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Coping with inadequacy: understanding the effects of central teacher recruitment in six ward secondary schools in Tanzania

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Coping with inadequacy

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Coping with inadequacy

Understanding the effects of central teacher
recruitment in six ward secondary schools
in Tanzania

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Abbreviations

DC	District Commissioner
DEO	District Education Office
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
OUT	Open University of Tanzania
PE	Personnel Emoluments
PMO-RALG	Prime Minister's Office-Regional Administration and Local Government
PO-PSM	President's Office-Public Service Management
PSC	Public Service Commission
RC	Regional Commissioner
REO	Regional Education Office
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
TSR	Teacher Student Ratio
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WDC	Ward Development Committee
WEC	Ward Education Coordinator
WEO	Ward Executive Officer

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Wilhelm Leonard Mafuru
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Introduction

Since the early 2000s when the government in Tanzania issued the directive that each ward is required to have a secondary school, the challenge of teacher inadequacy to these ward secondary schools has revealed itself. That is to say, the quest for teachers for ward secondary schools in Tanzania is as old as the schools themselves. The local initiative devised by the Dar es Salaam regional administration in 2008 provides an example of the broad local efforts in trying to invent the quick fixes to teacher inadequacy in ward secondary schools. To operationalise its quick fix, the regional administration in Dar es Salaam made an attempt to re-categorise the primary school teachers with degree and diploma qualifications to temporarily teach in ward secondary schools. The regional administration claimed that the purpose was to supply teachers to ward secondary schools in order to address the problem of teacher inadequacy they were experiencing. The ‘co-opted primary school teachers’ were expected to be in ward secondary schools for a while and then they would go back to their primary schools when the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training allocated teachers to ward secondary schools in the region (Said 2008). However the following questions are raised:

Does Tanzania really have the shortage of secondary school teachers? Has the shortage of teachers in public secondary schools in the country reached the extent of calling in primary school teachers to assist in teaching in ward secondary schools? (Ndibalema 2008)

Bennell & Mukyanuzi (2005) argue that the shortage of teachers experienced by public secondary schools in Tanzania is the result of the failure of the central government to realise its intention aiming at equal distribution of teachers to these (public secondary) schools. The immediate effect of teacher inadequacy is

as reported from the views given to Nora Damian, a journalist working for Mwananchi Newspaper in Tanzania, when she had the informal discussions with a number of students from ward secondary schools in the city of Dar es Salaam.

The teacher enters the class, provides the notes and leaves. It now becomes the duty and obligation of the class monitor to write the notes on the blackboard for other students to copy. It will take a while for the teacher to reappear in the class, and when he appears, he just passes through the topics very briefly and in such a way that the chance for discussions or even asking questions is not there. (Damian, 28 May 2008)

In some cases, such shortcomings are claimed to be the source of the disruption and strikes in public secondary schools. It seems that the shortage of teachers limits the abilities of the available teachers to teach properly. This dissatisfies students, according to Rajab Kondo in Mwananchi Newspaper dated 20 May 2008, and they organise strikes demanding better teaching and replacements for the teachers who they allege have a lack of teaching abilities (Kondo 2008). Lucy Ngowi in Tanzania Daima Newspaper dated 1 May 2010, narrating the views of the acting director of HakiElimu, points out that the declining quality of education in Tanzania is partly due to the shortage of teachers. The problem is highly noticeable in ward secondary schools in Tanzania. She also poses the following question: is it possible to have quality education provision in ward secondary schools in Tanzania with inadequate teachers? (Ngowi 2010)

Background of the study

Decentralisation by devolution is the means to transfer the responsibilities for service provision to the grassroots levels in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). In the education system of Tanzania, decentralisation is used as the strategy to deal with the stagnation in the expansion and development of secondary education by mobilizing its provision at the ward level throughout the country. The idea is that through decentralisation by devolution the inequality in dealing with secondary education compared to primary education in Tanzania's education system can be redressed. The inequality is the result of the previous policy initiatives, for instance the Education for Self-Reliance within the Arusha Declaration and Nationalization of Education, which have been limiting the expansion and development of secondary education in Tanzania (Samoff 1987).

The effect of previous action taken by the government towards secondary education is as described by Osaki (2004) that secondary education has been reduced to a minute sector. However, recently the government has realised the significance of secondary education and has directed the attention towards it. The reasons have been to increase its access and to cope with the continued high demands for secondary education in the country, and on the other hand, the de-

mands of the modern world are no longer satisfied with the outputs of primary education alone (Osaki 2004).

The adoption of the Development Vision 2025 in Tanzania in 1999 also has created an ambition on the part of the government for both progress and prosperity (United Republic of Tanzania 1999a). The course of action obliges the government to channel its orientation towards realizing the goals envisioned in the development vision. In order for the government to achieve progress and prosperity, putting emphasis on education is inevitable due to its multiplier effects to the wellbeing of the communities in Tanzania. Having attained successful results in primary education, through the successful implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE), the government needs to put more efforts to the secondary education tier, which, apart from being vital for sustainable economic take off of the country, it has personal and great social benefits crucial for the development of the community as a whole (Therkildsen 2000; Wedgwood 2007). Secondary education is a fundamental link to the important avenues of development and progress at both the individual and community level (Palmer *et al.* 2007). These avenues range from the opportunities for professional and technical development, self awareness on the part of the individuals to constituting ‘the minimum entry qualifications in the formal (government) employment’ (Public Service Act No. 8).

Despite the fact that Tanzania acknowledges the pivotal role of secondary education in the national development (United Republic of Tanzania 1995), the government alone has been unable to effectively provide it. The entry of the private investors has limitations in terms of involving the poor and those located in the rural and remote areas of the country. This is the common situation in developing countries (Gershberg & Winkler 2004). For instance, in Tanzania, it is reported that in the 2000s the expansion of the private secondary education sector has considerably slowed down indicating that the demand for private education from those who can afford it has mostly been met (Woods 2007: 9).

Fortunately it happened that in the late 1990s Tanzania managed to have the opportunity for achieving its goal towards secondary education expansion and development as the country had started to implement decentralisation and reform programmes with the aim of decentralizing the responsibilities for service provision to the lower levels (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). Through these programmes, education decentralisation found its way (Gershberg & Winkler 2004: 345). Given this opportunity, education decentralisation has managed to deliver ‘a success story’ through either constructing or opening up at least one secondary school in each ward. According to Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (2007), in the year 2007 1,667 ward secondary schools were added to the existing 828 public secondary schools in Tanzania, making them (ward secondary

schools) to constitute more than a half of all (public) government secondary schools in the country.

However Tanzania still provides an example of the top-down decentralisation initiative whereby the centre retains most of the decision making powers. The practice of decentralisation in Tanzania is viewed as a deconcentrated one rather than a devolved one whereby controls remain firmly centralised (Gershberg & Winkler 2004). The failure to decentralise further is justified by the claim held by the central government that it aims at equity in resource distribution (Bennell & Mukyanuzi 2005). Then the general practice is the centralisation of important roles, decisions and functions. Although centralisation of the process of resource determination and allocation to the grassroots institutions is to achieve equity in both distribution and deployment of resources, it seems that the approach is far from realising its objective in Tanzania. The grassroots institutions, and in this case, ward secondary schools still experience resource inadequacy (teacher inadequacy) as revealed by the example of the local initiative of the Dar es Salaam regional administration mentioned elsewhere in this chapter.

Limited resources, in terms of the shortage of teachers and the failure of the centralised teacher recruitment approach to achieve its intention of the equal distribution of teachers, have effects on teachers' operations in ward secondary schools in Tanzania. Given this situation, the likelihood for teachers to structure the provision of education service in such a way that they cope with teacher inadequacy is inevitable. That is to say, if teachers are to continue with the provision of education service in such a situation, they are required to figure out their own quick fixes regardless the dictation of the formal rules governing and directing the delivery of education service in Tanzania. It is on the basis of this background; this research grounds its position and aims at understanding the effects of centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

Tanzania: country profile

Tanzania is a country in East Africa bordered by Kenya and Uganda to the north; Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west and Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the south. The country's eastern borders lie on the Indian Ocean. Tanzania is a unitary republic, and as a sovereign state, is governed as one unit in which the central government is supreme and any administrative divisions exercise only powers that the central government chooses to delegate (United Republic of Tanzania 1977). Tanzania occupies an area of about 945,090 square kilometres and has a population of over 34 million people (United Republic of Tanzania 2002a).

Tanzania (Mainland) became an independent nation in 1961 from the British colonial regime who took over to rule the country after the defeat of the Germans

in the First World War (Siwale & Sefu 1977). The United Republic of Tanzania was founded in 1964 from the union of Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) and Zanzibar (Zanzibar and Pemba). As a country, Tanzania has a wide variation in climate, vegetation and topography. Tanzania's landscape includes humid, tropical coastal areas, a dry central plateau and semi-temperate, fertile highlands. The country possesses a conspicuous section of the Great Rift Valley, Africa's deepest lake (Lake Tanganyika) and Africa's highest mountain, Mount Kilimanjaro.¹

Figure 1.1 Map of Tanzania's location in East Africa



Source: www.mapsorama.com/political-map-of-tanzania

The people of Tanzania belong to 120 African ethnic groups, each with its own language and culture, however, the official language spoken by the majority population is Kiswahili. Administratively the country is divided into 26 regions of which 21 regions belong to Tanzania Mainland and 5 regions belong to Zanzibar. The regions are further divided into districts and in total Tanzania has 127 districts. According to the Education for All – Global Monitoring Report (2006)

¹ Tanzania: Country profile (www.thecitizen.co.tz/about-tanzania.html) (Accessed: April 3, 2010).

in Woods (2007), 57.8 percent of the population in Tanzania is below the poverty measure of US\$ 1 per day and the 2001 Household Budget Survey records that 35.3 percent of the population is below the national poverty line of US\$ 0.26 per day (Woods 2007: 8). As far as secondary education is concerned, Tanzania has witnessed its considerable growth in the 2000s mainly through the establishment of ward secondary schools (community-built government day secondary schools). The construction of secondary schools by the local communities is an indication of the high demand for secondary education in the country (Woods 2007: 9-10).

Statement of the problem

Teachers are the frontline individuals in the provision of education service. They are the human resources who control the operations of schools in terms of transferring knowledge, skills and attitudes to students. Thus their recruitment ascertains the extent to which vacancies in schools are filled and whether schools can get adequate teachers or not. It is argued that if the centralised teacher recruitment persists in education decentralisation, then the potential benefits of education decentralisation become highly constrained as the approach makes the schools wait endlessly for their allocation of teachers from the central government institution(s). Whether they can get what they expect or according to their preferences and demands, there is no guarantee about that (Gershberg & Winkler 2004).

This study intends to understand the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment approach in ward secondary schools in Tanzania, and to explain these effects in the context of teachers' operations in six ward secondary schools selected as case studies from the Morogoro region in Tanzania.

Research questions

The central research question of this study is: What are the effects of 'centralised teacher recruitment' in ward secondary schools in Tanzania; and how can these effects be explained?

The central research question is further operationalised into the following research questions:

- How is 'centralised teacher recruitment' conducted in Tanzania?
- To what extent has this recruitment approach been successful in redressing the inequalities in the deployment of teachers in Tanzania?
- How does 'centralised teacher recruitment' affect the six ward secondary schools selected from the Morogoro Region?

- How may these effects (in relation to teachers' operations) in the selected ward secondary schools be explained?

The purpose and scope of the study

The main purpose of this study is to understand the centralised teacher recruitment approach and its effects in ward secondary schools within the context of the operations of teachers in six ward secondary schools selected from the Morogoro region in Tanzania. Specifically this research addresses the following:

1. To provide the understanding of the operations of teachers in six selected ward secondary schools.
2. To examine the ways teachers and school administration structure their duties and functions in six selected ward secondary schools and explain their internal operational arrangements or routines.
3. To provide an understanding of the extent to which the internal operational arrangements or routines in six selected ward secondary schools limit the effectiveness of the formal rules directing the affairs in the provision of education service.

In order to fulfil the purpose of this study, two ward secondary schools which are considered among the first to be established in each of the three selected councils (Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro Rural and Mvomero) of the Morogoro region are studied. The reason is to have an opportunity to understand and explain the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools taking into consideration their operational experience in each district.

Significance of the study

Theoretically this study is an attempt to understand and explain the extent to which teachers and school administration in six ward secondary schools try to cope with their work environment which is characterised by the state of teacher inadequacy in either all or some of the subjects. Through coping, teachers and school administration develop routines to enable them to manage their duties. Such routines include the following: formalising the private teaching for extra payments, part time teaching whereby neighbouring ward secondary schools swap teachers in the subjects with inadequacy, teaching by passing through past paper examination questions, biased teaching to specific classes, teachers' liberty at making their own choices of the subjects they prefer to teach and structuring short term and long term teacher absenteeism. Eventually these routines are internalised and seem to regulate the affairs in ward secondary schools. Also teachers and their school administration have their internal systems of interdependence in the form of local associations and cooperation. These internal arrangements are used as the means for social affiliation and social security through which the

members get assistance and help in case of need. Peer pressure and the expectation that one will need assistance from others act as the means forcing the individuals to comply with the terms of the internal operational arrangements and structures.

Therefore teachers in the selected ward secondary schools seem to behave as 'street-level bureaucrats' since they have devised routines and simplifications for coping with the challenge of service provision at the frontline and the obvious challenge confronted by them is resource inadequacy (teacher inadequacy). The routines developed may be regarded as the local 'legal' orders that define their operations in these schools. In this perspective, then, the selected ward secondary schools may be viewed as 'semi-autonomous social fields' since they have their own 'normative orders' developed from 'routines and simplifications.' Thus the concepts of 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky 1980) and 'semi-autonomous social fields' (Moore 1973) become useful in explaining the operations of teachers in six ward secondary schools selected from the Morogoro region. That is, this study appreciates the relevance of both concepts to explain the contemporary situation in Tanzania as far as these six ward secondary schools are concerned.

At the policy level, the study provides an understanding of how decentralised responsibility is affected by the centralised approach towards it especially when the approach hardly manages to achieve its intended objective. The practical significance in this sense is that the shortage of service providers cum frontline operators (teachers) makes those who are present in ward secondary schools to develop their internal routines to cope with the situation. Such developed routines in the long run become the local rules that 'limit the effectiveness of the formal rules' directing the provision of (education) service.

Overview of the research methodology

The study aims at understanding the effects of the Centralised teacher recruitment in six selected ward secondary schools by focusing on teachers' operation in the context education decentralisation in Tanzania. Since its main objective is to explain the phenomenon, then, case study research design is considered suitable for this research. Being a case study, the study takes the approach advocated by Yin (2003) that

[It] is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. (Yin 2003: 13-14)

As far as this research is concerned, the operations of teachers in the six selected ward secondary schools (Nelson Mandela, Milengwelengwe, Kihonda, Sumaye, Kipera and Melela) are studied. Since the research design enables the study to use multiple sources of evidence, it has employed the following research

methods to collect data: interviews, direct observations, documentary reviews and focus group discussions. The analysis of data is done through explaining the phenomenon within its context (Yin 2003). The propositions developed in the theoretical framework (see Chapter 3) provide the basis for understanding the phenomenon being studied. The explanation is also operationalised by linking selected elements of the concepts in the theoretical framework to the facts of the case studies.

Outline of the book

This dissertation is made up of nine chapters. Chapter two provides an understanding of secondary education service and teacher recruitment in Tanzania. The chapter highlights the significance of secondary education, the historical development of secondary education in Tanzania to its current state. The context of education decentralisation and the approach of recruiting secondary school teachers in Tanzania are also the focus of the chapter.

Chapter three provides the account of the theoretical concepts and propositions that are developed in the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter outlines the concepts of street-level bureaucrats and that of semi-autonomous social fields. The concept of street-level bureaucrats provides the framework for understanding teachers and their operations in ward secondary schools in the situation of inadequate resource (shortage of teachers). The concept of semi-autonomous social fields provides the framework for understanding ward secondary schools. The focus of the concept of semi-autonomous social fields is to show the extent to which ward secondary schools are able to structure their local internal systems that regulate their internal environment and at the same time limit the effectiveness of formal rules.

Chapter four provides details of the case study research design employed in this research. To operationalise the research design, the account of case studies selection is outlined. The chapter provides the methods used in collecting both primary and secondary data and the limitations confronted in the data collection exercise. It also reveals the prior preparation for the fieldwork in the selected districts' jurisdiction and the duration of the fieldwork starting from February 2008 to July 2009. As a way to set the foundation for the case study presentation, the operationalisation of the theoretical framework is provided. The section highlights the elements of the theoretical concepts to be reflected in the case studies. The chapter also provides the brief account of secondary education in the selected districts in the Morogoro region. This part sets the background for the presentation of cases of the selected ward secondary schools. Finally the chapter concludes by providing insights into the case studies' narration.

Chapter five, six and seven provide the case studies. The objective is to provide the case reports of the selected ward secondary schools in their respective districts. Case study reports' presentation follows these subheadings. The first subheading outlines the background information of the school, the second subheading details decentralising secondary education to the local communities, the third subheading is about being a teacher in a ward secondary school, the fourth subheading details the internal operations in ward secondary schools and each case report ends with a brief summary as a conclusion.

Chapter eight is the attempt to provide the analysis of the case reports. The chapter links the empirical case study findings to both propositions and selected elements of the concepts of the theoretical framework. The essence of the chapter is to show the extent to which teachers are street-level bureaucrats and ward secondary schools are semi-autonomous social fields.

Chapter nine is the final chapter of the book. It starts with the highlights of the main results of the study and ends by providing some recommendations.

Secondary education and teacher recruitment in Tanzania

Introduction

The introduction of the Education and Training Policy in 1995 has enabled Tanzania to achieve significant development in the education sector. For example in the period between 1995 and 2005, the country witnessed the improvement in primary education retention rate as the number of students in primary education increased from 3.8 million to 7.5 million respectively. The expansion of primary education to the more remote areas of the country accompanied by the introduction of the child friendly school initiative in the early 2000s improved both its access and retention (United Republic of Tanzania 2001a). The result was that the percentage of those children of the school age who were in primary education increased from 55% in 1995 to 95% in 2005 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2007). The immediate consequence of this development initiative is the improvement in the pass rate in primary education which increases the demand for secondary education in Tanzania. For example in Morogoro municipal council in 2005 and 2007, the number of students who passed their primary examination was 3,914 and 4,694 respectively as opposed to less than 1,000 students who passed the same examination before 2000 (Morogoro Municipal Council 2005 and 2007).

The government's response to increased demand for secondary education and eventually its provision at the ward level in Tanzania has been supported by a number of programmes, namely Secondary Education Master Plan (2000); Education Sector Development Programme (2004); and Secondary Education Devel-

opment Programme (2004). The main objective of all these programmes has been to enhance the quality and accessibility of secondary education service to the majority of Tanzanians especially those who are in the rural and remote areas (Woods 2007). However, to a large extent, the new orientation in the delivery of secondary education in Tanzania is affected by inadequate supply of teachers to ward secondary schools. For instance in 2008, Mvomero District, one of three districts selected in this research, needed a total supply of 542 teachers for its ward secondary schools. But the district only achieved the supply of 117 teachers (see Appendix 2). This included those teachers who were posted to and those who were in ward secondary schools in the district in 2008 (Mvomero District Council 2008). Actually the supply of teachers is determined by the recruitment approach in place. The teacher recruitment approach is the means that guarantees the possibility of filling vacancies in ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

This chapter, therefore, starts by providing the significance of secondary education and its historical development in Tanzania. The brief history of secondary education development covers the late colonial period to the most recent state of secondary education provision in Tanzania. Thereafter the context of education decentralisation in Tanzania is explained. This is followed by the narration of the efforts and rationale for decentralising secondary education provision in the wards and the establishment of ward secondary schools. Finally the chapter details the approach of recruiting teachers to (public) ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

Significance of secondary education

The contribution of secondary education to the wellbeing of the individuals, the communities and the nation as a whole is noted in various literature, for example Palmer *et al.* (2007), Daniel (2007), Morogoro Regional Education Office (2007), Mulkeen *et al.* (2007), Wedgwood (2005), World Bank (2002) and the United Republic of Tanzania (1995). The literature provides that secondary education holds the privileged position in all formal education systems. At the individual level, it is pointed out that, effective secondary schooling offers the individuals access to abstract reasoning and the kind of flexible thinking skills that are not offered at the primary level (Lewin 2000: 5). Being placed between primary and tertiary education in the structures and contexts of education systems, secondary education is regarded as the hub of the education systems in the nations (World Bank 2002).

The United Republic of Tanzania (1995) states that secondary education refers to the post-primary formal education offered to individuals who have successfully completed primary education. The main objectives of secondary education are to provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and

understanding; to prepare individuals for further education and professional training; to inculcate a sense and ability for self study, self confidence and self advancement in the frontiers of knowledge and to prepare individuals to join the world of work (United Republic of Tanzania 1995: 6; United Republic of Tanzania 2000: 2).

The appreciation of the central role of secondary education in the country's wellbeing is widely noted by not only the government of Tanzania but also some other researchers, for example Palmer *et al.* (2007). In the case of Tanzania, it is provided that secondary education has a contribution in achieving the overall development goal as well as improving the quality of life for Tanzanians (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b: 1). In the same line of argument, Palmer *et al.* (2007) take the view that the benefits of education are higher to the individuals with post-basic level of education and such achievements have positive effects on local communities. They further provide the example of a farmer educated to secondary education level and the inspiration he has to his primary educated neighbours in influencing them to use the new technologies based on his own experience. The example is a reflection on the situation in Uganda whereby farmers' productivity has been closely associated with the neighbour's level of schooling, and they (Palmer *et al.*) note that it is secondary education (Palmer *et al.* 2007: 47).

Secondary education also has considerable private returns as it opens other future avenues in life (Wedgwood 2005). The fact that secondary education is regarded as the hub, it normally directs individuals to acquiring higher education and possibly better income. From this perspective some researchers have provided their argument that the remittance from a member of a family with higher education is an example of the private returns influenced through acquiring secondary education in the long term, which can directly benefit households (Palmer *et al.* 2007: 48). On its side, the World Bank (2002) states that secondary education opens the avenue for and enables the youth to develop job-related skills, participate fully in society, take control of their own lives and that of others as well as continue learning.

Moreover the results of the survey conducted by Palmer *et al.* (2007) indicate that the most profitable female operated small businesses in Tanzania are run by educated women, and almost half of them have secondary education. The same survey also shows that secondary education is significant for the development of the informal sector elsewhere in East Africa and most of the employers in this sector have secondary education qualification (Palmer *et al.* 2007: 52). In relation to such benefits, Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General in Daniel (2007), comments that secondary education is the single highest returning social investment. The commentary given by Kofi Annan corresponds with the views given

sometimes by Walter G. Daniel in the past when he argued that secondary education seeks to develop an individual to be sufficiently competent to adjust himself to all facets of encounters ranging from physical-psychological; social-civic and personal-vocational relationships which life demands (Daniel 1940: 472).

The comparison between the outcome of secondary education and that of primary education in Tanzania concludes that the advantages of secondary education are much higher (Wedgwood 2005). Things such as late marriages and smaller family size in developing countries like Tanzania come from secondary education (Daniel 2007). This notion links secondary education to reduced fertility. For instance in Tanzania, based on the data collected in 1999 on the effect of education on fertility among women aged 15-40 years, the results were that those who had primary education their fertility rate was 6.0, while their counterparts with secondary education and higher had the fertility rate of 4.2 (Palmer *et al.* 2007: 54). Also Palmer *et al.* support their argument that secondary education has multiple benefits by noting the World Bank's argument which indicates the positive aspects of secondary education broadly. These include such benefits as the child's intellectual development and achievement when mothers are more educated as well as the fact that educated women delay marriages, having fewer, healthier children and lower mortality rates for under-five years. They further argue that all these benefits happen in the households where mothers have at least some levels of secondary education (Palmer *et al.* 2007).

Historical development of secondary education in Tanzania

Under German rule, Tanzania (by then Tanganyika) did not register much educational development at both secondary and primary levels. The change of the colonial rule after the First World War improved the situation of education in the country (Siwale & Sefu 1977). The British introduced the first secondary school for Tanzanians and was opened in Tabora in 1934. The expansion of education beyond primary level became the priority in 1954. This was a reaction to the shortage of the skilled labour the British colonial regime was experiencing at the time (Siwale & Sefu 1977).

Six years after independence, in 1967, the late Mwalimu Nyerere, the First President and Father of Nation, delivered the Arusha Declaration outlining the version of socialist orientation to be followed by Tanzania. This included a system of self-reliance in the locally administered villages structured around *Ujamaa* (socialism) (Cooksey 1986). In education, the attempt was to build a socialist education system based on the principle of self-reliance (Dodd 1968). The aim of this education system was to develop the Tanzanian society within the framework of national unity. This resulted in a fully centralised organisation and ad-

ministration of education. The greater control in educational reform and adaptation in Tanzania was from the centre (Dodd 1968: 269).

The literature shows that the direction of the education system in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration was, to a large extent, limited. The reasons advanced to justify this limitation were that it aimed at reducing elitism; developing a socialist and self reliant value system among students, while preparing the majority of them for the life in the rural areas rather than wage or white collar employment; integrating the schools into the village communities and giving priority to the national interest over the social demands in determining the development of education in the country (Cooksey 1986: 183). Therefore, as noted by various authors, for example Dodd (1968), Cooksey (1986), Samoff (1987), Therkildsen (2000), and Wedgwood (2007), from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, all the government efforts in terms of the financial resources and the support of higher political leadership were directed towards primary education.

This initial position towards education in Tanzania made all government's practices throughout the 1970s to aim at expanding and developing primary education while at the same time imposing control on the expansion of secondary education and above (Cooksey 1986: 184). The objective for restricting the development of secondary education was based on the narrow perspective held by the government. That secondary education was only needed to satisfy the projected personnel demands in the formal employment rather than broadly satisfying the social demands, as well as the future projections in terms of the wider benefits of secondary education to the country (Cooksey 1986: 184; Samoff 1987: 338-339). The imposed sanction on secondary education was not only limited to the expansion of the public secondary schools but also private secondary schools under the pretext of equality, and the quota system as the means to allocate students who joined public secondary schools from each region in Tanzania was introduced (Cooksey 1986: 184).

This situation continued up to the 1980s when the government changed its approach and attitude towards secondary education. According to Wedgwood (2005), Tanzania realised that its expansion of primary education and the control imposed on the development and expansion of secondary education in the interest of equality did not achieve what was expected. The education for self reliance did not produce young people who stayed in the villages. Instead, the system produced young people who moved to the urban areas and unfortunately they lacked the potentiality required by the formal sector. As argued by the Mulkeen *et al.* (2007), the modern sector employers need graduates with more advanced literacy, numeric and problem solving skills than are provided by primary education. All these signify that primary education does not provide wide opportunities to the individuals for the jobs in urban areas. That is, without the requisite

knowledge, skills and attitude it is difficult to survive in the liberalised market (Osaki 2004).

Moreover during that time, the communities in Tanzania had already changed and had the view that completing primary education was no longer sufficient to meet the challenges of life in the country. Then the popular demand for both parents and students was for secondary education (Samoff 1987: 340). Hence a radical shift towards secondary education was inevitable. That means the previous government's emphasis on primary education did not have any more chance to enable the nation to cross over to the new modern era of science and technology. The bridge, that is, secondary education, seems to be necessary to enable Tanzania to realise progress and prosperity underlined in its Development Vision 2025 (United Republic of Tanzania 1999a).

Given the fact that in the 1990s, the decentralisation initiatives and reforms had already started in Tanzania; they formed a potential gateway for transferring the responsibility of secondary education provision to the wards. Therefore decentralisation policy in Tanzania and its emphasis on the relevance of giving the responsibilities for service delivery to the local level are regarded as the catalyst in the new development and expansion of secondary education in the 2000s. Through these initiatives the government has come up with the programme of involving local communities in the ward to establish and develop the infrastructures (secondary schools) for the provision of secondary education in their localities.

Context of education decentralisation in Tanzania

In Tanzania, decentralisation is viewed as the downward shift of control of some administrative functions to the lower level units (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). It is a means offering the promise for the new mode of organising local affairs (Gershberg & Winkler 2004: 323). The intention is to attain broader locally based decision making and raise the commitment at the local level (Therkildsen 2000: 407). The decentralisation reform in Tanzania has been carried out as a way for the government to respond to the pressure from the World Bank in the perspective of economic, social and political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Munga *et al.* 2009).

The introduction of the Bill of Rights and multi-party democracy in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1985 and 1992 respectively have expanded the potential space for freedom and the need for the local level stakeholders to be directly responsible for the affairs in the localities (Baker *et al.* 2002). The demand is for the devolution of responsibilities for service provision to the action units in the localities (decentralisation by devolution). It is based on the belief that the great potential for social and economic development in Tanza-

nia depends on the greater participation of the grassroots institutions in the local affairs for shaping their destiny (Baker *et al.* 2002). Thus the economic rationale for decentralisation, apart from the cost savings from reduced bureaucracy and faster decision making, can lead to an increase in the provision of service which is in line with the local needs (Hutchinson 2002: 2).

Education decentralisation in Tanzania is part of the more general government decentralisation programme started in the 1990s. Its goal is to provide the avenue towards improving the system of providing education service in the country. It is an attempt to involve the lower organs in their areas of jurisdiction in the management of education (Gershberg & Winkler 2004: 345). The experience has shown that highly centralised practices in the provision of education service in Tanzania tend to ignore the peculiarities of various localities in the educational development process (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b: 8). Therefore, decentralising decision-making to the local level is considered as a means to reduce the time required for making decisions as well as increasing the likelihood that decisions will be made with the benefits of local knowledge of conditions (Hutchinson 2002).

The emphasis on education decentralisation in Tanzania has also been influenced by the 1990 Jomtien Declaration adopted in the United Nations meeting on education held in Dakar, Senegal. The declaration provides that education is the basic right of everyone (Education for All). All United Nations member countries have ratified this declaration. In order to implement the Jomtien Declaration, in 1994 the Government of Tanzania designed a grand programme called 'Basic Education Master Plan.' The plan puts emphasis on the decentralisation of responsibilities for planning, implementation and supervision of education service to schools and communities as a strategy to help the government to realise the goal towards the education for all. This initiative could be regarded as an ambition to the major reform and departure from the old practice where plans have been drawn from above (Ministry of Education and Culture 1998). Generally education decentralisation aims at giving powers to schools and communities to plan and implement school development plans. It is a means for the communities to see educational plans as their own and not as an outside thing (Ministry of Education and Culture 1998).

