

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WARD-BASED SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TANZANIA

By

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. . . to express my appreciation for your patience. Should it be an inspiration to your education endeavour to reach beyond the horizons of knowledge frontiers . . .

ABSTRACT

Community participation is widely advocated to enhance development. In Tanzania, it is embraced as a strategy to support the government in service provision and development. It is also regarded as a way to inspire community commitment, ownership, and hence sustainability. Community participation (CP) is a dominant strategy in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS) in Tanzania. However, the schools remain constrained by inadequate facilities and infrastructure. This study set out to explore CP in the development of WBSS in the current education policy context of Tanzania. It explored the nature and extent of community members' involvement in the development of WBSS, and the extent to which they participate in funding the schools' development. The study further aimed to explore perceptions of community members about their participation and the factors that facilitate and hinder their participation in the development of WBSS.

The study adopted a constructivist paradigm, employing a multiple case study design to generate thick and holistic data from four WBSS, selected purposively. Nine participants were drawn from each case school and its community through stratified and purposive sampling to examine participation of CMs in the development of WBSS. Interviews, observations and documentary reviews were the methods employed in data collection. Thematic analysis was used to develop themes inductively from data, linked to the research questions.

The study found that CMs were involved through contributing their views during meetings and making monetary contributions for school development. However, the study also established that CMs were not genuinely involved in planning and decision-making, thus limiting their motivation to participate. The findings show that there was generally a low level of CP, attributed to the low income of community members, limited approaches for involving CMs, policy contradictions, and the politics of multi-partyism. These barriers partly result in CMs' perception that it is the responsibility of the government to manage and finance the development of WBSS. Such factors constitute major barriers to genuine CP, making it difficult for WBSS to develop despite the shared responsibility of several stakeholders, including the government and communities.

The findings lead to a grounded-theory model for genuine community participation. The study provides recommendations to policy makers at the national level, for practice at local government level, and for further research. It recommends that, policies should respond to the realities of CMs' lives, with respect to participation and development. They should be clear and well disseminated to avoid misinterpretations engendered by local and national politics. The government's ability to support schools should be made clear to CMs, and there should be clear delineation of responsibilities among stakeholders. Finally, the study recommends further research to involve other categories of schools, and widening the geographical coverage of the study, as well as exploring the perspectives of government officials on community participation, as this remains an important strategy for school development.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This chapter presents the context and rationale for this study. The first section provides the background to this study of community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS) in Tanzania. The second section discusses theoretical issues underpinning this study, namely decentralization, participation and funding models, linked to educational policies in Tanzania. It also discusses the concept of community. The third section describes the structure of education management in Tanzania and how it is connected to community participation (CP) in WBSS. The fourth section discusses the physical location and context of this study, followed by the research problem, rationale for the study, and outline of the aims and research questions for the research in the fifth section. The chapter ends by providing the structure for the thesis.

Background

Community participation and decentralization have received significant recognition in development issues in recent decades by governments and international development agencies including, but not limited to, World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNHCR (Midgel, 1987; Bray, 2000; Rose, 2003; Russell, 2009; Essuman & Akyeampong, 2011; Barnett, 2013; UNESCO, 2015). Research shows that CP, if well managed, enhances service delivery and development programmes (Falleti, 2004; De Grauwe et al., 2005; Essuman & Akyeampong, 2011). More specifically, Mehrotra (2006) asserts that CP increases responsiveness of services to community members (CMs) because it helps to reflect their needs and interests, especially when bottom-up approaches are employed. Nishimura (2017) and Agrawal and Gupta (2005) add that CP improves efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of public services as it relates to resource mobilization from local communities.

The global community is aware of budgetary issues for education, especially in developing countries. UNESCO (2017) puts the emphasis on governments to bear the duty to protect and fulfil the fundamental right to education (UNESCO, 2017). It also advises them to secure additional funding from various stakeholders including CMs (World Declaration on Education for All, 1990; UNESCO, 2007; 2017). In 2015, the world education forum held in Korea strongly advocated participatory governance at all levels and upheld the right to participation of all stakeholders in school matters (UNESCO, 2017). However, implementation of CP in developing countries has not met the desired goals (UNESCO, 2015; 2017).

In Tanzania, community participation in secondary education started in the 1960s. It became more prominent during the implementation of the 1984 policy on the construction of one secondary school in every ward throughout the country (HakiElimu, 2008; URT, 2008a; Msabila, 2013). Two WBSS were established by the end of 1985, and 350 more were opened by 1999 (Chediel, Sekwao & Kirumba, 2000). While the government started constructing secondary schools from 1949, but had established only 92 by 1999, private entities had built 310, and seminary schools reached 64 schools, by the same date (Ibid).

The prominence of community participation increased in 2003 during the implementation of the Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP)[1] under the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP)[2]. This was in line with the recognition that secondary education was a prerequisite to meet the national development vision (2025), the national strategy for growth and reduction of poverty, the Millennium Development Goals 2015 (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (URT, 2008; 2010). In its implementation, the

[1] SEDP is the Secondary Education Development Plan under the Education Sector Development Programme implemented for improving access, quality, equity and management of secondary education in Tanzania.

[2] ESDP refers to the Education Sector Development Programme, a sector wide approach adopted by the Tanzania government in 1997 to improve the provision of education in Tanzania. This includes among others the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP), and Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP).

programme involved the government, donors and community members in the establishment, management and development of schools. This policy also led to expansion of secondary education in Tanzania. Following the first phase implementation of the Secondary Education Development Plan between 2003/2004 and 2008/2009, the number of schools trebled (ADF, 2007; URT, 2010) as shown in Table 1.1:

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number of schools	1,083	1,291	1,745	2,289	3,485	3,798

Table 1. 1: Trends in the increase of secondary schools in Tanzania
Source: ADF, (2007), URT (2008b), URT (2009)

Table 1.1 provides statistics illustrating the rapid increase in the number of secondary schools during the first phase of SEDP implementation. The number of secondary schools continued to increase during the second phase, reaching 4576 schools by 2013/2014 (URT, 2014a).

However, despite, the participation of community members and other educational stakeholders in these secondary education expansion initiatives, these schools remain constrained by infrastructure and facility inadequacies (ADF, 2007; HakiElimu, 2008; URT, 2008; 2010; 2014a; 2014c). Tanzanian literature shows that WBSS improvement is still inadequate to meet the demand for quality secondary education necessary for fueling national development (Kambuga, 2013; Kalolo, 2015, Kapinga, 2016). Lwaitama and Galabawa (2008) reported that WBSS are more challenged than other school categories found within the same localities. It is unclear why the inadequacy persists, despite the added advantage of community support in the development of WBSS, as compared to other school categories.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of the ways and extent in which community participation contributes to development of WBSS in Tanzania. The study sought to explore on how parents and

community members became involved in school development, how and to what degree they participate, their perceptions of their roles in WBSS, and the factors that facilitate and hinder their participation. Specifically, it was important to understand this problem from the perspectives of the users.

Theoretical and Policy Contexts

This study is underpinned by theories of decentralization and community participation in the development of schools (see chapter two). It is also grounded in international and national policies on decentralization and community participation. The international policies include Education for All (EFA), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the 2030 global agenda Sustainable Development goals (SDGs). Related national policies that form the context of this study are the 1982 presidential commission recommendations, which indicated the need to construct WBSS in every ward (MoE, 1984), the Tanzania development vision 2025, the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995, the 1996 decentralization policy, the 1997 ESDP, ETP of 2014, and circular number three of 2016. The next sub-sections show how the education policy context of Tanzania is influenced by the decentralization, community participation, and funding theories, which provide the framework for this study.

Decentralization theory and the Tanzanian policy context

Decentralization has been conceptualized in diverse ways and from different perspectives (see chapter two). However, most involve transferring authority from the apex of governments' hierarchy to its lower units or private entities (Rondinelli, 1989; Bush, 2003; UNESCO, 2007; Bush, 2016). For example, decentralization is viewed by Bush (2016) as a process of deconcentration, by transferring the roles of central government in planning and providing education to lower levels authorities. In this study, decentralization refers to the transfer of some degree of authority, and some functions, from the central to

local governments and schools, empowering them in decision making and education service provision.

The adoption of decentralization has gained popularity in both developed and developing countries due to its perceived benefits (Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015; Matete, 2016). Many governments in developed and developing states have embraced decentralization in their public service provision, and in development programmes, with varied driving forces for their adoption. The forces range from the need for local autonomy, as in the USA and Australia, to the need for diversifying finance, as observed mostly in developing countries (Falleti, 2004; Agrawal & Gupta, 2005; UNESCO, 2007; White, 2011; Essuman & Akyeampong, 2011; Sanga & Kasubi, 2014; UNESCO, 2015). In Tanzania, it has been widely implemented to offset problems that caused dissatisfaction with the centralized governance structures (Sanga & Kasubi, 2014; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015; Matete, 2016).

In line with advocacy from the international community, decentralization in Tanzania can be traced from her history. During British rule, the colonial government introduced 'native authorities', aiming to reduce their resistance (Sanga & Kasubi, 2014; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015; Matete, 2016). In the period from independence in 1961 until the 1980s, Tanzania demonstrated ambitious development goals through the adoption of several reforms, all aiming to bring power to local units and communities but, in practice, they strengthened the central authorities instead (Massoi & Norman, 2009; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015; Matete, 2016).

In 1961 the inherited 'native authorities' were replaced by democratically elected local authorities. However, they continued to be supervised, managed, and accountable to the central authorities, thus limiting their democratic functioning (Sanga & Kasubi, 2014; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015; Matete, 2016).

In 1972, the country adopted the decentralized reform programme, by bringing the centrally appointed civil servants and party officials to replace the existed locally elected officials (Semboja & Therkildsen, 1994). Development committees and elections were no longer held, thus weakening the local authorities, as the central government controlled the appointed officials in running the local units. Moreover, the form of decentralization was mainly administrative deconcentration, rather than devolution, thus did not proffer sufficient powers to local communities as planned. The increase of nationally appointed bureaucrats also failed to increase community participation (Semboja & Therkildsen, 1994). Consequently, local communities continued to be highly dependent on the government for their development (Semboja & Therkildsen, 1994). The reform also failed, as the economy and service provision, including education, continued to deteriorate (Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015).

Consequently, the government introduced urban authorities, through Act Number 11 of 1978, to empower regional authorities (Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). However, this reform did not empower local authorities because it lacked the administrative legal framework to facilitate local autonomy and offered limited authority to councils over the expenditure of their raised revenue (Semboja & Therkildsen, 1994; Kisumbe et al., 2014; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015).

Therefore, the government re-introduced the local authorities through the 1982 local government reform programme. Although the reform led to some degree of political and administrative devolution, it failed to decentralize adequate autonomy to local authorities (Semboja & Therkildsen, 1994; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). This failure was attributed to the lack of a constitutional amendment to support devolution. This caused overlaps and unclear relationships between the local and central governments, and closer central government supervision of local government (Kisumbe et al., 2014; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). Arguably, these reforms were characterized by the dominance of administrative change, rather than the transfer of political and

fiscal powers. This is contrary to sequential theories of decentralization, that involve consideration of sequencing political, administrative, and fiscal decentralization that can enable local units to bargain for autonomy from central authorities (Falleti, 2004; 2005) (see chapter two). Consequently, local autonomy was hardly realized by local authorities and local communities in the country.

To overcome these challenges, from the 1990s, the government decided to build a strong legal framework that could provide more autonomy to local governments to improve service provision at local levels (Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). In 1997 the government adopted the Public-Sector Reform Programme (PSRP), and the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), to replace the 1982 local government reform programme (UNESCO, 2007; URT, 2010; Sanga & Kasubi, 2014). The reforms aimed to facilitate the efficiency and effectiveness of local government authorities (LGAs) in the public sector and to increase accountability to local communities. LGRP in Tanzania marked an important landmark in decentralization through endorsing the policy of decentralization by devolution. This involves the transfer of power, functions, and resources to lower levels of management (URT, 2010; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). It also aimed at improving service provision, through participatory approaches, by bringing public service provision to LGAs. It was assumed that these local authorities would easily capture the felt needs of their immediate community members, and would enable them to demand accountability for the quality of services provided than when managed from the centre (URT, 2010; Kisumbe et al., 2014). The strategy further entailed giving ownership mandates to LGAs, aiming to ensure close and prompt supervision of service delivery, and facilitating smooth and efficient management of resources, while decongesting activities at the central level (URT, 2010).

To facilitate achievement of devolution, the central government made amendments to some laws, including the amendments to the constitution (URT, 1998). The legal frameworks further provided the formulation of local

government by-laws, which provides for statutory meetings at grassroots levels (URT, 1998), and incorporates 'the Opportunity and Obstacle to Development strategy' (Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015; Sanga & Kasubi, 2014). This strategy involves a participatory, bottom-up, intensive, and consultative planning approach to develop community plans such as a village *or mtaa*[3] (Kisumbe et al., 2014). Within this framework, all educational plans are supposed to be initiated at school level, then compiled at the ward level, then incorporated at the district level, and submitted to the regional secretariat for approval before submitting to the central government (Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). However, in practice, Tanzania has experienced challenges in implementing this framework in education.

Empirical literature shows that the 'top-down' syndrome is still dominant in education service provision in Tanzania whereby the government tends to maintain its control over its lower units (Komba & Makwinya, 2014; Kamando, 2014). Similarly, Falleti (2004) argued that the centralized systems are concerned with maintaining their status quo and are not ready to share powers with lower units, fearing that they might lose their autonomy. This tendency has raised critical questions on whether the "terrain represents a real shift in power", and whether "it really opens-up spaces where participation and citizen voice can have a real influence" (Gaventa, 2006:23). These questions are fundamental in exploring whether genuine powers are transferred to local communities, how community members are involved, and the resulting degree to which they are devoted to participation in school development.

Participation theories and Tanzanian policies

Participation can be conceptualized in various ways (see chapter two). Community participation in the context of this study, is considered as an interactive process between community members and government actors in influencing decisions and taking responsibilities that determine the educational

[3]*Mtaa (plural, mitaa)* is a Swahili word meaning an administrative unit below ward level in urban setting as it is the village level in rural area; of which, four to seven of them comprise a ward.

benefits for each participant (Shaeffer, 1994; Arnstein, 1969; Larsen et al., 2014). It reflects participation introduced by government planners, not locally initiated. Providing specific examples, Aref (2010) asserts that community members can participate in education development in many ways, such as advocating for education benefits, mobilizing resources for schools, and participating in the construction and repair of school facilities, making decisions about school location and schedules, and through monitoring. Other forms of participation include forming village education committees to manage schools (Ibid). Aref's categories reflect most of aspects of community participation focused by this study. However, other functions identified by Aref (2010) such as helping pupils with learning, local elders providing traditional knowledge, and making follow-ups on teachers are not within the scope of my study.

Participation in this study is grounded in policies such as the 1984 circular to construct secondary schools in every ward, the ETP of 1995, LGRP of 1997, ESDP of 1997, ETP of 2014, and circular number three of 2016. These policies reflect government intentions and efforts to enhance citizens' participation (URT, 2010; URT, 1997). For example, the 1977 constitution and its 1998 amendments, the Education Act Number 25 of 1978 and its amendment Act Number 10 of 1995, ETP 1995, and the circular number three of 2016 provide directions for participatory programmes in education. They express interest in improving service provision through community participation in management, resource acquisition and allocations based on community needs (URT, 2010; UNESCO, 2015). Although these policies and Acts put much emphasis on community participation in managing, mobilizing, and allocating resources, community members have been reluctant to participate willingly without government pressure (Mhonyiwa, Ponera & Mrutu, 2011; Kambuga, 2013; Kamando, 2014; Mlaki, 2014; Kalolo, 2015). Kambuga's (2013) study provides an example of the lack of involvement of CMs in planning, decision making and evaluation procedures. Similarly, Makwinya and Komba (2014) report on low frequency of communication from school boards to parents, that

limits information sharing. Consequently, parents feel disregarded on school matters and hence demotivated to participate in the future.

Other studies in Tanzania show that, even when power is devolved, it is not democratically exercised among community members, as they are not given full autonomy to decide the fate of their schools (Makwinya & Komba 2014; Kamando, 2014). This is attributed partly to unequal power relations that result in lack of effective networks and commitment among partners (Kamando, 2014). In this situation, participation may not necessarily empower local communities, improve the provision of services, or contribute to school development.

Funding models and Tanzanian educational policies

Funding for public education in most countries is basically the responsibility of the government. However, since education is an expensive undertaking, many governments adopt various models for financing education. Atkinson et al. (2005) categorized the models into three clusters. The first are the models determined by the initial source of funds; the second are models determined by division of responsibilities; and the third are models based on the ways funds are allocated to schools. The first cluster-model is relevant to this study's focus on funding WBSS. It explains that the funding source can be either central, regional or local, or a combination of these sources (see chapter two).

Bray and Lillis (1988) also identify three clusters of funding models, determined by the school's ownership and the bodies responsible for funding them. The main categories identified are government, community, and private ownership, with some intermediate situations indicating shared ownership. These ownership patterns determine the funding responsibility of the owners and their associates. The first cluster model is related to government-community school ownerships and funding responsibilities (see chapter two). The funding of Tanzanian WBSS fits one intermediate situation, where the government is the main owner and funds the public schools with support from community members.

The Tanzanian government provides and finances education in public schools, including WBSS. The government also involves various stakeholders, including community members and parents, to support school operation and development. This system of shared public education funding is what Atkinson et al. (2005) identify as the first model of funding that is determined by the state as the initial source of funds, based on earmarked items for expenditure. Atkinson et al. (2005), and Fitriah et al. (2013), add that the resources mobilized from community members, though only supportive, hold a significant value for the school development.

Similarly, this system of public school funding in Tanzania is explained by Bray and Lillis' (1999) first model of funding and, more specifically the second intermediate situation. Ward-Based Secondary Schools were initiated as community owned but, subsequently, the government decided to own them itself. Thus, the government is the main owner, and the main funder, of the schools, with support from CMs (see chapter two). Since it is contrary to the initial idea, it may have implications for community willingness to fund the schools, as they may not assume ownership.

In addition, the government has introduced the fee-free education policy, extending from primary to include lower secondary education. It has included secondary education to match with the SDG four, which aim to ensure that everyone completes free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education (UNESCO, 2016; Kapinga, 2016). However, it seems the government has overburdened itself, or had not well prepared to manage and fund the initiative which is beyond its constitutional obligation.

The education management structure goes concurrently with fiscal transfers, solicited at the central government level as government basket fund (see figure 1.1). The Ministry of Finance (MoF) solicits and transfers funds from the central level treasury to school accounts, and audits education funds, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and the Prime Minister's Office, Regional Authorities and Local Government (PMO-RALG) (URT, 2010). The funds are allocated to

government schools based on the number of enrolled students, and disbursed as grants earmarked for specific use in percentages (ADF, 2007; URT, 2010; HakiElimu, 2017).

For many years, the funding of public education has been heavily reliant on the government's budget (URT, 2011). The cost of education comprises about 18 percent of the total national budget (ADF, 2007). It was allocated 17% of the total budget in 2015/2016. This increased to 22.1% in 2016/2017 but, after deducting national debt servicing, it stands at 17%, the same as the previous year (HakiElimu, 2016). These allocations are below the 20% recommended target set in the Dakar Education for All (EFA) declaration. Although government expenditure on public education has been increasing significantly, from 4.3 percent of GDP in 2003/04 to 6.2 in 2013/14 (ADF, 2007; Kapinga, 2016), it is still below the agreed EFA target of 9% (HakiElimu, 2014). Moreover, despite the increasing trend of budgetary allocations to education, the pattern to the secondary education sub-sector has been irregular. For example, from 2003/2004, the allocation increased from 6.7% to 18.2% in 2004/2005 but dropped to 6.2% in 2009/2010. In 2011/2012 the allocation increased to 20.4%, but decreased in subsequent years, as table 1.2 indicates:

Financial year	Education sector as % of GDP	Share of secondary education sub-sector
2003/2004	4.3%	6.7%
2004/2005	3.6%	18.2%
2005/2006	4.2%	15.6%
2006/2007	5.3%	12.5%
2007/2008	5.3%	15.8%
2008/2009	5.8%	9.3%
2009/2010	6.2%	6.2%
2010/2011	6.3%	9.8%
2011/2012	5.8%	20.4%
2012/2013	6.5 %	17.6 %
2013/2014	6.2%	15.5%

Table 1.2: Trends in budgetary allocations to secondary education sub-sector
Source: (URT, 2014a)

Table 1.2 shows the share of GDP allocated to the education sector and the share of the education budget allocated to the secondary education sub-sector.

It shows the increase in the allocation to education but irregular allocations to secondary education. The table also indicates that the allocations are below the international EFA recommendation to allocate 9% of GDP to education. This implies inadequate budgetary allocations for education that potentially undermine the development initiatives in this sector.

The tendency for government to allocate funds across sub-sectors, based on its priorities, is common in Tanzania (Wedgewood, 2005; Orodho, 2014). From the 1960s, and throughout the 1970s to 1980s, for example, government controls over secondary education were exerted by using a strategy of limiting expenditure allocations (Cooksey, 1986; Orodho, 2014). Primary education was favoured over secondary education, as illustrated in their recurrent expenditure allocations (see table 1.3):

Year	Primary sub-sector	Secondary sub-sector
1966	42.1%	30.6%
1975	45.4%	20.8%
1985	57.5%	13.1%

Table 1. 2: Recurrent expenditure allocation to education sub-sectors
Source: Cooksey (1986)

Table 1.3 shows the recurrent expenditure allocated for secondary and primary education. It shows that the allocations to primary education were increasing, with a decreasing share to secondary education.

Compounded with the effects of adopting neo-liberal approaches to funding education (Galabawa, 1994; 2001; Chediel, Sekwao, & Kirumba, 2000), the situation led to the decline of secondary education provision. In 1981, a presidential commission was set up to review the existing system of education, and to propose changes, intended to be realized by the year 2000. One of the commission's recommendations was to expand secondary education (URT, 1995) through the construction of secondary schools in each ward across the country. Its implementation commenced in 1985. The policy emphasized community participation in the construction of these schools, (URT, 1995; Msabila, 2013).

Local communities around the schools form another significant source of funding for WBSS. The mobilization of community contributions is done by the ward and village executive officers (WEOs) and (VEOs) respectively. The WEO also identifies areas (land provided by the community) for construction of new schools, mobilizes community physical and financial resources for construction, and monitors the construction of schools (URT, 2010). Community members also offer their labour, in addition to, or as an alternative to, cash or land for school development activities.

Mobilizing resources from local communities has its basis in education policies that postulate the need for involving communities for financial diversification. They aim at strengthening school finance through emphasizing shared responsibility between the government, donors, community, parents and end users (URT, 1995a; 2014b; 2016a). The 1995 ETP policy recognized the importance of support from local stakeholders. It required schools to collect school fees, and other contributions from parents and CMs, and to retain them for use by the school (URT, 1995). Similarly, the ETP 2014 recognizes the significance of involving educational stakeholders in strengthening the funding of education (URT, 2014b). Circular number three of 2016 acknowledged the fee-free education policy, passed by circular number six of 2015. It implicitly recognizes the importance of community members' participation in funding the costs of education by specifying the roles of each stakeholder.

Fee-free education is not a new practice in Tanzania. It was also practiced in the 1960s and 1970s for both primary and secondary education (Mbilinyi, 2003; Galabawa 1990; Ngao, 2011). The subsequent fee abolition was linked to the implementation of the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) philosophy, aimed to enhance equality (Mbilinyi, 2003; Mushi, 2009). It also aimed to integrate schools in their community by insisting that communities volunteer their labour power for school productive activities and to instill a sense of community and a socialist ethos (Galabawa, 1990; Mushi, 2009). However, in turn, it increased the government's burden for funding education. Fee-free education meant that parents were exempt from paying fees but increased government payments to compensate for the lost fee income. This increased the

citizens' dependence on central government and reduced their commitment to offering their contributions to meet schools' running costs (Mbilinyi, 2003; Mushi, 2009; HakiElimu, 2017).

Tanzanian Communities in School Development

There is no common definition of community due to variations in community expectations, and overlaps with geographical communities, ethnic and cultural groups (Bray, 1996; Nishimura, 2017). These diversities may lead community members to identify with a particular group, which may not be geographical, cultural or linguistic (Russell, 2009; Preston, 2013; Nishimura, 2017) (See chapter two). Relevant to this study, community is conceptualized as a group of people in a geographical area(s) with shared interest to educational institution (Russell, 2009). It does not only involve parents and members in a geographical area but also public, private and other interests that use or provide service to the school (Ibid). It considers more the nature of relationship than the spatial distance (Watt, 2001). Hence, the school is seen as an intersection of interests in education that bring the diverse groups together to form a school community. However, this conceptualization does not imply that the communities in a ward are homogeneous; rather it is the attributes in common that connect them as a group despite the differences between and among the members (Cleaver, 1999; Cooke & Kohen, 2001; Russell, 2009; Larsen, 2013). This is because individual variations are inevitable as argued by Naidoo and Lewis (2004), Russell (2009), and Larsen (2013) that the notion of homogeneity denies complex issues of politics, and the diverse interests, values and demands of members.

Communities in this study are regarded as groups of ward residents composed of community members (members without children at the studied schools), parents (members with children at the schools), ward executive officers, village executive officers, heads of schools, teachers, and members of school boards defined and connected by shared features, including geographical area (the ward), and concerns for children's education (Bray & Lillis, 1988; Bray, 1996; Uemura, 1999; Russell, 2009; Preston, 2013).

Community members in the context of WBSS in Tanzania are commonly referred to as *wazazi,* translated in English as 'parents', but they include those with and without children at the school. This conception arises from a view that considers children as of the community, and all elderly people in the community are considered parents to children, as a Swahili proverb goes *'mtoto si wa mtu mmoja',* translated as 'a child is not of one person' (Kalugila and Lodhi, 1980). It is more pronounced in rural areas, bonded by local tribes and culture, than in urban settings where the sense of community is diluted by diverse tribal and cultural backgrounds, and urban life style, and, may be just brought together as a group for school-development activities.

Tanzanian communities are not homogeneous, thus conflicts are evident due to incompatible interests. There is also unequal power relations exercised during community participation in decision making, where some community members may not be vocal to represent their views, despite their presence during the discussion. They may also not be given the opportunity to express their views to the same degree as others who are more vocal and influential (Aref, 2010; Makwinya & Komba, 2014).

There are also variations across communities in Tanzania. They are grounded in resource endowment and cultural traditions that have implications on the participation of community members in education (Bray, 1996; Komba, 2012). The advantaged communities have high social demand for secondary education and are willing to participate in the development of schools more than those who are less advantaged (Ibid). This serves to explain the increase in rural-urban and rich–poor disparities (Wedgewood 2005; Komba, 2012). Children from rich and urban communities are more likely to have opportunities for secondary education than those from poor and rural communities (Ibid).

Empirical studies show that communities have been influential in making available school places through their involvement. They have been contributing to school development since independence in 1961. The contributions were intensified from 1985, after the policy of secondary school construction in every ward (Msabila, 2013; Komba, 2012), and subsequently through the

Secondary Education Development Programme (URT, 2010). Through their participation in these programmes, communities have been able to supplement government provision and the development of education through contributions (Wedgewood, 2005; URT, 2004). However, their contribution has not yet achieved the quality and adequacy of facilities (URT, 2014a).

The communities also form a significant part in the management and funding of WBSS through participation. They participate in school matters, directly and indirectly. They participate directly by sharing their views in meetings and making physical resource contributions. Indirectly, they participate through representation by board members in management and decision-making meetings (Makwinya & Komba, 2014; Nishimura, 2017). Therefore, they make a significant contribution to school development, although the literature does not detail the ways in which they are approached to participate, and the extent of their participation.

The Structure of Educational Management in Tanzania

The educational management structure in Tanzania starts with central level ministries at the apex and moves down to school level via regional secretariats and local government councils[4]. At the upper level, the governance of education mainly involves three ministries; the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), the Ministry of Finance and Planning (MoF), and the Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG) (URT, 2008a; 2010). The MoEVT undertakes tasks pertaining to policy formulation, planning, setting national standards, quality assurance and quality control matters (URT, 2008a; UNESCO-IBE, 2010; URT, 2010). The Ministry of Finance solicits funds for education and the PMO-RALG coordinates the implementation of education programmes through regional secretariats and local government councils (URT, 2010).

[4]A council is a body of people appointed or elected for administering a government authority. LGAs have councils that are responsible for discussion, consultation and deliberation of education provision and funding, among other sectoral activities.

In the structure, the region is the second administrative level. The secretariats and Regional Education Officers (REOs) are responsible for managing and controlling the implementation of secondary education development at the regional level. They also provide advice to the PMO-RALG and MoEVT about educational management, provision and development in the respective region (URT, 2010). They are also responsible for advising and supervising councils and schools on management and educational development issues (ADF, 2007; URT, 2010).

