Concerning availability of text books there has undisputedly been improvements. However, regarding all other material mentioned above the picture is more blurred. In several departments it is safe to say that the relative shortage of material has in fact increased in line with the enrolment increase, e.g. in science and technical subjects. This denotes that the enrolment increase actually has brought some constraints regarding access to learning material. Another serious problem is that - despite the CGs (c.f. 5.2.2) - pupils still have to pay for literally all individual material such as exercise books, pens, papers, and so forth. This is utmost problematic for the poorest children. Many respondents mentioned that when

poor pupils have consumed the one pen and exercise book their parents could afford they show up to school without the necessary material and just try to cope with the situation. In my view this contradicts the very idea of the CGs and it raises questions many about how funds are actually being used. Undisputedly lack of material among certain pupils can moreover contribute to the *marginalization* mechanism outlined above.

5.2.11. Teacher corruption

In this study I have a limited approach to the phenomena teacher corruption, main focus being tuition and other possible means of economic exploitation of pupils. My main interest lied in whether the enrolment increase has generated an increase in these kinds of activities. My findings once again indicate certain differences between the two village schools and urban Kalangalala primary. In the village schools a quite similar picture emerged. Tuition is a limited phenomenon, i.e. there is some tuition but very few pupils attend it. The main reason for this is poverty. A vast majority of parents can simply not afford to pay for tuition. According to the respondents tuition has to be paid in cash, which in turn deprives many pupils. The respondents further maintained that teachers never force or blackmail pupils to take tuition. It is a voluntary decision, albeit based on financial capacity. It was maintained that pupils who go to tuition generally do better in exams, but according to basically all respondents teachers do not treat the pupils who go to tuition better than others. The teachers were perceived as fair in this regard. Tuition is not only a limited phenomenon in the village schools but moreover it is a decreasing phenomenon. Most respondent agreed that tuition has been on decline in the latest years. Main explanations to this was said to be poverty and shortage of teachers. The few available teachers were said to be overworked, moreover the poor business opportunities for tuition might play a part. Regarding other possible means of financial exploitation of pupils most respondents were in denial. Bribes and other forms of exploitation do not seem to be frequent. On the other hand it must be kept in mind that such activities are utmost delicate matters and consequently might be difficult to unveil, especially in group interviews. However, some respondents maintained that pupils are sometimes forced to carry out different kinds work on teachers' farms. This is illegal but teachers were claimed to use curriculum loopholes, i.e. the subject work skills. Nevertheless, the general conclusion is that the enrolment increase has not generated an increase in tuition or other forms of economic exploitation of pupils in the villages.

In urban Kalangalala primary a somewhat different picture emerged. Further, opinions about the situation were more divided among respondents. First of all tuition is much more prevalent in Kalangalala compared to the village schools. There seem to be a much stronger economic foundation for tuition compared to villages, although it was emphasized that poor urban people can not afford to pay for it. Prices for tuition differ among teachers but you always have to pay cash to obtain it. Regarding tuition as a matter of free will opinions were somewhat divided. All respondents agreed that teachers never directly force or blackmail pupils to go for tuition. However, some maintained that teachers deliberately teach less well during day classes and accordingly - indirectly - force pupils to go to tuition. Other respondents maintained that such conclusion is excessive although it was admitted that teacher puts a lot of effort into advertising their night classes. Moreover, virtually all respondents agreed that pupils that go to tuition do better in examinations, some even said that it is prerequisite - i.e. knowledgewise - for passing the final exams. There were several explanations behind this. Tuition is carried out in much smaller groups compared to the

overcrowded day sessions. Hence, teachers can identify pupils' problems and assist them individually. Further, tuition includes a lot of repetition and regular tests which were said to have a positive impact on pupils' learning. According to a majority of respondents the enrolment increase had not generated an increase of tuition. Others maintained that it had. The former and dominating perception might seem a bit strange. The stronger economic foundation for tuition in the urban areas in combination with a substantial increase of enrolment might very well generate an increase in tuition. On the other hand it is reasonable to presume that prior deprived children - i.e. that are now enrolled - lack the economic strength to pay for tuition. The respondents could not point out any other possible means of financial exploitation of pupils. Bribes and other forms of exploitation did not seem to be frequent. On the other hand, as stated above, it must be kept in mind that such activities are delicate matters and consequently difficult to unveil, especially in group interviews.

5.2.12. Repetition

Most respondents, at all three schools, perceived repetition as a considerable problem in standard 1-4 and a minor problem in standard 5-7. Figures differed somewhat between different respondents but the common apprehension seemed to be repetition rates around 20-25 % in standard 1-4. As a point of comparison it could be mentioned that the World Bank – within the FTIs *EFA Indicative Framework* – defines countries with an average repetition rate below 10 % as successful (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 8). In standard 5-7 however repetition was perceived as considerably lower. The common perception was further that there had been a certain relative increase in repetition rates since the substantial enrolment increases began. It might also be important – in this context - to remember the outspoken concern about pupils moving on to higher standards without completing the syllabus (c.f. 5.2.4.). Nevertheless, three possible explanations to the relative increase of repetition emerged among the respondents. The first – and most frequent - explanation was related to the enlargement of classes. With big number of pupils in each class the learning environment deteriorates. Hence learning is hampered and more pupils have to repeat. It should be pointed out that classes in standard 1-4 generally contain the biggest numbers of pupils. Once again we can discern how enlargement of classes generates problems from a quality perspective. Another possible explanation forwarded by respondents was the following. Since the inception of PEDP more 7 year old pupils are enrolled in standard 1. Before this, pupils were normally somewhat older i.e. they were not enrolled in the accurate age cohort. The respondents maintained that older pupils are intellectually more mature and that they consequently normally do better in school. A third possible explanation was that more of the poorest children in the communities now are enrolled. These children often suffer from malnutrition and other socio-economic hardship. Hence it is difficult for these individuals to manage school and consequently repetition increases. In my view it is important to recognize that schools can not be regarded as responsible for circumstances outside school. Accordingly repetition caused by poverty must not be interpreted as a sign of poor education quality.

5.2.13. Literacy

My methodological approach towards this indicator could rightfully be called in question. Nevertheless, I did find it interesting to ask the respondents about their perception on the current status of literacy, further if and how this has been affected by the enrolment increase. Before presenting my findings from the field sites on this topic I would like to elaborate briefly on the status of examination in the country and the district as a point of reference. A passed examination could in a sense be used as a proxy for literacy. Statistics point in a very gratifying direction, with substantial increases in passed examinations in a few years. On a national level we can note an increased Standard 4 examination pass rate from 70.8 % in 2002 to 88.7 % in 2003. Regarding Standard 7 examinations we can note an increase from 22 % in 2000 to 40.1 % in 2003 (URT 2004a, p. 33-34). In Geita District the average Standard 4 examination pass rate in 2002 was 68.6 %. It increased to 69 % in 2003. Regarding Standard 7 examination pass rate in Geita District we can note a substantial increase from 25.6 % in 2001 to 54.5 % in 2004 (Geita District Council 2005, p. 5). In accordance with these statistics the inception of PEDP has brought about overall improvements, including literacy. However, the impressive figures have also been questioned. Two critical respondents in this study stated that, bearing in mind the short period of time, the increases are simply too big to be trustworthy. They emphasized that there is a huge pressure to show results and maintained that some sort of manipulation is likely, e.g. false reporting, easier examination tests or distribution of examination test answers in advance. Personally I find it difficult to position myself in this debate, but I find these remarks noteworthy.