The initiative taken in 1994 was followed by the formulation of the Education and Training policy of 1995. Given the emphasis of this policy on the education for all, Tanzania has increased both the enrolment and completion rates in primary education. For instance, it is noted that in the early 2000s Tanzania managed to achieve 98% of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) targets and this is a sign of the increased demand for secondary education as well as the need for change in education policy emphasis to include secondary education (Wedgwood

2007). According to the UNESCO Statistics (1998) quoted in the United Republic of Tanzania, Secondary Education Master Plan (2000), for three decades since independence up to the late 1990s, the Gross Secondary Enrolment Ratio in the country has been below 6% in public secondary schools. Given the fact that the government alone cannot cope with the current demand for secondary education service, the entry of other providers who do not have restrictions in the provision of secondary education service is inevitable. This has accelerated decentralising secondary education provision to the wards in Tanzania (Gershberg & Winkler 2004).

Secondary education decentralisation

Secondary education decentralisation in Tanzania has started to gain momentum in the early 2000s. This has been within the framework put forward in Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). Being the framework for secondary education decentralisation, the programme addresses the government policy for decentralisation (1998) on the management of the delivery of education service in the secondary education subsector. The programme puts emphasis on the community based developmental approach for the intention of eliciting greater lower level participation in secondary education provision. The objective is to enable secondary education provision to utilise the opportunities found in the localities and to expand the access of secondary education in order to increase the transition rate from primary to secondary schools in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). The motive behind this has been the state of secondary education in the country between the late 1990s and early 2000s which has acted as a disincentive to the achievements reached in primary education. For example the case of Morogoro municipal council in Table 2.1 shows the extent of the achievement in primary education and the way secondary education transition was a challenge in the early 2000s.

Apart from Secondary Education Development Programme, secondary education decentralisation has been motivated by the Secondary Education Master Plan (SEMP) of 2000. The Secondary Education Master Plan (2000) points out that

Table 2.1 Demand for secondary education in Morogoro Municipality 2000-2003
(total numbers)

District (council)	2000	2001	2002	2003
Sat for primary examination	3,082	3,300	3,575	3,515
Passed primary examination	894	1251	1,415	2,027
Selected for secondary education	322	423	425	638
Passed but not selected	572	828	990	1,389

Source: Field data 2008-2009

secondary education in Tanzania ranks high in priority in the medium term and it has to be accessible in terms of both quality and affordability to the local communities in the country (Tanzania).

Overview of policy framework for education decentralisation

The policy framework sets the structure and the operation of the particular issue that needs the government's attention for the purpose of attaining the goals (Anderson 1997; Gupta 2001). Since its beginning in the late 1990s, the current decentralisation has received the government's attention through the development of a Policy Paper for Decentralisation (1998) which to some extent relates to other policies, such as the Public Service Management and Employment Policy (1999) and the Education and Training Policy (1995) for the purpose of this research.

Policy paper on decentralisation 1998

This policy paper has its genesis from the ruling party (*Chama Cha Mapinduzi*) election manifesto of 1995, and both the recommendations for the national conference on a shared vision for local government in Tanzania and the local government reform agenda of 1996. The policy paper sets the broad guideline for decentralisation in Tanzania. The main emphasis is to decentralize the responsibilities for social service provision, including education service to the localities, in order to improve the state of service delivery (United Republic of Tanzania 1998).

The policy paper on decentralisation provides that the improved service delivery requires human resource function and especially that of recruitment to be governed by less cumbersome procedures and be more responsive to the actual needs of the local and grassroots institutions. The policy paper insists that in order to achieve the objective of decentralisation, no uniform structure needs to be introduced and imposed on the local institutions (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). Hence the role of the central institutions (from the ministries, regional administration to the headquarters of the local government authorities) is not to perform those decentralised responsibilities but rather to issue policies, guidelines and standards to be followed by the local level institutions.

Public service management and employment policy 1999

This policy instrument enables the government to take strong measures to improve the management of service provision to the public. For a long time the government in Tanzania, through its central institutions, has been performing almost everything in the provision of services. The system of regarding the central institutions as the sole providers has failed to meet the challenges and expect-

tations raised by the increased demand in the service delivery in the localities. That means, as argued by Harrison & Shirom (1999), ‘when power and authority are highly centralised, control over important (human) resources and delivery of services is concentrated in the higher ranks (central institutions).’ This approach tends to increase the burden on the central institutions and reduces their ability to adequately solve the diverse problems occurring in the localities.

Therefore the aim of this policy instrument is to reform the role of the central institutions from being the sole providers into being enabling and facilitating institutions. While on the other hand, the decentralised responsibility for service delivery is supposed to be shifted to the local level institutions. With respect to recruitment, the policy provides that the role of the central institutions is to facilitate the process in the local institutions to ensure that the standards set in the recruitment practice that is, being competitive, transparent and based on the merit principles are adhered to (United Republic of Tanzania 1999b). The Public Service Management and Employment Policy further points out that in order to sustain decentralisation as a means to empower the local institutions, the actors in them need to be visionary and with the capacity to act. The policy notes that the highly centralised system of personnel recruitment is the reason for poor staff deployment and the unbalanced distribution of personnel in public service.

Education and training policy 1995

The policy guides the development and provision of education service in Tanzania. Its emphasis is on decentralising education by empowering communities and educational institutions to manage and administer education service delivery. The target of the policy is to place the delivery of education service under the authority and responsibility of schools and local communities. The policy provides that the role of the central institution(s) is to ensure equity in distribution and allocation of resources for education provision in the localities.

Despite its emphasis being on education decentralisation, the National Education Act No. 25 of 1978 centralises the administration of secondary schools to the Ministry responsible for Education through REO and DEO. The outcome is the persistent centralisation of decisions such as teacher recruitment in public secondary schools in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 1995: 25).

Overview of legal framework for education decentralisation

Legal framework provides ‘the broad guiding principles’ for the implementation of decentralisation (Anderson 1997). The objective of the legal framework is to have the mechanism or tool for achieving the underlined targets of the decentralisation initiative. In Tanzania, such targets include improvement in the quality of and access to services provided in the localities. The legal framework creates re-

sponsibilities and obligations on the sides of both local and central government institutions. The legislation that guides staff recruitment and decentralisation of social services in Tanzania are Local Government Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act No. 6 of 1999 (including Amendment of 2006); Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 (including Amendment Act No. 18 of 2007) and Public Service Regulations of 2003.

Local government laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act No. 6 of 1999

The Act No. 6 of 1999 provides that the policy of decentralisation has to be implemented by an Act of Parliament and incorporated into Tanzanian laws through the Local Government Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act No. 6 of 1999. Its main purpose is to bring the existing local government laws in line with the government policy on decentralisation and hence to allow its implementation.

The Act No. 6 of 1999 decentralises the functions and powers for service delivery from the central government system to the local government and within the local government system, from the district council to lower level organs such as wards and villages. In terms of decentralisation the role of the central institutions is to facilitate the exercise of power and discharge of decentralised functions by the local institutions in the manner that gives due recognition to the autonomy of the grassroots institutions. Despite the fact that the Act No. 6 of 1999 acknowledges the heterogeneity nature of the grassroots institutions, it still allows the central institutions to have overriding decisions in respect to the matters taking place in the grassroots institutions on ‘the basis of necessity or desirability’.

Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 and Public Service Regulations of 2003

The Act No. 8 of 2002 (including amendment Act No. 18 of 2007) and Public Service Regulations of 2003 are the foundation and the basis of the centralised human resource recruitment approach in the public service in Tanzania. The Act and its regulations provide that when recruitment is performed by other institutions, it is regarded as a delegated function on behalf of the Public Service Commission. Public Service Commission is a central government institution that has the obligation to issue guidance, to monitor and to conduct merit based recruitment in the public service in Tanzania (Public Service Act No. 8).

The power to recruit teachers is vested in the Public Service Commission – Teachers’ Service Department. The Act and its regulations allow the commission to further delegate its powers and functions to other central government institutions. For secondary school teacher recruitment, the power is delegated to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Regulation 119 (3) of Public Service Regulations (2003) provides that ‘the Ministry responsible for Education

shall comply with the terms and conditions pertaining to employment of secondary school teachers as prescribed by the commission through the Teachers' Service Department.' That means secondary school teacher recruitment is centralised and performed by MoEVT in Tanzania.

Ward secondary schools as an education decentralisation initiative

Decentralisation initiative in Tanzania is a vast and dynamic effort for change (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). Through it the government has embarked on the massive mobilisation initiative nation-wide to build secondary schools in each ward. In responding to the government initiative, local communities and their leaders in the wards have mobilised themselves in not only contributing with their labour but also financial and material resources for building secondary schools in the localities. In this perspective, education decentralisation has achieved positive results towards secondary education service provision at the grassroots levels in Tanzania (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2007).

The report issued by the Ministry of Education in 2006 indicates that at that time at least every ward managed to possess or was in the process of acquiring a secondary school (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2006). This is viewed as 'a success story' in decentralising secondary education service provision by involving the local communities in their respective areas in the process of its delivery (Sitta 2007). As a result of this local mobilisation initiative in secondary education service provision in Tanzania, the number of secondary schools has increased at the ward level. For example from 2004 to 2006, 998 ward secondary schools were constructed and opened countrywide. During that time, the number of government secondary schools (including community built secondary schools) increased from 828 to 1826 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2006). In the year 2007 alone, another 669 new ward secondary schools were opened (Ministry of Education 2007). In the same year (2007) the initiative nearly achieved 100 percent of the students who completed and passed their primary school examination to join secondary education (Sitta 2007).

Local communities and ward secondary schools

Decentralising secondary education service provision to the wards means a changed position and role of local communities, from being passive recipients into being active participants in secondary education service delivery (United Republic of Tanzania 1995). The successful implementation of the Universal Primary Education Programme in Tanzania has created unprecedented social demand for secondary education (United Republic of Tanzania 2001a). In coping

with the renewed social demand for education service beyond primary level, the essence of the local communities at the ward level to participate in secondary education service delivery becomes inevitable. In revealing the position and role of local communities in secondary education decentralisation, the Education and Training Policy (1995) provides that ‘communities shall be encouraged and given incentive to establish, own, manage and administer at least one secondary school in each ward.’

The Education and Training Policy insists that for Tanzania to provide quality and guarantee access to education service to its people, ‘active involvement’ of the local communities in the wards is essential. The aim is to provide more opportunities to the communities to be more responsible in managing their ward secondary schools instead of staying aside. ‘Active involvement’ of the local communities is viewed as the mechanism to give them an opportunity to plan for the development of their schools at the ward level. This is supposed to be accompanied with giving the local communities sufficient freedom and ownership of the grassroots institutions so that they are able to offer them (grassroots institutions) the necessary support both materially and morally (Ministry of Education and Culture 1998).

Operation of secondary schools

According to Tanzania Secondary Education Master Plan (2000), the operation of secondary schools in Tanzania is influenced by the concept of ownership. The ownership of secondary schools in Tanzania is classified into government schools and non-government schools. Government schools consist of two categories, namely, the traditional national schools and community built secondary schools (ward secondary schools). The latter are the result of the education decentralisation initiative. Though they are built by the local communities, on the basis of the two broad categories of secondary school ownership in Tanzania, they are operated and managed by the government. The non-government secondary schools, on their part, are privately owned by individuals, non-government organisations and church based organisations. These secondary schools are also operated and managed by their respective owners.

Secondary school teacher recruitment

Lewin (2000) details the practice of teacher recruitment in varying circumstances. According to him, teacher recruitment is organised into two main systems. The teacher recruitment approach may either take the form of a market system or being directly controlled by the central government. In the market system, each secondary school can advertise and recruit its own teachers. Such a system

automatically responds to the shortage of teachers the school experiences. The centralised system of recruitment is the one used by most African countries, including Tanzania. In the centralised system, it is common for secondary school teachers to be recruited and posted anywhere in the country (Lewin 2000: 30).

The supporters of the centralised teacher recruitment, for example the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training in Tanzania, claim that recruitment by the single, central authority, is generally free from the local pressures, can more easily be made open and fair and is a means to redress the inequalities in the deployment of teachers in the country (Bennell & Mukyanuzi 2005). There is also a claim that the centralised recruitment works well where there is a possibility for the local systems to be influenced by the individuals who hold power positions and want to use their positions to fulfil their own interests. This is always the likely situation in the countries which possess the weak administrative capacity at both the district and local levels (Hallack 1990).

The critics of the centralised teacher recruitment system provide their argument on the basis of the weakness it has in relation to the responsiveness to the local needs. The main underlined criticism cited against the centralised teacher recruitment system to schools is that it has the ability of undermining the rational operation of the posting process. In most cases the interests and preferences of both schools and teachers are rarely considered in the process (Hedges 2002). In the same line of argument, Mulkeen *et al.* (2007: 20) take the opinion that the more local the system, the more likely it is to be in touch with the needs of the schools and respond quickly and flexibly to those needs.

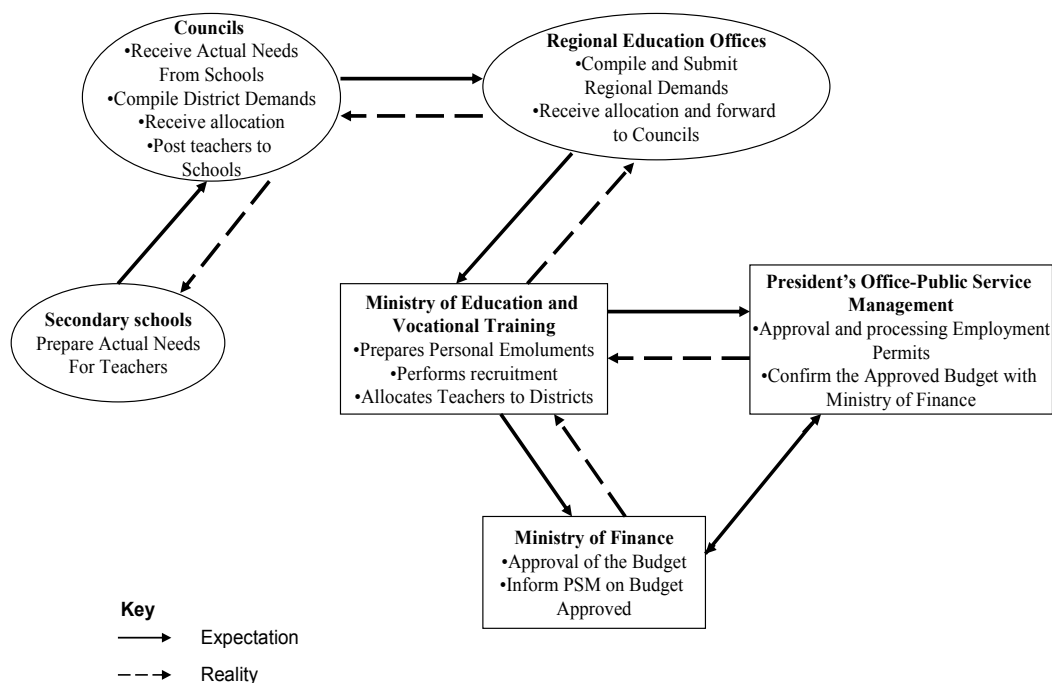
The experience of secondary school teacher recruitment in Tanzania

Secondary school teachers in Tanzania belong to the category of public servants (United Republic of Tanzania 1999b: 9-10). This means their recruitment is conducted within the framework of the principal legislation governing recruitment in public service in Tanzania. The principal legislation is referred to as Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 as amended by Act No. 18 of 2007 and supported by Public Service Regulations of 2003. The Act confers the powers to recruit secondary school teachers to the Department of Teachers' Service of the Public Service Commission. The Act also provides the Department of Teachers' Service with the opportunity to delegate such powers to another central government institution. This has facilitated the powers to recruit teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania to be delegated to MoEVT (delegated authority).

Therefore teacher recruitment in public secondary schools in Tanzania is practically performed by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training in Dar es Salaam upon receiving the estimates of the number of teachers required from

each region. The Ministry prepares the estimates indicating the number of teachers and associated costs (personnel emoluments). The estimates are then submitted to the President's Office-Public Service Management for the approval and processing of the employment permit. Sometimes the President's Office-Public Service Management makes some adjustments on the number of teachers to be recruited depending on the budget approved by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs in respect to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Thereafter, the President's Office-Public Service Management (PO-PSM) issues the employment permits to allow the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to continue with the recruitment process of teachers. As shown in Figure 2.1, teacher recruitment in Tanzania is characterised by the mismatch between expectation and reality. Expectation is from the side of secondary schools which submit their needs for teachers upwards through the councils and regional education offices to MoEVT. However the reality, that is what comes through the downward posting of teachers from MoEVT to secondary schools, does not, in most cases, reflect or match their expectation.

Figure 2.1 Secondary school teacher recruitment in Tanzania: Expectation versus reality



Source: Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 and Public Service Regulations 2003.

Most of the teachers who are recruited by MoEVT are those who have just completed their training and those individuals who have other non-teaching professional qualifications and have been granted with the teaching licences after taking part in a short training programme. After the completion of the recruitment exercise the recruited teachers are posted to the district education offices (councils) through the regional education offices to be allocated to the (ward) secondary schools. However, it is at the discretion of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to decide on the region where a secondary school teacher will be posted and the same applies to the council education offices during the final posting of teachers to (ward) secondary schools. The whole process of teacher recruitment to public (government) secondary schools including the community built ones is handled through a downward centralised approach (Public Service Act No. 8).

The centralised teacher recruitment approach further complicates the situation in secondary schools due to teacher specialisation (Mulkeen *et al.* 2007: 20). Secondary school teachers in Tanzania are typical specialists in two subjects as opposed to their counterparts in primary schools. The effect of specialisation on the part of secondary school teachers is that they lack diversity and flexibility in the practice of teaching given diverse subjects offered in secondary schools in Tanzania ranging from 10 to 12 depending on schools' specialisation, whether in the arts or sciences respectively. Due to teachers' specialisation, ward secondary schools are confronted with an operational challenge in their respective environments, especially when the allocation of recruited teachers to them is done on the basis of TSR (see Appendix 2) and the recommended standard ratio being 1:30 (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). Although the teacher-student ratio (TSR) has been the means of determining the needs for teachers in ward secondary schools, the ratio as the criterion does not consider the reality of the situation in secondary schools. One district education official in Morogoro Municipality during the interview had the view that:

TSR overlooks teachers' inflexibility in secondary education in terms of their professional training background from the teachers' training colleges (Interview, Morogoro Municipal Education Office: April 2008).

Although it is claimed that the centralised teacher recruitment aims at equity in teacher deployment in Tanzania, the two reports by the World Bank in 1999 and 2004 reveal the extent to which the approach is far from realizing its intention. The World Bank in the two reports notes that Tanzania as a country does not have absolute shortage of teachers in secondary education as it is suggested in the isolated cases of secondary schools. However the disparities and the consequent shortage of teachers to some secondary schools are mainly due to the problem of poor distribution of teachers throughout the country.

According to two World Bank reports, the secondary school teacher – student ratio stands at 1:22 which is better than the ratio aimed at by Secondary Education Development Programme (2004) of 1:30. The revealed disparity is the result of the urban government secondary schools being overstaffed while their rural counterparts are understaffed (Wedgwood 2005: 33). Urban secondary schools tend to be more attractive than those in the rural areas (the view of the official from Public Service Commission – Dar es Salaam in May 2008). The same view on the urban rural teacher distribution disparity is also noted by the Minister of Regional Administration and Local Government (Tanzania), Celina Kombani, and she points out that the government has realised that secondary schools in the remote areas do not have enough teachers while urban secondary schools are overstaffed (Nipashe Newspaper: 17 March 2009). Some authors have tried to provide the explanation for such a tendency and have stated that it is the result of the wide range of the opportunities that the urban areas can offer when compared to the rural areas (Munga *et al.* 2009). In the case of secondary school teachers in Tanzania, the opportunities include being able to engage in private practices such as private tutoring (tuition), part-time teaching (in private secondary schools) and other quick income generating activities (petty businesses) to supplement their salaries (Bennell & Mukyanuzi 2005).

Conclusion

The centralised teacher recruitment approach poses a challenge to the provision of education service in public secondary schools, particularly to the ones categorised as ward secondary schools in Tanzania. Most of these schools are understaffed (see Appendix 2). This seems to be due to the inability of the centralised teacher recruitment approach to guarantee equality in teacher distribution throughout the country, especially to those secondary schools in rural and remote areas. As a result, those few teachers in schools with shortages are forced to adapt to the situation and continue with teaching.

Theoretical framework

Introduction

The immediate effect of inequality in teacher deployment to public secondary schools in Tanzania is either overstaffing or being understaffed. In the case of ward secondary schools, being understaffed is the common state of affairs. Shortages of teachers in ward secondary schools expose both schools and teachers in an environment where they have to come up with their own quick solutions for coping with inadequacy. In this way, teachers and secondary schools are considered to operate on the basis of their own discretion in providing the education service to the local communities. Therefore to have an understanding of the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools, as a social phenomenon being studied, there is a need to have a theoretical framework which is designed to explain it in a logical manner. Thus, the theoretical framework becomes the means to show the situation on the ground with its complexities in a way that is simple, yet logical and understandable. This means that it has to make sense within the framework of scientific inquiry (Kiflemariam 2001).

Given the prevailing situation in ward secondary schools, it is considered that the theoretical concepts of ‘street-level bureaucrats’ and ‘semi-autonomous social fields’ may provide a way to explain it. Hence, in this chapter both concepts, street-level bureaucrats and semi-autonomous social fields, are elaborated on and later, in chapter eight, are used to explain the effects of centralised teacher re-

cruitment in relation to the operations of teachers in six ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

The concept of street-level bureaucrats

Frontline operators are the individuals who experience how hard it is to implement the intended program. Using Lipsky's (1980) perspectives, such individuals are referred to as 'street-level bureaucrats' who are identified as public service workers who interact with service recipients in the course of their jobs and have substantial discretion in the execution of their responsibilities. Examples of the street-level bureaucrats, among other public employees, include teachers, and they are the ones who allocate public benefits to others. Street-level bureaucrats have much in common because they are equally exposed and experience similar work conditions in relation to their specific responsibilities in the course of distributing public benefits.

Characteristics of street-level bureaucrats

The literature provides that street-level bureaucrats have relative high degrees of discretion when performing their jobs. They work in the circumstance where they have regular interaction with the recipients of the services. Despite being the ones delivering the services to the public at large, street-level bureaucrats work with a relatively high degree of uncertainty. They have very large workloads and at the same time, in most cases, their operational environment is never favourable to them. Thus they actually cannot fulfil what they are obliged to perform unless they devise certain approaches to assist them implement some of their responsibilities (Lipsky 1980: 29).

Encountering resource inadequacy, for street-level bureaucrats, is not only a theoretical consideration but a highly practical one as well (Lipsky 1980). Resources are severely limited in relation to their duties. The issue of resource limitation at the street-level is very broad. It covers personal resources in terms of the street-level bureaucrats' individual capabilities in performing their jobs. What can occur is that at the street-level, individuals are undertrained or inexperienced in the jobs they are hired to perform. This is likely where unqualified individuals are engaged to assist in the provision of the services when the street-level bureaucracy tries to manage its resource (workforce) inadequacy crisis. The unqualified engaged personnel lack skills to interact with service recipients. Also street-level bureaucrats often experience their duties in relation to inadequate personal resources, and this inadequacy is attributed to the nature of the job rather than rooted in some personal failure (Lipsky 1980: 31).

Another characteristic of street-level bureaucrats lies with the demand for their services which tends to increase to meet their supply. Virtually this is the factor

which constrains the resources on their part in a way that they find themselves in the circumstance where they are overwhelmed by the demands for the services they provide. Thus in case of any additional service, demand will increase; the same applies to the resources. More resource means pressure for additional services (Lipsky 1980: 33). The result of this is the notion that street-level bureaucrats work in situations where the resource problem is solved. The reasons being that the service of the street-level bureaucrats tends to be limited to only a fraction of the number of people that could be served (Lipsky 1980: 37).

Moreover the tendency for the public service goals to have an 'idealised dimension' makes them difficult to achieve, confusing and complicating the approach (Lipsky 1980: 40). These circumstances make street-level bureaucrats perform their jobs with conflicting and ambiguous goals. Their work objectives become vague and contradictory, despite having discretion (Lipsky 1980: 40). As a result, street-level bureaucrats cannot claim that they are doing a perfect job or performing the way the job is required to be performed. The only thing they normally do is what is referred to as to function effectively and properly under the constraints they encounter. Here street-level bureaucrats view themselves as fighters in the front line of the local conflict, however, with little support and less appreciation from the public whose dirty job they do (Lipsky 1980: 82).

Operations of street-level bureaucrats

In their operations, street-level bureaucrats make the necessary attempts to do a good job in some way; given the resources they have (Lipsky 1980: 82). To understand their operations, there is a need to study the routines and subjective responses they develop in their operations in order to cope with the reality of their work environment. Lipsky points out that in dealing with the difficulties and ambiguities of their jobs, street-level bureaucrats respond to 'this indeterminacy' in the following ways. First, they come up with patterns of practice that tend to limit demand and maximise utilisation of the available resources. In this way, they organise their operations within their resource constraints. Second, they modify their concept of their works in order to lower or otherwise restrict their objectives and thus reduce the gap between available resources and achieving objectives. Third, they modify their concept of their service recipients so as to make acceptable the gap between accomplishments and objectives (Lipsky 1980: 82-83).

In so doing, the street-level bureaucrats just seek to simplify their responsibilities by imposing their own subjective orientation when implementing them. Hence, they create procedures to make their obligations manageable. That is to say, street-level bureaucrats devise ways to deal with demands placed upon them and face the reality of inadequate resource at the street-level settings (Lipsky

1980). Weatherley & Lipsky summarise the ways street-level bureaucrats can pursue in their operations to include the following: making procedures routine, modifying goals, rationing services, asserting priorities and limiting or controlling the recipients of the services. These options are referred to as ‘the accommodations and coping mechanisms that the street-level bureaucrats are free to develop’ when serving their service recipients (Weatherley & Lipsky 2002: 172). This means the street-level bureaucrats develop operational arrangements that assist them in some ways to fulfil their obligations. Although the coping mechanisms are used by the individuals in the street-level settings to manage the demands of their jobs, they can constrain and distort the implementation of the aimed program (Weatherley & Lipsky 2002: 171). Hence the argument that:

Public policy is not best understood as made in legislatures or top-floor suites of high-ranking administrators because in important ways it is actually made in the crowded offices and daily encounters of street-level workers. (Lipsky 1980: xii)

Routine and simplification

The developed routine, simplification and low-level decision making environment of the street-level bureaucrats constitutes the political street-level settings. In such settings, the actions of the street-level bureaucrats are also political since they can potentially harm some service recipients while others benefit from the prevailing patterns of distributing and allocating services. Actually the routine and simplification adopted by the street-level bureaucrats in their operations become the policies to be delivered (Lipsky 1980: 84).

The rationale for the street-level bureaucrats to develop routines is to have control over their work environment. The essence of the prevailing routines as coping behaviour in the street-level settings is to enable the street-level bureaucrats to confront the operational problems and deal with their work stresses (Lipsky 1980: 86). The routines can be structured to maximise either the achievement of the service objectives or the responsiveness to the service recipients. However the extent to which routines are structured to maximise workers’ control over the work indicates how difficult it is to achieve the (ideal) policy objectives (Lipsky 1980: 86).

Rationing service at street-level setting

According to Lipsky to ration services is to establish the level of their distribution and allocation to the targeted recipients. This is done through either fixing the level of the services distributed or allocating a fixed level of services among different classes of beneficiaries. In this way, street-level bureaucrats make some attempts to arrange their work so as to facilitate the accomplishment of their obligations or to rescue time for their own interests (Lipsky 1980: 87).

The objective for rationing the service is to try to reduce the demand for the service and it is done in the following ways. The first way is setting procedures designed to ensure regularity, accountability and fairness as well as protecting workers from the recipients' demands for responsiveness. The second way is legitimising an excuse for not dealing flexibly with the recipients. The third way is that street-level bureaucrats can formally or informally ration service by refusing to perform certain tasks which they are expected to handle and are within the scope of their responsibilities (Lipsky 1980: 100-101).

Distributing public benefits at street-level

At street-level settings, services are distributed differently for at least four inter-related reasons. The first reason is to enable the street-level bureaucrats to respond flexibly to unique situations. The second reason is that street-level bureaucrats need to make some improvements in service delivery. The third reason is to fulfil the requirement for differentiation which provides that not everyone is equally entitled to public benefits. And the fourth reason is to develop discriminatory practices at the street-level setting in order to enable street-level bureaucrats manage their workloads or just to help them cope with their work environment (Lipsky 1980: 106-107).

Teaching in Tanzania in Lipsky's perspective

The establishment of ward secondary schools in Tanzania through the implementation of Secondary Education Development Programme in the 2000s has been for the purpose of meeting the increasing demand for secondary education service (Wedgwood 2005: 36). However the prevailing situation in ward secondary schools in Tanzania is in line with what Lipsky (1980) points out on the uncompromised relationship between demand for service and supply of resources at the operational level. Although ward secondary schools are regarded as 'a success story', the challenge they generate is that the demand for secondary education surpasses the supply of teachers. Teachers as human resources who occupy the frontline position in the provision of education service are inadequate in most of these schools (see Appendix 2).

The experience in Tanzania, as indicated in various reports, shows that public secondary schools, particularly those in the wards, encounter the severe problem of inadequate teachers (Agola 2009). Recalling the recent report published by the World Bank on secondary education in Tanzania, Navuri (2010) points out that ward secondary schools are an attempt at an effective, affordable model of secondary education in Tanzania, but these schools have been 'handicapped' with too few teachers, contributing to weak learning results. Masuguliko (2010) re-

ports that due to shortages of teachers some ward secondary schools have resorted to employing both form four and six leavers to redress the gap in the teaching workforce. Also Bugaywa (2007) notes that after being overwhelmed by the number of students in classes and periods, teachers have decided to group their students into those who are capable and those who are not. However, the teaching concentration in this situation tends to favour those whom teachers believe are capable of producing good results. In some extreme cases, the situation is as reported by Sumra & Rajani (2006) that the experience in many secondary schools is that teachers are often not in the classrooms interacting with students. Their report notes that this means teachers in Tanzanian public secondary schools spend the least amount of their time in normal class sessions, and there is no evidence to suggest that the situation will improve in the near future.

The essence of using Lipsky's concept of street-level bureaucrats in explaining the situation in Tanzania's secondary education lies in the following: the expansion of secondary education through the establishment of ward secondary schools is the response to the demand for secondary school level education service; however the schools face a shortage in the supply of teachers. This happens despite the claim that the centralised teacher recruitment approach is for equality in teacher deployment in the country. The result is that both teachers and school administration orient themselves so as to cope with their work environment. Therefore, the hypothesis that is advanced to propose the possible explanation of this situation in the perspective of the concept of street-level bureaucrats is:

H1 Teacher inadequacy triggers internal operational arrangements.