The next level comprises local government authorities (LGAs). They include district, town, municipal, and city councils. They are responsible for planning, coordinating and advising on matters pertaining to educational development, such as funding, building new schools, and coordinating and mobilizing community participation (URT, 2010). Within each council, there are secondary education officers who coordinate the implementation of education programmes. They administer and supervise secondary school development programmes, and delivering education services to the lower levels (ADF, 2007; URT, 2010). They also send directives and receive reports related to education matters from the ward councils.

The ward executive office is the next level in the structure. It represents the PMO-RALG at the ward level. There is also a ward education coordinator at this level, representing the MoEVT. The ward office is responsible for overseeing the implementation of education policies at the ward, identifying areas for the construction of new schools, mobilization of community's physical and financial resources for construction of schools, monitoring the construction of schools, receiving school plans, budgets, and implementation reports, and providing feedback to the council (URT, 2010). They also act as links to schools and to *mtaa/*village councils.

The *Mtaa* and village in urban and rural contexts respectively are significant levels in the education structure as they form a significant link to community members. They are responsible for handling and supervising the implementation of development activities, including education. It is at these

levels where leaders and community members know each other, a prerequisite for working as a community.

The next level comprises the school management teams (SMTs). They comprise the headmaster/mistress, second-master, school accountant, academic-master and discipline-master. They are responsible for overseeing the implementation of education and training policies on a day-to-day basis (URT, 2010). In respect of funding, the teams are responsible to oversee the proper implementation of education policies, to prepare school development plans and budgets and to ensure high quality of new constructions and school maintenance (URT, 2010).

Between the ward, and the schools' management teams, there are school boards which represent community members in their schools. They are governing boards responsible for managing and mobilizing resources for the schools (URT, 2010). They are also responsible for approving school development plans and budgets, and overseeing their implementation. They also deliberate on a quarterly basis, and provide school performance reports, about the development of the physical infrastructure, academic achievement and financial matters, and advising the secondary education officers at the district council on school management on behalf of community members (URT, 2010). Figure 1.1 illustrates the management and funding structure of secondary education in Tanzania.

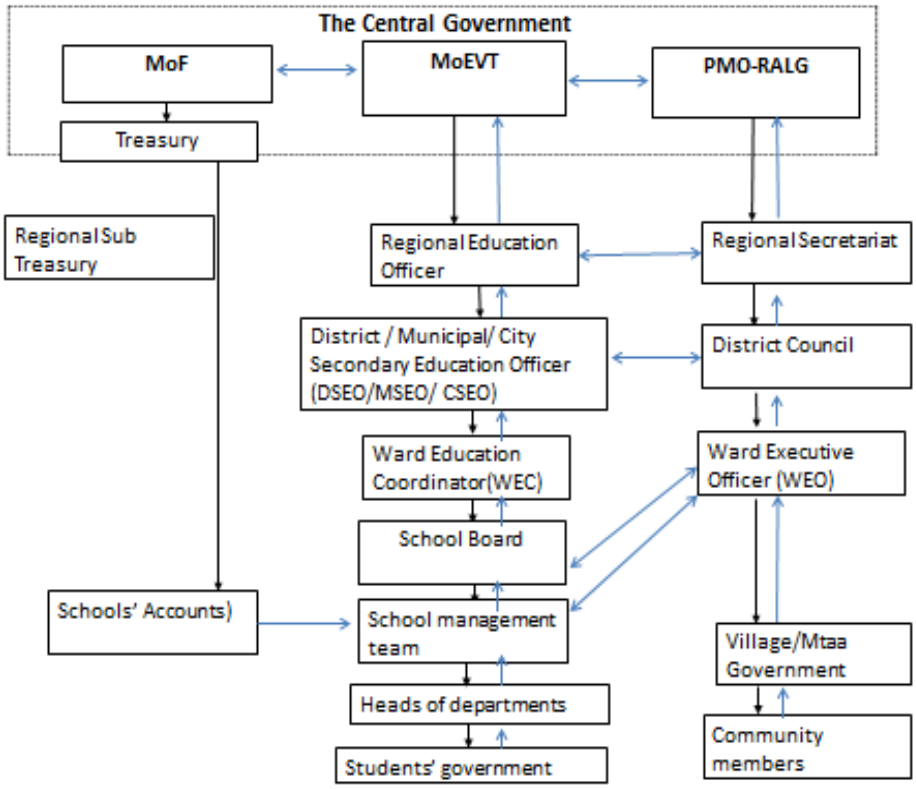


Figure 1. 1: The hierarchy of management and funding of education in Tanzania.
Source: Modified from (URT, 2010)

Figure 1.1 presents the channels of political powers, administrative functions, and fiscal transfers, from the ministries to school levels. It provides significant background information about community participation in educational development and provision, especially in WBSS. For this study, only the ward, the village/*mtaa,* and the school, comprise significant management levels closer to community members, as they have the power to influence community participation through their councils and have closer interaction with CMs and parents.

The Specific Context of the Study

This section describes contextual characteristics of the selected region, namely Mbeya, where the present study was conducted. Mbeya is found in the southern highlands of Tanzania in the south western part (URT, 1997). According to the 2012 national census, the region had a total population of 2,707,410 with a growth rate of 2.7% and projected at 2,937,310 (of 48,775,567 projected

population) by 2015 (Mhonyiwa et al., 2011; URT, 2016b). It is categorized as among the densely populated regions (Mhonyiwa et al., 2011). Its economy is predominantly agriculture, with about 80.4 percent of the residents depending on it as their main source of livelihood (Mhonyiwa et al., 2011). It is also one of the six regions earmarked nationally for producing surplus food for consumption throughout the country and for export. Other economic activities of the region include gold and iron ore mining, trade, business, and tourism (URT, 1997; Mhonyiwa et al., 2011; URT, 2016b).

Before 2005 there were only 34 secondary schools in Mbeya. There was a big increase from 2005, and there were 201 schools in 2008, and had reached 226 by 2014 due to the government's implementation of the secondary education development plan (URT, 2014a; http://www.mbeya.go.tz/index.php/mbeya/about/category/education).
However, the basic education statistics of Tanzania show that secondary schools in Mbeya experience a shortage of essential facilities and infrastructure, including furniture and buildings, such as classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and toilets (URT, 2014a). While the region is among the major food producing regions of the country, and is expected to have an income high enough to ensure adequate resources for their schools, but it is not the case. Moreover, although parents and communities in the region are involved in school matters, such as participating in decision making and other management functions, contributing to the construction of school buildings, and providing contributions for school furniture and other items, the schools are still facing inadequate facilities and infrastructure (URT, 2014a).

The Research Problem

Since independence, the Tanzanian government has been trying to ensure community participation in the provision of education (URT, 2010a; 2012). These efforts include adopting and implementing several reforms to involve community members (URT, 1995; 2010a). The major ones involved expansion of school places, through the 1985 implementation of the construction of

secondary schools in every ward, and the implementation of SEDP from 2003 (URT, 1995a; 2010a; Msabila, 2013). Despite remarkable achievements such as the increases in the number of schools, and in students' enrolment, and the construction of more school buildings, many schools still have inadequate facilities, infrastructure, and insufficient teaching and learning materials, as clearly evidenced by government reports and national data (URT, 2008; 2010b; 2012; 2014a; 2014c). The Mbeya region is among those regions reported to experience such inadequacies (URT, 2014a).

Consistently, as indicated earlier, empirical literature shows that, the Ward-Based Secondary Schools experience limited operational financial resources compared to the non-government schools within the same localities, despite the added advantage of community support (Lwaitama & Galabawa, 2008). Consequently, students' attendance and learning outcomes in WBSS are negatively impacted due to inadequate facilities (Kalolo, 2015; Kapinga, 2016). Research also shows that, unless community members are fully involved in supporting government efforts to provide education, the provision of quality education will be problematic (Mhonyiwa et al., 2011; Mlaki, 2014). The literature indicates a positive link between improved attendance, access, learning outcomes and adequate, well maintained, and permanent school structures (Marishane, 2013; Kalolo, 2015; Kapinga, 2016).

The reviewed literature in Tanzania has mainly focused on challenges facing WBSS (Lwaitama & Galabawa, 2008; Mlaki, 2014) and not those that hinder community participation. Some literature documents the roles of CMs in the construction and management of WBSS but not on the nature and extent of their participation (Kambuga, 2013; Kamando, 2014). Kambuga's (2013) study was limited to the ongoing construction of classrooms in WBSS but did not focus on other school facilities, their adequacy, or on school development. Those studies that addressed participation in the construction of WBSS focused only on specific areas, such as contributions to science education facilities (Kalolo, 2015). Studies that have dealt with management focused on the challenges of community participation in the management of WBSS (Mlaki,

2014), and on parents' perceptions regarding communication in school management (Makwinya & Komba, 2014).

The reviewed literature indicates limited evidence about the contribution of community participation towards facility adequacy. Moreover, despite the prevailing inadequacies, little has been documented on the extent and nature of community members' participation in WBSS. In addition, the degree of community participation in funding the development of WBSS is not well documented. In addition, the reviewed studies indicate little about community members' perceptions of their role in the development of WBSS. There is also little evidence about the factors that facilitated and those that hindered community participation. The documented literature does not capture the nature of community participation in the context of new educational policies in the country. The literature further shows limited knowledge of community participation in both the rural-urban and poor-rich contexts. This current study was designed to contribute to knowledge and understanding about community participation in education and to address these knowledge gaps.

Rationale for the Study

The justification for conducting this study arises from the significant role community members play in school development. It was worth exploring the nature and extent of community participation in WBSS as it generates knowledge necessary for improving plans, policy, practice and research related to genuine participation.

The study was significant due to the value school facilities have as among the five dimensions contributing to quality education, as UNICEF indicates (Maajgard & Mingat, 2011; Marishane, 2013). Also, based on the perceived benefits accruing from community participation in educational facilities and infrastructure, it was significant to carry out this study to generate knowledge about the ways that community members were approached and the extent to which they participated in funding the development of WBSS. The study is

important as it contributes to knowledge useful to inform policy, planning and practice about the inadequacies experienced in WBSS.

Moreover, while many governments value CP, and adopt it to diversify funding sources for education (Bekoe, Quartey, & Teye, 2013; Gongera & Okoth, 2013; Obiadazie, 2014), some scholars tend to under-value community contributions such as by placing them at the lower rungs of ladders' models (Arnstein, 1966; Shaeffer, 1994; Choguill, 1996). This study is significant to researchers as it contributes a new model of participation that can improve the explanation of the dynamics involved in community participation.

This study was also important in that it explored the perceptions of CMs and how this affected their participation. Factors facilitating community participation were also investigated as well as those that hinder their participation. This knowledge is useful to government officials as it provides information on designing appropriate policies, plans and approaches necessary in such interactive processes of participation for school development.

In particular, the study explored the ways community members participate in school development in the context of the fee-free education policies, and in the context of government budgetary deficits (Kapinga, 2016). The deficits calls for community participation to support education development, but controversies arise. While it is necessary for local communities to top up the costs, it is labeled as 'voluntary' (Watt, 2001; UNESCO, 2007). Moreover, the fee-free education policy aims to improve access, through the government disbursing grants, but it also exerts control over the school and minimizes local autonomy, contrary to participation theories (Nishimura, 2017), it also impairs a sense of community commitment to school (Fitriah, 2010). This study is important as it contributes knowledge about community participation in the context of policy controversies, especially about the extent of community participation, factors influencing CP, and the perceptions of community members about their roles in school development.

The study contributes to knowledge on community participation, initiated by the central government, and the resulting responses and impact on participation

in development programmes. It is important as it explores participation in diverse contexts, poor, and rich, as well as rural and urban. It also includes the voices of CMs, and their felt experiences about participation, thus providing insights necessary to inform policy, plans and practice about CP in school development, and in designing plans that match the phenomena experienced by community members. Given the government inability to increase adequate resources for education, due to the prevailing economic situation, this study can improve the ways of involving CMs in the development of WBSS. Therefore, it was important to undertake this study because its findings can contribute knowledge to inform policy-makers, planners, and managers to improve their understanding, about CP and can help to improve plans, policies and approaches related to CP and hence developing a sense of ownership and commitment among CMs to WBSS.

Aims and Research Questions

The overall aim of this research is to gain an understanding of the ways in which community members participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools. Specifically, the study aims to explore the extent and nature of community participation and funding development of WBSS. It also aims to explore community members' perceptions of their roles, factors that facilitate, and those that hinder, community participation in the development of WBSS. Its purpose is to inform policy makers, educational planners, decision makers, and researchers regarding community participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania.

To achieve the aims of the study, the overarching research question was on what ways community participation contributes to the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS) in Tanzania? The following specific research questions are also addressed:

1. How, and to what extent, do community members participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS) in Tanzania?

2. How, and to what extent, do community members participate in funding WBSS?
3. What are the perceptions of community members about participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania?
4. What factors facilitate community participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania?
5. What factors inhibit community participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania?

The next sub-section explains the research questions, and the rationale for each, including the nature of the data, and the context of the study:

1. How, and to what extent, do the community members participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania?

This research question sought to examine ways in which local communities in Tanzania participate in the development of WBSS, and the extent to which they participate, as these could affect school facilities and infrastructure. Addressing this research question, I focus on processes involved to achieve community participation. The question explores ways in which CMs become involved in school affairs, the activities in which they participate, the ways in which participation takes place, the extent to which they contribute, and when or under what circumstances they participate. The question also addresses the cultural and legal rewards and sanctions that motivate individuals to take part in WBSS, in what aspects of WBSS do the individuals participate, and which individuals participate more or less in WBSS, and why.

2. *How, and to what extent, do the community members participate in funding Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania?*

This question explores how individuals who constitute the local community participate in funding WBSS. The data collection includes identifying activities of WBSS that are funded by community members and the contributions

required from CMs, and how they are approached and informed about contributions, to encourage them to contribute. The question also addresses the amounts that community members contribute, the timetable for participation, the forms of funding, and the reasons for such decisions.

3. *What are the perceptions of community members about participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania?*

This question seeks to explore how the community members perceive their roles, and the roles of other stakeholders, about community participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania, as such perceptions might influence participation. The reviewed literature shows that community members perceive that it is the government's responsibility to finance basic education (Anania, 2010; Mlaki, 2014). This research question explores the perceptions of community members about their participation in funding, and in other activities of WBSS. Makwinya and Komba (2014) found that the local community perceives that the involvement of community members does not reflect the demographic characteristics of the population, that they are ignored because they are not adequately involved in information sharing, and hence may become reluctant to participate in future. Therefore, this question explores the views of community members about their roles in WBSS. For example, it seeks to understand if the 'sense of duty' amongst parents and community members is consistent with what is expected by the educational policies, and by government and local leaders, about the funding of WBSS?

4. *What factors facilitate community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania?*

This question requires data on what motivates community members to participate in the development of WBSS in Tanzania. It also addresses whether the factors are government-related, or linked to the characteristics of the community, or their cultural, and economic context. It further explores the match or mismatch between government policies, and the characteristics of the community, in facilitating CP. This question examines whether and how rural-

urban, and poor-rich, contexts influence community participation and funding of WBSS.

5. *What factors inhibit community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania?*

This question addresses whether there are barriers that inhibit the local community from adopting and sustaining community participation and funding WBSS. As indicated by Bekoe et al., (2013), and Yamada (2014), and Mlaki (2014), low levels of family income, and politics, have a negative impact on community participation, and act as barriers. This question seeks information about existing barriers and the ways in which they inhibit community participation and funding WBSS. It also explores the characteristics of communities that may limit their participation. It also examines government-related factors that may hinder community participation.

The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises nine chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two provides the literature review, which examines concepts of community, community participation, and decentralization in school development, the theoretical underpinning of community participation, the connections between CP and decentralization, and how government policies incorporate the CP ethos. The chapter also discusses empirical research on community participation internationally, and in Tanzania. It also locates this study in the field. Chapter three discusses the research methodology and methods used in this study. Chapters four, five, six, and seven each present the findings from one of the four case schools. Chapter eight offers a cross-case analysis linked to the empirical literature. Chapter nine, the conclusion, examines how the research questions were addressed, considers the significance of the study, and offers recommendations grounded in the data.

Overview

This chapter introduces the thesis by discussing the contextual background and locates the study in its theoretical and policy context. The main theories related to decentralization, participation and funding, linked to the Tanzanian educational policy context. The chapter describes management structure of education in Tanzania. It also provides the justification for the study, and explains the research problem and the rationale for conducting this study. An important section outlines the aims and research questions to guide this study. The chapter ends by signposting the structure of the whole thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature on community participation in the development of schools. It starts by examining the concepts of community, community participation and decentralization. It then discusses the theoretical underpinning for this study, followed by the conceptual framework that informs the analysis of the data. It also reviews previous research, provides a synthesis of the reviewed literature and shows gaps in the literature on this topic.

Conceptualization of Terms

Community

The term community has diverse meanings and functions that can be understood differently by different people as used in different circumstances (Bray 2003; Nishimura, 2017). However, generally, community has been defined as a group of people identified by geographical proximity, shared culture and common interests or experiences, for example members sharing concerns for the welfare of their children (Bray and Lillis, 1988; Shaeffer, 1992; Bray, 1996; Uemura, 1999; Preston, 2013). Therefore, several types of communities are identified, such as geographical, political, cultural and historical communities (Bray, 1996; 2003; Preston, 2013; Nishimura, 2017). Hence, a community is an intersection of people with shared concerns that bring them together as a group, regardless of the politics involved and the variations in other traits, values, knowledge and interests of members embodied in culture, proximity and lifestyle (Bray 1996; 2003; Naidoo, 2004; Preston, 2013). However, these community diversities have implications for collective functioning. As a result, scholars emphasize the need to devise strategies for bonding diverse groups in the community for the common interests of the school (Bray, 1996).

Community in the context of this study refers to residents in school catchment areas within a ward where the Ward-Based Secondary School is located. It

refers to community members in various groups who have a responsibility to, and benefit from, the ward school. They include parents, other community members (CMs), and local leaders such as heads of schools, school board members, ward executive officers (WEOs), village executive officers (VEOs) and *mtaa* executive officers (see chapter one). All these groups have roles to play with respect to schools' development.

Community participation

Participation is not a single phenomenon, and may be ambiguous, and difficult to define. It is used in many ways, and is often used interchangeably with words such as involvement, engagement and partnership (Bray, 2000). When compared with other forms of engagement, community participation is considered a weaker form of activity. However, Bray (2000) argues that community participation is a broad umbrella term which includes several types of activities, including partnership and involvement, thus adopted for the current study. The word participation is prefixed with various words including citizen, popular, civil, public, and community, to reflect the different contexts in which participation is taking place (Brodie et al., 2009; Zakari, 2012). Regardless of the prefix, participation is usually regarded as the involvement of people in situations or actions that enhance their well-being (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980; World Bank, 1994; Bray, 1996; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Widodo et al., 2017).

Community participation is a contested construct as it can be understood from a range of perspectives and involves several components. One perspective considers CP from political and development view. The other emphasizes the aspect of participation as a means and an end in itself, while others view it as a right (Rose, 2003; Zakari, 2012; Larsen et al., 2014; Russel, 2009). The other perspective conceives CP in terms of source of initiative for participation, that is, whether it is initiated within the community or imposed by power-holders or donors.

From a political view, Cohen and Uphoff (1980) argue that community participation is related to electoral and decision-making processes. From a development viewpoint, participation is conceptualized as extending ways of involving beneficiaries in the planning, implementation, and benefits of projects (Ibid). As a means, it is considered as a way of community members contributing towards set objectives (Townsend, 2013). In this perspective, CP is interpreted as a means to an end as it is considered as a strategy for administrative and financial efficiency, and as an input to development (Rose, 2003; Zakari, 2012; Larsen et al., 2014; Russel, 2009). As an end, Zakari, (2012), Fitriah et al. (2013), and Nishimura (2017), assert that participation is determined to meet local needs, and to empower local people to exercise control over their development affairs through a meaningful involvement. Russel (2009) views CP as a principle which underpins the processes by which other rights are fulfilled. It is a right in itself, as individuals are required to participate in decisions that affect their lives, resulting in the fulfillment of other rights, including the right to education for all (Russell, 2009; UNESCO, 2015).

The conceptualization of participation based on the source of initiation perceives it as being introduced externally, by donors or governments, or being initiated internally, by CMs (Cooke & Kohen, 2003; Rose, 2003; Russel, 2009; Larsen et al., 2014; Fitriah et al., 2013; Nishimura, 2017). For example, Choguill (1996) conceives community participation in terms of the roles CMs take in decision-making and in formulating and implementing education programmes that affect their lives. Similarly, Cooke and Kohen (2001) define CP as the practice of grounding community work in the active involvement of those people who benefit from and are affected by it. Larsen et al. (2014) conceive it as an interaction process, or self-mobilizing in action groups, where people themselves take action for social change. The first two definitions reflect participation in the context of government and donors' intervention while the last implies community initiative.

The discussed perspectives form the basis of the analysis of power relations in the process of involving CMs in development in various contexts, and the

resulting benefits, although they vary in how they view CP as an approach to development (Zakari, 2012; Reed et al., 2017).

Community participation in the current study concerns community members taking part as active partners in activities related to school development that are initiated by the government for their benefit.

Rationale for community participation

The debate on the conception of CP clarifies the purpose of participation adopted in varied contexts. Townsend (2013: 332) identifies five principles that can be considered to signify community participation. They provide a strong rationale for participatory approaches to school development:

(1) Engaging community perspectives.
(2) Achieving change through participatory processes.
(3) Power and control.
(4) The construction and ownership of knowledge.
(5) Participatory approaches as a challenge to conventional research.

Community participation is advocated due to its ability to draw on the potential of participants. Participation of CMs draws on their knowledge, skills and experiences necessary for school development. Actively involving community members in participatory programmes leads to programme legitimacy and instills local commitment to development programmes and jointly shared vision, processes and outcomes (Bray, 1996; Townsend, 2013; Nishimura, 2017). However, Nishimura (2017: 1) cautions that:

> …without wider consultation on aims, processes, and expected results, the consequences are likely to be conflict, a strong sense of overwhelming obligation, fatigue, inertia, and disparity in the degree and results of community participation between communities.

Achieving change through participation is significant as it provides an opportunity for CMs to participate meaningfully. It is a way to empower them, and leads to sustained improvement (Townsend, 2013). Power and control by

CMs are achieved through participating in programmes that enable them to gain experience, make decisions on their own, and define their own destiny (Townsend, 2013; Reed et al., 2017). Townsend (2013) argues that participatory approaches to knowledge construction that favour the agency of CMs as partners in the creation of knowledge, rather than treating them as objects, helps towards sustainable development.

Participation is perceived to be significant as it improves relevance, efficiency and effectiveness in the provision of public services and makes them responsive to locally perceived needs and interests (Rondinelli et al., 1989; Shaeffer, 1994; Bray, 1996; Esuman & Akyeampong, 2011). It leads to acquisition of more resources from a wider range of stakeholders, and develops the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the participants (Shaeffer, 1994). Participation is necessary as it brings the government services closer to citizens and so can respond to perceived needs in the service provision (Rondinelli et al., 1989; Shaeffer, 1994). This facilitates effectiveness and efficiency in the use of resources in service provision. In particular, this occurs when participation is initiated at higher levels by government planners (Shaeffer, 1994; Fitriah, 2010). Recognizing the need for a participatory system that involves local communities, governments use decentralization processes to transfer authority and responsibilities closer to communities (McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Naidoo, 2002; Rose 2005). However, attention should be paid to participation that benefits both parties, rather than one which is extractive (Rose, 2003) or one which perpetuates power inequalities in which CMs are consulted for political legitimacy but not to participate meaningfully in decisions-making (Fitriah, 2010).

Decentralization

Decentralization is a fluid and flexible concept, variously defined and interpreted, and so covers a broad range of conceptualizations that can be utilised by different ideological interests (Rondinelli et al., 1989; Naidoo, 2002). From the economic perspective, decentralization is argued for efficiency and effectiveness, through participation in decision-making and financing

(Naidoo, 2002). From a rights-based perspective, it is understood as an approach for democratic rights, and to development, as it encourages mass participation (Rusell, 2009; Okitsu, 2011). From an administrative perspective, it can be viewed as the transfer of authority from the higher government authority to the lower sub-units of the government, or to corporations, non-government private and voluntary organizations (Rondinelli et al., 1989; Bush, 2016).

For this study, decentralization is defined as a process initiated at the apex of the government hierarchy, involving a transfer of some form of authority for decision-making, finance, and other functions, to the quasi-autonomous units of government, such as municipal, regional, or district governments, as well as to schools and communities (Naidoo, 2002; UNESCO, 2007; Zakari, 2012).

Theoretical Basis

There are various forms of decentralization that can be adopted by governments. It is complex to explain the form of decentralization adopted by relying on a single criterion (Conyes, 1986). Accordingly, Conyes (1989) proposes five criteria to assess the form of decentralization to adopt;

> 1. the functional activities over which authority is transferred;
> 2. the type of authority or powers which are transferred with respect to each functional activity;
> 3. the level(s) or area(s) to which such authority is transferred;
> 4. the individual, organization or agency to which authority is transferred at each level; and
> 5. the legal or administrative means by which authority is transferred. (p. 89)

This analytical approach to distinguishing decentralization types provides an understanding of the whole system of governance, the degree of power transferred, the level of government to which decisions are transferred, the rationale for the reforms, and the identification of forms (functional activities) adopted (Rondinelli, 1983; Conyes, 1986; Naidoo, 2002; UNESCO, 2007).

Decentralization can determine the degree of authority transferred, in terms of administrative, fiscal and political dimensions, concurrently with the forms of decentralization used (Naidoo, 2002; Falleti, 2005). The most common forms include deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatization (Shaeffer, 1994; Rondinelli, 1983; 1989; Bray, 2003b). The autonomy conferred ranges from the lowest, deconcentration, where some administrative authority is transferred, followed by delegation, to the highest level in devolution, where more complete autonomy, and decision-making authority, is transferred (Naidoo, 2002).

This study focuses on devolution, the most advanced and strongest form of decentralisation, which involves permanent transfer of substantial legal and administrative powers to lower levels (Conyers, 1986; Naidoo, 2002). This transfer to lower administrative structures of government, such as regions, districts, and villages, as well as school and communities, cannot be revoked without legal changes (UNESCO, 2007; Matete, 2016). McGinn & Welsh (1999) insist on the transfer of power, functions and resources to village government offices, or to community level, if the aim is to strengthen institutional democracy and to maximize their participation in decision-making. This transfer facilitates participatory approaches where members can act independently of the central government as legally constituted bodies accountable to local people (Shaeffer, 1994; Welsh & McGinn, 1999; UNESCO, 2007; Mnyasenga & Mushi, 2015). Bush (2016) emphasizes that powers from higher authority, distributed through devolution, give local communities the opportunity to exercise autonomy in the school affairs that concern them. However, Conyes (1986) cautions that the practical effectiveness of decentralization, to empower local levels, depends on the decentralization design, process and capacity to implement it, otherwise it may just perpetuate the powers of local elites. Other scholars are concerned with the balance of administrative, fiscal and political powers (Falleti, 2005; 2010; Dickovick, 2014; Riedl & Dickovick, 2014). The sequencing of administrative, fiscal and political decentralization has influence on the theoretical basis of this

study because it can explain the participation of local authorities and community members in school matters.

The sequential theory of decentralization

The sequential theory of decentralisation was advanced by Falleti (2004), drawing from insights on path dependence and institutional evolution theories. The theory claims that the balance of power among government units is determined by the sequencing of different dimensions of decentralization policy; fiscal, administrative, and political decentralization. The theory further postulates that the territorial interests of national and local politicians may determine the transfer (or decrease) of power to local authorities.

The sequencing of administrative, fiscal, and political reforms is grounded in the assumption that earlier events in the decentralization cycle predict later events (Falleti, 2005; 2010). This implies that the earlier adopted decentralization type influences and determines the subsequent reforms that follow. The theory also suggests that the sequencing in the adoption of decentralization policies accounts for the degree of autonomy devolved to sub-national officials (Dickovick, 2014; Falleti, 2005; 2010). For example, if administrative decentralization takes place first, the national executives enhance their bargaining power because they are able to offload responsibilities onto sub-national governments and configure future negotiations over resource allocation. Fiscal decentralization is likely to be second, so as to finance the transition of administrative responsibilities. However, as they are empowered by the first round of administrative decentralization, the national executives have the power to control fiscal decentralization by setting parameters (Falleti, 2005; 2010).

