

Basic Education under Local Governments in Tanzania: A Theoretical Analysis

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Abstract: *This paper describes local government administration of basic education on the basis of different foci deriving from different theories, to demonstrate variations that emerge as stakeholders assess performance and quality of basic education service delivery. Dual-state, public choice and broken window theories are utilized to analyze data from district education officers and heads of secondary schools about central-local government relations vis-à-vis resources at disposal for making basic-education related decisions; inclusion of local communities' opinions and interests in basic education programmes; and availability of adequate structures and by-laws to deter mismanagement, minor crimes and offences which otherwise impede the effectiveness of basic education programmes managed by local governments as major providers. The evidences accruing from this analysis indicate that basic education administration under local government in Tanzania, can achieve desired goals and objectives if available structures are revised to devolve more decision-making power and resources to local governments.*

Key Words: Local Government, Basic Education

INTRODUCTION

Local governments are generally accepted as appropriate institutions for promoting democracy at the local level, maintain law and order and enhance responsive governance by serving as a two-way communication link between the government and the governed (Elander, 1991; Miliband, 1969). Sub-section 113(1) of the Local Government (District Council) Act No. 7 of 1982 lists the functions and duties of local government in Tanzania as maintenance of peace, order and good governance within areas of jurisdictions; promotion of social welfare and economic well-being of all persons within areas of jurisdictions; and furtherance of social and economic development of respective areas. Social welfare for promoting by local governments is about services which are primary or basic in nature like basic education, basic health, agriculture, revenue collection and related regulatory functions. In case of basic education in Tanzania, local governments are charged to provide quality pre-primary, primary and secondary education, and adult and other forms of non-formal education,

as depicted in Government Notice No.5(1) of 2008 which among other things moved the administration of secondary education to local governments (URT, 2011).

It is also generally accepted that existence of local governments is acceptance of decentralization in governance. Here, decentralization refers to giving some of the central government powers to local governments. Litvack (n.d.) identifies three types of administrative decentralization as including deconcentration if power and responsibilities are redistributed among different levels of central government but working in regions or districts; delegation if central governments transfers responsibilities to semi-autonomous organizations not wholly controlled by the central government but ultimately accountable to it; or devolution which refers to central government transfer of authority for decision-making, finance, and management to quasi-autonomous units of local government with corporate status. In order to establish a decentralized by devolution local government system in Tanzania, the Local Government Reform Agenda of 1996-2000 was formulated in 1996 to establish a local governance system based on political and financial devolution of functions and responsibilities within a framework of a unitary state. The Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) took off in 1998 with a purpose of improving the quality, access and equity in delivery of public services; particularly to the poor. As also a part of public sector reforms, Education Sector Reform Programme (ESDP) was launched in 1997 to improve and transform the sector with cognizance that a well-functioning system was a necessary condition and prerequisite to achieve desired socio-economic growth and human capabilities. ESDP focused on improved access, equity and quality of education provisions across different sub-sectors, particularly primary and secondary education sub-sectors.

The performances of both LGRP and ESDP to achieve the set goals and objectives could be assessed differently by different analysts depending on focus of framework which one has employed (Elander, 1991). Different local government theories evaluate the effectiveness of programmes from different focuses, hence different considerations. However, whatever the focus, the basic local government roles and functions to further democracy and provide services at local level remain important. In this discussion, dual-state, public choice and broken window theories are utilized to assess the prospects of achieving ESDP basic education objectives if the sub-sector is wholly managed by local governments. On basis of data collected from local government basic education actors it is finally concluded that an

eclectic theoretical approach is required to efficiently assess the effectiveness of basic education programmes at local government level.

Local Governance and Social Services

According to UNDP (2015) view of sustainable development, local governance ensures capacity to manage opportunities and responsibilities through decentralization by devolution at local and sub-national government levels. Local and sub-national institutions of governance commonly known as local governments, serve as bodies where people (especially the poor, women and minorities) can participate in the development of their communities. As such, local government is defined as a form of public administration existing as the lowest tier of administration in a given state. In the context of Tanzania, the term is used to contrast with offices at central level and hereafter referred to as the central government. Local governments which generally entail an array of administrative institutions at district and lower levels act within powers delegated to them by legislation or directives of the central government. Ideally, local governments are created to decongest the functions and burden of central governments and to provide services that are local in character.