The concept of semi-autonomous social fields

The purpose of employing the concept of semi-autonomous social fields in this theoretical framework is to provide the basis for explaining the extent to which there is limited effectiveness of the central (formal) rules to the operational environment of the social fields (ward secondary schools). In order to achieve this, there is a need to understand the way semi-autonomous social fields operate. According to Moore, semi-autonomous social fields have their own customs and rules and the means of coercing or inducing compliance. The qualities which compel the individuals in the fields to adhere to the internally generated rules which immediately form the forces that dictate the mode of their compliance or non compliance with the formal rules (Moore 1973: 721-722).

The semi-autonomous social fields have their own defined boundaries and any attempt to direct change often fails to deliver the intended objectives and even when it succeeds wholly or partially, it frequently comes out with the unexpected consequences. The formal rules are seen as thrust upon the ongoing social (local)

arrangements in which there are already binding obligations in existence. Given the prevailing operational environment in these social fields, the local 'legal' orders are often stronger than the formal rules directed against them (Moore 1973: 723). The operational environment of semi-autonomous social fields, in most cases, is characterised by the extra-legal activities. The justification of such activities in semi-autonomous social fields is based on moral obligations whose compliance lies on members' desire to avoid the expected losses and the ultimate exclusion. Moral obligations are the only obligations of the relationship that are not legally enforceable; however they depend on the value of the relationship itself for their enforcement. The force behind these obligations of relationship in the social fields is the intention of the individuals to aim at staying and the need to perform well in it (Moore 1973: 727-729). The internal environment of semi-autonomous social fields provides strong pressures for the individuals to conform to the established system of interdependence if one continues to remain in the social fields (relationship). Also in semi-autonomous social fields, the rules are produced within the field of action itself, and some other rules (normative orders) arise as the individuals in semi-autonomous social fields perform their work (Moore 1973: 728).

Teaching in Tanzania in Moore's perspective

This dissertation is interested in using the concept of semi-autonomous social fields to understand the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools. The aim is to show the extent to which the internal arrangements in these schools limit the effectiveness of the formal rules governing the provision of education service in Tanzania. The Tanzanian situation has been brought in Moore's perspective of semi-autonomous social fields when the case of the Chagga of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania is discussed. The Chagga case provides a synopsis of the extent to which local formation or internal structure can be resistant to the central efforts which are aimed at it. In the context of the Chagga, three pieces of legislation, namely the 1963 Act which declared that there would no longer be any private freehold ownership in land; the introduction of a ten-house cell system as a direct attempt to change local social relationships and the abolition of chieftainship, were found to have very limited effects. Actually the land issue in the Chagga society, according to the customary system, has been tightened in the lineage system and is based on the mutual rights and obligations of kin and neighbours which have continued to be intact as they were before and even after the 1963 Act (Moore 1973: 733). That means the values of the Chagga lineage organisation such as kinsmen should help each other, brothers should support each other or land should never be sold without the consent of one's brothers are still observed (Moore 1973: 735). Moore also provides the ob-

servation that such values as *help*, *support* and *consent* held in the Chagga society have relevance even to the current situations confronting modern societies. According to Moore:

These values may also be interpreted as the ideological side of a very considerable modern mutual social and economic interest. They are not merely a survival from a traditional past. (Moore 1973: 735)

Furthermore, the state introduced ten-house cell system in 1964, for the purpose of collecting and distributing information was only found to be grafted on the local branches of lineage and neighbourhood. It is reported that within the Chagga society, the system of selecting ten-house cell leaders was arranged in such a way that it was in favour of all neighbours at the time (Moore 1973: 737). In this way, it can be said that the introduction of the ten-house cell system made little difference to dominant Chagga lineage with its pre-existing neighbourhood patterns. In this locality, Moore provides that:

... ten-house cells are units of neighbours; they inevitably involve people who have ... attachments to kinship, affinity and neighbourhood ... The members of the ten-house cell are ... men whose primary identity for one another is as neighbour, affine or kinsman. (Moore 1973: 737-738)

Although the 1963 abolition of chieftainship succeeded, for the Chagga, the chieftain families continued to prosper and their children joined the emerging literate elites. Being well economically compared to their subjects, Chagga chiefs were able to afford to pay for the education of their children. Thus with the abolition of chieftainship, the chiefly offices may have gone, but it seems that the powerful extended networks were already in place. According to Moore:

... the informal position of advantage of these men is the network of connections that members of chiefly lineages had with persons in positions of power and authority both in businesses and in government. (Moore 1973: 740)

Therefore what this study draws from the Chagga case is the idea of lineage organization (interdependence). Through it the study aims to explain the extent to which the internal arrangements and structures in ward secondary schools limit the effectiveness of formal rules governing the provision of education service in Tanzania. It seems the pressures directed to teachers to conform to the local agreements and structures emanating from their environment make the influence of the formal rules to be less effective. In Moore's perspective,

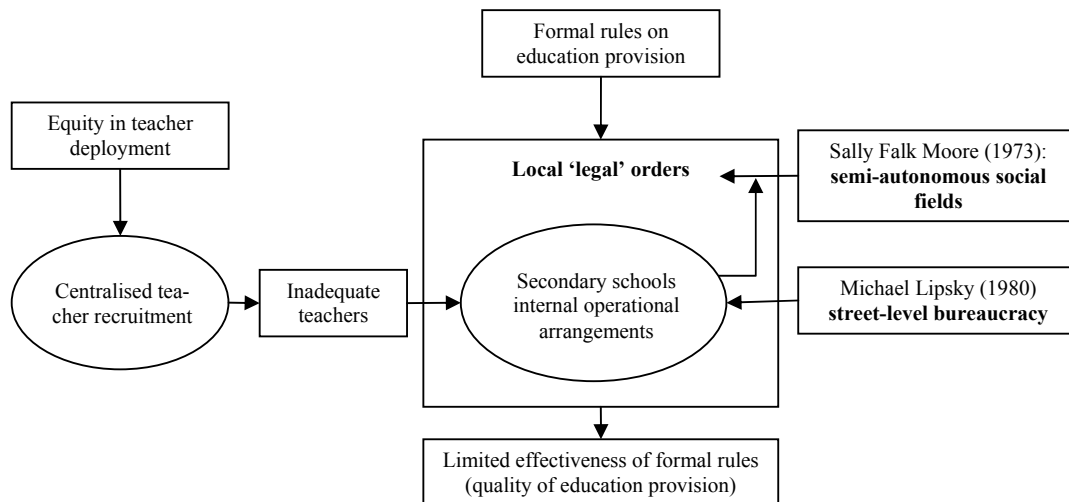
... the social field is semi-autonomous not only because it can be affected by the direction of outside forces impinging upon it, but because individuals inside the social field can mobilize those outside forces. (Moore (1973: 729)

According to Moore (1973), the local lineage organization advocates for the bound unit of individuals closely connected through their own *contingent interests*, *being contiguous* and *sometimes through affection*, as is the case for teach-

ers in ward secondary schools in Tanzania. The reason for positioning teachers in this way is that their social set up in the localities seems to make them rely on each other for *help*, *support* and *consent* regarding various issues that happen in their environment and they automatically become involved. For example, it is reported that local teachers have agreed to overcome the pressure of their work by modifying their teaching modality and focus more on teaching by reviewing the past examination questions. This has happened despite the directive by Mo-EVT that requires the adequate teaching of students in accordance with the approved syllabus in each subject (Sauti za Marafiki wa Elimu (the voice of friends of education) 2004). Hence the concept of semi-autonomous social fields in this study has the objective of providing the ground for explaining the extent to which teachers' coping with their workloads limits the effectiveness of the formal rules on the provision of education service. The hypothesis which is advanced to provide the proposed explanation of this situation in the perspective of the concept of semi-autonomous social fields is as follows:

H2 Internal operational arrangements become local rules that regulate internal affairs and limit the effectiveness of formal rules.

Figure 3.1 Limited effectiveness in ward secondary schools



Conclusion

The developed theoretical framework links the two concepts, namely street-level bureaucrats and semi-autonomous social fields. The argument raised in this theoretical framework is that teachers in the ward secondary schools are inadequate and at the same time are required to continue with the provision of education service. This compels them to cope with their situation, something which leads to them being seen as street-level bureaucrats. In their coping, teachers come up with their normative orders (local 'legal' orders), which regulate the provision of education in ward secondary schools. This development suits these schools to be seen as the semi-autonomous social fields. Eventually the local 'legal' orders in place limit the effectiveness of the formal rules on education delivery and generally affect the quality of education provided by these schools (see Figure 3.1).

Research methodology

Introduction

The aim of this study is to understand the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools in Tanzania. In order to achieve this objective, there is a need to make important methodological considerations to enable this study to realise its goals. This is the purpose of this chapter and the methodological considerations include the following: first, an account of the research design; second, establishment of the rapport before and after beginning the fieldwork; third, the way case studies of ward secondary schools have been selected; fourth, methods used in data collection and analysis; and fifth, limitations encountered in data collection. In its final sections, the chapter sets the background for the forthcoming chapters of the book by providing the operationalisation of the theoretical concepts and the general introduction to the three councils selected in this research. The reflection on the methodological considerations and the general fieldwork experience is provided in Appendix 4.

Research design

Considering the influence of the recruitment approach on the state of teachers in ward secondary schools and its relationship with the internal operations in these schools, a case study approach has been considered useful in guiding this research. In particular, the explanatory case study approach seems to fit the main objective of this research which aims at understanding and explaining the phenomenon being studied ‘when *how* questions’ are being posed (Yin 2003: 1). The rationale of the case study approach in this research is to facilitate the in-depth

study of teachers' operations in the selected ward secondary schools. The in-depth study using the case study approach also involves investigation of the linkages between teachers' operations and the coping tendencies developed as a result of teacher inadequacy in schools. The situation of inadequate teachers may be related to the failure of the centralised teacher recruitment approach to equitably deploy teachers in ward secondary schools within the context of education decentralisation in Tanzania.

The choice of the case study approach is in accordance with Yin's perspective that 'case studies are the preferred strategy when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin 2003: 13). Through the case study approach, education decentralisation in Tanzania, in terms of the modalities of education service provision and the state of teachers in ward secondary schools, can be studied and eventually be used to provide the avenue for explaining the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment. The benefits, which this research has obtained from employing case studies, include the opportunity to rely on multiple sources of evidence such as interviews, documentary reviews, focus group discussions and direct observation. Hence the approach has enabled the study to triangulate the data and information. Another benefit of the case study approach which is utilised in this research is 'the prior development of the theoretical propositions' in its theoretical framework (Yin 2003: 14).

However case studies have been criticised as having insufficient precision, lack objectivity and rigour as well as having little basis for scientific generalisation. But Yin points out that case studies can be generalised to theoretical propositions and not to populations. In this sense, case study, like experiment, does not represent a sample and in doing a case study, the goal is to expand and generalise the theory (analytical generalization) (Yin 2003: 10). In the same line of argument, Shively (2006) notes that the contribution of a case study relies on a theory. The role of a case study is to examine the internal workings of a theory in a case or cases, both to test and to develop it further. Therefore it may indeed be useful to select cases with regard to how they fit into a particular theory (Shively 2006: 346).

Overview of fieldwork

Prior to starting the fieldwork and selection of case studies, the formal consent was sought from the authorities of the three local government authorities of Morogoro municipal council, Morogoro Rural district council and Mvomero district council in whose jurisdiction the research was conducted. The formal request for the consent was submitted to the authorities explaining the 'academic intention and purpose' for conducting the research study in the councils (dis-

tricts). This was done in November 2007; however it wasn't until January 2008 that the response came from the local authorities allowing the fieldwork to be carried out. The fieldwork started by establishing a rapport with the educational officials in the councils. The rationale was to have the adequate insights into the wards and their secondary schools and consequently deciding on the schools to be selected as case studies.

In the period between February and June 2008, the fieldwork largely centered in the council education offices (DEO). Also during that period, the fieldwork was conducted at the regional education office (REO), the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and the Public Service Commission (PSC) in Dar es Salaam. The purpose of the fieldwork in these institutions was to collect important documents on the development of secondary education in Tanzania, especially those relating to ward secondary schools. The fieldwork at the district (council) level, aimed at understanding the views, opinions and awareness of the officials responsible for secondary education on the state of teachers and the conduct of teaching in ward secondary schools.

Fieldwork in the selected wards and their secondary schools started from mid July 2008 to July 2009. After completing the fieldwork at the ward offices, it was the turn of the selected schools. Sometimes the conduct of fieldwork at the ward level required rotation movements between the ward offices and their respective selected schools. There was often a need to return to the ward offices and back to the selected schools for the purpose of ascertaining the information and data (getting clarity on some of the issues). At the ward level the ward officials (ward executive officers) were consulted to get their recommendations for making decisions on the specific individuals in the wards to be selected as participants. Thereafter the lists of the potential participants in the localities (wards) were prepared and the ward officials were requested to assist in ensuring that the targeted individuals got the information that they were asked to appear for either the interviews or the focus group discussions. However in each ward few targeted individuals (WDC members) responded to the request and appeared for both interviews and focus group discussions. These are the ones who are taken to be the actual participants in this study from each ward on the basis of 'deliberate choice.' In ward secondary schools, the school administrators (the heads of schools) made recommendations on the teachers who were interviewed and those participated in the focus group discussions (see Appendices 1 and 4).

Selection of case studies

The decision for selecting cases is based on considering those which fit the objective of this study and it is in the perspective of the 'deliberate choice' as advocated by Shively (2006). This study focuses on three councils in particular,

namely Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro Rural, and Mvomero in the Morogoro region (see Appendix 4).

The selected secondary schools are those which are among the first to be established as ward secondary schools in each council. The purpose is to use their broad experience to understand the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in relation to the operations of teachers in these schools. Thus, the selected schools are those either established in the same year or just differ slightly in the years of their establishment. The reason is to have at least the cases of ward secondary schools in each council (district), which are somehow similar in terms of their experience and duration of operation (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Selected cases of ward secondary schools

District (council)	Selected school	Ward	Year established
Morogoro Municipal Council	Kihonda	Mazimbu	2002
	Sumaye	Bigwa	2003
Morogoro Rural District Council	Nelson Mandela	Mkambalani	1995
	Milengwelengwe	Mngazi	1994
Mvomero District Council	Kipera	Mlali	1994/2005
	Melela	Melela	1997/2005

Source: Field data 2008-2009

Data sources and collection

The study has utilised both primary and secondary data. Primary data has been collected from educational officials in the district education offices, ward officials, WDC members (*vitongoji* (hamlets in rural areas) and *mitaa* (hamlets in urban areas) chairpersons), members of the school boards, members of the school administration and teachers (see Appendices 1 and 4). Secondary data has been obtained from all relevant documents gathered from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), Public Service Commission (PSC), Regional Education Office (REO), District Education Offices (DEO) and selected ward secondary schools.

Interviews

Two types of interviews were used in collecting data. These are in-depth (open-ended) interviews and structured interviews. In-depth interviews were used in ward secondary schools to collect information from the members of the school administration, a few selected teachers and school board members on the way teachers perform their duties and the general working and living environment in schools. In-depth interviews were also used at the ward level to collect data from the ward officials as well as a few WDC members who were considered to have

important contributions in fulfilling the objective of this study. At the ward level, in-depth interviews have the specific objective of getting the insights into the role and awareness of the participants on the provision of secondary education service in the localities.

Structured interviews were used at the district level to collect information from the officials responsible for secondary education affairs. The use of structured interviews with the pre-determined questions to this category of participants has facilitated the data collection process. The reason is based on the fact that the targeted officials have busy schedules during the official working hours. It should be noted that the interviews could only be conducted during those times. Therefore structured interviews have enabled the study to adapt to the situation and hence the collection of data and information in such an environment.

Focus group discussions

These discussions were conducted with the group of teachers in each of the selected ward secondary schools to get their views on the teaching workloads, the approaches or modalities they employ in the provision of education service as well as their opinions about their working and living environment in the local schools. The topic guide was used to direct the discussions (see Appendix 3). Also focus group discussions were used to the WDC members to get their opinions on education decentralisation and the existence of ward secondary schools in the localities.

Documents

Various relevant pieces of legislation, policies, school reports on academic matters, school meeting proceedings and agendas, school staff and performance reports and newspapers articles/reports, secondary education programme documents/reports have been reviewed. These documents have provided the avenue to corroborate the evidence from other methods of data collection employed in this study. In other words the documents are useful for making inference about events which take place in the selected ward secondary schools and hence 'the triangulation of evidence' is possible in this dissertation (Tellis 1997).

Direct observation

The method focused on observing the modalities teachers in the selected ward secondary schools use to conduct teaching. Since the duration of fieldwork in one school was about four weeks, there were some times to directly observe teachers' operations in these schools. Things, like class attendance by teachers in various

classes per day, teacher absenteeism and the way selected schools cope with the problem of shortage of teachers, were observed.

Case study presentation

Presentation of case studies of the selected ward secondary schools follows the uniform pattern. The first part starts with the background information which provides the information about the establishment of the local schools and their location in the Morogoro region and their districts respectively. The second part details decentralising secondary education to the local communities. This part presents the role of the communities in ward secondary schools and the extent of their involvement in schools' academic affairs. The third part is about living and working as a teacher in ward secondary schools. This involves issues related to teachers' general living in ward secondary schools and the relationship with the local communities. The fourth part provides the account of the internal operations and education provision in ward secondary schools. This part narrates the state of teachers and teaching in the local schools and finally a summary of the important issues in each case is provided.

Data analysis

Being an explanatory study, the analysis of data follows the approach which aims at explaining the case study findings (Yin 2003: 120). This involves explaining the phenomenon as well as stipulating the presumed set of causal links about it. The explanation of the case study data of the selected ward secondary schools is based on the procedure provided by Yin (2003). First, the procedure starts with the initial theoretical statements or propositions. This has been taken care in the theoretical framework developed in this study (see Chapter 3). Second, making the comparison of the findings of the cases (selected ward secondary schools) against the theoretical statements or propositions (Yin 2003: 121-122) (see Chapter 8).

Limitations on data collection

Generally the fieldwork has been successful, however that does not mean that the data collection process has not encountered any limitations. To a certain extent this study has been conducted under the following limitations as far as data collection is concerned. Although the research permit was granted to allow the conduct of this study, the members of the school administration in the selected schools were reluctant to allow the photocopying of the documents. They only allowed the review of the documents to be conducted in school premises. This restriction imposed on the use of the documents actually consumed most of the

time planned for other activities such as interviews and focus group discussions. Also note taking from the documents did not provide the researcher with the opportunity to study thoroughly the contents of the documents at some other times.

Another limitation has come from the interview appointments which were frequently not honoured. As a result, frequent follow ups for the appointments were essential to ensure that data were collected especially from the council education offices. Uncompleted interview sessions were the common phenomena in the council offices, since sometimes at the middle of the interview sessions the officials could leave for other official duties or interruptions happened and the interviews were required to end prematurely. Such situations did not only mean re-scheduling the interviews for another day but also revisiting the whole plan adopted for the fieldwork. This meant that the fieldwork and data collection was a time consuming exercise.

Operationalisation of the theoretical framework

The operationalisation of the theoretical concepts developed in this research (see Chapter 3) centers on the idea that teacher inadequacy triggers the development of internal operational arrangements. These arrangements in the long run become the local 'legal' orders that regulate activities in ward secondary schools. Therefore the course of action adopted in this perspective is as follows.

First, in order to view teachers in ward secondary schools as street-level bureaucrats, two things are considered, namely, on the one hand, work environment and resource (teachers) availability, and on the other hand, teachers' operations in the selected schools. Regarding the work environment and resource availability, the focus is on teaching workloads and individual capabilities. On the part of teachers' operations, the elements studied are teachers' subjective responses and routines developed to cope with the reality of their work environment.

Second, in order to view ward secondary schools as semi-autonomous social fields, the following is studied: the extent to which internal operational arrangements become the local 'legal' orders and their tendency to limit the effectiveness of formal rules on the provision of education service in schools.

Secondary education in the selected districts of the Morogoro Region

Profile of the Morogoro Region

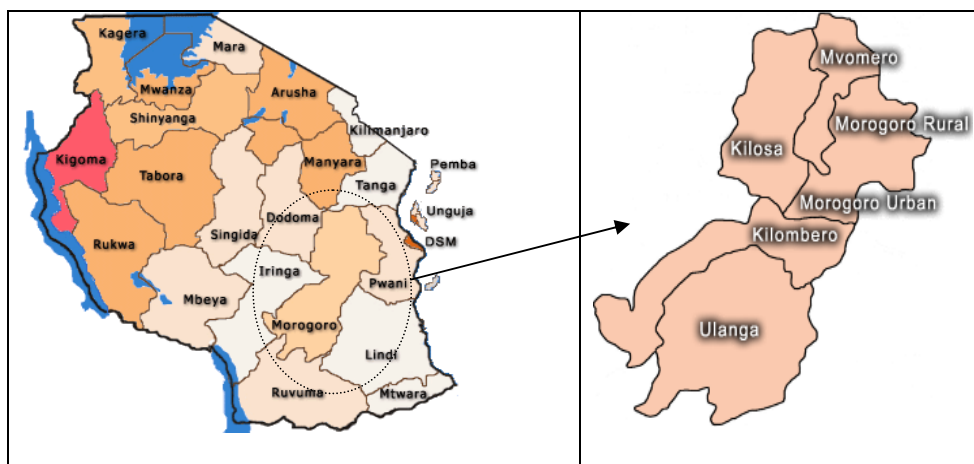
The Morogoro Region is one of the 21 regions in Tanzania Mainland and occupies a total of 72,939 square kilometres which is approximately 8.2% of the total area of Tanzania Mainland with a population of 1,752,809 persons (United Republic of Tanzania 2002a). The region has a varied climate, the average annual

temperatures range from 18°C in the mountains to 30°C in lowland areas (United Republic of Tanzania 1997). The main activity taking place in the region is agriculture which accounts for more than 80% of the region's economic activities. Other activities in the region include livestock keeping, fishing, beekeeping, mining, manufacturing and wildlife viewing and hunting (United Republic of Tanzania 1997b). The Morogoro Region is the third largest region in the country after Arusha and Tabora. Administratively, the region is structured into six (districts) councils, namely, Morogoro Rural, Morogoro Municipality, Mvomero, Kilosa, Kilombero and Ulanga (Morogoro Regional Education Office 2007).

Secondary education in the selected councils (districts)

It is reported that in the first half of the 2000s, the demand for secondary education in the three selected councils (Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro Rural and Mvomero) (see Figure 4.1) has been far beyond their ability to handle it. For the period of four years (from 2000 to 2003), more than 60% of the students who passed primary examination did not get admission in secondary schools (Reports on the construction of ward secondary schools in Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro Rural and Mvomero 2004). Having experienced this situation and given the support provided by the Decentralisation Policy of 1998 and the Education and Training Policy of 1995, the council authorities have managed to mobilise the wards to organise their resources for constructing secondary schools. Ward secondary schools within education decentralisation in the three councils are seen as a strategy for redressing the problem of lack of opportunities in secondary education. For example, in the case of Morogoro Municipality in the year 2003 alone the number of primary school leavers who passed their examinations and were not selected to join secondary education was 1,389 which is 69% of all

Figure 4.1 The Morogoro Region and selected districts in Tanzania



the students who passed (2,027) (Morogoro Municipal Council 2004). The outcome of constructing ward secondary schools in the three councils has been the increase in number of secondary schools in the three selected districts. For instance, secondary schools in the three districts (councils) increased from 10 before 2002 to 60 in 2008 (Morogoro Regional Commissioner's Office 2008).

Although the three councils have managed to register 'a success story' in terms of constructing ward secondary schools, their schools still experience the shortage of teachers (see Appendix 2). Teacher recruitment as an important decision area is mainly centralised under the pretext of equity in deployment of secondary school teachers in Tanzania (Bennell & Mukyanuzi 2005). This has made these ward secondary dependent on the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training for the allocation of teachers downward through the councils. The education officials interviewed in the three councils have indicated that their role is to facilitate the recruitment of teachers and the final allocation of teachers to secondary schools after they (teachers) are posted to the councils by MoEVT. From the interviews with the council education officials, it is also pointed out that despite receiving the demand for teachers from individual schools; they have to compute the statistics of the number of the students available and expected students in each ward secondary school. Through this computation the council determines the number of teachers for each school. The computation further enables the council to establish Teacher-Student Ratio (TSR) for each school which is then compared to the standard TSR. From the comparison the council then decides whether a school needs teachers or not.

The Tanzania school system: forms, classes and streams

In secondary education in Tanzania the term 'form' refers to the level of education of students. One 'class' constitutes the total number of students in each 'form'. The class is further broken down into different 'streams'. The rationale is to facilitate the practice of teaching and to enable the teachers to manage their teaching responsibility. A stream refers to a small group of students in one class located in a specific room. The number of streams in the form depends on the total number students enrolled. When considering the actual teaching and the workload each teacher has to handle in the school, each stream is regarded as a class. That means if a form is divided into four streams, then in terms of the workload, a teacher is said to have taught four classes (United Republic of Tanzania 1997a).

Conclusion

The operationalisation of the theoretical concepts highlighted in this chapter provides the basis for the forthcoming chapters of this book. The narration of the

case studies as presented in chapter five, six and seven is structured in such a way that the features identified in the selected ward secondary schools have their reflection on the identified elements of the theoretical concepts. At the end of each case study narration a summary of the most important observations is provided as a conclusion.

Ward secondary schools in Morogoro Rural District

Introduction

Morogoro Rural District is located in the North East of the Morogoro region. The district has a total area of 11,925 square kilometres and is divided into twenty five wards (Morogoro District Council 2008b). For the case of secondary education development, the district started to improve its accessibility since 1990 by sensitising the local communities in the villages and wards to construct their own secondary schools. Before 1990, Morogoro Rural District was far behind in terms of secondary education opportunities. According to one council education official in the interview:

... the district had only one secondary school which was established in 1988 and is located in Matombo ward. (Council statistics and logistics officer, Morogoro Rural District: March 2008)

The early result of the local sensitisation initiative towards secondary education is the construction of Milengwelengwe secondary school in 1994 and Nelson Mandela secondary school in 1995. The two secondary schools are located in Mngazi and Mkambalani ward respectively. The pace of constructing secondary schools in the district gained momentum in the 2000s (Morogoro District Council 2004). During the interview, the council education official provided that:

The government emphasis on secondary education provision in the wards in the 2000s is the force behind the increased pace in the construction of secondary schools, not only in the district but also throughout the country. (Council statistics and logistics officer, Morogoro Rural District: March 2008).

As a result, twenty one wards in the district managed to have secondary schools in 2008 (see Appendix 2). Those wards which had secondary schools before the government directive, to some extent, had the advantage. The council education official in the interview stated that:

We (council) did not provide any pressure to the wards with the pre-existing secondary schools to construct the new ones. But we only advised them to continue mobilizing the communities to improve the school infrastructures. (Council education statistics and logistics officer, Morogoro Rural District: March 2008)

For the purpose of gaining an understanding of the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools in Morogoro Rural District within the context of education decentralisation in Tanzania, Nelson Mandela and Milengwelengwe secondary schools were selected as case studies.

Nelson Mandela secondary school

Background information

Nelson Mandela secondary school was established in 1995 as a community secondary school for Mikese division, which constitutes two wards, namely Mkambalani and Mikese. The aim was to have the community secondary school designated to create secondary education opportunities for the passed primary school leavers in the whole division (Mikese). The shift of purpose came in the early 2000s in the course of implementing the secondary education development programme (SEDP) in Tanzania with its main emphasis, 'ward secondary schools.' From that moment, Nelson Mandela secondary school's catchment area has been reduced from eleven villages to four villages of Mkambalani, Kizinga, Pangawe and Mkono wa Mara in Mkambalani ward. Nelson Mandela secondary school is located in the Eastern side of Morogoro Rural District, about 25 kilometres from Morogoro town along the road to Dar es Salaam. Its location does not favour Pangawe village when compared to other villages in the ward. According to the school administrator in the interview:

Pangawe village is far away, about 7 kilometres from the school. This makes the students from the village to have the longest distance, which of course, requires them to spend more time walking to and from school daily. (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Decentralising secondary education to the local community

Immediately after the responsibility to develop the local school was transferred to Mkambalani ward, the local community did not have much to do in terms of the classrooms construction. During the focus group discussions with five WDC members, one WDC member stated that:

At the time, eight classrooms were already constructed. This acted as a motivation for us (leaders) to think of developing further our school to make it a boarding school at least for the girls, to start with. (WDC member 1, Mkambalani ward: June 2009)

During the interview, the ward official took the following views:

Hostels will relieve the girls from the daily routine of the tasking (domestic) works at home and other related problems. It is common that the girl at home is more occupied than the boy in such a way that she never gets the spare time to go through her books. (Acting WEO, Mkambalani ward: June 2009)

It could be said that the force behind the idea of the local leaders on the direction of the local school development is based on the state of the academic performance of the girls compared to that of the boys. The school administrator in the interview noted that:

Since the establishment of this school almost all girls who have sat for the form four national examinations have ended up getting division four and zero. (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

According to the students' attendance report (2004), the possibility for the girls to drop out of school is higher than for the boys. The report shows that five boys dropped out of school while on the side of the girls the number was fifteen. The general school attendance for the boys is somehow good compared to that of the girls. For instance in 2004, the boys performed better in school attendance with the average around 80% while the girls' average was below 70% of the total school days (Nelson Mandela Secondary School 2004).

While Mkambalani ward was still working on their hostel plan, the WDC members who participated in the focus group discussions had the opinion that some other government directives ended their hostel plan prematurely. For instance, one WDC member revealed that:

In 2005 we were directed to start constructing more classrooms and things like students' hostels and teachers' houses will come later in the process. (WDC member 2, Mkambalani ward: June 2009)

During the same focus group discussions, another WDC member noted that:

We, then, mobilised the communities to contribute the construction materials or to attend physically to work on the classrooms construction project. Again this year (2009), we have another instruction from the council that we have to start developing the infrastructures (classrooms) for the advanced level studies. (WDC member 4, Mkambalani ward: June 2009)

Working as a teacher in the ward secondary school

According to the staff workload report (2009), Nelson Mandela secondary school has a total of sixteen teachers including the school administrator (the head of school) (Nelson Mandela Secondary School 2009a). The first challenge which one encounters as a teacher at the local school is the lack of teacher housing.