If we limit the discussion to the three field sites a somewhat unclear picture emerges. Among the respondents three categories of answers were provided. Some perceived, in accordance with the statistics, that literacy is improving among the pupils, at least in the higher standards. Another group maintained that things are more or less the same as before the inception of PEDP. A third group maintained that due to the enlargement of classes literacy is deteriorating. What to conclude from this is not altogether easy to say. However some modulation can be done. First, most respondents agreed that all standard 7 school leavers are literate. Those who are not literate are unable to pass the exams and hence forced to repeat. Second, those who emphasised that literacy is deteriorating or – at least that it runs the risk of deterioration – focuses on the lower standards. In standard 1-4 the problems were perceived as much bigger than in standard 5-7, i.e. a possible relative deterioration among standard 1-4 pupils as compared to before the enrolment increase can be traced. Three things should be kept in mind here. First, that class sizes generally are bigger in the lower standards. Second, that PEDP was launched in 2002. This means that the children enrolled at this time has not yet reached the higher standards. As stated above opinions whether literacy is improving or deteriorating are divided. However what I would like to emphasize is that the question if the substantial enlargement of classes in the lower standards has a negative impact on literacy levels we will probably not get the answer to until in a few years when these pupils face examination. For now, however, the question remains open. Thirdly, the perceived increases of repetition rates in lower standards could easily be connected to literacy related problems.

5.2.14. Numeracy

My methodological approach towards this indicator – likewise the case of the indicator literacy - could undisputedly be called in question. Notwithstanding, I did find it interesting

to ask the respondents about their perception on the current status of numeracy, further if and how this has been affected by the enrolment increase. As mentioned above national and local examination statistics point in a gratifying direction but they can be called in question. Focusing on the field sites exclusively the following can be concluded. Most respondents agreed that the status on numeracy is generally somewhat better compared to the status on literacy. Apart from this basic statement opinions were divided. Some respondents maintained that numeracy has improved since PEDP was launched. Their main explanation to this was said to be a substantial improvement in availability and quality of mathematics books. Others maintained that the situation is more or less the same. A third group of respondents maintained that the situation is deteriorating, mainly due to the enlargement of classes which in turn was triggered by the hasty enrolment increase. Regardless, everybody seemed to agree that the main problems regarding numeracy are found in the lower standards, which brings us back to the discussion on big classes outlined above. We probably have to wait a few years before we can draw any certain conclusions (c.f. 5.2.13).

A final and utmost speculative remark concerns the issue of language. Geita District is predominately Kisukuma speaking. In a relatively – by Tanzanian standards that is – homogenous context characterized by a predominant local language the ability to read and write Kiswahili might be comparatively bigger.²⁴ This, of course, does not explain possible changes in the level of literacy outlined above. But it might contribute to an explanation of why literacy is perceived as a bigger problem in schools compared to the more language neutral logic of mathematics.

5.2.15. Pupil absenteeism

A majority of the respondents in all three field sites perceived pupil absenteeism as a relatively small problem, moreover that it has declined since the inception of PEDP. Nevertheless, there were certain divergences between the different field sites. At Bugogo primary school most respondents seemed to agree on an absence rate of 5 %. At Kalangalala primary the mentioned figure ranged between 5 and 10 %. Similar figures were mentioned by many respondents at Ikulwa primary. However Ikulwa also entailed groups of more critical respondents maintaining that the actual figure was higher, i.e. closer to 20 %. Although it is difficult to draw any certain conclusions there are accordingly some indications that the situation might be somewhat worse in Ikulwa compared to the other schools. Notwithstanding, all respondents agreed that pupils absenteeism has decreased since the inception of PEDP. Forwarded explanations to this state of affairs was abolition of school fees, increased awareness and a more attractive school environment. Hence, the most important question with regard to my objective, i.e. if the enrolment increase has brought about a relative increase in pupil absenteeism must be answered with a no. PEDP seem to have generated improvements in this department. Typically, most respondents further maintained that the causes of absenteeism are not based in the school environment as such. Apart from more acceptable reasons such as sickness, explanations related to poverty were forwarded. Sometimes children are needed at home for domestic work others are sometimes involved in different income generating activities. However, some critical voices maintained that corporal punishment in schools might play a part. Particularly, latecomers were said to

²⁴ With over 130 different people Tanzania is one of the most heterogenous countries of the world. Moreover Tanzania is the only country where all four major African language branches are established (Ewald 1997, p. 44).

hesitate to go to school out of fear of being beaten. Another mentioned problem, founded in a combination of poverty problems and school policy, was school uniform requirement. I personally witnessed an incident where two very poor young girls were beaten due to truancy. However this truancy was caused by harassment – both by teachers and pupils - based on the fact that they had school uniforms that were in a very bad shape. This incident clearly outlines how poverty and rigid school policy can put children in very difficult situations, situations which in must be perceived as very unjust.

All schools maintained that unnoticed pupil absenteeism is followed up by means of parental contacts. Moreover that if absenteeism becomes a trend among a pupil the SCs are responsible to take measures. However from a critical standpoint it might be reasonable to ask whether it is possible to follow up absenteeism in classes with more than 100 pupils. Not least so when teachers themselves admit that they do not even know the names of all pupils (c.f. 5.2.3.). Some respondents confirmed this dilemma. Another reasonable suspicion is that it is somewhat easier to conduct follow ups in the urban areas, i.e. easier in Kalangalala primary compared to the village schools, where parents tend to be easier to reach.

5.2.16. Drop out

It was emphasized in all three schools that drop-out rates has decreased substantially since the inception of PEDP. Bugogo primary school was the only school that could provide reliable figures dating back to 2001. They maintained that before PEDP was launched drop out rate was 30%. At this point it has gone down to 8.7 %. Virtually all respondents agreed that the most important explanation to this decrease is the abolition of school fees. Which bring us back the crucial issue of costs. According to the respondents the inability to pay the school fees was indisputably the number one factor behind drop-out. However, improvements in school environment were also mentioned as possible factors behind the drop-out decrease. In accordance with this I find it reasonable to believe that the factors behind decreased drop-out are quite similar to the factors behind the enrolment expansion (c.f. 5.2.1.).

5.2.17. Expressed level of user-confidence

This last indicator turned out to be more complex than I had imagined. Moreover, opinions proved to be quite divided among the respondents. As outlined in the beginning of this chapter awareness of the significance of education has increased substantially in the latest years. The general attitude towards PEDP is also very positive, not least due to the fact that much more children now have access to schooling but also due to other outlined improvements. This indicates that there is a revived belief in education as a mean of development. A quite typical respondent quote in this context is the following: *“Education is the backbone of development”*. We can further note that most respondent agreed that the co-operation between schools and communities has improved in line with the SC-arrangements. Hence, the sense of ownership among community members has improved and accordingly the designation *users* seem highly appropriate.

Approximately half of the user respondents maintained that they have confidence in the schools capacity to provide quality education. However, some reservations were made due to the shortages of resources. The other half maintained that they, due to shortages and problems related to the substantial enrolment increase, do not have confidence in the

schools capacity to provide quality education. As stated by one of the respondents: “*Under current circumstances it is not possible to have confidence*”. What to conclude from this is not that easy to say, but it seems to me as if most users find themselves in a tottering state of mind. Increased awareness and perceived PEDP improvements, both generating confidence and expectations, seem to be somewhat back-lashed by new upcoming difficulties related to the enrolment increase and scarce resources. This is troublesome since it, in my view, might point in a threatening way towards so-called *relative deprivation*, i.e. a perceived frustration generating gap between peoples’ expectations in the education system to provide quality education and the education systems capacity to do so.²⁵ The increased awareness of the significance of education is likely to generate expectations among users. If the schools fail to fulfill these expectations, e.g. due to resource shortages, a frustration gap is likely to be generated. This, in turn, could lead to a back-lash where the newly won awareness and progressive view upon education is reversed. Enrolment figures might start to decrease and local resource mobilization for education might be hampered. If PEDP, as expected, ends in 2006 this will imply reduced government funds and that local communities will have to mobilize resources on their own. Several respondents expressed concern about this. One example: “*I am very worried about sustainability . The communities are contributing just a small part at the moment. When PEDP ends in 2006 thee communities may fail to take up the responsibility.*”. In my view it is likely that school quality problems will increase if resource flow is strained and this in turn is likely to generate frustration gaps. Progress made so far run the risk of being shattered.

