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LOCAL EDUCATION SECTOR GOVERNANCE IN TANZANIA

*Mapping monitoring and evaluation actors, activities and use in
two selected villages of Mzumbe ward (Mvomero District,
Morogoro Region)*

Preliminary Findings

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0. Preface

This report presents selected preliminary findings from a joint (north-south) research that takes place within the context of the VLIR-UOS funded programme (the Gre@t programme) of interuniversity cooperation among Flemish universities and Mzumbe University (Tanzania)¹. This six-year programme (2013-2018) aims at strengthening the teaching, research and service delivery capacity of Mzumbe University staff while exchange and joint activities also enrich the academic activities and outputs of Flemish partner universities. The programme consists of four projects situated in the areas of institutional strengthening of academic skills (project 1), strengthening of ICT (project 2), strengthening of academic capacities, activities and outputs in the area of local governance (project 3) and entrepreneurship (project 4).

This specific study is situated under project 3 and aims at building research capacity and output in the area of local governance through joint research between Flemish and Tanzanian researchers. The findings of the study will also be disseminated to the actors involved in local education governance (the interviewees of the study) and may be useful to design possible interventions that aim at improving local education governance.

This study draws upon primary data collected through preliminary village studies, a household survey and semi-structured interviews with actors directly and indirectly involved in education sector service delivery and governance. We would like to thank the staff and research assistants involved in data collection as well as all interviewees. The household survey was mainly administered by Katrien Van Aelst who is funded under the University of Antwerp research project 'The interplay between household decision-making, gender relations and climate variability in Morogoro Region, Tanzania. Insights from the water sector'.

¹ See <http://vlir-uos.mzumbe.ac.tz> for more information on the programme.

1. Introduction

In order to improve local service delivery the government of Tanzania has elaborated a number of reform policies and programmes, including the Tanzania Local Government Reform Programme. Under this programme a set of new mechanisms has been designed to improve governance of local service delivery. These mechanisms are both targeted at the supply and demand side of service delivery and include amongst others the use of all types of monitoring and evaluative (M&E) activities. 'Evaluation' is generally defined as 'the systematic and objective assessment of an ongoing or completed project, programme or policy, its design, implementation and results' (OECD/DAC, 2002: 20) while 'monitoring'² is understood as 'a continuous management function that uses systematic collection of data on specified indicators to provide management and the main stakeholders of an ongoing development intervention with indications of the extent of progress and achievements of objectives and progress in the use of allocated funds' (OECD/DAC, 2002: 28). While 'monitoring' and 'evaluation' are clearly distinct activities, they are highly complementary. Quoting Kusek and Rist (2004: 13), 'evaluation is a complement to monitoring in that when a monitoring system sends signals that the efforts are going off track then good evaluative information can help clarify the realities and trends noted with the monitoring system'. The basic functions of M&E are, on the one hand, the fulfillment of 'accountability' towards funders, taxpayers and citizens, and, on the other hand 'lesson learning' and 'feedback' towards management and policy makers³. M&E activities can be categorised according to several criteria, including amongst others the moment at which they take place (before, during, after an intervention), the methods being used (quantitative, qualitative, mixed), the actors involved or taking the lead (internal, external, participatory), the focus (implementation, results), etc. As regards the specific topic under study, in particular the distinction between:

- inside government top-down (vertical downward) or horizontal types of M&E activities (such as routine M&E through sector management information systems, performance reviews, district league tables, supervision, inspection, audit, district league tables, and performance related incentives, etc.)
- outside government bottom up (vertical upward) M&E initiatives. These also often labelled social accountability initiatives, including initiatives led by citizens such as user committees or user associations and initiatives led by NGOs, media, etc.
- more hybrid forms of combined initiatives (such as participation of CSOs in government-led performance reviews)

Besides these types of M&E activities, there are also the more traditional 'political' ways in which government and service delivery entities can be held accountable, for instance in democratic systems citizens hold politicians and policy-makers accountable through elections or they can contact them with complaints, etc. (bottom up/vertical upward representative accountability). Politicians themselves can try to hold administration (service delivery entities) accountable (top-down/vertical downward political accountability)⁴. There might also exist combinations of the above mentioned M&E initiatives and the more traditional political accountability mechanisms. Citizen-led initiatives or NGOs can for instance transfer information from their M&E activities to politicians who can draw upon this information in their efforts to hold administration accountable.

Previous research has not led to unequivocal conclusions with respect to the functioning and effectiveness of different M&E mechanisms (see e.g. Bruns et al., 2012; Gaventa and McGee, 2013;

² Monitoring is thus rather descriptive and assesses whether different levels of an intervention (inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes and impact) are realised as expected, whereas evaluation necessitates more analytical depth to tackle the 'why' questions.

³ In line with the two-fold function of monitoring and evaluation, an alternative (and less technical) label for 'M&E' mechanisms is 'accountability and learning' mechanisms.

⁴ See Lindberg, S. (2013) for an overview of different (sub)types of accountability.

Mc Gee and Gaventa, 2011). In short, while there are various studies that report positive results of top-down M&E instruments which are often inspired by the New Public Management (NPM) paradigm (see e.g. Basinga et al., 2011), others showcase that instruments such as performance-based finance (PBF) or pay for performance (P4P) lead to misreporting and a unique focus on those issues that are captured in targets at the expense of services that are not included (i.e. crowding out) (see e.g. Ireland et al., 2011). A major element of criticism is that NPM-type of reforms are often blueprint, not locally grounded nor owned as they do not start from an analysis of local political, economic and cultural realities which influence the implementation and effectiveness of such type of reforms (see e.g. Therkildsen, 2000). As to address the failure and limitations of NPM-type of reforms, more bottom-up community based approaches have been propagated starting from the assumption that these enhance local ownership, trigger transparency and accountability, eventually increasing the quantity and quality of local service delivery (see e.g. Björkman and Svensson, 2009; Deiniger and Mpuga, 2005). However, others are more nuanced and emphasize that the details of the local setting, the degree of inclusiveness and the way citizens are given a chance to participate are crucial to arrive at results (see e.g. Pritchett et al., 2010). In line with this are studies that highlight the limited enforceability of bottom-up initiatives (see e.g. Olkon, 2007; Lassibille et al., 2010), hinting at the fact that they are best used in combination with top-down within-state accountability mechanisms (such as performance-based systems, supervision, regulatory services; some also refer in this respect to combinations of 'hard' top-down and 'soft' bottom-up incentives) (see Golooba-Mutebi, 2005, 2012; Mitchell and Bossert, 2010). More specifically, the importance of creating interfaces and bridges among citizen-driven and state-driven accountability mechanisms is often put into the picture as a way to increase effectiveness. Finally, there are also scholars (see Kelsall, 2003) who focus on 'traditional' localized ways and rituals for ensuring accountability (such as cursing, witchcraft, etc.) which are considered to be more effective than the 'imported' mechanisms of bottom-up and top-down accountability.

Against this background of inconclusive, at times contradictory, evidence, this research focuses on the functioning and effectiveness of different M&E mechanisms in the water and education sector in selected villages surrounding Mzumbe University. More specifically, the aim is i) to map and (comparatively) analyse different types of M&E mechanisms and their (perceived) functioning in the water and education sector, ii) to map and analyse the use of M&E information for accountability and learning by different actors involved, iii) to analyse the amount and quality of water and education service delivery and explore possible linkages with M&E mechanisms, iv) to analyse different citizens' service use and satisfaction as well as citizens' accessibility to and perceived quality of information related to these services.

The selection of education and water has mainly been guided by the fact that in citizen satisfaction surveys (primary) education is the service that mostly stands out as best rated, probably due to an enormous increase in enrolment from 2000 to 2006 (from 4.4 million to 8 million, see Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment and the National Bureau of Statistics, 2007) and the abolition of school fees in 2001 while water services are generally considered among the worst performing sectors and improved water supply as the most urgent need (see Braathen et al., 2005). Before we explore and analyse this sector comparative perspective in future studies, this specific report sets out with mapping different types of M&E mechanisms in the education sector in two selected villages around Mzumbe University (Changarawe and Vikenge). Additionally, we describe and analyse the use of M&E information for accountability and learning as perceived by actors who are involved in M&E (M&E supply side) and those who are at the receiving end (M&E demand side). Finally, we bring in citizens' use of education services, their perceived quality of education services as well as their accessibility to education-related information and their appreciation of its quality. This mapping exercise is not only theoretically interesting, it is also highly policy relevant as it is increasingly acknowledged that small incremental changes to existing M&E (and governance) mechanisms are more feasible than imposing blueprints from the outside (see e.g. Santiso, 2008; North, 1990).

As set out in section three, we draw upon various data sources, including secondary data as well as primary data collected through exploratory interviews with key persons, quasi-structured interviews with actors involved in education governance at village, ward and district level as well as a household survey in the villages of Changarawe and Vikenge. The presentation of selected findings has mainly been guided by Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD) (Ostrom et al., 1994). We consider the IAD particularly useful as it strongly relates to the idea that context-related factors influence the outlook and the effectiveness of different M&E practices and outcomes. More particularly, IAD helps to unveil how material conditions, formal policies and directives as well as informal rules-in-use, govern incentive structures underlying the behaviour and interaction of different actors involved in the supply of and demand for M&E activities and outputs in the two villages. This type of institutional analysis helps us to understand the prevailing bottom-up and top-down M&E practices, their interlinkages and functioning as well as the use that is being made of M&E outputs and information for accountability and learning.

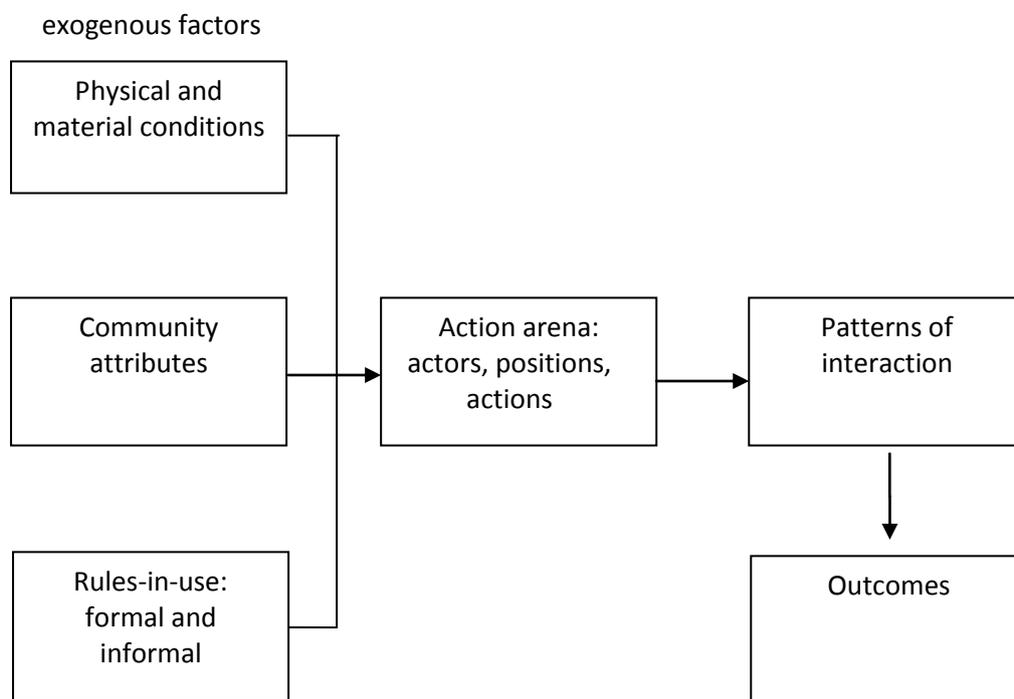
The structure of the report is as follows: we start with a short presentation of the conceptual framework and give a brief account of data collection, case selection and setting in section 3. Sections 4 to 8 present findings structured alongside our conceptual framework and deal subsequently with bio-physical conditions (4), the formal and informal rules in use (5) and community attributes (6). Section 7 introduces the different actors involved in education service delivery, accountability and learning mechanisms, maps the M&E activities and outputs from the perspective of the actors involved while also a brief account is given from a citizens' point of view. Section 8 provides an overview of the different types of use of M&E information, as perceived by the education governance actors involved in the supply and demand of M&E information. In section 9 a summative overview is given of the main findings related to the action arena and the use of M&E, subdivided over school-based M&E, top-down, bottom-up M&E and M&E by NGOs and media. In explaining findings regarding M&E activities, outputs and use, the influence of contextual factors that shape different actors' incentive structures is explored. Additionally, some possible linkages to educational performance outcomes are highlighted while also issues for further research are pointed out.

2. Conceptual framework

The IAD framework was initially developed by a group of social scientists as a tool for policy analysts to evaluate policy design and interventions (Polski and Ostrom, 1999). The framework has been applied to various topics, including development cooperation (Ostrom et al., 2001), but it is particularly popular in the area of natural resource management (NRM) where it is used to analyse the performance of different NRM institutional arrangements as well as to understand how change is enabled or resisted (see e.g. Blackstock and Carter, 2007).

The framework (visualised in figure 2.1) starts by specifying exogenous factors, including physical and material conditions, community attributes and rules-in-use, as these are considered to have significant implications for policy design, politics and collective action, all of which are crucial elements of the policy making process. The action arena is the focus of policy analysis and design, as this is where policy action takes place. Within the action arena, actors inform themselves, consider alternative courses of action, make decisions, take action and experience the consequences of these actions. Their actions are influenced by the physical and material conditions, the community attributes and the rules-in-use that were previously specified. Next, the patterns of interaction are considered to flow logically from the behaviour of the actors defined in the action arena. In this specific subcomponent of the framework the structural characteristics of an action situation and the behaviour of participants in the resulting structure are analysed. Finally, patterns of interaction are thought to produce the outcomes (Polski and Ostrom, 1999).

Figure 2.1. The Institutional Analysis and Development framework

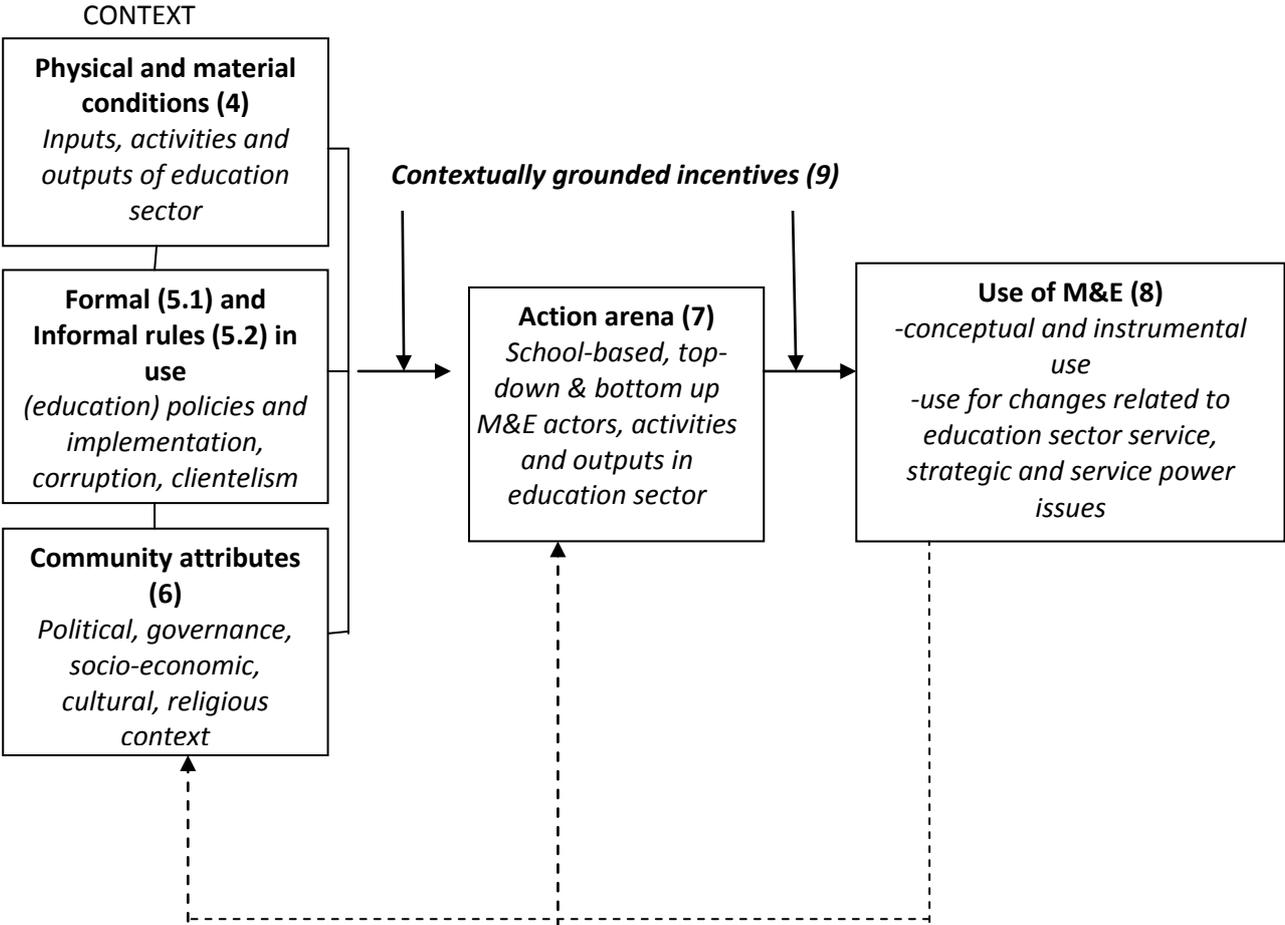


Source : Ostrom et al. (1994)

The framework can be applied in different ways, either by examining the outcomes and then moving backwards to the physical and material conditions, the community attributes and the rules-in-use, or conversely by starting from these latter building blocks and moving forwards to finish with an analysis of the outcomes. The first approach is more suitable for analysing established policy situations, while the second approach is more apt for the analysis of new policy initiatives (Polski and Ostrom, 1999).

In this paper we take the exogenous factors at play as our starting point (sections 4 to 6), after which we focus on the action arena where different actors intervene in M&E activities related to the education sector (section 7) and shift then in section 8 towards the use of M&E education information. As explained in section 8 we draw upon the existing literature on use/influence of M&E and distinguish among conceptual and instrumental use of M&E in the education sector, whereby the latter refers to use of M&E findings and processes for changes in education policies and practices and the former to contributions of M&E to new ideas, awareness raising, etc. Additionally, we also differentiate among changes related to education sector’s service (quantity & quality of services), strategic (budgets, revenue collection) and structural (priority setting, access to decision-making) power issues. As visualised in Figure 2.2., contextual factors are thought to shape incentives of actors which influence M&E activities and the use of M&E information (section 9). Finally, we consider processes to be iterative and dynamic with changes in use of M&E information affecting contextual variables as well as the action arena.

Figure 2.2. Conceptual Framework



Source : based on Ostrom et al. (1994)

3. Methodology

3.1. Data collection

Our research draws upon secondary data, including official documents of the government of Tanzania (e.g. policies on decentralisation and education), academic and grey literature on Tanzania's education sector, as well as primary data. Primary data collection was organised in four different rounds: early 2013 baseline data was collected on village characteristics and quality of governance as perceived by citizens and village leaders in three villages (Tangeni, Changarawe and Vikenge) surrounding Mzumbe University (Makombe et al., 2012). This round of data collection fed into the selection of our two case study villages (see below) where additional data was gathered on general village characteristics and community attributes in April-May 2014 (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). At this stage, a list of actors involved in education (and water) governance at village (Charangawe and Vikenge), ward (Mzumbe) and district (Mvomero) level was drafted. In July 2014 structured interviews were organised with heads or representatives of these actors situated at different levels. In total 44 interviews⁵ were conducted covering issues related to organisation attributes, lines of reporting, M&E activities, outputs and perceived use of M&E information that was produced and/or received by different actors. Additionally, perceived changes in the quantity and quality of M&E activities and use were captured as well as the possible reasons for changes (if any). Data collection on use distinguishes among the conceptual use of M&E for awareness raising among different stakeholders (including citizens) and instrumental use to bring about changes. The latter is further disaggregated alongside changes at service level (e.g. availability of services, quality of services, sanctioning of actors and users), strategic level (e.g. budget allocation between sectors and within the education sector, revenue collection) and structural level (e.g. priority setting, access to decision-making, decision-making power of head teachers)(see also section 8). This round of data collection also registered personal characteristics of the interviewees (level of education, tribe, religion, residence, etc.), the formal and informal relationships among actors as well as the level of influence actors have on each other's thinking and acting in the area of education governance.

Finally, in July and August 2014, household surveys were undertaken with a random sample of 129 and 116 households living in Changarawe and Vikenge respectively. Our response rate was approximately 98% while sample rates are difficult to calculate as there is no recent information about the number of households in the two villages. The most recent Population and Housing Census of Mvomero District (2012) estimates the total population in Changarawe and Vikenge at 5271 and 2175 respectively. On the basis of this information, we estimate the sample rates for Changarawe and Vikenge around 10% and 25% respectively. In 73 of the 129 Changarawe households, both husband and wife were interviewed (separately), in the remaining 56 households only the husband or the wife was interviewed. In Vikenge, both husband and wife were interviewed in 81 of the 116 households, in 34 households only the husband or the wife were interviewed, in 1 household 1 man and 2 women were interviewed. In total 112 and 107 women were interviewed and 90 and 92 men in Changarawe and Vikenge respectively. Household surveys collected information on personal and household characteristics, access and quality of education (and water) services, availability and quality of information regarding services, etc.

In this report we mainly draw upon secondary data and primary data collection from the village studies, the structured interviews with actors involved in education governance and the household survey. Findings related to water sector governance are presented and discussed in Holvoet et al. (2015a).

⁵ One person was interviewed twice, as he is a representative of two different organisations.

3.2. Case selection and location

Case selection was guided by different elements and took place in different steps. First, the selection of ‘villages surrounding Mzumbe University’ was influenced by the broader context of the interuniversity collaboration. As to further narrow down the research setting, discussions took place with key informants who are familiar with the basic characteristics of the surrounding villages and the (perceived) quality of local governance. Based on these discussions, a first round of exploratory data collection took place in three villages (Tangeni, Changarawe and Vikenge) collecting data on basic village characteristics, availability and quality of water and education resources, perceived quality of governance by citizens and heads of village councils. While each of the villages are interesting settings for case study research and comparative analysis among the education and water sector, initial analysis of the three villages highlighted a number of similarities and differences among the three villages in terms of bio-physical conditions and community attributes whose possible influence on education (and water) governance is interesting to further explore from a comparative village perspective. Finally, time and resource constraints led to the withdrawal of Tangeni, which is located furthest away from Mzumbe University.