Local governments have roles which in some ways are similar to those of central government; mainly to provide development services and security to people, as well as ensuring participation of the citizenry in governance. In Tanzania, local governments perform such roles with varying degrees of intensity on basis of prescriptions in related legislations, including Act No.6 of 1999 which amended a myriad of many other laws so as to reform the sector and focus its attention to good governance, transparency and accountability. Specifically, these reforms could be described as classified in five dimensions. In its democratic dimension it sought to devolve power to local councils and committees in order to enhance public participation and bring control to people. In financial dimension the reforms aim to give more sources of revenue to local authorities and enhance accountability in expenditure of revenues. The administrative dimension seeks to integrate bureaucrats in the local governance by local governments recruiting their own staff organized in a way decided by respective councils, in order to improve the delivery of services. The central-local government relationship is also reorganized so that the role of the central government remains that of formulating policies and guidelines, support, facilitate, monitor and assure quality and control local governance within the frame-work of the law. Lastly is the service function dimension which seeks to decentralize public service so as to bring service provision and management to end users while increasing the services, quantity and quality. In the view of the

National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN, 2008), the roles in these dimensions could be clustered and summarized into two as political and socio-economic roles for easier understanding. NOUN (op.cit) further hypothesize that in the exercise of democracy and human rights, local governments must translate demands and policies into physical development, usually by providing basic socio-economic services like education, health, agriculture and revenue raising and regulatory functions. Baker and Wallevik (2002) observe that local governments in Tanzania execute designated roles through departments and these include water, communications and works, education and culture, finance, administration, agriculture, livestock and cooperative development, community development, trade and economy, health, and natural resources. It is through provision of such services that people may make any meaning of democracy and bureaucracy at local level. The heads of these service departments are professionals required for providing advice to sub-committees in the Council, as well as personnel charged with implementation of all decisions reached by the Council on matters of development and delivery of social services in respective areas.

In the context of Tanzania, basic education entails pre-primary, primary and secondary education sub-systems. According to Wedgwood (2005), the rise of the term *basic* education was partly due to a rejection of the term *primary* education, which was seen to imply preparation for further education rather than for life. She reiterates Nyerere's (1967) view of basic education that it should be complete and providing basic life skills. As such, the term 'basic education' emphasizes education geared to provision of 'basic needs' which cannot accrue from primary schooling alone but from other aspects such as pre-primary and adult literacy classes as well. Ideally, local governments in provision of basic education, have to oversee and take remedial measures on its management and administration, prepare and disseminate operational guidelines and circulars, create, update and maintain database on basic education. As such, it is important for education officers at local government level to possess skills, experience and dedication crucial for assuring that peoples' education development and service needs are adequately addressed.

The Education Sector Development Programme II (ESDP II) document in Tanzania (URT, 2008) reveals her intention to integrate current basic education elements and move them to local governments so as to more efficiently cover administration of primary and secondary schools, construction and rehabilitation of secondary schools and some adult and non-formal educational programmes. This transformation intended to

restructure the management and organization of the sector such that decentralized responsibilities would be coordinated by the Prime Minister's Office – Regional Administration and Local Governments (PMO-RALG) with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) retaining the responsibility for educational policy and sector-wide coordination.

On 13th February 2008, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania through Government Notice No.5 (1) transferred the administration of Secondary Education from the MoEVT to PMO-RALG among other changes in the notice (URT, 2011). In 2014, the new Education and Training Policy (ETP II) (URT, 2014) introduced a shift from {2+7+4+2+3+} to {1+6+4+2+3+} system cementing the decisions about management and administration of basic education; with ordinary secondary education as part of compulsory education. ESDP (II) identifies a list of strategies which providers were required to undertake in order to improve quality and performances in pre-primary, primary, secondary, adult and other non-formal education programmes. These focused on such aspects as funding which needed increasing and infrastructure which needed improving in such aspects as classrooms, teacher houses, libraries, laboratories and sanitation facilities. It is urged that development and improvement of infrastructure should take cognizance of the conditions of learners including those with disabilities, gender, geographically hard-to-reach areas and other diversities. Additional considerations were put on Teachers' Resource Centres (TRCs) to more efficiently provide school based in-service training, and provision of incentive for rural primary school teachers.