Another problem, likely to generate frustration, is the issue of unfinished class room foundations. As indicated in section 5.2.9. there have been an agreement – within the PEDP framework – between the District government and the local communities saying that if local communities mobilize resources and construct classroom foundations the District government will contribute with additional funds for roofing and fitting up. The local communities have acted accordingly and constructed several foundations which are now quickly being grassed. There is now a strong notion among the local communities that they have kept their part of deal but that the government has failed to deliver. High expectations and perceived rights are now being violated. If the District government do not fulfill this promise frustration gaps are likely to emerge. Moreover, confidence in the education system is threatened. In fact, conversations with several respondents pointed in a quite unpleasant direction. Although not unspoken, there were some indications that the government has known from the very beginning that there will not be enough money for finishing up the classrooms. Time is now running and soon PEDP will be ended. If this is the case it denotes that there has been a strategy government to make the local communities finance the final

²⁵ The concept relative deprivation can foremost be traced to peace- and conflict research where it constitutes a conceptual tool for understanding mechanisms behind violence (Nilsson 1999, p. 158f.). In short, relative deprivation theory sees humans’ perception of their own situation and human frustration as crucial components of violent outbursts. The main line of thought is that if there is a dissonance between people’s expectations in terms of needs satisfaction and perceived capabilities to satisfy these very needs, a frustration gap is likely to be generated. This frustration gap, in turn, withholds the potential of mobilizing people to acts of violence (ibid.). Albeit the concepts intimate relationship with peace- and conflict research I would like to maintain that it can be useful in this, if you wish less dramatic, context. My point is not that a frustration generating gap between people’s expectations in the education system and peoples’ perception of the education system inability to deliver, will lead to violence. My point is rather that potential frustration gaps might erode user confidence and in the long run generate decreasing enrolment figures and decrease in local resource mobilization for education, i.e. frustration could generate an educational back-lash.

construction work as well. However, this suspicion of mine must be met with a certain scepticism since I got it indicated but never completely confirmed.

To conclude the issue of user confidence is very complex and opinions seem to be divided. Notwithstanding, if PEDP ends as expected in 2006 and this is followed by resource strains I fear that relative deprivation will emerge. Further frustration gaps will probably also be generated if the government fails to finish up the class room foundations put in place by the local community. This denotes that the immediate development after the ending of PEDP will be crucial and of utmost interest to follow. The local communities' ability to make progress and improve school quality will then be put to the test.

6. Conclusions

As formulated in the introductory chapter the objective of this thesis was – by means of field studies in Geita District - to examine how a substantial quantitative expansion of pupil enrolment affects primary school education in qualitative terms. In this undertaking I was guided by a self-developed indicative framework for school quality. However my main interest lied in disclosing generative mechanisms, operating within the existing school structure, through which school quality is affected. My sample was strategic. Consequently I allowed Geita to represent a critical case, arguing that if there are mechanisms affecting school quality that are generated as a result of hasty enrolment increases in poor communities they ought to be present in today's Geita, i.e. here if anywhere the mechanisms ought to be easy to disclose. This, due to extreme enrolment increases in a short period of time. This final chapter summarizes the overall findings and the main conclusion of the thesis. It further elaborates on some possible progressive paths for the future.

6.1 Findings in summary

In a dialectical manner, several interacting actions - on local, national and global level – have paved way for changes in Tanzania's educational policy in the latest years. Consequently, the Government of Tanzania introduced PEDP in 2002. This reform plan aims to materialize Tanzania's commitment towards the global EFA targets articulated at the conferences in Jomtien and Dakar (URT 2001a, p. 2). PEDP comprise four strategic priorities: 1) Enrolment expansion. 2) Quality improvement. 3) Capacity building. 4) Optimizing human, material and financial resource utilization. However the articulated *main* priority of PEDP is to increase overall enrolment of girls and boys (ibid., p. 3). Principal government strategies for achieving this have been the abolition of school fees and IEC-campaigns aiming for increased awareness of the importance of education.

As stated the abolition of school fees in combination with increased awareness has generated substantial enrolment increases in Geita District. In all of the three schools selected in this study the amount of pupils has more than doubled since 2001, which in turn reflects the general trend throughout the district. Undoubtedly this constitutes an impressive improvement for the people of Geita and with an estimated GER of 111 % and a NER of 97 % the district seems in fact to be closing in on UPE.²⁶ The increased access to schooling is very gratifying from a human rights perspective and in Amartya Sen's terminology it could be perceived as a substantial decline of capability deprivation. Moreover, PEDP has generated further good such as improved access for girls, expanded resource input in absolute terms, upgraded condition of school buildings, and an increased sense of school ownership in the local communities.

However, despite these improvements the enormous enrolment expansion has also generated new problems. Hence my findings, likewise some previous research (Närman 2001a, p. 325) (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 45), indicate that it is difficult to simultaneously expand enrolment and improve school quality in a context characterized by scarce resources. In a

²⁶ It should however be pointed out that the figures have been called in question. Moreover, it is important to remember that the examination pass rates are still far from satisfactory.

human rights perspective this brings us back to Tomasevski's fundamental remark that quality ought to be one of the core contents of the right to education (Tomasevski 2003, p. 51). Moreover, as stated by Colclough et al, that the issue of access to education far too often overshadows the issue of quality in the quest for guaranteeing all children the right to education (Colclough et al. 2005b, p. 4). The fundamental problem is that the available school infrastructure does not match the increasing inflow of pupils. Particularly shortages of class rooms and teachers pose problems. Amongst other actions these shortages have been handled by means of substantial enlargement of class sizes. All of this generates mechanisms that are troublesome from a school quality perspective. These mechanisms have been disclosed by means of abduction within a critical case sample. This denotes that the mechanisms carry realistic generality, i.e. it is likely that they will be triggered in similar contexts, characterized by substantial enrolment increases and scarce resources. However, it is important to understand these mechanisms as tendencies, i.e. they are likely to be triggered although not determined to do so (Danermark et al 2003, p. 99).

6.1.1. Disclosed mechanisms

An overall mechanism that has been disclosed in this study can be captured in the concept *loophole solutions*. By this I mean that teachers and school management - in a context characterized by unreasonable number of pupils in relation to available resources, e.g. huge class sizes - search for the easiest way to handle an unsustainable situation. The teachers and the school management are aware that these actions erode the quality of education but they perceive that they do not have much of a choice. This overall mechanism labeled as *loophole solutions* could in turn be narrowed down to several different mechanisms: *collectivism*, *marginalization*, *peeling* and *repression/laissez-faire behaviour*. In short these mechanisms can be described as follows. *Collectivism* denotes a social practice where teachers feel forced to approach pupils as a collective, hence leaving very few opportunities for individual assistance. *Marginalization* refers to a social practice leading to weaker pupils lagging behind. Huge class sizes in combination with teachers inability to provide individual assistance leads up to a situation where weaker pupils becomes marginalized. The mechanism I call *peeling* refers to a social practice where teachers take different actions in order to ease their workload, i.e. potential workload is "peeled away". In the same sense decisions made by the school management to decrease the pupils' entitled amount of learning time can be understood as peeling. *Repression* and *laissez faire* constitute two completely different social practices generated by the increasing disciplinary problems. Repression captures a tendency among teachers to become stricter and more inclined to carry out corporal punishment. Laissez-faire behaviour, inversely, captures a tendency among teachers to simply surrender to the disciplinary problems and proceed without any real interventions. All of these mechanisms, labeled under the overall concept loophole solutions, erode school quality in various ways. Moreover, they are very troublesome since they are likely to reproduce the prevailing structure. As long as teachers tend to deal with the current situation by means of loophole solutions and as long as this is accepted by pupils and parents there are few entry points for transformation of the structure. I believe that there is a danger that status quo will remain and that additional resources will be something beyond the horizon.