Changarawe and Vikenge are located in Mzumbe Ward, one of 17 wards⁶ of Mvomero District, which is itself one of the 7 districts of Morogoro region⁷. Map 1 highlights the location of Morogoro Region and Mvomero District while Map 2 showcases the latest available version of Mvomero District Map. This map does not include Mzumbe ward as it was still part of Mlali ward at the moment the district map was drawn. More details on the selected villages as well as Mzumbe Ward, Mvomero District and Morogoro region is included in sections 4 to 6.

Map 1. Location of Morogoro region and Mvomero District

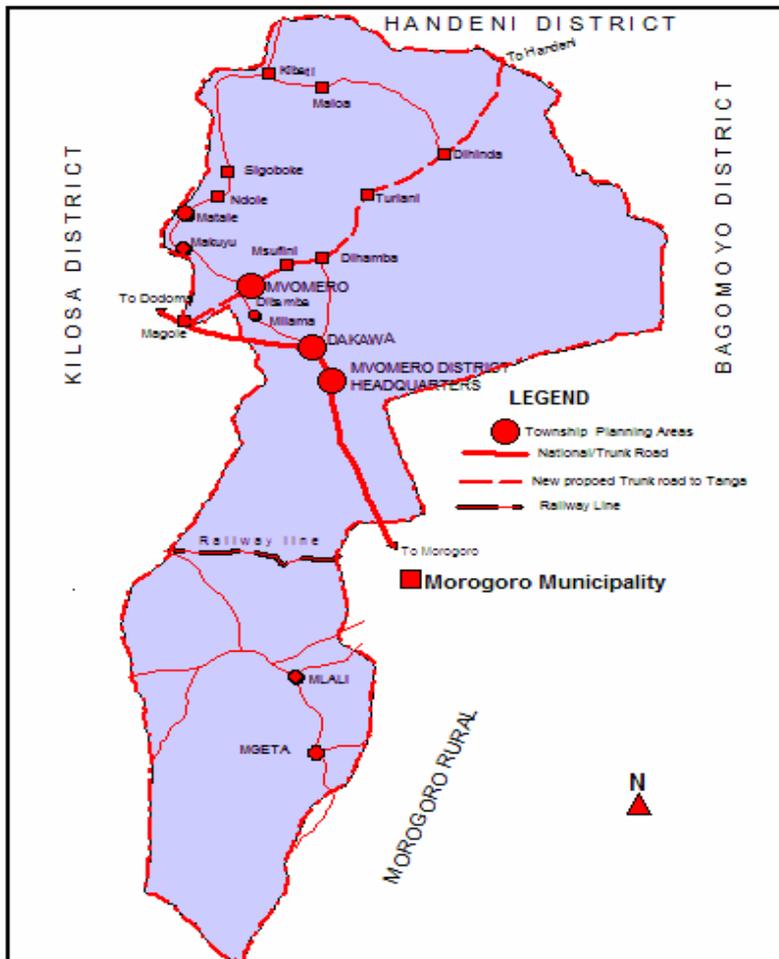


Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mvomero_District

⁶ The other 16 wards are Bunduki, Diongoya, Doma, Hembeti, Kanga, Kibati, Kikeo, Langali, Maskati, Melela, Mhonda, Mlali, Mtibwa, Mvomero, Sungaji, Tchenzema.

⁷ The other 6 districts are Gairo (since March 2012), Kilombero, Kilosa, Morogoro Rural District, Morogoro Urban District and Ulanga.

Map 2. Mvomero District Map



Source: Mvomero District

3.3. Limitations

This study has been constrained by the limited availability of secondary information on education governance, and more particularly monitoring and evaluative activities, in the specific villages under study. Our study findings are thus largely based upon our own primary data collection without much room for triangulation with similar studies' findings. Data collection regarding M&E activities, quality or outputs and use is to a large extent based upon self-report by the actors involved, which has obviously introduced a bias in our findings. However, we tried to reduce bias through cross-checking and triangulation among different respondents' answers whenever possible. We have as well deliberately designed questions in such a way as to reduce bias as much as possible: e.g. questions have been made as specific as possible, 'use' has been subdivided in different categories so as to enable the respondent to differentiate among use for different purposes and to lower social desirable answering (allowing for limited to no use – answers) while respondents were also asked to illustrate their answers with concrete examples. Given the limited set of previous studies on the same topic in this specific research setting, our study is highly exploratory in nature. Case study villages have also not been randomly selected from a set of villages with similar characteristics and findings can thus not be extrapolated beyond our case study area. It is the aim of future research to zoom into specific findings of this exploratory research and to test on a larger scale whether they hold across settings with similar and different context characteristics (see also section 9 for issues for further research).

4. Bio-physical conditions

Physical and material conditions refer to “the physical and human resources and capabilities related to providing and producing goods and services”, e.g. capital, labour, technology (Polski and Ostrom, 1999: 9). In this paper we focus on the inputs (4.1.) and activities & outputs (4.2.) of the education sector.

4.1. Inputs to the education sector

Over the period 2005-2012, about 6.2% of the GDP was spent on education (UNDP, 2014). Of the total national budget for the financial year 2014/15⁸, 17.5% is allocated to the education sector (3,465.1⁹ billion Tanzanian Shilling, an increase of 10.8% compared to the allocation in 2013/14), which is the largest part of the budget (United Republic of Tanzania, nd). In 2013/2014 62.2% of the national education budget was allocated for primary, non-formal and supporting services, 26.5% for tertiary and higher education, 9.8% for secondary education and 1.4% for teacher education (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013). In contrast to Tanzania’s own budgetary allocations, aid allocation to the education sector is considerably lower; in 2011/12 the education sector received 4.5% of bilateral ODA. The health sector received the highest percentage (37.1%) of bilateral ODA in 2011/12 (allocation to the health sector in the national budget is 8.0%) (OECD/DAC, 2014).

Local government authorities receive funds from central government, from local sources (taxes, fees, licenses, charges) and external sources (aid agencies, basket funds) (Cooksey and Kikula, 2005). The accounts of Local Government Authorities are audited by the office of the Controller and Auditor General (CAG). After an audit, the CAG issues a professional opinion, which can be clean, unclean or adverse. Uwazi, part of a citizen-centred initiative (Twaweza) which aims to make information more accessible¹⁰, ranked the districts on the basis of the opinions received between 2005/06 and 2009/10 and highlighted that “despite five years of Local Government Authorities’ audits, internal financial controls in Local Government Authorities (LGAs) are still astonishingly weak and irregularities identified by the CAG are ignored. The trend of audit opinions in the last few years has, as a consequence, been deteriorating and financial management seems to have gotten worse” (Uwazi, 2011a: 8). Mvomero figured among those districts where financial management weakened between 2005/06 and 2009/2010. More specifically, it received a clean opinion (but with emphasis on some matters it had to address, score 2) in 2005/06 and 2006/07 and an unclean opinion (score 1) in 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10. With an average score of 1.4 in five years, Mvomero is ranked 97 out of 135 districts; in the Morogoro region, only Kilosa performed worse ranking 120th.

Districts receive education funds from central government, including three types of grants: i) the Education Block Grant, which finances teacher salaries and expenses, various school recurrent expenses and expenditures for special schools (when applicable), ii) the Capital Development Grant, for planned education infrastructure construction and maintenance projects and iii) the Capitation Grant to finance school-level non-salary expenditure items (Claussen and Assad, 2010). The latter two types of grants are allocated from districts to schools.

Throughout Tanzania, availability of education facilities such as desks, tables, chairs, teachers houses, school toilets, classrooms, water tanks, text books and other learning and teaching materials is a serious problem. While schools are supposed to receive 10 US \$ Capitation Grant/pupil, which is

⁸ 67.5% of the budget is for recurrent expenditures, 32.5% for development expenditures (United Republic of Tanzania, nd).

⁹ Around 1,570 million euro’s, rates 14/11/2014)

¹⁰ See <http://twaweza.org/go/uwazi> for more information on Uwazi.

already insufficient to cover costs of learning material, in practice schools receive less. In addition, disbursements are rather unpredictable, which impedes proper planning (Uwazi, 2010). A REPOA study (Manara and Mwombela, 2012) investigated the state of governance of the Capitation Grant in primary schools in six districts (two district with a high expenditure performance ratio of the Capitation Grant¹¹, two districts with an average ratio and two districts with a low ratio), including Mvomero which was classified as a high expenditure performer. Four dimensions of governance (of capitation grants) were studied: effectiveness, rule of law, accountability and participation. For each dimension indicators and corresponding proxy variables were defined, on the basis of which each dimension was given a score from 1 to 5. The overall mean score for Mvomero is 3.6, compared to 3.7 for three of the districts and 3.4 in two of the six districts included in the study.

Table 4.1. provides an overview of the indicators and proxy variables and Mvomero’s scores for each dimension, compared with the average score for all six districts included in the study.

Table 4.1. Capitation Grant Governance Indicators and Proxy Variables and Mvomero’s scores

	Indicators	Proxy variables:
Effectiveness Mean Mvomero: 4.5 Mean six districts: 4.5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of clear plans for capitation spending 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporation of capitation items in school plans • Preparation of procurement summary for capitation spending at school level
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good management of capitation funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compliance with Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) financial and procurement guidelines • Capitation transactions record keeping at schools
Rule of law Mean Mvomero: 1.7 Mean six districts: 1.7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of clear rules on capitation disbursements and spending (PEFA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of PEDP financial and procurement guidelines • Awareness of capitation funds that reach schools as per formulae
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures taken against misuse of capitation funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cases of fraud in capitation spending reported to authorities • Suspension of teachers/school committee members accused of misusing capitation funds
Accountability Mean Mvomero: 4.5 Mean six districts: 4.3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capitation expenditures reporting (PEFA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Submission of capitation spending reports to ward authorities • Presentation of capitation expenditure reports in parents’ meetings
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transparency in capitation funds management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Posting of capitation disbursements and expenditures on notice boards • Access to capitation spending records by CSOs

¹¹ The expenditure performance ratio is a ratio of actual expenditure over budgeted expenditure.

Participation Mean Mvomero: 3.9 Mean six districts: 3.9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of an institutional framework for participatory planning and management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The involvement of parents in planning for capitation items • Submission of procurement summary to School Committee for approval
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholders' monitoring of capitation disbursements and spending 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequency of monitoring visits conducted by CSOs • Number of CSOs monitoring reports on capitation spending

Source: Manara and Mwombela (2012)

Despite the fact that Mvomero is a high expenditure performer, schools in Mvomero do not perform as high as expected on the different dimensions of capitation grant governance when compared to the average performers (the two districts with an average expenditure performance ratio have an overall mean of 3.7).

Alike the Capitation Grants, the Capital Development Grants are also insufficient to meet the costs of construction. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) promotes a community approach to construction of schools and teacher houses, which means that communities are expected to raise their own financial resources and to provide local materials (sand, stones, bricks and land) and labour (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011). A study on community participation in ongoing construction of primary schools in the Mzumbe (including Vikenge village) and Mlali wards of Mvomero district (Mnaranara, 2010) shows that 20% of the 150 villagers interviewed contributed to primary school construction with cash, while 60% contributed with materials (including burnt bricks, sand, stones, water and fire wood). Cash contributions came from villagers employed by the government or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and business men, 80% of the villagers contributed in terms of labour as well, of whom 66.7% were women. The relatively high labour contribution of women is related to the fact that women are traditionally responsible for fetching water and collecting stones and sand. At the start of the school construction works, it took some efforts to mobilize the villagers, as they were of the opinion that it is up to the government to meet the costs of school construction. Political opposition parties, who pressed the villagers not to contribute or participate, played a role as well (Mnaranara, 2010).

In addition to the two types of grants, schools can receive donations from the private sector and NGOs and contributions from parents and the wider community (Manara and Mwombela, 2012). A 2010 study by Claussen and Assad on a public expenditure tracking initiative for primary and secondary education in mainland Tanzania highlights that generally urban schools receive more private contributions than village schools (Claussen and Assad, 2010). The level of contributions made by households depends on whether the school is private or government owned. While officially fees do not have to be paid for government schools, households still need to pay for uniforms, school materials and transportation (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011). 30% of households contribute as well to extra classes, employment of additional teachers and teaching materials and equipment (Claussen and Assad, 2010).

The Education Sector Management Information System (ESMIS) is expected to be a key element in planning and M&E. ESMIS is in the process of being established in all subsectors of the education sector and will gather and disseminate information on the indicators agreed upon in the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). At the time of elaboration of the ESDP 2008-2017 education data was dispersed over several MDAs. Data is aggregated at district level and transmitted to ministry levels and not always retained at lower levels. "Lack of reliable and recent data needed for effective management limit ESDP to be information-based" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008:

40). Under the ESDP the ESMIS is expected to upgrade the reliability and utility of education sector information and to unite all education sector activities (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008).

In 2009 the development of a decentralised Basic-Education Management Information System (BE-MIS) has been tested in 28 district councils and is expected to be implemented in all district councils in 2014 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2009). Claussen and Assad (2010), however, expect that not all district councils are able to maintain a functioning computer for data registration, hereby referring to the unsuccessful decentralisation of the Financial Management Information System (FMIS). While 80 councils are supposed to have a FMIS implemented several of them are not able to use the system due to communication problems, unreliable supply of electricity and/ or staff turnovers (Claussen and Assad, 2010). Mvomero District is one of the districts that uses the management information system to entry data collected at lower levels.

Strengthening the use of the ESMIS, through the online availability of disaggregated data in machine readable format, is one of the commitments made under the Open Government Partnership (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012). According to the independent reporting mechanism, this commitment has been substantially implemented while implementation could be further improved by making data available more timely (Tepani, 2013).

4.2. Education activities and outputs

Since 2008 Tanzania's education sector has been organised in four subsectors:

- Basic education: pre-primary, primary, secondary, teacher training, and adult education and non-formal education (AE/NFE);
- Folk education;
- Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET);
- Higher education: university and non-university (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011).

Table 4.2 shows that the majority of the 2013 education enrolment was registered in basic education (96.5%)¹². The majority of those enrolled in basic education are enrolled in primary education. Primary education has seven grades and is officially for children between 7 to 13 years. Secondary education has two cycles, a four year Ordinary Level (O-Level) and a two year Advanced Level (A-Level).

¹² The BEST 2013 does not include adult and non-formal education and combines vocational education and training with folk education instead of with technical education.

Table 4.2. % Enrolment per type of education

Type of education	% enrolment
Pre-primary	8.9
Primary	71.5
Secondary O-level	15.0
Secondary A-level	0.7
Teacher training	0.4
Folk and vocational education and training	1.1
Technical education	1.0
Higher education	1.4

Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (2013)

After a sharp increase in enrolment in primary schools after the introduction of free primary education in 2001, the enrolment in primary schools has decreased since 2009. A high dropout rate is one of the reasons for this decrease (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013): for girls the main reason is pregnancy, for boys truancy. Increases in enrolments in pre-primary education until 2011 have been facilitated by the policy to include pre-primary education in primary schools (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011), while increases in total enrolments in secondary schools until 2012 have been facilitated by the policy to construct at least one secondary school in each ward (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2012). Enrolment in government secondary schools decreased in 2013 due to high dropout rates, especially in form two while enrolment in non-government secondary schools continued to increase (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013).

Performance in the primary school leaving examination is one of the main indicators of primary education sector's effectiveness. The percentages of pupils passing their PSLE (Primary School Leaving Examination) are fluctuating between 2007 and 2012, with a decrease from 54.2% to 49.2% between 2007 and 2009, an increase to 58.3% in 2011 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2012) and a high decrease to 30.7% in 2012. More boys than girls passed their PSLE in 2012, 35.6% compared to 26.4% (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013). An explanation of the low percentage of pupils passing their PSLE in 2012 is not provided. The percentages of pupils passing their CSEE (Certificate of Secondary Education Examination) fluctuated in the period 2003-2012 as well with the highest percentage in 2004 (91.5%) and the lowest percentage in 2012 (43.1%) (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013). According to the Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 2013, pass rates are highly negatively correlated with the number of candidates sitting for CSEE (62.359 in 2003 compared to 397.222 in 2012). Community schools, which have been constructed through the (financial) mobilisation of communities, are performing worse than public and nongovernmental schools, while they registered 70% of all mainland CSEE school candidates in 2009 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011)¹³. The pass rate for the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (ACSEE) has been above 90% in the period 2004-2013 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013).

4.2.1. Morogoro region

The Basic Education Statistics (BEST) 2013 and the 2011 Tanzania Education Sector Analysis (ESA, which also uses the BEST, but older editions) include some data on primary and secondary education in the Morogoro region.

¹³ The 2011 Tanzania Education Sector Analysis recommends to undertake a complementary study to clarify the causes and identify possible courses of action (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011).

Table 4.3. Primary education indicators 2013

	Morogoro			Total (mainland Tanzania)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>T</i>
Gross intake rate	99.4	100.6	100.0	102.2	103.3	102.8
Net intake rate	64.9	67.9	66.4	72.6	73.2	72.9
Gross enrolment ratio	91.1	94.2	92.7	95.1	97.2	96.2
Net enrolment ratio	86.1	89.3	87.7	89.1	90.3	89.7
Pupil teacher ratio (PTR)	40			43		
Pupil qualified teacher ratio¹⁴ (PQTR)	40			44		
Pass rate PSLE (2012)	31.6	24.8	28	35.6	26.4	30.7
Shortage of desks	39.3			35.4		
Pupil Pit Latrine Ratio¹⁵	51	58	54	53	51	52
Pupil Classroom Ratio¹⁶	72			72		

Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (2013)

Compared to the BEST 2012 data, intake rates, enrolment ratios and especially PSLE pass rates significantly decreased, both in Morogoro as in mainland Tanzania (in 2011 total pass rates were 61.4% in Morogoro and 58.3% in Tanzania mainland)¹⁷. This decrease was stronger in Morogoro, which scored better than the national average on these indicators in 2011/2012 and, as the table demonstrates, worse than the national average in 2013. In Morogoro access probabilities used to be lower than the national average. In the 2011 Tanzania Education Sector Analysis (ESA), Morogoro region is still categorised among regions with low values for both primary access and distance to schools, which means that: “the lack of schools within reasonable distance of homes could be the main hindrance to primary school access” (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011: 146). In addition the ESA mentions that agro-pastoral activities in the Morogoro region keep children away from school (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011). As Morogoro had higher intake rates and enrolment ratios than the national average in 2012, the region seems to have overcome some of supply and demand constraints.

Morogoro has 217 secondary schools, of which 80.2% are government owned (compared to 78.5% nationally). Of the 174 government owned secondary schools 87.9% is owned by the community (compared to 89.3 % nationally) (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2013). Between 2004 and 2009 the number of O-level secondary schools in Morogoro increased with 413% as a result of a national program that has prioritised regions with an undersupply of schools (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011). With regard to secondary access in relation to the distance to a secondary school, the ESA categorises Morogoro in area B referring to regions with a low level of access despite the relative proximity of secondary schools. These regions are thus affected by demand constraints when it comes to secondary education (in contrast to primary education which used to be mainly affected by supply constraints). As Morogoro is a wealthy agricultural region, this could be related to the demand for youth labour, which makes the opportunity costs related to O-level education higher (opportunity costs increase with age and level of education) (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011).

¹⁴ Norm is 1:40 (BEST, 2013).

¹⁵ Norm is 1:25 for boys and 1:20 for girls (BEST, 2013).

¹⁶ Norm is 1:40 (BEST, 2013).

Table 4.4. Secondary (O-level and A-level) government and non-government schools, 2013

	Morogoro			Total (Tanzania mainland)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>T</i>
Pupil teacher ratio (PTR)	26			25		
Pupil qualified teacher ratio (PQTR)	28			28		
Student pit latrine ratio	30	28	29	31	27	29
Classroom ratio	36			39		

Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (2013)

Between 2012 and 2013 improvements were made on the indicators included in table 4.4, except for the boys' student pit latrine ratio. The student pit latrine ratio used to be lower for boys than for girls, but due to improvements made in the availability of female latrines, the ratio is presently higher for boys than for girls. The average PTR and PQTR hide differences between O-levels and A-levels, between government and non-government schools and between districts. Data used in the ESA show for instance that the PTR at O-level in government schools in Morogoro region was 35:1 in 2009, while the PQTR was 49:1. The Morogoro urban district is put forward as a district with extremely low PTR (17.5:1) and PQTR (19:1) in 2009 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011).

4.2.2. Mvomero district

In 2014, the district has 142 primary schools with almost 60,000 pupils (51% girls) enrolled and 1,404 teachers (of which 58.4% are women) (Mvomero District Council, 2014). The qualification of a large majority (93.1) of teachers is grade III A. The PSLE pass rate increased from 55.1% in 2008 (Mgalla and Mbulanya, 2008) to 60.2% (58.0% among boys, 62.0% among girls) in 2013 (Mvomero District Council, 2014).

4.2.3. Changarawe and Vikenge

Changarawe has two public primary schools (Changarawe Primary School and Mzumbe Primary School which is located on the premises of Mzumbe University), two public secondary schools (Mongola Secondary School and Mzumbe Secondary School) and one private secondary school (Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School). Vikenge has one public primary school (Vikenge Primary School). Table 4.5. provides an overview of the number of households included in the household survey with children in these six schools.

Table 4.5.: Number of households with 1 or more children in the primary and secondary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge (and percentage of number of households interviewed)

	Changarawe	Vikenge	Total
Changarawe Primary School	31 (24%)	14 (12.1%)	45
Mzumbe Primary School	43 (33.3%)	12 (10.3%)	55
Vikenge Primary School	0	51 (44%)	51
Mzumbe secondary school	1 (0.8%)	0	1
Mongola secondary school	32 (24.8%)	28 (24.1%)	60
Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School	1 (0.8%)	0	1

Source: authors' own survey data

In the week preceding the household surveys, 55 children between 6 and 18 years old (i.e. 16.9% of the 326 children (159 in Changarawe and 167 in Vikenge) who reported to go to school) were not in school, 31 girls and 24 boys, with minor differences among Changarawe and Vikenge. Reasons for absence vary, with holidays being the most important reason for absence in Changarawe (both boys

and girls) and sickness the most mentioned reason for absence in Vikenge (both boys and girls). Lack of money to pay school fees and school materials are only mentioned in Vikenge.