Theoretical Analysis of Basic Education through ESDP II and LGRP

Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary (2005) defines the term theory as a formal set of ideas intended to explain why something happens or exists; the principles on which a particular issue is based. It is a set of assumptions, propositions, or accepted facts that attempt to provide a plausible or rational explanation of causal relationships in a group of observed phenomena. The word's origin (Greek *thoros* or a spectator), stresses the fact that all theories are mental models of the perceived reality. In science, a theory is not merely a guess, but a fact-based framework for describing a phenomenon. In local governance for example, theories are used to provide models for understanding phenomena such as the ways resources are shared and expended, the effectiveness of laws and by-laws, the central-local level relations etc. Theories have to provide explanatory frameworks upon which possible hypotheses can be tested in order to

support or challenge the assumptions, proposition or an idea. This can be normative (or prescriptive) if it postulates what ought to be by providing 'goals, norms, and standards'. It can also be a body of knowledge, which may or may not be associated with particular explanatory models. The policy paper on local governments in Tanzania (Baker and Wallevik, op.cit) suggests some characteristics which an effective local government should exhibit to realize envisioned goals. It is argued that they should be largely autonomous institutions with the freedom to make policy and operational decisions consistent with government policies but without undue interference by central government institutions. Secondly, they should be institutions which are strong and effective enough to perform their mandated functions i.e. possess adequate financial and human resources. Thirdly, local governments should be democratically governed by leaderships elected through fully democratic processes. Furthermore, legitimacy of local governments should derive from the quality of service they provide to the people which must all times seek to foster participatory development by involving the people in deciding, planning and executing the development programmes. Moreover, local governments require being institutions which reflect local demands and conditions in the sense that assumed roles and functions are commensurate to demands for such services by the local people, and to the socio-ecological conditions prevailing in the area. They should conduct activities affecting the people with transparency and accountability, which in turn should form the basis for securing their autonomy from central government interference.

Several theoretical analyses have attempted to study the local governance systems and established the extent the existing frameworks have supported the incidence of people's participation in the development of their communities, and provision of services and security to people (Elander, 1991). Although different theories would emanate from different areas of focus, the ultimate goal for any arrangement is to ensure whether the local government promotes democracy and maintains law and order at local level, and if it enhances provision of basic services and serve as a link between the government and the governed (NOUN, 2008). For example whereas dual-state theorists' attention emanate from what they refer to as asymmetrical central-local government relationships thus needing to be constantly regulated, public-choice theorists argue that since bureaucrats are appointed by the central government executives, they in practice tend to please those who appointed them at the expense of the interests of citizens who elect the government to power (Elander, 1991). As such, whereas dual-state theorists would potentially view local governments as extensions of central government hence requiring ways for measuring or at

least estimate the relative power of local government in the overall system of a country, the public-choice theorists view a conflict between the voters, politicians, and bureaucrats as each attempts to maximize own social, political or economic benefits, thus contravening the interest of the other, hence necessitate a system improvement through constitutional rules which guide distribution of powers between local government actors. Besides dual-state and public-choice, 'broken window' theorists look at local governments from the perspective of crimes and destructions which erode the wealth of local governments and impede them from achievement of desired goals and objectives. The theory emanates from a parable that "If one window is left unrepaired in the street, soon many windows will be broken", first introduced by Frederic Bastiat in 1850 to illustrate why destructions, and resources spent to recover from destructions, are actually not a net-benefit to society. The theory hypothesizes that relatively minor infractions, if unpunished, lead to greater problems and more serious crimes, and that disordered environment (symbolized by broken windows, graffiti and excessive litter etc) signals the absence of efficient monitoring structures, so much that one can engage in criminal behavior with little risk of being detected. It therefore advocates zero-tolerance enforcement of by-laws which if efficiently enforced, major crimes would be deterred.

There are several such other frameworks for describing various phenomena in local governments from different perspectives. There is a multitude of phenomena in local governments which require thorough analyses in order to assess the effectiveness of anyone governance strategy, the description of which cannot be exhaustively found in any single theoretical framework. So, the prospects that local governments can or cannot achieve desired basic education goals and objectives need not be assessed by anyone framework in isolation from others, but rather we should employ an eclectic approach so that the analysis benefits from varied perspectives.

Dual-State Explanation of Basic Education as a Local Government Role

It is noted in previous sections that ESDP II and ETP II instruct the provision of basic education to be managed by local governments in Tanzania. It is also noted that as a sub-sector, basic education consists of pre-primary, primary, secondary, adult and other non-formal education programmes. ESDP spells out four clusters of targets and strategies that basic education providers (i.e. local governments) must undertake for improved delivery and quality. The first was a cluster for operational targets aiming to recruit and retain teachers to attain desired teacher-pupil ratios and quality delivery in all basic education programmes, as well as improvement of teaching and learning environment. The second was a

cluster of targets for improved provision and equity in education where the providers are required to increase funding for preparation and provision of teaching and learning materials, improve infrastructure for aspects as classrooms, teacher houses, libraries, laboratories and sanitation facilities, by taking cognizance of the conditions of learners including those with disabilities, gender, geographically-hard-to-reach areas and other diversities. The third was a cluster of targets focusing on curriculum and improved teaching and learning environment, which among other things required reviewing the curriculum for shift from outcome to competence based, improving the book-pupil ratio to 1:1 by 2017 and urged providers to continue providing capitation grants at the rates of TSh.10, 000 per school pupil, TSh.5, 000 per out of school pupil (COBET), and TSh.20, 000 per pupil with disability. The fourth cluster were targets for macro-micro management and governance of basic education through improved quality of teacher management at school level. Specific measures planned in this cluster included ensuring that salary payments were promptly and correctly disbursed; head teachers and inspection teams ensuring that classes are not left unattended when teachers are undertaking in-service training programmes; and that disciplinary measures are instituted to any teacher found absent in class during normal school hours.