Only one teacher has managed to have a house in the school premises. According to the school administrator in the interview:

Nine teachers live as far as Morogoro town. Six teachers have got accommodation in the nearby prison facility. For those who stay in town have to travel daily ... (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Regarding the issue of private settlement development in the area around the local school by the local communities, the local set up seems not to provide the option of housing in the local school. The school administrator in the interview said that:

All around the school there are big sisal plantations which have occupied a large portion of land. (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

It also seems that the existence of the prison facility in Mkambalani ward has an impact on the way settlements are structured in its villages. One WDC member in the focus group discussions stated that:

We are not allowed to live close to the prison facility. As a result we find ourselves being pushed away and scatter for the purpose of trying to find the appropriate places where we can settle and perform our daily activities, for example farming. (WDC member 1, Mkambalani ward: June 2009)

Relationship between teachers and communities

The relationship between the teachers and the rest of the local communities in the ward has been, to a large extent, affected by not only the teachers being confined in the restricted area (prison facility) but also their living in another location away from the ward. The ward official in the interview said that:

We (local communities) do not live with them (teachers) in our villages. Some live in the prison staff houses while others live in town. (Acting WEO, Mkambalani ward: June 2009)

The presence of the local communities in the local school, in most cases, is attached to the responsibilities they have to fulfil within the framework of the construction of the school infrastructure (classrooms). As far as the academic matters are concerned, the local communities seem to be less proactive. The school administrator in the interview provided that:

Parents only appear when they are called in to attend the specific issues relating to their children. During the general meetings, very few parents attend. The ones with the good record of attending these meetings are the prison officers. (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

The result is that requests and instructions from the school administration tend to be inadequately responded to by the local communities. For example, during the interview the school administrator stated that:

Parents do not honour our directive on the payment of the school fees. Last year (2008), the academic year ended with the unpaid school fees of 5 million Tanzanian shillings, the ex-

pected amount was 12 million Tanzanian shillings. We are now in the second term of the new academic year (July 2009), but as we speak, the collection from the school fees is 1.5 million Tanzanian shillings. (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Table 5.1 Teaching in Nelson Mandela secondary school

Identity	Sex	Subjects trained to teach	Subject teaching	No. of subject responsible
Head	Male	Geography and History	School administrator	None
Teacher 1	Male	Biology and Chemistry	Biology	1
Teacher 2	Female	English and History	English	1
Teacher 3	Male	Civics and History	Civics	1
Teacher 4	Male	Physics and Chemistry	Physics	1
Teacher 5	Female	Geography and History	Geography	1
Teacher 6	Female	English and History	History	1
Teacher 7	Female	Kiswahili and English	Kiswahili	1
Teacher 8	Female	Kiswahili and English	Kiswahili	1
Teacher 9	Male	Geography and History	History	1
Teacher 10	Female	Civics and History	History	1
Teacher 11	Male	Physics and Chemistry	Chemistry	1
Teacher 12	Female	English and History	English	1
Teacher 13	Female	Kiswahili and English	English	1
Teacher 14	Female	Geography and History	Geography	1
Teacher 15	Female	Civics and History	Civics	1

Source: Nelson Mandela secondary school, Staff Workload Report: 2009

Internal operations and education provision

The review of the staff workload report (2009a) and the master timetable (2009b) in Nelson Mandela secondary school shows that the local school encounters another challenge in the provision of education service. That is, it has too few teachers in a number of subjects it offers. For example, twelve of its fifteen teachers (not including the school administrator) are distributed in the art subjects (English, History, Civics, Geography and Kiswahili). The whole school has only three teachers who qualify to teach the science subjects (Physics, Chemistry and Biology). Mathematics does not have any teacher (see Table 5.1), despite it (school) submitting the requests for teachers.

The school administrator in the interview said that:

We submitted our requests for teachers in October 2007 and in February 2008 we made the physical follow up. We were only told that our problem is being attended to and we will get the teachers. Until this year (2009) no teacher has been posted to us. (School administrator, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Being in the situation of teacher inadequacy, the need to agree on the modality of teaching in the local school has become inevitable. During the focus group discussions with four teachers, one teacher provided that:

For the three science subject teachers; two teachers who are trained for Physics and Chemistry have divided the two subjects between them. One takes Chemistry and the other Physics for the whole school. The other teacher is trained for Biology and Chemistry but has to handle Biology for the whole school. (Teacher 4, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Another teacher in the same focus group discussions added that:

For the art subjects (English, History, Civics, Geography and Kiswahili), one teacher is responsible for a particular subject for two classes (forms). Where the number of teachers exceeds two, the extra teacher goes to the lower classes (forms one and two) to strengthen the foundation of learning in these lower forms. (Teacher 2, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

According to the students' register (2009) in Milengwelengwe secondary school, the internal arrangement regarding the three science subjects (physics, chemistry and biology) means that each teacher is responsible for all 600 students in all four forms with a total of twelve streams.

Despite the challenges faced by teachers in the local school, ranging from work related to the ones associated with its location, leaving is not considered appropriate, but rather developing mechanisms for coping seems to be their option. This was the view of the teachers who participated in the focus group discussions and one teacher noted that:

Travelling everyday is a burden (costly). We have decided to confine the teaching sessions in three days. Actually we teach on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. These are the days the majority of us are available in the school premises. (Teacher 2, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009).

Another teacher in the focus group discussions elaborated as follows:

Tuesdays and Thursdays are set for the education for self reliance activities. That means our students may either work in the school farms (gardens) or participate in various sport activities. Despite the fact that the majority of us are not present in these days, our colleagues on duty keep them (students) busy. (Teacher 1, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Summary

The strategy which is used by the teachers in Nelson Mandela secondary school to cope with their work environment has been to reorganise the working week by reducing the number of days for the active teaching. The challenge of teacher inadequacy influences the development of internal specialisation in the practice of teaching. Specialisation appears in two forms, the first form is specialisation in relation to the subjects and the second form is related to forms (formation of clusters) especially when the subject has two or more teachers.

Milengwelengwe secondary school

Background information

Milengwelengwe secondary school is one of the early local community secondary schools in Morogoro Rural District. The local school is located in Mngazi ward about 130 kilometres South East of Morogoro town. Milengwelengwe secondary school was established in 1994. Later on, in the early 2000s, the local school acquired the status of being a ward secondary school for Mngazi ward, serving the villages of Vigolegole, Milengwelengwe, Sesenga and Mngazi (Morogoro District Council 2008a).

Decentralising secondary education to the local community

Although it is expected that local involvement in the decentralisation context is obvious, in Mngazi ward, the involvement of the local communities in the school affairs has limitations. One ward official in the interview said that:

... we are only required to provide our efforts to construct the school infrastructure. (Acting WEO, Mngazi ward: September 2008)

During the focus group discussions with six WDC members, one WDC member provided that:

Despite being supervisors of service delivery in the ward, we are not involved in the academic affairs. (Co-opted WDC member, Mngazi ward: October 2008)

As a result the ward leaders in Mngazi ward were unable to come up with the basic information or data on such issues as the number of teachers available and the number of students enrolled in their school. During the focus group discussions, one ward official said that:

There is not any academic development report which has been prepared by the school administration and submitted to the ward office. The only report we have is the one which has the list of all schools in our ward. (Acting WEC, Mngazi ward: October 2008)

It appears that the information regarding the internal affairs of the local school only comes as a surprise to the local leaders in the ward. This is reported from the interview with the acting WEO, when he stated that:

In January this year (2008), I went there. Anyway, it was a private visit and I wanted to inquire whether I could get the opportunity to develop myself. Suddenly three young men approached me. I introduced myself to them and started to explain the purpose of my visit. One of them responded to my inquiry. When he finished, he introduced himself and his colleagues. I was shocked to learn that one of the three young men was not a teacher but a form six leaver teaching there. (Acting WEO, Mngazi ward: September 2008)

In the interview, the acting WEO attributed the state of limited involvement of the local leaders (*Vitongoji* chairpersons) in the academic affairs to their 'lack of the required education qualification.' According to the 2008 register book on the education qualification of the elected and employed officials in the ward:

Fourteen out of fifteen *vitongoji* chairpersons in the ward have the primary education qualification. Only one *kitongoji* chairperson has the ordinary secondary education qualification. The employed officials working in the ward, namely WEO (Ward Executive Officer); WEC (Ward Education Coordinator); VEO (Village Executive Officers), have the ordinary secondary education qualification and above (Mngazi Ward 2008).

Working as a teacher in the ward secondary school

Despite being located in the remote rural area of Morogoro Rural District, the Milengwelengwe secondary school community still manages to provide the hospitable environment to the new teachers. According to one member of the school administration in the interview:

When newcomers arrive we provide them with temporary accommodation and other basic requirements such as food and water for at least a week. While this is done, we work on the places where they will settle in the long run. This goes hand in hand with helping them to formalise the requirements of our job by filling in the employment forms. (School administrator 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

The first week of the teachers' presence in the school environment is considered to be the orientation period. According to another member of the school administration in the interview:

On their first week, we inform them of the important things to be observed both in school and around the villages. We tell them that we do live as a family here and about our consensus agreement for helping each other in case of problems. Actually our agreement requires each of us to contribute some amount of money and give to a colleague who happens to have problems. As far as the communities in the villages are concerned, we advise them to maintain an attitude of self respect and respect for others. We tell them to keep a pace to the matters happening in the local communities, especially the local politics. (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Regarding the daily life in the local school, it seems that there is a high degree of tolerance. The general practice portrays that the imposition of sanction to anyone who violates the rules (procedures) is not immediately effected. This is reported from the interview with the member of the school administration, when he provided that:

Since September 2007, one of our teachers has been absent. I, personally, have made the efforts to contact him several times through his mobile phone. Fortunately in November 2007, after several trials, I managed to reach him. We had a friendly conversation but he was reluctant to disclose the problem that prevented him from coming back. I assured him that there was no warning letter which was written for his case. Of course, it is true that no letter was written on this case. This has only happened in this month (October 2008) after seeing that there is no possibility for him to come back. (School administrator 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Teachers' views of the local environment

Although the members of the school community in Milengwelengwe secondary school seem to have been sympathetic to each other, there are varying opinions

on their views and perceptions of the local environment and working in such a setting. During the focus group discussions with three teachers, one teacher stated that:

Who would like to work here? This school does not have even a single computer, we are only using an old typewriter and a worn out duplicating machine which does not function properly. In most cases we are forced to write the examinations on the blackboards. Worse still, there is no reliable electricity here! (Teacher 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

On the contrary, another teacher in the focus group discussions provided the following account:

I have been in this school since 1998 and have well established myself. I have big farms of maize and rice where I spend my time when out of the normal teaching hours. Like any other newcomer by then, I thought of leaving the place as soon as possible but without quitting my career. After several attempts, I was never successful. I decided 'to stay and face the reality of the situation and utilise the opportunity.' As a result, I have been able to achieve what I have ... a grinding mill, 40 acres of land, and a modern house just close to school. So I don't see the reason for leaving. (Teacher 3, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Relationship at the local level

Generally the higher authorities in Tanzania, for example the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and the Prime Minister's Office-Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG), through the decentralisation policy (1998), have the view that the relationship at the ward level is well taken care. But in Mngazi ward the relationship between the local actors (teachers and members of the local community) is not in the perspective of cooperation, as it is required by the decentralisation policy. During the interview, one prominent elder said that:

I have the feeling that the teachers do not feel concerned with our matters. For example, I don't see them in our village meetings, may be these meetings are only insignificant and the waste of time to them (teachers). (Prominent elder, Mngazi ward: September 2008)

For the teachers, as it was noted during the focus group discussions, it seems that their approach to limit their involvement in the local affairs in the ward is the means to manoeuvre their stay in the locality. For example, one teacher provided that:

We want to live here peacefully until we leave. We don't want to be involved in the unnecessary confrontation with *wazee* (the elders). (Teacher 2, Milengwelengwe Secondary School: October 2008)

On their side the WDC members in the focus group discussion had the view that such teachers' attitude also limits their involvement in the situation where they are mostly needed. One WDC member provided that:

In the WDC meetings they rarely attend. In fact, one of the agendas for the deliberations in these meetings is the implementation of the secondary education development programme in our ward. The members of the school administration are the key individuals to provide us with the insights into the academic development. (Co-opted WDC member, Mngazi ward: October 2008)

Internal operations and education provision

According to the staff workload report (2008), Milengwelengwe secondary school has a total of seven teachers including the head of school. The distribution of teachers in the subjects is as shown in Table 5.2. The staff workload report also shows that a number of subjects, for example biology, physics, chemistry and mathematics, do not have teachers (Milengwelengwe Secondary School 2008b).

Table 5.2 Teaching in Milengwelengwe secondary school

Identity	Sex	Subjects trained to teach	Subject teaching	No. of subject responsible
Teacher A1	Male	Kiswahili and History	School Administrator	Not teaching
Teacher A2	Male	English and Geography	Geography	1
Teacher 1	Female	Kiswahili and History	Kiswahili	1
Teacher 2	Male	Kiswahili and History	History	1
Teacher 3	Male	Kiswahili and English	English	1
Teacher 4	Male	Kiswahili and English	English	1
Teacher 5	Male	Civics and History	Civics	1

Source: Milengwelengwe Secondary School (2008b) Staff Workload Report

Teaching practice

The experience narrated by (three) teachers in the focus group discussions shows that the teachers in Milengwelengwe secondary school are very few and over-worked. One teacher provided that:

I'm responsible for Geography for the whole school. This makes me to move from one class to another with their respective streams. It is a tiresome experience as I hardly have enough time to rest and organise myself for the coming sessions. The task (teaching) is exhausting. It's not possible to check whether the students understand or not. It also becomes difficult for us to take note of the students who need special attention. Of course, we only count the sessions and classes, no private counselling to the individual students. (Teacher 3, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Another teacher in the focus group discussions noted that:

The job (teaching) has been difficult in our school, especially for us who handle the subjects alone including the evaluation of the students in both continuous assessments and final examinations. Our school has a total of 396 students whom I have to teach and evaluate. (Teacher 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Unanswered pleas from the local school

The staff workload report (2008) shows that Milengwelengwe secondary school suffers from a complete absence of the 'professional' teachers to handle the science subjects (biology, physics, chemistry and mathematics). From the interview with one member of the school administration, it is reported that its requests for teachers have not been responded for some time. The school administrator revealed that:

In 2007 we submitted our requests, but none were posted to our school. We did the same in January 2008 stressing on the urgency of the matter but all ended in vain. In March 2008, we heard that there were new teachers who were expected to complete their training in May 2008 and would be recruited in July 2008. On the basis of this information, in April 2008 we wrote a reminder letter to the DEO and REO. No teacher was posted to us. To our surprise the REO reallocated to other schools the two licensed teachers whom were posted to us in 2007. (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

As a reaction to the unanswered requests for teachers, the local school has invented its coping strategy. According to the member of the school administration in the interview:

Due to the severe shortage of teachers, we are now relying on the teaching service from the form six leavers. We have raised our concern to the school board and without hesitation the board has allowed us to pursue this strategy. Using this strategy, in 2007 we made the radical decision to engage three form six leavers to assist in teaching biology, physics, chemistry and mathematics. (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

But, engaging the sixth form leavers as teachers in the local school has not progressed without limitations. One member of the school administration in the interview provided that:

Although the sixth form leavers help us to cover the gaps we have, they lack the techniques to convince the students to like the subjects. Many students have come to my office complaining that they do not understand what the new teachers teach them. (School administrator 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Another school administrator in the interview added that:

Our experience shows that the sixth form leavers lack commitment to stay longer in school. In September 2008, two 'engaged' teachers left us in the middle of the term. Their decision to leave confused not only us but also our students as they were the only ones responsible for Mathematics and Chemistry for the whole school ... Sometimes, they (form six leavers) leave as soon as their examination results are out or when they get any other opportunities outside the village... Normally they do believe that life outside the village is more promising... (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Structured absenteeism and teaching practice

Although the Employment and Labour Relations Act No. 6 of 2004, section 27 (1) (a) states that '... an employer shall pay an employee ... during the working hours at the place of work on the agreed pay day,' the remoteness of the local

school (Milengwelengwe secondary school) does not provide any opportunity favouring the application of such legislation. Instead the teachers' employing authority has opted for the provision of section 27 (1) (b) (ii) of the Employment and Labour Relations Act No. 6 of 2004, which provides for 'the direct deposit into an account designated by the employee.' Given this fact, it is reported from the interview that structured absenteeism has become inevitable. According to one school administrator in the interview:

Some days in the teachers' monthly teaching schedules have been set aside for the purpose of travelling to Morogoro town to collect their salaries and attending other matters. (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

The effect of the teachers' frequent travelling has been the lack of continuity in their teaching schedules as well as leaving the students idle for a number of days. One teacher in the focus group discussions noted that:

The spontaneous interruption on the school calendar affects the coverage of the syllabus in each subject. The situation, to a large extent, adds to the general and consistent poor performance of our students. In some occasions, when the students learn that the teachers are not present, the majority of them decide not to attend. (Teacher 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

According to the Milengwelengwe secondary school form four national examination records 1997-2007, over the years the average pass rate has been below 6%. The typical example of the poor academic performance for the local school has been revealed by the form four national examination results of 2007. In this year, out of sixty four students who sat for the national examination only three students have passed with division three. That means the pass rate is 4.6%. The majority of the failed students have 'F grade' in their subjects. From the interview with the member of the school board and the focus group discussions with the WDC members (Mngazi ward), it is reported that the poor academic performance has a wider implication in the locality. According to the board member in the interview:

Parents get discouraged for their efforts in the construction of the school infrastructures. The students in our school are likely to lack the role models, since what they see is that their colleagues after the secondary education are back to the normal village life. (Board member, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

During the focus group discussions, one WDC member had the following opinion:

A failed form four leaver is less valuable than a standard seven leaver who has stayed in the village. Within such a period (four years), the one who has been serious with 'shamba work' will have achieved something. (WDC member 1, Mngazi ward: October 2008).

Concern for relationship

It has been highlighted elsewhere in this case report that the members of Milengwelengwe secondary school are tolerant and patient with each other. From the focus group discussions (with three teachers), it seems that the degree of tolerance is much wider and includes some formal aspects of their duties. One teacher provided that:

In April 2007 we had a surprise visit of the officials from the President's Office-Public Service Management (PO-PSM). These officials came for the physical verification of the employees. Unfortunately our colleague had gone to town and overstayed. We all made efforts to make sure he got the information. Luck enough he came back before the PO-PSM officials completed the exercise. The 'good thing' was that even our school administration did not serve him with the warning letter for what he did. (Teacher 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Another teacher in the focus group discussions put it as follows:

Things like teacher absenteeism and absconding from attending the class sessions do not capture our attention. What matters for the time being is our personal individual relationship. (Teacher 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Generally, patience and tolerance seem to control the internal operations in the local school. For instance, the school report (2008a) on 'the manning level' provides a contrary picture on the number of teachers. The (manning level) report shows that the local school has ten 'available' teachers; while the school master timetable (2008) and the staff workload allocation report (2008) show that it has seven teachers including the head of school. According to one member of the school administration in the interview:

In September 2007 three teachers left for studies without applying for the release letters, so they are still counted as being present. (School administrator 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

But the Education Circular No. 7 of 2006 provides that, among other things, 'a teacher is required to apply for the study permit from the employing authority before he goes for further studies' (United Republic of Tanzania 2006b).

Summary

Being located in the remote area of the Morogoro region, Milengwelengwe secondary school, apart from suffering from teacher inadequacy, experiences frequent teacher absenteeism. Teacher inadequacy makes the local school to rely on the service of the untrained teachers who are reported to be temporary and unreliable. The heavy teaching workload limits the ability for the teachers to care for the individual learning problems of their students. Frequent teacher absenteeism affects the practice of teaching as well as accelerating student absenteeism.

Ward secondary schools in Morogoro Municipality

Introduction

Morogoro Municipality (Morogoro urban) is the headquarters of the Morogoro region and one of the oldest towns in the history of Tanzania. The Arabs used Morogoro town as a stop-over and the route of slave caravans from the hinterland to the coast of the Indian Ocean. The original name used by the indigenous people (*luguru* tribe) to call their place is *Bungo Dimwe* means *mgogoro* in Swahili, whose English translation is conflict. During the German colonial rule the area was named Morogoro and was made the headquarters of the East Province of German East Africa (Morogoro Municipal Council 2008).

Morogoro Municipality is about 195 kilometres to the West of Dar es Salaam and is situated in the lower slopes of the Uluguru Mountains. The municipality has a total area of 531 square kilometres and is divided into nineteen wards. For the case of secondary education development, fourteen of its nineteen wards managed to construct their own secondary schools in 2008 (see Appendix 2). Some wards, namely Kingolwira, Mazimbu and Mwembesongo have two secondary schools each (Morogoro Municipal Council 2008).

For the purpose of understanding of the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools in Morogoro Municipality within the context of education decentralisation in Tanzania, Kihonda and Sumaye secondary schools were selected as case studies.

Kihonda secondary school

Background information

Kihonda secondary school is the first ward secondary school to be constructed and opened in Morogoro Municipality. The local school is located in Mazimbu ward along the Morogoro to Dodoma road, close to the area famously known as 'Morogoro industrial zone.' The actual construction of the local school started in 1997 through the local initiatives and was officially opened in 2002. During the interview, the WDC chairperson said that:

We started by mobilising and sensitising our people, this happened in the late 1990s. Thereafter we got the support from the municipal council. The council provided us with a plot, and through the municipal engineer, we were provided with the technical advice, directive and guidance on the construction standards. (WDC chairperson, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

In terms of its location, the local school is described as being in the affluent part of the municipality. According to the WDC chairperson in the interview:

It is within an area characterized by well constructed residential houses and good infrastructures for electricity, water supply and a number of private and government owned health facilities. (WDC chairperson, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

Decentralising secondary education to the local community

According to the 2005 and 2006 Mazimbu ward SEDP implementation reports, the members of the local community participate in the construction of the school infrastructures ranging from classrooms, staff offices, laboratories and the conference hall. The two ward reports show that the ward achieved more than 80 percent of its construction targets. For example in 2005 and 2006, the targets were to construct four classrooms, one staff room, one laboratory and a conference hall. By September 2006, the ward managed to construct three classrooms and the laboratory. The staff room and the conference hall were in their final stages of construction. The 2006 report indicated that the construction of the remaining classroom was underway and was expected to be completed by December 2006.

Although the two reports seem to suggest that there is a positive progress in Mazimbu ward, generally the ward needs top-level support to legitimise its initiatives. One ward official in the interview provided that:

In making sure that the construction progresses, we have employed a strategy of collecting contributions from every 'able local community member' in our ward. We submitted our request for implementing the strategy to the District Commissioner (DC). We now have the DC's consent and the strategy is operational. (WEO, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

From the focus group discussions with five WDC members, it is noted that the way the ward fulfils its obligations towards secondary education development

has never been without interference in its priorities. For example, one WDC member provided that:

In 2007 we planned to start the construction of the second science laboratory. All a sudden the directive from the government instructed that we were required to continue with the construction of classrooms. (WDC member 1, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

Regarding the local involvement in the school affairs, it seems that the local community is only partially involved. According to the ward education coordinator (WEC) in the interview:

We are not involved in the academic matters. The teaching practice is the exclusive concern and duty of the teachers, the school administration and the higher authorities at the district, regional and ministerial level. (WEC, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

Further in the interview the ward education coordinator provided the following account:

I have been the ward education coordinator since 2003. I have never received any reports on the academic affairs from secondary schools. My office does not have any role when the secondary education inspectors come to the ward. The ward administration is neither informed on that nor provided with the reports of the inspection. Although I am regarded as an important person in the education matters in the ward, my role in the secondary school academic affairs is negligible. (WEC, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

The limited local involvement in the school affairs seems to be contributed to by the lack of required education qualifications from the majority of local leaders. According to the Education Act No. 25 (as amended by Act No. 10 of 1995) and the School Board Regulations of 1979, the minimum qualification for a person to be a member of the school board is the ordinary secondary education (form four). The 2008 Mazimbu ward report which provides the list of all mtaa chairpersons and their education qualifications shows that thirty of all thirty two mtaa chairpersons have the primary education qualification. It is also noted that apart from their lack of the required education qualification, the local leaders are not well prepared in advance for the implementation of education decentralisation at the ward level (see Table 6.1). According to one WDC member in the focus group discussions:

Education gives a leader strength and confidence to work with the members of the community. In our case one can be in the leadership for eight to nine years. But it can happen that one has gone for a seminar once or twice. It is not possible to continue this way, we need training. (WDC member 1, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

Another WDC member who participated in the focus group discussions provided the following experience:

I have been the *mtaa* chairperson since 2000. This is my second term in the position after being re-elected in 2005. I acknowledge that decentralisation is not new to me, but the problem we (local leaders) have been experiencing with it has been the lack of capacity building pro-

Table 6.1 Seminars attended by WDC members in Mazimbu ward, 2005-2008

S/No	Seminar	Duration	Year conducted
1	Children living in a difficult environment	1 day	2008
2	Local government reform programme	1 day	2008
3	Leadership in local government	1 day	2007
4	Environmental issues	1 day	2008
5	Community involvement in security	1 day	2008
6	Good governance	1 day	2006
7	HIV/AIDS in communities	1 day	2007
8	Family planning	1 day	2008
9	Water usage in communities	1 day	2005
10	Laws in local government	1 day	2007
11	Effects of corruption	1 day	2005

Source: Seminar Records in Mazimbu Ward Office 2005 -2008

grammes. We are not well prepared to handle the responsibilities in this system. Although seminars are conducted, only few among us participate. We always complain about it but nothing happens. (WDC member 2, Mazimbu ward: July 2008)

Working as a teacher in the ward secondary school

According to the interviews with two members of the school administration, the review of the staff reports and the focus group discussions with four teachers in Kihonda secondary school, it seems that the majority of teachers are pleased and feel comfortable there. For example, one member of the school administration in the interview provided that:

Our school has been in operational for six years, now, since its establishment in 2002, but we don't have alarming teachers' labour turnover. Most of those who leave they do so on involuntary basis. (School administrator 1, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

The review of the staff reports (2002-2008) in Kihonda secondary school shows that since 2002 a total of five teachers have left, approximately one teacher each year. Out of the first five teachers who established the local school there was only one left in 2007 on compulsory retirement. During the focus group discussions with four teachers, one teacher provided the following comments:

The friendly surrounding environment provides a good living opportunity for us. Of course, Kihonda is a town by itself and is fully furnished. (Teacher 2, Kihonda secondary school: August 2008)

Apart from the advantages teachers have from the local environment around Kihonda, new teachers have been provided with ample time for their settlement far beyond seven days allowed by the labour laws in Tanzania. According to the member of the school administration in the interview:

We always allow a new teacher up to three weeks off duty. We feel obliged to facilitate the smooth settlement of our teachers. We also believe that a peaceful settlement is crucial for them to fulfil their obligation. We feel concerned for that. (School administrator 2, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Although it seems that the local environment is favourable for the teachers working in Kihonda secondary school, this does not limit them (teachers) from thinking about their wellbeing and welfare in general. One teacher in the focus group discussions noted that:

Understanding that the unity is strength, we have come up with the joint effort mechanism to address our needs during both sorrowful and joyful moments. The mechanism has enabled us to form Kihonda welfare association and *Upendo* group. These associations make us to feel secured, provide peace to us and facilitate harmonious relationships ... Unlike Kihonda welfare association, in *Upendo* group we have the opportunity for soft loans ... We also provide monthly contributions to them ... membership is voluntary ... But we are all members. (Teacher 2, Kihonda secondary school: August 2008)

In relation to the welfare association, another teacher in the focus group discussions elaborated as follows:

The main objective of our associations is to assist the members in such cases as sickness, death or whenever one is in a difficult situation. Of course, they are inevitable and indispensable to us. (Teacher 3, Kihonda secondary school: August 2008)

Internal operations and education provision

According to the staff report (2008), Kihonda secondary school has a total of forty five teachers. But the majority of them have specialised in the art subjects. For instance, the local school has sixteen teachers who have specialised in history. The teacher distribution in the subjects is not proportional (see Table 6.2). Some subjects such as mathematics and chemistry have one and two teachers respectively for the whole school with a total of 921 students in all four forms (twenty three streams) (Kihonda Secondary School 2008). That means the teachers who are responsible for the above mentioned subjects have a huge workload. For example, the subjects (chemistry and mathematics) have the TSR of 1:460 and 1:921 respectively. These ratios are far beyond fifteen to thirty times compared to the recommended standard ratio of 1:30 in the secondary education development programme (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). Given the prevailing set up in the teacher recruitment in Tanzania, it seems that both teachers and school administrations have to exist with this state of inadequacy. One teacher in the interview had the following views:

Teaching alone all 23 streams with a total of 921 students ... is a heavy task and does not provide any moment for adequate preparation ... The prevailing situation never provides anyone with the moment for relaxation, but we have to work, anyway! (Teacher 6, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

In another interview, the member of the school administration, referring to the shortage of teachers in some subjects in the local school, stated that:

We understand that the teaching situation in some subjects is generally not satisfactory ... The mandate to recruit teachers as well as allocating them to secondary schools is above our control and influence. (School administrator 2, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Table 6.2 Teaching in Kihonda secondary school

S/No	Subjects	No. of teachers available		
		Female	Male	Total
1	History	12	4	16
2	Biology	2	1	3
3	Kiswahili	4	1	5
4	English	5	0	5
5	Geography	8	1	9
6	Civics	2	0	2
7	Mathematics	0	1	1
8	Chemistry	2	0	2
9	Physics	1	1	2
	Total	36	9	45

Source: Staff Report in Kihonda Secondary School 2008

In the local school, as it was revealed in the focus group discussions with four teachers, the practice of teaching has been decentralised to the ‘academic departments’. This internal arrangement provides that each subject constitutes its own department. One teacher noted that:

In total we have nine academic departments. We have agreed that each one of us is free to choose the department on the basis of the subject he or she is interested to teach. That means each teacher teaches one subject that defines his or her department. (Teacher 3, Kihonda secondary school: August 2008)

This ‘local agreement’ contravenes what is provided in the teachers’ appointment letters. The letters show what the teachers are required to fulfil in secondary schools, among other things, a set of the subjects each teacher is responsible (Staff report 2008, Kihonda secondary school).