Table 4.6.: Number of households with children (6-18) not going to school in the past week and reasons for absence

	Changarawe		Vikenge		Total	
	<i>girls</i>	<i>boys</i>	<i>girls</i>	<i>boys</i>	<i>girls</i>	<i>boys</i>
Nr of children (6-18) not going to school in the past week	16	16	15	8	31	24
Reason						
Holiday	9	13	1	0	7	7
Sickness	4	2	8	4	11	6
Lack of school fees	0	0	4	1	4	1
Help with work at home	1	0	1	1	2	1
Lack of school materials	0	0	1	1	1	1
Other	2	1	0	1	2	2

Source: authors' own survey data

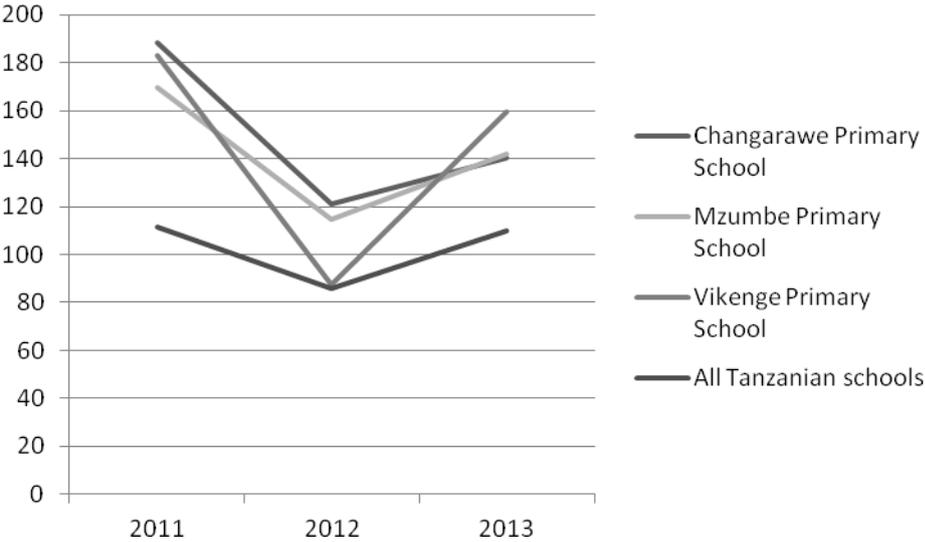
Among the household survey interviewees who reported a monthly budget for education expenditures (115 in Changarawe, 138 in Vikenge), the average monthly expenditure is 31,022.45 Tanzanian shilling in Changarawe and 28,095.89 Tanzanian shilling in Vikenge. This average, however, conceals considerable differences between the households with 1500 Tanzanian shilling being the lowest and 246,000 the highest budget in Changarawe (median is 25,000). In Vikenge the lowest mentioned budget is 1000 and the highest is 400,000 (median is 15,000). Interestingly, in some of the households budgets mentioned by each of the parents also show considerable differences (e.g. 45,000 against 25,000).

In 2013 the passing rate of the three primary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge were considerably higher than the average passing rate in Mvomero district (60.2%): 95.1% in Changarawe Primary School, 98.0% in Mzumbe Primary School and 94.3% in Vikenge Primary School (National Education Council of Tanzania, 2014). According to village council members in Changarawe the pass mark (100) is too low, as a result of which very weak pupils are able to join secondary schools (Makombe et al., 2012).

Notwithstanding the claims of the village council members, the two primary schools in Changarawe are classified in the 2013 PSLE ranking among the medium performing schools (both in band 5: average scores on PSLE between 131 to 155/ 250), while Vikenge Primary School is classified among the high performing schools (in band 4: average score on PLSE between 156 to 180/ 250). The average marks do, however, vary considerably per year, as shown in figure 4.1. which displays data for the three schools as well as the national average marks in 2011, 2012 and 2013¹⁸.

¹⁸ No data per school is available before 2011.

Figure 4.1. Average marks for primary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge and national average in 2011, 2012, 2013



Source: National Education Council of Tanzania (2014)

Vikenge’s primary school demonstrates the largest decrease of average marks between 2011 and 2012 (52.2%) and the largest increase between 2012 and 2013 (81.9%). The average marks of Changarawe Primary School and Mzumbe Primary School decreased with 35.7% and 32.4% respectively between 2011 and 2012 and increased with 16.0% and 23.8% respectively between 2012 and 2013. Not only the average marks were considerably lower in 2012, also the pass rates were much lower: 79.3% in Changarawe Primary School, 66.7% Mzumbe Primary School and only 18.6% in Vikenge Primary School (data for 2011 is not available). Comparing 2012 and 2013 passing rates highlights that the pass rates increased with 19.9% in Changarawe Primary School, 46.9% in Mzumbe Primary School and 407% in Vikenge Primary School. According to interviewees Mzumbe Primary School used to be the best performing school among the three, while nowadays Vikenge is outperforming the others.

A large majority (81.7%) of the household survey respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School confirm this improvement in primary education quality. In fact, only 2.2% of the respondents think that the quality has decreased. Parents of Changarawe and Mzumbe Primary School are slightly less positive when it comes to improvement in quality: while the majority of the interviewees consider the quality of primary education to have increased (58.5% and 67.9% for Changarawe and Mzumbe respectively), 11% and 8.3% of the parents believe it has decreased. However, focusing on the current quality of primary education highlights that survey respondents with children in Changarawe Primary School are generally more satisfied with the quality of education than respondents with children in Mzumbe and Vikenge Primary School. More specifically, 57.3% of the respondents with children in Changarawe Primary School rate the quality as either excellent, very good or good¹⁹, compared to 52.5% and 56.0% of the respondents with children in Mzumbe²⁰ and Vikenge Primary²¹ School respectively. Focusing only on the excellent rates on the other hand highlights that far more respondents with children in Mzumbe Primary School rate the quality as being excellent (16.7%) compared to respondents with children in Changarawe (9.8%) and Vikenge Primary School (10.8%).

¹⁹ Other rates include: satisfactory: 24.4%; partially satisfactory: 9.8% and low: 3.7%.
²⁰ Other rates include: satisfactory: 23.8%; partially satisfactory: 13.1% and low: 4.8%.
²¹ Other rates include: satisfactory: 23.7%; partially satisfactory: 17.2% and low: 3.2%.

The tables below highlight that household survey interviewees in Changarawe and Vikenge (Table 4.7) and more specifically those who have children in the three primary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge (Table 4.8) relate the increase in quality of primary education to a large extent to more supervision from (local and central) government. The presence of more powerful parents is another often mentioned reason, particularly in Vikenge and specifically among respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School. Respondents who indicated other reasons referred mainly to the quality and functioning of the teachers (which is obviously not independent from the other two main elements highlighted which might affect teachers' behaviour).

Table 4.7.: Elements that contribute to an increase in the quality of primary schooling (as perceived by respondents²²)

	Changarawe N=87		Vikenge N=108		Total N=195	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
More/less supervision from local government	57	65.5	88	81.5	145	74.4
More/less supervision from central government	57	65.5	55	50.9	112	57.4
More/less powerful parents	19	21.8	57	52.8	76	39.0
More/less intervention from donor agencies	5	5.7	5	4.6	10	5.1
More/less interventions from local politicians	5	5.7	2	1.9	7	3.6
More/less active media	2	2.3	3	2.8	5	2.6
More/less intervention from NGOs	4	4.6	1	0.9	5	2.6
Other reasons	16	18.4	13	12.0	29	14.9
Don't know	2	2.3	1	0.9	3	1.5

Source: authors' own household survey

Table 4.8.: Elements that contribute to an increase in quality of primary schooling (as perceived by respondents with children in primary schools)(%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=48	Mzumbe Primary School N=57	Vikenge Primary School N=76
More/less supervision from local government	75.0	70.2	84.2
More/less supervision from central government	58.3	59.6	52.6
More/less powerful parents	33.3	33.3	52.6
More/less interventions from donor agencies	4.2	5.3	5.3
More/less interventions from local politicians	4.2	7.0	2.6
More/less active media	2.1	5.3	1.3
More/less intervention from NGOs	4.2	3.5	0.0
Other reasons	12.5	26.3	11.8
Don't know	0.0	1.8	1.3

Source: authors' own household survey

Similar to the increase in quality, household survey interviewees consider a decrease in quality of primary schooling to be related to less supervision from government (local and central) (see table

²² Respondents also include interviewees without children in primary schools.

4.9.), while the interviewees with children in Mzumbe Primary School consider less supervision from local government clearly of less importance compared to parents with children in the other two primary schools (see table 4.10.). In line with what was mentioned above, the performance of teachers is what is most often reported under 'other reasons' (for all interviewees).

Table 4.9.: Elements that contribute to a decrease in the quality of primary schooling (as perceived by respondents)

	Changarawe N=13		Vikenge N=5		Total N=18	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
More/Less supervision from local government	5	38.5	4	80.0	9	50.0
More/Less supervision from central government	5	38.5	4	80.0	9	50.0
More/Less powerful parents	0	0.0	1	20.0	1	5.6
More/Less intervention from donor agencies	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
More/Less interventions from local politicians	2	15.4	1	20.0	3	16.7
More/Less active media	0	0.0	1	20.0	1	5.6
More/Less intervention from NGOs	3	23.1	0	0.0	3	16.7
Other reasons	4	30.8	1	20.0	5	27.8
Don't know	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Table 4.10.: Elements that contribute to a decrease in quality of primary schooling (as perceived by respondents with children in primary schools)(%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=9	Mzumbe Primary School N=7	Vikenge Primary School N=2
More/Less supervision from local government	66.7	28.6	100.0
More/Less supervision from central government	66.7	57.1	50.0
More/Less powerful parents	0.0	0.0	50.0
More/Less interventions from donor agencies	0.0	0.0	0.0
More/Less interventions from local politicians	22.2	14.3	0.0
More/Less active media	11.1	0.0	50.0
More/Less intervention from NGOs	11.1	28.6	0.0
Other reasons	11.1	57.1	0.0
Don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Mzumbe Secondary School is a public school for students with high PSLE marks while Mongola Secondary School is a ward school that was built as a result of the 2006 Prime Minister's directive to build a secondary school in each ward. While this directive contributed to an increase in secondary school enrolment, according to the International Budget Partnership (2013) ward secondary schools face more challenges with regard to staffing and qualification of teachers.

This is somehow also confirmed by the household survey findings. Compared to primary education, household survey respondents with children in Mongola Secondary School are generally less satisfied with the quality of secondary education; only 26.7% rated the quality as either very good or good (no one rated excellent)²³ and 3% of the respondents even think that quality of secondary education is very bad, a category which none of the respondents used for primary education. Nevertheless, about half of the respondents (50.5%) is of the opinion that quality has increased over time, against only 7.7% who think quality has decreased. The one household (one respondent) with a child in Mzumbe Secondary School thinks the quality is satisfactory and did not change over time while the parents of the child in Askofu Adrian Mkoba differ amongst each other in their opinion about the quality of secondary schooling. While the father considers the quality to be good, the mother perceives it as just satisfactory. Both are of the opinion that the quality did not change over time.

In line with findings for primary education, the most mentioned reason for increase or decrease of quality is more or less supervision of (local and central) government (see Table 4.11 for elements that contributed to an increase in quality in secondary schooling as perceived by all respondents and Table 4.12 for the opinion of respondents with children in Mongola Secondary School; Tables 4.13 and 4.14 for elements that contributed to a decrease in quality in secondary schooling as perceived by all respondents and as perceived by respondents with children in Mongola Secondary School respectively). Powerful parents are also especially mentioned by respondents in Vikenge.

Table 4.11.: Elements that contribute to an increase in the quality of secondary schooling (as perceived by respondents)

	Changarawe N=39		Vikenge N=38		Total N=77	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
More/less supervision from local government	25	64.1	26	68.4	51	66.2
More/less supervision from central government	24	61.5	24	63.2	48	62.3
More/less powerful parents	6	15.4	16	42.1	22	28.6
More/less interventions from local politicians	4	10.3	2	5.3	6	7.8
More/less active media	1	2.6	5	13.2	6	7.8
More/less intervention from donor agencies	2	5.1	1	2.6	3	3.9
More/less intervention from NGOs	2	5.1	1	2.6	3	3.9
Other reasons	4	10.3	1	2.6	5	6.5
Don't know	2	5.1	0	0.0	2	2.6

Sources: authors' own survey

Table 4.12.: Elements that contribute to an increase in quality secondary schooling (as perceived by respondents with children in Mongola Secondary school) (%)

	Mongola Secondary School (N=51)
More/less supervision from local government	76.5
More/less supervision from central government	62.7
More/less powerful parents	33.3
More/less interventions from donor agencies	2.0
More/less interventions from local politicians	9.8
More/less active media	5.9
More/less intervention from NGOs	2.0
Other reasons	9.8
Don't know	0.0

Source: authors' own household survey

²³Other rates include: satisfactory: 22.8%; partially satisfactory: 34.7% and low: 8.9%.

Table 4.13.: Elements that contribute to a decrease in quality of secondary schooling (as perceived by respondents)

	Changarawe N=15		Vikenge N=4		Total N=19	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
More/less supervision from local government	9	60.0	0	0.0	9	47.4
More/less supervision from central government	6	40.0	1	25.0	7	36.8
More/less powerful parents	4	26.7	1	25.0	5	26.3
More/less interventions from local politicians	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
More/less active media	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
More/ less intervention from donor agencies	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
More/ less intervention from NGOs	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other reasons	4	26.7	1	25.0	5	26.3
Don't know	1	6.7	1	25.0	2	10.5

Sources: authors' own household survey

Table 4.14.: Elements that contribute to a decrease in quality of secondary schooling (as perceived by respondents with children in Mongola secondary school)(%)

	Mongola Secondary School N=8
More/less supervision from local government	12.5
More/less supervision from central government	25.0
More/less powerful parents	12.5
More/less interventions from donor agencies	0.0
More/less interventions from local politicians	0.0
More/ less active media	0.0
More/ less intervention from NGOs	0.0
Other reasons	50.0
Don't know	12.5

Source: authors' own household survey

5. Rules in use

Rules-in-use refer to “the operating rules that are commonly used by most participants and the sources of these rules” (Polski & Ostrom, 1999: 15) and can be either formal (5.1) or informal (5.2). We limit the discussion below to those issues that are considered relevant for the topic under study.

5.1. Rules in use (formal)

Direction and guidance on national priorities for socio-economic development to public and private sectors are provided by the Tanzania Development Vision 2025, the Medium Term Plan (MTP), the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP, or Mkukuta), sector policies and strategies, Decentralisation by Devolution and the Plan and Budget Guidelines. In what follows, we zoom into some of these policies and initiatives which are crucial instruments that guide local development in general and the education sector in particular.

5.1.1. Decentralisation

A first important instrument is the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) which was launched in 1996 to make local governments more efficient and effective while it as well introduced participatory planning. In 2008 a new LGRP (referred to as LGRP II) has been elaborated for the period July 2008-June 2013 with more focus on decentralisation by devolution (D by D). At central level PMO-RALG coordinates the decentralised responsibilities (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008) and is e.g. responsible for the coordination of the recruitment and deployment of teachers across LGAs (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011)²⁴. In 2001, the PMO-RALG adopted the Opportunities and Obstacles for Development (O&OD) as a kind of national planning and budgeting system that informs local plans and budgets from the local to the council level. The aim is to increase the involvement of citizens to bridge the gap between centrally-driven development and local needs (Msami, 2011). O&OD starts from the opportunities that are inherently present in a community environment instead of focusing on obstacles and in this way “attempts to change the peoples’ mind sets that development is possible by using the resource endowment of the local environment” (Cooksey and Kikula, 2005: 6).

According to the Government of Tanzania, the LGRP resulted in an increased awareness of local government reform, enhanced capacities of authorities and an increase in community participation in local development (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 2009). However, more critical voices highlight that the process, which was largely donor-driven, has installed complex layers of government and public administration, parallel systems of reporting and answerability without much improvement of accountability (see Hariss et al., 2011). One of the paradoxes of the reform is notably that it has increased the central government’s control over local government, as central government retains control over local government decision-making, through e.g. the grant system, which sets minimal national standards on the basis of which local authorities have to frame their budgets (Braathen et al., 2005). In addition practical constraints including lack of transport, poor communication and unmotivated and untrained staff undermine the feasibility of bottom-up planning (Cooksey & Kikula, 2005). According to Cooksey & Kikula (2005: 27) “the reality of local government relations with communities is often the reverse of participation and empowerment”. As a consequence, the O&OD methodology does not work and priorities in district plans are rather set by central government than by local communities (Fjeldstad et al., 2010). As citizens are aware of the insignificance of the procedure, the number of people participating in village meetings is rather low (Mollel & Tollenaar, 2011). These findings also hold for the case study villages. In Changarawe, the most recently available village plan of 2012 has been drafted according to the O&OD methodology,

²⁴ A research of the Policy Forum on allowances (Policy Forum, 2009) demonstrates that the PMO-RALG ranks eight in the top ten recipients of allowances, with an increase of 133% between 2008/2009 and 2009/2010.

but in practice citizens did not participate in the drafting. In Vikenge, the village plan was not drafted alongside the O&OD methodology; it is rather a list of objectives and priorities which can easily change due to changing needs or central-level priorities. The latter is also confirmed by ordinary citizens of both villages who emphasize that village meetings are not about setting local priorities, but rather about the provision of orders from above.

5.1.2. Open Government Partnership and Big Results Now Initiative

In 2011 Tanzania joined the Open Government Partnership (OGP) initiative²⁵, which is “a global initiative that aims at promoting transparency, empower citizens, fight corruption and encourage use of new technologies to improve governance” (United Republic Tanzania, 2012). The Open Government Partnership aims to improve service delivery and to make Government more responsible and accountable to their citizens. The PMO-RALG (Prime Minister Office – Regional Administration and Local Government) is the most important Tanzanian player in the Open Government Partnership, as it has to ensure that districts, municipalities and city councils implement the Open Government Partnership commitments (Tepani, 2013).

For the period 2012-2013 the government of Tanzania elaborated an action plan for the Open Government Partnership which includes commitments in the areas of ‘transparency’, ‘citizen participation’, ‘accountability and integrity’ and ‘technology and innovation’. A new action plan of the Open Government Partnership will be linked with a new government initiative, the Big Results Now (BRN), which aims to increase the pace of economic growth and poverty reduction in six key priority areas: education, water, oil and gas, agriculture, transport and revenue mobilization (United Republic Tanzania, 2013b). In the education sector the focus is put on increasing passing rates at all levels, provision of quality education for both primary and secondary and provision of financial and material incentives to the teachers. An important element of the BRN is monthly testing of pupils, which are marked at central level. BRN is currently already used by Mvomero district to incentivize teachers and ward education officers who have been rewarded on the basis of this year’s school results. As highlighted by one of the interviewees at ward level, the publication of the results at district, ward and school level on public notes boards (and the related naming and shaming mechanism) has also started to stimulate more competition between schools.

5.1.3. Education

As a result of decentralisation, the MoEVT is no longer responsible for the management and control of primary and secondary education, but the ministry is still responsible for overall coordination, policy making and monitoring, management of higher education and TVET, training of sufficient teachers and monitoring the adequacy of the number and qualifications of teachers (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2011). Since 2005 there have been three different education ministers, who each have tried to make important changes to the sector, which have resulted in a lack of shared vision and strategy (Carlitz and McGee, 2013) as well as confusion and limited uptake at district, ward and village level.

The government of Tanzania launched the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) in 1997. The ESDP 2008-2017, which includes the key sub programmes including the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) 2002-2006, the Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) 2004-2009 and the Folk Education Development Programme (FEDP) 2007-2011, formulates strategies and activities in four clusters: ‘capabilities and values’, ‘conductive teaching and learning environment’, ‘micro-macro efficient management’ and ‘education provision in order to increase enrolment at all levels’ (United Republic of Tanzania, 2008). The ESDP supports the National Strategy

²⁵ The Open Government Partnership was launched in New York in September 2011 by 8 founding members: Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico, Norway, Philippines, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States.

for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA). The ESDP 2008-2017 refers to M&E in e.g. its principles and strategic objectives. The specific objectives of the ESDP monitoring system are:

- to ensure timely availability of complete and user-related data;
- to ensure proper storage, easy access and use by stakeholders;
- to analyse data and disseminate the findings to stakeholders; and
- to promote evidence-based decision making at all levels through monitoring and an increased attention to evaluation (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008: 33).

Priority actions and reforms required for establishing the ESDP M&E function and strategic priorities for upgrading the ESDP M&E function are formulated in the ESDP 2008-2017. The priority actions and reforms include:

- “training of key actors at central and local level, institution level, civil society and private sector level in designing, implementing and monitoring of pro-education outcomes policies and strategies;
- systems’ development budget process will be used as a mechanism for resources allocations by capturing priority goals, targets (operational) and outcomes strategies. The overriding strategic action is to link resources allocation to operational targets with the MOFEA (Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs) development SBAS (Strategic Budget Allocation System) in order to have an Integrated Financial Management System;
- technical assistance (TA): the strategy here is to provide inputs for developing a TA policy that builds on the national policy and already accepted TA strategies. The key characteristics for TA are:
 - being able to build on national mentoring capacities;
 - improving the quality of individual capacities;
 - being systemic and institutionalised; and
 - promoting internal/external out sourcing through secondments and sabbaticals” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008: 34).

The strategic priorities include:

- “adopting a broad participatory approach to Education Monitoring and Evaluation (EME) by December 2008;
- undertaking training programmes to strengthen the ESDP performance management process capacity at Ministry, District and Institutional Level by December 2008;
- improved quality and timeliness on the collection, processing, analysing, storing and disseminating of data to facilitate monitoring and evaluation by December 2008; and
- improved effective utilisation of agreed indicators for ascertaining and monitoring the effectiveness of investment in education sector by December 2008; and
- improved communication and flow of information between sectors, ministries, regions, districts and institutions” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008: 34).

According to Mbelle (2008), however, Tanzania has been good in elaborating policies and strategies for achieving universal primary education, but implementation of these policies and strategies has been more challenging.

In Mvomero district primary education services is one of the top priorities on the District Development Agenda (Mgalla and Mbulanya, 2008). Education policy is guided by the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP, 2002-2006)²⁶ which consists of four elements: enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity strengthening and institutional arrangements (United

²⁶ Interestingly, Mvomero’s most recent education policy document refers to the PEDP (the predecessor of the ESDP) which may be indicative of the fact that changing education policies at central level are not always trickling down to the district and local level.

Republic of Tanzania, 2001). Mvomero's recent quarterly PEDP report (April to June 2014) also includes monitoring and evaluation and educational research among its priorities.

5.2. Rules in use (informal)

In addition to formal rules, informal rules determine the behaviour of actors in the education sector. "Informal rules often respond to a different logic of answerability and sanctions than those imposed by formal laws and are generally more difficult to change" (Lawson and Rakner, 2005; Hussman and Mmuya 2005 cited in Harriss et al., 2011: 10). If they are not in favour of government reforms, they can possibly delay them (see also Prinsen, 2007). "What logic dominates is dictated by costs and benefits that derive from one system or another and by the balance of power between different actors. Lobbying for change thus also often necessitates mobilizing informal networks of contacts, facilitating opportunities for dialogue, pushing to establish new narratives of accountability and alternative views of costs and benefits" (see Harriss et al., 2011: 10).

Three common, related informal institutions are corruption, clientelism and 'big man' presidentialism (Bratton, 2007). Clientelism is the "expression of political loyalty to providers of patronage" (Bratton, 2007: 98) while 'big man' presidentialism specifically refers to the personalisation of power around the president. In such cases, "he is literally above the law, controls in many cases a large proportion of state finance with little accountability, and delegates remarkably little of his authority on important matters" (Van de Walle, 2003: 310). 'Big man' presidentialism and clientelism allow highly placed politicians, including the president, and highly placed officials to influence policy, which could result in policies for which the administration is not yet ready or policies that contradict already existing sector policies (Cambridge Education, 2010).