Public Service Management (PSM) Department in the President's Office instructs the Prime Minister's Office - Regional Administration and Local Governments' Basic Education Division to coordinate and manage pre-primary, primary and secondary education by ensuring efficient coordination and supervision of its delivery, monitoring and evaluation of its administration, overseeing and taking remedial measures on its management and administration, dissemination of operational guidelines and circulars, and creation, update and maintenance of database on pre-primary, primary and secondary education services (URT, 2011). Basic education division is led by a Director and it is divided into two sections; secondary education section and pre-primary and primary education section. Each section is charged to ensure the functions entailed in delivery of basic education are rolled out to service points i.e. to and through local authorities, schools, education staff and stakeholders of respective sections. These directives and arrangement partly skews Miliband's (1969) assertion about local governments that they constitutionally exhibit a dual-state character, because in this case they appear more of '*antennae*' of central government than a '*voice of the periphery*.'

Miliband's (op.cit) view is that there should be facultative and mandatory administrations of local-governments. In the facultative administration,

local governments are free to make their own decisions whereas in the mandatory administration centrally decided laws regulate what local governments ought to do and must not do. In the case of local governance in Tanzania, PSM mandates the central government to unilaterally decide how basic education should be run; with very little or no inputs deriving from 'voices of the periphery'. Furthermore, ESDP (URT, 2008) reveals the intention to restructure the sector in a way that management and organization of decentralized responsibilities would be coordinated by PMO-RALG, and MoEVT would retain educational policy responsibilities. Since both PMO-RALG and MoEVT are central government ministries it can be deduced that observed deviation in central-local government relations and distribution of decision making powers is *by design*. For example, each section in PMO-RALG's basic education division is required to create and maintain databases relevant to type of services it is required to provide, without emphasis on how inputs from the governed would enrich or contribute to required data. Available basic education data (URT, 2014) are usually sourced from schools and other education institutions, regional and district education offices mainly about enrollment and supplies. Information about grassroots' opinion on issues relating to participatory management, curriculum and community contributions for example, is not reported. Miliband (op.cit) observes that the nature of decision making process is central in the execution of any programmes, thus the roles which local government and the governed play to reach various decisions relating to delivery of social services must be carefully studied.

In order to estimate the scope of local government involvement in the totality of decisions pertaining to basic education, responses from education officers in selected local authorities revealed that most decisions were made at central government level. Municipal, district and other councils were only there to implement because funding of many programmes also came from central government. In the second question the respondents were asked to cite examples of incidences where local governments were able to influence decisions made by central government. Two thirds of the responses could not cite any example. One third cited some programmes executed through Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) where some of referred decisions were by far not related to basic education. Basic education programmes which were on-going were PEDP and SEDP and no decisions could easily be cited to testify local governments' ability to influence decisions from central government, because everything came from MoEVT and or PMO-RALG. It could therefore be deduced that most decisions relating to basic education were made without inputs from local

governments and the governed. This needs reverting so that a sense of ownership is enhanced at local government level as a beneficiary and implementing agency.

In order to address the issues of central-local government relations, Elander (1991) identifies five sets of resources which must be carefully studied and regulated. He refers to what he calls '*constitutional-legal*' resources as pertaining to range of functions which are formally devolved to local governments under terms of the constitution or by parliament. For example, the Constitution may clearly provide for education as a basic right, but the Central government might impose restricted local autonomy through a number of supervising and controlling mechanisms if the document (resource) does not clearly explicate boundaries of each party, consequently infringing the participation of subordinate parties. Secondly is what he refers to as '*regulatory*' resources which derive their legitimacy from the first set of resources i.e. constitutional-legal frameworks of the country, and they are put in place in order to enforce the legal and administrative rules. In this case, ESDP, LGRP, the Government Notice No.5 (1) of 2008 and ETP symbolize some regulatory resources in which the central-local government relations pertaining to provision of basic education could be assessed and analyzed. In the foregoing paragraphs and responses from actors in local authorities, it is observed that available regulatory resources in Tanzania do not favour active local government participation in provision of basic education, which detracts the success of these programmes. Basic education legislations and regulatory structures must therefore ensure the interest and opinions of people at grassroots level are efficiently tapped and served.