Forging local alliance

For Kihonda secondary school, working with a shortage of teachers in some subjects has not been meant that they will not do anything about it. Some initiatives within their reach have been considered and pursued. One member of the school administration during the interview said that:

On our part we have felt the need to redress the problem. We have come up with the approach of involving the parents whose children study here in our programme to improve the

learning environment. So far we have managed to organise a series of meetings with them (parents) and in principal we have reached a common understanding. (School administrator 2, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

One of the notable outcome of the meetings between parents and both teachers and school administration is the local agreement on the distribution of duties and responsibilities between the two parties for the academic development. According to the resolution of the joint parents – teachers’ meeting held in April 2007:

The teachers have the obligation to deliver teaching far beyond the normal official school working hours and days (Saturdays and during the vacations in June and December). For the parents, their obligation is to facilitate the initiative through the monetary contributions as well as encouraging their children to attend the extra private teaching sessions. (Kihonda secondary school, proceedings of the joint parents-teachers’ meeting: April 2007)

In relation to the outcome of the joint parents-teachers’ meeting and its resolution, the member of the school administration in the interview had the following to add:

Through the monetary contributions, we are able to compensate the teachers for the extra teaching sessions ... The alliance apart from facilitating the provision of education service, it has made the teachers to be fully occupied with the academic matters. (School administrator 2, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Through the influence of the local alliance, the individual teachers have managed to establish their ‘own private teaching arrangements.’ During the interview the member of the school administration noted that:

When the teachers are through with the ‘formal’ sessions, the local arrangement gives them the opportunities to teach other students who are not covered by the ‘formalised’ local agreement and normally they get instant pay from the students for that. This kind of ‘informal’ private teaching has encouraged the development of a network of collaboration between teachers and students and during the vacations; students regardless of their schools attend the ‘informal’ private sessions at the fees of 5,000 Tanzanian Shillings per subject per month. (School administrator 2, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Critics of the private teaching arrangement show the danger associated with its unintended outcomes. The member of the school board in the interview provided the broader implication of this teaching arrangement and stated that:

It is just a means of extending the use of public facilities for personal gains. (Board member, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

In another interview session, one teacher had the following comments in relation to the private teaching arrangement in the local school:

The private teaching may be used as a private project for extra income ... The practice doesn’t give our students time to rest and the ‘school calendar’ seems to be endless. The students are always in the class sessions listening to their teachers regardless of the weekends and vacations. This doesn’t orient the students to self learning and kills that spirit. It only achieves to make the students more dependent to their teachers. This turns the teachers into being everything in the students’ learning process. The students regard their teachers as ‘text books’ they are supposed to refer always. Thus they (students) become bound to whatever

their teachers tell them and develop an attitude of blaming others (especially teachers) in case they encounter something which has not been covered by them (teachers). Hence the students become less creative in seeking knowledge from other sources. (Teacher 5, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Despite the worries provided by the critics on its attempts to introduce the teaching sessions beyond the normal time, the local alliance is seen as a means towards improving the local school internal incentive scheme. The member of the school administration in the interview stated that:

With the financial back up from our alliance, we have been able to establish the system of rewarding our teachers for the good performance of students in the form four national examinations. For every 'A' grade scored in the subject, a teacher gets 10,000 Tanzanian Shillings and for every 'B' grade, one gets 5,000 Tanzanian Shillings. We use this system as the motivational instrument to encourage our teachers to put more efforts in teaching. (School administrator 1, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

However this motivational system in the local school appears to be another factor that influences the way teaching is practised. In relation to this, one teacher who was interviewed had the following to comment:

... this means competition. The teachers have to compete to determine who accumulates more money on the students' performance ... They (teachers) have deviated from the traditional teaching practice whereby the students are supposed to be taken through the topics in both lectures and exercise sessions. In the current conventional teaching approach, the teachers tend to put more emphasis on orienting their students to answer the examination questions. (Teacher 5, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

According to the Education Circular No. 1 of 2006, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training opposes the approach of teaching by reviewing the examination questions. The reason behind is that the approach leads to the students having a lack of deeper understanding of the subjects as well as limiting the possibilities of stimulating the students' analysis of the topics (United Republic of Tanzania 2006a). Despite the government's opposition, the approach continues to be the teachers' favourite. According to one teacher in the interview:

The majority of teachers view it as the time saving approach and the means to orient their students to the requirements of various questions ... In case it happens that the questions re-appear then the students will have the answers ... It is a gamble! (Teacher 5, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Summary

The internal distribution of teachers in Kihonda secondary school is not proportional. Some subjects have more teachers than others. The situation presents the occurrence of both teacher surplus and teacher inadequacy. For instance History seems to have excess teachers while Mathematics suffers from teacher inadequacy. The overall school TSR of 1:20 when compared to the standard TSR of 1:30 indicates that the teaching situation is fair. But the reality of the practice of

teaching provides a different picture. To deal with the inadequate number of teachers, the local school sees the need to forge the local alliance which has introduced the private teaching practice. However in this practice the individual teachers have established their own private teaching arrangements.

Sumaye secondary school

Background information

Sumaye secondary school was opened in 2003. It is the second local community secondary school to be established in Morogoro Municipality. The local school is located in Bigwa ward, off the old Dar es Salaam road. Its location in the ward does not seem to provide the proper environment for learning. One member of the school administration in the interview provided the following views:

Generally our school is situated in the midst of the poorly structured and dense residential area. It lacks some facilities such as playgrounds. (School administrator 1, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Decentralising secondary education to the local community

The local leaders in Bigwa ward believe that they have been caught off guard by the government directive requiring each ward to have a secondary school. During the interview, the ward executive officer provided that:

Given the time limit and the pressure we had, the only viable option for us was to convert the infrastructure of our community recreational facility into a secondary school. (WEO, Bigwa ward: August 2008)

Regarding the local preparation for the delivery of secondary education service in the localities, it seems that the ward has not been adequately prepared to understand its position and roles. In relation to this, the ward executive officer in the interview noted that:

Before the implementation of this responsibility, apart from the general political campaigns carried out by the higher authorities, no any education or even capacity building programme was delivered to the local leaders. (WEO, Bigwa ward: August 2008)

From the focus group discussions with four WDC members, it is reported that the aftermath of establishing the ward secondary school with inadequate preparation is the likelihood that the local communities may ignore some responsibilities in the local school. One WDC member had the opinion that:

The practice of teaching (and its consequences) is the responsibility of the school administration and the teachers. Our role is concerned with the construction of the school infrastructures. At the moment (September 2008), we are busy mobilising the local community to complete the construction of three classrooms. (WDC member 2, Bigwa ward: September 2008)

Working as a teacher in the ward secondary school

The majority of teachers in Sumaye secondary school are confronted with the challenge of living far away from the local school. During the focus group discussions with four teachers, one teacher provided that:

Most of us live outside the ward, some live as far as ten kilometres. Of course, the frequent commuting including the daily 'daladala' fare is inevitable. (Teacher 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

For the new teachers who have been posted to work in the local school, there is no special arrangement for them in place. The teachers in the focus group discussions had the opinion that the new teachers themselves should work on this. One teacher noted that:

One who is posted to teach in town can easily get a place to live even for a short moment. The majority of us have at least a next of kin or some close relatives in towns. Therefore, getting a temporary accommodation or even the help to settle in the long run is, in most cases, guaranteed. (Teacher 1, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

In terms of school administration, it appears to be 'business as usual.' According to one school administrator in the interview:

What matters for us is to inform them about the tasks and obligations. (School administrator 1, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

The teachers' first encounter in the local school seems to suggest that the members do not care for one another; however, the concern for their welfare in the long run is their priority. In relation to this, one teacher in the interview noted that:

For dealing with the daily challenges of life, we have established our own association for the community welfare. Having it, there is a huge possibility of getting the assistance in case of problems. (Teacher 5, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

The objectives of the welfare association are provided in its constitution and they include the following:

Putting the members together in such matters as death, wedding celebrations, any other tragedies, sickness and birth of babies as well as providing advice to the members [teachers] for the purpose of maintaining peace and tranquillity at the place of work ... (The constitution of Sumaye secondary school teachers' association 2004)

Although it is not obligatory for the teachers to join the association or to comply with any issue which is internally determined in the local school, it seems that the circumstance dictates the course of action that is appropriate for the members (teachers) in the local environment. According to one of the interviewed teachers, it appears that joining the welfare association is not a matter of choice. The teacher pointed out that:

Peer pressure is very strong for everyone to be an active member of the association. Though the constitution declares that the membership is voluntary, our situation seems to make it compulsory, not only for the association but also for any other matter which has the consent

of the majority of us. In case one opts not to join, it is obvious that others will not participate in his or her behalf at the moment any of such issues underlined in the constitution happens. (Teacher 5, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

The establishment and existence of the welfare association in the local school has the full support of the school administration. According to the member of the school administration in the interview:

The association has the opportunity to utilise the formal facilities of the local school. The bursar acts as the chief financial adviser and the keeper of the books of accounts. The entry fees and the monthly contributions are submitted to the bursar. (School administrator 1, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

The legitimacy of the school administration in controlling and influencing the association is also seen in the dispute settlement. The constitution of the welfare association notes that:

When the management of the association and its member(s) fail to resolve their dispute, then the matter has to be referred to the school administration for arbitration. (The constitution of Sumaye secondary school teachers' association 2004)

Relationships in the ward

From the interviews and focus group discussions conducted in the ward and the local school, it seems that the relationship between the two parties (teachers and the local community) is somehow 'cold.' For example, one WDC member in the focus group discussions provided that:

Often when we have problems in our area we never see them (teachers) around us. The members of the local community complain about it. (WDC Member 2, Bigwa ward: September 2008)

In the interview session with one of the teachers in the local school, he stated that:

We are like other workers who do not live around the areas where their offices are. We consider this place as our work station and we are here for work. (Teacher 6, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

But in terms of the relationships in the places where the majority of teachers live, the opposite seems to be the case. One teacher in the focus group discussions noted that:

In our residential places we feel part of the local community. (Teacher 3, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

For the few teachers that live on the school premises, it seems that they are in a dilemma as far as the relationships in the ward are concerned. During the focus group discussions with four teachers, one teacher provided that:

In June 2007, when we were preparing for the RC's visit, our colleague who lives in the school premises requested for the permission to attend the burial ceremony in the locality.

The response was contrary to his expectation. We were all instructed to continue with our duties. (Teacher 1, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Internal operations and education provision:

Limit on the role of school administration

It seems that the tension as a result of 'cold' relationships in the ward has a wider implication to the internal operations and the delivery of education service in the local school. In the interview, the member of the school administration pointed out that:

In 2007 we came up with an option of extending the learning sessions beyond 2.30 pm. We wanted both teachers and students to leave at 5.00 pm to allow our students to have more time for self study, individual consultations with their teachers and remedial classes. In order for this programme to be implemented there was a need for the local community to contribute some funds so that we could provide lunch to both students and teachers. But our plan was resisted. (School administrator 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

In relation to the proposal of the school administration, the local leaders seem to have a different perception. For example, during the focus group discussions, one WDC member stated that:

... the plan is a move for the teachers to make money for their own interests. We advise them to utilise properly the morning sessions in order to avoid creating the unnecessary demands for the afternoon sessions. (WDC Member 3, Bigwa ward: September 2008)

Experience with teacher recruitment

Although schools have the opportunity to systematically identify and submit their demands for teachers to the higher authorities (MoEVT through DEO and REO), the actual posting of teachers to them seems to be in an unplanned manner (ad hoc). During the interview, one school administrator revealed that:

From the point when we submit our requests for teachers until when we at least get one, it takes between six months and a year. But even getting what we have requested is still unpredictable. Sometimes we do get teachers but not the ones we need! For instance, in June 2007 we submitted our request that we needed two Mathematics teachers, we had to wait until this month (September 2008) when two commerce and two agricultural science teachers have been posted to us. Actually we do not need them as we never offer the two subjects. We have tried to let the DEO and REO know about this thinking that it is just an oversight and the teachers have been posted to us unknowingly. But the higher authorities have insisted that the teachers should remain and have advised that they should teach Mathematics in the lower forms! (School administrator 1, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Believing that the higher authorities do not provide the deserved attention to its demand, it is reported from the interview that the local school has reacted by sharing the burden of the problem with other nearby schools. According to the second school administrator in the interview:

We have decided to deal with the issue of shortages locally through the forging of an alliance with our neighbours. We have reached an agreement that the allied schools should provide teachers in the subjects which others are lacking. This is like practising part time teaching in our schools, which only avails teachers for a short time to students. This happens to both our students and those from the allied schools. (School administrator 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Teaching practice

According to the staff report (2008), Sumaye secondary school has a total of thirty four teachers. Some subjects like Mathematics and Physics have fewer teachers than others. The subjects with fewer teachers indicate the huge work-loads to the responsible teachers (see Table 6.3). For instance, one teacher in the interview provided that:

Our school has 17 streams with a total of 934 students. In our subject, Mathematics, each class is supposed to have 6 periods per week (multiplied by the number of streams each form has). For all 17 streams in four forms; we have a total of 102 periods per week. Since we are two, then we share the burden. But this does not make us to accomplish the target of 102 periods per week. We only manage to go up to 48 periods per week, leave alone the time we spend for preparations, marking the assignments, tests and individual consultations. (Teacher 6, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Table 6.3 Teaching in Sumaye secondary school

S/No	Subjects	No. of teachers available		
		Female	Male	Total
1	Kiswahili	1	5**	6**
2	English	1	2	3
3	History	1	2	3
4	Chemistry	1	2	3
5	Biology	1	3	4
6	Physics	1	1	2
7	Mathematics	1	1	2
8	Geography	1	4	4
9	Civics	-	3	3
10	Agriculture*	-	(2)	(2)
11	Commerce*	-	(2)	(2)
	Total	7	27	34

Source: Sumaye Secondary School (2008) Staff Report

* Subjects not offered.

** Includes the head of school who does not teach.

From the focus group discussions with four teachers, it is reported that the teaching arrangement in the local school provides the freedom to the teachers to make their preferences. One teacher noted that:

The local agreement we have allows us to choose one between our two subjects ... There is liberty here ... it all depends on one's choice ... (Teacher 4, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Teachers' motivation

From the focus group discussions (with four teachers), it is reported that the majority of teachers prefer to continue working in the local school rather than being transferred. Regarding this, one teacher said that:

When I was posted to this school, I didn't think whether I could stay this longer, I have been here since 2003. (Teacher 3, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Another teacher in the focus group discussions supported the views of the other teachers and provided that:

We have the freedom to fulfil our personal ambition and interests and at the same time continue to enjoy our teaching career. Such ideas as pursuing further studies are supported here. (Teacher 4, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Working together in the local school for a long time may be regarded as the factor that has enabled the teachers and the members of the school administration to strengthen their ties. The majority of teachers have been with the local school since it was established in 2003. According to the member of the school administration in the interview:

We feel part of each other. We depend on each other for the accomplishment of the objectives ... Our physical distance in terms of the places where we live does not limit our close relationship ... The teachers comply with our directives and we honour their requests ... At the moment we have instructed them (teachers) to come on Saturdays for the extra teaching and science subjects' laboratory practical sessions, they have positively responded ... (School administrator 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

From the focus group discussions with the teachers, it is noted that their compliance does not happen without reciprocity. For instance, one teacher revealed that

Our school administration has relaxed some formal procedures such as the rule requiring us to be here until when the students leave. We may leave as soon as we complete our sessions in classes. Also in some days when we do not have sessions we may decide not to attend. (Teacher 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

During the same focus group discussions, another teacher stated that:

The situation, as it is, gives us the opportunity to perform two things at the same time. We can teach as well as have the chance to pursue our studies at the Open University of Tanzania (OUT). The flexibility we get allows us to be in another location or in the library in town conducting our own private studies. (Teacher 4, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Summary

The teaching practice in Sumaye secondary school is performed on the basis of the single subject approach. It seems that the approach is in place to allow teach-

ers the opportunities to cope with the workloads and to have some time for both personal and professional development. For the subjects where the local school has teacher inadequacy, the strategy has been to forge the teaching alliance with other nearby schools. The teaching alliance involves offering teachers to the allied schools for the subjects with inadequacy. The local teaching alliance constitutes part time teaching practice. The welfare association in the local school is regarded as a factor for interdependence between the members of the school community.

Ward secondary schools in Mvomero

Introduction

Mvomero District is located in the North of the Morogoro region and is administratively divided into seventeen wards. The name Mvomero is drawn from the name of the famous Mvomero River which passes through the district. The origin of the name Mvomero is from the word ‘vomea’ which means sinking. The district occupies a total of 7,325 square kilometres. For the case of secondary education development, in 2009 Mvomero District managed to have a total of twenty ward secondary schools (see Appendix 2). Every ward in the district has a secondary school. Some wards, for example, Mtibwa, Diongoya and Mvomero have two secondary schools each (Mvomero District Council 2009).

For the purpose of understanding of the effects of the centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools in Mvomero District within the context of education decentralisation in Tanzania, Kipera and Melela secondary schools were selected as case studies.

Kipera secondary school

Background information

The local leaders in Mlali ward initiated the idea to construct a secondary school in their area much earlier before the government directive requiring each ward to have one in the early 2000s. According to the acting ward executive officer in the interview:

Since 1994 we thought that it is high time we should find our own solution to the problem of lack of secondary education opportunities to our children. It has been common to most of our children to remain at home after completing their primary education regardless of their performance. (Acting WEO, Mlali ward: April 2009)

Despite the fact that the local idea on the construction of secondary school preceded the government directive, it is reported from the interview (with the acting WEO) and focus group discussions (with four WDC members) that the result of the local initiative was realised in 2005, eleven years after its conception. During the interview, the acting ward executive officer provided the following views:

Although the local leaders had the common agreement on where to construct the secondary school, the local communities in the villages (Kipera, Pekomisegese, Manza, Mongwe, Homboza and Mlali) did not have the consensus on this. The communities in each village, regardless of its location in relation to others and its topographical characteristics in relation to whether it is feasible to house the project given its urgency, preferred the local school to be located in their area. (Acting WEO, Mlali ward: April 2009)

Finally, the local leaders decided to locate the local school in Kipera village. This decision was defended by the acting ward executive officer during the interview, when he stated that:

This is due to the advantages Kipera has when compared to other villages. Kipera is endowed with the supportive infrastructures for the development and sustainability of a social service delivery facility for the whole ward. Kipera has the transport service connecting it to Morogoro town and the headquarters of Mvomero District. The village is almost located at the centre of the ward and is easily reached from other villages. (Acting WEO, Mlali ward: April 2009)

From the focus group discussions with four WDC members, it is reported that the majority of the local communities especially those from other villages apart from Kipera were not pleased with the local leaders' decision. Hence one WDC member noted that:

The unilateral decision on local school location was not supported by the local communities in other villages and it acted as a force behind the slow pace in the construction process. (WDC member 2, Mlali ward: April 2009)

The situation changed later in the 2000s and the local communities improved their participation in the construction process. According to one WDC member in the focus group discussions:

When the government made mandatory for the wards to have a stake in the secondary education service delivery in the early 2000s, that is the point the local communities improved their level of support. (WDC member 3, Mlali ward: April 2009)

In terms of its location in the Morogoro region, Kipera secondary school is situated in the rural area of Mvomero District, about 30 kilometers, South of Morogoro town, along the Mzumbe – Mgeta road (Mvomero District Council 2009).

Decentralising secondary education to the local community

The local communities in Mlali ward participate in the secondary education development programme in their own way. On this, the acting WEO in the interview elaborated as follows:

We have a plan to facilitate the involvement of the communities from the villages. In our plan, we have agreed to divide responsibilities according to the clusters of villages. In this system, we have formed three working groups. Each group is made up of two villages (Mlali and Mongwe; Kipera and Pekomisegese; and Homboza and Manza) (Acting WEO, Mlali ward: April 2009).

From the focus group discussions, the participants (WDC members) highlighted their obligations in the formed work groups. One WDC member indicated that:

Each 'work group' has the responsibility of organising and mobilising the communities in the villages to contribute labour, materials (bricks, stones and sand) and the limited financial contributions required to perform their part of responsibility. (WDC member 1, Mlali ward: April 2009)

Although each work group has some obligations to fulfil, most of the financial obligations in the construction of the school infrastructures are met by the ward itself. During the focus group discussions, One WDC member stated that:

We are both the main centre and the market for most of the agricultural products from within and other wards situated in the southern part of our district. We collect revenue (levies/taxes) from the agricultural products brought to our two big markets in the villages of Mlali and Kipera. (WDC Member 3, Mlali ward: April 2009)

In the interview, the acting ward executive officer provided the additional information about the source of revenue which the ward has. The acting WEO said that:

Our ward possesses a good landscape which has attracted some telecommunication companies to install their signal towers. We have negotiated with them and have signed the contracts for leasing some parts of land to them. In these contracts they are required to pay the annual fees. (Acting WEO, Mlali ward: April 2009)

Despite having some arrangements and plans on the way the activities in the wards should be pursued, the direction of the local affairs in terms of what is actually done at a particular time seems to be centrally determined. In the focus group discussions, one WDC member reflected on this tendency and noted that:

Most of the decisions about what the local communities are supposed to do come from above. (WDC member 4, Mlali ward: April 2009)

In a way of elaborating the views given by a colleague, another WDC member in the focus group discussions said that:

Even at the beginning of this year (2009), we got the instructions from the council that we should prepare our school for the advanced level studies by constructing two classrooms. (WDC member 1, Mlali ward: April 2009)

In concluding the discussions on the way the local affairs seems to be controlled by the central authorities, one WDC member stated that:

The act doesn't make us to be enthusiastic and sometimes we have the feeling that the government is demanding too much and pressing us hard. (WDC member 3, Mlali ward: April 2009)

In relation to the feelings of the WDC members as they have been provided in the focus group discussions, the position of the council is as explained by one council education official in the interview as follows:

We can't let them implement any plan which is not stipulated in the 2005 election manifesto (the manifesto of the ruling party). All instructions on what should be done must aim at fulfilling what is in it. (District education coordinator, Mvomero: May 2008)

Regarding the academic affairs, it is reported from the focus group discussions that there is limited local involvement. For instance, one WDC member noted that:

We feel that the academic affairs, for example, whether the students get adequate learning, are the concern of the school administration, the teachers, the school board and the higher authorities. (WDC member 2, Mlali ward: April 2009)

In one of the interviews conducted in the local school, one board member showed the extent to which the local community has limited involvement in the school academic affairs. The board member stated that:

I do believe that at least the school board can be an instrument through which the communities can have the platform for the representation in the academic matters of school. Unfortunately eleven out of the thirteen board members in this school stay outside the ward. The chairman and other eight members are from another district and two members are from the neighbouring ward ... Actually, the majority of the members lack the direct contact with the common people in the ward. (Board member, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

Working as a teacher in the ward secondary school

The shortage of staff houses is the first challenge that the teachers posted to work in Kipera secondary school have to deal with. During the interview, the school administrator provided that:

Our school has only one staff house and the nearby place where at least houses to rent are available is Changarawe village. If one fails to secure a house at Changarawe then the option is to go as far as Morogoro town. Whether it is Changarawe or Morogoro town in terms of the place where we secure houses to rent, the issue of daily travelling to and from school is inevitable. (School administrator, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

As a way of dealing with the immediate challenge which confronts the teachers on their arrival in the local school, it appears that they have in place some mechanisms to reduce the impact of the challenge at least in the short term. In the interview, the school administrator stated that:

We have in place the procedure and the culture of assisting the new teachers, who are posted to work here, once in their first appointment. We give them the financial support in the form of interest free loan ranging from 30,000 to 50,000 Tanzanian shillings, and the condition is to repay the loan within three months. Also we have the arrangement to voluntarily attach them (new teachers) to the existing ones for sometimes. We do this as a way of providing the new teachers with temporary accommodation and encouraging them to stay and work in our school so that they never find the environment as hostile and unwelcoming. During this moment, they (new teachers) are assisted to find the appropriate houses to rent. (School administrator, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

From the focus group discussions with four teachers, it seems the teachers regard each other as comrades and they feel obliged to assist one another. One teacher provided that:

We have instituted an open dialogue where we have the opportunity to share our views and listen to one another. The open dialogue is scheduled on each Monday afternoon after the class sessions. At these moments we meet informally to deliberate on various issues ranging from work related to social ones. (Teacher 1, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

In the same focus group discussions, another teacher provided that:

We have an informal programme to help each other in case of need, for instance sickness or even death. The programme does not require any one to provide the regular and periodic contributions. It only becomes operational when the need occurs. (Teacher 2, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

Regarding relationship at the ward level, there is somehow 'a social distance' between the members of the school community (teachers and their administration) and the communities in the villages around. According to the acting WEO in the interview:

The fact that almost all teachers do not stay in the villages (ward) denies them the opportunity to develop the close social interaction with the local communities. Even the choice of the members of the school board marginalises the involvement of the indigenous people in the management of school, and contributes to drifting apart the relationship between the two groups. (Acting WEO, Mlali ward: April 2009)

Internal operations and education provision

The staff report (2009) shows that Kipera secondary school has a total of five teachers including the head teacher. The distribution of teachers in the subjects is structured in such away that the practice of teaching in the local school is internally organised in the manner that each of the four qualified teachers is responsible for one subject (in one of these subjects: mathematics, biology, English and geography). The rest of the subjects (history, chemistry, physics, civics and Kiswahili) do not have the professional teachers (see Table 7.1).

In the interview, the school administrator claimed that the shortage of teachers experienced by the local school is the factor that limits the teachers from fulfilling their teaching obligations effectively. The school administrator said that:

Table 7.1 Teaching in Kipera secondary school

Identity	Sex	Subjects trained	Subject teaching	No. of subjects
Teacher A	Male	History and Geography	School administrator	None
Teacher 1	Male	Physics and Mathematics	Mathematics	1
Teacher 2	Male	Biology and Chemistry	Biology	1
Teacher 3	Female	English and History	English	1
Teacher 4	Male	Biology and Geography	Geography	1

Source: Kipera secondary school (2009b) Staff Report

Although each teacher is trained to teach two specific subjects, our situation does not provide the opportunity for that. We have agreed that each one of us must be responsible for only one subject in all four forms. The emphasis on teaching is to form two and four to prepare them for the national examinations. (School administrator, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

In relation to the partial fulfilment of the teaching obligations in the local school, the teachers who participated in the focus group discussions considered that what they performed was above their abilities. For example, one teacher commented that

... each one of us teaches the subject to all four forms with a total of sixteen streams, we really consider to have already offered ourselves more than enough. This also includes providing the continuous assessments to all 586 students ... (Teacher 2, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

Although the internal re-organisation seems to allow the available teachers to perform some level of their teaching obligations, it is reported from the interview that the school administration has made some initiatives to deal with this state of teacher inadequacy. According to the school administrator in the interview:

Despite the fact that our attempts to get teachers from MoEVT have not yet materialized, we still feel duly obliged to do something on this issue. We definitely know that the school calendar does not stop or stands still and waits for us to get teachers. The dates are moving and the (national) examinations are coming closer and closer. The students need to be prepared well in advance for that. We, in the administration, must think what to do on this issue in the short term. Any shortcoming in the long run is always thrown to us. It is my feeling that we have to work on this as soon as possible ... In February 2009 with the permission of the school board, we decided to engage two temporary teachers (from six leavers) to assist in teaching Chemistry and Physics subjects respectively. (School administrator, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

However there is a challenge associated with engaging the temporary teachers (untrained individuals). According the proceedings of the staff meeting held in April 2009, it is reported that:

The practice of teaching by the temporary teachers is biased to certain topics which they prefer ... Also these teachers do not adequately complete the topics before starting the new one. Always they rush to the new topics before checking whether students have understood the current one ... (Kipera secondary school, proceedings of staff meeting, 16 April 2009a)

As a measure to deal with the challenge of employing the untrained teachers, the following recommendation was made in the staff meeting held in April 2009:

The school administration should pay the engaged teachers on the basis of the topics completed, but they are now required to prepare their teaching plans (schedules) first and after completing each topic it is mandatory for them to submit the notes to the administration before starting the new one. (Kipera secondary school, proceedings of staff meeting, 16 April 2009)

Summary

The single subject teaching practice is the modality in which the teachers deliver the education service in Kipera secondary school. Given the severe shortage of teachers, the concentration is on few subjects targeting those forms which are prepared for the national examinations. To fulfil its teaching obligations, the local school has to depend on the untrained teachers. But such teachers have some weaknesses as they lack the professional abilities to work effectively. Being a teacher in Kipera secondary school subjects one to the locally established system of interdependence.