Corruption, which also includes bribery and absenteeism ('quiet corruption'), has negatively affected the education sector over time. Corruption results from an institutionalization of political clientelism, among elected leaders as well as among appointed officials (Carlitz and McGee, 2013). While the World Bank governance indicators show an improvement on the control of corruption indicator for Tanzania between mid 1990s to mid 2000s, scores on this indicator gradually deteriorated between 2006 and 2013 (World Bank, nd). On the Corruption Perceptions Index, which ranks countries on the perceived corruption of a country's public sector, Tanzania is with a score of 33/100 (0 = highly corrupt, 100 = very clean) ranked 111th out of 177 countries in 2013 (<http://www.transparency.org/country#TZA>). This score is slightly better than neighbouring countries such as Kenya and Uganda, which score 27/100 (rank 136/177) and 26/100 (rank 140/177) respectively, but (not surprisingly) much worse than Rwanda which scores 53/100 (rank 49/177). (<http://www.transparency.org/country#KEN>; <http://www.transparency.org/country#UGA>).

Interestingly, a 2006 Repoa brief on the Afrobarometer findings indicates that fighting corruption is not necessarily top priority for ordinary citizens who are more concerned with other priorities such as water supply and health services (Repoa, 2006). Similarly, the 2012 Afrobarometer findings highlight that 27.2% and 20.3% of the Mvomero respondents consider water supply and health services to be the most important problems as compared to 5.9% of the respondents who pointed at corruption to be the most important problem (Repoa and Michingan State University, 2012). According to Carlitz and McGee (2013:4): "Close observers of Tanzanian politics hold that corruption is tolerated so long as local constituents receive sufficient resources from those in power (even if such resources are channelled in a "clientelistic" fashion)" (Carlitz and McGee, 2013: 4). In fact, due to patronage networks, individual Tanzanians do not have an incentive to challenge a corrupt system, but rather to become part of it, as confronting local power structures is very costly and generally leads to less access to scarce resources and opportunities of the patronage network (Hoffman, 2013).

6. Community attributes

Community attributes refer to “the demographic features of the community, generally accepted norms about policy activities, the degree of common understanding potential participants share about activities in the policy area and the extent to which potential participants’ values, beliefs, and preferences about policy-oriented strategies and outcomes are homogenous” (Polski and Ostrom, 1999: 13). In this paper we sub-divide community attributes in politics (6.1.), governance (6.2.), socio-economy (6.3), culture (6.4.) and religion (6.5.). A lengthy in-depth discussion on each of these issues is beyond the scope of this study, we only focus on those issues that are considered relevant for the topic under study.

6.1. Political context

While Tanzania is characterized by fragmentation in terms ethnic groups (with more than 120 ethnic groups) and religion (with as many Christians and Muslims), it has a reputation of political stability. Government has created Kiswahili as a national language, used the education system to create one nation and mandated for years ethnically heterogeneous secondary schools (see Hoffman, 2013: 1-2).

On the basis of its ‘polity score’²⁷, Tanzania can be classified as an anocracy which “is characterized by institutions and political elites that are far less capable of performing fundamental tasks and ensuring their own continuity” (Marshall and Cole, 2011: 9). Rather than being a distinct form of governance, anocracies are “countries whose governments are neither fully democratic nor fully autocratic but, rather, combine an, often, incoherent mix of democratic and autocratic traits and practices” (Marshall and Cole, 2011: 9). Since the introduction of a multiparty system in 1995 the polity score of Tanzania has not changed and the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) upholds its dominant position (Carlitz and McGee, 2013). The electoral system of plurality voting also favours the CCM while the fact that the process of re-election is party-based further increases its power (see e.g. Lawson and Rakner, 2005). However, opposition parties such as Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) are beginning to emerge because of increasing frustration (particularly among the youth) with CCM’s rule (Hoffman, 2013). Yet, as mentioned below, the most recent Afrobarometer survey findings showcase that citizens generally still have more trust in CCM than in opposition parties (see Repoa and State University of Michigan, 2012).

There is a large degree of overlap among the party and the state with concentration of political (and economic) power in hands of a small number of people in the executive branch and CCM leadership. Weak judiciary and parliamentary powers do not function as effective checks and balances and the limited level of accountability is further undermined by CCM’s impressive bureaucracy and fusion among politics and administration which ensures enforcement of party priorities from local to central level (see also Harriss et al., 2011; Hoffman, 2013; Lawson and Rakner, 2005).

Policy making under the CCM regime is rather secret and closed (Carlitz and McGee, 2013), although Tanzania is mentioned by Marshall and Cole (2011) as one of the anocracies that has become more open since recently. Two of most important recent political trends in this regard are the ongoing constitutional reform process and the internal elections within CCM. First, the constitutional review is addressing reforms such as granting greater power to the legislative to conduct more effective oversight which should in principle lead to increased accountability (see Hoffman, 2013). Yet, some observers are more skeptical and consider these changes window dressing to satisfy donors who have been pushing for these types of reforms (see Harrison, 2001). Secondly, while there is little

²⁷ The Polity score ranges from -10, fully institutionalized autocracy, to +10, fully institutionalized democracy, Tanzania scores a -1 (Carlitz and McGee, 2013).

interparty competition, there is an increasing level of internal competition and fight within the CCM (Hoffman, 2013), which also holds for our case study villages (see below).

In Mvomero district, 77.4% of the 48 respondents of the 2012 round of the Afrobarometer survey voted for CCM as compared to only 3.6% for CHADEMA. Similarly, the majority of the respondents in Mvomero district also seem to have more trust in the ruling party (54.2%) than in the opposition parties (15.7%). According to 67.2% of the respondents the last national elections were completely free and fair while 92.2% felt completely free to cast their vote for their preferred candidate (see www.afrobarometer.org).

In Charangawe, only one member of the village council belongs to CHADEMA while in Vikenge all members are from the ruling party (CCM) (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). According to key informants living in Charangawe and Vikenge village, there is not a lot of competition between the members of different political parties in Changarawe (score 3 on a scale of 1 to 10) and Vikenge (score 1), while there is more political competition between members of the same political parties, especially in Changarawe (score 8 on a scale of 1 to 10, for Vikenge this score is 3) (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). Among our own 44 interviewees only one is a member from an opposition party (Chadema), while more than half said not to be affiliated to any political party. The majority of those who mentioned not to be a member of a political party are civil servants, which is in line with civil servants not being officially allowed to be a member of a political party. Yet, some of the interviewees highlighted that this does not hold in reality and referred to the fact that many civil servants have a CCM affiliation.

A 2012 REPOA study highlighted that parents in Mvomero district (and Singida Municipal) show more political awareness (listening to the radio, watching television and reading newspapers) compared to four other districts in Tanzania (of which only Morogoro Municipal is also located in Morogoro Region) (Manara and Mwombela, 2012). Interestingly, while the authors expected parents who are generally more political aware to be more likely to participate in school management and take a more critical stance with regard to school expenditures, parents in Mvomero (and Singida) were not able to monitor the use of capitation funds. A possible explanation might be the lack of information available on school issues, as financial reports are often filed or posted inside school offices (Manara and Mwombela, 2012).

6.2. Governance context

In 2013 Tanzania scored above the Sub-Saharan Africa mean on the World Governance Indicators except for control of corruption. Between 2003 and 2013 Tanzania's scores on voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence/ terrorism, regulatory quality improved, while scores on government effectiveness and rule of law deteriorated. Scores on control of corruption were higher than the Sub-Saharan Africa average between 2004 and 2011, but since 2006 they have deteriorated (see also 5.2.). (<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports>).

Also comparison between the 2008 and 2012 Afrobarometer rounds reveals an increase of people's perception of corruption among local councillors²⁸ (see www.afrobarometer.org). Findings from the 2012 Open Budget Survey show that Tanzania also scores low on indicators such as citizen's budget, access to information law, etc.; the lowest score is on public engagement (below 34, whereas the average score for Tanzania is 47/100)(International Budget Partnership, 2012).

²⁸ In 2008 3% of the respondents thought all the local councillors are corrupt, in 2012 5%; in 2008 10% thought most of them, in 2012 21%; in both 2008 and 2012 58% thought some of them; and in 2008 14% thought none of them, in 2012 12%.

However, there are also some initiatives that are worth mentioning. One of these is the Tanzania Governance Noticeboard initiative by the research institution 'Research on Poverty Alleviation' (REPOA)(active until 2007) which is aimed at making information from monitoring exercises publicly available (see www.repoa.or.tz/noticeboard). It includes amongst others data from the auditor general's reports and budget data from ministries and local authorities. Another interesting evolution is the rise of a small number of CSOs, such as Haki Elimu, Twaweza, Uwazi, etc. that are gradually getting policy influence, despite the 2002 NGO act which constraints CSO's role in politics (see also Hoffman, 2013). These organisations typically aim at increasing awareness among citizens' about their right to information which is in contrast to the traditional role of CSOs as implementers of CCM dominated processes.

Similarly, also media is becoming more vocal, notwithstanding the continuous postponement of a Freedom of Information Act. Media has particularly been active in reporting on instances of CCM and government corruption scandals (see Hoffman, 2013). There are also interesting alliances emerging among CSOs and media. For instance, Haki Elimu used TV and radio in its attempts to hold government accountable for its promises on primary education. Government responded by banning its spots which created resistance in media, subsequently leading to even more critical spots (see Hoffman, 2013). The rapidly increasing internet access might also be an important source of critical information about government, particularly among the youth. As regards Charangawe and Vikenge, citizens particularly listen to Abood Radio and watch Abood Television. At this moment, hardly any of the citizens who participated in our household survey receives information (on education) through internet (0.5% in Changarawe and 1.0% in Vikenge), while 24.2 % receives information through Abood Radio and TV (19.3% in Changarawe and 29.3% in Vikenge, see also 7.5.2.).

Also donors increasingly invest in strengthening the demand side of accountability through their support of Transparency Accountability initiatives (TAI) such as the Accountability in Tanzania programme (multi-donor) or the STAR (United States Agency for International Development) programme (Hoffman, 2013). Yet, NGOs involved in TAI often face challenges to mobilize citizens who often have less trust in NGOs than in their elected officials or civil servants and this particularly holds when such initiatives involve elements of confrontation with local power structures (see also 6.4.). This low level of citizen's mobilization to hold government accountable is also obvious in the villages of Changarawe and Vikenge where most villagers do not attend village meetings, nor do they engage in follow-up of issues at the level of the village government.

6.3. Socio-economic context

According to the 2014 World Development Report, Tanzania is ranked among the low income group countries with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP)/capita (PPP, Purchasing Power Parities) of 1590 US\$ (compared to an average of 1387 US \$ PPP for the low income group) and a growth rate of 3.4 % (as compared to an average of 3.7%). Official Development Assistance (ODA) as % of Gross National Income ranged from 13.1% in 2010 to 10.1% in 2012 (www.oecd.org/dac/stats/aid-at-a-glance). Major bilateral donors are the US, UK, EU, Japan, Sweden, Denmark and Norway. In the period 2011-2012, the largest part of ODA was spent in the health and population sector (37.1%), the education sector receives about 4.5% of ODA (OECD/DAC, 2014). As regards the education sector in Morogoro region, the most important donors are Sweden, World Bank, World Vision International, Care International and SNV.

As regards the 2013 Human Development Index (HDI), which gives an indication of a country's score in terms of life expectancy, education and purchasing power for investment in human development, Tanzania ranks 159/187 with a score of 0.488 (as compared to an average of 0.502 for SSA countries). Looking at the different sub-indicators of the HDI, it is obvious that Tanzania is particularly lagging behind other SSA countries in terms of purchasing power while it does relatively well compared to

the SSA average with respect to the average life expectancy at birth (61.5 as compared to the SSA average of 56.8 in 2013), the average mean years of schooling for people aged 25 (5.1 as compared to the SSA average of 4.8 in 2012) while it performs in line with the SSA average when it comes to the years of schooling a child at school entrance currently can expect to have (9.2 as compared to the SSA average of 9.7). Over the period 2000-2013, Tanzania's average yearly HDI growth was 2.08%. Over the period 2008-2013 the growth in human development has been higher in Tanzania as compared to other countries with similar HDI (which led to an improved HDI ranking of 5).

Correcting the HDI-value for income inequality leads to a loss of about 27% in the HDI value which is less compared to other countries with similar levels of HDI. The fact that Tanzania is performing slightly better in this regard is also evident from its Gini coefficient which is about 37% as compared to coefficients of 44.3% and 50.8% for Uganda and Rwanda respectively (Belgium's Gini coefficient stands at 33%, that of the US at 40.8%). Also when it comes to gender equality, Tanzania does relatively well with a female/male HDI of 91.6%, as compared to averages of 83.4% for low human development countries and 87.7% for medium human development countries.

As regards the specific socio-economic context of Morogoro region and Mvomero district the most recently available data is included in the 2007 Morogoro Regional Economic Profile (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment and the National Bureau of Statistics, 2007). Morogoro, the second largest region in Tanzania, covers about 7.7% of the total land area which is almost exclusively covered by land (about 97%). Only three districts have significant water bodies; Mvomero district, which is the second smallest district of Morogoro region (10% of the land area) only has an insignificant water area (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment and the National Bureau of Statistics, 2007: 1-3). In terms of topography, two features are interesting to highlight: on the one hand the mountainous and hilly areas of the Ukaguru, Uluguru and Nguru mountain ranges and on the other hand the lowlands of the Kilombero valley and the northern parts of the region (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment and the National Bureau of Statistics, 2007: 18).

Mvomero district contains 17 out of the 171 wards of Morogoro region, 101 out of the 540 villages and 577 out of the 3204 streets (Vitongoji). The population density in Mvomero district (37.9 persons/ km²) is slightly higher than Morogoro's average population density (27 persons/ km²), which was among the lowest in Tanzania in 2006 (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment and the National Bureau of Statistics, 2007: 1-6). The age structure in all districts of Morogoro is in line with that of many developing countries and characterized by large dominant age groups of 0-4 and 5-14 years, followed by the 15-44 and 45-64 age groups, which leads to high dependency ratios. Also the average household size in Mvomero district (4.7 in 2006) was in line with that of Tanzania in general (4.7; 4.9 in rural areas and 4.2 in urban areas) while the sex ratio (M/F) was slightly higher in Mvomero district (102) than in Morogoro region and Tanzania in general (99). The most recently available population census data shows that Mvomero's sex ratio currently stands at 98 while the household average size is estimated at 4.3 (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). While the average household size among our survey population in Changarawe is close to Mvomero's average (4.2), the average household size in Vikenge is slightly higher (4.9).

Given the abundant availability of land for agriculture and the favorable climate, the Morogoro region is considered to have great potential for economic development and investment. This is amongst others also evident from the fact that in 2006 Morogoro region ranked 8th (on a total of 21 regions) in terms of income per capita. As expected, crop farming is the major economic activity in terms of labour force participation, followed by streets vending, crafts, small business, professional jobs while industrial activity is currently still low. This also holds for Mvomero district where also livestock keepers are significantly present while fishermen are (as expected) a small minority. Both food and cash crops are cultivated, with maize being the most important food crop, while sisal which used to be the most important cash crop in the region has been replaced by coffee, oil palms,

sugarcane and mangos. Typical for Mvomero district is the large proportion of dairy cows which make about half of all diaries in Morogoro region. The increase in agricultural and livestock production has put the forest cover under serious pressure over the past decade. This has led to a rise in forest conservation initiatives, initiated by the government, communities and NGOs. In fact, Morogoro is considered to be one of the regions in Tanzania which has been relatively effective in forest conservation (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment and the National Bureau of Statistics, 2007: 51).

In Changarawe and Vikenge the majority of the citizens are subsistence farmers (83.7% among the respondents of our household survey in Changarawe, 81.4% in Vikenge). Vikenge has more commercial farmers than Changarawe (11.6% compared to 5.9%), who are more often women (17 women against 6 men; 15.9% of the women are commercial farmers compared to 6.5% of the men)²⁹. In Changarawe more men are commercial farmers (5 women against 7 men; 7.8% of the men are commercial farmers compared to 4.5% of women. Landownership is also higher among the respondents of the household survey in Vikenge, 45% own land and 33.7% own and rent land, whereas 38.6% of the respondents of the households in Changarawe own land and 30.2% own and rent land³⁰. Additionally, also the average amount of owned land is higher in Vikenge (4.8 acres, men 5.0 acres, women 4.6 acres) than in Changarawe (3.6 acres, men 3.9 acres, women 3.4 acres). Concerning the level of education among the respondents of the household survey, the majority completed only primary education (60.9% in Changarawe, 58.3% in Vikenge). Table 6.1. further shows small differences among our respondents in the two villages: while in Vikenge there is a higher percentage of our respondents who did not benefit from formal education, at the same time, there is also a higher percentage of respondents with advanced secondary education and tertiary education³¹.

²⁹ Differences in occupation between men and women in Vikenge are significant ($\chi^2=14.62$, $p=0.01$), differences in main occupation between the two villages and between men and women in Changarawe are not significant (between villages, ($\chi^2=8.53$, $p=0.29$, between men and women in Changarawe $\chi^2= 11.62$, $p=0.11$).

³⁰ Differences between the two villages are, however, not significant ($\chi^2= 5.04$, $p=0.17$). Differences between men and women are higher in Vikenge: 41.3% of the men own land, compared to 48.6% of the women and 39.1% of the men own and rent land, compared to 29.0% of the women (differences between men and women are not significant, $\chi^2= 3.05$, $p=0.38$). In Changarawe 38.9% of the men own land, compared to 38.4% of the women, 28.9% of the men own and rent land, compared to 31.3% of the women (differences between men and women are not significant, $\chi^2= 0.12$, $p= 0.99$).

³¹ Differences between the two villages are not significant ($\chi^2 = 4.94$ $p= 0.55$). Differences between men and women within the two villages are significant, especially in Vikenge ($\chi^2 =19.67$, $p= 0.003$, in Changarawe $p= 0.08$, $\chi^2 = 11.42$).

Table 6.1. Level of education of Changarawe and Vikenge household survey respondents

	Changarawe			Vikenge			Total		
	M (%)	F (%)	T	M(%)	F(%)	T	M (%)	F (%)	T
no formal education	8.9	21.4	15.8	8.7	27.1	18.6	8.8	24.2	17.2
some primary (not completed)	8.9	11.6	10.4	13.0	7.5	10.1	11.0	9.6	10.2
primary (standard 7 completed)	64.4	58.0	60.9	57.6	58.9	58.3	61.0	58.4	59.6
secondary (form 1-4)	15.6	8.0	11.4	12.0	4.7	8.0	13.7	6.4	9.7
advanced secondary (form 5-6)	0.0	0.9	0.5	2.2	0.0	1.0	1.1	0.5	0.7
tertiary	1.1	0.0	0.5	3.3	0.0	1.5	2.2	0.0	1.0
adult literacy classes (non formal)	1.1	0.0	0.5	2.2	1.9	2.0	1.6	0.9	1.2
Missing value	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Finally (and somehow related to the next issue), it is interesting to highlight that the Morogoro region has a history of involvement in cooperative activities, which is amongst others evident from the strong presence of Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOS). Membership of all kinds of cooperatives (such as SACCOS, consumer cooperatives and marketing cooperatives) is particularly high in Mvomero district.

6.4. Cultural context

Various Afrobarometer survey rounds (see e.g. rounds 3, 4 and 5) highlight that Tanzanians generally do not have an attitude of scepticism about authority which is partially linked to the sociologist ideology and a history of one-party structures. In line with this is a REPOA survey which shows that Tanzanians, particularly women, are embedded in a culture of acceptance. Even though gradually more people are voicing claims, these are individual initiatives and no instances of collective action. This is amongst others illustrated by survey findings which highlight that 79% of the rural and 80% of the urban interviewees would never attend a demonstration (Hoffman, 2013). There is generally also little incentive to sanction others for violating rules such as the use of footwear around water points because of local existing networks and the dislike of conflict. In line with this REPOA study, the preliminary study in Changarawe and Vikenge (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014) shows that open confrontation is not culturally accepted and not really allowed in both villages.

This culture of open conflict avoidance may obviously also impact upon the effectiveness of community-based types of monitoring and/or the feasibility and effectiveness of NPM-type of reforms as these are often built upon mechanisms such as 'naming and shaming', sanctioning and open confrontation. It is in this respect also interesting to refer to Kelsall (2008: 11) who highlights in his research that "the lack of fit between the local culture and imported institutions of accountability creates incentives for rule-breaking and opportunities for self-enrichment".

The importance of taking into account the local culture when implementing NPM-types of reforms was also emphasized in a recent study on the effectiveness of a Pay for Performance (P4P) scheme to lower home birth in Mvomero district (see Chimhutu et al., 2014). Whereas the scheme was effective in increasing the number of institutional deliveries (with health workers being particularly inclined to use coercive strategies against village women), payments to health workers and facilities were not made in line with performance but rather equally spread over different health facilities, irrespective of their performance. While this violation of the basic principle of P4P may be partly linked to the lack of a well-functioning M&E mechanism upon which the implementation of the principle is conditional, the authors suggest that the predominance of the egalitarian fairness principle in the Tanzanian context has also shaped the way in which the programme was implemented. In more egalitarian societies (as opposed to libertarian) performance-based incentives tend to be considered unfair as individuals should not be held responsible for factors beyond their control. Adding to this is the fact that existing social relationships among local policy makers and health workers make it even more difficult to reward health workers based on performance (see Chimhutu et al., 2014). The implementation of performance related pay might also not always be politically feasible. This is for instance the case in the education sector where salaries of teachers is something that is not easily challenged because they are the largest group of public employees and important allies for CCM at times of elections (Therkildsen, 2000; Kelsall, 2002).

Communities in Tanzania are also often reluctant to participate in all types of participatory exercises because of a history of coerced demands for participation under the Villagization policy. This type of top-down demands for participation and community labour still exist. For instance in the context of the guideline to build secondary schools in each ward of the country, local communities, also in our case study villages, were 'forced' by the District Commissioner to contribute in the form of labour and materials (see also Hoffman, 2013). While villagers do not openly resist participation, there are instances of passive resistance (see also Tilley, 2013). Such culture of passive resistance also typically leads to large implementation gaps and instances of 'ritualized' reforms. The latter is for instance obvious in the case of the Opportunities and Obstacles approach to development planning processes which have either not been implemented or only in a ritual manner (see also section 5.1.1.).

In terms of ethnic composition, whereas the Luguru are the original inhabitants of the area around Changarawe and Vikenge, nowadays the two villages are characterized by ethnic heterogeneity. While the majority of the 401 participants of the household surveys is Luguru (i.e. 62.9% in Changarawe and 70.4% in Vikenge), 29 and 22 other tribes are represented among our household survey respondents in Changarawe and Vikenge respectively. Focusing only on the local actors involved in education service delivery and governance, the picture is somewhat different: 4 out of 17 Changarawe interviewees are Luguru (23,5%), while the other 13 all belong to different ethnic groups, in Vikenge, 3 out of 9 interviewees are Luguru while the other 6 belong to different ethnic groups. In the two villages, no tensions are reported between the different ethnic groups (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). Elites are present in both villages and mostly based on professional status. Because of the proximity of Mzumbe University, some of the elite members are professors from Mzumbe, who sometimes live on campus or in the villages. In both villages, the elite is somehow integrated though they often live in fenced houses (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014).