Other disclosed mechanisms are *chaos mechanisms*, *jading* and possibly *relative deprivation*. In short they can be described in the following way. *Chaos mechanisms* refers to a combination of class room practices, triggered by the mere amount of pupils and the extreme congestion, such as chatting, noise, teasing, fights and other disciplinary problems which reinforce each

other and, in turn, deteriorates the working atmosphere. With the concept *jading* I try to capture a mechanism through which the current working conditions slowly but surely jade the teachers' level of commitment. The concept *relative deprivation* refers to a dissonance between people's expectations in the education system and peoples' perception of the education system inability to deliver, which in turn generates a frustration gap that could lead to an educational back-lash.

6.1.2. Ideographic findings

The thesis has collected numerous empirical findings. However, since I have worked with a non-probability sample these findings must be understood – in scientific meaning – as ideographic. A selection of the more important of these ideographic findings is outlined below.

On the positive side we can note the following empirical patterns. *First* it must be recognized that although resources are insufficient to keep pace with the enrolment increase the schools have been provided with additional resources in absolute terms. Amongst other things, this has brought about material improvements in schools, e.g. upgrading of buildings and class rooms. *Secondly*, the sense of school “ownership” in the communities seems to have improved. This, due to the inception of SCs which has generated improved co-operation between schools and communities. Most stakeholders seem to feel involved in the decision-making processes. On the other hand it should also be recognized that there, at times, have been tensions between schools and communities, not least regarding financial contributions. *Thirdly*, the availability of books has increased in absolute and relative terms, which in turn denotes that the shortage of books has decreased. Moreover, the quality and relevance of books has improved in Bugogo primary and Ikulwa primary. This due to the decentralization of book purchases to school level. *Fourthly*, pupil absenteeism has declined, foremost due to the abolition of fees. *Fifthly*, drop out has decreased substantially foremost due to the abolition of school fees.

On the negative side we can note other empirical patterns. *First*, it should be pointed out that despite the abolition of school fees other contributions and expenses prevail and constitute economic burdens for the households, e.g. class room construction, desks, uniforms, shoes, books, pens and examination costs. *Secondly*, the planning of PEDP is criticized by several respondents. There is a notion that things have been done in the wrong order, i.e. that the proper infrastructure should have been put in place before the enrolment expansion, instead of the other way around which is the present case. Moreover that the local government is filing in their deployment of teachers to the village schools. *Thirdly*, and interrelated, there are geographical imbalances in terms of recruitment of qualified teachers and provision of in-service training between urban and village schools favoring the former. In the village schools this aggravates other problems related to the enrolment increase. *Fourthly*, despite the increase of books shortages of other learning material - e.g. in science, technical and practical subjects - seem to have increased relatively to enrolment. *Fifthly*, there seem to be a certain relative increase of repetition in standard 1-4. It should be noted that the lower standards withholds the largest class sizes.

6.2. Main conclusion

Although the general attitude towards PEDP is positive and although the plan has brought about some important improvements *the main conclusion of the thesis is that the enormous expansion of pupil enrolment have had certain negative effects on school quality in the selected field sites of Geita District.* The fast enrolment expansion in a context characterized of resource shortages has generated mechanisms that are troublesome from a school quality perspective. I maintain that these disclosed mechanisms can be generalized beyond the local context in accordance with so called realistic generality (Danermark 2003, p. 164f). Remaining empirical findings must however be understood – in scientific meaning – as ideographic. Consequently, in my view, Geita is still far from the global EFA target of UPE with good quality. This conclusion, in combination with the admittedly impressive NER figure of 97 %, points towards a situation where Geita District is close to *Enrolment for all* but hardly to *Education for all*. Hence from a more elaborated human rights perspective, comprising quality as a core content, a lot of work remains to be done. A further problem in this context is the presupposed ending of PEDP in 2006. A vast majority of respondents agreed that school quality improvements demand an increasing flow of resources. A declining resource flow on the other hand will most likely denote a serious setback.

6.3. The way forward?

The overall conclusion of the thesis brings one crucial question to the fore: what should be done in order to reach quality encompassing EFA? In accordance with my theoretical departure point, whereby social scientific research is a normative enterprise which should strive for political operativeness (Nilsson 1999, p. 247), I allow myself to briefly elaborate on this topic. Needless to say such an elaboration is political and it must further be understood against the backdrop of three fundamental assumptions intimately connected with the CIPE school of thought. First, it is important to understand that the prerequisites for education in Geita are not entirely determined on a local, or even on a national level. The global level is crucial to bring in to the analysis since structures and decisions on a global level can limit or, inversely, widen the room of maneuver for local and national actors. In this context it could be pointed out that several respondents in this study agreed that decisions on global level are crucial for the development of the education sector in Tanzania. As regards PEDP I find one of these quotes quite illuminating: *“PEDP can be tracked down to a combination of external pressure from the international donor community and internal anomalies such as popular complaints and poor education indicators.”*. Consequently, it is my firm belief that EFA in Tanzania requires progressive decisions on a global level. Second, societal development must be understood as a dialectical process in which contradictions sooner or later emerge in societies. These contradictions as such, and the way they are perceived, are crucial in societal transformation. Third, as stated by Abrahamsson *“politics is not a tea party”* (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. xxi). Hence, it is crucial that disadvantaged local communities raise their voices and move their positions forward in the war of position. If not so, the prevailing structure is most likely to be reproduced and additional resources will remain something beyond the horizon. As indicated in chapter 2 history teaches us that popular pressure is important.

So against this backdrop, what can be said about the way forward? Despite solemn formulations in official PEDP documents I maintain that the actions undertaken by the government of Tanzania must be understood, from a CIPE perspective, as problem-solving

measures rather than structural change (ibid., p. 98). This does not imply that PEDP has been meaningless. As stated the phenomenal enrolment increase, not least among girls, is indeed gratifying. Moreover the resource flow for schools has increased which is also very positive. Nevertheless, a fundamental problem is that these resources are completely insufficient to deal with the new situation. It is further obvious that the local communities have been forced to carry a substantial burden in the process. This implies that PEDP constitutes a change for the better but hardly the structural transformation needed to reach true EFA. From this the following can be concluded. The presupposed ending of PEDP in 2006 will most likely denote a setback since the flow of resources will be strained. However, an extension of the program in its current shape will not lead up to EFA.

In my understanding the new quality problems, generated by the enrolment increase, could be perceived as non-intentional outcomes or even contradictory circumstances (Abrahamsson 2003a, p. 98). However, and this is important, in line with Abrahamsson's approach to CIPE these contradictions, if perceived, can in fact create an entry point for structural transformation. A very important element in Geita District is the revived awareness of the significance of education. If this new awareness, combined with perceived educational deficiencies, can be channeled in a war of position structural transformation can be brought about. It is of utmost importance that voices on a local level make themselves heard. If pressure from bellow could be interlinked with progressive forces on a global level I believe that great improvements can be brought about. Undisputedly civil society is crucial in such process. In this context the historical analysis, outlined in chapter 2, of how the abolition of school fees was brought about constitute an encouraging example. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that popular pressure played an important part in the process leading up to the radical development strategy of the *Arusha Declaration* (c.f. 2.1.). A few tangible actions needed in order transform the school structure and create credible conditions for EFA are in my view the following:

- School management and teachers must unite and engage in a serious dialogue with local governmental authorities and civil society organizations about the current situation. It is of utmost importance that the schools make their voices heard. Loophole solutions must come to an end since they are likely to reproduce the structure rather than contributing to its transformation.
- Local civil society must channel the revived awareness of the importance of education and the perceived educational deficiencies in a war of position for structural transformation. This includes advocacy on local level in order to fortify awareness and create a force from bellow. Further, collaboration with national and global civil society organizations in order to consolidate a global force for EFA. Moreover to engage dialogues with local, regional and national governmental authorities.
- Global civil society organizations must take advantage of pressure from bellow and support local civil societies in their efforts. Further put pressure on the international donor community and other global holders of power to substantially increase available resources for EFA.
- The international donor community must listen to the demands of global civil society and pay more attention to field-based research findings, hence bring about a

substantial increase of aid flow for education. This denotes an increase beyond the Monterrey promises and the International Financial Facility.

- The Tanzanian administrations on national, regional and local level must deal with internal deficiencies such as poor planning, corruption and geographic imbalances.