Another set is that of '*financial*' resources which refer to the funds raised by local governments, be it from taxes, service charges, central government grants and or borrowing. Of these, Elander (op.cit) views grants as often accompanied by detailed rules governing their use. Ideally, grants from central government need to be unconditional without limitations to local discretion and latitude of decisions on how they should be used. In order to optimize local discretion regarding financial resources, local governments should have the right to impose taxes as one of crucial provision for financial resources. For example, in context of Tanzania and provision of basic education, *constitutional-legal* and *regulatory* resources should have enabled local governments to enjoy discretionary powers of imposing 'earmarked taxes' in areas of jurisdictions to support their basic education programmes, rather than relying on grants from central government and other sources which sometimes are never provided as promised. But this

could only be possible if the central government could forsake some of its tax sources to be taken over by local governments. Local governments could also organize different fund raising programmes specifically for cause of basic education programmes in areas of jurisdictions. It is until when local governments are financially capable, that they would enjoy appropriate share of decisions and participation in basic education provisions. They should be in position to shoulder substantial portion of costs for basic education as opposed to present practice when major physical and human resources are borne from central government budget (URT, 2006).

Others of importance are 'political' and 'professional' resources. Whereas the former refers to *access of local governments to public decision-making structures and the right to build public support, the latter refers to local government possession of people, skills, land, buildings, material and hence the ability to act directly rather than through intermediaries. According to Elander (op.cit), local government capacity in this resource should enable it to collect and process data about basic education as opposed to current practice in Tanzania where the same is done by central government (i.e. MoEVT) consequently ignoring reflections from local communities. Elander (op.cit) concludes that "Without legal, financial and other resources, local governments would be `123456 7b7 890-,-*-to their own priorities."*

Basic Education as a Public Choice in Local Governments

As observed in the policy paper on local government reforms (URT, 1998) ESDP and several other sector reforms were not sufficiently coordinated with the civil service reforms on one hand, and local government reforms on the other. Such uncoordinated practices resulted into outcomes which conflicted with interest and preferences of the general public which local governments were required to cherish and represent. In case of basic education for example, PEDP and SEDP were observed as tending to re-centralize ministerial control over districts and other lower levels providing the services. MoEVT was responsible for policy and legislation formulation, quality assurance, standard setting, monitoring and evaluation of basic education programmes undertaken by local governments. The LGAs undertook actual implementation of the programmes, basically with limited decision making powers through officers (DEOs) also appointed by MoEVT, thus accountable to central government rather than respective councils (URT, 2006). The policy paper also notes that in some cases the sector reform programmes by-passed the LGAs in relation to priority setting for services they were meant to provide. In light of public choice theory, mismatch of interests, goals and objectives between parties in local

government service delivery programmes, tend to detriment the general public at the expense of politicians and bureaucrats. Public choice theory therefore seeks to analyze service delivery programmes (in local governments), identify problems and suggest efficient government policies to improve the system. In Elander's (op.cit) dual thesis analysis, public choice ideas of efficient policies coincides with *regulatory* resources of central-local governance relations that they should favour active local government participation by tapping interest and opinions from grassroots.

In order for local government education bureaucrats to cherish interests and preferences of general public, there were to be efficient structures for taping the same into day-to-day practices of these officers. PEDP II (URT, 2006) observes that educators at local government level could respond to unique local realities if they were able to organize and reflect on their own experiences, so that they design local interventions that would improve pupils' learning. This required a structured approach for analyzing and reflecting on school characteristics which were most significant for pupils' learning, as a part of planning and implementation process for basic education programmes. Local government education bureaucrats had to be able of identifying significant local school characteristics, establish priorities and undertake action-based studies for improved students' learning in their areas of jurisdictions. Unfortunately, research roles do not explicitly feature in basic education responsibilities for local government bureaucrats as listed in PEDP II (URT, 2006), that they should include the following:

- involving the community and other stakeholders in meaningful participation in planning, implementing and monitoring processes;
- involving the community and other stakeholders in the preparation of three year and annual development plans for the councils' basic education delivery;
- guide and enforce the proper use and accounting of funds;
- preparing and submitting physical and financial progress reports timely and regularly to PMO-RALG and MoEVT through respective Regional Secretariats;
- effectively communicate educational information to villages and or streets, schools and other relevant stakeholders;
- providing technical support to school, village and or street committees (or boards) in the tasks of procurement and proper utilization of funds (URT, 2006 p.36).