In response, local authorities accept terms set by the national executives because they are eager to receive new resources that will lessen the consequences of the previous administrative reform. In this sequence of decentralization, sub-national powers to bargain are limited by the previous rounds of reforms, such that political decentralization can transfer only

insignificant autonomy. Hence, the national executives also prevail in setting the content of political decentralization. This sequence of 'administrative-political-fiscal' decentralization, which Falleti (2005) calls the 'national dominance path', yields a low degree of change in the inter-governmental balance of power. This is what determines the amount of power at local level, to enable them take charge of the responsibilities related to school development. In this case, they find themselves limited by the low degree of power they have acquired.

On the other hand, if political decentralization takes place first, the resulting political autonomy of sub-national actors enhances their bargaining power and negotiations over further types of decentralization. Politically stronger sub-national bureaucrats are likely to press for higher shares of sub-national resources, which they generally prefer to the devolution of administrative responsibilities. Fiscal decentralization is more likely to be the next, and administrative decentralization the last. This 'political-fiscal-administrative' sequence is termed by Falleti as the sub-national dominance path because it leads to a higher degree of autonomy for local government.

Furthermore, these two sequences are characterised by the operation of self-reinforcing mechanisms, namely the 'reproduction of the power of the winners of the first round of reforms'. Moreover, since decentralization is a reform introduced through pre-existing systems, particularly centralised government structures, there is a tendency for a 'reactive mechanism', first to respond to the early reforms adopted, and second to offset the impact of early reforms (Falleti, 2005). Falleti (2005) claims that the impact of early reforms is more significant than those adopted later in the process of political changes as they determine the reactive mechanisms that can take place.

For example, the first decentralization policy could trigger a reactive mechanism, so that the resulting overall sequence of reforms no longer conforms to the preference of the actors who won in the first round of decentralization. This is termed the 'sub-national response path'. It responds to those sequences of decentralization that start with an administrative

decentralization reform that are pushed forward by the national interests, but in which a reactive mechanism leads to the prevalence of sub-national interests in the second round of reforms, leading to the adoption of a political decentralization. This is followed by fiscal decentralization, which completes the sequence, administrative-political-fiscal decentralization. This sequence leads to a medium degree of change in the autonomy of sub-national officials.

Finally, if sub-national interests prevail in the first round of reforms but a reactive mechanism follows, a sequence emerges that starts with political decentralization, continues with administrative decentralization, and ends with fiscal decentralization, a sequence called the 'national response path'. Despite the political decentralization reform at its origins, the reversal produced by the national executive at the second stage means that this path produces low to medium changes in the inter-governmental balance of power.

However, the balance of power cannot be achieved as the local level is constrained because power-holders desire to retain their power, despite the rhetoric that the government is a benevolent agent that aims to increase responsiveness to citizens' diverse needs and priorities (Vazquez, 2011).

Relevance of the theory

The sequential theory of decentralization is found to be appropriate and useful as it offers an explanation about the process of transfer of functions, resources and political powers for service provision from higher authority to local authorities closer to CMs (Rondinelli et al., 1989). It helps to explain the way powers are transferred in the process of involving CMs in the development of schools in Tanzania. It emphasizes the consideration of the balance of power, and relationships, over resource acquisition and management, service provision and political participation of local units, to enable the participation of a broader range of actors in education provision and development (Shaeffer, 1994). The sequence of decentralization in Tanzania started with administrative, followed by fiscal and, lastly, political decentralization. Figure 1.1 (see page 20) illustrates the transfer of financial, administrative, and political powers in the

hierarchical structure of education in Tanzania. The structure represents decentralization of powers and functions, through different channels based on sectoral hierarchies, as explained in the following paragraphs.

Administrative decentralization is practiced by posting centrally appointed officials to local education authorities to execute functions on behalf of the central authorities. For example regional education officers (REOs) and district education officers (DEOs) are appointed by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), to implement educational policies on its behalf. Moreover, administrative functions are channelled from the MoEVT to local government authorities, as illustrated in the middle channel of figure 1.1. The channel illustrate functions being decentralised to regional, then to district education offices, then to ward education offices, before reaching the school boards and schools management teams. Yet, the powers to make decisions, and to plan and execute devolved functions, are limited. The district authorities have some powers but, together with the other units, have limited powers to make decisions that concern them or to alter the decisions imposed on them. Their main role is just to mobilize CMs for development.

Fiscal decentralization involves disbursement of grants to local authorities and to schools. The transfer of funds to schools is direct from the Ministry of Finance to school accounts, as illustrated on the left side of the figure. Although there is also a treasury at the regional level, the disbursed grants are transferred directly to school accounts. Feedback on expenditure is channelled through the middle hierarchy from the school to the ward education officer, then compiled and submitted to the district education office, then to the regions, and finally to the MoEVT. However, despite the decentralization, local authorities and schools have no powers to adjust the disbursed grants to reflect their local demands because they are ear-marked grants for specific purposes. Moreover, fiscal decentralization, in addition to the disbursement of grants, also relates to the transfer of power and authority to lower organs, to generate revenue and to decide on expenditure. Local authorities in Tanzania have limited ability to generate revenue from local sources, so rely on government disbursements.

The decentralization of political powers starts at the Prime Minister's office Regional Authorities and Local Government, then to regional secretariats, to district councils, then to ward and village/*mtaa* executive offices, as illustrated in the right side of figure1.1 (see page 20). Politically, the dominance of centrally determined plans and decisions signifies the limited power transfers to lower units of the government because the central authorities continue to dominate (Venugopal & Yilmaz, 2010). Consequently, this sequence led to a limited change in the balance of power between the central government and LGAs.

The sequential theory of decentralization is challenged because of the difficulty of measuring the impact of the independent variable, the sequence, particularly with the prevailing dynamic process of decentralization (Dickovick, 2014). The sequence rarely follows a distinct pattern, as the theory suggests, and it may be complex, more reciprocal and simultaneous, rather than sequential, or partial and incomplete (Dickovick, 2014).

The theory also shows contextual limitations in its application and may fall short in the context of different political party systems. For example, in a hegemonic political party system, decentralization is viewed as a threat to incumbents in the transferring territory, when incentives for decentralizing are not perceived (Riedl and Dickovick, 2014). This constitutes a discrepancy between the rhetorical desires and the actual processes of decentralization (Riedl and Dickovick, 2014). Indeed, the theory was limited by the party system that was dominant before the 1980s and 1990s in most developing countries, including Tanzania as they had party systems that had no opposition, while local government had a very limited tax base (Dickovick, 2014). The adoption of neo-liberal policies, multi-partyism and privatization gave way to more relevance and applicability of the theory, although it still does not illustrate clearly the direct link of power transfers from the apex ministries to the grassroots and schools.

Despite its critics, the theory offers a significant explanation of the widespread decentralization that facilitates CP. The models and theories of community

participation supplement the sequential theory of decentralization by showing the power sharing with CMs at different stages and degrees. The next section discusses models and a theory of community participation that, combined with the sequential theory of decentralization, form the theoretical base for this study. Merging the decentralization and CP theories provides a comprehensive theoretical framework to explore the influence of government structures and reforms on school development. While decentralization provides a framework to explain the role of central government in shaping and the restructuring the state, to incorporate local authority autonomy, the models and the theory of community participation explain the ways in which the grassroots are involved and assume the exercise of power over decisions, resources, and the functioning of school development programmes.

Models of community participation

This study is informed by models of community participation. The adopted models, by Arnstein (1969), Connor (1988), Shaeffer (1994), and Choguill (1996), embrace similar patterns of participation, as arranged in their continuums. The four models offer distinct levels of participation, increasing from the lowest level to the highest level of participation. These characteristics provide useful explanation for the community participation process related to this study. The models illustrate a CP that is introduced from higher authorities to CMs through proffered levels of power and functions to share. They also indicate a gradual increase of power and functions shared at various levels of participation, as indicated by rungs in the ladders' analogue used by several scholars in the field of community participation.

The models draw attention to the processes involved in the participation of CMs, and the top-down tendency inherent in the participatory processes, and the need for alternatives, such as horizontal or bottom up approaches, to achieve and sustain participation.

The models illustrate that, at the lowest level, community members are manipulated (Arnstein, 1969); or involved by leaders to merely use the service

(Shaeffer, 1994); or are informed (Connor, 1988); or left to initiate their development programmes on their own (Choguill, 1996). At the highest level of participation, the models, except Connor's (1988), indicate that community members have full power to make decisions (Arnstein, 1969; Shaeffer, 1994; Choguill, 1996). Connor's (1988) ladder on the other hand marks the highest level with prevention or resolution indicating the realization of the goal of participation. There are also intermediate levels in the ladders where the power holders may allow the local community to share their views through consultations, although they may not necessarily be considered in the decision-making process (Arnstein, 1969; Shaeffer, 1994).

In Arnstein's (1969) ladder, the levels of participation are illustrated by stairs, representing eight levels, increasing from manipulation to citizen control. The rungs are clustered into three types of participation, the 'non-participation' as the lowest form of participation, through a 'degree of tokenism', to a 'degree of citizen power'. At the level of non-participation, she includes manipulation and therapy. At the level of tokenism, she mentions placation, information, and consultation, and, at the citizens' power cluster level, she includes partnership, delegated power and citizen control. The model illustrates the highest level of participation at the highest rung, where local communities can exercise full control of a programme or institution.

Shaeffer's (1994) model, building on the evolving literature on participation, presents participation in a modified ladder analogue with seven distinct levels. In the four lower levels, the model uses the term involvement, signifying passive collaboration. The higher three rungs use the term participation to denote an active role. The model has levels ranging from mere use of services, at the lowest levels of participation, through contribution, attendance, consultation, delivery of service, and delegated power, to full participation at the highest level. At the highest level, the local community has power to make decisions at every stage, from problem identification, study feasibility, planning, implementation, and evaluation. This implies citizens' authority to initiate, and to sustain, the actions, but without the counter-part government involvement at any stage of the final rung. Also, the assumption that decision

making occurs at the highest rung may be incorrect, as CMs can participate in decision making at any rung (Townsend, 2010).

Choguil (1996) presented a model of participation for developing countries, ranging from self-management at the lowest level to empowerment at the highest level. Choguill describes self-management at the lowest level, where CMs initiate and manage their own development programmes without government support, to conspiracy in the next level of participation, where the government intervenes through drastically implementing policies without allowing discussions with poor CMs or listening to them, increasing to informing, diplomacy, dissimulation, conciliation, partnership and empowerment at the highest level. The stairs of participation are defined by the level of government intervention in the community. At the lowest level, the government neglects the problems of the community, and so the community has to plan for improvement on its own, or with other external assistance, for example from NGOs. The highest level is empowerment, which involves community members sharing roles as decision-makers and having genuine powers of decision-making for their own improvement. The model appears to overlook the full engagement of the local community at the lowest stair, when the government leaves them to manage themselves. However, Arnstein's, Shaeffer's and Choguill's models do not explain how to improve levels of participation (Taniguchi & Hirakawa, 2010).

In contrast, Connor's (1988) model reflects step-by-step participation, aiming to provide a systematic approach to prevention and resolution of public controversies about specific policies, programmes, or projects in any setting. Connor developed a model with a cumulative effect that is also comprehensive to capture a broad range of rural, peri-urban and urban situations, unlike Airnstein's ladder that captured only urban ghetto situations in developed countries, or Choguill's model that focuses on the context of underdeveloped countries. The model's focus is prevention or resolution, which can be realized at any stage, enhanced by close supervision and intervention in every action of CMs by leaders. It is step-by-step in that the model allows an alternative option in the ladder, when the lower ladder fails to prevent or resolve a controversy,

until prevention or resolution is achieved. The model starts with education, aiming to inform the community at its lowest level of participation, to feedback, consultation, joint planning, litigation and, finally, prevention or resolution at the highest level. However, this model seems to align more with specific issues, such as resolving a controversy, and suggests the end of participation after the issue is resolved, rather than initiating a participatory programme that will endure over time, to realize and sustain development.

Although it has similar characteristics of a top-down approach, suggesting community participation is initiated by the higher authority, and the top-down analogy of representation by several participation models, Connor's (1988) model is distinct from the other three because it encourages active involvement and prompt rectification at every stage. Albeit it may implicate close supervision, through frequent leaders' interventions over the local community, throughout the course of achieving the goal, this model may offer an alternative view of community participation that can yield tangible results. Table 2.1 compares the four models of community participation.

Stairs	**Models**			
	Arnstein's, (1969)	Shaeffer's (1994)	Choguill's (1996)	Connor's (1988)
1st	Manipulation	Mere use of a service	Self-management	Education
2nd	Therapy	Contribution	Conspiracy	Informing
3rd	Informing	Attendance	Informing	Feedback
4th	Consultation	Consultation	Diplomacy	Consultation
5th	Placation	Delivery of a service	Dissimulation	Joint planning
6th	Partnership	delegated power	Conciliation	Mediation
7th	Delegated power	Full participation	Partnership	Litigation
8th	Citizen control	-	Empowerment	Resolution/Prevention

Table 2. 1: An overview of models of community participation
Source: Arnstein (1969), Shaeffer (1994), Choguill (1996), and Connor (1988)

Table 2.1 shows that all four models develop from lower to higher levels of participation, except Connor's ladder that focuses on intervention or resolution to an issue at any rung of the participation ladder. While Arnstein's model indicates those in power influencing the participation of the CMs until they have full control themselves, Connor's model indicates intervention at every stage, and a close follow-up during implementation of a specific policy, project, or programme, until it is resolved at any stair. The focus here reflects every action of the CMs and government intervention to ensure that every level is successful and, if not, alternative solutions in the next stairs are imposed until a prevention or resolution is reached. Shaeffer's model ranges from an imposed programme to where those in power enable the local community to have full control.

Although there are developed policies and Acts in support of CMs' participation, that specifies their rights and mechanisms for involvement, the rhetoric may be contrary to the reality. For example, models show that, at the highest rungs, CMs participate in every action, implying high involvement. However, some studies find that CMs are highly involved in implementation, located at bottom rungs. The highest rungs exclude CMs, through representative organs and boards in decision-making that do not actually represent CMs (Bray, 1999; Chirenje et al., 2013).

The models tend to assume that higher levels are better, and hence universally aspired, while genuine forms of participation may occur at any level of the ladder, and at different degrees of participation that may also be better, as illustrated by Connor's (1988) model. Townsend (2010) suggests that these models should be used for stimulating critique and debate since the participation phenomenon is complex, and controversies cannot be explained by the models. For example, models cannot state that participation should be contingent to context because it will lead to inconsistencies as it may deprive the right to some, or it may deprive opportunity for participation to others (Ibid).

Moreover, although it is claimed that community participation has become a tyrannical and uncritical discourse, it serves to challenge the simplistic view of CP approaches and advocate a complex view, to match the complex nature of community participation (Townsend, 2010). For example, explaining ways in which CMs become involved in participation in different contexts, and an explanation of the extent of participation at each level, and across the stairs. This critical view offers a useful caution when adapting models to theoretically ground a study as they remain relevant and valuable.

Relevance of the models of participation

The models are useful in providing a guide on how CMs participate in the development of schools. They provide explanations on how participation of CMs is done sequentially from the first stage of introducing CP, until they can fully participate in every activity related to school development. They also explain the extent of community participation. For example, the models indicate that, at the initial stages, located at the bottom rungs of their ladders, CMs are just informed and invited to use the service (identified as non-participation), followed by consultations, and delegated powers at the middle rungs, which may be inherently pseudo, and finally empowered to participate as equal partners in development affairs at the highest rungs (Arnstein, 1969; Shaeffer, 1994; Choguil, 1996). However, the models do not provide a comprehensive view of CP to describe the connections and dynamics, such as the agency of CMs in designing the processes in every type of participation. Moreover, Reed et al. (2017) argue that ladders' models assume that lower rungs can lead to undesirable outcomes, because they are basically manipulative, and that more deliberative and co-productive modes of participation should be sought.

Theory of participation

Reed et al. (2017) proposed a theory of participation based on a comprehensive and descriptive typology, which can be generalized to all types of participation, contrary to earlier attempts whose "conceptualizations combine typology and

theory, trying to describe what is possible while trying to recommend ideal types based on what should in theory work" (p.9).

Reed et al.'s (2017) theory is based on literature that identifies four types of participation; context, design, mediation and democracy, and it provide an explanation of why the participation in these respects may lead to different outcomes. The theory proposes and describes four types of participation based on the agency (who initiates and takes the lead), and the mode of participation (from mere communication to co-production). The proposed types are top-down one-way (consultative), top-down deliberation (co-production), bottom-up one-way communication (consultative), and bottom-up deliberation (co-production).

The theory builds on the four types of participation synthesized from the literature (context, design, mediation and democracy) to identify four groups of factors that explain how the proposed types of participation may lead to different outcomes for CMs and school development. These factors are context, design, power, and scalar fit.

With regard to context, the theory emphasizes the need to carefully understand the socio-economic, cultural and institutional contexts and to "determine what type of engagement approach is appropriate" (Reed et al., 2017 p.13), implying that matching context to appropriate type of participation is likely to lead to beneficial outcomes.

Design relates to processes of involving stakeholders to influence outcomes. The theory puts forward the 'process design factors' in varied social, cultural, political, economic contexts, as they can increase participation to produce desired outcomes. The theory illustrates that:

> In particular, engagement process[es] that systematically represent relevant public and stakeholder interests and provide transparent opportunities to influence outcomes based on multiple knowledge sources are more likely to deliver beneficial environmental and social outcomes, across a wide range of contexts (Reed et al., 2017 p.14).

This illustration shows the necessity of planned participatory processes and organization of the whole processes of participation in such a way that it incorporates experiences and interests of CMs and allows their influence in determining the desired outcomes.

This theory explains the power of participation in facilitating learning and change in stakeholders' perceptions. The perceptions may lead to acceptance of outcomes based on process design factors that emphasize shared goals and outcomes, and puts forward the experiences contributed by CMs, and reflects the interests of CMs. In this way, it empowers CMs and makes it easy to implement decisions that are likely to lead to positive outcomes. The theory explains that power dynamics, values, and the ways that CMs construct knowledge that they consider valid, are necessary in influencing the effectiveness of participation. Good management of power dynamics leads to equal opportunities to participate and valuing each person's contribution. Moreover, the theory provides a basis for preventing and resolving conflicts through participatory approaches.

Scalar fit concerns matching the length and frequency of the participation process with the benefits. It compares the extent of participation by identifying the time spent, and the frequency of engagement in functions with the goals. The theory postulates that:

> '…stakeholders and public engagement must be organized and conducted at a spatial scale that is relevant to the issue, and the jurisdictions of authorities or institutions that can tackle it (Reed et al., 2017 p.15).

This comment implies that participation, to be meaningful, needs proper organisation, and considers the costs and benefits involved in an issue such as time spent, frequency of participation, and outcomes. It also acknowledges locating functions according to levels of management capable of implementing them.

Relevance of participation theory

The theory provides a holistic approach to participatory phenomena, to realize desired outcomes. It is relevant to this current study as it takes into consideration the structures and agency of CMs, contextual factors, and the purpose of participation. The theory provides an explanation about the ways and extent to which CMs can be involved and the development of perceptions based on the type of participation adopted, and the four factors that can influence the outcomes of participation. These types and factors provide an explanation about the nature and extent of CMs' participation, motivations, and their perceptions about participation.

Moreover, the theory provides explanations for community participation in various activities such as decision making, implementation, and evaluation to respond to contextual factors. Thus, it acknowledges that a top-down approach may be successful in certain contexts, and cautions that bottom-up and co-production may be successful in some circumstances, but may fail in others. It also explains the basis for perceived benefits, as compared to costs, involved in participation and its influence in motivating participants to engage. This theory criticizes the notion, reflected from ladder models, that represents tokenism at the bottom rungs, and genuine participation at the top rungs, by proposing the availability of all the participation types, in order to choose the most appropriate one, according to what works to achieve desired outcomes.

Conceptual Framework of the Study

This section presents conceptual views on the nature of community participation, and of factors that influence its practice. The section adapts the Cohen and Uphoff's (1980) framework for analysing development participation to understand the whole phenomena of becoming involved, participating in monetary and non-monetary contributions, factors that influence their participation and their perceptions in their roles. Since it is complex to conceptualize CP, as discussed in earlier sections, the adapted framework offers an analytical framework to simplify understanding of CP. It

provides '*dimensions',* encompassing the kind of participation which is taking place, the groups of individuals who are involved, and the various features of how the process is occurring, Also, it analyses the '*conte*xt', composed of factors related to project environment and characteristics that determine community participation as presented in figure 2.1;

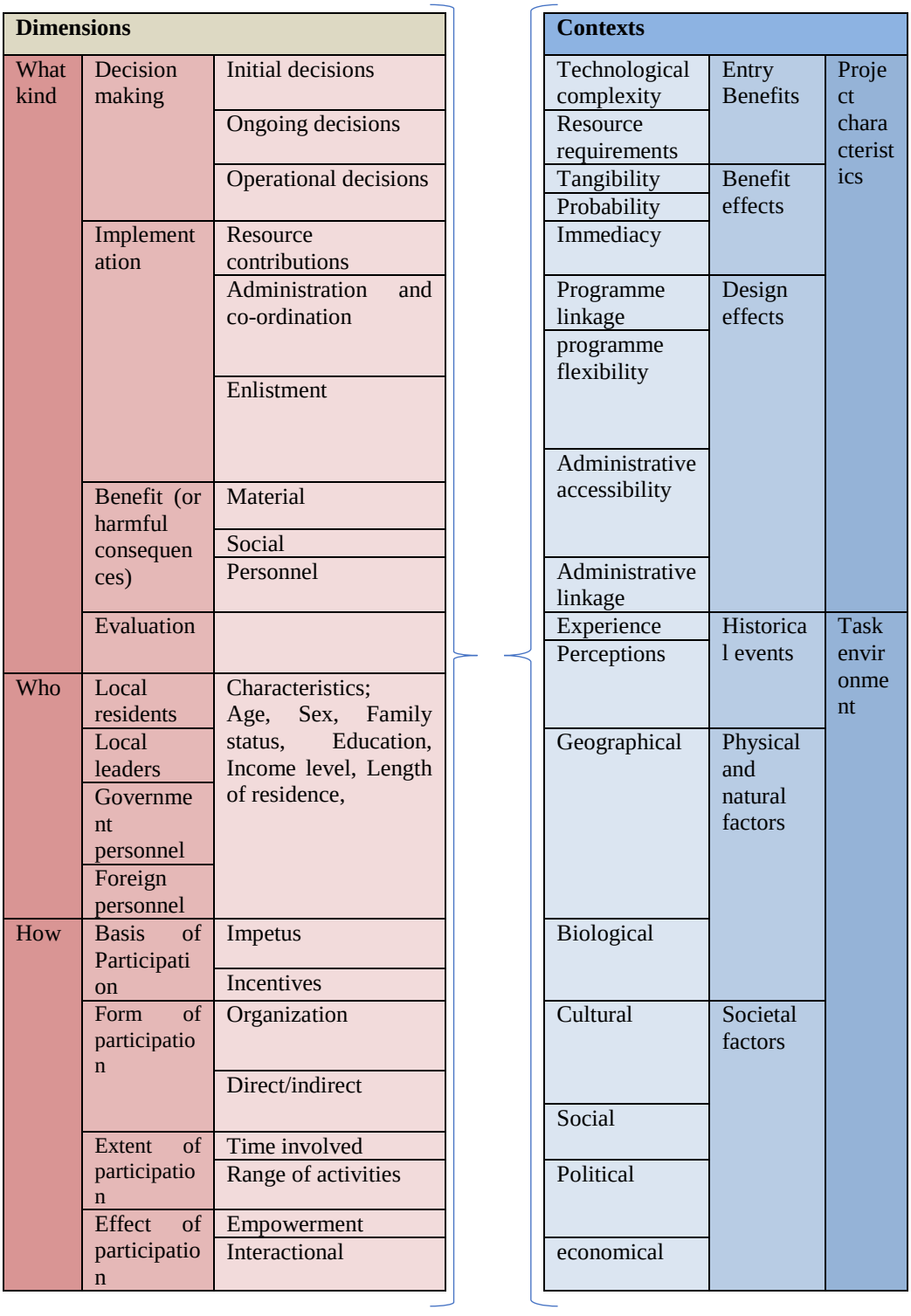


Figure 2. 1: Basic framework for describing and analyzing community participation.
Source: Adapted from Cohen & Upholf, (1980:219)

Figure 2.1 presents the conceptual framework that has been adopted from Cohen and Uphoff's (1980) to illustrate the conceptualization of this current

study on community participation in the development of WBSS. The framework presents the 'dimensions' on one hand and the 'context' of participation on the other. It presents three kinds of questions to understand specific 'dimensions' (kinds) of participation taking place, the people involved and how they are involved, and the 'context' in which the participation is likely to take place.

The dimensions are delineated by three questions, 'what kind of participation take place', 'who participates in them' and 'how does the process of participation take place' (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980). These questions guide the understanding of participation taking place. The first question 'what' attempts to distinguish roles in which CMs participate. It is also important in evaluation. The second question, 'who', is concerned with the people involved, and the 'how' question adds a qualitative dimension to justify, and to evaluate, the ways and processes through which CMs participate (Cohen & Upholf, 1980).

The framework also takes into consideration the contextual factors that determine ways and degrees of community participation. Context in the framework is described by the 'project characteristics' and 'task environment'. These two are further categorised and analysed into several factors that influence the participation of community members and their perceptions on their participation in school development.

The three 'dimensions' in the framework are adapted to reflect the ways, and the extent, of community members' participation in school development, while the 'context' is tailored to reflect the facilitators and barriers of community participation, and CMs' perceptions on their roles in community participation, as reflected in the following sections.

Nature and Extent of Community Participation in Schools

Communities are not homogeneous, harmonious, and static entities, as assumed by the participation discourse, that they can uniformly respond to participation initiatives (UNESCO, 2007; Aref, 2009; Townsend, 2013; Rouhan 2017). Due

to heterogeneity in economic, cultural and socio groups, they constitute varied interests in education (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Rouhan, 2017) which raises concerns about the nature and extent of their participation (Cohen & Upholf, 1980). Moreover, CP circumstances are complex, and they do not occur in a linear fashion, rather, they involve dynamic processes such as formalization which may, in turn, strengthen, or weaken community participation (Brodie et al., 2011).

In analysing the extent of participation, the qualitative component in the framework attempts to clarify the ways in which participation occurs, the pattern it takes, and the reasons for its persistence and/or decline (Cohen & Upholf, 1980). The nature and extent of community members' involvement is dependent on the interplay of numerous factors that change over time (Brodie et al., 2011). In their study in England, they mention such factors as whether CP is voluntary, or coerced, based on whether it is instigated by CMs, at the bottom level, or the national authority at the top level of government, and whether it is continual or occasional (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Fitriah, 2010; Reed et al., 2017; Rouhan, 2017). The pattern of organization also influences levels of participation. For example, CP may be designed in a way that CMs participate directly or indirectly by being represented (Cohen & Upholf, 1980; Reed et al., 2017; Nishimura, 2017). Similarly, the intensity of participation, which involves a range of activities that CMs can engage in continually, or occasionally, determine the extent of their participation (Cohen & Upholf, 1980). These dynamics may lead to inadequate participation or may intensify participation if carefully considered (Cohen & Upholf, 1980). The dynamics also influence the responses of CMs to the approaches of their leaders in mobilizing them, and hence the perceptions of their participation (Reed et al., 2017).

Community participation in managing schools

State policies are continually influenced by global policies on development that advocate participatory approaches (Midgel, 1987; UNESCO, 2007). Community participation for school development is accelerated by school-

based management, a most intensive form of decentralisation, whose elements enhance participation (UNESCO, 2007). They are also emphasized by the widely implemented self-governance model, and the enhanced roles of school governing boards and CMs, which are also basic in encouraging CP (Bush & Gamage, 2001; Esuman & Akyeampong, 2011; Taniguchi & Hirakawa, 2016). Through these initiatives, communities assume powers to manage and make decisions in areas of policy, resource mobilization and allocation, and in some cases, on curricula and staffing (WCEFA, 1990; Bush & Gamage, 2001; UNESCO, 2007)

The assumption is that communities immediate to the school know the local conditions and their decisions can respond better to local needs than decision made by national and sub-national authorities (Bush & Gamage, 2001; UNESCO, 2007). Consequently, they can make informed decisions backed up by their lived experiences (Ibid). The participation of community members in the process of planning and decision-making according to Zakari (2012) in his study of decentralization and community participation in Ghana, brings together diverse interests, strategies and priorities of various stakeholders. It is implemented with an assumption that it will take into consideration the views, knowledge and experiences of CMs, hence responding appropriately to the actual needs and socio-economic situation of CMs, and inculcating a willingness to bear costs, and a sense of ownership (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Zakari, 2012).