It is my firm belief that the prerequisites for EFA would improve by far if this scenario would be materialized.

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 Samwel S. Mabeyo (m), Parent. Bugogo Primary School, May 21, 2005.
 Kwirigwa Nkuli (m), Parent. Bugogo Primary School, May 21, 2005.
 Zacharia Francis (m), Parent. Bugogo Primary School, May 21, 2005.
 Elias Ng'wandu Jonela (m), Parent. Bugogo Primary School, May 21, 2005.

} Group interview

Grace Williams (f), Pupil, Standard 4. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Zena Athumani (f), Pupil, Standard 4. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Shita Charles (m), Pupil, Standard 4. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Mussa Davidi (m), Pupil, Standard 4. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Ana Remegio (f), Pupil, Standard 5. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Inicensia Venasi (f), Pupil, Standard 5. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Makabe Chacha (m), Pupil, Standard 5. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Ernest Julius (m), Pupil, Standard 5. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.

Group interview

Kurubone Elias (m), Pupil, Standard 6. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Emmanuel Nhagalo (m), Pupil, Standard 6. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Fatma Abdallah (f), Pupil, Standard 6. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Erica Edward (f), Pupil, Standard 6. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Furaha Deonatus (m), Pupil, Standard 7. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Habiba Mohamed (f), Pupil, Standard 7. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Rehema Banana (f), Pupil, Standard 7. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.
 Justine George (m), Pupil, Standard 7. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.

Group interview

Samuel S. Mabeyo (m), School Committee Chairperson. Bugogo Primary School, May 24, 2005.

Ikulwa Primary School

Patrick Lukanda (m), Head teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.

Wenslaus Mbaraja (m), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.
 Robert Mishamo (m), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.
 Mathias Mayungo (m), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.
 Pendo Mabugo (f), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.
 Dafroza John (f), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.
 Cosmas Buswelu (m), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.
 Deusdedit Maliganya (m), Teacher. Ikulwa Primary School, May 17, 2005.

Group interview

Regina Doto (f), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 Marimiri Lusesa (f), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 John Shashuda (m), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 Mayunga Masaga (m), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 Mabula Lumaneja (m), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 Godbless Sulemani (m), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 Christina Mohamed (f), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 Eda Hillary (f), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.
 James Kombe (m), Parent. Ikulwa Primary School, May 18, 2005.

Group interview

Isacka Lukonya (m), Pupil, Standard 4. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Elizabeth Samass (f), Pupil, Standard 4. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Makoye Bahati (m), Pupil, Standard 4. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Meresina Mhanuka (f), Pupil, Standard 4. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Alponcena John (f), Pupil, Standard 5. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Peruzi Thomas (f), Pupil, Standard 5. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Festo Wilbert (m), Pupil, Standard 5. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
 Majuto Lugumbika (m), Pupil, Standard 5. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.

Group interview

Tezra Mathias (f), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Joyce Malimu (f), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Adela Malongoi (f), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Elida Jackson (f), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Plevocatus Jonas (m), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Imani Medadi (m), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Vedastus Malimi (m), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Daniel Frasto (m), Pupil, Standard 6. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Zebida Jackson (f), Pupil, Standard 7. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Nyanzobe Erasto (f), Pupil, Standard 7. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Elias Ngikiinula (m), Pupil, Standard 7. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.
Mussa M. Zacharia (m), Pupil, Standard 7. Ikulwa Primary School, May 16, 2005.

} Group interview

Nkanjiwa Wisanya (m), School Committee Chairperson. Ikulwa Primary School, May 19, 2005.

Interviews with respondents on different levels of the education sector's administrative and political super-structure

Regional level

Josephat M. Changvru (m), Regional Education Officer (REO) of Mwanza Region²⁷. Mwanza Regional Office, May 27, 2005.

District level

Joshua P. Kitatung'wa (m), District Education Officer (DEO) of Geita District. Geita District Office, May 11, 2005.

Ward level

Rachel Ngubila (f), Ward Education Coordinator (WEC) of Kalangalala Ward. Kalangalala Ward Office, May 25, 2005.

Mashaka Banana (m), WEC of Bukoli Ward. Bukoli Ward Office, May 21, 2005.

Josephat Solo (m), WEC of Ihanamilo Ward. Ihanamilo Ward Office, May 17, 2005.

Village level

Peter William Chipaka (m), Village Chairperson (VC) of Kalangalala Village. Kalangalala Village Office, May 25, 2005.

Jeremia Mayala (m), VC of Bugogo Village. Bugogo Village Office, May 20, 2005.

Phillipo Kasoga (m), VC of Ikulwa Village. Ikulwa Village Office, May 19, 2005.

²⁷ The respondent was in fact acting REO and had been doing so for about a month. Normally his administrative position is Regional Academic Education Officer (RAEO), this position he had held in Mwanza Region for 10 years.

Interviews with respondents contributing to my general understanding of the context(s)

District level

Jarvis A. Simbeye (m), District Executive Director (DED) of Geita District. Geita District Office, May 26, 2005.

Frank Joseph Mshana (m), District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer (DALDO) of Geita District. Geita town, May 25, 2005.

Donald E. Mremi (m), Resident Mines Officer (RMO) of Geita District. Geita District Mining Office. May 25, 2005.

Charles Muntu (m), District Health Secretary (DHS) of Geita District. Geita District Hospital, May 25, 2005.

Emmanuel Justine (m), District Aids Control Coordinator (DACC) of Geita District. Geita District Hospital, May 25, 2005.

Village level

Samson Muhondwa (m), Village Executive Officer (VEO) of Kalangalala Village. Kalangalala Village Office, May 26, 2005.

Emanuel Shabani (m), VEO of Bugogo Village. Bugogo Village Office, May 20, 2005.²⁸

Makaji Minzibuyunge (m), VEO of Ikulwa. Ikulwa Village, May 16, 2005.

Interviews with Scholars

University of Dar es Salaam

Justinian C. J. Galabawa (m), Professor of Economics of Education. Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, May 31, 2005.

Ibrahim Shao (m), Ass. Professor of Development Studies. Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, June 3, 2005.

²⁸ This was in fact a group interview. It included the previously mentioned VC of Bugogo and WEC of Bukoli.

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Appendix 1: Conceptual confusion reign the international debate on education - Understanding the crucial acronyms UPE, EFA and MDGs

In my view a considerable degree of conceptual confusion reign the international debate on education. Concepts are not used consistently - neither by scholars nor institutions - which in turn pose problems to anyone approaching the topic. This appendix is an attempt to disentangle some of this confusion, although it should be admitted that the task is not altogether easy.

There are three crucial acronyms in the international debate on education: UPE (Universal Primary Education), EFA (Education for All) and the education MDG (Millennium Development Goal). Very often these concepts are used more or less synonymous. Another occurring pattern is that the “old” concept UPE has been replaced by the more “contemporary” term EFA (Jansen 2004, p. 75). However, in my view, such treatment of the concepts is misleading and unfortunate since it tends to pinion the progressive dimensions of EFA. Put differently, if we use the concepts synonymous we run the risk of marginalizing the issue of quality.

Ever since the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948, education has been considered a basic human right. Article 26 articulates: “*Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory*” (UN 1948). In the case of Africa UPE became an articulated target at the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa hosted in Addis Ababa in 1961 (Jansen 2004, p. 76). The quest for UPE in Africa was ultimately a matter of expanding access to education - i.e. enrolment expansion. The issue of quality on the other hand was totally neglected (Närman 2004, p. 18). A similar conception of UPE is paramount in the *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005*. Colclough et al underlines that UPE is a numerical concept, focused on the quantitative aspects of education (Colclough et al 2005, p. 28). Personally, I subscribe to Colclough et al’s definition where UPE denotes that all children of primary school age participate in the school system and complete primary school (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 90). This I do since I believe it to be the most conceptually meaningful understanding of the term. Consequently UPE will be attained when 100 % of the world’s children are enrolled and complete primary school. However, as stated, UPE says nothing about the quality of the provided education.²⁹ Colclough et al. make some important remarks in this matter. First, they state that in many countries quest for guaranteeing all children the right to education the focus on access overshadows the issue of quality (Colclough et al. 2005b, p. 4). Second, they maintain that most human rights legislation focuses upon access to education but is comparatively silent about its quality (Colclough et al. 2005a, p. 30). Further, Tomasevski argues that quality ought to be one of the core contents of the right to education (Tomasevski 2003, p. 51). In line with this, one of the main arguments in this thesis is that enrolment and education should not be treated synonymous.