In order to manage and propel basic education programmes to desired goals and objectives, PEDP II sought to empower *schools and village committees* by financial and human resources. At school level, this translated

to training of heads of schools and some members of school committees and boards in such aspects as record-keeping, reporting, information and data management, mainly for accurate and timely preparation and submission of physical and financial progress reports to LGAs and subsequent levels. Again, the empowerment of school level actors did not explicitly include participatory research competences to enable them gather and communicate required data to policy makers. According to PEDP II (URT, 2006), the roles of school committees focused on approval rather than preparation of school development budgets and plans, operation of bank accounts and funds received from central government, ensure there is systematic information to the community of deliberations, decisions and budgets through publications on public bill-boards or any other means. Regular meetings and other two-way communications between committee members and communities they represented as a means of acquiring the grassroots' opinions on one hand, and conveyance of deliberations from another side on the other hand are not an emphasis. Tapping and inclusion of grassroots' interests and opinions in basic education policies are therefore not guaranteed, such that local government basic education bureaucrats are bound to serve central government interests which remain the only category at their disposal. Structured questionnaires were administered by email to twenty randomly selected DEOs in order to identify various basic education tasks where opinions, decisions and interests of local people at grassroots were involved as a matter of principle. Three quarters of sampled DEOs responded pointing to operational responsibilities suggested in PEDP II e.g. enrolment of children in school, leadership and committee memberships, and approval of school plans, budgets and progress reports. None of the DEOs identified the type of curriculum and or instructions, school personnel, textbooks, and type and size of community contributions as areas where the grassroots was invited to advise and or give opinion. A follow-up question required that for each identified task, to estimate the extent of involvement and say if it was 'non-participation', 'very little', 'moderate' or 'high' participation. Participation of grassroots in enrolment of children in respective districts was rated high by all (100%) DEOs who responded but it was different for other two areas. Eight (53.3%) of responding DEOs rated the participation of grassroots' people in school leaderships and committees as high, four (26.7%) rated it moderate and the other three (20%) rated it very little. On development and approval of plans, budgets and reports, twelve (80%) of responding DEOs viewed the participation was very little while the other three (20%) viewed the participation was moderate. It could therefore be concluded that even in view of DEOs who manage basic education programmes at local government level; inclusion of interests, opinion and

ideas from the grassroots in Tanzania is negligible. Little that local government basic education bureaucrats tap from local communities is that which is geared to fulfill the demands and requirements of central government at local government level.

When the central government decentralizes by devolution as suggested by the policy paper on local government reforms (URT, 1998), it is expected that it would transfer of responsibilities for delivery of services to LGAs; to elect their own mayors and councils, raise their own revenues, and have independent authority to make investment decisions (Litvack, n.d.). Masoi and Norman (2006) also argue that meaningful devolution should relocate not only administrative functions, but also the power to make decisions and set objectives. Decentralization by devolution (D-by-D) should therefore transfer decision making power, and much more policy making powers to elected local representatives in the local governments who in turn should be powerful enough to make laws of local nature (by-laws) and raise revenues required for local development, with minimal central government interferences. Actors at local government level should as well realize basic education as a public good benefiting not only bureaucrats and politicians as distinguished advocacy groups, but also the general public. For this to be achieved, central and local governments should implement specific basic education policies which ensure benefits over all citizens.

Basic Education in Local Government viewed by Broken Windows Theorists

The relevance of broken window theory in local governments draws from failure to achieve various targets due to prevalence of crimes and absence of effective by-laws to deter the same. Apart from Frederic Bastiat introducing the theory in 1850, it was later popularized by Wilson and Kelling's (1982) article in *The Atlantic Monthly* titled 'Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety'. The argument in this article was based on the parables that; if there is a building with a few broken windows that will not be repaired, the tendency is for vandals to break a few more windows or even break into the building. If the building is not occupied, perhaps they become squatters and light fires inside. Similarly, if some litter accumulates on a pavement, soon more litter accumulates and finally attract people to start leaving bags of refuse from their residences or take away restaurants. In this theory, it is not the actual broken window or litter on pavement that is important, but rather it is the message they convey to people. Broken windows in this matter depict a community that is defenseless, vulnerable and lack of effective structures among its people. In contexts of local governments, this may refer to minor crimes committed by bureaucrats

and other actors, which if not reprimanded tend to escalate to bigger offences, thus implying weak, vulnerable and disorganized local communities requiring some actions to re-order the situation. This therefore calls for zero-tolerance enforcement of minor laws to deter minor crimes from escalating to major ones. It calls for local governments' cognizance of the importance to maintain intact communities without 'broken windows' or 'litter accumulating on pavements.'