According to Cohen and Uphoff (1980), community participation in schools constitute four elements; management, resourcing, benefits (or negative consequences) and evaluation. Community members can participate in decision-making at all stages. This can be directly through participating in administration and coordination activities through being members of advisory and decision boards of various institutions and projects, or, indirectly through representation by their leaders who are responsible for formulating policies that respond to CMs' demands (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Welsh & McGinn, 1999; Nishimura, 2017). These approaches, direct or indirect participation, determine

the amount of autonomy, ranging from power over several aspects to full control of an institution (Russell, 2009; Taniguchi & Hirakawa, 2016).

Community members participate in management functions such as decision-making. Literature in Ghana reveal that the representation of community members in decision-making related to school development is commonly through school governing boards, although they can directly participate during public meetings (Esuman & Akyeampong, 2011; Zakari, 2012). Decision-making can be in areas of school policy, making and developing plans, budgetary allocations, pedagogy, school maintenance, personnel management (recruitment, control and pay), monitoring and evaluation of teachers and students' learning, and liaising between the school and the community on matters related to fund-raising for school development (Bush & Gamage, 2001; Russell, 2009; Esuman & Akyeampong, 2011; Taniguchi & Hirakawa, 2016).

Community members can also participate in programme improvement by influencing policy or programmes through contributing their views. This can be through voicing their complaints and lobbying to communicate their views to the government and/or about the project (Cohen & Upholf, 1980). They can also participate through demonstrations of their dissatisfaction (Ibid). However, this is only possible in situations where CMs have already developed a sense of commitment and they have confidence and awareness of the school system.

Another way of involving community members in school affairs occurs in evaluation whereby local leaders and communities can participate in project evaluation by examining who participates, and to what degree, and with what power, to achieve what objectives (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980). This implies that CMs can monitor and evaluate the processes, thereby influencing effectiveness and accountability. Cohen and Uphoff (1980) assert that CMs can participate through calculating programme benefits such as improved service provision, sense of power, and increased income, as well as the negative consequences that may result from programme failure.

However, it seems that the government may offload the management roles onto the shoulders of CMs, without clearly delineating the purpose to all community

members (Bray, 1999). As a result, CMs may participate blindly without being informed of the goals. Moreover, state support for community participation in developing countries may diminish CP, deliberately or unintentionally, through institutionalization of formal procedures of involving the state and CMs as explained by Midgel (1987) in his study in Africa. This is because participatory activities may be used to endorse hierarchical desires, instead of promoting authentic involvement (Ibid). On the other hand, through community participation in management, community members have an opportunity to participate in the activities of the higher rungs in the ladders of participation, such as decision-making, and so can contribute their social, cultural and political capital, and can exercise power in the development of schools (Ellis, 2003; UNESCO, 2007; Mokoena, 2011).

Community Participation in Funding Schools

In most developing countries, education, particularly basic education, is not just compulsory but also a right for all citizens in a state, and therefore the responsibility of the state to finance it (Bray, 2003). It is also observed that basic learning needs are complex and diverse to such an extent that many low-income countries cannot rely solely on government revenue to finance them (Henriot, 2001; Carnoy, 2006; Gongera & Okoth, 2013). However, with a caution that full-state funding of public schools may result in loss of community members' control over school operations (Lionell, 1997; Fitriah, 2010), and with the argument that, in many countries, financing of education is best met through public-private partnerships (Carnoy, 2006), many states seek to share the burden with community members (Shaeffer, 1992; Bray, 2003).

International organizations also insist on collaboration between the government and other stakeholders in funding basic education (WDEFA, 1990; Shaeffer, 1992; UNESCO, 2007). This follows the universalization of basic education, and the resulting costs, as revealed by the World Declaration on Education for All (WDEFA) (1990):

> If the basic learning needs of all are to be met through a much broader scope of action than in the past, it will be essential to mobilize existing and new financial and human resources, public, private and voluntary. All of society has a contribution to make, recognizing that time, energy and funding directed to basic education are perhaps the most profound investment in people and in the future of a country which can be made (WDEFA, 1990, Article 9).

The WDEFA (1990) implied that, since education is expanding, and since basic learning needs are diverse and costly, further potential sources should be tapped to diversify sources of funding. Local communities are among the partners with the potential to make major contributions to improving education through contributing resources in the form of labour, cash, and in kind, and also through contributing endowments (Bamburger, 1986; Shaeffer, 1994; Bray, 2000; Connor & McMorrow, 2010; Paxton & Mutesi, 2012). Similarly, Galabawa (1991) argues that funding education should be the responsibility of the whole community, rather than just the family or parents. Barnett (2013) goes further to provide evidence of the positive effects of community participation in funding education, suggesting that some communities do have the capacity for decentralized roles and that they can contribute positively to learners' achievements as it was found in Malawian primary schools. However, Cooke and Kothari (2001) claim that there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people, or as a strategy for social change. The next section discusses the sources of funding education, to understand the roles of each partner.

Sources for funding education

Education funding emanates from three main sources, public funding direct to schools, private direct contributions to running costs, and private contributions to the indirect costs of education (Paxton & Mutesi, 2012). The public sources of funding to schools constitute grants allocated by the government for recurrent and development purposes. They arise from the government's fiscal sources, mostly from taxation and other levies.

The second category encompasses contributions from community members in various forms, such as donations, in-kind contributions such as free labour, and forms of endowment of cash for financing development programmes, provision of tools for working, and the donation of land for construction and other purposes (Bray, 1996; Cohen & Upholf, 1980; Galabawa, 2007; Paxton & Mutesi, 2012; Taniguchi & Hirakawa, 2016; Nishimura, 2017). The third category includes user charges, cost recovery, cost sharing and a variety of fees paid by parents. Particularly, they include funds for learning materials, costs for transport and family foregone income[5] for children not working to raise income for their poor families due to spending time in school as claimed by (Dachi & Garrett, 2003) in their study in Tanzanian primary schools and mentioned by Paxton and Mutesi (2012) in their Rwandan study. In addition to these costs, parents participate in school development as community members. Indeed, sources of funds that constitute the major part in many countries are from the government, while local contributions constitute a minor part, although they may have a significant impact on school development.

Community participation is practiced in parallel with decentralization and universalization policies. While international agencies and governments advocate universal basic education, decentralization, and participation (Rose 2003; 2005), their tenets may produce paradoxes. Community participation contradicts with free basic education, as it involves mobilization of resources, regardless of affordability for low-income families (Larsen et al., 2014). It also indicates the right to democratic participation. However, UNESCO (2007), and Reed et al. (2017), assert that, if not well consulted in the process of transferring authority, CP is placed at risk because the institutionalization of decentralization policies involves bureaucratic formalized procedures embedded with control elements that contradict participation principles.

The next sub-section provides a discussion of various models of funding education. Since there are several sources of funding for basic education, that

[5] Family foregone income refers to the loss of income that children make for their families when they spend time in schooling. This is common among poor households where children have high opportunity cost through engaging in activities to raise family income. Their families lose children's contribution by attending school.

are based on various criteria, this section examines sources of funding in relation to transfer, autonomy and responsibilities, the ways in which funds are allocated, and the nature of school ownership.

School funding models

Governments are responsible to ensure public schools meet the basic conditions for effective learning (Bray, 2003; UNESCO, 2007). To ensure the provision of basic and high-quality education, which is a right to all, government funding is fundamental, but it needs community support to meet equity and quality objectives in compulsory education (UNESCO, 2007).

According to Atkinson et al. (2005), funding models for compulsory schooling may be based on three aspects: First, are the models determined by the initial source and transfer of funds; second are models determined by the roles of local authorities and schools, and their degree of autonomy; and third are models based on the ways that funds are allocated and the freedom of use by schools.

Funding Models based on the source of funding and the modes of transfer

The first model of funding basic education involves three sources that determine three sub-models. The first sub-model applies when funds are allocated to school by local authorities from their own raised revenue such as local taxes, and other forms of income, and funding received from the central government (including global funds allocated to the central government). The central government allocations may be earmarked for specific purposes, or disbursed as a block grant[6] with considerable autonomy for the local authority (Atkinson et al., 2005).

The second sub-model is where most of school funds are provided by local authorities. This model is common in countries with a decentralized system of education (Atkinson et al., 2005). The third sub-model is characterised by

[6] Block grant refers to an amount of funds disbursed to sub units of the government targeting expenditure for particular categories such as development and recurrent expenses.

sources directly allocated from the central government to schools, without involving local government authorities (Atkinson et al., 2005). Whilst this sub-model may appear to be giving more autonomy to schools, it may lead to increased centralization, because the central authority has direct control over the devolved funds, while local authorities are excluded. This model is relevant to Tanzania (see figure 1.1) although there are some contributions raised from local contributions that the model does not explain.

Funding models based on the roles of local authorities and schools and their degree of autonomy

According to Atkinson et al. (2005), funding based on division of responsibilities focuses on the roles of local authorities and schools and the relevant degree of autonomy. Three sub-models are identified; the first involves the local authority retaining full authority and responsibility to decide what to delegate to schools (the most autonomous). The second is where local authorities share responsibility and autonomy with schools in the use of allocated resources. The third is where local authorities have a limited role and autonomy in deciding the allocations and responsibilities to schools, although they may be responsible for distributing the resources to schools (the least autonomy local authority) (Atkinson et al., 2005; European Commission, 2014). The third sub-model reflects the funding of basic education in Tanzania.

Model associated with the ways funding is allocated and the freedom of use by schools

This model is commonly practiced in countries with extensive decentralization. Local authorities can act with relative autonomy when deciding the amounts allocated for education, whereby a broad range of basic indicators is used to decide school allocation, allowing greater school sensitivity, realistic, and fairness (Atkinson et al., 2005; European Commission, 2014). For example, where a country wants to target resources to students with special needs, it must consider weighing the general school allocations through centrally

defined activities or through locally proposed projects with the actual school needs (Atkinson et al., 2005; UNESCO, 2007).

In Tanzania, with the adopted decentralization policy, that allows transfer of authority and resources to lower levels of government, to perform functions on behalf of the government, the MoF and the PMO-RALG disburses funds to schools via the treasury at the central level direct to school accounts (see Figure 1.1). While the central government distributes these resources ear-marked for specific use, local government authorities (LGAs) are given power to supervise schools but without power to decide on the use of the funds (URT, 2010). However, some funds are mobilized by LGAs, and some by school communities, which gives the respective units the power to plan and to use such funds at their discretion.

The foregoing models reflect the fiscal sources, transfers, and related powers, at the national level, sub-national authorities and schools. They reflect the extent of decentralization, and the resulting nature of local participation, such as power to control school budgets, and other functions such as managing construction and maintenance. However, UNESCO (2007) endorses the idea of empowering CMs in deciding on how best to allocate resources, to inculcate commitment and participation in complementing public funds.

Models of funding based on school ownership

Bray and Lillis (1988) identified three funding models based on school ownership and the bodies responsible for their funding. In the first model, two extremes are presented; the first one relates to schools entirely owned, managed, and financed by the community, without government support. In this context, schools may be established by parents and others, who either directly provide materials, labour, and cash contributions, or employ a contractor. The second category represents school types that are entirely financed by the government, without community support. In this category, the government

provides, and controls, resources disbursed for development and recurrent expenditure (Sharma, 2008).

This model also allows intermediate situations. The first intermediate situation involves a category of community owned schools with government support. In this category, the local community establishes a school whose funding is shared by the government. The second are the government owned school types with community support (Bray & Lillis, 1988; Kumar, 2005). In this category, the government advocates for the local community support. The government is responsible for providing basic operational costs while the community is responsible to provide additional funds (Sharma, 2008) (see figure 2. 2).

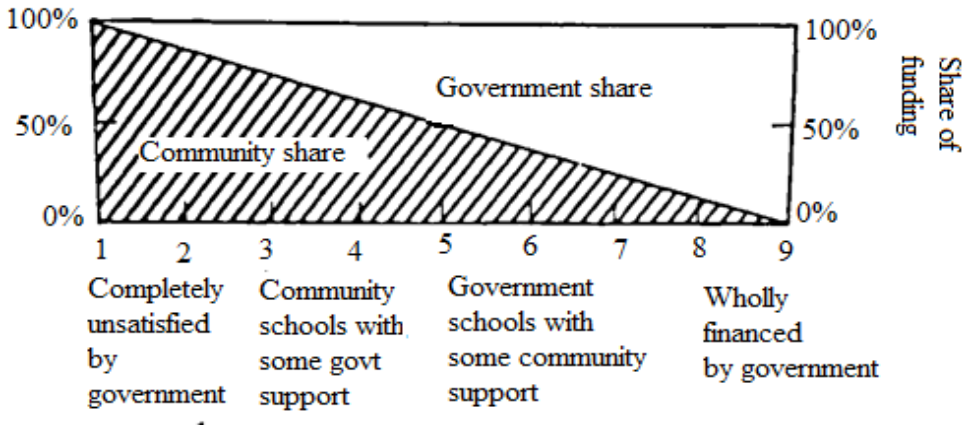


Figure 2. 2: Community and government financing model 1
(Source: Bray and Lillis (1988:5)

Figure 2.2 represents a range of community and government shares in ownership and funding of schools, shown in percentages. From the left, the shaded part indicates the percent of community management and funding across school categories, with an increasing level of government support, to wholly government ownership and funding, indicated by the un-shaded part. At the extremes are fully community, and, fully government owned and funded schools. In between, are the schools owned and funded on a shared basis between the community and the government. Among these intermediate types, constitute the category of schools studied in this research.

The second model reflects the situation in which the government provides grants to support both profit and non-profit making schools (Bray & Lillis,

1988; Sharma, 2008). The first wing of the model represents a cluster of private profit-making schools which are established by individuals or groups, with the costs repaid through students' fees (see figure 2.3). The model indicates that these schools receive some funds from the government. The second wing indicates a cluster of schools established and run by trusts. These are mostly mission schools that may be receiving funds from their mother churches or from overseas parishes. They may also be receiving grants from the government (Bray & Lillis, 1988; OECD, 2012: 22) (see figure 2.3).

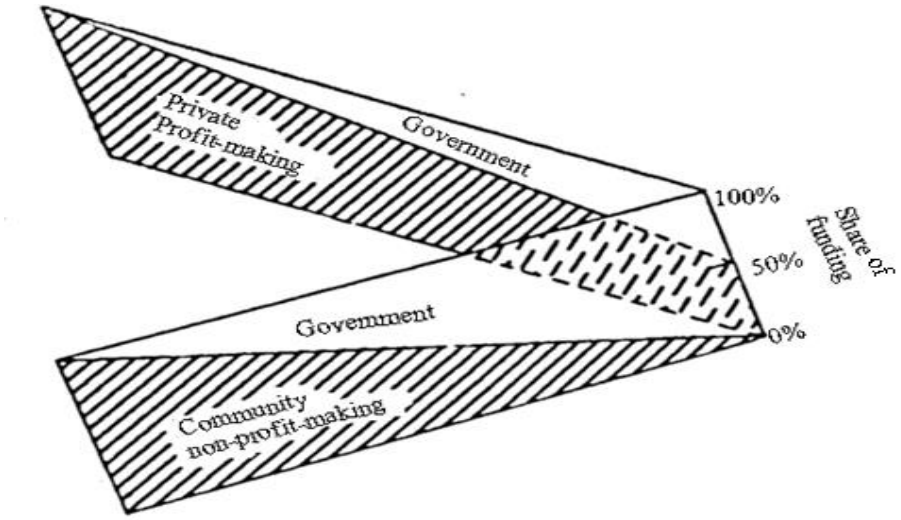


Figure 2. 3: Community and government financing model 2
Source: Bray and Lillis (1988)

Figure 2.3 has two wings for private profit-making schools and community non-profit making schools. Both receive government funding as indicated in percentages, in addition to funds raised by school founders (as indicated in the shadings), private investors, or the community (Bray & Lillis, 1988; MOEC, 2005). However, it can be argued that the management and funding of schools can be disaggregated on the grounds that, in most countries, the greater number of publicly managed schools is not necessarily those with high levels of public funding (OECD, 2012). This is because, in these countries, most publicly managed schools receive funding, not only from government sources, but also from parents and local communities.

The models of funding schools reflect funding determined by resource requirements that can be facilitated by programme linkages across management levels to schools, and, implicitly, suggests administrative linkages between government and CMs, in making resource contributions to schools (Cohen & Uphoff, 2005; Reed et al., 2017).

The foregoing section provides knowledge and the justification for and extent of community participation in funding school development. It discusses the sources and models of funding that provides the basis for funding and management of various school categories and the related justification for each. The next sections discuss the perceptions and the factors influencing community participation in the development of schools as identified in the framework by Cohen and Uphoff (1980). They are adapted in the following sections as factors determining perceptions of CMs on their roles in school development, facilitators, and or barriers to community participation in school development.

Perceptions of Community Participation in School Development

There are varied perceptions of community participation in school development. The variation is attributed to historical factors (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980), and differs between power holders, such as planners, and the relatively powerless community members, as found in India and Ghana (Nirmala & Servi, 2012; Zakari, 2012). Perceptions result from the processes of participation, and may influence community members' decisions about whether or not to participate (Brodie et al., 2011; Reed et al., 2017). It is this resulting perception that determines the extent of their engagement.

While policy makers and practitioners have consistently regarded community participation as a good thing, by focusing on the benefits accrued by individuals, organizations and society, most CMs have different perceptions about taking part due to variations that arise from diverse views and beliefs about participation (Brodie et al., 2011; Hasnat, 2016). The negative perceptions of CMs towards a programme can be linked to historical factors

(Cohen & Uphoff, 1980). This develops when community members have experienced the failure of previous programmes, fearing that the same outcome may occur.

Negative perceptions are also attributed to lack of proper communication that results in negative understanding of school-related roles, and a lack of awareness about the proactive roles that CMs can be motivated to play (Hasnat, 2016). Moreover, CMs may not be aware of the roles they can play at school and how to contribute meaningfully to school development (Hornby & Rafaele, 2014; Hasnat, 2016). If not informed, they may feel that they have nothing to contribute, especially when they think in terms of student learning (Hasnat, 2016). This links to the perception that education is the responsibility of the state and that adopting CP is an abdication of their roles to citizens (Shaeffer, 1992; Cleaver, 1999; Bray, 2000; Anania, 2010; Nirmala & Serva, 2012). These perceptions may contribute to the passivity of local community participation in school development.

Ellis (2003) argues that there is a general public perception in England that school governance is by the 'upstanding' members of the community, especially males, and experienced, skilled professionals. This perception may discourage female and other community members from participation. Moreover, there is a perception that SGB membership is narrow, and self-selecting, and that members are not willing to welcome others to become involved (Ellis, 2003). Community members may also perceive their exclusion from the organization that, in turn, discourages those who want to participate (Ellis, 2003; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Yoder & Lopez, 2013). The perception of marginalization among lower-class parents in USA public housing residents, through continued injustices, inequalities and exploitation, and a feeling of powerlessness and lack of control over programmes for school development, hindered community participation, as evidenced in a study by Yoder and Lopez (2013). Moreover, Ellis (2003), and Hornby and Lafaele (2011), in their studies in the UK and USA, suggest that fear of exclusion itself may discourage CMs' participation, perceiving that they may be excluded due to stereotyping, for example due to belonging to a minority group, such as having a disability or

being from a minority ethnic group. The perceived exclusion, as established by Makwinya and Komba, (2014) in their study in Dodoma, Tanzania, can also be felt in the process of involving CMs, for example if they perceive that they are excluded from certain information and activities. In addition, the perceptions of parents about whether they are explicitly welcomed to participate, and the value teachers attach to their contributions, impact on parents' intentions to participate (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

Factors Facilitating Community Participation

In their framework, Cohen and Uphoff (1980) establish several contextual factors that influence participation. They are based on project characteristics and task environment. The former is associated with entry benefits, benefit effects, and design effects, under which there are technological complexity, resource requirements, tangibility, immediacy, probability, programme linkage and programme flexibility, administrative accessibility and administrative linkage. The task environment presents the context of CP that can be affected by historical factors such as experience and perceptions, physical factors such as geographical and biological factors, and societal factors, including social cultural political and economic elements (See figure 2.1). The factors that facilitate community participation are discussed below:

The motives for the community to participate in educational activities may differ from those of the government and international agencies. In some situations, especially in developing countries such as Ethiopia, community members may respond to limited school availability, due to the government's inability to meet demands, or their unwillingness to make provision (Carnoy, 2006; Yamada, 2014; Nishimura, 2017). The support can be supplementary to the government's system or as an alternative system run by communities, or a critical role to stimulate discussion with diverse stakeholders on the learning achievement for social change, as it was in India, Pakistan, Senegal, and Tanzania, for example (Bray, 2003; Nishimura, 2017).

In developed countries, there are diverse motivational factors that facilitate community participation, from individuals, organizations, and networks as found in England (Brodie et al., 2011). Some CMs are motivated to participate due to a personal desire to be involved, such as to feel connected and to belong to a group, and to fulfill their interest in education (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Low et al., 2007; Hogg & Vaughan, 2011; Brodie et al., 2011). A point worth noting is the agency of CMs in their participation. This can facilitate their free will to participate in ways that suit them. They can participate heavily or lightly, consistently or regularly (Brodie et al., 2011).

Cohen and Uphoff (1980) claim that context plays a role in determining the nature, extent and sustainability of CP. Concurrently, the provision of encouragement and enablers can trigger participation (Brodie et al., 2011). Moreover, community participation can be facilitated by groups, such as school-board members, or teachers, welcoming CMs. When CMs perceive that their contributions are valued, they can be motivated to continue participating (Brodie et al., 2011). Closer and frequent communication, and government allocation of available resources based on the interests of CMs, provides conditions for growth and encourages CMs to continue participating (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Brodie et al., 2011). Accommodating the interests and views of CMs relates to the administrative and programme flexibility, stated in the framework by Cohen and Uphoff (1981), that can allow local interests to feature in participatory programmes and is likely to have a powerful effect on CP patterns. Recognizing what CMs can offer in their spare time, and how much they can contribute, and planning on the basis that participation is mutual, and reciprocal, also motivates CMs to participate (Brodie et al., 2011).

Probability, immediacy and tangibility determine the participation of CMs. For example, the probability that the government will take over schools may influence motivation of CMs to participate (Onsomu et al., 2004). This may also be influenced by the socio-economic context, and the immediacy of realizing the benefits (tangible or intangible) of better schooling, a potential facilitating factor for participation (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980; Shaeffer, 1992; Widodo, 2017).

The adoption of global policies that are considered credible, as they are research–based, facilitates CP. For example, the international organizations prescribe more humanistic policies, such as CP and decentralization, for developing countries which have not yet achieved EFA and SDGs. Although they are hegemonic tools that carry ideological and political interests, they become dominant policies whose implementation facilitates involvement of community members as it was in El Salvador (Edwards, 2015; Verger et al., 2018).

Moreover, community participation has been affected by global policies that altered the structural conditions of education in most developing countries through the 1980s and 1990s Structural Adjustments Programmes of Bretton Wood. They had serious effects on financing of education through conditions that resulted in lower government budgetary allocations to education, and higher poverty levels. In this situation, CP became a common theme adopted by most governments in developing countries such as Tanzania to fill the resource gaps that the government could not cover (Carnoy, 2006; Chediel et al., 2000; Verger et al., 2018). The government encouraged participation of community members by considering and making CP a dominant approach to top up government funding.

Factors that Hinder Community Participation

While community participation can yield many benefits to community members and to governments, several factors hinder community members from participating in school development programmes (Boates and Rensburg, 2000; Ellis, 2003; Brodie et al., 2011). For example, Ellis (2003) and Brodie et al. (2011) reported that, participation in England is hindered by uneven distribution of power, social capital and other resources.

Bush and Heystek (2003) states that, in practice, community participation may be superficial, and deny the opportunity for CMs to engage in defining their

own needs and to devise solutions. This occurs because power is often exercised by governments, corporations and researchers who control the community from outside, based on structural inequality (Midgel, 1987; Shaeffer, 1992; Brodier et al., 2011). Cleaver (1999) argues that, despite the importance of CP and its contribution to school improvement, the role of the local community is often ignored by teachers who seem unwilling to welcome them in the management of school as they perceive that their autonomy may be invaded. Similarly, Ellis's (2003) and Brodie et al.'s (2011) studies in England establish that lack of willingness among leaders and reluctance of members of school governing boards to welcome new members on to management boards hinders other CMs from participating in school management.

Bush and Heystek (2003) and Mncube (2009) add that, due to literacy levels, and variable interest to schools, community representatives in the governing boards may have limited participation. Literacy levels are also mentioned by Ellis (2003), and by Brodie et al. (2011), as factors hindering CP in England, as they result in low confidence to participate. Similarly, research by Hornby and Lafaele (2011), in UK, USA and New Zealand, shows that barriers to communication including the use of unfamiliar language in communication, such as during meetings, may make CMs lack confidence in their expertise, so that they are unwilling to become involved. In addition, lack of information and opportunities for participation, as well as limited familiarity with the functioning of institutional systems, discourages CMs from participating in education systems (Ellis, 2003; Brodie et al., 2011). Ellis (2003), in her study of under-represented groups in school governance in England, adds that low income earners are less likely to participate in school programmes, due to the competing demands of household requirements, in terms of time to attend school programmes and ability to make monetary contributions. Similarly, the unequal benefits of participation may cause the disadvantaged to decide not to participate (Cohen & Uphoff, 2005; Brodie, 2011; Reed et al., 2017).

The diverse values and interests of members may result in dominant and clashing sub-groups and disagreements on plans and goals. Although Connor (1988) argues that conflicts may lead to active participation, they may have

negative consequences for participation, by leading to conflict that may cause other CMs to stop participating (Brodier et al, 2011; Reed et al., 2017).

On the part of government, several factors contribute to barriers for community participation. For example, Hornby and Lafaele (2011) found a lack of specific legislation on participation in UK, USA and New Zealand. This resulted in espoused policies to rely on voluntary participation, and consequently, they lead to uneven participation. The institutionalization of community participation approach promoted by decentralization is also challenging because it emphasizes formalization and structures, with the imposition of policies and rules that control participants, while CP is inherently a voluntary and free undertaking that is contrary to coercion (Sharma 2008; Russell, 2009; Brodie et al., 2011). Structure alone cannot bring communities closer to school management; rather, it requires an established system of facilitating and inspiring CMs, to promote their agency in participation.

Similarly, negative interpretations of imposed government policies and programmes, and the politicizing of their activities, inhibits community participation (Brodie et al., 2011). Moreover, different degrees of commitment exist, and not all local groups have an interest in participating to improve education, as in Ghana and Ethiopia (Boates & Rensburg, 2000; Zakari, 2012; Yamada, 2014).

Another factor that limits participation is the inconsistencies of policies and actions on participation. Governments may outwardly support participation, yet undermine it through other contradictory policies. The paradox is seen in the UK, USA and New Zealand, and developing countries such as Tanzania, where policies, encouraging participation, exist simultaneously with those advocating consumerism politics which promote competitiveness, as opposed to the cooperation expected from participation policies (Chediel et al., 2000; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011). Lack of arrangements for participation, such as strategic plans for directives, information dissemination, training, and implementation, may result in inconsistency in approaches and fragmentation in implementation of participation policy, discouraging some CMs (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

Empirical Studies on Community Participation in School Development

This section reviews empirical studies related to community participation in school development. The reviewed literature is discussed in two sub-sections, international research, and studies from Tanzania. In both sub-sections, the review is structured around five themes. The section ends with a synthesis of the research, and indicates the knowledge gaps that contribute to the justification for the current study.

International research

Community participation in school development

Nishimura (2017) conducted a literature-based study to examine how, and in what ways, the communities were involved in school management in developing countries, including Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, Mali, Senegal, El-Salvador, Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, and Guatemala. The study aimed to examine the ways in which the empirical literature has documented community participation, including the challenges, constraints, and possibilities. The findings indicate that CMs participated in several types and levels of participation, depending on the purpose and the degree of power devolved. She found that power was devolved in categories such as budgeting, personnel management, developing the school-calendar and school-events, and monitoring teachers and students' performance. However, these efforts to involve CMs may lead to negative outcomes, as shown in Fitriah's (2010) study of the practice of CP in the context of decentralization, in one Indonesian city. She found that decentralization of funds, and the introduction of free school programmes, decreased the commitment of CMs to the school and hence their participation decreased to being just users of education.

Moreover, Nishimura's review shows that the exercise of decision-making powers did not happen automatically after devolution, due to social structures, attitudes, culture and political influence. She adds that contextual

understanding of CP was needed. This study is closely related to my study because it captures the purpose and levels at which CMs are involved, and constraints to CP, but, as a literature review, it was unable to provide new empirical data.