The conferences in Jomtien 1990 and Dakar 2000, marked an change in the international mainstream debate. The importance of quality was now emphasized and consequently the

²⁹ Unless we treat completion as an indicator of quality. This is not unconventional but in my view, and as pointed out by Colclough et al (2005a, p. 29), it is a dubious proxy for actual learning.

concept EFA was coined. EFA encompasses the “old” quantitative UPE goal, but the new concept also withholds a quality dimension and accordingly it constitutes an expanded vision of education. In the *Dakar Framework for Action* six EFA goals were pronounced (c.f. Box 1). Regarding quality goal 2 and 6 are of particular interest. Goal 2 commits nations to provide UPE “*of good quality*” (World Education Forum 2000, p. 15). Goal 6 commits nations to improve every aspect of education quality “*so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.*” (ibid., p. 17).

Five months after the Dakar conference the United Nations adopted the MDGs (c.f. Box 1). This is a framework composed of eight goals aiming for global poverty eradication. Two of the goals, goal 2 and 3, have an explicit reference to education. Goal 2 – or what I refer to as the education MDG³⁰ – comprises a commitment to achieve UPE by 2015. However the issue of quality – and thereby the progressive dimensions of EFA – was ignored (Colclough et al 2005a, p. 28). Accordingly, the education MDG is more or less a re-affirmation of what has been stated since 1948. So why was the quality dimension left out in the education MDG? There might be several reasons for this. First, school quality is an ambiguous concept and very difficult to measure (c.f. chapter 4). Second, in line with Jansen’s argumentation below, economical and political consideration may very well play an important part.

A reasonable conclusion is now that UPE and the education MDG can be used more or less synonymous whereas EFA, which encompasses a more elaborated quality dimension, is something more. This means that if you are really concerned about the issue of quality you should make an analytical distinction between EFA on the one side and UPE/education MDG on the other.

However, in the international debate it seems as if there is not even any real consensus on the seemingly unproblematic concepts UPE/education MDG. Jansen argues that there are at least four common conceptions of the UPE/education MDG. One suggests that UPE is about the *school systems capacity* to enroll all children. Another suggests that UPE is attained when all children *are able to* join and complete primary school. A third suggests that we have arrived at UPE when all children *participate in the school system and complete* primary school. A fourth version, suggests that this has to be done *within a relevant age-cohort* (Jansen 2004, p. 81). According to Jensen disagreement over means of measurement is hardly the only reason behind this disagreement. The core problem is rather that different UPE/education MDG-conceptions have enormous implications for the budgets of developing countries and for emerging policy priorities.

I find it very important for anyone interested in these issues to be aware of this chaotic conceptual state. Further, there are two main conclusions to be drawn from this elaboration. First, as stated, EFA is something more than UPE and the education MDG. UPE and the education MDG can in my view be used synonymous but they should both be analytically separated from the concept EFA. Second, when approaching the international debate on education and taking part of material produced by scholars or institution do consider how

³⁰ Note that both goal 2 and goal 3 have specific reference to education. However in this context and with regard to my objective, goal 2 is of particular importance. Moreover, Bruns et al. likewise refer to goal 2 as the education MDG (Bruns et al. 2003, p. 3).

the concepts are used and – sometimes even more important - why they are used the way they are.

Box 1. The EFA Dakar Goals and Millennium Development Goals on education.

EFA Dakar Goals	Millennium Development Goals
1. Expand and improve comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.	
2. Ensure that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.	2. Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.
3. Ensure that the learning needs of young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs.	
4. Achieve a 50 % improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.	
5. Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.	3. Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and on all levels of education no later than 2015.
6. Improve all aspects of the quality of education and ensure excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy, and essential life skills.	

Source: Bruns et al. 2003, p. 2.

Appendix 2: Fieldwork guides

Interview guide: Head teachers

Schools name?

For how long have you worked at this school?

How old is the school?

How many teachers work here?

How many pupils are enrolled?

Abolition of school-fees and enrolment

1. How much have enrolment increased since the inception of PEDP?
2. What are the most important explanations the enrolment increase? (Abolition of school fees? Public Information Campaigns? Relaxed school uniform requirement? Changed attitudes? Construction of school buildings?)

Overall impressions

1. How would you describe the situation at the school before and after the inception of PEDP?
2. What are the most important changes?
3. Are things better or worse?
4. Has the school been compensated with more resources to handle the enrolment increases? Capitation Grants? Investment Grants?

If yes:

5. Is this enough?
6. What do you need more of?

Class-size

1. How many pupils are there in each class on an average?
2. Did class-sizes increase when enrolment increased? (or: do you work double shifts? Effects?)

If yes:

3. How much?
4. Why did you have to enlarge classes? Where there no other solutions?
5. What are the main obstacles to reduced class-size?
6. Do you think that bigger classes affect the quality of teaching?

If yes:

7. Why? What kind of problems arises when classes get bigger? (Disciplinary problems? Instruction time? Pupil participation?)

Learning time

1. Have the amount of class hours per year in the pupils timetable been affected by the enrolment increase - or do the pupil get same amount of class hours as before the enrolment increase?

If yes: In what way?

2. Has it become more difficult to find time to help all children in class?
3. Are the teachers generally able to use the whole lesson for effective teaching?

If not:

4. Why? Are there any disturbances?

Orderly and encouraging environment

1. Do you think that orderliness within the school is satisfactory?
2. What sanctions are used against bad behaviour?
3. Do the teachers apply the same rules?
4. Do you think that the orderliness has been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?

If yes: How? In what way? Have this affected the teachers behaviour to uphold orderliness?

5. Can you please tell me about the way the teachers encourage pupils in this school?
6. Please tell me about the way the teachers give feedback to pupils regarding their schoolwork?
7. Do you think that encouragement and feed-back to pupils have been affected by the enrolment increase? If yes: How? In what way?

Commitment among teachers

1. Do you think that most of the teachers in this school are committed to their work as teachers?
2. Do you think that the level of commitment has changed among the teachers after the enrolment increase? If yes: Why? In what way?
3. What is the absence-level among the teachers in this school?
4. When teachers are absent - what are the most common reasons?
5. Has the absence level among the teachers changed in any way after the enrolment increase?
If yes: In what way? Why?
6. Do you perceive that the teachers in general feel responsible for the pupils' results?
7. Do you perceive that the teachers believe that their teaching is important?

Teacher involvement in decision-making

1. How are decisions regarding management of the schools made? (Can you describe the process?)
2. What stakeholders are involved?
3. Do you think that most teachers have a sense of responsibility regarding the management of this school?
4. Do you think that it has been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?
If yes:
5. In what way? Why?

Teachers' academic skills

1. How many of the teachers have a teacher training degree?
2. Have you recently employed any new teacher(s)?
If yes:
3. Did this have anything to do with the enrolment increase?
4. Did the new teacher(s) have a teacher training degree?
5. Is it difficult to find qualified teachers?
6. Do teachers receive in-service training? If yes: How much?

Physical infrastructure

1. Are the class rooms big enough to accommodate the pupils? If not: Did these problems increase when enrolment increased?
2. Are there enough class rooms? If not: Did these problems increase when enrolment increased?
3. What do you think of the conditions of the buildings?
4. What do you think about the conditions of the class rooms?
5. Do you have access to electricity?
If yes: (Do you have access to telephone/fax machine? computer? copy machine?)
6. Do you have asset to running water?
7. Do the pupils have asset to running water?
8. Are there enough toilet facilities for the pupils? Are they in a reasonable condition?
9. Have you received Investment Grants? Is it enough?