The scope of basic education between 2010 and 2017 is described in SEDP II document (URT, 2010), that it generally sought to improve quality and relevance, enhance access and equity, improve teaching force, teaching processes, management efficiency, school governance and institutionalization of cross-cutting issues. PEDP II (URT, 2006) summarizes these into four main areas namely: improved access and equity, improved quality, strengthened capacity in governance, management and monitoring of education, and cross-cutting issues. The areas were resorted to on basis of the strategic policy objectives outlined in ESDP II for years 2008 to 2017 (URT, 2010), some of which were to ensure that:

- teaching and non-teaching staff are conscientious productive workers, adhering to professional conventions, rules and regulations;
- the best available teaching talents are recruited, professionally developed and retained;
- human resources and skills are continuously developed to reflect current and emerging challenges;
- teachers and other personnel are appraised, rewarded and sanctioned based on merit;
- a conducive work environment is created and maintained in schools/institutions;
- teachers' status, pay and other incentives are sufficient to motivate high quality performance;
- thematic improvement of expansion/access, curriculum relevance, equity, quality, management, resources availability and cross-cutting issues are sustained.

On improved accesses and equity, twenty heads of secondary schools from Dar es Salaam, Geita and Kagera regions were interviewed to identify the extent at which primary school leavers selected for Form One were enrolled in schools. If there were any students that had not reported as required, the heads of schools were requested to describe the measures that were taken if any. The findings revealed that access in both rural and urban secondary schools was far from achievement of set targets. It was found out that there was not any school which had enrolled all students selected. Teenage

pregnancy, truancy and lack of school fees were major reasons hindering optimal form one students' enrolment in rural secondary schools, while superior private schools was an additional factor for failure of public secondary schools in urban local authorities to achieve full enrolment of students selected to form one. It was revealed that about 3.3% of the girls who did not report to schools they were selected to was due to teenage pregnancies. It was found that 92% of students failing to enroll in rural secondary schools were due to truancy and lack of school fees. For urban secondary schools, 3.8% of students who did not enroll were due to truancy and lack of school fees. It was also found that 47.3% of students selected for form one in urban public secondary schools did not report because they went to neighbor private schools which appeared superior in terms of quality education delivery. Each head of school confirmed he or she had reported to relevant local government authorities as the law instructs, but none was given required assistance to bring back truant or any other students to schools.

School enrolment and attendance in Tanzania are guided by Education Act No. 25 of 1978 and its subsequent amendments in Act No.10 of 1995. Section 35(3) of the 1978 version of the Act stipulates that "Every pupil enrolled at any national school shall regularly attend the school at which he is enrolled until he completes the period of instructions specified in respect of the level of national education for the attainment of which he is enrolled at the school". Section 35(2) compels parents and guardians whose children were enrolled in schools to ensure they regularly attended until they completed. The law consistently referred to primary school students because the latitude of compulsory education did not extend beyond primary education, but this is addressed to also include secondary education in the 1995 amendment of sub-section 35(3). The term 'school' was interpreted in sub-section 2(1) to refer to assemblies, institutions, organizations or places where pre-primary, primary and secondary education, teacher and or adult education were provided. Section 35(4) which in the 1978 version instructed the minister to prescribe the rules for carrying out the intended purposes and penalties in case of contravention of those rules, did not significantly change in 1995 amendment. However, the 1995 amendment was required to emphasize for these rules to regularly be revised and updated to enable relevant authorities not only deal with issues such as students dropping out schools due pregnancies and or truancy, but also impose meaningful penalties whenever they would be required to do so. Basic education statistics issued by MoEVT (URT, 2014) indicate the major causes of dropout in primary schools as including truancy (75.7%), lack of basic needs (5.8%) and early marriages and

nomadic families (8.8%) all of which suggest there is lack of relevant effective by-laws at local government level to deter them from occurring as well as escalating to higher rates.

Mgonja and Tundui (2012) in their analysis of institutional impacts of good local governance through LGRP in Tanzania, they observe that the programme sought to enable LGAs assume greater responsibilities, deliver services more efficiently and exercise control over own resources more extensively through D-by-D, which in turn required taking ownership of administrative processes in context of people's interests within strict adherence to rule of law. They further argue that in order to achieve this, LGRP sought to give LGAs political power over all local affairs, create local government administrations answerable to the local councils, and establish new central-local relations based on legislation, consultations and negotiations rather than orders. DEOs' responses have shown that up to date, people in LGAs rarely take part in deciding the type and conduct of basic education in their areas except enrolment of children in schools, representation in school leadership and committees, and approval of school plans, budgets and progress reports as required by PEDP and SEDP. Issues of curriculum and school instructions, recruitment and management of school personnel, textbooks, types and size of local community contributions are decided by the central government and the D-by-D capacity building strategy has not brought the desired programme ownership, central-local relations or rule of law. Local governments are charged to maintain law, order and good governance, which in turn entail making by-laws applicable throughout their areas of jurisdictions, and considering and improving by-laws made by village councils within their areas of jurisdiction.