Similarly, To's (2016) mixed methods research in Cambodia's rural districts, found a range of practices, which varied with the type of participation and the category of participants. For example, he found that parents and CMs participated indirectly in decision making through their representatives on school committees. He also found that parents, apart from participation in management issues, were involved by assisting their children's learning. The author claims that school committees were instrumental in encouraging parental and CMs' involvement.

Another study that found community members participated in management roles was by Bekoe et al. (2013), who assessed community participation in promoting basic education in Ghana. They employed descriptive research, with questionnaires and interviews. The study involved a sample of 160 participants. The results indicated that CMs participated in leadership roles, such as organizing meetings for awareness creation, a similar finding to Godfrey's (2016) study in Zimbabwe, where parents participated in school governance roles. Godfrey used three schools in rural areas as case studies and employed observation, documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with parents, CMs, teachers, heads of schools, and members of school development committees. However, their participation was generally low, attributed mainly to social-cultural barriers, extreme poverty, and a community perception that education and development are the responsibilities of government.

Similarly, Mncube's (2009) mixed methods study in South Africa found that most of the parents were not yet playing the roles of governors as mandated by the legislature. These findings were based on two phases study. Phase one involved in-depth interviews with 32 school governors, documentary analysis, and observations, while phase two was a questionnaire survey for 500 parents from 10 schools from diverse cultural and economic contexts. His findings also

showed that, even those parents who were elected to the school governing bodies (SGBs) especially in rural areas, were not always given sufficient opportunity to participate in decision-making affecting their school. Mncube reports that parents' lack of education, and their difficulty in attending meetings, inhibited SGBs from operating democratically. They were implicitly or explicitly excluded, due to low educational levels or power struggles in school governing boards. Similarly, in respect of school management, Mokoena (2011) found that most stakeholders in South Africa were intentionally or unintentionally excluded from matters such as budgeting, human resource management, planning, and decision-making, because the majority was limited by lack of education and skills, poor understanding of school matters, and time pressure due to household commitments. This supports Hornby and Lafaele's (2011) claim that low educational qualifications, and low income, made it difficult for CMs to participate in school meetings in UK, USA and New Zealand.

Kabir and Akter (2014) conducted a qualitative study in Bangladesh on the processes and challenges of parental involvement in secondary schools. They used in-depth interviews with seven stakeholders, and documentary reviews. They reported that schools used limited strategies to build relationships with parents, including parents' conventions, forming parent committees, telephone calls, and emails. However, the study did not report on challenges, as indicated in its aims, and it involved parents only, excluding other community members. Further strategies of involving CMs were found by Obiadazie (2014) in his study of the involvement of local communities in funding Nigerian schools. The study adopted a survey design, with a Likert scale questionnaire, to collect data from a sample of 1219 teachers. The findings revealed that strategies to involve communities included parent teachers' association levies, asking students to pay for computer equipment, donations from philanthropists, requesting the community to contribute, organizing fund raising ceremonies, alumni associations, and organizing conferences and workshops in the communities on the need to fund computer projects. However, the study was limited only to strategies for funding computer programmes, and it sampled

only teachers, excluding other local community members who contribute their funds, materials or labour.

Mfum-Mensah and Friedman-Ridenour (2014) reported on CMs' participation strategies, in their ethnographic case study of one selected municipality and district in Ghana. They used qualitative methods, including reviewing government and international organisations' documents, and conducting impact assessments of the 'School for Life' (SfL) programme, and other 'Complementary Education Programmes' (CEPs), to establish the context of education in Ghana. They also conducted in-depth interviews with programme administrators, and conducted focus group discussions with two communities in the municipality, and two in the district. Their findings demonstrate that strategies used to increase CP included a "focus on demand-driven education, skill development, culturally appropriate learning environment and curriculum, and a participatory environment" (p. 355). Moreover, to involve CMs in education, the School for Life programme recruited local members, provided them with extensive skills-training to become facilitators, thus maintaining contextually-sensitive programmes that meet their learning needs. Their findings also show that, to engage CMs, the SfL programme allowed CMs to define their educational needs by involving them in designing, implementing, and evaluating the programme. The programme has developed a structure and opportunities to meaningfully engage CMs by offering them skills, continued capacity building, and workshops to update their skills as a motivation and a mechanism to sustain their participation.

This sub-section has discussed empirical findings about the ways in which CMs participate in management activities, and the strategies used to involve them in participation for development. The next sub-section discusses findings related to the nature and extent of CP in funding, including forms and sources of funding, and contribution levels.

Community participation in school funding

Gongera and Okoth (2013) conducted a qualitative study to identify alternative sources of financing secondary schools in Kisii County (Kenya), and their influence on the management of those schools. It also sought to identify the challenges facing schools in financing secondary education and the impact of alternative sources of income on the school budget. The research also sought to find out how the income generated was used by the institutions. The study used a case of one county and a sample of 30 participants, including principals, school bursars, and district officials. The findings revealed that, apart from government funding, there were alternative sources, notably funding from '*harambee'*[7], by individual sponsors and donors, and from school's income-generating projects such as farming, service and commercial based projects. Further, it was found that income from these sources enhanced management in secondary schools through additional remuneration for teachers, and support staff, and enhanced student motivation. The revenue was used for improvement of physical facilities and to purchase more teaching and learning materials.

In contrast to Gongera and Okoth's (2013) findings on sponsors and donors funding schools, other studies found that parents and CMs funded schools in Cambodia and Zimbabwe in forms of cash, materials and labour for school development (To, 2016; Godfrey, 2016). Godfrey (2016) shows that community members in Zimbabwe were involved in the provision of education through providing school budgets. They also contributed materials and labour for the construction of schools. However, the literature suggests that CP focused mainly on material contributions. In contrast, some literature suggest that the focus of CP should be more than just material contributions, to inculcate a sense of agency of CMs, and to make them an integral part of the education process, that reciprocally can benefit community members, as suggested by Sharma (2008) in her study in Nepal.

Taniguchi and Hirakawa's (2016) study of a rural district in Malawi, focused on the costs and benefits of funding schools. It indicated considerable

[7]Harambee refers to a tradition of community self-help events which means 'let's pull together', implying let's unite

differences between the high and low achieving school categories, in terms of monetary contributions, provision of labour, participation in school improvement programmes and monitoring. The district was purposively selected and involved 17 schools in phase one, and four schools in phase two for deeper understanding. Two schools were sampled from high-achieving and two from low-achieving schools during the second phase. It was a qualitative study that used interviews, focus-group discussions and questionnaire. The findings showed that it was possible to collect more money, and generate more labour, in high-achieving schools than in low-achieving schools, because of income differentials, and parents' and CMs' satisfaction with teachers' work. Although school improvement programmes reflected similar goals across schools (including access, quality, equity and school management), high-achieving schools actively participated in construction, and regular monitoring and evaluation of programmes, while the low-achieving schools did not. The study showed that priorities were similar across schools, with construction of school facilities a low priority compared to activities that were directly linked to schools' and students' achievements.

Perceptions on community participation and funding schools

Nirmala and Selvi (2012) conducted an experimental study in India to examine the effectiveness of the village education committees (VECs) in improving CP in schools. It involved four villages in a purposively selected district due to its proximity to the educational institution that advocates CP. The sample included the CMs and VEC members and VEC secretaries (school heads). They introduced a revitalization intervention programme to achieve more involvement of CMs in shared school management. The process of intervention included creating a sense of ownership among CMs, capacity building among VECs, identifying locally evolved indicators of 'smart schools', preparation of a school improvement plan using the Participatory Rural Appraisal [8]approach,

[8] Participatory Rural Appraisal is a development strategy that encourages community members, who are the project beneficiaries in both rural and urban communities to participate in the planning and implementation for their development.

and implementation of the plan to realize the revitalization of the schools and to render support for effective functioning of VECs for a year.

Nirmala and Servi (2012) found that the attitudes of VEC members improved significantly. CMs' perceptions and willingness to become involved in the school improvement process had also improved. They were also volunteering by contributing money, offering materials, and rendering moral support**.** They had also improved attendance, and they were more actively involved in discussions following the intervention. However, the authors admit that the research methods used had affected the research findings about participants' opinions on ownership and the function of VECs. This study had directly influenced the participants so that, by the end of the research, they had been totally changed. Consequently, knowledge created from this research cannot be attributed to participants' perspectives in their lived experiences. Rather, the research reflects the argument by Shaeffer (1992), that the rhetoric of CP has remained superficial, with CMs being manipulated by researchers and governments, through controlling them from outside based on structural inequalities, so that they cannot decide their own fate.

Although Nirmala and Servi's research (2012) contributed insights on how to improve participation, CMs need further training to inculcate an enduring sense of ownership and a holistic approach to school development. However, the study implicitly shows that management roles are still perceived as being for leaders, especially the VECs, and not for sharing with CMs.

Watson et al. (2012) claim that, allowing parents' voices to go unnoticed, and the way that parents perceived their roles, and how school officials treated them, acted as barriers to their participation in the USA. Moreover, teachers' assumptions that, parents were lazy, incompetent, and too pre-occupied to participate, limited communication between schools and families, and led to confrontations (Ibid). These perceptions were a barrier to successful participatory relationships between teachers and parents. In contrast, when CMs feel they are making a difference, and their contribution is valued, their participation is sustained (Brodie et al., 2011). These findings imply that the

CMs' perceptions are influenced by the way they are perceived and involved in the participation.

Parents' perceived benefits from their participation in rural Malawi are discussed by Taniguchi and Hirakawa (2016). They found that parents' and CMs' satisfaction with teachers' work resulted to their greater participation in high achieving schools than those in low-achieving schools, who perceived it as a burden. This finding reflects the reciprocity of continued engagement resulting from motivation due to parents' perceived benefits from their participation.

Factors facilitating community participation

Brodie et al. (2011) explored how and why CMs become involved in different forms of participation, and the factors that shape their participation over time. The study was conducted in England in three different contexts; an inner-city area (Leeds), a sub-urban area (Enfield Borough in outer London), and a rural area (Suffolk). The study was qualitative, employing in-depth interviews with 100 CMs, involving formal local stakeholders' groups, and through meetings and networking. The findings indicated a widespread of participation. They also identified factors that triggered participation, including "personal experience or emotion such as anger at a decision" or wanting to improve something locally", or by being requested or informed. Moreover, Brodie et al. (2011) found a range of factors that facilitated and determined how CMs participated, notably personal choice, preferences and capacity to take part. Cemented by external factors, such as CMs' access to resources such as time, money, health, learnt resources (skills, knowledge and experiences) and felt resources (confidence, sense of efficacy), facilitated their participation, and lack of these resources hindered it. The quality of participation experiences facilitated their continued participation. They also established that social connections, and environmental opportunities, for example the existence of organizations, events and context, provided CMs with the arena to take part in school matters, thus facilitating their participation. This finding echoes the finding by Mokoena (2011) in South Africa that, CP is facilitated by the

development of formal structures, such as school governing bodies, school management committees, and curriculum committees, that provides a context for CMs to participate, and facilitates greater involvement. This was a qualitative study set to investigate the extent to which rural schools in Free State province understand, perceive and implement participative decision making. It was conducted in two rural schools regarded as better schools in the province. The in-depth interviews were conducted with members of SGBs; students, parents, teachers and principals. The findings indicated that introduction of participatory decision-making clearly increased the opportunities for parental participation (Ibid).

Kimani and Kombo's (2011) exploratory study in Kenya found that factors that facilitated CP include sources and levels of income. They also found that transparency and accountability of project officials in respect of project funds, frequent communication with project members, gender dynamics, and government policies and guidelines, facilitated participation of CMs. Similar findings, that the socio-economic status of an area determines the extent and impact of community funding on school development, were reported by Paxton and Mutesi (2012), who assessed the impact of school funding from direct parental contributions in two contrasting Rwandan districts, one in a relatively wealthy area and the other in a poorer rural area. The study involved 30 schools sampled purposively and used interviews, and observation of the school compound. The findings indicated a clear difference between the two areas. Parental contributions in wealthier areas were more than double the schools' non- salary spending, while the voluntary parental contributions in the rural poor area were low and had only a marginal effect on the schools. Similarly, variations between areas were found by Taniguchi and Hirakawa's (2016) study as mentioned earlier, whereby, high achieving school-communities were actively contributing for school development, while low achieving school-communities were not actively and willing to contributing.

Wedam et al. (2015) conducted research on community development in Ghana, to capture issues of resource utilization, ownership, and sustainability of community participation. They explored how improved CP has aided

educational infrastructure, project planning, implementation and management. They used a qualitative approach to collect data through in-depth interviews, observation, focus group discussions, and documentary reviews. The research showed that, in some cases, CP was directly driven by the community's demand for educational infrastructure, such as schools, although they may be of low quality and with poor standards. CMs' demand for schools facilitated their participation in their initiation and development.

Wedam et al. (2015) also found that the local community had considerable knowledge that was useful in planning, implementation and management of educational infrastructure. This was necessary in facilitating participation of community members. Similarly, Sharma's (0.2008) study in Nepal indicated that, instead of relying on top-down decision making, it was necessary to include a broader base of CMs as this had the potential of opening up the available knowledge on opportunities and challenges in the community. Wedam et al. (2015) also indicated that involving local communities increased the chances of project growth and survival.

Wedam et al. (2015) also found that community members made considerable progress, as they had developed management skills and technical competence in the planning, implementation and management of educational infrastructure. These competences motivated them to continue participating, hence facilitating CP (Wedam et al., 2015). Similarly, Watson et al. (2013) showed that the social capital derived from participation, and increased knowledge and skills, were factors that motivated and sustained participation of CMs in public schools in the USA. These factors facilitate participation and indicate why CMs could or could not choose to participate.

Yamada (2014) also examined community motivation and initiatives, in the context of Ethiopia. He investigated people's motivation to commit to education, and the social dynamics beyond the institutionalized framework of school management committees (SMCs). The study used focus-group discussions, questionnaires, an0.d participatory workshops with district officials, school staff and CMs, especially those serving on SMCs, and on

parent-teacher associations. The findings showed that, even before the institutionalization of CP, people had taken actions. The author also found that the location of the school, and the groups of people who take the initiative in its construction, are significant factors that facilitate participation, because they determine who feels ownership of a school. By initiating school construction, they demonstrated willingness and motivation, the key facilitators for participation.

Barriers to community participation and school funding

As noted above, Watson et al. (2012) reviewed the literature on the purpose, impact, motivation, and barriers to parents' involvement, in American public schools. The literature indicates that the low level of parental involvement does not reflect parental lack of interest, but relates to factors such as time, distance, and day-care obligations. These barriers were more common among low income families who failed to balance the dilemma of school, family and work responsibilities, thus failing to take part in school matters. This finding echo claims by Ellis (2003), and Brodie et al. (2011), in the UK, and Hornby and Lafaele (2011), in the UK, USA, and New Zealand, that lack of time, low income, costs for day care, and transportation, inhibited CMs from participating in school programmes. Moreover, low levels of family income, poverty, and lack of resources, were barriers to CMs' participation in Bekoe et al.'s (2013) study in Ghana, and Yamada's (2014) research in Ethiopia. Yamada further reported that drought was a barrier to participation in funding schools, as it resulted in low agricultural productivity, and hence low family income in Ethiopia.

Similarly, lack of skills and poor understanding of school issues, time pressures, due to competing home commitment and involvement, the negative attitudes of some teachers towards parents, limited parental education, low family income levels, and low living standards hindered community participation in rural South Africa (Mokoena, 2011) and in Zimbabwe (Godfrey, 2016). Godfrey's (2016) findings also revealed that poor school-community relations were a barrier to participation. This echoes Watson et al.'s

(2012) literature review in the USA, which showed that lack of frequent communication, or communicating only when there was a problem, were barriers to meaningful participation. These factors hindered CMs from becoming involved in decision-making and other roles.

Okitsu (2011) explored the policy and practice of community participation in the governance of basic education in rural Zambia. She used a case study approach to study three basic schools and three community schools in one district. Using textual analysis, semi-structured interviews, and observations, the author sought to understand the processes involved in parental and community participation, from the perspectives of local actors. The findings revealed that parents and communities in rural settings lacked ability, agency, and the spirit of volunteerism, which collectively hindered effective participation in education. The study also found that a lack of transparency on the use of school resources, and the low quality of education, hindered parents from participating. This was because parents perceived the cost of participation to exceed benefits, confirming Cohen and Uphoff's (1980) postulation of the contextual factors hindering participation in their framework.

Additional barriers reported in studies in England include having negative participation experience, groups becoming closed and cliquey, excluding others from participating (Ellis, 2003; Brodie et al., 2011), and a lack of policy to influence CP, as evidenced from Wedam et al.'s (2015) study that showed lack of well-developed structures and media to initiate and sustain participation.

However, Yoder and Lopez's (2013) study of USA public housing residents' perceptions of involvement in their children's education challenge findings on barriers for participation related to tangible resources. They argue that intervention through tangible resources had little impact on increasing participation. Rather than dealing with physical, emotional and intellectual capabilities, the focus should be on deconstructing the power paradigm which propagates marginalization and a feeling of powerlessness among CMs. However, I argue that barriers studied from CMs' perspectives (Ellis, 2003; Okitsu, 2011; Brodie et al., 2011; Godfrey, 2016) reflect a combination of

tangible and non-tangible factors, and that both should be taken into consideration.

Research in Tanzania

Community participation in school development

Kambuga (2013) conducted a qualitative study to examine the role of community participation in the ongoing construction of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania. The study examined roles of, and barriers to CMs in classrooms construction in WBSS. A total of 35 respondents participated in the study, including ward executive officers, ward education officers, village leaders and village members of two wards in Dodoma municipality. The study used semi-structured and free talk interviews to collect data. CMs were found generally not actively involved in decision making, planning, monitoring and evaluation processes. His findings also indicated that CP in the ongoing construction of secondary schools took different forms, including cash and labour power contributions. These findings correspond to findings in a study conducted in primary schools in Mbeya region by Anania (2010) which found that cash, labour, and material were the forms of contributions, and they were generally very modest due to low incomes.

Community participation in funding school development

Mhonyiwa, Ponera and Mrutu (2011) examined the conditions of schooling, and the quality of education in Tanzania. The study focused on the contribution of the community in terms of time and resources for maintaining the school and providing supplementary funding. The results revealed that parental and community contributions were mainly for the construction and maintenance of school infrastructure and facilities. However, they reported unequal distribution of physical facilities across regions, implying varied community contributions.

HakiElimu (2017) reported on the implementation of fee-free education in seven districts from the seven educational zones in Tanzania, drawing on

qualitative interviews and focus group discussions. They found that, parental contributions were common prior to the adoption of the fee-free education policy, since government disbursements were irregular and meagre. However, recording was rare, and no receipts were provided. They also found that with the introduction of the fee-free education policy, funding contributions from parents had diminished and, in some places, totally stopped. It was found to be even harder to convince parents to make the contributions they used to make before the fee-free education policy, because they believed it was covered by government grant. The study also found that schools were banned from collecting any contributions from CMs and parents, to cover the costs that were supposedly covered by the government. Although the study's focus was on the implementation of the fee-free education policy, it also provides insights on contributions from parents and board-members, but it excluded other education stakeholders, such as CMs and their immediate leaders at village and ward levels.

Kamando's (2014) study of government-community partnerships in the provision of education in two rural districts in Tanzania, established that CMs participate through cash, labour, and material contributions. They also provide plots for school construction. Additionally, parents pay for school cooks and guards. Her research was a multiple case study and used in-depth interviews, documentary review, observations and focus group discussions. She also found that the contribution ratio between the government and CMs was 80:20, with government providing 80 percent and CMs contributing 20 percent. However, she found that there were uneven contributions across communities. For example, some managed to construct school buildings up to the lintel stage, as specified by the government, while others could manage only up to the foundation stage.

Perceptions on community participation and school funding

Anania (2010), as noted earlier, conducted a case study in Tanzania to explore stakeholders' perceptions about their roles of financing public primary schools. Qualitative and some quantitative data were collected from four public primary

schools in two districts in Mbeya region, employing interviews and focus group discussions with 96 participants, and observation. The study found low participation of households, with and without school-going children. There were several reasons for low participation, notably low income and lack of policy awareness. It also found that stakeholders perceived that funding primary education was not the responsibility of households, rather the government, because of the free education policy. This finding was supported by HakiElimu (2017), who found that the fee-free education policy impacted on the perceptions of CMs, who conceived that they were no longer responsible for any contributions to schools.

Makwinya and Komba (2014) examined parents' perceptions about the extent to which school governing boards initiate communications, and whether the conduct of the partnerships was democratic. They used a survey strategy, with structured interviews and questionnaires, to look for relationships, and predict community reactions, based on partnership features. The findings showed that parents were not only dissatisfied by the low frequency of communication from the schools, but also for being excluded from information on some school-related issues. Similarly, Mlaki (2014) found that schools contacted CMs only when they required contributions from them, a tendency that suggests CP targets mainly material resource contributions from CMs, rather than wider involvement. Moreover, parents perceived that the composition of school boards did not represent their demographic characteristics. Consequently, parents' future plans to participate in the school affairs were low (Makwinya and Komba, 2014). As Kamando (2014) indicates, there is no genuine partnership, whereby real power in decision-making can equally be shared with the majority CMs who remained mere implementers of pre-made decisions.

Factors facilitating community participation in school development

Iddi and Nuhu (2018) conducted a case study on challenges and opportunities for community participation in the monitoring and evaluation of government projects in Tanzania. It used a qualitative approach, with some quantitative

data in one case of the Tanzania Social Action Fund II (TASAF II)[9]. The findings indicated that CP was facilitated using a Participatory Rural Appraisal approach, whereby involvement of CMs in decision-making, and throughout the project cycle, enhanced ownership and hence the willingness to participate. Although this study provides insights on approaches that facilitates CP in development programmes, it was based on evaluating government development projects, and did not include schools.

Barriers to community participation in school development

Mlaki (2014) explored the cost sharing-status of secondary education in Tanzania, its impact on curriculum implementation, and possible long-term financing options. This study was conducted in Manyoni rural district in Dodoma, and employed a mixed methods design. Data were collected through documentary analysis, questionnaires and interviews. The findings show that CP in funding is affected by politics. In attempts to seek popularity, politicians discouraged CMs from financing education by making them believe that it was government's role. This finding corresponds to Kambuga's (2013) finding that political affiliations impacted negatively on community participation. He found that some CMs were reluctant to contribute for classroom construction because they had a notion, imparted through opposition parties, that resources provided by the government were sufficient.

HakiElimu (2017) reported that the fee-free education policy contributed to decreased participation of CMs in school affairs. This is because parents felt that they were not supposed to commit to the school. The authors suggested equity considerations in policy adoption, proposing that the fee-free education policy should respond to individual income levels, that support sought from parents should match their income abilities, with families in extreme poverty being subsidized.

[9] Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) is a community driven intervention programme aiming to enhance public service and income generating opportunities. It is initiated by the Tanzania government for poverty reduction and is linked to Millennium Development Goals.

Another barrier reported in the literature was a lack of transparency in the utilization of government and community mobilized resources among ward leaders and members of governing boards (Kambuga, 2013; Anania, 2010; Mlaki, 2014; Kamando, 2014). Community members felt that school resources were misused, procurements were not transparent, and that no feedback was provided to them. This made them lack trust, and hence willingness to continue contributing.

Kalolo (2015) identified other barriers from his exploratory study of the provision of quality science education in Tanzania. The findings indicated that stakeholders' expectations for quality science education were not achieved due to context-specific barriers, including the lack of involvement of education stakeholders in education programmes, notably community members, poor partnerships between schools and CMs in planning and implementation of education projects, and limited government funding, resulting in a lack of learning facilities, resources and materials. These factors reflect the government failure to design programmes and to set administrative linkages useful in influencing CMs' participation.

Similarly, Kamando (2014) reported on the effect of unequal power sharing among actors in the partnership, high poverty levels prevalent in rural areas, and lack of clear guidelines on how CMs should participate, as factors that hindered participation of CMs in the provision of education. HakiElimu (2017) also found that the absence of clear guidelines hindered community participation. They found limited strategies to disseminate policy details and to influence CP. This finding has implications for the ways used to involve CMs in participatory planning, for example the lack of involvement in the initial stages of participation, contributed to CMs' reluctance to participate.

Drought was found to be a barrier to CP, as it was closely associated with low agricultural productivity and hence food insecurity and poverty in the semi-arid parts of Tanzania (Kambuga, 2013; Mlaki, 2014). These challenges acted as barriers to CP because CMs had to prioritize food requirements when spending their limited resources. These factors inhibited CMs from participation because

school development mostly involved resource contributions in forms of cash, materials, time and labour.

Another barrier reported relates to the expenses associated with participation. Community members found it expensive to volunteer for projects because they were time-consuming and involved transport costs to project sites and to meetings at headquarters (Iddi & Nuhu, 2018). Participants' low education levels, and their limited skills in analysing project data, also inhibited community involvement (Ibid).

Although these studies vary in context and focus, their findings provide useful insights for CP in WBSS development. In particular, Kambuga's study closely relates to my topic, contributing to understanding the factors hindering CP in construction of WBSS, but only in urban semi-arid contexts, thus indicating a need for further and wider research.

Synthesis of the Literature

This literature review has provided insights about the current knowledge and research about community participation in school development. Studies show similarities in several aspects, but with some variations across contexts. For example, most of studies from developed countries focus on parental participation and children's achievement, while studies from developing countries focus on community participation in school construction and maintenance. This indicates that greater willingness in developed countries may be associated with personal benefits because parents give priority to programmes related to their children's achievements, while in developing countries it may be associated with inadequate educational facilities and resources, their focus thus is on improving schools.

Research in developed countries on community participation reflects more contextual factors that motivate their participation with some constraints that are similar to the developing countries. Factors that hinder participation found in both developed and developing countries include competing family demands on finance and time, low income, limited education, distance to school, and the

limited information among CMs on school programmes to which they might contribute. Additional factors, particularly in developing countries, include poverty, a low spirit of volunteerism, variations in the status of areas, such as wealthy and poor, and the perception that school development and education provision is government's responsibility, not community members'.

The factors that facilitate community participation suggest interplay of contextual factors that determine the occurrence and sustainability of participation. They include forming parents-teachers' associations, parents' committees and conventions, telephone calls, emails, home visits, consultation programmes, annual gatherings, organizing conferences and fund-raising ceremonies, and the community's desire and demand for educational infrastructure. In developed countries, the personal desire of wanting to belong, and to improve practice, facilitated participation while, in some parts of Africa, the perceived demand for schools by CMs facilitated their participation in initiating schools. Community participation in other countries, including Tanzania, was facilitated by governments' need for support from CMs in the development of schools.

Studies in Tanzania indicate that community participation was mainly concerned with the construction and maintenance of schools (Mhonyiwa, Ponera, & Mrutu, 2011; Kambuga, 2013; Makwinya & Komba, 2014). However, the literature has indicated that there was generally low participation (Anania, 2010, Kambuga, 2013). This was due to several factors including poverty, and the perception that school construction and education provision is the responsibility of the government (Anania, 2010; Kambuga, 2013; HakiElimu, 2017). However, Mlaki (2014) found that CMs have a positive perception, but that poverty, politics and inadequate education limited their participation. Other factors found to hinder community participation include the lack of demographic representation in school-boards, and the limited communication between school-boards and CMs (Makwinya & Komba, 2014). In general, these factors reflect the context and power dynamics in the process of CP to achieve interactive CP and empowerment of CMs that may sustain school development.

Knowledge gaps

The review has provided insights into the broad picture of available knowledge and research on community participation in school development. The literature has generally shown low participation of CMs in school development. Whilst some studies have been conducted on community participation in education provision, there is a paucity of research documenting ways in which CMs become involved in school development. Several studies have shown how CMs participate but they do not show the processes by which they become involved (Mncube, 2009; Bekoe et al., 2013; To, 2016; Nishimura, 2017). While Mfum-Mensah and Friedman-Ridenour (2014) provided practical strategies for CMs to become involved in education programmes, other studies focused on strategies of CP, such as organizing conferences and forming associations (Kabir & Akter, 2014; Obiadazie, 2014). However, no Tanzanian studies explored the ways in which CMs begin to participate.

Moreover, studies conducted in Tanzania provide limited knowledge about the extent of community members' participation, the factors that facilitate or hinder CP, and the perceptions of CMs on CP in Ward-Based Secondary Schools' development. The focus of most previous research is on general public schools, with the exception of Kambuga (2013), who reported on the ongoing construction of WBSS. Moreover, previous studies did not include all stakeholders, and were thus not able to construct knowledge on CP in school development from the perspectives of CMs themselves. Some studies focused more on parental participation on children achievement rather than on CP in school development (Mlaki, 2014). Previous studies also do not provide a holistic picture of community participation in diverse contexts of rural, urban, poor, and rich schools.