Learning material

1. Do you have enough learning material? (textbooks, exercise sheets, paper, pencils, crayons etc.)
If not:
2. What do you lack?
3. Did lack of material get worse when enrolment increased?

If yes: Why? What could be done about this?

4. Have you received the Capitation Grants to buy learning material? Is it enough?
5. What do you think about the quality of the existing learning material? Why?

Repetition

1. Do you think that repetition is a problem at this school?
2. What is the average repetition rate at the school?
3. Has there been a relative increase in repetition after the enrolment increase?

If yes:

4. Why? How would you explain this?

Literacy

1. What is the current status on literacy among the pupils at school?
2. Has the amount of literate pupils been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?

If yes:

3. In what way? Why?

Numeracy

1. What is the current status on numeracy among the pupils at school?
2. Has the amount of pupils with basic numeracy skills been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?

If yes:

3. In what way? Why?

Pupil absenteeism

1. Do you think that pupil absenteeism is a problem at this school?
2. What is the average pupil absenteeism rate at the school?
3. Has there been a relative increase of pupil absenteeism after the enrolment increase?

If yes:

4. Why? How would you explain this?

Drop out

1. Do you think that drop out is a problem at this school?
2. What is the average drop out rate at the school?
1. Has there been a relative increase of drop out after the enrolment increase?

If yes:

2. Why? How would you explain this?

Future prospects

1. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of schooling in this community?
2. Why?

Other important remarks?

1. Would you like to add anything to this discussion? Am I missing something important?

Interview guide: Teachers

For how long have you been a teacher?

For how long have you worked at this school?

Inception of PEDP and enrolment

3. How much have enrolment increased since the inception of PEDP?
4. What are the most important explanations the enrolment increase? (Abolition of school fees? Public Information Campaigns? Relaxed school uniform requirement? Changed attitudes? Construction of school buildings?)

Overall impressions

1. How would you describe the situation at the school before and after the inception of PEDP?
2. What are the most important changes?
3. Are things better or worse?
4. Has the school been compensated with more resources to handle the enrolment increases? Capitation Grants? Investment Grants?

If yes:

5. Is this enough?
6. What do you need more of?

Class-size

1. How many pupils are there in each class on an average?
2. Did class-sizes increase when enrolment increased? (or: do you work double shifts? Effects?)

If yes:

3. How much?
4. Why did you have to enlarge classes? Where there no other solutions?
5. What are the main obstacles to reduced class-size?
6. Do you think that bigger classes affect the quality of teaching?

If yes:

7. Why? What kind of problems arises when classes get bigger? (Disciplinary problems? Instruction time? Pupil participation?)

Learning time

1. Have the amount of class hours per year in the pupils timetable been affected by the enrolment increase - or do the pupil get same amount of class hours as before the enrolment increase?

If yes: In what way?

2. Has it become more difficult to find time to help all children in class?
3. Are the teachers generally able to use the whole lesson for effective teaching?

If not:

4. Why? Are there any disturbances?

Orderly and encouraging environment

1. Do you think that orderliness within the school is satisfactory?
2. What sanctions are used against bad behaviour?
3. Do you and your colleagues apply the same rules?
4. Do you think that the orderliness has been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?

If yes: How? In what way? Have this affected the teachers behaviour to uphold orderliness?

5. Can you please tell us about how you work to encourage pupils?
6. Can you please tell us about the way you give feedback to learners regarding their schoolwork?
7. Do you think that encouragement and feed-back to pupils have been affected by the enrolment increase?

If yes: How? In what way?

Commitment among teachers

1. Do you think that the teachers feel responsible for their pupils' results?
2. What is the absence-level among the teachers in this school?
3. When teachers are absent - what are the most common reasons?
4. Has the absence level among the teachers changed in any way after the enrolment increase?
5. Do you think that most of the teachers in this school are committed to their work as teachers?
6. Do you think that the level of commitment has changed among the teachers after the enrolment increase?
7. Do you in general feel responsible for the pupils' results?
8. Do you believe that your teaching is important?

Teacher involvement in decision-making

1. How are decisions regarding management of the schools made? (Can you describe the process?)
2. What stakeholders are involved?
3. Do you think that the teachers' opinions regarding the management of the school have an effect on the decisions made?
4. Has the teachers opinions on how to handle the enrolment increase been taken into account by the school management?
5. Do you think that most educators have a sense of responsibility regarding the management of this school?
6. Do you think that it has been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?
If yes:
7. In what way? Why?
8. Have you produced a School Development Plan? Were teachers involved in this work?

Teachers' academic skills

1. How many of the teachers have a teacher training degree?
2. Has the school recently employed any new teacher(s)?
If yes:
3. Did this have anything to do with the enrolment increase?
4. Did the new teacher(s) have a teacher training degree?
5. Is it difficult to find qualified teachers?
6. Do teachers receive in-service training? If yes: How much?

Physical infrastructure

10. Are the class rooms big enough to accommodate the pupils? If not: Did these problems increase when enrolment increased?
11. Are there enough class rooms? If not: Did these problems increase when enrolment increased?
12. What do you think of the conditions of the buildings?
13. What do you think about the conditions of the class rooms?
14. Do you have access to electricity?
- If yes: (Do you have access to telephone/fax machine? computer? copy machine?)
15. Do you have asset to running water?
16. Do the pupils have asset to running water?
17. Are there enough toilet facilities for the pupils? Are they in a reasonable condition?
18. Have you received Investment Grants? Is it enough?

Learning material

1. Do you have enough learning material? (textbooks, exercise sheets, paper, pencils, crayons etc.)
If not:
2. What kind of material is in shortage? What do you need more of?
3. Did the shortage of material get worse when enrolment increased?
If yes: Why? What could be done about this?
4. Have you received the Capitation Grants to buy learning material? Is it enough?

5. What do you think about the quality of the existing learning material? Why?

Repetition

1. Do you think that repetition is a big problem at this school?
2. What is the average repetition rate at the school?
3. Has there been a relative increase in repetition after the enrolment increase?
If yes:
4. Why? How would you explain this?

Literacy

1. What is the current status on literacy among the pupils at school?
2. Has the amount of literate pupils been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?
If yes:
3. In what way? Why?

Numeracy

1. What is the current status on numeracy among the pupils at school?
2. Has the amount of pupils with basic numeracy skills been affected in any way by the enrolment increase?
If yes:
3. In what way? Why?

Pupil absenteeism

1. Do you think that pupil absenteeism is a problem at this school?
2. What is the average pupil absenteeism rate at the school?
3. Has there been a relative increase of pupil absenteeism after the enrolment increase?
If yes:
4. Why? How would you explain this?

Drop out

1. Do you think that drop out is a problem at this school?
2. What is the average drop out rate at the school?
3. Has there been a relative increase of drop out after the enrolment increase?
If yes:
4. Why? How would you explain this?

Future prospects

1. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of schooling in this community?
2. Why?

Other important remarks?

1. Would you like to add anything to this discussion? Am I missing something important?

Interview guide: Pupils

How old are you?

In what grade are you?

Class-size

1. Do you know how many pupils there are in your class?
2. What is it like to be in a class with many pupils?
3. Do you find it difficult to concentrate when there are many pupils in the class room?
4. Would you prefer to be in a class with fewer pupils?

Learning time

1. Are teachers normally in time for class? Do they leave on time?
2. Do your teachers generally use the whole lesson for teaching? Are there often interruptions?
3. Do you feel that you get the help you need from the teacher during class?
4. Do the teachers have time to help all the children during class?

Orderly and encouraging environment

1. Do you think that orderliness within the school is satisfactory?
2. What do the teachers do when a pupil misbehave?
3. Does corporal punishment occur? If yes: How often?
4. Do the teachers apply the same rules?
5. Do you feel relaxed when you speak with the teachers or are you afraid?
6. Do you feel free to ask questions when something is not clear to you during a lesson?
7. How do the teachers respond to incorrect answers?
8. Are you satisfied with the encouragement you get from the teachers?
9. What do the teachers do to encourage the pupils?
10. What do the teachers do when a pupil perform well?
11. What do the teachers do when a pupil perform bad?