There are crimes and offences which local governments and communities have failed to rectify through by-laws because ESDP, LGRP and ensuing D-by-D have also not addressed them accordingly. Apart from the targets for access, there are also issues of 'Tuition' teaching which is a threat to equitable provision of basic education at all basic education sub-sectors in Tanzania. At primary and secondary levels in majority of schools, there is provided informal extra teaching referred to as 'tuition' which is sometimes administered by teachers of their formal classes but which they must always pay for depending on parents' abilities to pay. In order to attract more students to 'tuition' classes, it is likely for the teacher to downgrade the quantity and quality of instructions in a formal class, favouring students who are able to pay for extra 'tuition'. According to Wilson & Kellings (1982), reducing crime and violence begins with maintenance of

social order. In this context, there should be effective regulatory structures, institutions, relations, customs, values and practices to ensure rule of law in the provision and administration of basic education prevails. It rejects social chaos or disorder and refers to stable state of society in that the existing order will be accepted and maintained by all members. In terms of basic education in Tanzania and Broken window theory therefore, it would be efficiently administered if there prevails a system of supportive structures, values and practices consistent to desired access, equity and quality objectives. There should be zero-tolerance enforcement of minor laws to discourage all sorts of crimes and shortfalls from frustrating the achievement of desired performances.

CONCLUSION

Different theories have looked at performances of basic education programmes managed by local governments from different perspectives. The dual-state theory which is based on a view that local governments are potentially the extensions of central governments, successful implementation of programmes by local governments would depend on the extent central government decisions are put in practice without significant alterations. However, local governments would be considered effective if decisions emanating from central government and elsewhere are contextualized in local environment to bring about meaningful results. As such, Miliband (1969) views local governments as exhibiting a dual-state character; that they are '*antennas*' of central government on one hand and '*voices of the periphery*' on the other hand. Since these are in-built characteristic nature of local government as institutions, efficient execution of any service delivery programme would depend on the way decision making power is distribution between local and central governments, in light of constitutional-legal, regulatory, financial, political and professional resources at disposal of each party in central-local government relations. In the case of ESDP and basic education, it was observed that the prevalence of decision making requisite resources is too low in local governments, to enable them successfully administer the programmes.

The public choice theorists focus on conflicts between voters, politicians, and bureaucrats in local governments; arguing that as each one attempts to maximize own social, political or economic benefits, he or she contravenes the interest of the other and therefore compel for adjustments guiding the distribution of powers. The major argument is that since bureaucrats are appointed by central government executives, the tendency is performances which in practice seek to please those who appoint them at the expense of the interests of the general public that elects the government to power.

Under this theory therefore, analysis should base on the extent efficient policies are in place to ensure central-local governance relations which favour and take active local government participation on board, by tapping interest and opinions from grassroots into service delivery programmes. To the contrary, responses from DEOs have shown that local community opinion and interests are not tapped to influence major basic education decisions like type of curriculum and or instructions, school personnel, textbooks, and type and size of community contributions. This minimizes the sense of local community sense of ownership of programmes, hence a lowered level of participation and achievement of desired success.

The broken window theory assesses local governments from the perspective of offenses and minor crimes which require efficient structures and by-laws to deter them from escalating to major crimes. Such minor crimes and offenses require maintenance of social order which ensures a rule of law in administration and conduct of service delivery programmes, including basic education. Broken window analysis rejects social chaos to advocate stable state of society characterized by order acceptable and maintained by all members. Data have shown that many 'basic-education-related' minor offences and crimes are committed by different actors at local level, although this could be minimized if effective regulatory structures were in place as relevant education and local government laws instruct. Truancy, teenage pregnancy, early marriages and corrupt practices are some of the offences committed that undermine the performance of local government as provider of basic education in Tanzania, but which could be deterred if relevant structures were in place.

As such, each theory would be a useful framework to analyze one or another issue in performance and practices of local governments, but none is sufficient to analyze every issue if it is used in isolation from others. Although different frameworks were focusing on different issues, they all agreed that basic education and related local government policies need to be reviewed for meaningful local government administration of basic education programmes. Comprehensive analysis requires an eclectic approach which borrows from different frameworks.

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