In line with the culture of open conflict resistance and conflict minimization, there generally exists a strong preference to solve conflicts at the lowest level possible which leads to very few cases being brought to court (see also Maganga, 1999). This also holds for our case study villages where conflicts over scarce resources are normally settled by hamlet chairpersons. If the conflict is not solved, then it is taken to the police station and only in those exceptional cases where no solution is found at that level, it is brought to court. Conflicts between people who worship in one denomination are sometimes also solved by religious leaders and whenever there is a conflict, the focus also always remains on cooperation (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). Taboos on use of resources or fear of

sorcery when taboos are not respected used to exist in both villages, but this has declined due to the mixing of people from different ethnic backgrounds while it may still exist within ethnic groups and at the household and extended family level where accountability is still most robust (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). This is in line with findings of Colding and Folke (2001) who highlight that particularly where the same norms are shared by the community, supernatural enforcement mechanisms are less costly to hold people accountable. Such systems where people do not directly accuse or punish also often match the local socio-cultural context better (see e.g. Colding and Folke, 2001; Sasoake and Laumonier, 2012). It has also been showcased that when people feel they can not expect much from government (e.g. top-down M&E) or societal institutions (e.g. bottom-up M&E) they also often turn to occult rituals such as pot-breaking (see e.g. Kelsall, 2003; 2008). When it comes to solving conflicts over natural resources, sangu customs are often referred to while some villages (not Changarawe and Vikenge) have installed sungusungu which is borrowed from traditional traditional customary defense organisations (see Cleaver, 2001). Also beyond the local level, there is a renewed interest in traditional and ritual systems of cursing and oathing. Kelsall (2008) refers in this respect to the Prime Minister's use of a Masai anti-corruption oath. In combination with public praise and shame these supernatural instruments can be powerful instruments to hold people accountable.

6.5. Religion

Besides recourse to traditional accountability mechanisms, citizens also often rely upon institutions with religious foundation. In their study on bottom-up accountability mechanisms, Kelsall et al. (2005) highlight that at times of increased citizens' feelings of institutional malfunctioning, particularly religious institutions remain unblemished, even if in reality these institutions can be divisive and a source of conflict. Particularly evangelical churches increasingly function as multipurpose institutions and networks which are involved in collective labour, conflict resolution etc. (see e.g. Cleaver, 2001).

In line with the general situation in Tanzania, our household survey highlights that Muslims and Christians are evenly represented in Changarawe and Vikenge, with Roman Catholics being the most dominant group among the Christians in both villages. Looking more in detail shows that Roman Catholic are particularly present in Changarawe while in Vikenge Muslims are the most dominant group³². Comparing household data with data from our semi-structured interviews with actors involved in education service delivery and governance highlights that Muslims are particularly underrepresented in Changarawe. Only 11.8% of all actors involved in education governance and none the specific education actors (head teachers, head masters, head of school boards) is Muslim. Interviewees further highlighted that there are no open conflicts between different religious groups, but in the search for converts some silent hidden conflicts may arise.

³² Differences between the two villages are significant ($\chi^2 = 11.64$, $p = 0.02$).

Table 6.1.: Religion of household survey respondents and local actors involved in education service delivery and governance (%)

	Changarawe		Vikenge	
	<i>Household survey (N=202)</i>	<i>Education governance actors (N=17)</i>	<i>Household survey (N=202)</i>	<i>Education governance actors (N=9)</i>
Muslim	43.6	11.8	51.8	44.4
Roman Catholic	46.5	52.9	34.7	33.3
Evangelical	2.5	11.8	8.0	0.0
Protestant	5.4	17.6	3.5	11.1
7th day Adventist	2.0	5.9	2.0	0.0
Jehovah witness	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

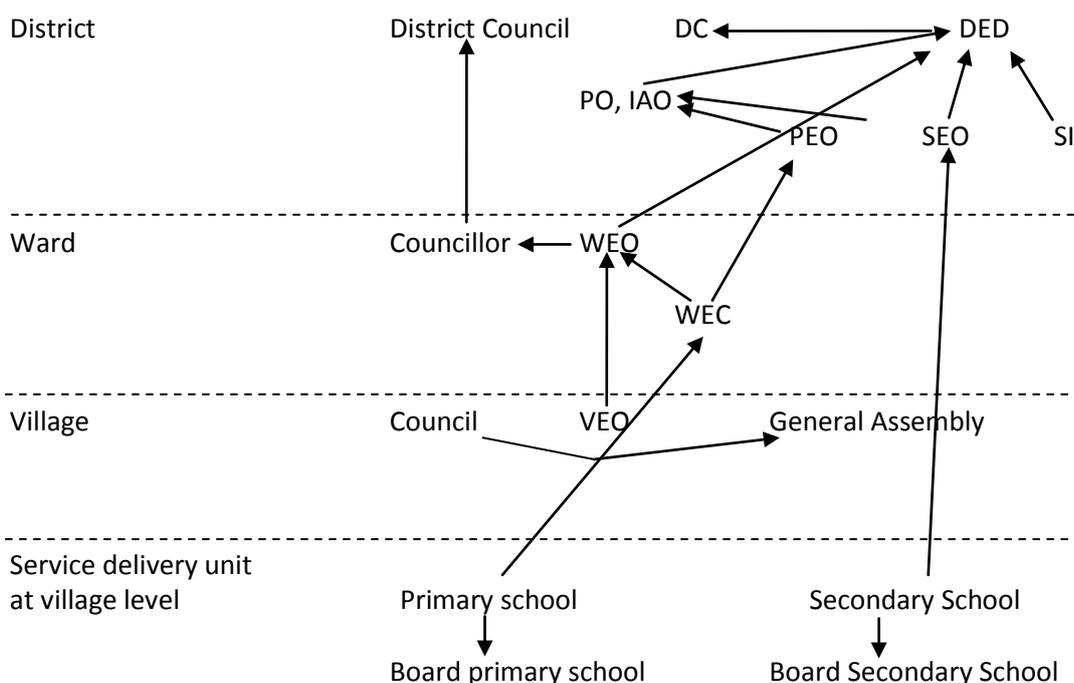
Source: authors' own household survey

7. Into the action arena: monitoring and evaluation (M&E) actors, activities and outputs

This section sketches different M&E actors, mechanisms and activities that are relevant from the perspective of the primary and secondary schools in Charangawe and Vikenge, which are the main service delivery units in our study. In what follows, we set out with an overview of M&E activities at school level (7.1.), after which a distinction is made between top-down actors who are situated at ward and district level and trigger accountability and learning through various M&E-types of instruments (7.2); bottom-up actors such as village council committees and village general assemblies and citizen-led school boards who aim at achieving similar objectives (7.3) and non-governmental organisations and media (7.4). Sections 7.1. to 7.4 draw upon insights from semi-structured interviews with actors that are directly and indirectly involved in education service delivery and governance. Section 7.5. gives a brief account of Changarawe and Vikenge’s citizens’ reporting of education-related problems (7.5.1), access to (7.5.2) and perceived quality of education-related information (7.5.3), drawing upon data from the household survey.

Figure 7.1. provides an overview of the lines of official reporting between these different actors.

Figure 7.1.: official lines of reporting in education (village up to district level)



DC: District Commissioner; DED: District Executive Director; IAO: Internal Audit Office; PEO: Primary Education Officer; PO: Planning Officer; PEO: Primary Education Officer; SEO: Secondary Education Officer; SI: School Inspectorate; VEO: Village Executive Officer; WEO: Ward Executive Officer; WEC: Ward Education Coordinator

7.1. Schools

7.1.1. Primary schools

As the main actors of service delivery under study, primary schools are also the principal suppliers of primary education data, which they officially have to send to the Ward Education Coordinator (WEC). The three primary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge collect and analyse data on access, quality, delivery of services, revenue collection and behaviour of students. Two schools mention they also

validate the data. The schools do not have a specific budget for M&E or staff that followed a specific M&E training. Table 7.1. gives an overview of selected information regarding M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the three primary schools.

Table 7.1.: M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the three primary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge (self-reported)

	Changarawe primary school	Mzumbe primary school	Vikenge primary school
Collection of data through...	reality check key informant interviews	reality check	reality check key informant interviews surveys
Change in quantity of M&E activities over time	no	no	increase
Channel for dissemination of information	reports sent through regular post and handed over face to face	reports sent through regular post and handed over face to face	face to face
Quality of outputs: Timely Credible and reliable Respond to specific problems Understandable for ordinary citizens	often often often often	always always always always	always always sometimes always
Change in quality M&E outputs over time	decrease	increase	increase

Source: authors' semi-structured interviews

The table shows that Vikenge Primary School is the only school that collects data through surveys. These surveys are mainly used to collect data on the expected number of new pupils for subsequent school years. Vikenge Primary School is also the only school that reported increased M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs which they relate to more importance attached to M&E and more attention to quality of the outputs within the school. The head teacher of Changarawe Primary School is most critical with respect to the M&E outputs. Unlike the other two schools, he is also of the opinion that the quality of the reports has decreased due to less attention to quality of M&E outputs. Reports of all three schools are clearly monitoring reports that do not include an analysis of the information provided. According to the head teachers, analyses of information rather takes place orally during school board meetings and during meetings with the Ward Education Coordinator.

7.1.2. Secondary schools

In their capacity of service delivery unit, secondary schools are also the principal suppliers of secondary education data. As Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School is a private school, owned by the Roman Catholic Church, it reports to the priest of the nearby church, who subsequently reports to the Bishop. The two public schools report to the District Secondary Education Officer and to the Regional Education Officer. The three secondary schools in Changarawe collect, analyse and validate data on access, quality, delivery of services, revenue collection and behaviour of students. Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School also collects data on orphans and students with HIV/AIDS. The schools do not have a specific budget for M&E or staff that followed a specific M&E training. Table

7.2. provides some self-reported information on M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the three secondary schools.

Table 7.2.: M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the three Secondary Schools in Changarawe (self-reported)

	Mongola secondary school	Mzumbe secondary school	Askofy Adrian Mkoba secondary school
Collection of data through	reality check key informant interviews	reality check administrative records	reality check key informant interviews
Change in M&E activities over time	No	increase	Increase
Channel for dissemination of information	reports handed over face to face	reports handed over face to face	reports handed over face to face text messaging
Quality of outputs: Timely Credible and reliable Respond to specific problems Understandable for ordinary citizens	always sometimes always often	always always always always	often often often often
Change in quality M&E outputs over time	No	increase	no

Source: authors' semi-structured interviews

The table in particular highlights a difference between Mongola Secondary School and Mzumbe Secondary school. The head master of Mongola Secondary School is more critical of the M&E outputs and thinks M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs have remained stable. The head master of Mzumbe Secondary School on the other hand is highly positive of the quality of the M&E outputs and indicates that both M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs have increased, as a result of more importance attached to M&E within the school and more experience respectively.

7.2. District and ward level actors

7.2.1. General (non-education specific)

Most of the actors interviewed are indirectly involved in the education sector. The lines of accountability between different sets of actors are often unclear and this particularly holds for the relationships among the District Commissioner (DC), the District Executive Director (DED) and the elected officials, councillors and members of parliament (see Harris et al., 2011). The District Commissioner (DC) is the most powerful officer in the district with major influence over the DED and the entire civil service. While he has no constitutional power, he represents the central government and the party (CCM) and officially reports to the Prime Minister's Office (interviewee). According to Harris et al. (2011) and Hoffman (2013) the distinction between the central and local level tends to be blurred by the District Commissioner, who has informal but substantial power which also holds for the case of Mvomero district where the district commissioner is well connected to different actors situated at ward and village level, amongst others through their CCM membership. A recent visit of the DC and DED to Vikenge village to order the construction of laboratoria (one of the issues of the Big Results Now initiative), is indicative of the blurring and predominance of central over local level needs (interviewee). In districts where the elected council is active there is often a tension between

the Council and the District Commissioner. No such tensions are reported for the case of Mvomero District (interviewees).

While the DC is in reality the most powerful officer in the district, the District Executive Director (DED) is formally the most powerful civil servant in the district. The District Executive Director is not a party official, but appointed by the Prime Minister and he is the head of the local government administration. He/ she is e.g. responsible for approving budgets and projects (Harris et al., 2011) and reports to the Prime Minister's Office and the District Commissioner. The District Executive Director is the chairperson of the District Management Team (Cooksey and Kikula, 2005), which includes all heads of departments in the District Council and he is responsible for district planning. Some department heads are still appointed by the central government, as a result of which department heads are sometimes more loyal to their professional department in the sector ministries (Cooksey and Kikula, 2005) and which makes it difficult for councils to discipline them (Braathen et al., 2005). Civil servants are officially not allowed to be member of a political party, but some of the interviewed district civil servants disclosed that they are member of CCM (see also 6.1).

An important actor of top-down (financial) accountability at district level is the Internal Audit Office, which has three staff members (including one woman who is heading the office) in Mvomero District. The Internal Audit Office is amongst others responsible for controlling the spending of the Capitation Grant and other district funds. All three staff members have been trained in auditing and follow a standardized audit programme to perform audits. According to the head of the Internal Audit Office audit reports are always credible and reliable and while reports are mostly responding to specific problems and understandable for ordinary citizens, they are not always finalised on time. This is mainly related to the fact that an increasing number of entities needs to be audited with the same number of staff members (interviewees). On the other hand, quality of reports seems to have increased due to training, experience and feedback of those who read the reports and ask for clarification or additional information.

The DED appoints the Ward Executive Officers (WEO) and Village Executive Officers (VEO) (Harris et al., 2011). The Ward Executive Officer directly reports to the DED, while the VEO reports to the WEO (interviewees). The Ward Executive Officer and Village Executive Officer are responsible for revenue collection, developmental issues and law-and-order functions at ward and village level respectively while the VEO is also the secretary of the Village Council (Braathen et al., 2005). Both the Ward Executive Officer of Mzumbe Ward and the Village Executive Officer of Changarawe live in Morogoro town, thus outside the ward and village where they work, while the Village Executive Officer of Vikenge lives in a neighbouring village (Tangeni). Both Village Executive Officers are from the same local tribe (Luguru) and alike many other citizens they combine their formal job with farming activities (interviewees). This is in contrast with the Ward Executive Officer who does not perform any agricultural activities while she also belongs to another tribe (Sukuma) (interviewees).

Another set of actors involved are the elected officials, councillors and members of parliament. They have little formal power and plan projects from discretionary budgets. They themselves tend to be the most accountable set of actors because they are elected (interviewees; see also Kaduma et al., 2011). According to the law, 30% of the elected councillors should be women (Braathen et al. 2005), which is with 29 % almost attained in Mvomero district (interviewees). Generally there is a strong sense of distrust between elected councillors and formally employed administrative (district) staff and difficulties in understanding the division of responsibilities and roles. Employed (district) staff generally perceive councillors to be less educated and to meddle in administrative affairs which they consider to be the domain of technical experts. Councillors on the other hand think that (district) staff undermine them and use resources for private gain (Braathen et al., 2005). In Mvomero district, the Education, Health and Water Committee, which consists of twelve members (of which four are women) from the district council, is responsible for supervision of social service delivery to

communities. The Education, Health and Water Committee collects and validates data and submits quarterly reports to the District Council. However, data collection and analysis is not done in a systematic way, nor is it done according to a specific template or format while councillors neither receive a specific training. In most cases, data is related to ad-hoc reality checks in councillors' villages of residence or it is based upon anecdotal evidence reported by citizens. This also holds for the village of Vikenge (and the neighbouring village of Changarawe) where the head (councillor) of the District Education, Health and Water Committee resides who is actively involved in local-level reality checks and considered an influential person by many of the actors interviewed (at village, ward and district level)(see table 7.1.).

Ward Councillors are members of the district council, but they are elected at ward level during general elections³³. The councillor of Mzumbe ward is a CCM member and is now a living in Morogoro Municipal. The councillor is the chairperson of the Ward Development Committee, which is responsible for general supervision of education, health and water issues. In Mzumbe ward, the Ward Development Committee³⁴ has seven members (in addition to the Ward Councillor), all of which are men. Similar to the district Education, Health and Water Committee, the Ward Development Committee does not collect and validate data systematically, but acts on information received from citizens in an ad-hoc manner (interviewees) (see table 7.3.). Written reports prepared by the Ward Development Committee are handed over to the Ward Councillors.

Table 7.3.: M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the Ward Development Committee and District Social Service Committee (self-reported)

	Ward Development Committee	District Education, Health and Water Committee
(ad hoc) Collection of data through...	reality check key informant interviews passive: informed by citizens	reality check passive: informed by citizens
Change in quantity of M&E activities over time	increase	increase
Channel for dissemination of information	reports handed over face to face	reports handed over face to face
Quality of outputs: Timely Credible and reliable Respond to specific problems Understandable for ordinary citizens	often always often always	always always often always
Change in quality of M&E outputs over time	increase	increase

Source: authors' semi-structured interviews

Interviewees from both committees indicate that M&E activities have increased due to an increase in the population while according to them the quality of M&E outputs has increased due to feedback received on reports.

³³ There are also councillors who are elected at division level as women's representatives (a division is composed of different wards). In the case of Mlali division (to which Mzumbe ward belongs) one of these female councilors is living in Vikenge and another one in Changarawe.

³⁴ The Ward Development Committee is composed of all village chairpersons within the ward (7 in the case of Mzumbe ward), the ward councillor who is the chairperson and the ward executive director (secretary). In addition, there might be invited members for specific topics, such as education, health, water, etc.

7.2.2. Education-specific actors

The Ward Education Coordinator is responsible for supervising all education activities at ward level, which includes e.g. monitoring the delivery of education and attendance of teachers and students and involving the community (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013a). In Mvomero district, the Ward Education Coordinator (as the ward-level top-down actor) assists the head teachers in preparing their quarterly reports on the utilisation of bank accounts (Manara and Mwombela, 2012). According to Manara and Mwombela (2012: 18) “on the supply-side, this may compromise the power of ward authorities to hold the head teachers accountable when anomalies in the capitation grant expenditures are found. On the demand-side, this also compromises citizens’ incentive and willingness to actively engage in monitoring capitation grant spending”. The Ward Education Coordinator compiles information from the primary schools and officially reports to the District Primary Education Officer and the Ward Executive Officer (WEO). As table 7.4. shows that the quantity of M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the Ward Education Coordinator have increased over time, due to more importance attached to M&E within the ward and to the use of computers respectively.

The District Primary Education Officer is responsible for ensuring and monitoring primary education in the district. The Primary Education Officer of Mvomero district is the head of a department of 23 staff members and is, together with the Ward Education Coordinator, considered to be the actor with most influence when it comes to the way other actors interviewed think and act as far as education issues are concerned (interviewees). At district level data from schools are compiled and entered in an electronic Education Management Information System. Five staff members are specifically responsible for statistics. M&E activities and quality of reports have not changed over time (see table 7.4. for more detailed self-reported information on M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs).

Reports of the public secondary schools are directly sent to the District Secondary Education Officer, who is the head of a department with four staff members (none of them are women). All staff members are involved in M&E and all have M&E knowledge and followed an M&E training. Staff members reported to be somewhat motivated to do M&E, but highlighted to be strongly motivated to use M&E. While there is a specific budget for M&E the District Secondary Education Officer does not exactly know the amount of the budget.

Another important top-down actor who stimulates accountability and learning in the education sector is the District Primary Education Inspectorate, which is responsible for the inspection of primary schools. The Primary Education Inspectorate has nine staff members, of which three are women (including the head). All staff members are involved in M&E, they have knowledge of M&E and benefitted from M&E training. While the members are strongly motivated to do M&E they are only somewhat motivated to use the outputs of their M&E activities. As table 7.4 shows reports are considered credible, reliable and understandable for ordinary citizens and often timely and responding to specific problems. According to the interviewees, the quality of the reports has increased over time due to more attention given to quality of reporting within the directorate. While officially 80% of the schools have to be inspected each year (of which 50% are non-announced inspections, 25% entire school inspections, 20% follow-up inspections and 5% visit inspections), in Mvomero district only 21.8% of the schools were inspected in 2013, which is to a large extent due to staff shortages (interviewees).

Table 7.4.: M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the Ward Education Coordinator, the District Primary Education Officer and the District Primary Education Inspectorate (self-reported)

	Ward Education Coordinator	District Primary Education Officer	District Primary Education Inspectorate
Collection of data through	reality check key informant interviews	administrative records (EMIS)	reality check key informant interviews
Change in M&E activities over time	increase	no	no
Channel for dissemination of information	reports handed over face to face text messaging	reports handed over through internet	reports handed over face to face or through regular post
Quality of outputs: Timely Credible and reliable Respond to specific problems Understandable for ordinary citizens	often always sometimes sometimes	often often often sometimes	often always often always
Change in quality M&E outputs over time	increase	no	increase

Source: authors' semi-structured interviews

Differences between the Ward Education Coordinator, District Primary Education Officer and District Primary Education Inspectorate on the understandability of reports for ordinary citizens can be explained by the fact that the first two report to a higher level, while inspection reports are also sent to schools and discussed during board and parents' meetings.

7.3. Village level actors

7.3.1. Village Council, Village General Assembly and Village Education Committees

There are two major organs of governance at the village level, the Village General Assembly (VA) and Village Council (VC) to which service delivery entities (in general) are accountable and through which citizens can hold service delivery entities indirectly accountable. The Village Council consists of a chairman (elected by the Village Assembly), chairmen of all the hamlets of the village (elected by the adult members of the hamlet) and at least 15 and not more than 25 village councillors (elected by the Village Assembly) (Uwazi, n.d.). The village councils of Changarawe and Vikenge both have 25 members, of which 10 and 12 are women respectively (interviewees). Both chairmen of Changarawe and Vikenge belong to CCM and have lived for almost their entire lives in the village. Among the respondents of our household survey 11 are member of the village council in Changarawe (3 men, 8 women) and 6 in Vikenge (4 men, 2 women).

In Changarawe the Village Council discusses and approves the village development plan, which is prepared by the Village Executive Officer (VEO), the chairperson of the village committees and experts of the village. A budget ceiling is not available; the plan is based on what they intend to achieve and the predicted income from local sources and a (Mkukuta) development fund which is provided by the district. The limited fiscal autonomy of local government is amongst others evident from a 2005 study which highlighted that local revenues constituted on average 5% of total revenues while grants from central government are often conditional and earmarked (Braathen et al., 2005). While the village plan is drafted according to the O&OD methodology, in practice citizens did not

participate in the elaboration of the plan while the absence of a budget ceiling renders the planning and budgeting exercise a cosmetic and frustrating undertaking. In fact, this might hint at a case of 'isomorphic mimicry' in which the VEO and village council have 'imitated' a format without real functionality (see Pritchett et al., 2010). In Vikenge, there is no real village development plan but rather a list of objectives and priorities which can easily change due to shifting priorities and in particular central-level orders. If anything, in none of the two villages is the village plan an instrument in hands of the Village Assembly to hold the village council accountable.