Melela secondary school

Background information

Melela secondary school is located along the Iringa road (southern highway) approximately 40 kilometres from Morogoro town in Mvomero District. The local school was established in the place of the abandoned infrastructures of what used to be the camp site of the company which constructed the part of the Iringa road in the mid 1990s (Mvomero District Council 2009). However its operation has never been straightforward. According to the school administrator in the interview:

The school was opened in 1997 but it was later closed in 2001 due to the major weakness in its infrastructures. At the time of its opening the school completely lacked the infrastructures for water supply and sanitation. The whole school situation was considered to be dangerous for the wellbeing of both students and teachers. Then the Ministry of Education decided to suspend its operation until when the situation is fixed. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

In the interview, the school administrator noted that Melela secondary school was re-opened in 2005, but still the local school has some problems. The school administrator elaborated as follows:

Of course the school resumed its operations after the period of four years. Until now, it still needs the major improvements in terms of the infrastructural development, ranging from houses for teachers, offices, water supply, conference hall and classrooms. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Decentralising secondary education to the local community

The local communities in the ward are predominantly mixed farmers. They engage in both farming and the keeping of livestock (Mvomero District Council 2009). Given its socio-economic set up, it is reported from both the focus group discussions (with four WDC members) and the interview (with the acting WEO) that the local community in the ward seems to be less enthusiastic about secondary education. For instance, in the focus group discussions, one WDC member had the opinion that:

In the villages around there is a number of prosperous individuals who do not have the secondary education qualification and yet have even managed to possess livestock and valuable assets. (WDC member 3, Melela ward: May 2009)

During the interview, the acting ward executive officer had the following to say:

To the majority of the members of the local community, primary education is enough, going beyond is the wastage of time and resources. The children after completing standard seven (primary education) are regarded as the potential labourers who should assist their parents in both 'shamba' work and taking care of the livestock. (Acting WEO, Melela ward: May 2009)

Given the attitude of the local community on how they appear to perceive the value of secondary education and the nature of their activities, it is likely that the challenges are inevitable in the efforts to have their active involvement in the secondary education development programme. For example, during the focus group discussions with four WDC members, one WDC member provided that:

The members of the local community are fully engaged throughout the year. They normally rotate from their farming and livestock keeping duties. In fact they hardly have the spare time for other activities. (WDC member 1, Melela ward: May 2009)

In the interview, the acting ward executive officer echoed the views of the local community on their involvement in the secondary education development programme in the ward. The acting WEO pointed out that:

The majority of the indigenous people do it to please the authorities. They do not want to be viewed as the ones who oppose the government decisions. There are a lot of go slows. Even there are some occasions whereby the parents do not feel obliged to encourage their children to attend school. (Acting WEO, Melela ward: May 2009)

Local support for education service provision

Generally the local community's support for the academic matters of the local school in the ward is claimed to be low. Melela secondary school academic development report (2007) shows that the important initiatives with the intention of improving the academic affairs, such as extending the teaching sessions in the classes which are due for the national examinations, were not realised due to the lack of support on the part of the local community in the ward. The report pro-

vides that ‘the members of the local community lack motivation towards their secondary school’ (Melela secondary school academic development report, December 2007). The similar picture is portrayed by the 2008 school development report as follows:

Lack of cooperation from the local community towards the academic affairs is the main problem the school encounters. The parents generally fail to honour their obligations. More than 50 percent of the students have not paid their school fees and other academic contributions in this academic year ... (Melela secondary school academic development report, December 2008a)

Regarding the support from the local community, the school administration in the interview provided his experience as follows:

From January to May 2009, only 20 percent of the students have paid their school fees and respective academic contributions. Our strategy to temporarily send home the students as a means to remind the concerned members of the community to fulfil their obligations doesn’t work. Instead the measure increases the rate of student absenteeism. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

The failure on the part of the school administration to direct certain affairs in the local school seems to indicate the limit of its ability to sanction the local community for the compliance. Thus, the acting WEO in the interview noted that:

Those in higher authorities contribute to this situation. In case the school administrators do not collect the school fees, the higher authorities regard it as negligence. Once they institute certain mechanism to remind the parents to pay, the same authorities rebuke them and state that no one should be sent home for failure to pay the school fees and other contributions ... (Acting WEO, Melela ward: May 2009)

Working as a teacher in the ward secondary school

The location of local school in the ward poses the challenge of accommodation to its teachers, among others. The school administrator in the interview had the opinion that:

Being a converted camp site our school is isolated and located far from the populated (residential) areas in the ward. Its location plus having inadequate houses for teachers make us to end up sharing three houses we have. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Given this situation, it seems that the teachers and the members of the school administration have developed some ways for coping with it. According to the school administrator in the interview:

... we have to support each other in whatever happens. We need to work here to sustain our lives ... being mutual allies is inevitable ... (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

From the focus group discussions with four teachers, it is reported that the teachers in the local school have developed some mechanisms for cooperation. In elaborating on this, one teacher said that:

We have decided to reorganise ourselves in accordance with the existing circumstance and have started living as a commune. We who share a house plan collectively our budgets. (Teacher 2, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

In supporting what the fellow teacher said, another teacher in the focus group discussions added the following views:

For our survival we have invented a sort of social fund which takes the form of rotating the fixed amount of contributions. In every month one of us gets a certain amount of funds contributed by others. We call the practice 'the monthly fund rotation system.' (Teacher 1, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

To some extent the location of the local school has an effect on the relationships between the teachers and the rest of communities in the ward. According to the school administrator in the interview:

It does not provide the appropriate opportunity for the frequent interaction between the teachers and the local community. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Asides from the challenge associated with the school location, the members of the school community seem to suggest that they are in a difficult environment and hence they need to allow some level of flexibility in the way rules are applied. For example, during the interview, the school administrator had the following views:

It is not feasible in our environment to read and implement the rules as they are. We do not have a shop close to our school. In case we need important items we have to travel several kilometers from the school premises. Even water supply is a major problem here; sometimes it may take up to two hours to bring home a bucket of water. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

The aimed flexibility in the application of the rules has an effect on the general practice of teaching in the local school. One teacher in the focus group discussions had the following comment:

Some teachers just leave their class sessions and attend their personal matters. It doesn't matter whether the issues are urgent or not ... Teaching is turned into being a secondary activity ... (Teacher 1, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Initiative to forge relationships in the ward

Although many times, the school administration has been enthusiastic about creating the close ties with the local community, it is reported from the interview that its efforts seem to have been fruitless. According to the school administrator in the interview:

Since 2006 we have been trying to organise some sort of familiarisation meetings and have the special day for parents in our school. We want the forum where we can discuss the academic development of our school. But we have ended up achieving nothing. We planned to have the parents' day in March 2009, but only ten parents out of the expected one hundred and twenty appeared. But the only moment the local community comes to school adhering to the call and time is when they have the obligations to fulfil under the secondary education development programme. They know exactly that the failure to attend and implement their portion of the responsibilities will mean being fined on the spot or even taken to the ward tribunal. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Internal operations and education provision

The staff report (2009) shows that Melela secondary school has eight teachers including the school administrator (the head teacher). The 2009 students' register shows that there are 477 students. That means Melela secondary school has the TSR of 1:60, which is twice more than the recommended standard TSR of 1:30 in the secondary education development programme (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). The distribution of teachers in the subjects in the local school is in the following subjects: physics, biology, history, geography, Kiswahili, English

Table 7.2 Teaching in Melela secondary school

S/No	Subject	No. of teachers responsible	Observations
1	Mathematics	0	The physics teacher to cover up for this subject for Form II and IV.
2	Chemistry	0	The biology teacher to cover up for this subject for Form II and IV.
3	Physics	1	Concentration on teaching to Form II and Form IV classes.
4	Biology	1	Concentration on teaching to Form II and Form IV classes.
5	History	1	Concentration on teaching to Form II and Form IV classes.
6	Geography	1	Concentration on teaching to Form II and Form IV classes.
7	Kiswahili	2*	One on administrative duties and the remained taught Form II and IV.
8	English	1	Concentration on teaching to Form II and Form IV classes.
9	Civics	1	Concentration on teaching to Form II and Form IV classes.
	Total	8*	The teachers who were available for teaching were only seven (7).

Source: Melela Secondary School Staff Report: 2009a, School Workload Report: 2009b

* Subjects not offered.

and civic, each has one responsible teacher. Mathematics and Chemistry are subjects without teachers (see Table 7.2)

From the interviews and the focus group discussions, it is reported that the state of teacher inadequacy seems to disturb the actual teaching practice in the local school. The school administrator in the interview stated that:

... we only perform what we can manage ... and leave what we cannot as they are ... (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

During the focus group discussions, the teachers believed that the shortage of teachers in the local school presented them with challenges in their teaching practice. For instance, one teacher had the opinion that:

... in a situation like this ... the proper teaching becomes difficult ... and almost all the subjects offered in the school are only partially attended by the available teachers ... (Teacher 2, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

In the same line of argument, another teacher in the focus group discussions noted that:

... the whole teaching in our school is in the dilemmas since the important activities accompanying it such as the provision of the adequate assignments, marking and making the appropriate follow up to the students are not properly performed ... (Teacher 1, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Although the subjects such as mathematics and chemistry are considered to be without the responsible teachers, the local school has managed to have its own plan regarding the teaching of the two subjects. In relation to this, the school administrator in the interview provided that:

We have the arrangement to ensure that mathematics and chemistry are taught by the teachers responsible for physics and biology respectively to 'the special classes' (form two and four) to prepare them for the national examinations. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Unanswered requests from the local school

It is reported that the local school has been working on the challenge of teacher inadequacy since its re-opening in 2005. But it seems that its efforts have ended up in vain, as it was noted by the school administration in the interview, when he stated that:

In most cases, the government remains silent, no response, no communication ... we never get any teacher. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

The tendency for the continued unanswered requests for teachers seems to have resulted in the practice of teaching biased to certain 'special' forms in the local school. The resolution of the staff meeting held in January 2008 provides that:

The few available teachers need to join their efforts and concentrate on teaching the special classes (form two and four). The two forms need special attention. They are 'critical' and their performance in the national examinations draws the attention of many people even those beyond the borders of the ward and its villages (Kibaoni, Kololo, Mlandizi and Mangae). (Melela secondary school, proceedings of staff meeting: January 2008b)

In relation to the biased teaching practice, the school administrator in the interview had the following to say:

The teaching practice will continue, unless the government increases the number of teachers we have. If we decide to teach subjects in all forms, surely the teaching day will be concluded beyond the official working hours. So who will do that? (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

The teachers who participated in the focus group discussions viewed the biased teaching practice as the means to enable them to have some relaxation. For example, one teacher noted that:

... it, at least, helps us to release the tension we had when we arrived here. (Teacher 2, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

But the teachers in the focus group discussions noted that the biased teaching practice did not mean completely rejection of the other classes (form one and three). One of them said that:

We have the local agreement for having these forms learn some few subjects per week. But it depends on whether we have the spare time. (Teacher 4, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Summary

In Melela secondary school, each teacher teaches one subject. But in most cases the practice of teaching is confined to the special classes (form two and four) with the idea that they need special attention in order to prepare them for the national examinations. The conduct of teaching the 'non special forms' only happens when teachers have the time to do so. The flexibility in the application of the formal rules has the aim of motivating the teachers to continue being in the local school. Apart from sharing such facilities as staff houses, the teachers have the local system of helping each other. This system has imposed some obligations to the teachers in the local school.

Case studies analysis

Introduction

In this chapter attempts are made to explain the effects of internal arrangements to cope with teacher inadequacy (shortage of teachers) in six ward secondary schools (Nelson Mandela, Milengwelengwe, Kihonda, Sumaye, Kipera and Melela), using the theoretical concepts of street-level bureaucrats and semi-autonomous social fields. The chapter starts by analysing the situation at the ward level as a background setting. Thereafter the chapter focuses on the two propositions developed in the theoretical framework (see Chapter 3) to try to explain the situation in the selected ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

In relation to the concept of street-level bureaucrats, the proposition is '*teacher inadequacy triggers the development of internal operational arrangements.*' On this, the analysis focuses on the work environment, the availability of resources (teachers) and the routines developed by the teachers in delivering secondary education service (teaching) in the selected ward secondary schools.

For the case of the concept of semi-autonomous social fields, the proposition is 'internal operational arrangements become local rules that regulate internal affairs and limit the effectiveness of formal rules.' The focus of the analysis is on the ability of these schools to transform the internal arrangements into the local 'legal' orders and the extent to which these local legal orders limit the effectiveness of certain government directives or rules on the provision of education service in the selected ward secondary schools.

The effect of limited integration at the ward level

The local set up in relation to secondary education service provision at the ward level is seen to be characterised by the limited influence and involvement of the local communities in the academic affairs of ward secondary schools. In most cases the local communities in the six wards viewed to believe that they have limited involvement in the local schools' affairs, especially those related to the academic issues. There are two reasons which are highlighted in the case studies as the contributing factors for such a situation, namely the inadequate education qualifications on the part of the local leadership and the lack of enough preparation prior to decentralising secondary education provision in the localities. The consequence of this situation is that the internal affairs of the local schools are hardly known to the local leaders in the wards. That means the local leaders are unaware of the basic information about the practice of teaching, the teachers and the students as it is indicated by the example of the WDC members in Mngazi ward during the focus group discussions. The WDC members in Mngazi ward failed to state the number of teachers and students present in their local secondary school, Milengwelengwe secondary school. In other words, the local leaders are only surprised whenever the internal affairs of the local schools are disclosed to them. This situation is revealed by the acting WEO of Mngazi ward in the interview, when he provided that:

... I was shocked to learn that one of the three young men was not a teacher but a form six leaver teaching there ... (Acting WEO, Mngazi ward: September 2008)

Practically the limited integration of the local communities in the secondary education affairs reflects the historical role performed by the local communities in *Ujamaa* villages in Tanzania soon after independence (Scott 1998: Ch. 7). Particularly this tendency was famous during the era of the Arusha Declaration, from 1967 to the late 1970s. At that moment, local participation was limited to the communities being involved in the development of various infrastructure for the social service provision in their localities. The only thing needed from the local communities was their efforts to erect the infrastructure. The similar approach seems to take place with regard to decentralising secondary education service to the wards in Tanzania. In relation to this, one WDC member from Bigwa ward, during the focus group discussions, stated that:

(Our job) is ... to construct the school infrastructures ... The teaching and its consequences are the responsibility of the school administration, the teachers ... (WDC member 2, Bigwa ward: September 2008)

This partial involvement only results in the local communities being passive about the secondary education affairs in the wards. That is, the local communities are only involved when the government issues the directives on what is supposed

to be done. For instance, one WDC member during the focus group discussions in Mlali ward had the following opinion:

(This) doesn't make us to be enthusiastic and sometimes we have the feeling that the government is demanding too much ... (WDC member 3, Mlali ward: April 2009)

Moreover the study indicates that the local set up in the wards is characterised by the limited integration and relationships between the two groups of local actors (members of school community and members of the local communities). It seems that the situation is influenced by the following factors: first, the location of the local schools in the wards, for example Melela secondary school is isolated from the residential areas in the ward, so are teachers in relation to the rest of the local communities; second, the situation of inadequate housing for teachers, for example in Kipera, Nelson Mandela and Sumaye secondary schools, makes the majority of them (teachers) stay outside the wards and their presence in the wards is only claimed to be for the purpose of fulfilling their teaching obligations; third, the teachers' perceptions of the local matters such as participating in the village meetings and other local gatherings. That is the extent to which the teachers want to associate or disassociate with them (for example the situation of the teachers in Milengwelengwe secondary school); and fourth, the attitude of the local communities on the value of education. That is how education is valued by the communities in the localities (for example the situation of the local community in Melela ward).

The result of the local set up as influenced by the limited involvement of the local communities in secondary education affairs, especially the academic matters, in ward secondary schools is the inadequate reciprocal relationship between the local communities and the members of school community. Eventually the teachers in the selected ward secondary schools fail to appreciate the services they offer to the communities in the localities. For example, Sumaye secondary school administration's proposal on the need to extend teaching and learning sessions beyond 2.30 pm accompanied by the request for contributions from the local communities to support it was rejected and only to be viewed by the WDC members in Bigwa ward as an income generating initiative. For example, one WDC member in the focus group discussions in Bigwa ward provided that:

(It is) a move for the teachers to make money for their own interests ... (WDC Member 3, Bigwa ward: September 2008)

Teachers as street-level bureaucrats

H1 Teacher inadequacy triggers internal operational arrangements.

Lipsky (1980) uses the concept of street-level bureaucrats to describe the individuals, such as the teachers in this dissertation, who work at the frontline of so-

cial service delivery. They are the public service workers who interact directly with service beneficiaries and are the ones who grant access to the government programmes and provide services within them. Street-level bureaucrats are normally regarded as low-level employees and their actions actually constitute service delivered by the government (Lipsky 1980: 3). Although street-level bureaucrats deliver benefits to the service recipients, Lipsky argues that they experience the dilemmas in public service delivery and allocation. The factor behind the dilemmas is that the reality on the ground as far as their operations are concerned is mainly characterised by insufficient resources and increasing demand for services (Lipsky 1980: 27). Being exposed to such an environment, street-level bureaucrats tend to struggle to perform their responsibilities the best they can and in their own terms. Eventually they develop techniques to salvage service. Actually what the street-level bureaucrats do as a coping strategy is to develop patterns of practice, routines and simplifications, to maximise the utilisation of resources. They also modify their conception of their work and of their clients that narrow the gap between their personal and work limitations and service ideal (Lipsky 1980: xiii).

In this case, street-level bureaucrats become the individuals who have considerable impact on people's lives as they both socialise the service recipients to the expectation of the service and determine the service recipients' eligibility to the benefits of public service (Lipsky 1980: 4). And it is argued that:

Decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out. (Lipsky 1980: xii)

To find out the extent to which '*teacher inadequacy triggers the development of internal operational arrangements*' and thereafter being able to explain the teachers in the selected ward secondary schools as street-level bureaucrats, the focus is on following elements of the theoretical concepts (see *Operationalisation of the theoretical framework* in Chapter 4):

First, the attributes of the working environment in six ward secondary schools selected from the Morogoro region in Tanzania. The targets of the analysis in this respect are the internal school environment, the availability of resources (teachers), the state of workload (teaching workload, that is the number of periods per week) and the teachers' individual capabilities to handle their responsibilities.

The second consideration covers the operations of teachers in these selected ward secondary schools and its focus is on the internal arrangements that enable teachers to cope with their work environment. Actually the selected ward secondary schools seem to employ either of the following strategies: routinising the teaching procedures, modifying the goals and priorities in education service pro-

vision, limiting or controlling the recipients of education service and rationing the teaching (education) service to their clients (students).

Working environment

Generally the teachers' experience in the six selected ward secondary schools portrays a picture of inadequacy in both their living and working environment. Actually to most of these schools, the salient feature of their working environment is mainly characterised by lack of facilities to enable the teachers to feel comfortable to perform their responsibilities. This is seen as the factor which discourages some teachers who are posted to work there. For example, one teacher during the focus group discussions in Milengwelengwe secondary school said that:

Who would like to work here? We are only using an old typewriter and a worn out duplicating machine which does not function properly. We are, in most cases, forced to write the examinations on the blackboards ... (Teacher 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Apart from having inadequate working facilities, most teachers are exposed to the environment where they have heavy teaching workloads. This situation is described as 'being overworked'. Since the majority of teachers are required to handle more than twenty four periods per week a secondary school teacher is supposed to teach as indicated in mechanisms for posting teachers to government secondary schools in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 2004b). Hence what suffers is the whole process of education service delivery in the schools. According to one teacher who participated in the focus group discussions in Melela secondary school:

In such a situation, the proper teaching which involves the provision of the adequate assignments, exercises, marking and making the appropriate follow ups to students becomes difficult ... even the consultations with slow learning students become impractical ... (Teacher 1, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Moreover the teachers confront the challenge from their living environment. However, the situation varies from one school to another and it depends on the local school location in relationship to either urban area or popular residential areas in the locality. For example, the teachers in Milengwelengwe secondary school are supposed to set some few days for travelling to Morogoro town at the end of each month to collect their salaries and whenever there is any need demanding them to do so. That means they have 'to experience and to get used to the hurdles of the rural transport in Tanzania which is characterised by poor roads and unpredictable means of transport.' Melela secondary school is isolated from the populated centers of the four villages of Kibaoni, Kololo, Mlandizi and Mangae in the ward and has a severe shortage of staff housing, compelling its eight teachers to share three staff houses that are available. As far as Melela sec-

ondary school is concerned, the school administrator in the interview had the view that:

... we have to support each other ... we need to work here to sustain our lives ... being mutual allied is inevitable ... (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Kihonda secondary school seems to have a different and unique experience. Its teachers manage to secure good houses to rent in the nearby neighbourhood and the place around is regarded as 'a town by itself and is fully furnished.' Sumaye, Kipera and Nelson Mandela secondary schools, though they belong to different districts, the schools have a similar experience. Most of their teachers are the daily commuters to and from the local schools as they live far away from the wards where their schools are located. To them, therefore, 'the daily daladala costs (fare) are unavoidable.' Although somehow the situation in the selected ward secondary schools is different, teachers in all six selected ward secondary schools seem to experience the common inadequacy in relation to their work environment. That is, teacher inadequacy leads to a large number of teachers who are present to have heavy teaching workloads. The practice is that each teacher (the majority of them) teaches one subject in all four classes (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 State of teaching workloads in selected subjects

Districts	Schools	Subjects	No. of teachers	No. of classes	No. of streams	Total students
Mvomero	Kipera	Biology	1	4	16	586
		Mathematics	1	4	16	586
	Melela	Physics	1	4	9	477
		Geography	1	4	9	477
Morogoro Rural	Nelson Mandela	Physics	1	4	12	600
		Chemistry	1	4	12	600
	Milengwelengwe	Geography	1	4	10	396
		History	1	4	10	396
Morogoro Urban	Kihonda	Mathematics	1	4	23	921
		Physics	2	4	23	921
	Sumaye	Mathematics	2	4	17	934
		Physics	2	4	17	934

Source: Field data 2008-2009

Internal schools' environment

The perceptions held by the members of the school community regarding the local internal environment in each of the six selected ward secondary schools seem to influence their approach to the formal rules. For example, the view that they are in a difficult environment makes them apply with laxity the formal rules as

the strategy to motivate the teachers to work in the local schools where it is believed that the basic facilities such as water supply, transport, electricity and housing are inadequate. That means the formal rules governing and directing the operations of both teachers and schools need to be flexibly applied or reorganised to suit the local environment and not in accordance with what is aimed at by MoEVT, REO and DEO. The school administrator in Melela secondary school in the interview claimed that:

It's not feasible in this environment to read and implement the rules as they are ... we do not have a shop close to school where we can buy basics. In case we need important items ... we have to travel several kilometres even water supply is a major problem here ... it may take up to two hours to bring home a bucket of water ... (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

The example of Melela secondary school gives the impression that the local school leniently applies the provision of the formal rule that requires teachers (public servants) to work with diligence (Public Service Regulations of 2003). In other words, the local school seems to neutralise the application of the Code of Ethics and Conducts for the Public Service in Tanzania by being flexible in its environment in the way that it allows 'the teachers to perform other private duties even when it means utilising the normal official time.' That is to say, this laxity in the application of the formal rules means that the values of the Code of Ethics and Conducts for the Public Service in Tanzania which may be considered as 'not best understood' in the perspective of the teachers and the members of the school administration include the following:

Performing duties diligently, discharging duties with integrity, exercising responsibility and good stewardship and that public servants are expected to carry out assigned duties efficiently, refrain from any conduct which might impair ones' work performance, keep punctuality with respect to hours of arrival at work and finishing assigned duties within the required time and standards. (United Republic of Tanzania, Public Service Regulations of 2003)

Also the case of Milengwelengwe secondary school provides the avenue to analyze its internal environment in relation to the way the policies or rules are structured to suit the local context. It is noted that the remoteness of the local school in the Morogoro region means its teachers are more concerned with maintaining their internal relationship. However this is done at the expense of the formal rules and procedures on the provision of education. For example the two incidents of teachers which occurred in the local school, whereby one teacher absconded and the other overstayed after getting the official permission without informing the school administration, were either lightly handled or never received any disciplinary action (see Chapter 5). Both cases suit the disciplinary procedures as stipulated in the Public Service Regulations of 2003, but the local school seems to have approached them with laxity. According to the Regulation 42 (First Schedule) of the Public Service Regulations of 2003, the offences

committed by both teachers in the local school require the disciplinary proceedings to be instituted accordingly.

For the teacher who absconded, the formal proceedings were supposed to be instituted after the fifth day of his absence. Regulation 42 (First Schedule) provides that when a public servant is absent from the duty for more than five days without leave or reasonable cause, the formal proceedings need to be instituted (United Republic of Tanzania, Public Service Regulations of 2003). Despite the provision of the formal rule on the two incidents in Milengwelengwe secondary school, no action was immediately taken. The meaning of this state of affairs is that in Milengwelengwe secondary school the orientation or the course of action that suits the interests of teachers and school administration, the concern for a good relationship, seems to control and direct the application of the formal rules. In this state of laxity, it is obvious that the formal rules are supposed to be judged on their merits regarding the extent to which they sustain the developed internal relationship before the decision for their application is made. Even when the formal rules are applied the rationale is in the context of balancing the situation. This is noted from the interview with one school administrator in Milengwelengwe secondary school, when he stated that:

... of course, it was true that no (warning) letter was written ... This has happened ... after seeing that there is no possibility for him to come back ... (School administrator 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Hence this idea of laxity and flexibility in the application of formal rules takes the selected ward secondary schools to a situation described by Lipsky as

Public policy is not best understood as made in the legislature or top-floor suites of high-ranking administrators, because in important ways it is actually made in the crowded offices and daily encounters of the street-level workers. (Lipsky 1980: xii)

Availability of teachers in the local schools

Although the six selected ward secondary schools have a large variation in terms of the total number of teachers each school has, they all suffer from the inadequate teachers (resource inadequacy) in either all the subjects or in a large number of subjects as revealed in the respective chapters of the case studies narration. The rural ward secondary schools suffer more shortages of teachers than their urban counterparts (see Table 8.2 and Appendix 2). Those ward schools in the rural areas, namely Nelson Mandela, Milengwelengwe, Kipera and Melela Secondary Schools seem to have severe teacher inadequacy (shortages of teachers) with TSR above the standard TSR recommended in the secondary education development programme of 1:30 (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). The four

Table 8.2 State of teachers in selected ward secondary schools

District	School		Location in Region	No. of teachers	No. of students	TSR
Morogoro Rural	Nelson dela	Man-	Rural	15	600	1:40
	Milengwelengwe		Rural	6	396	1:66
Mvomero	Kipera		Rural	5	586	1:117
	Melela		Rural	8	477	1:60
Morogoro Urban	Kihonda		Urban	45	921	1:20
	Sumaye		Urban	34	934	1:27

Source: Field data 2008-2009

rural secondary schools have the TSR of 1:40, 1:66, 1:117 and 1:60 respectively (Nelson Mandela, Milengwelengwe, Kipera and Melela secondary schools, staff reports - 2008/2009).

In this perspective, the findings of this study can be said to be in line with the findings and conclusion drawn in the two studies done by the World Bank in 1999 and 2004 respectively, regarding secondary education service provision and the state of teachers in Tanzania. The two World Bank reports point out the disparity in the secondary school teacher distribution in Tanzania between the rural and urban areas. Apart from revealing the general overall disparity (see Table 8.2), this dissertation goes further to state that there is also an internal disparity in the teacher distribution in terms of the subjects within the selected ward secondary schools. Kihonda secondary school is a case that provides a good example of this. The staff reports reviewed in Kihonda secondary school (2008) show that sixteen out of its forty five teachers specialise in History; meaning that the internal History subject teacher distribution in all four forms is four teachers per form. While the subjects like Mathematics and Chemistry have one and two teachers respectively in all four forms.

The internal disparity in the teacher distribution is not only considered a disadvantage to specific school, as it seems to give an exaggerated view of the school in terms of its total number of teachers, but also denies a fair internal teacher distribution to other subjects within the school. This biased internal teacher distribution also affects the other secondary schools which have inadequate teachers in the subject which that particular school, for instance the history subject in Kihonda secondary school, has more teachers than it needs. For example in the same district, Morogoro urban (Morogoro Municipality), while Kihonda secondary school seems to have an excessive number of history teachers, its counterpart Sumaye secondary school has only three teachers responsible for the history for the whole school (Sumaye secondary school, staff reports 2008).

For the other selected ward secondary schools in Morogoro region, namely Milengwelengwe; Nelson Mandela and Melela are reported to have only one history teacher each for the whole school (Milengwelengwe, Nelson Mandela, and Melela secondary schools, staff reports 2008 and 2009). Kipera secondary school is reported as not having any teacher responsible for the subject of history (Kipera secondary school, workload report 2009).

State of teaching workloads in the local schools

With the exception of a few isolated cases, for example the case of history subject in Kihonda secondary school, the general situation in almost all six ward secondary schools is characterised by teacher inadequacy (shortage of teachers) and heavy teaching workload (see Table 8.3). Despite having the heavy workloads, it is reported that teachers continue with their duties and deliver the teaching within the confinement of the constraints they encounter. That means teachers acknowledge the existence of heavy workload in performing their responsibilities as such they cannot claim that they are able to teach better. According to one teacher during the interview in Kihonda secondary school:

... the situation never provides anyone with the moment for relaxation, but (we) have to work, anyway! (Teacher 6, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

In this perspective, then, the teachers in the selected ward secondary schools seem to demonstrate the characteristic feature of ‘the street-level bureaucrats’ as the individuals who have heavy workloads and work in the unfavourable local settings with full of the challenges basically ‘resource limitation’ resulting from the shortage of teachers (Lipsky 1980). According to the United Republic of Tanzania (1997a: 52), every secondary school teacher has an obligation to handle the required workload of 24 periods of 40 minutes per week. The selected ward secondary schools are found to be in the extreme situation as revealed by the teaching of the selected subjects, namely mathematics, biology, history, physics, chemistry and geography in the respective schools (see Table 8.3). The actual number of periods handled by the teachers in the selected subjects exceeds the total number of periods as recommended in ‘the Guide of Heads of Secondary Schools in Tanzania’ as the standard periods to be taught by any teacher per week (United Republic of Tanzania 1997a).

On the subject basis, the United Republic of Tanzania (2004b), in its mechanism for posting teachers to government secondary schools, provides the number of periods to be taught in each subject per week per class (in the practice of teaching each stream is treated as a class). Taking the selected subjects as shown in Table 8.3, the number of periods per week per each subject in each class (in one stream) is as follows: mathematics: 6, physics: 6, chemistry: 6, biology: 4, history: 4, and geography: 4 (United Republic of Tanzania 2004b: 5-7). As indi-

cated in Table 8.3, each teacher in the selected subjects has the teaching workload beyond the standard workload. The majority of them have more than two times the standard 24 periods per week.

Table 8.3 The extent of teaching workloads (periods per week) in selected subjects

School	Subject	No. of teachers	Periods/ week	No. of classes	No. of streams	Actual total periods/ teacher	Required total periods/teacher	Excess periods/ teacher
Kipera	Biology	1	4	4	16	64	24	40
	Maths	1	6	4	16	96	24	72
Melela	Physics	1	6	4	9	54	24	30
	Geography	1	4	4	9	36	24	12
Nelson	Physics	1	6	4	12	72	24	48
Mandela	Chemistry	1	6	4	12	72	24	48
Mileng-welengwe	Geography	1	4	4	10	40	24	16
	History	1	4	4	10	40	24	16
Kihonda	Maths	1	6	4	23	138	24	114
	Physics	2	6	4	23	69	24	45
Sumaye	Maths	2	6	4	17	51	24	27
	Physics	2	6	4	17	51	24	27

Source: The Guide of Head of Secondary Schools in Tanzania (1997), URT (2004b)

Also the state of teaching workloads (the total periods per week) in the selected ward secondary schools is influenced by the internal schools' decision on the number of students in each stream. The decision to distribute students to streams is based on the actual number of classrooms available in ward secondary schools rather than the guideline provided in 'the mechanisms for posting teachers to government secondary schools in Tanzania.' It is either the school that adheres to the standard number of students (40 students) per stream or creates its own standard for distributing students in streams. The same also applies in the case of shortages of classrooms and fewer streams with more students per stream are created (see Table 8.4).

Teachers' individual capabilities

The abilities of the teachers to handle teaching and other associated responsibilities (provision of adequate assignments, marking, and making follow ups with students) in the six selected ward secondary schools fall into the following two categories.

The first category indicates that though teachers in ward secondary schools are professionally trained and qualify for the teaching responsibilities, they experi-

Table 8.4 Streams in selected ward secondary schools

School	No. of students	Actual streams	Required streams	Excess streams	Stream deficit
Kipera	586	16	14	2	
Melela	477	9	11		2
Nelson Mandela	600	12	15		3
Milengwelengwe	396	10	10		
Kihonda	921	23	23		
Sumaye	934	17	24		7

Source: Field data 2008-2009

ence their duties with ‘inadequate personal resources.’ This kind of inadequacy is attributed to the nature of teaching duties in ward secondary schools which is characterised by ‘heavy workloads’ (Lipsky 1980).