Commitment among teachers

1. Do you think that the teachers feel responsible for their pupils' results?
2. Are teachers often absent?
3. Do you think that most of the teachers in this school are committed to their work as teachers?

Physical infrastructure

1. Do you think that the class rooms are over crowded?
2. Are there enough class rooms?
3. What do you think about the condition of the class rooms? (OK? Hot? Cold? Dark? Dusty?)
4. Do the pupils have asset to running water?
5. Are there enough toilet facilities for the pupils? Are they in a good condition?

Learning material

3. Do you have enough learning material? (textbooks, exercise sheets, paper, pencils, crayons etc.)
If not:
4. What kind of material is in shortage? What do you need more of?
5. Is the learning material you have good or bad? Why? In what way?

Private tuition and corruption

1. Do teachers provide extra tuition/lessons for some pupils after school days or in weekends?
If yes:
2. Do you know if this has increased after the enrolment increase?

3. What do pupils have to do to get that kind of extra tuition/lessons? (Payment in cash? Payment in services?)
4. Do you think that pupils that get extra tuition/lessons do better in exams?
5. Are pupils ever forced in any way to take private tuition?
6. Do you think that teachers treat some pupils better than others?
If yes: In what way? What do you think is the explanation for this?

Literacy

1. Do you feel that you get better at reading and writing at school?
2. Do you think that most pupils that finish school are good at reading and writing?

Numeracy

1. Do you feel that you get better at mathematics at school?
2. Do you think that most pupils that finish school are good at mathematics?

Pupil absenteeism

1. Are pupils often absent from school?
If yes: Why?

Expressed level of user-confidence

1. Do you have confidence in the schools capacity to teach you?

Future prospects

1. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of schooling in this community?
2. Why?

Other important remarks?

1. Would you like to add anything to this discussion? Am I missing something important?

Interview guide: Parents

How many children do you have?

How many go to school?

In what grades are they?

Inception of PEDP and enrolment

1. Pupil enrolment has increased a lot in the latest years. What are the most important explanations to this increase? (Abolition of school fees? Public Information Campaigns? Relaxed school uniform requirement? Changed attitudes? Construction of school buildings?)

Overall impressions

1. What is your opinion about the abolition of school-fees?
2. Do you know if the situation in school has changed a lot since the enrolment started to increase?
If yes: In what way?
3. Are things better or worse?

Class-size

1. Do you know how many pupils there are in your children's classes?
2. Do you know if class-sizes increased when enrolment increased?
If yes: Do you think that bigger classes affect the quality of teaching?

Commitment among teachers

1. Do you think that most of the teachers in the school are committed to their work as teachers?
2. Do you know if teacher-absenteeism is a problem at the school?
If yes: Do you know the reason for this?

Physical infrastructure

1. What do you think of the conditions of the school buildings? Do you know if there are any problems to accommodate all pupils? Other problems?

Learning material

1. Do you know if there is a shortage of learning material in school?
If yes: Why? What could be done about this?

Private tuition and corruption

1. Do teachers provide private tuition/lessons for some pupils after school days or in weekends?
If yes:
2. Do you know if this has increased after the enrolment increase?
3. What do pupils (or parents of pupils) have to do to get that kind of private tuition/lessons? (Payment in cash? Payment in services?)
4. Do you think that pupils that get private tuition/lessons do better in exams?
5. Are pupils ever forced in any way to take private tuition?
6. Do you think that teachers treat some pupils better than others?
If yes: In what way? What do you think is the explanation for this?

Repetition

1. Do you know if repetition is common among pupils in school?
If yes:
2. Do you know how many repeaters there are per year? (%age)
3. Do you think that this have anything to do with the situation in school? If yes: How? In what way?

Literacy

1. Do you think that the school is good at teaching the children how to read and write?
If not: Why? What could be done about this?
2. Do you think that the schools ability to teach the children how to read and write has changed after the enrolment increase?
If yes: In what way? Why?

Numeracy

1. Do you think that the school is good at teaching the children mathematics?
If not: Why? What could be done about this?
2. Do you think that the schools ability to teach the children has changed after the enrolment increase?
If yes: In what way?

Pupil absenteeism

1. Do you know if pupils are often absent from school?
If yes:
2. How often?
3. Does this have anything to do with the situation in school? If yes: How?

Expressed level of user-confidence

1. Where your children enrolled before the huge enrolment increases?
2. Do you have confidence in the schools capacity to provide quality education?
3. Why do you think so?
4. Do you think that the school can make a change for your children?
5. Has your opinion in this matter been affected after the enrolment increase?

Future prospects

1. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of schooling in this community?
2. Why?

Other important remarks?

1. Would you like to add anything to this discussion? Am I missing something important?

Interview guide: Officials

What is your administrative position?

For how long have you held this position?

Inception of PEDP and enrolment

1. How much has pupil enrolment increased since the inception of PEDP?
2. What are the most important explanations the enrolment increase? (Abolition of school fees? Public Information Campaigns? Relaxed school uniform requirement? Changed attitudes? Construction of school buildings?)

Overall impressions

1. How would you describe the situation at the schools before and after the enrolment increase?
2. What are the most important changes?
3. Are things better or worse?
4. What has improved?
5. What has deteriorated?
6. Has the schools been compensated with more resources to handle the enrolment increases? Capitation Grants? Investment Grants?

If yes:

7. Is this enough?
8. What do the schools in general need more of?

Quality implications

1. Has school quality been affected by the substantial enrolment increases in a short period of time?

If yes:

2. How? In what way?
3. What are the main quality problems?
4. What could be done about this?

4. PEDP – quantity and quality

1. The PEDP sets out goals to increase the quantitative pupil enrolment and improve school quality at the same time. In your view, is there a contradiction between quantitative enrolment expansion and improved school quality – or is it possible to achieve both simultaneously?
2. What would be required to reach 100% enrolment with good quality?
3. Are you optimistic/pessimistic about the future of schooling in this community/these communities?

5. Attitudes towards education

1. What is the general attitude towards school in this community/these communities?
2. Has these attitudes changed in any way in line with the enrolment increase?

6. Other important remarks?

1. Would you like to add anything to this discussion? Am I missing something important?

Guidelines: Observations

Name of the school:

Class-size

- How many pupils are there in ongoing classes?

Learning time

- Are all teachers present?
- Are teachers in time for their lessons?

Orderly and encouraging environment

- Do classes seem to be noisy or is there peace enough so that schoolwork can be done properly?
- Are there any corporal punishment?

Commitment among teachers

- Are all teachers present?
- Are the teachers in time for their lessons?

Physical infrastructure

- Are the class rooms big enough to accommodate the pupils?
- Are there enough class rooms?
- What are the conditions of the buildings?
- What are the conditions of the class rooms? Do they have a sufficient amount of desks?
- Does the school have asset to telephone/fax machine?
- Does the school have asset to a computer?
- Does the school have asset to a copy machine?
- Does the school have asset to running water?
- Do the pupils have asset to running water?
- Are there enough toilet facilities for the pupils? Are they in a reasonable condition?

Learning material

- What kind of learning material exists?
- What can be observed regarding the quality of the material?
- Are there any obvious shortages of learning material?

Guidelines: Interpretation of secondary sources

Name of the school:

Abolition of school-fees and enrolment

- What enrolment figures are presented in official school documents before and after the inception of PEDP?

Class-size

- What is the average PTR according to official school documents?
- What is the average PCR according to official school documents?

Learning time

- What is the average teacher absence rate presented in official school documents?

Commitment among teachers

- What is the average teacher absence rate presented in official school documents?

Teacher involvement in decision-making

- Has a School Development Plan been produced?

Repetition

- What is the average repetition rate presented in official school documents?

Pupil absenteeism

- What is the average pupil absence rate presented in official school documents?

Drop out

- What is the average drop out rate presented in official school documents?