In Changarawe and Vikenge decisions of the Village Council and the District Council and information about revenues and expenditures are made public to citizens through the Village Assembly, notice boards and verbal announcements (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). The Village Assembly is responsible for the election and removal of village council members (Uwazi, n.d.). All villagers aged above 18 years are member of the Village Assembly (Uwazi, n.d.), which is the sovereign oversight body at village/ hamlet level and whose role is in practice rather consultative (Cooksey and Kikula, 2005). In both Changarawe and Vikenge village meetings are supposed to be organised every three months, but in reality they are not systematically conducted and attendance numbers are unpredictable (Matekere and Van Aelst, 2014). According to interviewees, village meetings are not about setting local priorities, but rather about communication of guidelines and orders from higher level authorities.

Village Council members can participate in commissions which are located in between the council and administration. They oversee the implementation of council decisions and the work of the administrative departments (REPOA, 2008). Both Changarawe and Vikenge have a committee that deals with education: the education committee with five members (of which two women) in Changarawe and the Social Services Committee with eight members (of which one woman) in Vikenge. The Social Services Committee is also responsible for health and water issues while a specific subcommittee supervises education issues in the village. The education committee in Changarawe and the Social Services Committee in Vikenge report to the village council through the VEO (who is the secretary of the village council). Among the respondents of the household survey five participate in the education committee of Changarawe (one man, four women) and two participate in the Social Services Committee (one man, one woman).

Similar to the Ward Development Committee and the District Welfare Committee, both committees do not collect data systematically. In contrast to the committees at ward and district levels the two village committees do not write reports. The chairperson of Changarawe's education committee emphasises that the commission does not collect data on issues related to educational substance, but rather on school-related social issues, including water and sanitation in schools and pregnancies of students. Vikenge's Social Services Committee collects data on access to and delivery of education and budget allocation to the sector, but the chairperson indicates that in practice the commission does not focus a lot on specific education related substance issues such as curricula, teaching materials, teachers, etc. as schools are rather independent. In general Changarawe's education committee seems to be more active than Vikenge's Social Services Committee, as members of the education committee meet once a month and are involved in analyses and validation of data and discussion of findings, while members of the Social Services Committee meet four times a year and they are also not involved in analyses and validation of data or discussion of findings. However, the M&E activities of Changarawe's education committee decreased, because schools are also increasingly dealing themselves with socially-related matters, while M&E activities of Vikenge's Social Service Committee increased due to an increase in population as a result of which the number of latrines in the schools also had to increase (see table 7.5. for some self-reported information on M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of the two committees).

While formally local government officials such as the VEO are (horizontally) accountable to the local village council and the village general assembly, in our case study villages (as in many other villages) there is in reality an intensive intermingling among the administration and politics. This is amongst others due to a lack of local-level opposition as well as limited local capacity among the elected councillors as compared to local officials who are mostly more knowledgeable.

Table 7.5.: M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of Education Committee (Changarawe) and Social Services Committee (Vikenge) (self-reported)

	Changarawe Education Committee	Vikenge Social Services Committee
(ad hoc) collection of data through	reality check passive: informed by citizens	reality check
Change in M&E activities over time	decreased	Increased
Channel for dissemination of information	face to face	face to face text messaging

Source: authors’ semi-structured interviews

7.3.2. School boards

With the aim to improve the accountability of civil servants and service delivery units by providing the demand-side a voice, resources and responsibilities are delegated to school management committees/ school boards (Prinsen, 2007). The Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006) provides an overview of the responsibilities of School Boards:

- “To sensitise and involve all pupils, parents and school staff in respect of the roles they can play in maximising the benefits of primary school.
- To oversee the day-to-day affairs of the school.
- To work together with the Head Teacher and other teachers to prepare a Whole School Development Plan.
- To approve Whole School Development Plans and budgets and submit them to the mtaa committee, or village council and subsequently to the ward development committee and eventually to the LGAs for scrutiny coordination and consolidation, and submission to RSs.
- To facilitate planning, budgeting and implementation of the PEDP-funded activities.
- To open bank accounts and to efficiently and effectively manage funds received for implementation, while guaranteeing maximum accountability and transparency in the processes used, including making incomes and expenditures publicly available.
- To ensure safe custody of property acquired using the PEDP funds.
- To prepare and submit accurate and timely progress and financial reports to the village council, mtaa committee, and LGAs.
- To effectively communicate educational information to all parents, pupils, community stakeholders, and to the village, ward/mtaa, and LGAs” (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001: 16).

School Boards in Tanzania normally have seven elected members (five from parents’ side and two from teaching staff) and two to four co-opted members (Prinsen, 2007). Table 7.6. provides selected information regarding the school boards of the primary and secondary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge, including some characteristics of the boards’ chairpersons. While the school boards of Changarawe and Mzumbe Primary Schools and secondary schools meet every trimester, the school board of Vikenge Primary School meets three times a month. During board meetings information from the head teacher/ head master, who is also the board’s secretary, is discussed, on the basis of which decisions are made. The effective involvement of parents in school boards is however not always straightforward. In their study covering six districts (including Mvomero District), Manara and Mwombela (2012), highlight that parents’ participation in school planning was largely cosmetic,

amongst others due to the fact that school plans were not distributed prior to the meetings. Among the respondents of our household survey three participate in a school board (one women in Changarawe, two men in Vikenge).

Table 7.6.: Number of members and characteristics of chairpersons of school boards

school	Members	female	Chairperson			
			Sex	age	highest level of education	profession
Primary School Boards						
Changarawe	10	40%	f	41	secondary O-level	Farmer
Mzumbe	8	37.5%	m	42	primary	Farmer
Vikenge	11	45.5%	m	44	secondary O-level	Farmer
Secondary School Boards						
Mongola	8	25%	m	54	tertiary	teacher Mzumbe University
Mzumbe	8	25%	m	47	tertiary	prof. Mzumbe University
Askofu Adr. Mokoba	10	20%	m	63	tertiary	prof. Mzumbe University

Source: authors' own semi-structured interviews

There are striking differences between the characteristics of chairpersons of the primary school boards and secondary school boards, which also holds for the differential representation of women in both groups of boards. While we did not collect information on all members of the school boards, it is interesting to compare our information with data from a 2007 research (see Prinsen, 2007) which studied the composition of 27 primary school boards in two districts of Tanzania (Arusha and Hai). 43% of the members of the school boards included in this research were women and the majority of the members (49%) belonged to the 45-60 age group. Our own findings at the level of primary school boards are more in line with those from an earlier research by TEN (2002) who highlighted that members of primary school boards are generally younger than 45, as they have children of school-going age.

In Prinsen's (2007) research 40% of the members of school boards were farmers, 43% active civil servants and 9% retired civil servants. The majority of the school board members also held other public positions, with the majority of them having three or four other positions. As civil servants dominate management committees and also other public bodies at local level, Prinsen (2007) concluded that local elites (assuming that civil servants belong to the local elites) capture management committees. According to Prinsen, the claim that a national elite reaches down to local levels in search of a clientelistic powerbase is not supported by his research; "if anything, the reverse seems to happen. School committees in Tanzania *try* to capture persons from the higher-level national elite into their committee, but most fail to succeed" (Prinsen, 2007: 33).

School boards are formally accountable to the district, through the obligation to send minutes to the District Education Officer, but in practice minutes are hardly ever sent (Prinsen, 2007). The chairpersons of the school boards in Changarawe and Vikenge do not even mention they officially have to report to the district, in fact most of them mention they do not have to report to anyone. Only the school board of Vikenge Primary School officially reports to the village council, while the school board of Mzumbe Secondary School officially reports to the regional commissioner.

7.4. Non-governmental organisations and media

In Changarawe and Vikenge two non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are currently active in the education sector, World Vision and Childhood Development Trust Fund Network (CDTFN). World Vision supports the community in different sectors, while CDTFN is involved in service provision and policy advocacy in the education and health sectors. World Vision reports to its headquarters in Arusha and quarterly to the District Executive Director and the District Education Officer. CDTFN reports to its donors and to three ministries: Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children. Of the four staff members of the area office of World Vision two are involved in M&E activities, while one of them followed a specific M&E training. The annual budget for M&E is approximately 2000 US\$. CDTFN has 17 staff members who are all involved in M&E activities; four of them followed a specific M&E training. The annual M&E budget is approximately 1600 US\$.

A local television and radio station that might have an influence in terms of follow-up of the education sector in Changarawe and Vikenge is Abood Media. Abood media has 35 staff members (of which 10 women) and is active in the entire Morogoro region. In addition to entertainment, Abood Media also aims at ‘educating’ and informing the population.

Table 7.7 highlights that for both NGOs and Abood Media M&E activities and the quality of M&E outputs have increased, but underlying reasons for the increase differ. In World Vision M&E activities have increased due to more pressure from higher level authorities (at division level) and the quality of M&E outputs has increased due to more attention to quality in the organisation. In CDTFN M&E activities have increased due to more importance attached to M&E in the organisation and the quality of M&E outputs has increased due to more pressure from funding agencies. As regards Abood Media, our interviewee highlighted that M&E activities and the quality of M&E outputs have increased due to more importance attached to M&E and more attention to the quality of outputs within the organisation.

Table 7.7. M&E activities and quality of M&E outputs of CDTFN, World Vision and Abood Media (self-reported)

	CDTFN	World Vision	Abood Media
(ad hoc) collection of data through	reality check	reality check questionnaires	reality check key informant interviews
Change in M&E activities over time	increase	increase	increase
Channel for dissemination of information	reports sent through email and handed over face to face	reports handed over face to face	radio and television
Quality of outputs: Timely Credible and reliable Respond to specific problems Understandable for ordinary citizens	always always always often	often always always always	sometimes always always always
Change in quality M&E outputs over time	increase	increase	increase

Source: authors’ own semi-structured interviews

7.5. Citizens' reporting of and access to education-related information

7.5.1. Citizens' reporting of education-related problems

Among the respondents of our household survey, the first person to whom education related problems are reported to is the head teacher/ master; 68.3% of the respondents in Changarawe report complaints to the head teacher/ master and 85.4% of the respondents in Vikenge (see table 7.8.). Among the respondents with children in the schools in these villages, reporting of problems to the head teacher/ master is lowest among the respondents with children in Mzumbe Primary School (see table 7.9.).

Table 7.8.: Respondents report complaints to (%)..

	Changarawe N=202	Vikenge N=199	Total N=401
Head teacher/ master	68.3	85.4	76.8
Local government	42.1	58.8	50.4
School board	33.7	25.1	29.4
Higher level government	24.8	26.1	25.4
School inspection	22.3	22.6	22.4
Local politicians	3.5	5.0	4.2
Donor agency	1.5	0.5	1.0
Powerful parents	0.5	0.5	0.5
Traditional village leaders	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other person	3.5	1.5	2.5

Source: authors' own household survey

Table 7.9.: Respondents with children in schools in Changarawe and Vikenge report complaints to...(%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=82	Mzumbe Primary School N=84	Vikenge Primary School N=93	Mongola Secondary School N=101
Head master	91.5	82.1	93.5	90.1
Local government	57.3	44.0	57.0	46.5
School board	37.8	39.3	24.7	41.6
Higher level government	25.6	23.8	28.0	29.7
School inspection	24.4	25.0	23.7	27.7
Local politicians	3.7	4.8	4.3	5.9
Donor agency	1.2	1.2	0.0	1.0
Powerful parents	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Traditional village leaders	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other person	0.0	3.6	1.1	4.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Compared to the other three schools included in Table 7.9, reporting to the school board is relatively low among the respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School, while this board appears to be one of the most active school boards (see 7.3.2.). Somewhat to our surprise, not many respondents complain to powerful parents, while they are thought to have contributed to an increase of quality of education, especially among respondents in Vikenge and more specifically among respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School (see 4.2.3.). Local and higher level government, whose supervision is also considered to have contributed to an increased quality (see 4.2.3) are mentioned far more often.

7.5.2. Citizens' access to education-related information

A large majority of the respondents of our household survey receive information about school-related issues in the village, i.e. 89.7% of the respondents in Changarawe and 96.5% in Vikenge. As expected, these percentages are higher among respondents whose children are enrolled in one of the village schools (even 100% among the respondents in Vikenge with children in schools). Tables 7.10. and 7.11. show that most respondents receive information on pass rates, while the opposite holds for information on teacher absenteeism.

Table 7.10.: Issues on which respondents receive information (%)

	Changarawe N=202	Vikenge N=199	Total N=401
Pass rates	76.7	96.0	86.0
Budgets (revenues and expenditures of schools)	43.1	53.8	48.4
Functioning of school board	26.2	36.2	31.2
Enrolment rates	17.8	43.7	30.7
Teacher absenteeism	6.9	4.5	5.7
Other issues	7.9	7.0	7.5

Source: authors' own household survey

Table 7.11.: Issues on which respondents with children in schools in Changarawe and Vikenge receive information (%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=82	Mzumbe Primary School N=84	Vikenge School N=93	Mongola Secondary School N=101
Pass rates	95.1	94.0	98.9	96.0
Budgets (revenues and expenditures of schools)	62.2	52.4	64.5	64.4
Functioning of school board	40.2	32.1	37.6	42.6
Enrolment rates	40.2	34.5	46.2	41.6
Teacher absenteeism	6.1	9.5	3.2	6.9
Other issues	8.5	11.9	6.5	8.9

Source: authors' own household survey

While Mzumbe Primary School is the school with the highest percentage of respondents receiving information on teacher absenteeism, compared to the other schools a smaller percentage of respondents receive information on the other topics.

As highlighted in table 7.12 respondents would like to receive more information on various education-related topics. Comparing findings in tables 7.10 and 7.12 demonstrates that the highest differences between the information respondents currently receive (table 7.10) and would like to receive in the future (table 7.12) are in the area of budgets (difference of 17.4%) and teacher absenteeism (difference of 16.2%).

Table 7.12.: Issues on which respondents would like to receive information (%)

	Changarawe N=202	Vikenge N=199	Total N=401
Pass rates	82.2	93.5	87.8
Budgets (revenues and expenditures of schools)	57.4	74.4	65.8
Functioning of school board	36.1	40.7	38.4
Enrolment rates	31.2	41.2	36.2
Teacher absenteeism	26.2	17.6	21.9
Other issues	2.0	1.5	1.7

Source: authors' own household survey

Among the respondents with children in the primary schools and Mongola Secondary School, a similar picture emerges: budgets and teacher absenteeism are also the topics where the differences between currently received information (table 7.11) and preferably received information (table 7.13) are highest. The lowest difference for information related to budgets is recorded among respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School (difference of 9.7%).

Table 7.13. Issues on which respondents with children in schools in Changarawe and Vikenge would like to receive information (%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=82	Mzumbe Primary School N=84	Vikenge Primary School N=93	Mongola Secondary School N=101
Pass rates	87.8	92.9	95.7	92.1
Budgets (revenues and expenditures of schools)	82.9	70.2	74.2	79.2
Functioning of school board	50.0	39.3	40.9	49.5
Enrolment rates	48.8	38.1	41.9	46.5
Teacher absenteeism	29.3	33.3	22.6	25.7
Other issues	3.7	1.2	1.1	2.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Focusing on channels of information (Table 7.14) highlights that most of the respondents receive information informally, especially through friends and neighbours (see table 7.14.). Also local village leaders and household/ family members are quite often mentioned. These percentages are higher in Vikenge than in Changarawe, while relatively more respondents in Changarawe receive information through formal channels (e.g. school board and village council).

Table 7.14.: Channels through which respondents receive information (%)

	Changarawe (N= 202)	Vikenge (N=199)	Total (N=401)
Friends and neighbours	49.0	60.3	54.6
Local village leaders	32.7	48.7	40.6
Household/ family members	23.3	36.2	29.7
School Board	26.7	21.6	24.2
Media	19.3	29.1	24.2
Village Council	26.7	18.1	22.4
Parents' meeting	8.4	20.6	14.5
Text message	5.4	9.5	7.5
Village notice boards	2.5	7.5	5.0
Church	1.5	0.0	0.7
Internet	0.5	1.0	0.7
Other	19.3	27.6	23.4

Source: authors' own household survey

Focussing on the respondents with children in the schools in Changarawe and Vikenge highlights that informal channels like friends, neighbours and household/family members are relatively more often mentioned by respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School, while formal channels like the village council and school boards are relatively less often mentioned. Parents' meetings on the other hand are far more often mentioned by respondents living in Vikenge, particularly by those interviewees with children in Vikenge Primary School (see table 7.15). Among respondents with children in Mongola Secondary School parents' meetings are also relatively often mentioned, especially by the respondents who live in Vikenge (36.2% of the respondents in Vikenge with children in Mongola Secondary School mention the parents' meetings, compared to 6.1% of the respondents in Changarawe with children in Mongola Secondary School). While this difference between Changarawe and Vikenge is also visible among respondents with children in Changarawe Primary School (33.3% of Vikenge's respondents mention parents' meetings, compared to 7.3% of Changarawe's respondents), among parents with children in Mzumbe Primary School differences between respondents in the two villages are minimal (18.8% of the respondents in Changarawe, 15 % of the respondents in Vikenge).

Table 7.15.: Channels through which respondents with children in schools in Changarawe and Vikenge receive information (%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=82	Mzumbe Primary School N=84	Vikenge Primary School N=93	Mongola Secondary School N=101
Friends and neighbours	56.1	52.4	60.2	55.4
Local village leaders	47.6	35.7	51.6	46.5
Village Council	35.4	31.0	18.3	25.7
School Board	30.5	32.1	22.6	28.7
Household/ family members	30.5	34.5	44.1	29.7
Media	19.5	17.9	34.4	30.7
Parents' meeting	15.9	17.9	29.0	21.8
Village notice boards	4.9	4.8	6.5	5.9
Text message	3.7	10.7	14.0	11.9
Internet	1.2	0.0	2.2	0.0
Church	0.0	3.6	0.0	2.0
Other	17.1	13.1	4.3	13.9

Source: authors' own household survey

Informal channels are also the channels through which respondents would like to receive information, with a preference for friends and neighbours (see table 7.16.). Differences between presently used channels (table 7.14) and preferably used channels (table 7.16.) are higher for formal channels, such as school boards (difference of 13.7%). Respondents would also like to receive more information through media (difference of 16.9%) and village notice boards (difference of 7.7%).

While respondents in Changarawe would like to receive more information through local village leaders (difference of 11.9%), respondents in Vikenge would like to receive more information through the village council (difference of 10.5%).

Table 7.16.: Channels through which respondents would like to receive information (%)

	Changarawe N=202	Vikenge N=199	Total N=401
Friends and neighbours	43.6	54.3	48.9
Local village leaders	44.6	46.7	45.6
Media	39.6	42.7	41.1
School Board	39.1	36.7	37.9
Village Council	31.7	28.6	30.2
Household/family members	16.8	27.1	21.9
Text message	11.4	19.6	15.5
Village notice boards	11.4	14.1	12.7
church	2.0	1.0	1.5
Internet	0.5	0.0	0.2
Other	3.0	8.0	5.5

Source: authors' own household survey

According to the majority of the respondents (56.8% of the 361 respondents who answered this question) the amount of education-related information which they receive has increased over time (see table 7.17). Focusing only on those respondents with children in primary schools and Mongola Secondary School (see table 7.18) generates highly similar findings with only minor differences among schools.

Table 7.17.: Change in information received over time, all respondents

	Changarawe N=170		Vikenge N=191		Total N=361	
	N	% answ	N	% answ	N	% answ
Increased	92	54.1	113	59.2	205	56.8
Remained stable	65	38.2	74	38.7	139	38.5
Decreased	11	6.5	3	1.6	14	3.9
Don't know	2	1.2	1	0.5	3	0.8
Total	170	100.0	191	100.0	361	100.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Table 7.18.: Change in information received over time, respondents with children in schools in Changarawe and Vikenge (%)

	Changarawe Primary School N=82	Mzumbe Primary School N=84	Vikenge Primary School N=93	Mongola Secondary School N=101
Increased	57.5	60.5	60.0	58.2
Remained stable	36.3	38.3	37.8	36.7
Decreased	5.0	1.2	2.2	4.1
Don't know	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: authors' own household survey

7.5.3. Citizens' perceived quality of education-related information

Most of the respondents consider the available education-related information to be of relatively good quality. More specifically, more than half of the respondents who gave their opinion about the quality (55.5% out of 348 respondents) think the quality of information is either excellent, very good or good (see table 7.19). There are significant differences in the opinion of respondents in the two villages ($\chi^2 = 22.79$ $p = 0.001$: 60.8% of respondents in Changarawe compared to 50.8% of the respondents in Vikenge consider the quality of information to be excellent, very good or good, conversely, more respondents in Changarawe consider the quality of the available information to be low (6.1% compared to 1.6% in Vikenge).

Table 7.19.: perceived quality of education-related information (all respondents)

	Changarawe N=163		Vikenge N=185		Total N=348	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Excellent	13	8.0	26	14.1	39	11.2
Very good	23	14.1	28	15.1	51	14.7
Good	63	38.7	40	21.6	103	29.6
Satisfactory	38	23.3	57	30.8	95	27.3
Partially satisfactory	15	9.2	31	16.8	46	13.2
Low	10	6.1	3	1.6	13	3.7
Very bad	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	0.3
Hard to say, info too difficult	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't know	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	202	100.0	199	100.0	401	100.0

Source: authors' own household survey

Focusing in particular on those respondents with children in the three primary schools and Mongola Secondary School shows that respondents with children in Mzumbe Primary School are most positive regarding the quality of education-related information; 54.8% of the respondents perceives the quality of information to be excellent, very good or good, compared to 52.8%, 49.5% and 51.5% of the respondents with children in Changarawe Primary School, Vikenge Primary School and Mongola Secondary School respectively (see table 7.20) While respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School are generally less positive about the quality, at the same time there are more respondents who consider the quality of information excellent.