This first category of inadequate personal resources originates from the teachers being overwhelmed by the many periods they have to teach per week as shown elsewhere in this chapter. This is normally the situation whereby the abilities of the teachers to perform their duties in schools are limited by the nature of the job itself rather than their professional qualifications as teachers. Thus, despite having the required qualifications, the teachers who are in this category of having inadequate personal resources have larger teaching workloads than their physical abilities to manage. The example of this is provided by one teacher who was interviewed in Kihonda secondary school. The teacher revealed that:

Teaching alone all 23 streams with a total of 921 students ... is a heavy task and does not provide any moment for adequate preparation ... (Teacher 6, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

Likewise another teacher in the focus group discussions conducted in Milengwelengwe secondary school provided his experience in relation to ‘inadequate personal resource’. The teacher noted that:

Constant movement from one class to another with their respective streams ... is a tiresome experience ... I hardly have enough time to ... organise ... for the coming sessions. The task is exhausting. (Teacher 3, Milengwelengwe secondary: October 2008)

Being exposed in the situation of ‘inadequate personal resource’, most of teachers fail to consider professionalism in their teaching career. For instance, one teacher in the focus group discussions in Milengwelengwe secondary school provided that:

... it becomes difficult to check whether students understand the lesson or not ... we only count the sessions and classes, no private counselling to students. (Teacher 3, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

The second category for explaining teachers' individual capabilities is based on the competence of the individuals who are temporarily engaged as teachers in some selected ward secondary schools. Due to the resource limitation in terms of the workforce (the shortage of teachers), the local schools engage the untrained and inexperienced individuals to assist in delivering teaching and its associated responsibilities (marking the assignments, tests and private consultations to students). This has been the case in Kipera and Milengwelengwe secondary schools. In one of the interviews in Milengwelengwe secondary school, one school administrator provided that:

Due to the severe shortage of teachers, we are now relying on the teaching service from the form six leavers ... (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

The main feature of the temporary teachers who have been engaged by the ward secondary schools is that they have dual weaknesses. They lack both physical and professional abilities to handle their functions (teaching duties) properly. Lipsky (1980) notes that such unqualified engaged personnel in the provision of public service normally lack skills to interact with service recipients. Although the lack of physical abilities is a shared weakness among the teachers in the six selected ward secondary schools, the lack of professional abilities is mainly revealed by 'the engaged temporary teachers'. During the interview, one member of school administration in Milengwelengwe secondary school noted that:

... the form six leavers ... lack teaching techniques to convince the students to like the subjects. Many students (complain) that they do not understand what the 'engaged' teachers teach them ... (School administrator 2, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

Teachers' operations

Fewer teachers and the unanswered pleas for much needed teachers sent to the higher authorities (MoEVT through DEO and REO) by ward secondary schools seem to influence those teachers in collaboration with their school administration to devise their own quick fixes for coping with inadequacy. In Lipsky's (1980) perspective, the operations of teachers in the selected secondary schools have the intention of enabling them (teachers) to cope with their work environment, and they appear in the following ways:

Routinising the conduct of teaching

Lipsky (1980) provides that people always seek to simplify their tasks. That is to say, individuals structure their environment to make tasks more familiar, and the approach through which they achieve this is through formulating routines and simplifications to aid them in the situation of inadequate resources (Lipsky 1980: 81-83). In this dissertation, in the ideal sense, a secondary school teacher in Tan-

zania is a specialist of two teaching subjects. But teacher inadequacy influences teachers and school administrators to simplify the work allocation to enable them to manage their huge workloads (many periods). The most common routine and simplification developed in all six ward secondary schools in the conduct of teaching is 'a single subject teaching practice.' According to one teacher in the focus group discussions in Kipera secondary school:

... each (teacher) is only required to teach a particular subject throughout the four forms. We consider ourselves to have already offered ourselves more than enough. (Teacher 2, Kipera secondary school: April 2009)

The practice of teaching single subjects means that teachers shift from being the specialists of two subjects into being specialists of one subject of their own choice between the two subjects each teacher is trained to teach (specialisation over specialisation). The consequence of 'the local internal specialisation' is the development and institutionalisation of the attitude among the teachers in the selected ward secondary schools to only partially fulfil their teaching obligations. The teachers in the selected ward secondary schools reject the fact that they have the professional abilities to handle the subjects which they choose not to teach. During the focus group discussions with the selected teachers in Sumaye secondary school, one teacher pointed out that:

There is liberty here ... it all depends on one's choice ... (Teacher 4, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Apart from the single subject practice, some selected ward secondary schools, for example Kihonda secondary school, try to cope with the shortage of teachers in some subjects, for instance mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology by formalising private tutoring. This comes into effect through the establishment of the local alliance (between parents and teachers) which locally gives legitimacy to the practice of private tutoring in the following way:

Division of the obligations ... The teachers ... to deliver the teaching far beyond the normal official school working hours and days ... The parents ... to facilitate the initiative through the monetary contributions as well as encouraging their children to attend the extra teaching sessions ... (Kihonda secondary school, proceedings of joint parents-teachers' meeting: April 2007)

Sumaye secondary school copes with teacher inadequacy through cooperating with other local secondary schools in the form of local teaching alliance. In this kind of alliance, the allied schools agree to offer teachers for the subjects which others lack. 'This is like practising part time teaching in (the local) schools.' Despite being the local strategy to redress the problem of shortages of teachers, the local teaching alliance means either duplication or multiplication of teachers' responsibilities in accordance with the number of schools in the local teaching

alliance. In one of the interviews conducted in Sumaye secondary school, one member of the school administration took the opinion that:

... part time teaching ... avails teachers for a short time to the students ... (School administrator 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

According to the comment given by the Deputy Minister of Education and Vocational Training, the practice of part time teaching exercised by teachers and schools throughout the country is illegal. The Deputy Minister points out that instead of the teachers being busy doing things which are against the law; they should be in their appropriate work stations serving their students diligently and faithfully. Furthermore the Deputy Minister comments that part time teaching denies teachers the opportunities to settle in their respective schools and conceptualise on the learning problems of their students (Mwananchi Newspaper, Tanzania, March 2 2009).

Nelson Mandela secondary school has decided to reduce the active teaching days to three days per week. In other words, instead of five days the ward secondary school has come up with its own definition and structure of a working week. One teacher in Nelson Mandela secondary who participated in the focus group discussions had the following to comment on the rationale of this local arrangement:

Travelling everyday is a burden (costly) to us (teachers) ... (Teacher 2, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009).

Also, the routinising procedure has allowed Milengwelengwe secondary school to come up with the formalisation of teacher absenteeism to allow the frequent travelling of teachers for both official and personal affairs to Morogoro town. The consequence of the routine is that it leads to students being absent from school whenever they notice that their teachers are not around. The explanation derived from the situation in Milengwelengwe secondary school is that the teachers' presence means the local school is live and active. It is a motivation for the students to attend school since they are certain that at least learning will take place. The teachers' absence means nothing will happen and does not motivate the students to attend.

Routine and simplification developed by the teachers constitute the political street-level settings which have the potential of harming the recipients of the public benefits, so the *laissez faire* tendency in Melela secondary school which has the potential of denying the effective delivery of education service to students by allowing teachers to attend 'their private matters even during the working hour' (Teacher 1, Melela secondary school, focus group discussions: June 2009).

Modifying the goals of teaching

It is noted that street-level bureaucrats modify the goals of their operations to better match their abilities to perform (especially when the demand for the service overwhelms the ability of the resources to satisfy it). Thus street-level bureaucrats mentally discount their service recipients in order to deal with the tension as a result of their deficiency to serve them in the ideal terms. That is to say street-level bureaucrats develop conceptions of their jobs and that of their service recipients for the purpose of reducing the strains between capabilities and goals (Lipsky 1980: 141). In the view of this perspective, it seems that teachers and school administration in the six selected ward secondary schools have to modify the goals of teaching (provision of education service in the localities) in order to limit its demand and to enable them to manage the number of periods they are supposed to teach per week. Hence the six selected ward secondary schools develop their own definition of their clients (students). The definition and label given to the students are either 'they are special and need more attention' or 'they are not special and it depends on the willingness of the teachers to offer the service (teaching) to them.' Again the factor behind such definition and labelling is teacher inadequacy (shortages of teachers).

According to the staff meeting resolutions in Melela secondary school (January 2008), the school modifies its goals in the provision of education service and introduces the biased teaching orientation to its students. The essence is to enable the local school to facilitate its eight teachers to manage the heavy workloads they experience. The modified goals in Melela secondary school focuses on teaching 'the special selected classes' which are labelled as 'critical' in its environment, but the reason behind it is coping with the work pressure. During the interview, the school administrator in Melela secondary school stated that:

This will continue to be our approach of conducting teaching ... unless the government increases the number of teachers. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

The same approach is pursued by Kipera secondary school to enable its four teachers to manage their workload. The classes which are considered as 'special' in the two schools are form two and four, and the reason advanced for conducting teaching in their favour is that their performance in the national examinations is important for portraying the school image outside the borders of the wards and their respective villages. The biased labelling of students adopted in the ward secondary schools not only discriminates against the other students who ideally seem to be labelled as 'not special' but also affects their learning process. 'Such an arrangement in teaching has the long term effects on the quality of education.' As far as the two ward secondary schools (Kipera and Melela) are concerned, the biased approach seems to provide both disjointed and lack of coherence in the teaching of students. That is, there is less teaching in form one and three and

somehow more teaching in form two and four. Therefore coherent teaching is the one that considers the close and sequential interdependence of all classes in the learning process in (secondary) schools. This seems to be the quality that Melela and Kipera secondary schools lack in their teaching approach.

Nelson Mandela secondary school arranges its teaching approach in clusters of classes (forms) as a way of coping with teacher inadequacy. In these clusters, the lower forms (one and two) form their own cluster while the other cluster is formed by the upper forms (three and four). In this arrangement the lower forms are more favoured when it comes to the allocation of teachers. During the focus group discussions with the selected teachers in Nelson Mandela secondary school, one teacher noted that:

Where the number of teachers exceeds two, the extra teacher goes to the lower classes to strengthen the foundation of learning ... (Teacher 2, Nelson Mandela secondary school: July 2009)

Kihonda secondary school has its emphasis on teaching the form four students. This has been accompanied by the installation of the system of rewarding its teachers on the students' good performance in the form four national examinations in the teachers' respective subjects. The approach seems to make the form four students perform better and at the same time channels the focus of teaching to aim at reviewing the questions. In one of the interviews in Kihonda secondary school, one teacher commented that:

... in the current conventional teaching approach, the teachers orient the students to the requirements of the various questions ... (Teacher 5, Kihonda secondary school: July 2008)

This orientation seems to expose the targeted students (form four) to the narrow learning perspective, as it focuses on making the students to cram the past examination questions and answers instead of being involved in the active learning process. Therefore, it can be argued that the approach creates and fosters the passive rather than the active teaching of the students in the ward secondary school.

Rationing teaching

Rationing at the street-level happens due to the following reasons: First, to respond flexibly to the unique situations and to be able to treat people in terms of their individual circumstances. Second, to make an improvement in the service recipients' lives and the third reason is to differentiate among the recipients and the belief that not everyone is equally entitled to the public benefits. In this respect then, people processing bureaucracies have two tasks, namely to develop an appropriate set of categories in terms of which people will be processed and to map clients in terms of their qualifying and disqualifying characteristics (Lipsky 1980: 105). In this dissertation, both teachers and school administrations have

been compelled by the situation of teacher inadequacy to opt for rationing teaching to the students. According to Lipsky (1980) rationing of the public service is pursued for the purpose of reducing the demand of the service and protecting the providers of the service from the recipients' demands for responsiveness.

In Melela secondary school, for example, although the ward school does not have the specific teachers responsible for both mathematics and chemistry, the local agreement in place facilitates the rationing of teaching of the two subjects to the classes which are considered as 'special and critical.' In the interview conducted in the local school, the school administrator said that:

... the teachers who are responsible for Physics and Biology have the responsibility (to cover up) for Mathematics and Chemistry respectively to form two and four. (School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2008)

Since the label has already been given to form two and four, teachers and school administrations have, according to Lipsky (1980), the reason for the inequality in offering the education service to the students in the local school. Moreover, the tendency for choosing the teaching subject by each teacher in all six ward secondary schools, as noted in case studies, provides the example of the rationing approach by the teachers in being street-level bureaucrats when they informally ration the service by deciding not to perform the tasks they are expected to perform (Lipsky 1980: 100-101).

Therefore, as far as the six ward secondary schools are concerned, teachers and members of school administration may be viewed as street-level bureaucrats whose responses are regarded as the individual attempts to survive the conditions, basically teacher inadequacy, in which they find themselves (Lipsky 1980).

Ward secondary schools as semi-autonomous social fields

H2 Internal operational arrangements become local rules that regulate internal affairs and limit the effectiveness of formal rules.

According to Moore (1973), semi-autonomous social fields are social units which have two main characteristic features, namely they have normative orders (internal rules) and have got their own means to enforce them. The internal enforcement mechanisms are the means that compel the individuals in the social units to comply with the internally generated rules (systems) and eventually establish the foundation for the individuals and social units to have their mode of compliance or non compliance with the formal rules directed to them. This is the point where the internal arrangements in the social fields (social units) either enhance or limit the effectiveness of formal rules. Also Moore points out that the internal arrangements (routines) developed in the social fields (social units) depend on the moral obligations for their compliance. That is, the concerned individuals desire

to avoid the expected losses and the ultimate exclusion. Moral obligations of the relationships are not legally enforceable, but they rely on the value of the relationship itself for their enforcement (Moore 1973).

Therefore, in order to find out the extent to which '*internal arrangements become local rules that regulate internal affairs and limit the effectiveness of formal rules*' and thereafter being able to explain the selected ward secondary schools as semi-autonomous social fields, the focus is on following elements of the theoretical concepts: internal rules (routines) and structure including their enforcement and finally the limited effectiveness of the formal rules in the internal operations of the six selected ward secondary schools (see *Operationalisation of the theoretical framework* in Chapter 4).

Internal rules and structure

Each of the six selected ward secondary schools may be seen as a social unit with its own normative orders or local rules. The routines developed, as noted elsewhere in this chapter to enable the local schools to cope with their resource inadequacy (the shortage of teachers), become the obvious local 'legal' rules that regulate the conduct of teaching in them (schools). For example, the school administration in Melela secondary school in the interview noted that:

... we only perform what we can manage ... and leave what we cannot as they are ...
(School administrator, Melela secondary school: June 2009).

Throughout the six selected ward secondary schools, the single subject teaching routine (practice) appears to be the common normative order (internal rule). Although the general formal rule provides that each secondary school teacher is a specialist of two subjects, the systematic teaching of one subject by each teacher in these schools has become the local rule.

The internal structure of the selected ward secondary schools may be viewed in the perspective of the fictive friendship and the lineage neighbourhood complex. Both fictive friendship and lineage neighbourhood complex seem to be the features of the internal schools' relationships. For instance, the local associations developed in these schools may be regarded as demonstrating interdependence among the teachers and the members of the school administration. The purpose of these local associations is to enable them to cope with their work and living environment. According to Chatters *et al.*, fictive kin relationship integrates individuals in the informal supportive networks, and actually it serves two important roles. First, it helps to socialise the members and second, it acts to bind them through a reciprocal relationship. Hence many rights and duties usually associated with kinship are accorded to participants in the developed relationship and the bonds of mutual obligations are intensified (Chatters *et al.* 1994: 297-298). Scott (1998: 252) points out that '... networks of reciprocity and cooperation,

local charity and dependence are the principal means and social resource needed for survival' (in the localities). Moore (1973) notes that the individuals in the social units (social fields) act as a bound unit when they are closely connected in terms of 'the contingent interests and affection.' In this perspective, then, they are said to be in what is known as 'lineage neighbourhood complex.' This normally happens when the individuals in the social fields rely on each other for security, reputation and help. The reflection on both fictive friendship and lineage neighbourhood complex is noted in the views provided by one school administrator in Milengwelengwe secondary school during the interview. The school administrator stated that:

... we tell them (the new teachers) that we do live as a family here and about our consensus agreement for helping each other...our agreement requires each one of us to contribute some amount of money and give to a colleague who happens to have problems ... (School administrator 1, Milengwelengwe secondary school: October 2008)

The structure of interdependence in the selected ward secondary schools may be in the form of either the 'locally formalised system of associations' or just 'informal systems of helping each other.' The main purpose of all this is claimed to be the local attempts to enable the members of the school community to share the scarce resources they have. For example, during the focus group discussions with the selected teachers in Melela secondary school, one teacher provided that:

... we have decided to reorganise ourselves in accordance with the existing circumstance and have started living as a commune ... we who share a house plan collectively our budgets ... (Teacher 2, Melela secondary school: June 2009)

Enforcement of internal arrangements

The compliance of teachers and school administration with the internally generated operational arrangements (systems) is based on the reciprocity developed from their interdependence as well as the fear of being excluded. In this reciprocity, compliance seems to emerge for two reasons: first, the members expect a gain in the relationship and second, it is based on the feelings the members have towards each other. In one of the interviews conducted in Sumaye secondary school, one school administrator provided that:

We feel part of each other. We depend on each other for the accomplishment of objectives ... Teachers comply with our directives and we honour their requests ... (School administrator 2, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

Also it seems that the fear of being looked upon as 'not one of us' compels the compliance of the individual teachers to the locally established structure. For example, one teacher in Sumaye secondary school had the following opinion in the interview:

Peer pressure is very strong ... the local environment makes it compulsory. In case one opts not to join, it is obvious that others will not participate on his behalf (at the moment when he needs their assistance help). (Teacher 5, Sumaye secondary school: September 2008)

On the other hand, the compliance seems to come from the perceptions that teachers have on the value of the established internal structure. During the focus group discussions with the selected teachers in Kihonda secondary school, one teacher had the following comments about their local association:

Cooperation is inevitable and indispensable to us. It makes us feel secure, provides peace and facilitates harmonious relationship. (Teacher 2, Kihonda secondary school: August 2008)

Limited effectiveness of formal rules

The routines developed in the selected ward secondary schools may be seen as local legal rules that regulate their work environment and limit the effectiveness of the formal rules on education service provision. In this dissertation, the following formal rules are found to have the limited effect on the internal operations of the selected ward secondary schools:

The first formal rule is the provision that secondary school teachers are each responsible for two subjects and in principle each teacher is employed to teach the two specific subjects in which they have been trained (United Republic of Tanzania 1997: 52). The bilateral (informal) local agreement on the single subject teaching practice in the selected ward secondary schools limits the effectiveness of this formal rule. The claim is that the few teachers who are present do not manage to teach two subjects, given the fact that the teaching workload is far beyond the standard workload of 24 periods per week.

The second formal rule is teaching according to the approved syllabi and conducting adequate review sessions to ascertain students' understanding of the individual topics covered. Daily exercises, weekly and monthly tests are supposed to be provided in order to evaluate the level of students' competence in the subjects regularly (United Republic of Tanzania 1997: 22). The modality of teaching based on the past examination questions as a means to shorten the teaching process limits this formal rule. The use of part time teachers has its limitation as such teachers are in the schools for the specified time and they lack flexibility in dealing with students. Being overpowered by the number of streams and students, teachers do not have the opportunity to frequently provide, mark and give prompt feedback to students on the daily exercises, weekly and monthly tests. Likewise, relying on the service of untrained teachers has its limitations since such teachers are found to have limited professional capabilities in competently teaching certain topics in the subjects for which they are responsible.

The third formal rule is to understand the individual academic weaknesses of students and find the appropriate ways to help them individually (United Republic of Tanzania 1997: 22). Again, due to an inadequate number of teachers in the schools and given the fact that the available teachers strive to cope with their work environment, they fail to take the opportunity to care for the individual (personal) academic weaknesses of the isolated students. It is only feasible and manageable for them (teachers) to attend to students' problems collectively.

The fourth formal rule is the requirement for teachers to be in the school premises for the duration of the official working hours (United Republic of Tanzania, Public Service Regulations of 2003). The frequent structured absenteeism, in both the short term and long term, is contributed to by the flexibility in the application of the rule. The essence of the problem is that teachers are in a difficult environment and such flexibility is used to motivate them to stay. Another factor is that the remoteness of some selected ward secondary schools, for instance Milengwelengwe secondary school, makes the long term teacher absenteeism inevitable.

The fifth formal rule is the fair teaching for all students in their respective classes according to the standard number of periods required per week in each subject (United Republic of Tanzania, The Mechanism for Posting Teachers to Government Secondary Schools 2004). The local discriminatory teaching arrangement in place as a means to manage the heavy workloads as a result of teacher inadequacy (the shortage of teachers) introduces the classification of the forms (classes) and creates the urgency for teaching to certain classes and not others.

Finally, the decision taken by ward secondary schools (Milengwelengwe and Kipera) to engage the form six leavers in teaching limits the effectiveness of the meritocracy principle in public service employment in Tanzania (Public Service Management and Employment Policy, January 1999). The ward secondary schools continue to employ the untrained teachers despite the provision of section 44 (1) and (2) of the Education Act No. 25 of 1978 that no person shall teach or be employed as a teacher in any school unless they are an authorised person. According to the Act, 'teacher' means a person who is 'certified, licensed or registered as a teacher.' The Education and Training Policy (1995) states that the qualification of teachers and their ability to perform well in classroom are key in improving the quality of education. The policy provides that the minimum qualification for a teacher in secondary schools shall be the possession of a valid diploma in education obtained from a recognised institution. The Public Service Regulations (2003) and Public Service Management and Employment Policy (1999) provide the guiding principles for recruitment in public service and point out that the selection of the candidates in public service shall be based on merits.

Therefore engaging the sixth form leavers, as teachers in ward secondary schools, acts against the government regulations on staffing in public service, where merits are regarded as the determining factor.

Conclusion

Teacher inadequacy has facilitated the development of internal arrangements or routines to enable teachers and schools to continue with the provision of education service in the wards. In terms of street-level bureaucrats, teachers in each selected ward secondary schools have their coping routines that suit their work environment. Eventually these routines have become the normative orders that direct the modalities through which the education service is delivered. In this way, the selected ward secondary schools, to some extent, have acquired the characteristic feature of semi-autonomous social fields and their 'local rules' have limited the effectiveness of formal rules on the provision of education service in Tanzania.

Conclusions and recommendations

This is the final chapter of the book. The main part of the chapter provides the highlights of the main research findings based on the research questions. Thereafter the chapter shows how the research findings are related to the theoretical framework and finally recommendations are provided.

Research findings

This dissertation has addressed four specific research questions. These questions are: How is ‘centralised teacher recruitment’ conducted in Tanzania? To what extent has this recruitment approach been successful in redressing the inequalities in the deployment of teachers in Tanzania? How does ‘centralised teacher recruitment’ affect six selected ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region? And how may teachers’ operations in six selected ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region be explained?

Centralised teacher recruitment in Tanzania

This is the focus of the first research question and is mainly dealt with in chapter two of this dissertation. The conduct of teacher recruitment in Tanzania is controlled by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training in Dar es Salaam, however a number of other central government institutions have roles to play in facilitating the recruitment process. These central government institutions are: the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs which has to approve the budget of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training upon which personnel

emoluments (PE) are prepared before the actual recruitment of teachers and their allocation to districts and finally to ward secondary schools. President's Office-Public Service Management has the duty to approve the PE submitted by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training after confirming the approved budget in that respect with the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs. In the process, President's Office-Public Service Management may make some adjustments on the number of teachers to be recruited before the final approval and issuance of the employment permits to allow the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to continue with the recruitment exercise.

Although ward secondary schools submit their demands upwards through the councils (District Education Offices) and Regional Education Offices to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, there is no guarantee that the final downward posting of teachers to ward secondary schools will match the initial preferences submitted. After recruiting teachers, it is at the discretion of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to decide on which district a teacher will be posted to and the same applies to the councils (District Education Offices) during the final allocation of teachers to ward secondary schools. During the posting/allocation stage of teachers to either the districts or ward secondary schools, the criterion used is the Teacher Students Ratio (TSR) rather than the demand in terms of the subjects which actually need teachers (have inadequate teachers) in ward secondary schools as far as their preferences are concerned.

Redressing inequalities through centralised teacher recruitment

The focus of the second research question is to understand the extent to which the centralised teacher recruitment approach has been successful in redressing the inequalities in the deployment of teachers in Tanzania. This research question is entirely reflected throughout the book. The dissertation shows that the inequalities in teacher deployment exist in the case studies of the six selected ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region as they are reported in literature, for example the World Bank 1999 and 2004. As it is indicated in literature, this dissertation notes that rural ward secondary schools have the TSR above the one targeted by the secondary education development programme in Tanzania of 1:30 (1 teacher per 30 students in secondary education) (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). For example, Kipera, Melela, Nelson Mandela and Milengwelengwe secondary schools have the TSR of 1:117; 1:60; 1:40 and 1:66 respectively. While their urban counterparts, Kihonda and Sumaye secondary schools have the TSR below the targeted 1:30. The two schools' TSRs are 1:20 and 1:27 respectively.

The allocation of teachers to ward secondary schools on the TSR criterion, rather than combining it with their specific preferences, contributes towards cer-

tain subjects having more teachers than others in the local schools. This also seems to be the case even in comparison to other schools regarding the same subjects. For example, where history has 16 teachers in Kihonda secondary school, mathematics has only one teacher to teach all four forms. Comparing the state of teachers in history at Kihonda secondary school to other schools, Sumaye secondary school has three teachers where the other selected ward secondary schools (Milengwelengwe, Nelson Mandela and Melela) have one history teacher each and Kipera has no teacher responsible for teaching history.

The effects of centralised teacher recruitment

The target of the third research question is to assess the effects of centralised teacher recruitment in six ward secondary schools selected in the Morogoro region. This is the concern of chapter five, six and seven of this dissertation. Two ward secondary schools from each council, namely Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro rural and Mvomero were selected as case studies. The six selected ward secondary schools are: Nelson Mandela and Milengwelengwe (Morogoro rural); Kihonda and Sumaye (Morogoro Municipality) and Kipera and Melela (Mvomero). The dissertation notes that teacher inadequacy is the obvious challenge confronted by all six ward secondary schools either in all subjects or in a large number of subjects. The result of teacher inadequacy is the tendency for the school administrations and teachers to devise certain internal arrangements through which the education service is delivered.

Nelson Mandela secondary school

Nelson Mandela Secondary School was established in 1995 and was declared a ward secondary school for Mkambalani ward in Morogoro Rural District in the early 2000s, in the course of implementing secondary education development programmes. In total the local school has 15 teachers and 600 students (TSR of 1:40). In its operation, the local school is confronted by the challenge of teacher inadequacy as it has only three teachers who qualify to teach the science subjects (physics, chemistry and biology), and mathematics has no teacher. Twelve of its fifteen teachers are biased towards the art subjects (their distribution is in English, History, Civics, Geography and Kiswahili).

The internal arrangement in place at Nelson Mandela secondary school is that each of the three science teachers has the responsibility to teach one of the science subjects throughout all four forms (with their respective 12 streams). For the art subjects, the local agreement is that the four forms are organised into two clusters. The two lower forms form one cluster and the other cluster is formed of forms three and four. Each cluster has its own teacher responsible for a specific subject falling under the category of art subjects. Where the art subject has an

extra teacher, the lower forms are the ones mostly considered in the allocation for the purpose of strengthening the foundation of learning.

Since Nelson Mandela secondary school has only one staff house and the ward is considered as lacking 'good' places for teachers' to live, most of the teachers and the members of school administration live as far as Morogoro town. As a result, the local school has structured its operations in order to reduce the burden of daily travelling through the 'strategic reorganisation' of the working week to constitute three active teaching days. The rest of two days are locally set aside for 'education for self reliance activities' which do not demand the presence of all teachers.

Milengwelengwe secondary school

Milengwelengwe secondary school was established in 1994 and in the early 2000s the local school acquired the status of being a ward secondary for Mngazi ward in Morogoro Rural District. Milengwelengwe secondary school has a total of six teachers and 396 students (TSR of 1:66). Teacher inadequacy is seen in a number of subjects. Biology, physics, chemistry and mathematics are subjects which have suffered severely as they never have 'professional' teachers. Civics, geography, history and Kiswahili have one teacher per subject for the whole school (four forms) and English has two teachers.

Although submission of requests for teachers to the higher authorities is done frequently by the school administration, its requests do not receive the appropriate attention. Hence, the local school has come up with the short term strategy of engaging 'form six leavers' to teach the subjects that have severe shortages of teachers. The remoteness of the ward secondary school influences the internal structure in the following ways: first, the development of close associations for helping each other in case of problems, and second, it has made frequent teacher absenteeism routine. The latter development has an impact on students' attendance especially when they learn that their teachers are not present.

Kihonda secondary school

Kihonda secondary school started to operate as a ward secondary school in Morogoro Municipality from 2002 onwards. Kihonda secondary school has a total of 45 teachers and 921 students (TSR of 1:20). TSR of Kihonda secondary school may be considered to be better when compared to the standard TSR of 1:30 in the secondary education development programme. In the local school, some subjects for example history has more teachers (16 teachers) than other subjects such as mathematics and chemistry which have one and two teachers respectively. In order to improve the teaching of the subjects, which are not well taught and increasing the quality of teaching, given the issue of a shortage of

teachers, Kihonda secondary school has its own local initiative. The outcome of the local school initiative is the forging of the local alliance between teachers and parents and eventually the formalisation of the private teaching (private tutoring). The formalised private tutoring targets form four students to prepare them for the national examination. The approach of teaching in private tutoring focuses on answering the past examination questions. The objective is to cover many issues within a short time.

At the social level, the members of the school community have developed their own local welfare associations (Kihonda welfare association and Upendo group). The two local associations are viewed as providing the connection with the local area and giving support in both the good and bad times. They are regarded as inevitable and indispensable in their local environment.

Sumaye secondary school

Sumaye secondary school is the second ward secondary school in Morogoro Municipality and it started its operation in 2003. The local school has a total of 34 teachers and 934 students (TSR of 1:27). In its operations, Sumaye secondary school lacks adequate support for accomplishing its academic plans that it has from the local community. For instance, the local leadership believes that the school proposal on the extension of school hours, accompanied by the need to institute contributions to facilitate the provision of lunch to both teachers and students, is simply a move for teachers to 'make money.'

In Sumaye secondary school, the common practice of teaching is that every teacher has chosen to teach one subject. The local internal agreement gives freedom to teachers to determine their own preferences based on the subjects of their specialisation. The distribution of teachers in the subjects ranges between five and two teachers per subject for the whole school. Kiswahili is the subject at the top with five teachers and mathematics and physics are at the bottom of the range each with two teachers to teach all four forms (23 streams). Unfortunately, the local school has four teachers who are redundant since they specialise in subjects that are not offered (commerce and agricultural science). The internal environment of the local school is characterised by interdependence between teachers and school administration. The relationship facilitates them to achieve their objectives. Through it the school administration secures the service of teachers and teachers get some flexibility in the application of formal rules. The approach enables teachers to fulfil their development ambition. Meanwhile teachers have in place their own local association which is viewed as an entity that makes them not to feel lonely as the possibility of getting assistance is present.

Kipera secondary school

Although the local initiative in Mlali ward (Mvomero District) to have a secondary school started in 1994, its result was realised in 2005 when Kipera secondary school started its operation. The teachers posted to work in Kipera secondary school are confronted with an acute shortage of staff housing. The challenge of accommodation has meant the school community has devised its own procedure of assisting the newly recruited teachers posted to Kipera secondary school. The procedure has two components: first, the provision of financial support in the form of interest free loans ranging from 30,000 to 50,000 Tanzanian shillings and second, the arrangement to voluntarily allow the new teachers to stay with their colleagues for some time. The rationale is to encourage the new teachers to stay and have the feeling that they are welcomed.