Kambuga's (2013) study is closely related to my research. It offers significant insights relevant to the current study on the roles and extent of CMs' participation, and the facilitators and barriers to participation in the construction of WBSS, However, it does not explore the factors facilitating and hindering CP in poor, rich, and rural contexts. Kambuga's study was limited to the semi-desert climatic urban region of the country, experiencing drought and

low agricultural productivity, and did not include other regions with different climatic and geographical characteristics. The perspectives of community members on the ways that they are involved, and on wider aspects of participation, are significant in determining the agency of CMs, and the resulting perceptions of their roles in school development, but Kambuga's study did not include them. Yet, the study provides the basis for further exploration of ways of involving CMs and perceptions of CMs on their roles in WBSS.

The limited knowledge in Tanzania demonstrates a need to develop further understanding about how community members become involved in school development, the degree of their participation, factors that facilitate or hinder their participation, and on the perceptions of community members' participation in WBSS. Moreover, the current study capitalizes on constructing knowledge from the perspectives of CMs, in diverse contexts, rural, urban, rich, and poor to construct wider and comprehensive understanding of community participation in in the development of WBSS.

Overview

This chapter discussed the reviewed literature on concepts, theories and previous research relevant to this study. The essence of the review was to guide and inform this study. It shows that there are controversies in defining the common terms used in the field of CP, implying that contextual variations have significant implications for how CP is conducted and how it is perceived. This suggests a need for a thorough exploration of CMs' perspectives on how they get involved, the extent of their involvement, their perceptions of their involvement and factors that facilitate or hinder their participation in Tanzanian schools.

The chapter has highlighted available knowledge related to processes and community participation in school development programmes. It has shown that, since participation occurs in multi-layered and complex societies, context, process factors, power dynamics and scalar fit are important to ensure that processes and participation are inclusive, allowing co-production of outcomes

by considering degrees of participation and the resulting CMs' perceptions influencing their participation. It has provided explanations about the need for power transfer and sharing, and the agency of CMs over structure. These provide the theoretical basis to guide this study.

The literature also offers the conceptual framework by providing a holistic view of the factors and dynamics involved in power transfers and the co-production of participation outcomes in respect of decision-making, implementation, and evaluation as influenced by the interplay of dimensions of participation and contextual factors. Thus, the review provides me with a roadmap to view my study in the light of existing theoretical, conceptual and empirical knowledge.

The empirical literature highlights diverse aspects related to community participation, thus providing insights to the current study about what is currently known and the gaps in knowledge across social, political, and economic contexts. Evidence from various parts of the world confirms that the rhetoric of CP may be remote from reality, where participation is generally characterised by unequal power sharing, low participation and negative perceptions. Some sources illustrate community initiatives, and higher participation levels than others. However, the review provides limited knowledge on the ways in which CMs become involved, the extent of their participation, the factors that facilitate or hinder participation in varied contexts, and the perceptions of CMs themselves about their roles in the development of WBSS. These aspects need a holistic approach to exploring perspectives of CMs and their contexts to construct a comprehensive understanding about different community contexts, thus forming the rationale for my study.

Community participation has been conceptualized as desirable and good, yet, perceiving it as an easy solution is misleading. Existing knowledge about this notion shows the difficulty of accomplishing CP successfully, due to tensions related to context and power dynamics between the government's actors and the local communities, and the need to balance access, equity and quality of

service provision (Watt, 2001). The limited democratization in decision-making, and limited government funding, are dilemmas that need to be addressed. The next chapter addresses the methodology and methods adopted to conduct this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

The previous chapter provides a theoretical and conceptual overview of community participation and a review of the existing empirical literature. It shows the gaps and the need to conduct the current study. This chapter discusses the philosophical underpinning, the methodology, and the research design selected to address the current study. It also presents the rationale for the adoption of the research methodology, linked to the aim of this study; to understand the ways in which community members (CMs) participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS), and to the research questions:

1. How, and to what extent, do community members participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania (WBSS)?
2. How, and to what extent, do community members participate in funding WBSS in Tanzania?
3. What are the perceptions of community members about participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania?
4. What factors facilitate community participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania?
5. What factors inhibit community participation in the development of WBSS in Tanzania?

To address these questions, this chapter is divided into nine sections:

- The philosophical orientation of the study, showing the paradigmatic positioning.
- The research strategy and research design and the rationale for its adoption.
- The methods used to collect data.
- Sampling and justification for the selected cases and participants.
- Data collection procedures and gaining access to research sites.

- Data analysis procedures.
- Ethical stance and procedures.
- Research rigour and trustworthiness.
- An overview of the chapter.

Philosophical and Paradigmatic Orientations

Philosophical assumptions encompass basic beliefs about how the world is perceived and how it can be studied. It involves reasoned determination of a set of basic philosophical assumptions to guide an inquiry, referred to as paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Neuman, 2013; Creswell, 2014). Paradigms are distinguished from each other by the way their proponents respond to philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), the processes for studying it (methodology), and consideration of values that goes into research (axiology) (Creswell, 2003; Mertens, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011; Neuman, 2013). The major ones include the positivist, the naturalist, and the pragmatist paradigms.

Positivist philosophical paradigm assumes that there is a single objective reality that can be studied using standardised instruments, towards a universal truth (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The naturalists (anti-positivists) believe that understanding has subjective and multiple realities constructed through interpretations shaped by one's past experiences. Pragmatists recognise the objective, subjective and inter-subjective reality, aiming to develop pluralistic knowledge (Bryman, 2012).

The naturalist (anti positivist) paradigm was found appropriate for this study, particularly the constructivist paradigm, as explained below.

Constructivist paradigm

The constructivist paradigm is based on the premise that knowledge is relative and created by human minds, through subjective interpretations, interactions, and sense-making, not discovered (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Biklen, 1992; Guba

and Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Neuman, 2013). The paradigm was embraced as an appropriate approach for this study as it allowed the social construction of reality based on community members who were assumed to have diverse experiences, knowledge, and perspectives on community participation (CP) (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Rudin & Rudin, 2012). The construction was through the researcher's interaction with them and their environment to obtain a holistic and in-depth understanding of CP in the development of WBSS (Creswell, 2014). The paradigm was relevant to the theoretical underpinning of this study that advocates a holistic approach to CP, and considers human agency and contextual factors.

Ontological assumptions

Ontology is an area of philosophy concerned with assumptions about the nature of reality and knowledge and about the essence of social phenomena (Crotty, 1998; Cohen et al., 2006; Creswell, 2007; Mertens, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011; Ritchie et al., 2013; Neuman, 2013). It is concerned with whether knowledge is a product of human cognition, created by social interaction and hence subjective, or exists externally to be discovered and is not dependent on human sense-making, hence objective (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Bryman, 2008; Cohen et al., 2011; Ritchie et al., 2013).

My ontological assumption for this study was inspired by the subjectivist philosophy, which believes that there is no world of meaning unless human beings make sense of it (Crotty, 1998; Cohen et al., 2011; Neuman, 2013). Therefore, the constructed knowledge about CP in the development of WBSS was a product of interactions between the researcher and the participants and their environment (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Bryman, 2008; Rubin & Rubin, 2012), also referred to as nominalist ontology (Neuman, 2013). This is contrary to the ontological position taken by the objectivists (realists) who embrace the view that the world has meaning regardless of human consciousness of it (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Cohen et. al., 2011; Neuman, 2013).

Epistemological assumptions

Epistemological assumptions relate to ways of knowing and learning about the world and communicating to other human beings how we know what we know (Crotty, 1998; Mertens, 2007; 2011; Ritchie & Lewis, 2013; Neuman, 2013). How one aligns to a particular philosophical stance affects the approach to uncovering the knowledge of the social world (Cohen et al., 2011).

This study was incorporated in the constructivist epistemological stance as I sought to generate detailed understanding about CP in the development of WBSS inductively from participants' subjective experiences and interpretations (Crotty, 1998; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Creswell, 2003; 2014; Ritchie et al., 2013; Creswell, 2014). I relied on interactions with participants and the specific social, historical and cultural setting of schools (rich, poor, rural and urban contexts) to generate thick data about the phenomenon (Crotty, 1998; Bryman, 2008; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Creswell, 2003; 2014).

As a constructivist, unlike positivists who do not require closeness to participants as they believe that facts are distinct from human consciousness (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2014), I could not distance myself from participants in knowledge creation (Ritchie et al., 2013). To understand the participants and their contexts, I visited the sites and gathered information personally over a period of five months (Crotty, 1998).

Moreover, constructivist epistemology was appropriate for this study as there were some important social attributes, such as perceptions and perspectives, which could be well accommodated within this subjective realm. This is because it allows the acquisition of knowledge in the forms of multiple, intangible and mental constructions that are socially and experientially based (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Rudin & Rudin, 2012). It opposes the assumption that reality is captured by objective search and numeric measurements and quantification as embraced by the positivist approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Rudin & Rudin, 2012). It enhanced the exploration of perspectives on the ways that community members became involved in participation, the extent of their

participation, factors that influenced their participation, and their perceptions of their participation.

Since the researcher and participants are social beings, with diverse perspectives, it was important to ensure that the researcher's own values and biases, that could affect the conduct of the research, and the expected findings, are discussed and linked to axiology. The next section discusses how axiological issues were treated in this study.

Axiological assumptions

Axiology concerns the values that influence research. For positivists, research is value free and objective criteria are used to study facts, separate from beliefs and interests (Fard, 2012). In contrast, naturalist research is value-laden in that researchers' pre-conceptions and biases may affect the conduct and findings of research as subjectivity may intrude at any stage in the research process (Bryman, 2008).

Thus, reflexivity is paramount for research integrity as it helps to minimize the researcher's effects on qualitative research (Bryman, 2013). It requires the researcher to report on their personal experience in the field (Ritchie et al., 2013), their pre-conceived ideas and biases in relation to participants and research sites, and their relationships with the participants that may affect the findings of the research (Hatch, 2002; McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, 2007), and how the interpretation of findings is shaped by their backgrounds (Creswell, 2014). Reflexivity helped me to limit the effects of my prior knowledge, experience, and biases by constantly self-evaluating throughout the research process, from data collection and analysis, to conclusions (Hatch, 2002; McGhee et al., 2007).

The research site, Mbeya city, is the region where I was born and worked as a secondary, then primary school teacher, and as an educational statistics and logistic officer. Therefore, I was well informed about the culture, and socio-economic and political characteristics of communities in Mbeya. I was also aware of the educational hierarchy. Since I was motivated to develop

knowledge on community participation in the development of WBSS, and determined to understand the current dynamics of CP in the development of WBSS, linked to changing educational policies, I was able to focus on the objectives of the research.

I initially thought that, since I was formerly an education officer, it would affect my participants. However, most participants were not aware of my history. Almost all the participants, in the schools and communities, including heads, teachers and WEOs were not known to me, except one teacher, who was aware that I was once an education officer. I had to explain to him that I was now a researcher and no longer an education officer.

Reflexivity further requires the role and perspective of the researcher to be acknowledged (Ritchie et al., 2013). The researcher can thus choose to play an outsider, hybrid or insider role (McGhee et al., 2007). The outsider role relates to researchers with no experience of the study participants and site. A hybrid role is assumed by a researcher who is not among the participants and their environment but is familiar with the context and research area. Being an insider refers to a researcher sharing identity and experience with the participants, thus enjoying group legitimacy and acceptance, enabling participants to become more open (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

In this study, I occupied a hybrid position (McGee et al., 2007) because I was studying a research area (Mbeya) and participants (my fellow teachers and Mbeya community members) known to me. I also had a broad knowledge of the topic through lived experiences and the literature. However, I was not familiar with the selected cases, and had not been resident in the region for the past ten years, so I felt like an outsider at the research sites. This made researcher-participant relationships vertical as some participants felt low power status related to the researcher while other perceived themselves to be of higher status. For example, while some CMs appeared to feel low power status, the head of Ogoti school behaved as if she had more power than the researcher. She did not cooperate when asked for documents. She was defensive, suggesting that she thought I was spying, or inspecting her. In all the cases, I

tried to build rapport for them to feel equal partners with the researcher in knowledge construction. I further continued to be open, authentic, honest, and deeply concerned with participants' experiences and determined to accurately represent their perspectives (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Consequently, the Ogoti head became aware that I was seriously engaged in research, and finally she felt willing to participate. So, we had an interview close to the end of the fieldwork period, while all the other heads were the first to be interviewed in their schools.

As this study was underpinned by the constructivist paradigm, the nominalist ontological standpoint was appropriate. The ontological position required the epistemological perspectives that embraced subjectivist epistemology, which assumes knowledge is socially constructed and that researcher's values and biases may affect the research. These philosophical orientations informed the research methodology and design for this study, as discussed in the next sections.

Methodological assumptions

The adopted paradigm identified in earlier sections has direct implications for the methodological processes to this study. The assumptions that knowledge is dialectical was deemed appropriate framework for this study because it assumes knowledge is constructed through interactions between participants and the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2014). This contrasts with positivism, which approaches the social world objectively, and treats it as external to the individual. The constructivist approach allowed the researcher to join in knowledge creation based on community members' varied perspectives on CP (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Cohen et al., 2006; 2011). It allowed in-depth interviews, observation, and documentary reviews to facilitate knowledge construction with participants, school environments, and documents.

Also, the methodological assumption relates to the appropriate approach to systematic inquiry (Mertens, 2007). It is concerned with choices that go

beyond quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods to include how data about community participation were collected, to feeling confident that reality was really captured (Mertens, 2007). I used a qualitative strategy as it is associated with the constructivist paradigm, as explained in the next section.

Research Strategy

The paradigmatic assumptions researchers hold influence their choice of a qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods strategy (Bryman, 2008). The assumptions underlying knowledge construction for this study required the adoption of a qualitative strategy, for several reasons. First, the study explored the natural environment and enquired about community members' lived experiences. Assuming that participants were knowledgeable, the qualitative strategy was able to draw out their perceptions and perspectives on which they base their actions (Hatch, 2002). It enabled deeper understanding of the nature and extent of CP in school development, based on their contexts and perspectives. It allowed the capture of participants' varied perceptions about their role in CP in the development of WBSS. It also helped to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying factors that influence CP in the development of WBSS (Ritchie et al., 2013).

Second, I used a qualitative strategy due to the belief that knowledge is constructed interactively with respect to the agency of participants (Ritchie et al., 2013). Also, since it recognises the researcher as the instrument for data gathering, it was used to enable me to collect data, and to make sense of it, based on participants' actions, intentions, and perspectives.

Third, the strategy was deemed appropriate for the current study because it offered flexibility in data collection and analysis approaches (Yin, 2011). It embraced research approaches and methods that respond to, and can be mediated through, meanings and human agency (Ritchie et al., 2013). These were appropriate for this study as they enhanced holistic and in-depth exploration that aimed to generate rich, and detailed data that enhanced

understanding about community participation in the development of WBSS (Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Ritchie et al., 2013).

Research Design

A research design is a logical plan that guides the researcher in the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting data (Yin, 2003). It is a framework that links research data to address the initial research questions and reach conclusions (Ibid). Within a qualitative strategy there are several research designs that can be used, including phenomenology, grounded theory, case studies, and ethnography (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Creswell, 2014).

The nature of this research recognizes the significance of the views and experiences of participants and their contextual characteristics (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003). Therefore, a case study approach is regarded as a suitable design as it involves intensive and detailed analysis of a case. The decision to choose this design was determined by the purpose of the study, research questions, and the philosophical underpinning of this study, that aimed to develop detailed understanding of CP in the development of WBSS (Cohen et al., 2011).

Multiple case-study design

A case-study design can involve single or multiple cases (Yin, 2003). A multiple case-study design was chosen for this study which involved four case schools and their communities that formed the bounded systems. The design was especially appropriate because first, the boundaries between the phenomenon (community participation) and its context (school) were not clear. Hence it required a detailed holistic approach to understand the whole phenomenon that was possible through this design, an orientation that matches participatory theoretical propositions (see chapter two) (Yin, 2009). Second, it made possible the exploration and generation of rich evidence from the varied case-study contexts; rural, urban, rich, and poor (Yin, 2003; 2009; Creswell, 2013; 2014). Third, it was useful as it enhanced cross–case analysis to

understand the phenomenon in these varied contexts. The analysis enhanced inductive development of a theoretical proposition about community participation (see chapter nine). This relationship between research and theory enabled the researcher to generate theory from data, thus placing case studies in the inductive tradition of the relationship between theory and research (Bryman, 2008).

Why multiple cases

Multiple cases were chosen based on the assumption that each case would provide significant and distinctive data from their specific local contexts, thus contributing to deeper and holistic understanding of CP (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2014). Although they were time consuming, the cases contributed to robustness of evidence, credibility of findings and trustworthiness in conclusions (Baxter & Jack, 2008). They were considered appropriate and significant as their findings were more compelling, and they were more likely to lend themselves to valid analytical generalization (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Bryman, 2008, Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Yin, 2009).

Research Methods

To gain a deeper and holistic understanding, this study required the use of a variety of methods for detailed data collection, as explained in this section.

Cohen et al. (2007: 47) define research methods as:

> A range of approaches used in educational research to gather data which are to be used as a basis for inference and interpretation, for explanation and prediction.

Research methods are generally understood as techniques such as interviews, questionnaires, documentary review and observation, used to collect data. As using a single method has limitations, three methods were used for data collection, the interviews, observations, and documentary reviews. They were

used to obtain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics involved in CP in the development of WBSS.

Interviews

Unlike most structured interviews that are based on interview schedules, that provide interviewers with a script and precise questions and wording (Newby, 2014), this study used semi-structured interviews (see appendix 6). They were semi-structured in the sense that the direction of the interview was determined partly by the guide questions, and partly by answers given to preceding questions (Newby, 2014). They were structured in as much as there was an interview guide with topics to be covered arising from the research questions (Newby, 2014). They were unstructured in that they allowed flexibility to deviate from the script to ask supplementary questions (Newby, 2014).

The interviews were one-to-one and used open ended questions to elicit views and opinions from participants (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2014). They enabled me to enter participants' worlds, and to collect holistic and in-depth information and perceptions, because they allowed the freedom to explore participants' experiences, understanding, and perceptions through probe questions (Newby, 2014). Probe questions also enabled me to keep the interview on the right track, and to open-up further explanation and answers to questions that were not foreseen when the research questions were determined (Newby, 2014).

Observation

Observation formed an important source of information based on the observation guide (see Appendix 7) that helped to focus on the purpose of observation (Bush, 2007). It enabled the collection of primary data direct from the research sites. It provided an opportunity to investigate the context as a significant source of data that helped to develop an understanding of CP in the development of WBSS (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Newby, 2014). Since the WBSS depended on CMs for infrastructure development, their availability, status and adequacy contributed to understanding the nature and extent of CP, and their

perceptions about their roles in the development of WBSS. Observation was chosen because it produced linkages between the availability, status, and adequacy of school facilities, and possible explanations obtained from observation of the contextual circumstances of CMs, in terms of their income abilities that, in turn, influenced their ability and willingness to participate in school development (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

I also, selected this method because it is flexible. It allowed me to compare observational data with findings from interviews and documentary reviews (Newby, 2014). It generated first-hand observed phenomena useful to cross-check participants' responses.

Documentary review

Documentary review involved examining school documents, including school guidelines and policy documents provided by the Ministry, minutes of meetings, and school reports (Creswell, 2014). The aim was to obtain and analyse secondary data relating to CP and school funding. These documents were useful because they provided recorded information, free from researcher bias, as they were not prepared for this research, but for other purposes (Robson, 2002). Documents also showed the nature and extent of community contributions in terms of monetary and other contributions.

Sampling

There are several sampling techniques that can be used depending on the purpose of producing the sample, the basis for selection, the type and size of data to address the research questions, and the resources made available for the research (Cohen et al., 2007; Denscombe, 2014). Purposive and stratified sampling techniques were employed to select the four case schools, and their communities, to be included in the sample due to their particular characteristics being sought, that is rural, urban, poor, and rich contexts (Cohen et al., 2007; Denscombe, 2014). They were also used to select people who had relevant information, from various levels in the community, such as government

leaders, school management, and the general community (Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Creswell, 2014). This sampling assumed that there are individuals in the community who are well informed about CP in the development of WBSS. When sampling, I focused on specific sites, and participants, as explained in the following sub-sections.

Case selection

The study was conducted in one WBSS from each of four wards in Mbeya city. Mbeya was chosen because it is a region experiencing facility and infrastructure inadequacies, according to national data (URT, 2014a). I selected four schools as cases in this study (see chapter one), based on Creswell's (2014) argument that multi-case studies can include four or five cases, to provide a basis for comparison and holistic understanding. Two schools were selected from two wards in urban areas, and two from rural areas. Two schools, one rural and one urban, were selected from better-off socio-economic communities. The other two, one rural and one urban, were selected from disadvantaged communities, to understand the extent and nature of their participation, the factors that hinder or facilitate CP, and the perceptions of CMs about their participation in school development.

Purposive sampling enabled me to identify the four schools. The selection was based on the economic background of the communities in which the schools are located. The assumption was that participation may differ between well-off and poor communities. I consulted the district secondary education officer (DSEO) to identify the schools from their records. Based on the criteria I provided, he proposed three schools from urban and three from rural contexts. Since my study planned to involve four schools to capture rural, urban, rich, and poor contexts, I selected two schools in urban areas, and two from rural areas, from those nominated by the DSEO, based on maximum variations in terms of location and economic status of the areas in which the schools are located. I recognise that the DSEO may wish to nominate schools that are likely to be positive about his role in community participation, but this is a minor aspect of the study and is unlikely to distort the findings.

Participant sampling

Selection of participants was based on two criteria. The first was based on the positions held by local leaders, as related to WBSS development, hence they were purposively chosen. They were involved because they had management roles relating to CP in WBSS and were assumed to be well informed on this topic. The sampled leaders included ward executive officers (WEOs), village/m*taa* executive officers (VEOs/MEOs), heads of schools, and board members (a teacher, and a community representative). While most leaders were identified by their positions, parents and community members were identified and introduced to me by school heads and VEOs/MEOs. The second criterion for selection related to the level of activity of CMs and parents in schools' development. The sampled community members included two parents and two non-parent community members from each case. They were selected because they were the group mostly involved in WBSS matters, including management and funding of schools.

I requested heads of schools and VEOs/MEOs to identify for me, the parents and CMs who fall in the mentioned categories, because they were closer to parents and CMs, and were aware of their participation characteristics. However, being aware that government officers and school heads may have their own interests for proposing the schools and participants, I was as explicit as possible in spelling out the criteria for inclusion in the sample, as explained earlier. Table 3.1 provides details of the participants for each of the four cases.

Participants	Cases				
	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	Total
Board members	1	1	1	1	4
Heads of schools	1	1	1	1	4
Teachers	1	1	1	1	4
Ward executive officers	1	1	1	1	4
Village/*Mtaa* executive officers	1	1	1	1	4
Community members	2	2	2	2	8
Parents	2	2	2	2	8
Total	9	9	9	9	36

Table 3. 1: Study participants
(Source: Researcher's sampling)

Data Collection and Gaining Access

Data collection was preceded by completion of procedures to secure permission to conduct research in the selected cases. This involved permit to both pilot and main study schools, as explained in the following sub-sections.

Gaining access

To secure permission to conduct research in Tanzania, I first obtained a letter of support from the University of Nottingham (see appendix 1). This was submitted to the University of Dar es Salaam research and consultancy bureau, which approved the conduct of the research in Tanzania by providing research clearance letters to two regional authorities; Dar es Salaam (for the pilot study) and Mbeya (for the main study) (see appendices 2 and 3 respectively). The bureaucratic procedures were adhered to in each region, to gain permit letters for the pilot and main study schools.

Data collection procedures

The procedures for data collection in pilot schools were similar to the procedures in the main study schools. They started after the heads of schools accepted the permit letters and agreed to participate in the study. I started by

talking with the heads to familiarize them with my study and to request their consent to participate in the study, and to allow me access school documents and environment. Access to documents was at the heads' discretion and at times convenient to them. This was because documents were held in their offices, and some were confidential hence needed their presence. I was also permitted to observe the school environment, including taking pictures (Yin, 2011). However, observation started immediately after reaching the ward to obtain a general overview of the community in which the school is located.

I also sought other participants' contacts from the heads. I contacted them request their participation, and once accepted, arranged interview schedules by agreeing on dates, times and venues for the interviews. Most of them opted to meet at the school premises, with a few at the ward offices, as some community members lived closer to the ward offices than to schools. In both schools and ward offices, we were offered suitable spaces for interviews.

Before the commencement of each interview, during rapport building, I explained about the research, requested them to read information sheet, and asked them to sign the participant consent form after they had read and agreed. I also requested permission to audio-record the interview. All participants agreed to be recorded.

All the selected participants were interviewed, during which I recorded their voices and took notes. I also recorded the observations, based on the observation guide, together with other emerging issues. I also reviewed documents at both pilot and main case schools. They included documents from the Ministry of Education, including guidelines, letters, and circulars disseminated to schools for implementation, and school-based reports and records. In particular, I reviewed the:

1. Education and Training Policy 1995
2. Education and Training Policy 2014
3. Education Act of 1978 and its amendments of 1995
4. Education Circular number six of 2015
5. Education Circular number three of 2016

6. Directives on the expenditure of capitation and fee compensation grants of 2015

School based documents included:

7. Minutes of school board meetings
8. Minutes of special board committee meetings including construction committees, and environmental committees
9. Minutes of parents' meetings, and
10. School monthly reports.

The pilot study

The pilot study enabled me to test all research instruments for data collection in the two pilot schools. In the evenings, I made field notes about data collection on that day and recorded my reflections on the conduct of the study. The pilot study was useful as it offered insights to refine some aspects for the main study, including fieldwork procedures, data collection instruments, and the analysis plan, before visiting the main study schools (Yin, 2011). They also provided logistical information for the research, such as the time and resources required to complete procedures, such as the duration of interviews (Thabane et al., 2010; Yin, 2011). The reflections helped me to make some minor changes, mainly to improve the interview questions by reducing repetitions, and hence saving time spent for each interview. It also helped me to be focused and increased the content validity of the instruments. The main study interviews lasted between 60 to 90 minutes, unlike the pilot interviews that took about 100 to 120 minutes. There were no major changes to the interview questions and none to the document and observation guides.

The main study sites

Data collection in the main study involved similar procedures and methods to those used in the pilot study. Interviews, documentary reviews, and observations were the methods used.

Interviews

On the appointment days, I conducted interviews with participants. I recorded the sessions and took some notes. The interviews were guided by the interview-questions and included probes as the interview progressed. The questions for local leaders differed from those which targeted parents and community members, to reflect their varied roles. They were helpful in eliciting perceptions and perspectives from each participant.

Observations

Observations were conducted during my several visits to the schools, including those days when I had no appointments with participants. I recorded every aspect I observed that related to CP and funding of WBSS, using the observation guide. The focus was on availability, adequacy and status of school facilities. I observed school buildings, such as classrooms, laboratories, libraries, dormitories, halls and toilets, as well as school furniture, because their acquisition and maintenance was determined by participation of CMs. As I had permission to take pictures, I took some that related to school facilities. I used them to generate additional notes after the visits.

I also observed and took notes of the overall environment of the communities around the schools, such as the status of settlements, their economic activities, and their socio-political characteristics, to depict their ability to participate in school development. These observations helped to connect the views of participants with their context as observed.

Documentary review

I took notes on issues related to community participation in the development of WBSS from the selected documents. Two of the heads allowed me to produce copies of documents with less confidential information for reviewing later. I collected data from minutes of meetings, school reports, policies, and guidelines that guided the CP, the way CMs were involved in their formulation and implementation, and in various forms of decision-making. The documents

also showed the nature and extent of community involvement in terms of monetary and non-monetary contributions.

Data Analysis

The process of data analysis started concurrently with data collection through transcribing interviews and typing field notes on observations and pictures of school facilities, and notes from documents (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2014). It involved a detailed examination of data that included describing, explaining, and making sense of research data, to gain a deeper understanding of CMs' perspectives and experiences of CP in the development of WBSS (Creswell, 2003; Ary et al., 2010; Denscombe, 2014).

Thematic Analysis

I used a thematic approach to merge qualitative data from diverse sources into emerging themes. It involved analyzing the data from interviews, observations and documentary reviews. The research questions were also used in the development of themes from the data. The analysis was done in five stages, based on Creswell's (2014) approach.

The first stage involved typing field notes and transcribing interviews. It also involved compiling and organizing the data from various sources in a logical order, and preparing for the analysis by becoming familiar with them (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Yin, 2011; Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2003; 2014), as explained in the following sub-sections.