Table 7.20.: perceived quality of education-related information (respondents with children in schools in Changarawe and Vikenge, %)

	Changarawe Primary School N=82	Mzumbe Primary School N=84	Vikenge Primary School N=93	Mongola Secondary School N=101
Excellent	7.3	6.0	15.1	6.9
Very good	22.0	15.5	14.0	13.9
Good	23.2	33.3	20.4	30.7
Satisfactory	25.6	29.8	30.1	29.7
Partially satisfactory	9.8	9.5	14.0	11.9
Low	3.7	2.4	2.2	1.0
Very bad	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.0
Hard to say, info too difficult	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not answered	7.3	3.6	4.3	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

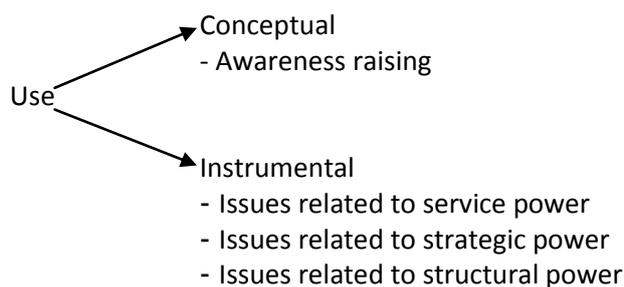
Source: authors' own household survey

8. Use of M&E information

Our classification of different types of use of information based upon M&E activities, findings and outputs was inspired by the rapidly increasing literature on evaluation use. Use of evaluation is usually classified into instrumental use, conceptual use and symbolic use (Weiss et al., 2005). In short, instrumental use refers to evaluation findings giving direction to policy and practice and is the mostly commonly known interpretation of evaluation use. Over time, other notions of evaluation use have been introduced referring to less direct and instrumental uses of evaluation. More specifically, conceptual use refers to evaluation findings feeding into new idea, concepts and new generalisations while symbolic use is related to findings being used to justify pre-existing preferences and actions (see Weiss et al., 2005). In addition, Patton (1997) introduced process use in order to broaden the concept beyond use related to evaluation findings towards changes in knowledge and behaviour as a result of participation in the evaluation process. These different classifications (instrumental/conceptual/symbolic on the one hand and process/findings on the other hand) are obviously not independent. As Mark and Henry (2004) rightly point out, process use generally overlaps with other types of use, as it can stimulate both instrumental and conceptual use. In our study, we retain the distinction between instrumental and conceptual use, while we are aware of the fact that a process-type of use is likely to be common as formal M&E reports are often lacking and part of evaluative activities take place during meetings where information from monitoring is analysed, discussed and validated.

As far as conceptual use is concerned, we focus on use of information for awareness raising among citizens and actors (both actors who are directly as well as indirectly involved in education service delivery and governance) about the importance of education as well as problems in the sector. Such awareness raising might be particularly important to tackle demand-side problems at the level of citizens and supply-side problems at the level of the service delivery actors involved. As regards instrumental use, we further distinguish among three different dimensions of service delivery in line with Skelcher (1993) who differentiates between issues related to service power (power to determine accessibility), strategic power (power to define and specify a service) and structural power (power to decide on selection of important issues and on access to decision-making) (see figure 8.1.).

Figure 8.1.: different types of use



As far as service power is concerned, we look in our study at use of M&E information for changes in availability and quality of service delivery and sanctioning of actors and users; M&E information that feeds into changes in revenue collection and budget allocation between sectors and within the education sector is classified as use related to strategic power issues while changes in priority setting and access to decision-making (such as changes in the composition of school boards, changes in the decision-making power of head teachers, changes in the level of influence of school boards etc.) have been included under structural power issues. While we tried to distinguish clearly among the different categories during the semi-structured interviews, we had to re-classify some of the examples referred to by the interviewees during data analysis. This was particularly the case for

structural change examples which were in some of the cases better captured under service or strategic power changes.

Besides the classification of use displayed in figure 8.1., we also further distinguish among the use of information as perceived by the actors that provide information (the M&E supply side actors) (section 8.1) and the (partly overlapping set of) actors that receive or demand information (the M&E demand side) (section 8.2).

8.1. Use of information from an M&E supply side perspective

This section is further subdivided alongside the different actors that supply M&E based information, including primary and secondary schools (8.1.1.), the District Internal Audit Office, District Primary Education Inspectorate (8.1.2.), council committees at district, ward and village level (8.1.3.) and NGOs (8.1.4.).

8.1.1. Use of M&E information supplied by schools

Table 8.1. provides an overview of the different types of use of information provided by primary and secondary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge as perceived by the schools themselves.

Table 8.1.: Use of information from primary and secondary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge (self-reported)

	Primary schools			Secondary schools		
	Changarawe	Mzumbe	Vikenge	Mongola	Mzumbe	Adrian Mkoba
Conceptual use						
more awareness among actors involved	much	very much	much	much	very much	somewhat
more awareness among citizens	much	very much	much	much	very much	much
Instrumental use: changes in issues related to service power						
sanctioning of actors	Much	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	very much
sanctioning of users	Much	not at all	very much	very much	very much	very much
changes in availability of education	Much	somewhat	very much	much	not at all	somewhat
changes in quality of education	Much	somewhat	very much	much	much	somewhat
Instrumental use: changes in issues related to strategic power						
changes in revenue collection	very much	much	much	not at all	not at all	much
changes in budget allocation	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
changes of budgets within sector	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in issues related to structural power						
Structural changes (changes in priority setting, access to decision-making, etc.)	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all

Source: authors' own structured interviews

Table 8.1. reveals that conceptual use of information provided by both primary and secondary schools is common. Data from interviews highlight that school-based M&E information is (intensively) used to increase awareness among actors involved (in particular the own teaching staff) and citizens regarding school performance (Vikenge Primary School, Mzumbe Secondary School) as

well as to increase awareness on the need for citizens to contribute to the functioning of the school (Mzumbe Primary School, Mongola Secondary School).

Only in Changarawe Primary School and Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School information is used to sanction actors. Sanctions are rather soft, however, and include naming and shaming of teachers of Changarawe Primary School during parents' meetings if they 'forgot' to list contributions of parents and friendly (privately) reprimanding of teachers of Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School in case their pace of teaching is too slow. While the use of information for sanctioning of actors remained stable in Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School, it decreased in Changarawe Primary School due to an increase in transparency as a result of which less sanctioning is needed (interviewees).

Concerning sanctioning of pupils, Mzumbe Primary School is the only school that does not use information to sanction users. In Vikenge Primary School pupils are beaten if they perform badly, in Mzumbe Secondary School students have to write a letter of commitment if they fail an exam while in Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School parents of bad performing students are visited. Parents can also be 'sanctioned' in case they do not pay their contributions, in Changarawe Primary School for example contributions are listed during parents meetings (naming and shaming). The use of information to sanction users remained stable in the three secondary schools, while it decreased in Changarawe Primary School and Vikenge Primary School, because of increased transparency and increased understanding of the implications if rules are not respected.

In none of the cases were changes mentioned that relate to issues of access to decision-making. The largest differences between the schools are related to information used to bring about changes in availability and quality of education, with Vikenge Primary School at one end of the spectrum (very much contribution of M&E) and Mzumbe Secondary School at the other end (no contribution at all from M&E). In Vikenge Primary School, and in Changarawe Primary School as well, the use of information to bring about changes in the availability and quality of education increased over time, thanks to more importance attached to M&E within the schools. The head teacher of Vikenge Primary School specifically refers to the organisation of extra classes on Saturday, which have been organised since the poor PSLE results in 2012. Parents are increasingly aware of the utility of these Saturday classes, as a consequence of which attendance increased from 50% to almost 100%. While at Mzumbe Secondary School M&E did not contribute to changes in the quantity of education offered, there were changes in some of the syllabuses which added to the quality of education. Changes on issues related to strategic power are limited to changes in revenue collection. Changarawe and Vikenge Primary Schools are the schools that have increased their use of information to bring about changes in revenue collection, also due to more importance attached to M&E within the schools.

While our exploratory research does not allow to establish a causal linkage between the use of M&E and the striking improvement in average marks and pass rates at Vikenge Primary School, it is at the least interesting to observe the joint presence of the changes as well as the order of occurrence of the different changes (see also section 9).

8.1.2. Use of M&E information supplied by district level actors

At district level two actors collect data, the District Internal Audit Office and the District Primary Education Inspectorate. Table 8.2. provides an overview of the different types of use of this information as perceived by the actors themselves.

Table 8.2.: Use of information from District Internal Audit Office and District Primary Education Inspectorate (self-reported)

	Internal Audit Office	Primary Education Inspectorate
Conceptual use		
more awareness among actors involved	much	very much
more awareness among citizens	somewhat	very much
Instrumental use: changes in service power related issues		
sanctioning of actors	much	very much
sanctioning of users	not at all	not at all
changes in availability of education	somewhat	very much
changes in quality of education	somewhat	very much
Instrumental use: changes in strategic power related issues		
changes in revenue collection	much	somewhat
changes in budget allocation	not at all	not at all
changes of budgets within sector	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in structural power related issues		
structural changes (priority setting, decision-making)	not at all	not at all

Source: authors' own semi-structured survey

Both in terms of conceptual and instrumental use (except for changes in strategic power), the perceived use of information from the inspectorate is higher than from the Internal Audit Office. The head of the Inspectorate provides an example of how the threat of instrumental use can also increase conceptual use when he refers to the increasing awareness among actors and citizens after school (not in Changarawe or Vikenge) was advised to be closed as a result of an inspection visit. More specifically, due to the inspection report's findings, awareness among the Ward Education Coordinator, the teachers as well as the citizens increased and in order to avoid closure of the school the Ward Education Coordinator and teachers became more motivated and citizens contributed more.

In contrast to information provided by schools, information from these two top-down actors are (understandably) not used for sanctioning users, but only for sanctioning actors involved in education service delivery. Sanctioning can include firing, transferring or reprimanding of (head) teachers. According to the head of the Inspectorate sanctions have helped, as a consequence of which the need to use M&E information for sanctioning has decreased. When it comes to the use of M&E feeding into changes in accessibility, the head of the Primary Education Inspectorate refers to the extension of the timetable up to 16.00h which has led to an increase in the educational offer. Alike information provided by the schools, information provided by top-down actors is not perceived to contribute to changes in budget allocation or budgets within the sector whereas it did contribute to changes in revenue collection. The head of the Internal Audit Office refers in this respect to the introduction of accounts to register payments and the use of receipts for students in secondary schools. Both actors referred to an increased use of M&E but pointed out different reasons: the head of the Internal Audit Office referred to more pressure from citizens, while the head of the Primary Education Inspectorate hinted at more pressure from higher level authorities.

8.1.3. Use of M&E information supplied by district, ward and village level committees

As highlighted in section 7.2 and 7.3, council committees at district, ward and village level collect data, but not in a systematic way. Table 8.3. provides an overview of the different types of use of information supplied by these committees as perceived by these actors themselves.

Table 8.3.: Use of information from committees at district, ward and village level (self-reported)

	District Education, Health and Water Committee	Ward Development Committee	Education Committee Changarawe	Social Services Committee Vikenge
Conceptual use				
more awareness among actors involved	somewhat	somewhat	somewhat	not at all
more awareness among citizens	somewhat	somewhat	somewhat	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in service power related issues				
sanctioning of actors	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
sanctioning of users	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
changes in availability of education	somewhat	somewhat	not at all	somewhat
changes in quality of education	somewhat	somewhat	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in strategic power related issues				
changes in revenue collection	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
changes in budget allocation	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
changes of budgets within sector	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in structural power related issues				
structural changes (changes in priority setting, access to decision-making, etc.)	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all

Source: authors' own semi-structured survey

As is clearly shown in the table, both conceptual and instrumental use of information from the committees at district, ward and village levels is limited. The chairperson of the Ward Development Committee indicates that there is less use of their information in the education sector than in the water sector, for example, because education-related issues and problems are to a large extent dealt with by head teachers and head masters based on their own school-level M&E and the M&E by actors from within the education sector itself.

Examples of use of M&E information that contributed to awareness of citizens include the contribution of information from the Education Committee in Changarawe to a decrease in the number of pregnancies and dropouts. According to the chairperson of the District Welfare Committee, school boards became more aware because of her reports, as a result of which they have taken more responsibilities: in Vikenge for example the school was able to build toilets, in Changarawe tables and desks were bought and in Mongola Secondary School three new class rooms were built.

8.1.4. Use of M&E information supplied by NGOs and Abood Media

Table 8.4. provides an overview of the different types of self-reported use of information from the two NGOs active in the education sector in Changarawe and Vikenge and from Abood Media.

Table 8.4.: Use of information from CDTFN and World Vision (self-reported)

	CDTFN	World Vision	Abood Media
Conceptual use			
more awareness among actors involved	much	very much	somewhat
more awareness among citizens	much	very much	very much
Instrumental use: changes in service power related issues			
sanctioning of actors	somewhat	very much	very much
sanctioning of users	not at all	very much	much
changes in availability of services	very much	very much	very much
changes in quality of services	somewhat	very much	very much
Instrumental use: changes in strategic power related issues			
changes in budget allocation	much	not at all	not at all
changes of budgets within sector	not at all	not at all	not at all
changes in revenue collection	very much	very much	very much
Instrumental use: changes in structural power related issues			
structural changes (changes in priority setting, decision-making)	somewhat	not at all	not at all

Source: authors' own semi-structured surveys

Information from these actors contributes to more awareness among actors involved and citizens. The executive director of CDTFN for instance indicates that ministries increasingly recognise the organisation, while information from World Vision contributed to the awareness of communities that feeding has a positive effect on learning, as a result of which they are now willing to provide more contributions for school meals. Abood radio, on the other hand, is broadcasting a special programme on education issues, in collaboration with SNV, with the aim to increase awareness among citizens.

Differences between the two NGOs are especially related to instrumental use, and particularly to changes in the area of service power. World Vision's programme coordinator indicates that in the past information was more often used for sanctioning of actors and users. He provides an example of the period 2001-2005 when many teachers were not really teaching because of alcoholism, as a result of which they were fired. As sanctions were effective and set an example, nowadays less sanctioning is needed. Abood media on the other hand reports an increasing use of information for sanctioning of actors, due to the fact that nowadays journalists are more active in following-up on issues. Structural changes within CDTFN include a shift towards more emphasis on capacity building.

8.2. Use of M&E information from an M&E demand side perspective

In what follows we map how actors that receive or demand M&E information use that information. These M&E demand side actors include top-down actors at district and ward levels (8.2.1), school boards as the main bottom-up actors (8.2.2) and village actors including the Village Executive Officer, the Village Council and the Village General Assembly (8.2.3).

8.2.1. Use of M&E information by district and ward level actors

Top-down demand actors include the planning officer, the District Primary Education Officer and District Secondary Education Officer at district level and the Ward Executive Officer and Ward Education Coordinator at ward level. Table 8.5. provides an overview of the different types of use of information by these actors.

Table 8.5.: Use of information by district and ward level top-down actors

	Planning Officer	DPEO	DSEO	WEO	WEC
Conceptual use					
More awareness about problems in the sector	very much	very much	very much	much	somewhat
Instrumental use: changes in service power related issues					
Changes in availability and quality of service delivery	much	very much	very much	very much	much
Sanctioning of actors	very much	much	very much	much	much
Sanctioning of users	not at all	not at all	not at all	much	much
Instrumental use: changes in strategic power related issues					
Changes in budget allocation	much	very much	somewhat	much	much
Changes in revenue collection	much	not at all	somewhat	much	somewhat
Instrumental use: changes in structural power related issues					
Structural changes (priority setting, access to decision-making)	very much	much	very much	very much	much

Source: authors' own semi-structured survey

While the Ward Education Coordinator is considered to be an influential person as regards the way others think about and act on education issues³⁵, among the top-down actors she is the most modest in her answers on conceptual and instrumental use of M&E information received. However, she is at the same time the only actor that used information for changes in all areas. As a coordinator she is likely to be involved in all areas, but she is dependent on e.g. the Ward Executive Officer and the District Primary Education Officer to act upon information.

Unlike the top-down actors that supply M&E information (see 8.1.2), most of the top-down actors that demand or receive M&E information indicate that they use information to change issues related to strategic and structural power. The District Secondary Education Officer and the Ward Executive Officer for instance both refer to the increasing priority given to the construction of laboratories. The District Secondary Education Officer highlights that laboratories were built instead of classrooms, while the Ward Executive Officer refers to the reallocation of money that was initially intended for the construction of a hostel for Mongola Secondary School to the construction of laboratories. According to the Ward Executive Officer this change in priority was to a large extent also influenced by the Big Results Now initiative. While in all cases interviewees hinted at changes in priority setting, in none of the cases were references made to M&E that contributed to changes in access to decision-making.

8.2.1. Use of M&E information by school boards

The most important bottom-up actors that demand and use information are the school boards of the primary and secondary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge. Table 8.6. provides an overview of the different types of self-reported use of information by the school boards.

³⁵ The Ward Education Coordinator is the most influential actor as regards the way others *think* about education issues, while the District Primary Education Officer is the actor who is considered to have the highest influence on the way other actors *act*.

Table 8.6.: Use of information by primary and secondary school boards (self-reported)

	primary school boards			secondary school boards		
	Changarawe	Mzumbe	Vikenge	Mongola	Mzumbe	Adrian Mkoba
Conceptual use						
More awareness about problems in the sector	very much	somewhat	very much	very much	much	much
Instrumental use: changes in service power related issues						
Changes in availability and quality of service delivery	very much	very much	much	very much	much	much
Sanctioning of actors	not at all	very much	very much	much	much	not at all
Sanctioning of users	somewhat	very much	very much	very much	much	much
Instrumental use: changes in strategic power related issues						
Changes in budget allocation	much	not at all	very much	very much	not at all	not at all
Changes in revenue collection	somewhat	very much	much	not at all	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in structural power related issues						
Structural changes (changes in priority setting, access to decision-making)	very much	not at all	very much	very much	much	not at all

Source: authors' own semi-structured survey

The table reveals differences between school boards, while there are no clear-cut patterns that distinguish (the group of) primary school boards from (the group of) secondary school boards. Among the boards of primary schools, the school board of Vikenge Primary School uses the information it receives from the head teacher the most. This might be related to the fact that Vikenge's school board meets three times a month, while the other two school boards only meet every trimester (see 7.2.). The board of Mongola Secondary School reacts most actively on information received from the head master, which might be related to the fact that the school is a ward school to which the community has contributed a lot. Mzumbe Secondary School is more accountable to higher authorities and Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School more to the owner (Roman Catholic Church) of the school.

All school boards use, to varying degrees, information received from the head teacher/ master for awareness raising, changes in availability and quality of education delivery and sanctioning of users. At Mongola Secondary School for instance two girls (as well as the two boys involved), were expelled from school because of the girls' pregnancies. An example of sanctioning of actors is for instance the replacement of the head teacher of Mzumbe Primary School because of a difficult working relationship with the school's teachers. Information was considered to be used most by school boards to contribute to changes in the educational offer. The head of the school board of Mzumbe Primary School referred for instance to extra support on reading and writing, acting in this way on the basis of the data regarding weak reading and writing performance. Similarly, Askofu Adrian Mkoba Secondary School introduced extra classes in the afternoon. Some school boards also use information to deal with issues related to strategic and structural power. An example is the school board of Changarawe who has used M&E information for changing its priority setting. More specifically, given the shortage in toilets for teachers and for pupils, the school board prioritised the

construction of additional students’ toilets as this was thought to generate a positive effect on enrolment.

8.2.1. Use of M&E information by village actors (VEO, Village Council and Village General Assembly)

Table 8.7. provides an overview of the different types of self-reported use of information by different village actors in the two villages under study.

Table 8.7. Use of information by the Village Executive Officers, Village Councils and Village General Assemblies in Changarawe and Vikenge (self-reported)

	Changarawe			Vikenge		
	Village Executive Officer	Village Council	Village General Assembly	Village Executive Officer	Village Council	Village General Assembly
Conceptual use						
Awareness about problems in the sector	not at all	somewhat	not at all	much	much	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in service power related issues						
Changes in availability and quality of service delivery	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
Sanctioning of actors	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
Sanctioning of users	not at all	somewhat	not at all	somewhat	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in strategic power related issues						
Changes in budget allocation	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all
Changes in revenue collection	not at all	somewhat	not at all	somewhat	not at all	not at all
Instrumental use: changes in structural power related issues						
Structural changes (priority setting, access to decision-making)	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all	not at all

Source: authors’ own semi-structured survey

Table 8.7 highlights that the village-level actors only limitedly use M&E information to intervene in education-related matters. Only the Village Executive Officer and the chairperson of the Village Council of Vikenge refer to the fact that they often use information to increase awareness (among parents) of education related problems. Vikenge’s Village Executive Officer for example uses information regarding school bill (non)payment to make parents aware of the necessity to pay school bills. None of the actors used the M&E information they received to contribute to structural changes while only the VEO of Vikenge and the chairperson of Changarawe’s Village Council highlighted that M&E information had contributed somewhat to (ad-hoc) changes in revenue collection. The latter more specifically referred to the fact that he made use of the monitoring visit of the District Primary Education Officer at Changarawe Primary School and the negative feedback they received regarding the insufficient number of toilets (and the related threat to close down the school) to mobilise citizens to contribute with money and labour to the construction of 20 new toilets. This somehow hints at combined use of top-down and bottom-up M&E, whereby top-down M&E triggered bottom-up use.

9. Summary, discussion and issues for further research

With the aim to improve local service delivery the government of Tanzania has elaborated a number of reform policies and programmes, including the Tanzania Local Government Reform Programme. Under this programme a set of new mechanisms has been designed to improve governance of local service delivery. These mechanisms are both targeted at the supply and demand side of service delivery and include amongst others the use of different types of monitoring and evaluative (M&E) activities. A distinction can be made between inside government top-down types of M&E activities such as supervision, inspection, audit, district league tables, and performance related incentives; bottom up initiatives which are often citizen-led (such as monitoring through user committees or associations) and more hybrid forms of combined mechanisms. In academic and policy related literature, there is no unequivocal evidence with regard to the functioning and effectiveness of these different types of instruments. Top-down M&E instruments which are often inspired by the New Public Management (NPM) philosophy often lead to crowding out and misreporting while they have also been criticized for not being locally owned or grounded. While bottom-up M&E initiatives are more locally embedded, they often suffer from a low degree of inclusiveness and limited enforceability. Various studies currently hint at the fact that combined initiatives and the creation of interfaces among the more (citizen-driven) bottom up and top-down state driven mechanisms might be the way forward.

Against the background of this inconclusive evidence our exploratory research aims at mapping the functioning and effectiveness of different types of M&E mechanisms in selected villages (Changarawe and Vikenge) around Mzumbe University. More specifically, we map and analyse the functioning of different M&E mechanisms in the education sector and the use of M&E information for changes in local education practices and thinking. We distinguish among changes in practices related to the availability and quality of the educational offer (service power issues), revenue collection and budgets for education (strategic power issues), priority setting and access to decision-making (structural power issues). While use for effective changes in these three areas are examples of instrumental use we also try to capture use for changes in awareness raising (conceptual use). Our mapping exercise draws upon data from semi-structured interviews with 44 actors who are directly and indirectly involved in education service delivery and governance (with a specific focus on M&E) at district, ward and village level. Additionally, household survey data from two randomly selected samples of 129 and 116 households in Changarawe and Vikenge respectively give insight into citizens' use and satisfaction of schooling as well as their accessibility to and perceived quality of education-related information.