The situation of teaching in the local school is described as tense and demotivating. Kipera secondary school suffers from teacher inadequacy with only a total of five teachers to serve 586 students (TSR of 1:117). The circumstance in which the teachers perform their responsibilities gives them heavy workloads in such a way that each teacher in the taught subjects (mathematics, biology, English and geography) is responsible for a particular subject to all four forms (16 streams). But, in most cases, the concentration on teaching is for form two and four to facilitate students' preparation for the national examinations. Kipera secondary school has continued to submit its requests to higher authorities for teachers, but the response it gets does not seem to consider the urgency of the matter. Therefore, the local school has decided to deal with the teaching situation locally and has employed temporary teachers to assist in teaching some of the subjects.

Melela secondary school

Melela secondary school was opened in 1997 but due to the major infrastructural weaknesses the Ministry of Education closed it in 2001. The school was reopened in 2005 and has since then been declared a ward secondary school for Melela ward in Mvomero District. The location of Melela secondary school in the ward tends to isolate teachers from the rest of the local communities. The local school has occupied what used to be a road construction camp site. Shortage of facilities, for example staff housing, has meant its eight teachers share three staff houses. They therefore, live like a commune and they have introduced a system of rotating funds among themselves each month.

Melela secondary school has only eight teachers including the head teacher who are required to serve 477 students (TSR of 1:60). The challenge of teacher inadequacy has caused the active seven teachers to deliver teaching to the following subjects: physics, biology, history, geography, Kiswahili, English and civics. Like Kipera secondary school, the concentration of teaching is with forms that

are regarded as special (form two and four). Teaching to the rest of forms (one and three) depends on whether teachers have the spare time in their weekly schedules. The teachers have some freedom to attend private matters even if it means utilising the official time that they are employed. This tendency is regarded as the means to motivate them to stay in the local environment which lacks basic necessities.

Understanding the effects of centralised teacher recruitment

The fourth research question addressed in this dissertation aims at understanding teachers' operations in the selected ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region, using the theoretical concepts of 'street-level bureaucrats' and 'semi-autonomous social fields' as discussed in chapter three. This is the main focus of chapter eight of the book. It seems that the operations of teachers in the six selected ward secondary schools are affected by the shortages of teachers (teacher inadequacy). The situation has led teachers to function as street-level bureaucrats. In this way they determine their own approaches and modalities for distributing public benefits (secondary education service) in the environment where resources (teachers) are severely constrained. In such a situation coping is the strategy used by teachers as street-level bureaucrats and it reveals itself in the following ways:

First, teachers and school administration ration the teaching service by being selective in their approach to the delivery of education service to students (clients). They develop their own subjective criteria in determining who, how and why the recipients of their service (students) are either entitled for it or not.

Second, teachers and school administrations routinise the education service delivery procedure by creating the inflexible system of operation in their schools based on the practice of single subject teaching. The routine enhances the vertical movement in the conduct of teaching. In other words, a particular teacher only teaches the subject from form one to form four rather than the horizontal movement aiming at diversity between the subjects teachers qualify to teach in secondary schools.

Third, teachers and school administrations approach the provision of education service in the modified fashion whereby teachers narrow the focus of teaching. Instead of broadly equipping their students with the in-depth understanding of the subjects in accordance with the approved syllabi, they approach the core teaching of the subjects in 'a revision like manner' (teaching on the basis of reviewing the past examination questions).

Fourth, ward secondary schools lax in the application (implementation) of the formal rules and procedures as the means and strategy for making the local environment appealing for teachers to stay and work.

The development of the measures taken to cope in the selected ward secondary schools means that teachers and school administrations don't work for the quality provision of education service for students and communities at large. This is only done in order to enable them manage their duties and responsibilities. The routinising procedures or rationing of the teaching does not mean that teachers aim at better allocation and distribution of the public benefits accrued from education service, but rather they want to have the practical solutions for managing their teaching workloads in ward secondary schools (Weatherley & Lipsky 2002: 194). In the opinion of Weatherley & Lipsky (2002), this study, therefore, argues that the approaches taken by teachers in the six selected ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region in Tanzania is typical behaviour of street-level bureaucrats trying to cope with the challenges. In so doing teachers basically seek to secure their work environment. Thus the local communities, in the wards where the six ward secondary schools are located, have experienced secondary education decentralisation through the actions and behaviour of teachers and school administrations trying to cope.

In the course of trying to cope, the internal arrangements or routines in six ward secondary schools are developed and become the local rules that dictate the extent to which the schools have to comply with the directives and guidelines from the higher authorities (MoEVT, REO and DEO). Likewise, the complexity of the local environment of six ward secondary schools where teachers have been posted to work, as it is reported in the case studies, influences the development of the state of interdependence in the form of local associations. These internal structures of cooperation impose moral obligations on both teachers and school administrations. These associations are seen as the means for both social affiliation and basic needs. On the other hand, interdependence in local schools' environment means flexibility in the application of the formal rules and it has provided the opportunity for teachers to fulfil their objectives, for example an ambition for personal and professional development. Thus, to some extent, the six ward secondary schools as 'social units' fit the explanation of the theoretical concept of semi-autonomous social fields by Moore (1973).

Reflection on decentralisation in Tanzania

The policy paper on decentralisation in Tanzania provides that decentralisation aims at making the localities more reliant upon their own abilities and endowments (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). However, Gershberg & Winkler (2004) pose the view that some aspects of equity may suffer in the absence of adequate compensatory mechanisms during its implementation. In the light of the argument provided by Gershberg & Winkler and the conclusion of the findings of this study, it seems that the implementation of decentralisation initiative in

Tanzania has echoed the idea of 'adequate compensatory mechanisms.' In this case, therefore, the centralised approach in the deployment of resources to the local institutions can be seen as the means towards some aspects of equity in the whole decentralisation initiative in Tanzania. However, in this centralised practice, it seems that the local institutions have been isolated and marginalised in the matters that concern them and which have direct impact towards realizing their objectives (goals). Hence it can be said that there is limited effectiveness in the decentralisation initiative in Tanzania as follows:

The unique needs and interests of local institutions are rarely considered by the central institutions in the downward process of resource deployment. It seems that the central government aims at the uniformity of the local institutions without considering the diversities in the local environment where they operate.

Decentralisation seems to be characterised by the tendency to diverge rather than to converge. That is the central institutions have their own criteria for determining the direction of the activities in the local institutions. In this respect, it does not matter whether the criteria work for or against the specific goals targeted by the local institutions. For example the situation where the local communities need a hostel in their school and the central directive insists on the construction of more classrooms.

Decentralisation initiative in Tanzania seems to lack adequate local preparation towards the decentralised responsibilities and hence the development of the feelings and notion that the projects established within the context of decentralisation are coerced or forced by the central government.

Despite the decentralisation initiative, it seems that local institutions in Tanzania always struggle to figure out their survival in the local environment and their operations seem to be situational (contingent).

The decentralisation initiative seems to have failed to achieve the mutual integration and cooperation of different groups of local actors at the grassroots levels who actually should work together for the common purpose in the localities in Tanzania.

Generally, it can be argued that the implementation of decentralisation in Tanzania does not reflect what the policy paper on decentralisation seems to suggest. For example, the policy paper on decentralisation insists on responsiveness of decentralisation to the needs of the localities (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). But as it is revealed by the findings of this study, decentralisation is far from being responsive.

Recommendations

Although the presence of secondary schools in the wards has increased the opportunities for access to secondary education, the findings of this study show that the most prevailing situation in these schools is that they exist in an environment where they do not have enough teachers. This state of teacher inadequacy seems to work against the actual access to secondary education service in the context of decentralisation in Tanzania. Despite the fact that centralised teacher recruitment has the objective of enhancing equality in distribution of teachers in the country, the operationalisation of this approach does not guarantee the fulfilment of its intended objective. The central institutions (MoEVT, REO and DEO) focus more on cumulative needs, by using TSR criterion, when determining the demands for teachers either in the regions or in the districts (councils). This way of approaching local demands cumulatively only achieves in simplifying work on the part of decision makers at the centre. In most cases, what is determined cumulatively does not suffice the specific situations of ward secondary schools. Examples in the study show that there are situations where teachers of subjects not offered are posted to schools. In some other cases schools have more teachers in certain subjects than they actually need, while other subjects and schools suffer from a shortage. Actually, this happens when the schools' preferences fail to have adequate influence in the centralised teacher recruitment process. *It is the view of this study that the actual needs and demands of schools in terms of what type of teachers they need should be given consideration when teachers are posted in each ward secondary school.* Submissions of ward secondary schools should form the base of decision making throughout the centralised teacher recruitment process.

The limited involvement of the local communities in the academic affairs in ward secondary schools, as it is in some schools, is not healthy for the delivery of education service in the wards. *The government, at least at the district level, should redress this situation.* The example as demonstrated by Kihonda secondary school, on forging the local alliance, may be used as an attempt to deal with the problem of limited involvement of the local communities in school academic affairs. The advantage of expanding the involvement of the local communities is that they will be aware of the reality of the situation facing teachers (teaching) in their areas and together they may be in the position to come up with their own solutions or even act as a collective local voice to let the government understand the reality of the situation in their localities. The approach is likely to make teachers and local communities exist as partners in the process of education service delivery in the wards.

Also the findings of this research show that most of the plans at the local level lack adequate local preparation prior to their implementation. It seems that they

come in *ad hoc*. For instance, some of the selected schools, Melela and Sumaye, are in the environment which was not set initially for the provision of education service. The consequence is the situation where the schools either tend to lack important facilities required to support their objectives or are in the environment which seems to limit local integration between teachers and local communities in the wards. *Within the context of decentralisation, adequate local preparation should be considered as the main prerequisite and a cornerstone for the initiative* in order to reduce the likelihood of the views that decentralisation projects in Tanzania are coerced and they tend to lack local community ownership. This can be done through seminars offered to the local leaders. These seminars should provide the opportunities for the local leaders to have enough time to conceptualise and understand what is intended in the programmes. In this way they can be in a better position to sensitise their respective local communities.

Finally, since this study covered only six ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region, it is recommended that a broader study may be conducted to include other ward secondary schools from other parts of Tanzania to have a wider understanding of the methods adopted by teachers as a means to cope in public secondary schools across the country. Then a thorough analysis of the identified coping strategies should be conducted to establish the mechanisms to either sustain those which have the positive effects to the quality of education service delivery or discourage those which seem to work against the goal towards quality education service provision in public secondary schools in Tanzania.

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- Public Service Act No. 8 (2002)
- Public Service Regulations (2003)
- Education Circular No. 1 (2006)
- Education Circular No. 7 (2006)

Appendix 1: List of respondents

Morogoro Municipality

Council Education Office

Interviews

- Queen Mlozi, municipal education officer – March 2008)
- Christopher Wangwe (municipal academic officer – April 2008
- John Kawele (academic officer – May 2008)
- Hamis Bakari (municipal education officer for logistics and statistics – June 2008)

Mazimbu ward

Interviews

- P.L.N. Matheleka (WDC chairperson – July 2008)
- Anna Mapunda (WEO – July 2008)
- Roxana Kilela (WEC– July 2008)

Focus group discussions with members of WDC – July 2008

- Selemani Kiwamba (WDC member 1)
- Feliciano Katabaro (WDC member 2)
- Kidumla Kidumla (WDC member 3)
- Amina Nassoro (WDC member 4)
- M.J. Mbapila (WDC member 5)

Kihonda secondary school

Interviews

- P. Tarmo (school administrator 1 – July 2008)
- John Michael (school administrator 2 – July 2008)
- Maria Magoni (school board member – July 2008)

Interview with teachers

- Sheshe Mohamed (Teacher 5 – July 2008)
- Anna Malisa (Teacher 6 – July 2008)

Focus group discussions – August 2008

- J. Mhadu (Teacher 1)
- J. Kayondo (Teacher 2)
- S. Mwakalinga (Teacher 3)
- B. Mpande (Teacher 4)

Bigwa ward

Interviews

- Fadhili Nyoni (WEO – August 2008)
- Mzee Selephin Mloka (WDC member 1 – August 2008)

Focus group discussions with members of WDC – August 2008

- Gelald Mkama (WDC member 2)
- Herman Dilunga (WDC member 3)
- Zawadi Kingo (WDC member 4)
- Valelian Dimoso (WDC member 5)

Sumaye secondary school

Interviews

- Prosister P. Kavishe (school administrator 1 – September 2008)
- Geoffrey G. Chanja (school administrator 2 – September 2008)

Interviews with teachers

- Francis Mwaluko (Teacher 5 – September 2008)
- Denis Nanchalanga (Teacher 6 – September 2008)

Focus group discussions – September 2008

- Ghati Birore (Teacher 1)
- Michael Chanai (Teacher 2)
- Daudi Francis (Teacher 3)
- John Chalamila (Teacher 4)

Morogoro Rural*Council Education Office*

Interviews

- Sigwa Mbugi (district academic officer – March 2008)
- Said Kivufu (district education officer for statistics and logistics – March 2008)

Mngazi ward

Interviews

- Khalifani H. Mwakalinga (acting WEO/VEO – September 2008)
- Mzee Shabani Mkwayu (prominent elder in the ward – September 2008)

Focus group discussions with members of WDC – October 2008

- Mtoro Mtosa (WDC member 1)
- Shabani Kimwaga (WDC member 2)
- Mzee Kamata (WDC member 3)
- Abdu Jumbe (Co-opted WDC member)
- Ramadhani Nacheke (Acting WEC)
- Bundile Bundile (WDC member 4)

Milengwelengwe secondary school

Interviews

- Mugusi Burwae (School Administrator 1 – October 2008)
- Salmat Abdulah (Deputy Head Teacher – School Administrator 2 – October 2008)
- Mzee Fungo (School Board member 1 – October 2008)

Focus group discussions – October 2008

- Ahmed Ramadhani (Teacher 1)
- Hadija Musa (Teacher 2)
- Francis Musa (Teacher 3)

Mkambalani ward

Interview

- Salum Lubarati (acting WEO – June 2009)

Focus group discussions with WDC members – June 2009

- Rajab Mohamedi (WDC member 1)
- Bruda Abdu (WDC member 2)
- Kilela Ngatuma (WDC member 3)
- Grace Christopher (WDC member 4)
- Juma Abdulah (WDC member 5)

Nelson Mandela secondary school

Interview

- Paul Kikude (school administrator – July 2009)

Focus group discussions – July 2009

- Eliza John (Teacher 1)
- Jumanne Ramadhan (Teacher 2)
- Mkoba Hamis (Teacher 3)
- Martha Samuel (Teacher 4)

Mvomero*Council Education Office*

Interviews – May 2008

- Mpesa Elliya (District Education Coordinator)
- Emmanuel Mmbagga (District Academic Officer)
- John Kaunda (Planning Officer)
- Monica Mpululu (District Education Logistics and Statistics Officer)

Mlali ward

Interview

- Said Said Mdume (Acting Ward Executive Officer – April 2009)

Focus group discussions – April 2009

- Halifa Said (WDC member 1)
- Arsen Zeno (WDC member 2)
- Shabani Said (WDC member 3)
- Maneno Juma (WDC member 4)

Kipera secondary school

Interview

- Andrew Muhulo (school administrator – April 2009)
- Mzee Mbaga (school board member – April 2009)

Focus group discussions – April 2009

- Nyantahe Mtara (Teacher 1)
- Peter Manase (Teacher 2)
- John Robert (Teacher 3)
- Yohana Massewe (Teacher 4)

Melela ward

Interview

- Charles Msimbe (Acting Ward Executive Officer – May 2009)

Focus group discussions – May 2009

- Prisca Kanuti (WDC member 1)
- Petro Nuianyi (WDC member 2)
- Abdallah Hamis (WDC member 3)
- Paloni Lemunyo (WDC member 4)

Melela secondary school

Interview

- Placid Goliama (Acting School Administrator – June 2009)

Focus group discussions – June 2009

- Mwitwa Sosthenes (Teacher 1)
- John Msemo (Teacher 2)
- Happy Mfugale (Teacher 3)
- Lukas Mwakitwangwe (Teacher 4)

Appendix 2: List of ward secondary schools in selected districts

Morogoro Rural

Ward	Name of school	Established	Teachers available	Students in school	TSR
Mkambalani	Nelson Mandela	1995	16	600	1:38
Mngazi	Milengwelengwe	1994	7	477	1:68
Mikeese	Gwata	2007	3	240	1:80
	Mikeese	2007	2	182	1:91
Kisemu	Kisemu	2006	5	320	1:64
	Matombo	1988	10	545	1:55
Tununguo	Tununguo	2007	3	173	1:58
Kidugalo	Fatemi	2007	3	146	1:49
Kiroka	Kiroka	2006	4	252	1:63
Kinole	Kinole	2006	4	291	1:73
Tegetero	Tegetero	2007	3	206	1:69
Mkuyuni	Mkuyuni	2000	6	524	1:87
Mtombozi	Mtombozi	2007	3	544	1:181
Lundi	Lundi	2007	2	113	1:57
Tawa	Tawa	2006	4	247	1:62
Kibungo	Kibungo	2006	2	197	1:99
Kolero	Kolero	2006	2	173	1:87
Mvuha	Mvuha	2006	2	332	1:166
Selembaya	Selembaya	2000	6	573	1:96
Kisaki	Kisaki	2006	4	385	1:96
Singisa	Singisa	2007	1	126	1:126
Bwakila China	Bwakila Chini	2006	4	349	1:87
Ngerengere	Ngerengere	1995	10	491	1:49
Mkulazi	-	-	-	-	-
Kasanga	-	-	-	-	-
Kibogwa	-	-	-	-	-
Bwakila Juu	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL			106	7486	1:71

Source: Morogoro Rural District: Socio-Economic Profile 2008 and Field data 2008/2009.

Morogoro Urban

Ward	Name of school	Year established	Teachers available	Students in school	TSR
Bigwa	Sumaye	2003	34	934	1:27
Mazimbu	Kihonda	2002	45	921	1:20
	Mgulasi	2005	27	820	1:30
Mwembesongo	Kayenzi	2006	41	917	1:22
	Mwembesongo	2006	13	584	1:45
Kilakala	Lupanga	2006	25	625	1:25
Kingolwira	Kingolwira	2006	14	307	1:22
	Tubuyu	2007	13	294	1:23
Mafiga	Mafiga	2007	14	278	1:20
Mbuyuni	SUA	2007	11	254	1:23
Kihonda	Uluguru	2006	17	372	1:22
Mjimpya	Mjimpya	2007	12	290	1:24
Mzinga	Kauzeni	2007	6	254	1:42
Sabasaba	Tushikamane	2007	17	380	1:22
Uwanja wa Taifa	Uhuru	2008	6	120	1:20
Kiwanja cha Ndege	Kasanga	2008	3	120	1:40
Kichangani	Kola Hill	2008	5	120	1:24
Kingo	-	-	-	-	-
Mjimkuu	-	-	-	-	-
Sultani Area	-	-	-	-	-
Boma	-	-	-	-	-
Mlimani	-	-	-	-	-
Total			303	7590	1:25

Source: Morogoro Municipal Council: Socio-Economic Profile 2008 and Field data 2008/2009.

Mvomero District

Ward	Name of school	Year established	Teachers available	Students in school	TSR
Kikeo	Kikeo	2007	2	90	1:45
Tchenzema	Tchenzema	2008	2	70	1:35
Mgeta	Langali	2006	4	194	1:49
Bunduki	Bunduki	2007	2	73	1:37
Mlali	Kipera	1994/2005	5	586	1:117
Mzumbe	Mongola	2006	10	381	1:38
Doma	Doma	2007	3	151	1:50
Melela	Melela	1997/2005	8	477	1:60
Maskati	Maskati	2006	3	142	1:47
Kibati	Ungulu	2005	6	247	1:41
Hembeti	Hembeti	2007	5	301	1:60
Sungaji	Sungaji	2007	4	303	1:76
Mhonda	Murad Sadiq	2004	10	488	1:49
Kanga	Mziha	2007	4	145	1:36
Mtibwa	Mtibwa	2005	12	584	1:49
	Nassoro Seif	2007	8	349	1:44
Mvomero	Wami	2007	7	293	1:42
	Mvomero	2005	9	512	1:57
Diongoya	Lusanga	2005	11	522	1:47
	Diongoya	2008	2	138	1:69
TOTAL			117	6064	1:52

Source: Mvomero District: Socio-Economic Profile 2008 and Field data 2008/2009.

Appendix 3: Research instruments

Interview guide for school administrators (head teachers)

The focus of the socialization process.

The state of the basic facilities for living in ward secondary school.

Internal relationship in the local school – Teachers versus School Administration and Teachers versus Teachers.

Internal systems of relationships in ward secondary school.

The extent of the relationship with communities in the ward.

Availability of teachers in ward secondary school.

The practice of teaching (provision of education service) in ward secondary school (internal structure for delivering the education service).

The challenge confronted by ward secondary school in the provision of education service.

The extent to which teachers are able to fulfil their goals in the provision of education service.

Opinion on the response from the higher authorities on the local school needs for teachers.

Focus group discussions guide for teachers

The guide was also used to interview teachers.

1. Challenges of being a teacher in ward secondary school.
2. Views of local school living and working environment.
3. Internal systems of relationships in ward secondary school including relationship with school administration.
4. Teaching workloads in ward secondary school.
5. Teaching modalities in ward secondary school.
6. Views of the local environment including local relationship at the ward level.

Interview guide for ward officials

1. Local community participation in development activities in the ward.
2. Opinion on the general response of the local community on the idea of having a secondary school in the ward.
3. The role of the local community in the affairs of ward secondary school.
4. The extent of the responsibility and involvement of ward leadership in the management of ward secondary school.
5. Relationship between school community and local community in the ward.
6. The information dissemination between ward secondary school and ward leadership.
7. The challenges confronted by ward leadership in relation to the provision of education service in the ward.

Focus group discussions guide for WDC members

The guide was also used to interview school board members and respondents from the local communities.

1. Responsiveness of the local communities in education provision in ward secondary school.
2. Perception of the local communities on the ownership of ward secondary schools.
3. Position and roles of ward communities in secondary education provision.
4. Views of the local communities towards the members of school community.
5. Opinion on the role of the local communities in ward secondary schools.
6. Local preparedness for the provision of secondary education in the wards.
7. Relationship at the local level (school community versus local community).
8. Dissemination of information from ward secondary school to the local communities and vice versa.
9. Understanding of the academic matters of ward secondary school by the local communities.

Interview questions for council education officials

1. What are the views of the council education office on education decentralisation and the provision of secondary education service at the ward level?
2. How is education decentralisation implemented in relation to secondary education in the district? How is the pace of the establishment of ward secondary schools in the district?
3. What is the role of the council in education decentralisation and specifically in the establishment of ward secondary schools in the district?
4. How many ward secondary schools have been constructed in the district so far?
5. What is the opinion of the council education office on the practice of teaching in ward secondary schools?
6. What is the general state of teachers in ward secondary schools in the district?
7. How does the council education office participate in the process of recruiting teachers for ward secondary schools?
8. To what extent the participation of the council in the teacher recruitment process enables ward secondary schools fulfil their needs for teachers? How does the council determine the needs for teachers in ward secondary schools?
9. How long does it take for the council to assist ward secondary schools in fulfilling their needs for teachers?
10. What challenges does the council confront in teacher recruitment process and the final posting of teachers to ward secondary schools?
11. In terms of the council's priorities, how is secondary education service provision in ward secondary schools considered? Why?

Appendix 4: Reflection on fieldwork

Introduction

This appendix reflects on the fieldwork and its focus is to explain what happened in the selected districts, wards and ward secondary schools in the Morogoro Region. The outline of the main issues covered in this appendix is as follows: first, the selection of districts; second, the way the research participants have been recruited; third, the strength and weakness of the study and fourth, the challenges in the fieldwork. In its conclusion, the appendix makes the attempt to highlight the reaction of the research participants when the compiled case reports were reviewed by them.

Selection of study area

The Morogoro Region is one of the regions in Tanzania which have registered ‘a success story’ in the construction of ward secondary schools during the second half of 2000s. The region has 141 wards with a total of 148 ward secondary schools (see the table below).

Ward secondary schools in the Morogoro region

S/No	Districts (councils)	Number of wards	Number of schools
1	Morogoro Municipality	19	17
2	Morogoro Rural	25	23
3	Mvomero	17	20
4	Kilosa	37	37
5	Kilombero	19	30
6	Ulanga	24	21
Total		141	148

Source: Morogoro Regional Commissioner’s Office (2008).

According to the Morogoro Regional Commissioner’s Office (2008), the achievement the region has in the construction of ward secondary schools ranks it in the sixth position in terms of the secondary education development in Tanzania. The region is preceded by the regions of Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Mbeya, Iringa and Dar es Salaam. The ambition for the secondary education development in the top regions came earlier and to a large extent is related to the influence of the activities of the missionaries. However, Dar es Salaam has a comparative advantage as it is the focal point of the government operations (Galabawa 1995). For the case of the Morogoro region, much development in the secondary education subsector is claimed to be influenced by the government directive on ward secondary schools in the 2000s (Morogoro Regional Commissioner’s Office 2008).

It should be noted that the Morogoro region consists of six councils (districts), namely Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro rural, Mvomero, Kilosa, Kilombero and Ulanga. The fieldwork only centred in three councils (Morogoro Municipality, Morogoro rural and Mvomero) in the region. The selection of the three councils has been influenced by their being close to each other. That means their headquarters are positioned at almost the same distance from both the regional education office and Mo-EVT. That is to say, their physical distance from the higher authorities is the factor for their similarity. During the selection process, it was assumed that this local set up may mean that the three districts have almost the similar influence from the higher authorities.

Research participant recruitment

As it is provided in Chapter 4, the research participants in this study are: district education officials, ward officials, WDC members, school administrators, teachers, and in some few cases, members of the school board. The recruitment of research participants for this study is as follows: first, recruitment at the council level; second, recruitment at the ward level and third, recruitment in ward secondary schools.

Recruitment at the district (council) level

After the permission to collect data in the districts was granted, the council education office in each of the selected council was visited. The purpose was to introduce the objective of research to the education officials and request their participation in the research. In most cases, the education officers responsible for statistics and logistics (SLOs) were the ones who acted as the focal persons. The SLOs made the recommendation on the other education officials who could be interviewed. The proposed officials were then asked if they would like to be the research participants. At first, the majority of them agreed, but during the process some failed to participate due to their tight work schedules. This has made the three districts to have the variation in terms of the education officials who turned up as the research participants (see Appendix 1).

Recruitment at the ward level

At the ward level, the focal persons were the ward executive officers (WEOs). These were the first individuals who were approached during the fieldwork in the wards. The aim was to inform them the purpose of the research and the intention to conduct the fieldwork in their areas. This involved requesting their assistance for getting people who were relevant for the research to fulfil its objective. In the selected wards, the WEOs made the recommendation that the WDC members were the appropriate persons. But in Mngazi ward, the acting WEO included in the list of the recommended persons the prominent elder in the ward. The acting WEO provided that this person was more experienced since he had been the local leader for many years and the ward still used him as 'a local consultant.'

After having the list of the proposed individuals, the WEOs had the responsibility to inform each of them. The WEOs also had the task of arranging the time and places for

the interviews and the focus group discussions. Although the majority of the WDC members were informed and asked to take part in the study, only a few of them responded and volunteered to be the research participants. Most of the WDC members who agreed participated in the focus group discussions (see Appendix 1). Apart from the WDC members, in some wards, for example, Mazimbu and Mngazi, the WEOs introduced the ward education coordinators (WEC) in the study. These ward officials were interviewed or participated in the focus group discussions. In other selected wards (Bigwa, Melela, Mlali and Mkambalani) the ward education coordinators had other commitments and made the excuse for not being part of the research participants (see Appendix 1).

Recruitment in the selected schools

The heads of schools, referred to as the school administrators throughout this dissertation, were the focal persons in the selected ward secondary schools. After informing them about the purpose of the study, they all volunteered to facilitate the process of getting some teachers who would participate in the research. The school administrators identified the teachers and introduced them to the researcher. The teachers were informed about the purpose of the research and individually asked whether they could be interviewed or participate in the focus group discussions. In Sumaye and Kihonda secondary schools, some teachers accepted to be interviewed while others preferred the focus group discussions. But in all other selected schools (Nelson Mandela, Milengwelengwe, Kipera and Melela) the selected teachers participated in the focus group discussions (see Appendix 1).

It happened that when the fieldwork was conducted in Milengwelengwe, Kihonda and Kipera secondary schools, one board member in each school visited there. The school administrators of the respective secondary schools assisted to ask them whether they could be interviewed. Fortunately, in all three incidents the board members accepted (see Appendix 1).

Strength and weakness of the study

The strength of this study lies in its ability to accomplish its objective. That is, the study has provided the findings which explain the experience that the selected ward secondary schools have with the effects of the Centralised teacher recruitment practice in Tanzania.

Apart from being able to realise its objective, the weakness of this study might be its failure to effectively involve the members of the school board as the research participants (see Appendix 1). This could be the outcome of the way research participants were recruited in the selected ward secondary schools. In most cases, the study relied on the views of the school administrators for the information and data that could otherwise be provided by the members of the school board. In this way, it can be said that the limited involvement of the members of the school board, to some extent, may have limited the scope of the findings in this dissertation. The reason for drawing this conclusion is that the dissertation seems to miss the views and experience of the members of the

school board which might have shed further light on the effects of the Centralised teacher recruitment in ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

Challenges in the fieldwork

The collection of data encountered the following challenges. The first challenge was from the way the research participants viewed the idea of recording the discussions. The majority of them were reluctant to allow the recording of their voices. This made the use of the research assistant inevitable throughout the fieldwork. The research assistant assisted in taking notes during the discussions. Thereafter, the researcher's notes and those taken by the assistant were compared to try to fill the gaps of the missing information. This was done through the discussions between the researcher and the assistant on what happened in the interviews and the focus group discussions.

The second challenge was from the translation of the information collected from the interviews and the focus group discussions from Kiswahili into English. There is the likelihood that some feelings or attitudes which were embedded in the actual words used by the participants might have been left out during the translation process.

Revisiting the selected schools and wards

In this dissertation, the course of action which has been taken to validate the account which represents participants' realities of the social phenomena is the one based on using the views of the people who have participated in it (Creswell 2000). Thus between July and August 2010; the compiled case reports were taken back to the selected schools and wards. Some participants, who were present at the time, were briefed on the reports and had the opportunity to check whether what is provided in their respective case report reflects their original views and experience provided during the interviews and the focus group discussions. Fortunately those who had the chance of seeing and going through the case reports agreed with their contents and recommended that the dissertation should be translated into Kiswahili for the wider audience in the wards. Therefore, in this perspective the dissertation has been able to check how accurately participants' realities have been represented (Creswell 2000).

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