The second stage involved exploring the data to make sense of it and to establish its overall meaning. The process involved sense-making of data by linking data with the research questions, the literature and theoretical views, to illuminate the phenomenon (Bryman, 2016). While reading, I noted the ideas that came into my mind along the margins of the printed transcripts (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Creswell, 2014). These were then worked on Microsoft word to

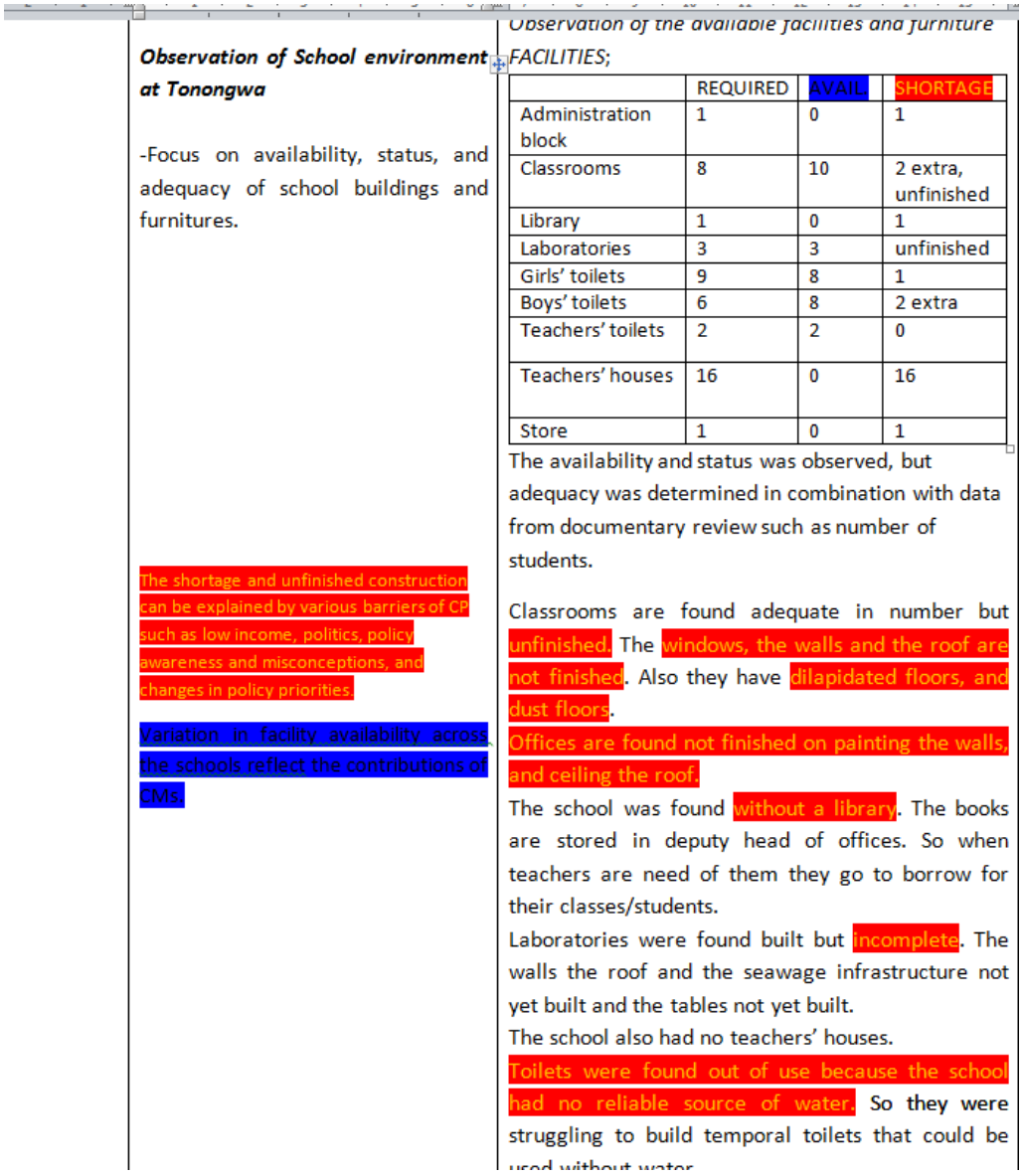
develop themes and explanations. I noted also the recurring and important concepts in the data because they enhanced data trustworthiness (Ary et al., 2010; Denscombe, 2014).

In the third stage I engaged in bracketing and labeling the data. This involved reviewing the responses to each question across participants in each case and field-notes from observation and documentary review to determine data codes (Creswell, 2014). I highlighted data with different labels, using highlight colours, font colours and font types to distinguish the identified codes. Then I formed main data codes from the codes by comparing and merging them based on similarities and differences in the data. The main codes include; meetings, parents' roles, CMs' roles, decision making and planning, extent of contribution, the government's role, shared responsibility, communication and transparency, participation facilitators, benefits of CP, local leadership, barriers to CP, income abilities, policy awareness, policy misconceptions, and political issues.

Observations

The observational data comprised field notes taken by the researcher throughout the field work period. Analysis of data from observations started by, first, typing the field notes that were taken during observation of school facilities, and from pictures taken of school facilities. The analysis focused on the availability, adequacy and status of school buildings and furniture. I then engaged in familiarizing and sense making of the observed environments through re-reading the notes, and generating ideas and codes. I coded the field notes using various font highlights, colours and font types. Codes from observational data were compared, combined, and described to build initial themes. These were then merged with code categories developed from interview and documentary review data (Ary et al., 2017). For example, I recorded observations of school facilities and furniture, provided by CMs, by taking field notes. I then sorted the information from observation to code the data. I organized the codes into categories and used the categories to build

initial themes. Table 3.2 illustrates the coded data from observation of one case.



Observation of School environment at Tonongwa

-Focus on availability, status, and adequacy of school buildings and furnitures.

The shortage and unfinished construction can be explained by various barriers of CP such as low income, politics, policy awareness and misconceptions, and changes in policy priorities.

Variation in facility availability across the schools reflect the contributions of CMs.

Observation of the available facilities and furniture FACILITIES;

	REQUIRED	AVAIL.	SHORTAGE
Administration block	1	0	1
Classrooms	8	10	2 extra, unfinished
Library	1	0	1
Laboratories	3	3	unfinished
Girls' toilets	9	8	1
Boys' toilets	6	8	2 extra
Teachers' toilets	2	2	0
Teachers' houses	16	0	16
Store	1	0	1

The availability and status was observed, but adequacy was determined in combination with data from documentary review such as number of students.

Classrooms are found adequate in number but unfinished. The windows, the walls and the roof are not finished. Also they have dilapidated floors, and dust floors.

Offices are found not finished on painting the walls, and ceiling the roof.

The school was found without a library. The books are stored in deputy head of offices. So when teachers are need of them they go to borrow for their classes/students.

Laboratories were found built but incomplete. The walls the roof and the seawage infrastructure not yet built and the tables not yet built.

The school also had no teachers' houses.

Toilets were found out of use because the school had no reliable source of water. So they were struggling to build temporal toilets that could be

Table 3. 2: *An example of coded data from observations in Tonongwa*

The analysis of the observations of community environments was conducted to understand the community context in relation to CMs' ability to contribute to school development. This was used to explain the context for each case. However, meetings were not observed as planned. Instead, documentary review of meeting minutes was conducted, as explained in the next sub-section.

Documentary analysis

The analysis of documentary review data started by typing the notes taken from documents found in school offices, as mentioned earlier. These included minutes of board and parents' meetings, guidelines, policies, and circulars. I then organized the data in tabular form to enhance sense making, and to create explanations (Ary et al., 2017). Each table indicated the documents reviewed and the information found related to CP in each school (see appendix 8). I repeatedly reviewed the field notes to identify codes by labeling them with different colour highlights, colour fonts, and font types. The codes were sorted and merged to form categories. The categories were then described to form initial themes that were used simultaneously with those identified from observation and interview data to develop main themes. Table 3.3 illustrates the analysis of documentary data.

I will observe:- the number of attendees in relation to the expected number, participants' sense of duty and commitment (How engaged/ dedicated) Actions and their patterns (cause and outcome) like pattern of involvement during discussion in meetings in planning, in decision making, in monitoring, in evaluation, in feedback provision, and in reviewing goals Who initiates the topics for discussion? and how it is initiated? What are the communication networks (horizontal/vertical? How do the participants relate to each other during the meeting? How are decisions reached? Is it top down, bottom up or horizontal	**I did documentary review instead of observing meetings. A review on minutes of the parents'-teachers' meeting at Tonongwa indicated that;** Parents who attended were 71 out of expected 301 parents. The agenda were school report, students who transfeered to this school, cattle in school environment, construction of school toilets, AOB, and closing the meeting. A meeting was initiated by the HoS by presenting the status of school, truancy, contributions (some students not yet finished the contributions thus hindering the extra teaching sessions. He presented the information that the school adminstration had put in place the procedure for mock exams before the national exams. Then the deputy HoS presented the agenda about theft on school properties for a long time and advised parents to warn their children and raise them in good morals. He further reported on the other issue concerning **cattle invading school environment** and kept it clear that if caught fines will apply and the case will be reported at the village office. He further explained the progress on toilets construction. He He further presented the budget proposed by constructors, then the HoS invited parents to contribute their views. CMs provided their views on agenda discussed. CMs provided two suggestions that two villages should process water pipes to school and the other villages should deal with constructing temporal toilets. Then next year permanent toilets be built. So CMs agreed to contribute 12,000Tsh. within 18 days after the deadline fines will be charged so one will then have to pay 20,000Tsh. Then a meeting was closed by the HoS. Almost all

Table 3. 3: An illustration of the analysis of documentary data (Source: Documentary data from Tonongwa)

Table 3.3 indicates a stage of the documentary data analysis process after the field notes had been taken and codes identified. The codes were then merged to build categories that were used with interview data in theme formation. Also, the analysis involved developing explanations that were used to describe the contexts of the cases (see, for example, pages 127, 165, 201, and 232). For example, documentary data on the number of enrolled students, and the available facilities such as desks, were combined to assess the adequacy of the facilities.

Interviews

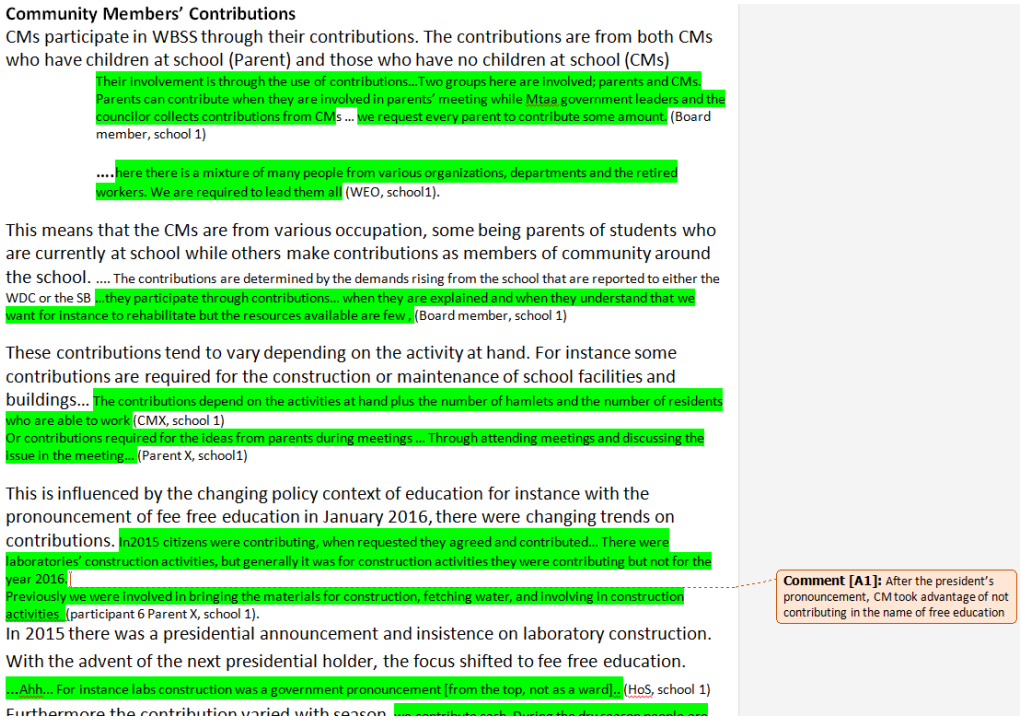
Interviews were transcribed by typing the voice records of participants into my personal computer, protected by password. Each transcript took around six hours (Bryman, 2016). The audio records were repeatedly replayed to ensure accuracy of transcriptions. Following transcription, I translated the interviews into English. I was careful not to lose the meanings underlying participants' expressions. I did the translation on my own to ensure that I could accommodate all the expressions. I then organized the data by preparing tables indicating responses for each question by each participant, followed by coding them. Table 3.4 provides an example of coded data from a section of the transcription from an interview with one participant.

Participant 1 Board member school 1	*R: how do CMs participate in this school?* P: To some extent they participate, and, their involvement is through the use of contributions, enh...contributions when they are explained and when they understand that we want for instance to rehabilitate but the resources available are few, we request every parent to contribute some amount they arrange themselves. R: *And in what ways these activities are initiated? I mean how do they reach the CMs*? P:The one who initiates the problem is the	*R: How do CMs participate in funding the school?* P: More is in construction activities of classrooms, rehabilitation of classrooms, and school infrastructures, but also in funding facilities for learning of these children eg. Facilities for learning, books, pens for their children, parents do fund all these issues directly. Again those of maintenance and construction is until when they are called with specific purpose and asked to contribute, but for those I have mentioned of funding the	R: *What are the perceptions of CMs about participation and funding of this school*? P: It is half-half, there are some who understand/ perceive that they are supposed to participate. There are those who still think that the government has to carry the whole burden/all the costs. Its until when they understand the **concept of free education,** the aim is to **reduce the burden on the government** *R: who do you think is responsible for participation*	*R: What factors facilitate CP and funding the school?* P: It is ward leadership in all spheres. If it is accepted they will be able to sensitize citizens, but if they collide/quarrel...mh -If there is openness and closeness with citizen they will be sensitized. They want to see their little contribution being well utilized. The government should motivate by initiating projects like	*R: Thanks, are there any barriers that make CM fail to participate* P: Mh ...there is...there is *economic situation, economic income...you may say they don't want...(to participate) But when you look at them the way they are*...(When you consider their real situation...)so there is economic situation. There is **misconception of the free education** whereby if you talk about the

Table 3. 4: An example of a coded interview from Ogoti

After coding all the transcripts, I looked for comparisons between the codes in a back and forward style. Then, I sorted and compiled the codes expressing

similar information, using a cut-paste strategy, to develop code categories in a single document. The following excerpt is an illustration of theme development from the code category.



Community Members' Contributions

CMs participate in WBSS through their contributions. The contributions are from both CMs who have children at school (Parent) and those who have no children at school (CMs)

Their involvement is through the use of contributions…Two groups here are involved; parents and CMs. Parents can contribute when they are involved in parents' meeting while Mtaa government leaders and the councilor collects contributions from CMs … we request every parent to contribute some amount. (Board member, school 1)

….here there is a mixture of many people from various organizations, departments and the retired workers. We are required to lead them all (WEO, school1).

This means that the CMs are from various occupation, some being parents of students who are currently at school while others make contributions as members of community around the school. …. The contributions are determined by the demands rising from the school that are reported to either the WDC or the SB ..they participate through contributions… when they are explained and when they understand that we want for instance to rehabilitate but the resources available are few .. (Board member, school 1)

These contributions tend to vary depending on the activity at hand. For instance some contributions are required for the construction or maintenance of school facilities and buildings… The contributions depend on the activities at hand plus the number of hamlets and the number of residents who are able to work (CMX, school 1)
Or contributions required for the ideas from parents during meetings … Through attending meetings and discussing the issue in the meeting… (Parent X, school1)

This is influenced by the changing policy context of education for instance with the pronouncement of fee free education in January 2016, there were changing trends on contributions. In2015 citizens were contributing, when requested they agreed and contributed… There were laboratories' construction activities, but generally it was for construction activities they were contributing but not for the year 2016.
Previously we were involved in bringing the materials for construction, fetching water, and involving in construction activities (participant 6 Parent X, school 1).
In 2015 there was a presidential announcement and insistence on laboratory construction. With the advent of the next presidential holder, the focus shifted to fee free education.
…Ahh… For instance labs construction was a government pronouncement [from the top, not as a ward]… (HoS, school 1)
Furthermore the contribution varied with season …

Comment [A1]: After the president's pronouncement, CM took advantage of not contributing in the name of free education

After identifying a code category, I then engaged with developing descriptions of the data by explaining, comparing and integrating the parts of the codes in the category, to form the initial themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Yin, 2011). I reviewed the information in the category to identify the concepts to represent it. The identified concepts were used to label the developed themes. For example, from the excerpt provided above, the concept that I used to label the developed category was later used to label the developed theme because it reflected community members' contributions to this theme.

Further, I engaged in rigorous checking and rechecking of the developed themes to see whether it was appropriate to split or merge concepts from interviews, documentary review and observational data that seemed similar, and re-named or modified them where appropriate (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2003; 2014). Finally, I repeated reviewing the whole transcript and field-notes to see if there were any parts not coded, and whether

they could fit into any of the developed categories, or form a new category (Ary et al., 2010). While developing themes from the data, I simultaneously generated descriptions about contexts, and people, (Creswell, 2003; 2014).

After the analysis and themes had been developed, interpretation followed in the fourth stage. It involved going beyond data description to extract meanings and insights from the data (Ary et al., 2010). This was done by stating what was found, that it was important, why it was important and what I learned from it in relation to CP in the development of WBSS (Ary et al., 2010). The stage involved presenting the written interpretation of findings. This included responses reflecting multiple perspectives of participants in the form of words, acts, and behaviours (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2014; Denscombe, 2014). It also involved illustration of points through direct quotes of participants' voices, and extracts from observations and documentary review field-notes to abstract important meanings from them (see chapters four to seven) (Ibid). This stage also involved providing explanations and meanings and 'telling the story' (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2014). It also required re-assembling data from the four case schools, thus creating a new narrative across the cases (see chapter eight). Furthermore, the stage provided detailed discussion of several themes and sub-themes, in relation to the literature (Creswell, 2003; 2014; Denscombe, 2014).

The fifth stage involved making meaning from the data, including the lessons learned, the resulting interpretation from the fourth phase, and a deeper understanding of the entire study (see chapter nine) (Yin, 2011; Rudin & Rudin, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Since the study used a theoretical lens, this stage involved proposing a modified model from the findings (Creswell, 2014).

Ethical Considerations

This research adhered to ethical standards expected of social researchers (Denscombe, 2014). I conducted the study with awareness that I had no privilege to pursue my interests as a researcher at the expense of the participants, no matter how valuable I hoped my findings might be (Denscombe, 2014). I adhered to the key principles of research ethics

throughout the research process (Creswell, 2014). This included adhering to guidelines provided by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011), complying with University of Nottingham's ethical procedures, including applying for ethical approval, observing the research laws and procedures of Tanzania, protecting the right of participants to confidentiality and anonymity, avoiding deception, and operating with scientific integrity (Denscombe, 2014).

After having followed all the procedures, and having been granted a permit, I ensured that the participants were able to provide their voluntary informed consent (see appendix 5). To ensure this, four stages were involved. First, I explained the purpose and procedures of the study to familiarize participants with the topic (Cohen et al., 2011; Neuman, 2014). Second, I outlined the benefits of the study to facilitate data generation. Third, I explained to each participant that they had the right to withdraw from participating at any time, without being asked the reasons. Fourth, I gave them an opportunity to read the participants' information sheet and asked them to sign consent forms to indicate they have understood and are willing to be involved in the study (see appendices 4 and 5 respectively).

To protect the anonymity of the interviewees, schools were given pseudonyms (Cohen et al., 2011); Ogoti, Tonongwa, Trinity, and Fulisi. I also anonymized participants by using alphabets X and Y to describe two parents and two community members (CMs), thus parent X, parent Y, CMX, and CMY respectively. Leaders were labelled based on their positions such as headmaster/mistress, board member (BM), ward executive officer (WEO), and village/*mtaa* executive officer (VEO/MEO). To distinguish them from others in different case schools, the given names were used in line with the school pseudonym such as VEO Ogoti, CMY Trinity, MEO Tonongwa, Teacher Trinity, and WEO Fulisi.

Confidentiality was assured by storing data in password-protected files (Cohen et al., 2011; Neuman, 2014). Moreover, I made it clear that, since the data

would be used for research purposes and published in a thesis, and in journal articles, that may make them publicly accessible, I would maintain anonymity.

Establishing Research Rigour and Trustworthiness

The credibility and authenticity of qualitative data depends on every aspect of the study (Creswell, 2014). Rigour in qualitative research relates to validity and reliability. However, these principles carry different connotations from those in quantitative research (Maxwell, 2013), as they are more concerned with the quality of data collected (Ary et al., 2010).

Some writers argue that the use of reliability and validity in qualitative research presupposes that there is an absolute reality that can be revealed by a researcher instead of the multiple realities that cannot be standardised by reliability and validity criteria (Bryman, 2012). Consequently, writers in qualitative research are debating whether to abandon the use of these terms or to continue using them, but with substantial rethinking about what they really mean, or proposing terms considered more appropriate for qualitative research (Bush, 2007; Maxwell, 2013). The latter include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as criteria for rigour and trustworthiness (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012; Maxwell, 2013). I used these standards to express the procedures undertaken to facilitate the authenticity of this research. Table 3.2 shows the standards used to address the validity and reliability of research.

Quantitative	Qualitative	Issue addressed
Internal validity	Credibility	Truth
External validity	Transferability	Generalizability
Reliability	Dependability or Trustworthiness	Consistency
Objectivity	Confirmability	Neutrality

Table 3. 5: Standards of rigour for research
Source (Adapted from Ary et al., 2010 p. 498)

Qualitative researchers consider validity as "correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation or other sort of account" (Maxwell, 2013 p. 122). It refers to trustworthiness (Ary et al., 2010), or the

accuracy of findings based on the procedures undertaken (Creswell, 2014). It is "used to judge whether the research accurately describes the phenomenon it is intended to describe" (Bush, 2007 p. 97).

The reliability concept in qualitative research relates to the dependability and consistency of the approach across different researchers and projects (Ary et al., 2010; Maxwell, 2013). However, it is more associated with positivists, and may be regarded as a precondition for validity in qualitative research (Bush, 2007).

I used several strategies to address research rigour by considering the trustworthiness of procedures and the resulting findings and conclusions. In the following sub-sections I show how the standards for ensuring rigour and trustworthiness were observed.

Credibility

Credibility refers to accuracy and appropriateness of an account of a social phenomenon from the viewpoint of the people who live and experience it (Neuman, 2014; Denscombe, 2014). The credibility of an account a researcher arrives at is determined by the extent to which the research adheres to canons of research practice (Bryman, 2012). It relies on the accuracy of the research design, the participants involved, and the context, for a researcher to build confidence in the observations, interpretations and conclusions (Ary et al., 2010).

To ensure credibility, I used stratified and purposive sampling to select participants who are well informed about CP in the development of WBSS, to obtain accurate information. Also, I strived to capture participants' original meanings, based on their perspectives (Neuman, 2014; Newby, 2014). This was achieved partly through using an appropriate research design that facilitated triangulation to collect data from various sources and respondents, thus offering reliable data (Bush, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011; Maxwell, 2013; Newby, 2014; Denscombe, 2014; Neuman, 2014). I ensured credibility by transcribing recorded data myself to ensure that they accurately represent the

views of participants (Denscombe, 2014). During data presentation, interpretation and analysis, I grounded the explanations in the data and in the participants' voices, through direct quotes to evidence the arguments (Yin, 2011; McGhee et al., 2007).

Additionally, the prolonged stay in the field for five months helped to minimise the influence of the researcher's presence on the responses provided by participants, and to generate a full range of activities and perceptions, as it provided more opportunity to interact with, and to explore, the sites (Creswell, 2014).

Transferability

Ary et al. (2010 p. 501) define transferability as "the degree to which the findings of a qualitative study can be applied or generalized to other contexts or to other groups". However, the aim of the qualitative researcher is not to make generalisations, rather to enable others to make comparisons and judgements and, if possible, to transfer the findings to other units (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012).

For this study, I sought transferability by first providing thick descriptions of the study contexts (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). I was also transparent about the procedures I followed, to enable users to review and scrutinize the study, and to witness evidence that supports the findings and conclusions reached (Ary et al., 2010; Yin 2011; Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014).

Dependability

Dependability in qualitative research relates to the extent to which decisions and procedures are consistent, so that they can be tracked and explained, thus ensuring truthfulness or dependability (Ary et al., 2010; Denscombe, 2014). In contrast, reliability in quantitative research is concerned with the consistency of behaviour to produce data that would be similar if the study was replicated.

In my study, I ensured dependability by detailing all the procedures. I provided a detailed explanation about the participants, the documents I reviewed, and the aspects I observed, with justifications for the decisions (Ary et al., 2010). I kept sharing with my supervisors, and self-audited all my procedures, to ensure their consistence. My study included multiple cases (locations), and groups of participants, whose findings show considerable similarities, although with some differences, thus registering confidence in making conclusions as the "consistency of findings provides evidence of dependability" (Ary et al., 2010).

Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the extent to which research findings are evidenced by data generated. It is concerned with reducing biases to achieve neutrality in procedures and interpretations for conclusions to be able to be confirmed by other researchers investigating the same phenomenon (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012; Newby, 2014).

To achieve neutrality, I prepared and used interview, observation, and documentary review guides to direct data collection. The thick description of research procedures, discussed earlier, would enable other researchers to confirm this study. I was reflective and open minded, not to allow my prior knowledge to distort, or bias data in the process of collection, analysis and discussion (McGhee et al., 2007; Bryman, 2012). The analysis and interpretation were based on data transcription, although it was hard to limit my personal experiences during data interpretation (McGhee et al., 2007).

Overview

This chapter discussed the research methodology employed in this study. It addressed the philosophical orientations of the research methodology, covering the ontological and epistemological beliefs of the researcher for this study. The chapter shows how these philosophical viewpoints have determined the research paradigm adopted in this study and the research strategy, design and

methods adopted. The chapter further explains and justifies the selection of the cases and participants. It also explains the research procedures, including seeking permits and access, piloting, data collection procedures and data analysis. It finally discussed the ethical procedures and standards adopted to ensure research rigour and credibility.

The chapter has implications for the researcher-participant relationship that facilitated the understanding of participants' worlds by respecting their agency. This made them active participants in the process of knowledge creation. The methodology has facilitated the comprehensive study of the research sites in connection to various social aspects that determine CP. Therefore, it has addressed significant steps that were used to approach research questions and conclusions reached. It has facilitated data generation on the nature and extent of CP, community members' perceptions of their roles, and the aspects that they consider may hinder or facilitate CP. It has further offered a framework for presentation and analysis informed by the data and the research questions. The findings generated through this methodological approach are presented in the next four case-study chapters.

Two of the four cases were from those communities considered well-off and the other two cases were from communities considered poor. In each category, one was from an urban and one from a rural context.

CHAPTER FOUR: OGOTI SECONDARY SCHOOL

Background

Chapter four presents and analyses data on community participation (CP) in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS) from the first case study; Ogoti secondary school. The chapter explains the approach used to collect data, the school context, the findings, and provides an overview.

Data were collected through interviews with the headmistress, one teacher, one Board Member (BM), the *Mtaa* Executive Officer (MEO), the Ward Executive Officer (WEO), two community members (CMX and CMY), and two parents (Parent X and Parent Y). Observation and documentary analysis were used to supplement the interview data. Observations were conducted during the visits to the school, and recorded as field notes. Initially, the researcher observed the school environment unaccompanied. Subsequently, a teacher guided the researcher into school buildings and around the school. Documentary analysis was carried out by reviewing school-based documents. These documents comprised monthly school reports, guidelines for the roles of school board in school development, and on community involvement, and minutes of meetings, including those for parents and the school board.

Context

Ogoti secondary school is one of the newly established WBSS in Tanzania. It is located in an urban context and serves an urban community. It is in Ogoti ward that has two other WBSSs. The area also has three privately owned secondary schools operated by business-men on a profit-making basis. Ogoti WBSS serves students from several *mitaa* in the Ogoti ward, and some students walk a long distance to school. This is because the school is located far in one end of the ward, away from some *mitaa*.

Ogoti is in a ward with government leaders who are perceived to be ineffective. This is because, when they were required to mobilize resources from CMs, they took a long time to do so. They were also slow to submit the contributions

to the school. This led school management to focus mainly on parental contributions because there are closer contacts via their children. The school is in an area with strong opposition political parties. This was found influencing CP in the development of the school as discussed in the findings sub-sections.