As there is common agreement on the fact that contextual factors strongly influence the outlook, functioning and effectiveness of different M&E mechanisms, we have adopted Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) Framework as a guiding analytical framework. More specifically, the IAD helps to unveil how contextual factors (discussed in chapters 4 to 6), including physical and material conditions, formal and informal rules in use and political, governance, socio-economic, cultural and religious community attributes shape incentive structures that influence behaviour and interactions of different M&E actors. This results in specific M&E activities and outputs (discussed in chapter 7) and use (and non-use) of M&E for changes in local educational practices and awareness raising among education actors and citizens (chapter 8).

In what follows, we first give a summative overview of the main findings related to the M&E actors, activities and M&E use, subdivided over school-based, top-down, bottom-up M&E and M&E by NGOs and media. In explaining findings, we explore the influence of contextual factors that shape different actors' incentive structures. Finally, we also sketch some possible linkages with educational performance outcomes and highlight issues for further research.

- *School-based M&E*

The two Changarawe-based primary schools (Mzumbe and Changarawe primary school) and Vikenge primary school are all involved in monitoring of education activities while analysis (evaluation) is generally lacking. This also holds for the three secondary schools located in Changarawe, i.e. Mzumbe secondary school which is targeted at students performing highly on the primary school leaving exams, Mongola secondary school which was created in line with the policy directive to have a school in each ward and in which the community has strongly invested and Askofa Adrian Mkoba secondary school which is a private Roman Catholic school.

Vikenge primary school is the only school that uses a survey-type of instrument to get an overview of the number of expected pupils and which reports an increase in monitoring activities and use due to more importance attached to (quality of) monitoring within the school. The head teacher of Changarawe primary school is most critical regarding quality of M&E which has also decreased over time. At Mzumbe secondary school monitoring activities and quality have increased over time while the head master of Mongola secondary school is more critical of the quality and quantity of monitoring activities which have also remained stable over time.

Focusing on use of findings as perceived by head masters and head teachers highlights that in all schools monitoring information is intensively used to create awareness among parents about the importance of education and payment of contributions as well as to increase awareness among teachers. Besides conceptual use of monitoring for awareness raising, all schools also use monitoring to effectively sanction parents in case contributions are not paid, while some schools (Changarawe primary school and Askofa Adrian Mkoba Secondary School) have also sanctioned teachers. The latter is done through private reprimanding or occasionally also through more open 'naming and shaming' during parents' and school board meetings, a practice which is somehow counter to the local culture of avoidance of open confrontation and conflict. Interestingly, head masters and head teachers refer to the fact that the need for sanctioning has decreased over time because of previous sanctioning, increased transparency and increased awareness about the rules. As regards use of M&E for changes in educational practice, all schools, although to varying degrees, highlight that M&E has contributed to changes in the quantity and quality of the educational offer. Particularly Vikenge primary school has acted upon information regarding its low performance to expand its educational offer (to Saturdays). While M&E is in all schools used to contribute to changes at the level of service power (quantity and quality of educational offer), it was nowhere used to feed into changes in priority setting or to adjust decision-making patterns (structural power). When it comes to strategic power issues, revenue collection increased because of closer monitoring while monitoring did not feed into changes in budgetary allocation.

- *Top-down M&E by actors directly and indirectly involved in the education sector*

With respect to top-down M&E we distinguish among i) actors at district, ward and village level; among ii) civil servants versus elected members of councils and committees as well as among iii) specific education actors versus actors who are indirectly involved in education M&E.

At district level the most important civil servants involved in education sector M&E (and compiling and aggregating data from local levels) are the District Education Inspectorate and the Primary and Secondary Education Officer who are (together with the Ward Education Coordinator) considered by our interviewees the most influential persons in the education sector. All of these actors have experience in M&E while they also received training in M&E. According to them quality of M&E has increased over time due to increased importance given to M&E within the organisation. This is in line with Mvomero district's recent quarterly PEDP report (April to June 2014) which includes monitoring and evaluation and educational research among its priorities. Mvomero district is also one of the districts that uses the decentralised Basic-Education Management Information System for entering

data collected at lower levels. At ward level the most important education specific actor is the Ward Education Coordinator who is supervising all education activities.

Besides these specific education actors, other actors involved at district level are the District Executive Director who is (officially) the most powerful civil servant at district level who appoints the ward and village executive officers; the Internal Audit Office which is responsible for financial (and performance) auditing of local government entities and service delivery units (such as schools); and the District Commissioner (DC) who is the representative of the state and the ruling party (CCM) and in practice the most powerful actor in the district. As the DC tends to control the entire administration, the distinction between politics and administration as well as between the central and local level risks to get blurred.

Besides civil servants, also elected councillors are involved in education M&E. Given the fact that they are elected, they tend to be the most accountable set of actors both towards citizens as towards CCM leadership (in particular) as the process of re-election is party-based. At the level of Mvomero district, monitoring is mainly done through the Education, Health and Water Committee that consists of 12 members who are involved in some ad-hoc data collection and reality checks while they mainly rely upon anecdotal evidence reported by citizens to write their reports. Their monitoring activities are not focused on issues related to educational substance on which they have often limited knowledge but are rather focusing on school infrastructure such as water and sanitation facilities and social issues such as dropouts due to pregnancy. A similar type of monitoring is also performed by the 6 members of the ward development committee at ward level. Both committees stated that their monitoring activities have increased due to an increase in Mvomero's district population while reporting quality increased as a result of feedback received on reports.

Given the quality and focus of M&E activities, it does not entirely come as a surprise that monitoring information provided by elected committees at district and ward level is (perceived to be) much less used than monitoring information generated within the education sector itself. More specifically, committee members highlighted that their M&E findings mainly contributed to awareness raising among citizens and in those instances where monitoring information was also used instrumentally, it was at the level of the quantity and quality of the educational offer and not for sanctioning, strategic or structural power issues. This is in contrast to M&E information supplied by the district and ward educational officers which is often used to sanction (head) teachers, to bring about changes in the quantity and quality of the educational offer and to feed into budgetary allocation and priority setting. Some interviewees somehow put into perspective the importance of district and ward level M&E for the latter two issues, hinting at the overarching influence of central level directives and initiatives such as the 'Big Results Now' in priority setting and budgetary allocation at district and local levels.

- *Bottom-up M&E by actors directly and indirectly involved in the education sector*

With respect to bottom up M&E we distinguish among school-specific educational boards and village level actors which indirectly represent citizens.

All primary and secondary schools in Changarawe and Vikenge have school boards which consist of parents and teachers which meet regularly to discuss educational issues and monitoring information at school level. Vikenge's primary school board is most active and meets three times a month while the other school boards meet every trimester. There are substantial differences in the composition of primary and secondary school boards: chairpersons of the latter are older and have a higher level of education than those of primary schools, while the former have a higher percentage of women among their members. School boards should normally send their minutes to the district education officers which could create a kind of interface between top-down and bottom-up M&E, yet, thus far

none of the school boards has done this. The school board of Vikenge primary school is the only primary school that sends its minutes to the village council.

Our semi-structured interviews highlight that there are differences among school boards in terms of use of M&E while there are no clear patterns that distinguish primary from secondary school boards. Vikenge primary school board and Mongola secondary school are most actively using information which may be related to the fact that at Vikenge primary school more meetings are organised while the local community has most actively invested in Mongola secondary school which may increase local ownership. All school boards use findings mainly for awareness raising of citizens and teachers, for sanctioning and to feed into changes of the educational offer while heads of school boards also mentioned that monitoring information feeds into changes in budgetary allocation, revenue collection and priority setting.

Besides school boards, a set of other actor that represent local citizens is directly or indirectly involved in education M&E. Within Changarawe village council an education committee is appointed to follow up education-related issues while in Vikenge a sub-committee of the Social Services Committee has the same function. Similar to the committees at district and ward level, data collection is not systematic and only focuses on social and infrastructure related issues. Changarawe committee members are slightly more active and meet once a month while at Vikenge meetings are organised four times a year. During meetings school-related issues are discussed which are subsequently reported to the village council. The committees do not write reports themselves but the main findings are included in the village council reports which are elaborated by the village executive officer. Village council reports are presented and discussed at village meetings/village general assemblies which is, in principle, the main body through which villagers can hold the village council accountable. In reality, participation in village meetings is low, both in Changarawe and Vikenge as citizens feel that it is rather a forum through which central level directives are imposed upon them.

It does not entirely come as a surprise that there is limited conceptual and instrumental use of monitoring information provided by village level committees. Our semi-structured interviews highlight that this is related to the perceived low quality of this information and the fact that monitoring mechanisms within the education sector itself (at school level, ward and district level) are considered to work adequately which lowers the need for additional local level monitoring by actors who are not specialised or knowledgeable on educational issues. Adding to this is also the fact that local village governments have limited budgetary discretion as regards the education sector as capital development grants and capitation grants are directly transferred from districts to schools.

Local level village actors that do use monitoring information include the Village Executive Officer and chairperson of Vikenge who mainly use monitoring information to increase awareness about the importance of education and paying contributions which, in their opinion, has contributed to an increase in revenue collection. Interestingly the chairperson of Changarawe hinted at the fact that he used the findings of the district inspectorate (top-down M&E) to increase awareness among citizens and to raise local contributions.

- *NGOs and local media*

Another set of actors that are involved in bottom-up societal M&E activities are local NGOs and media. Local NGOs which are operational in the village, CDTFN and World Vision, have increased the quantity and quality of M&E activities as a result of more pressure from donor agencies. Information provided by NGOs is used for awareness raising, while it has also been used in the past for sanctioning of teacher absenteeism. In line with what was mentioned earlier, the need for sanctioning has decreased because of increased realisation among actors and citizens of the cost of

deviant behaviour. Also local media, including Abood Radio and TV has become more active in follow-up and reporting on education sector performance.

Our findings point at a number of patterns in M&E activities and use which may be better understood against the background of a contextually grounded analysis of incentives.

First, while there are important differences among M&E activities and use of the different actors, a general conclusion is that there is *an important bias towards monitoring at the expense of evaluation*. A focus on monitoring may be a logical first step in the set-up of an M&E system as monitoring generally demands less financial and human resources as compared to evaluation. While evaluation is analytically more demanding and needs cross-reading and triangulation among different information streams, it is also in particular evaluative activity at different moments in time (needs assessment prior to service delivery), during (evaluation of implementation and effectiveness), after (evaluation of impact and sustainability) that helps to get insight into underlying reasons for (non)-performance which feed into learning and improvement. Yet, in a context of limited accountability, a strong one-party state with asymmetric power relations, and considerable corruption, such evaluative analysis is obviously not in the interest of those in power who rather want to preserve the status quo. Given the existing local culture of neo-patrimonialism and dislike of conflict, there is also limited citizens' demand for evaluation. While some of the CSOs and media are becoming more vocal and some of the donors are supporting Transparency and Accountability Initiatives, the impact of these initiatives remains thus far under researched.

In fact, the bias towards monitoring might even become more outspoken in the future under the auspices of donor-driven results-based types of mechanisms such as e.g. the Big Results Now initiative. While such initiatives in principle stimulate 'management *for* results', in reality they are often misinterpreted as 'management *by* results'. In such cases the focus tends to shift towards easy measurable and achievable targets (quantitative outputs of service delivery) crowding out the less tangible elements of service delivery (quality issues, systemic issues). This bias in monitoring is in fact currently already visible as throughout all M&E activities the focus is on monitoring activities related to the educational offer (service power issues) while none of the monitoring activities touches upon the more deep-rooted more systemic issues related to the composition of decision-making bodies e.g. While such bias is technically understandable, it is again more politically safe, as particularly analysis of more systemic issues risks to put into perspective existing power relations. If anything, also donors are not necessarily strongly incentivized to invest in sound evaluative activities in countries such as Tanzania where large amounts of budget support have been spent, among others in the education sector. In fact, they can not be too openly critical of performance in terms of service delivery outcomes or existing accountability and learning mechanisms as the M&E outputs produced by the country itself are an important source of their own reporting to their home constituencies (see also Holvoet and Rombouts, 2008). In addition, as donor agencies are generally under pressure to disburse, they will not be inclined to withdraw their support even if efforts of recipients (including in strengthening their accountability and learning systems) are low. As recipients are aware of this, they do not have any incentive to make a serious effort (i.e. the Samaritan's dilemma, see Ostrom et al., 2001) but are rather inclined towards ritual implementation of reforms and processes of isomorphic mimicry (see also Pritchett et al., 2010).

Second, when focusing on *bottom-up M&E* interesting differences are discerned between *M&E by school boards and M&E by village general assemblies*. At first sight, both types of M&E are affected by collection action problems whereby individuals lack the incentive to engage in monitoring themselves, because they think they can free ride on the monitoring efforts of others. This should normally lead to a similar type of under provision of monitoring, which however does not materialize in reality. Drawing upon insights from institutional analysis and exploring in more-depth contextually grounded incentives helps to explain the differences.

First, citizens might be motivated more to participate in school boards than village meetings because they receive *selective incentives*³⁶ which helps to lower the collective action problem. More specifically, citizens receive some sitting allowance (30, 000 Tshs) for their participation in school boards while face-to-face interaction among the small group of participants in school boards might also create social and emotional selective incentives. This is particularly the case for Vikenge primary school where school boards meetings are held more regularly than in the other schools (see also Ostrom and Walker, 2003). Village meetings are larger and given the local culture of avoidance of open confrontation villagers might be less inclined to discuss and voice claims in such open fora. In fact, the limited participation of villagers in village meetings might be considered an act of hidden resistance.

Second, citizens who participate in school boards might perceive the effectiveness of their contributions to be high as information discussed at school board meetings effectively feeds into changes of the educational offer. This is also related to the fact that increasing the quantity and quality of schooling is an area in which the schools (service providers) apparently have considerable room of manoeuvre to change practices, which is more difficult in other more structural power issues (on which there is less m&e activity and use). Additionally, as changes in primary school performance (PSLE pass rates) are to a large extent influenced by service power (supply side) interventions, the feeling of perceived effectiveness further increases which subsequently strengthens citizens' incentives for continued participation. In secondary school boards, the participation of Mzumbe lecturers and staff, who are knowledgeable in education, as heads of secondary school boards might also increase the feeling of perceived effectiveness.

Conversely, semi-structured interviews showcase that citizens' perceived effectiveness of participation in village meetings is much lower. Various interviewees referred in this respect to the village development plan, which in principle should be based upon the participatory 'objectives & obstacles for development (O&OD)' methodology and which should somehow function as an instrument through which the village council can be held accountable. In reality Vikenge has not really a development plan while the development plan of Changarawe was on paper drafted alongside the O&OD format without really being the result of a participatory process. This ritual implementation of the method is understandable from the perspective of citizens and village officials as development plans can easily change because of changing priorities and particularly because of central needs and priorities overruling local ones. Citizens' realisations of the limited value attached to local development plans understandably dis-incentivizes further participation.

This limited demand from citizens for effective participation and debate in public fora, does not really incentivize the supply-side of local village councils and committees to engage in local level education M&E. Moreover, they also often have limited knowledge on educational substance as well as limited budgetary discretion as capital development grants and capitation grants are directly transferred from districts to school. Adding to this is the fact that in the Tanzanian context of strong one-party state and CCM control, local government is typically more accountable to higher authorities (in particular the DC) than to citizens. This is also obvious from CCM's control over bureaucracy and the related fusion among politics and administration which ensures that centrally determined priorities are implemented from central to local level.

Third, our findings also generally confirm the importance of credible sanctions for future behaviour (see e.g. Joshi, 2013). Various interviewees have pointed out that sanctioning of past non-compliance, both of actors (teachers and head teachers) and parents, has led to changes in behaviour and a decrease of sanctioning. Additionally, it might as well that the act of sanctioning further increases perceived effectiveness of participation in school boards. The fact that also more public types of

³⁶ See Olson (1965) on the importance of selective incentives to overcome the collective action problem.

sanctioning (such as 'naming and shaming') are being used, is somehow surprising in a context of dislike for conflict and open confrontation. Along the same lines, and also counter to expectations, is the fact that traditional accountability mechanisms do not seem to play an important role among actors involved in education service delivery and governance. It might be interesting to further investigate whether the high level of ethnic heterogeneity among the education actors might partly explain the use of formal sanctions and the non-use of traditional accountability mechanisms (see e.g. Tilley, 2013). This is one of the elements that might be explored in the context of comparative study with the water sector which is characterised by a much higher level of ethnic homogeneity.

Fourth, there are some instances of combined initiatives, whereby for instance village level actors act (bottom-up) upon findings from district inspection visits (top-down M&E) or conversely where bottom-up monitoring and monitoring from NGOs triggers sanctioning within the education system. Yet, these are ad-hoc incidences of combined initiatives while some more formally existing interfaces are not implemented on the ground. For instance, the directive which imposes school boards to send their minutes to district level education actors was not put to practice which undermines exchange of information among bottom-up and top-down M&E actors. It is particularly interaction among differently placed actors who have access to different types of information that can stimulate accountability as well as feedback/learning (see also Ramkumar, 2008). As there often exists a gap among policy-makers and practitioners, especially two-way exchange among district level education actors who are more involved in policy-making and local level actors who have better insight into practice is particularly valuable (see also Fox, 2001). Such combined initiatives can even be broadened towards national level actors as well as donors who also often have limited insight into constraints of local level implementation and effectiveness.

While our exploratory study does not allow to establish causal linkages among M&E activities and use on the one hand and final outcomes in terms of educational performance on the other hand, it is interesting to highlight a number of observations. The most striking observation in this regard is the fact in particular Vikenge primary school has substantially improved its educational performance over time. Comparing 2012 and 2013 pass rates on the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) shows an increase of 407%, as compared to 46.9% and 19.9% in Mzumbe and Changarawe primary school respectively. Vikenge primary school is currently classified among the high performing schools (on the basis of the PSLE), while both Changarawe and Mzumbe are in the group of medium performing schools. A large majority (81.7%) of the household survey respondents with children in Vikenge Primary School confirm this improvement in primary education quality. As regards reasons for improvement, parents particularly point at more supervision of central and local authorities (all schools) and at the presence of more powerful parents (particularly in Vikenge).

Interestingly, Vikenge is also the school where both the school itself, as well as the school board have been particularly active in terms of quantity and quality of M&E activities and even more importantly its usage. M&E findings have been used for awareness raising and sanctioning of actors and citizens while particularly the educational offer has been increased.

The influence on educational performance of acting upon supply side problems (which have been diagnosed through M&E) is much less obvious at the level of secondary schooling. Morogoro is generally known as a region that scores below national average in terms of secondary school performance due to a combination of supply and demand side problems. The low secondary school accessibility has partly been dealt with through the investment in community secondary schools (including Mongola secondary school). Whereas quality of these schools remains particularly low, our findings show that efforts are done to tackle this through actions at school level as well as through bottom-up and top-down M&E. Yet, it is much more difficult, if not impossible to tackle the limited demand for secondary education in the same way. Use of M&E by schools and by school boards for

awareness raising is particularly targeted at households who have already children enrolled in schools and does not reach those households where children dropped out of school due to pregnancy (girls) or involvement in agricultural labour for which demand is high in the Morogoro region. While other channels, such as village committees, village council meetings and village general assemblies are important to reach the entire village population, it is simultaneously clear that M&E by these entities is much more ad-hoc, of lower quality and it is hardly used. Other channels that might become important in this regard are local media whose activities of educational follow-up are increasing while also increased internet access, particularly among the youth, might become a factor of influence in the future.

The increasing influence of media, ICT, internet and mobile technologies is one of the activities that deserves particular attention in the future. Tanzania is one of the countries where accessibility to internet and mobile technologies in particular is rapidly expanding (see <http://www.audiencescapes.org>). This technological evolution might have important effects both on the supply and demand for information within and outside government. As regards the Education Sector Management Information System, Mvomero district's recent quarterly PEDP report (April to June 2014) for instance announces an increased use of ICT. Outside government, the effect might be particularly high among the youth which is also demographically an important population group. Higher accessibility and exchange of information obviously opens opportunities and poses considerable challenges as well, while particularly the effect in terms of increased use of that information for accountability and learning is uncertain. More specifically, it might be interesting to investigate in what way internet and ICT influence institutionally grounded incentives that shape the behaviour and interaction of different actors involved in education governance and M&E in particular.

Similarly, it is also interesting to monitor and analyse how possible changes in the political landscape as a result of the upcoming 2015 elections might affect incentives and different actors' behaviour in terms of M&E activities and use for accountability and learning. For instance, it is yet unknown what the likely effect will be (if any) of a possible increase in political competition, a reduction of overlap among party and state, etc. Another element which deserves follow-up, is the influence of religion and churches on the topic under study. At this stage, there are not many tensions among different religious groups which are almost evenly represented and not much influence, and while Roman Catholics are currently the dominant Christian group, an increasing number of citizens are becoming member of the evangelical church. As the latter increasingly function as multipurpose institutions and networks which are involved in collective labour, conflict resolution etc. (see e.g. Cleaver, 2001), there might be as well be an influence on incentives for doing and using M&E (e.g. networking might solve the collective action problem which could increase M&E while networks that are too close might as well limit M&E).

Finally, also the analysis of the implementation, effectiveness and impact of the Big Results Now initiative should be high on the research agenda. A first step in such an evaluative undertaking is the close monitoring and analysis of the implementation of the initiative on the ground as implementation is likely to deviate from the blueprint and to be affected by the particular local setting, by the actors that are responsible for implementation, by the service delivery actors, etc.

In other to address some of the above research questions, additional research is needed, including longitudinal research which follows changes over time, in combination with comparative case study research to zoom into specific factors of interest (such as different types of goods – education versus water e.g.-, different political contexts, etc.) while also in-depth ethnographic research might be needed to capture the influence of more deep-rooted community attributes and the importance of traditional accountability mechanisms.

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Annexes

1. List of abbreviations

AE	Adult Education
A-level	Advanced Level
BE-MIS	Basic Education Management Information System
BEST	Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania
BRN	Big Results Now
CAG	Controller and Audit General
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CDFN	Childhood Development Trust Fund Network
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
D by D	Decentralisation by Devolution
DC	District Commissioner
DED	District Executive Director
DPEO	District Primary Education Officer
DSEO	District Secondary Education Officer
ESMIS	Education Sector Management Information System
ESA	Education Sector Analysis
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
FEDP	Folk Education Development Programme
FMIS	Financial Management Information System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IAD	Institutional Analysis and Development Framework
IAO	Internal Audit Office
LGA	Local Government Authorities
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MOFEA	Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs
NFE	Non-formal education
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OGP	Open Government Partnership
O-Level	Ordinary Level
O&OD	Opportunities and Obstacles for Development
P4P	Pay for Performance
PBF	Performance Based Finance
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PEFA	Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Initiative
PEO	Primary Education Officer
PMO-RALG	Prime Minister Office - Regional Administration and Local Government
PO	Planning Officer
PPP	Purchasing Power Parities
PQTR	Pupil Qualified Teacher Ratio
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
REPOA	Research on Poverty Alleviation

SBS	Strategic Budget Allocation System
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
SEO	Secondary Education Officer
SI	School Inspectorate
TA	Technical Assistance
TAI	Transparency and Accountability Initiative
TEN	Tanzania Education Network
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WEC	Ward Education Coordinator
WEO	Ward Executive Officer