The Ogoti ward seemed to be attracting many citizens from neighbouring rural parts of the region. Inward migration increased population in the community and, consequently, the number of students in the school has also been increasing. Also, the CMs, as a result, have diverse cultural backgrounds and occupations. They are from different ethnic backgrounds, with different tribal languages, but Kiswahili, the national language, is widely spoken. Some of the CMs are employed, and some are business people dealing with wholesale trade, while others deal with consumer goods, agricultural products, construction materials, and several other products. The other CMs are unemployed, so they engage in petty trade in open markets. Others are involved in small scale peasant farming, growing seasonal food crops. The main crops are maize, beans, and some vegetables, including sweet potatoes. The area also supports coffee growing due to the conducive climatic conditions, with seasonal rainfall that supports crop production. However, they had to travel out of the city centre where their farms are located.

The area has social services facilities such as banks, hospitals, electricity, water, and road networks with public buses.

The area includes CMs with different socio-economic backgrounds. Some members are well off while others are poor. Some can pay a lump sum to the school while others contribute in installments until they have contributed the full specified amount. Some of these CMs also send their children to private schools. This influences their motivation to contribute to the WBSS.

School context

The school enrolls lower secondary students, increasing every academic year. The growth of the school population is illustrated by the very large number of students (436) in form one (see table 4.1).

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
Form1	200	236	436
Form2	95	104	199
Form3	81	101	182
Form4	81	121	202
Total	457	562	1019

Table 4. 1: Number of students at Ogoti
(Source: Documentary review)

The school had 925 desks out of 1119, a shortfall of 194, and 896 chairs out of 1123, a shortfall of 227. The school had started to construct three laboratories, but they were not finished. There were 12 toilets for girls and 12 for boys, with a shortage of 28 toilets. There was an unfinished administration block but no teachers' houses and no library. The school managed to construct all 32 required classrooms. The headmistress was proud of the development of the school made under her leadership. Table 4.2 summarises the infrastructure and facilities available at the school.

Facilities				**Infrastructure**			
	Required	**Available**	**Shortage**		**Required**	**Available**	**Shortage**
Students' tables	1119	925	194	Classrooms	32	32	-
Students' chairs	1123	896	227	Libraries	1	0	1
Teachers' tables	38	30	8	Laboratories	3	0	3
Teachers' chairs	38	30	8	Teachers' houses	3	0	3
Cabinets	5	4	1	Girls' latrines	28	12	16
				Boys' latrines	24	12	12
				Staffs' latrines	2	2	-

Table 4. 2: Availability of facilities and infrastructure at Ogoti
(Source; Documentary review and observation)

The headmistress tended to inform the ward office of any concerns at the school so that they were communicated to the citizens. She would talk to the ward leaders about any problem that required CMs support. For example, during my visit to the school, there was a discussion between the ward

councillor and the headmistress about how to resolve the shortage of furniture at school. This followed a request the headmistress had sent to the ward office about this shortage, especially in the period when the school was expecting to receive 436 form one students. (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017).

Teachers at Ogoti had responded to the shortage of furniture by opting to use laboratory buildings as classrooms since the laboratories were large enough and had built-in-seats, and could allow more chairs in to accommodate the large number of new students.

Community Participation in the Development of Ogoti Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

Community participation involved two groups of CMs; those without children at the school, referred to here as community members (CMs), and those CMs with children at the school (parents). CMs were required to participate in the construction and running of the school in various ways. CMs participated only in certain activities, mostly related to construction and maintenance, while parents had added responsibilities. They were expected to participate in school funding as CMs, as well as to participate as parents.

Community participation involved various aspects depending on the school's requirements, including contributing ideas in meetings, involvement in decision-making and planning, and providing labour, materials, and cash contributions.

Meetings

Community members at Ogoti were involved in school development activities by attending meetings. They participated in three types of meeting; leaders' meetings, public meetings and parents' meetings. The leaders' meetings involved school and ward administrators. Board meetings were held twice annually, and at other times when the need arises (Field notes taken on 18th

January 2017). Public meetings involved CMs (including parents), together with their leaders. The parents' meetings included parents, the headmistress, few teachers, and board members in some cases.

Meetings were the commonly used way of involving CMs in issues related to the school. Through meetings, it was possible for leaders to convey information to the CMs:

> The councillor and MEO give us information through [open] meetings after getting information from the Ward Development Council (WDC) in which MEOs are members (CMX, Ogoti).

Community leaders, including members of the *mtaa* government, the ward councillor, the school management team, and the school board, first shared information regarding school development. This was followed by sharing the information with CMs, through public meetings.

Public meetings were held to involve all the CMs at *mtaa* in discussions and planning the required interventions. During the meetings, CMs were made aware of the needs of the school and the required support, as Parent X comments:

> Through attending meetings, and discussing the issue in the meeting, we know what to contribute and how to participate. So, it is every parent [who] has to participate (Parent X, Ogoti).

This comment indicate that parents were aware of the importance of meetings, but CMs' attendance were very low at an average of 24%, attributed to several factors including short notes provided to CMs and a lack of willingness among them (field notes taken on 17th January 2017).

Meetings also provided a forum for CM s to receive more information about the school, for example, financial records on the amount that have been contributed, the remaining amount required, and how to resolve problems:

> Meetings decide the contributions and provide information about what amount was obtained, [and the] shortage or extra (CMX, Ogoti).

This shows that the meetings were used as a way of involving CMs, first in deciding the actions to take in addressing the problems at the school, and second, by providing feedback about what had already been implemented. Participation in meetings also enhanced discussion on matters related to the school.

> The headmistress presents the problem to the ward, we discuss it, then a conclusion is reached, and we are asked to call meetings in our *mitaa* to tell the citizens what has been discussed… (MEO, Ogoti).

This suggests that CMs could participate by attending, and by contributing their views on school matters in public meetings, although it was mostly limited to their contributions, rather than problem identification, planning, and evaluation.

Decision making and planning

Community members participated in decision-making and planning through discussions that were held during meetings. They participated in discussions on school matters, and devised solutions to the problems facing the school, as the MEO indicate:

> It is through public meetings where we discuss matters related to school, and then we decide what amount to contribute basing on the number of citizens. Then each citizen is supposed to contribute the agreed amount (MEO, Ogoti).

This quotation suggests that CMs were involved in making decisions on specific issues such as how to distribute the cost of the shortage of classrooms among themselves. However, this involvement seemed to be artificial, because leaders knew the number of CMs and amounts decided during leaders' meetings held prior to public meetings. Thus, it was perceived as just announced to CMs later during public meetings:

> …we are not involved [in decision-making], and during meetings it is only announced. We do not discuss how to participate [in school matters] (Parent Y, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that community members were not part of decision making as they had no real opportunity to participate. The comment implies that decision-making was done by local leaders at ward level, and involved CMs through artificially involving them during public meetings. In practice, they were making decisions on behalf of CMs as revealed by mtaa executive officer:

> The headmistress presents the problem to the ward, we discuss it, then the solution is reached. We are asked to call meetings in our *mitaa* to tell the citizens what has been discussed and the amount set for each *mtaa* (MEO, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that CMs were simply informed about plans and decisions made by their local leaders. This was done during public meetings that were ostensibly designed for decision-making about school development. The comment confirms that *mtaa* leaders were asked by ward leaders to call meetings and inform CMs about the decisions reached by ward leaders.

Management of community participation

Local leaders at Ogoti, officials and executives at the ward and *mtaa* level, as well as the school board and the school management team, were able to influence CMs' participation in the school. They engaged in mobilizing resources by involving CMs in several ways, including sensitizing CMs, collecting contributions from them, and supervising them in school related activities. Ward leaders also participated in planning and making decisions, for example during their meetings. The decisions based on the school's requirements and the estimated cost from their superiors at the district council.

> The plans depend on the needs and priorities of activities, and then information is given to the District Executive Director (DED) [by the

> Ward office] so that he provides the estimation of the costs of construction… (BM, Ogoti).

This implies that ward leaders managed community participation by involving the district office, and made decisions based on suggestions from the district officials. Subsequently, they organized meetings and shared the information with CMs.

In managing school resources, board members participated by providing advice to the school on how to undertake school activities and participate in managing school matters, as the board member indicates:

> …we advise the headmistress on management issues, financing being among [them]... We generally make decisions for the school. (BM, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that the school board participated in the management and funding of the school by advising the headmistress on management of school resources. They advised her to report to the ward office and requested feedback on resource mobilization (field notes taken on 17th January 2017). Other responsibilities included managing the school, controlling the discipline of students, and making teachers accountable. They played their role of making financial decisions as part of the management of the school. They also participated during parents' meetings at the school.

The extent of community contributions

The rate of participation varied among categories of CMs across time. Parental contributions were higher than those from non-parent CMs:

> They [CMs] participate at a very low rate. Government administrators and parents are the ones who participate more (Teacher, Ogoti).

Community members seemed reluctant to engage in financial, material and labour contributions, compared to parents. Some CMs were not prepared to pay

the contributions, claiming that they were not responsible for funding the school because they had no school age children:

> Some people argue that they don't have children at school, so they are not supposed to contribute (MEO, Ogoti).

The headmistress maintained that CMs' contributions were limited and delayed:

> They [CMs] contribute in small amounts, and in installments. They [ward leaders] would bring 500,000 Tanzanian shillings [Tsh] then 200,000Tsh...eh...while may be the total budget is 10 million! You see eeh... (Headmistress, Ogoti).

The headmistress stated that she had given up requesting contributions from community members. This was because, first, contributions from CMs took a long time to reach the school. The CMs made their contributions via their *mtaa* leaders, who collected the contributions and submitted them to the ward office. The ward office would then hand over the contributions to the school. Second, the contributions were handed over in instalments. This was because the rate of contributions from CMs was very low and the ward office waited until a certain amount had been collected before submitting it to the school. The low contribution rate limited continuity of school activities. These comments suggest that CMs were not committed to funding the school. As a result, the headmistress opted for the alternative of focusing mainly on involving parents:

> …at our place I have not seen good results [of involving CMs]. The good ones are through using parents…. We were involving parents instead of using CMs who delay so much; we saw it better to use parents and they contributed (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment shows that CMs were not as active in paying their contributions as parents. There was a further decline in participation of CMs in response to the presidential announcement on fee-free education. The headmistress confirms that, previously, CMs were contributing to the construction of school buildings, but this had stopped from the year 2016:

> In 2015, citizens were contributing, when requested they agreed and contributed…There were laboratories' construction activities, but generally it was for construction activities they were contributing but not for the year 2016 (Headmistress, Ogoti).

The headmistress revealed that, during 2016, after the proclamation of the free education policy, they had not involved CMs in any way. However, the headmistress is required to continue to administer the provision of public education and to sensitise CMs to volunteer their labour, financial and material resources to the schools (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017). Lack of awareness was demonstrated in the way she responded to the policy by no longer involving CMs in school matters. This implies that even the leaders did not fulfil their responsibilities related to CP and funding of the school.

Community Participation in Funding Ogoti Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents the findings on the nature and extent of community participation in funding WBSS. It starts by discussing the need for CP in funding WBSS, followed by the nature of community members' participation in funding WBSS, and finally forms of community funding.

The need for community participation in funding the WBSS

Community participation is essential in the funding of schools. Both the physical and fiscal resources of Ogoti secondary school required the participation of community members, for several reasons.

First, community participation was important because the school had inadequate facilities and infrastructure. Participation of community members was needed to support the funding of the school in collaboration with the government:

> …citizens, together with the government, should try their level best because the requirements are many. For example, we have succeeded with classrooms, but desks' inadequacy is still a problem (BM, Ogoti).

The headmistress added that involving community members was necessary due to the inability of the government to cover all the costs:

> [for] …the government to incur all the costs of construction of these schools is not an easy thing. But using CMs it is possible (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This implies that community contributions supported government funding. Moreover, community participation in funding the school was necessary because it ensured the existence of the school that was accessible to the majority of children from the community:

> It is important for CMs to participate because I see the benefits of these schools; they are cheap and affordable to the majority (CMX, Ogoti).

This comment implies that, when CMs are involved in WBSS, they ensure its sustainability and accessibility to the majority of students.

Community participation in funding also develops a sense of ownership of the school among CMs:

> It is important to involve CMs because, first, they have to participate and value the school as theirs. It should not be only in words (they should not be making merely noise that it is their property). As we say 'community schools', they should also have power to see that the school is theirs (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that CMs should be involved in all aspects of school funding for them to feel a sense of ownership. This was also supported by the WEO, who commented that "For CMs to have concern, they must contribute" (WEO, Ogoti). Implying that, through their participation, CMs develop a feeling of ownership.

The nature of community members' participation in funding the WBSS

Community participation in funding involved both CMs and parents of children at the school. The board member explained that government leaders involved all CMs while the school involved the parents directly:

> …*Mtaa* government leaders and the councillor collect contributions from CMs… More is for construction activities of classrooms, rehabilitation of classrooms, and school infrastructures… but also parents are involved in funding facilities for learning of their children (BM, Ogoti).

The government leaders had a mandate to mobilize funds from all CMs, including parents, while the school could communicate more easily with parents than with other CMs. CMs were required to participate in construction and maintenance of the school, while parents had the added responsibility to pay the private costs of their children's learning.

Forms of community members' funding

Community members at Ogoti contributed to school funding in three ways. Some volunteered their labour, some offered materials, while others provided cash, as discussed in the following sub-sections.

Cash contributions

Community participation in school funding was mainly through cash contributions. These were mostly preferred because, by paying cash, CMs were free to engage in their own activities instead of spending time on school matters. The leaders also preferred cash contributions because they enhanced accuracy and systematic recording, and simplified budgeting. With material contributions, there was a possibility of duplicating some materials while not receiving others:

> We contribute cash…people are encouraged to pay their contributions in cash (CMY, Ogoti).

Cash contributions were recorded and the records submitted to district authorities by ward leaders, as noted by the WEO:

> The contributions are through cash, thus the receipt books from the district are inspected (WEO, Ogoti).

This comment implies that cash contributions were preferred by leaders to enhance record management and to report on them.

While cash contributions were dominant at this school, some CMs made their contributions in a lump sum while others paid in instalments. This was determined by their varied income levels:

> …Cash, some contribute in phases, others can contribute in a lump sum… (Parent X, Ogoti).

The cash contributions were used to buy materials or to pay hired labour for construction activities.

Contributions through pledges were mentioned at Ogoti as a way of involving community members. This is a way for CMs to participate by promising an amount to contribute, at a public gathering. Graduation ceremonies and public meetings were among the gatherings during which pledges were made. This practice was particularly significant at this school because it motivated other attendees to volunteer after seeing others pledging. The practice was a positive one because it encouraged willingness to volunteer. The pledges were also positive in that they sensitized the CMs to contribute to the school as the testimony below indicates:

> …to sensitize CMs…some pledged there [at the event], some contributed cash…and then they planned that the maintenance should be done during the December holiday [in 2016] (BM, Ogoti).

This comment shows that some members pledged at the event and paid later. The pledges sensitized CMs so that, even those who were previously not ready to contribute, began to do so.

However, in some cases, community members decided to fund the school by providing labour or materials. These alternative approaches are discussed below.

Labour power contributions

Some community members at Ogoti contributed their labour power. CMs were required to volunteer their labour as an alternative way to fund schools (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017). While some CMs would work at the construction site supporting the constructors, others would contribute their technical knowledge, for example by engaging in construction. This was common during the construction of school buildings as one community member suggests:

> …to provide contributions through labour power, especially in construction issues (CMY, Ogoti).

This means that community members participated in school construction activities by contributing their labour power whenever this was requested, or when they had no cash to contribute, or as agreed at the meeting.

Materials contributions

Community members at Ogoti also participated through contributing materials, depending on the requirements of the school. However, materials contributions were not preferred because it was difficult to calculate in cash terms and because it was more difficult for CMs to acquire materials from their environment than to provide cash. Materials were brought to the school after CMs were made aware of what was required to meet school needs. CMs

contributed to the school by bringing construction materials that were available in their environment for school buildings, as noted by parent X:

> …we were involved in bringing the materials for construction, [and] fetching water… (Parent X, Ogoti).

This comment indicates that there were cases when CMs were asked to contribute materials that they could afford to contribute. This was an alternative for those who could not afford to make cash contributions.

Parental Participation in Funding Ogoti Ward-Based Secondary School

Parents at Ogoti had the responsibility to participate in school matters, including paying private costs for their children as identified in circular number three of 2016. This was evident in the payment of direct costs and other school-related expenses for their children. Parents had to pay for security guides, transport, lunch, school uniforms and learning materials, as the board member commented:

> …parents should pay for transport, books, uniforms and lunch. The government saw that if it played its part, and the parents their part, things would be OK (BM, Ogoti).

This shows that parents had to top up school funding after the government had paid for the running costs of the school. Parents also participated by fulfilling the plans made during meetings:

> We contribute in this form because we discuss and decide the simple way to distribute the budget. We discuss the rate, and when to start, and the deadline for paying (Parent X, Ogoti).

This comment implies that, by agreeing to the set amounts and deadlines, parents committed themselves to participating in paying the set amounts.

Payment of contributions followed after the school knew the number of primary school graduates allocated to join the school. The list was used to

invite their parents to discuss maintenance and development of the school, in order to accommodate their children. They were not expected to make excuses, as explained by the headmistress:

> To a large extent, this is a business centre so we don't expect excuses related to harvest seasons. When they promise to contribute, they do (Headmistress, Ogoti).

Since the school is in an urban area, the headmistress used to call parents' meetings to involve them in discussions about funding, regardless of the seasons. This was because their resources did not depend on seasonal production.

This was confirmed by a comment made by a parent that:

> In most cases, the meetings and activities are at the start of the new term. For example, the budget for construction of classrooms is calculated and divided by the number of parents (Parent X, Ogoti).

Therefore, parents at Ogoti participated in construction activities as well as in paying the private costs of their children, based on the demands of the school.

Ways of involving parents in funding WBSS

As noted earlier, the school management team and the school board involved parents in funding school activities. Parents and guardians participated in funding the school after they received information, via their children, whenever their participation was needed.

The involvement included requesting individual parents to visit the school. This type of consultation involved discussions about funding various school programmes. They included maintenance and construction of school infrastructure as well as improvement of academic performance. Individual parents responded to the calls to meet the school administrators for discussions related to the school, or to the individual student:

> …also by calling parents of students, one by one, so as to raise the academic performance (BM, Ogoti).

This kind of consultation was made with parents to convince them contribute for programmes related to academic improvement. The programmes included remedial teaching and extra examinations. Parents were requested to contribute some money for payment of teachers who volunteered to teach during extra hours and to organise extra examinations.

Parents were also involved through meetings in which they discussed school problems. The meetings focused on raising funds to resolve problems facing the school, for example the shortage of classrooms, as the headmistress indicates:

> What we know is, in January, the school opens, and many parents are sending their children to school, this is the time I use to explain school demands… (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment implies that parents were involved when they were concerned with sending their children to school and when the school was in high demand for facilities or infrastructure. Therefore, participation related to resolving the short-term problems, and focused only on contributions:

> We discuss the rate, and when to start, and the deadline for paying (Parent X, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that parents were involved through making decisions on the amount of contributions, and the timetable. This way of involving parents focused only on resolving the immediate problem and was not comprehensive enough to enable them to fully participate in school matters, such as long-term planning.

Management of parental participation in funding the school

The school management team organized parental contributions by having meetings with them. In some cases, the school management team collected the

contributions from parents and organized the construction of school buildings. In other cases, parents were left to manage their contributions, and supervise the construction of classrooms, as indicated by the headmistress:

> So, we involve . . . the parents, who elect their committee with support from the ward construction committee and school leadership (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that parents at Ogoti, with support from local leaders, organised themselves by electing their leaders to organise construction. They were also able to build classrooms by themselves:

> …the other time parents organized themselves, collected the contributions, and constructed the classrooms by themselves (Teacher, Ogoti).

Self-management was revealed during the construction of classrooms after the selection of new entrants. Parents had to participate in the construction of classrooms after their children are selected to join this school, as the school had no classrooms for them.

Perceptions of Community Members about their Participation in the Development of Fulisi WBSS

Introduction

This section analyses the perceptions of community members about their participation and funding of WBSS. The findings in this section are mainly drawn from interviews and documentary reviews. The section is organised into five sub-sections:

- funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of CMs,
- lack of trust in ward leaders to manage school resources,

- ways to improve funding and managing WBSS.

Funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community

Community members' perceptions varied about who is, or should be, responsible for managing and funding the school. Five of the nine participants viewed community participation and funding as a shared responsibility between the government and CMs. The board member perceived that the government wanted to relieve the burden of parents and guardians, thus it introduced fee-free education in which CMs were required to volunteer their labour, material and cash contributions:

> First, the government is the one that has taken the higher responsibility for funding. Second, the community around the school, and third, parents of the students learning at this school . . . The government has decided to reduce the burden on parents . . . CMs should understand that free education focuses on reducing the burden for parents…citizens together with the government should try their level best because the requirements are many (BM, Ogoti).

The board member perceives that the distribution of responsibilities is equally shared between CMs and the government:

> It is half-half, there are some who perceive that they are supposed to participate… (BM, Ogoti).

However, the notion of equal sharing between the community members and the government was not applicable because the government provided almost 80 per cent of school costs, including paying teachers' salaries, and the costs of running and maintaining the school. On the other hand, the roles of CMs were not well identified. For example, the documentary review indicated only a general explanation of the responsibilities of CMs in funding and managing the WBSS. The review indicated that circular number three of 2016 stated that community members were to volunteer their resources for the welfare and development of the schools within the community.

The MEO perceived that the government and CMs could share the burden of funding the school. He emphasized that there are minor activities that could be afforded by the CMs themselves:

> The statement of free education has not seriously looked at issues like watchman and water services at school; these could remain under CMs (MEO, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that there are some costs that could be the responsibility of CMs, and are within their capacity. If the policy clearly specifies certain costs as the specific responsibility of CMs, they could participate more than they do at present. This refers to costs that were initially incurred by CMs but after the fee free education policy, none of stakeholder is responsible in ensuring they are handled as the CMs feel they are exempted while fee compensation from the government do not cover the costs.

Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government

Three of the nine participants perceived that the government is responsible for all aspects of WBSS:

> There are those who still think that the government has to carry the whole burden/all the costs (BM, Ogoti).

They perceived the school to be a government school, so they had a view that it should be managed and funded by the owner [the government] as indicated in the following comment:

> …others think that the owner is the one supposed to fund (the state and its government has to fund) (CMX, Ogoti).

This perception links to the statement in circular number 6 of 2015, that refers to the District Executive Directors (DEDs) as the owners of the school, a concept that seemed to reduce the sense of ownership among community

members, and hence lowered participation levels (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017).

Parent X perceived that the government is responsible for funding the school. She explained that the government collects taxes from citizens and, in turn, is expected to provide education service:

> I think that the government is responsible because these are schools serving citizens (Parent X, Ogoti).

This view implies that the government is expected to be responsible for the provision and funding of education for her citizens. However, it was perceived to be irresponsible because it did not fund them adequately, due to limited sources of government funding.

Another community member expressed the view that the government had the ability to run and fund the schools:

> Some think that the government has the ability, so it should fund its schools by itself (CMX, Ogoti).

This view suggests that CMs perceived that the government is capable of funding government schools without support from CMs. This view was also expressed by a parent who perceived that the government was able to fully fund the school and all the WBSS:

> I think the government could be paying the costs. The government could increase the amount it provides to schools (Parent Y, Ogoti).

This comment indicates a perception that the government can fund the school and so it should increase the amount of grant disbursed to schools.

Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of community members

Only one of the nine participants viewed that community members are responsible for funding WBSS. He sees it as their responsibility:

> I think, since it is our school, we have the responsibility to fund it, but it is only the low income . . . that limits us . . . (CMY, Ogoti).

Another community member perceived that they were forced to participate in funding the school. He argued that "We differ in understanding, some participate as commanded" (CMY). This means that some CMs participated in school matters only because they were required to participate. However, some CMs perceived that they were not responsible for school matters. This was explained by the WEO:

> … CMs seem to be unaware of their roles on WBSS. They think that only parents are the ones to be responsible for the school. For a school to have success, citizens should fully participate regardless [of whether] they have children or not (WEO, Ogoti).

This comment shows that some CMs perceived that they are not responsible for the school. Awareness about their roles is crucial for sustainable funding of the school.

However, Parent Y added a different view. She perceived that, if a person has no children at the school, s/he should not be obliged to fund the school:

> Other community members apart from parents should be kept free to contribute when they feel like contributing (Parent Y, Ogoti).

Parents perceived that they were obliged to make contributions. The perception of obligatory participation was indicated by the teacher who commented that:

> Parents perceive that it is costly; they do it because it is compulsory, because, if they don't participate, their children won't continue with their studies (Teacher, Ogoti).

This teacher had the responsibility to coordinate parental participation at the school, so her comments were well-informed.

Lack of trust in ward leaders to manage school resources

Managing resources effectively is important to enhance the involvement of stakeholders. Failure to do that may develop negative perceptions against those in power. The lack of trust in local leaders at Ogoti resulted from their failure to account for school resources. Community members needed feedback from the leaders that could be read to them, or posted on the board at the WEO's office, to be aware of their contributions, as indicated by a parent:

> Our leaders should be reporting on the total amount collected and how it has been used (Parent X, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that community leaders did not provide feedback to CMs on school resources, leading to a lack of trust, as indicated by CMs:

> Feedback is supposed to be disseminated to *mitaa*...The big issue is to fail to believe leaders… (CMX, Ogoti).

Community members developed mistrust in their leaders because they did not receive the feedback expected from them. These included *mitaa* leaders who were collecting contributions from CMs, and the WEO, who was responsible for collecting contributions from *mitaa* leaders and submitting them to the school, but failed to provide feedback to CMs. Another community member commented that, "but the feedback is supposed to reach citizens" (CMY, Ogoti). Lack of trust in the leaders was a barrier for community participation.

Another participant perceived that lack of trust developed towards ward leaders when they failed to manage contributions for the school, while, when managed by the school management team or by the district officers, they worked better:

> Contributions are organized at school. The school management team administers the contributions and the activities go well and the work

> done is better. When administered from the *mtaa* or the ward, things do not go well…but when the district council administers, things go well (Teacher, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that community members lost their trust on ward leaders due to failure to manage school resources. This distrust demotivated community members' participation.

Ways to improve funding and managing WBSS

Community members perceived that their participation level was low. Participants expressed their views on how to improve the participation and hence funding and managing, as discussed below.

Educating community members on the importance of shared responsibility was among the suggested ways to improve the funding and management of the school. The board member opined that some CMs would believe, accept, and adhere to, information received as an official notification:

> My opinion is that, citizen believe much in official matters, they are happy to hear about free education. The government should educate them so that they support the school (BM, Ogoti).

This argument was supported by a parent who thought that it was necessary to involve all stakeholders in various leadership roles, including collecting contributions:

> The strategy is to involve both the teachers, parents and CMs in general, for example a parent also should be involved in collecting contributions (Parent Y, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that community members should be involved in various roles, including leadership roles. This argument was supported by the views of a teacher who saw the need for the government to clarify to CMs what free education means:

> The government should educate the mass about what free education means and to sensitize participation (Teacher, Ogoti).

This suggests a need to raise awareness among CMs, including providing feedback.

One participant believed that, to maximize school funding, community participation should focus more on parents rather than the wider community, because parents were more committed to the school. She suggested that "funding would increase may be by involving more the parents who have children at school" (MEO, Ogoti).

In contrast, the WEO had a view of involving more stakeholders, other than CMs and parents, to sponsor the school. The approach was perceived to improve school resourcing by diversifying contributions, as suggested by the WEO:

> …writing to them letters requesting their sponsorship, based on their location and the items that they can contribute (WEO, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that various educational stakeholders, other than the government, the CMs and parents, could be involved in funding the school. Stakeholders such as businessmen and political leaders can be invited through writing letters to them requesting their contributions.

Factors Facilitating Community Participation in the Development of Ogoti WBSS

Introduction

The facilitators of community participation in WBSS included national and local factors. Some enablers resulted from the influence of leaders, others originated from the benefits of participation perceived by community members, and others were from national policies. The findings are organised into three categories; community leadership, the benefits attached to the school, and education policies.

Community leadership

Community leaders are vested with powers to manage community members as part of the decentralization policy. They are responsible for ensuring social services provision for citizens, including education for all school-aged children in their areas of jurisdiction. They are required to mobilize local resources and manage the utilization of school resources. Community participation at Ogoti was influenced by both positive and negative facilitators.

Community participation at Ogoti was facilitated by leadership whereby local leaders were able to organise school matters and involve CMs. Among the strategies employed to facilitate support were public meetings. These were held to involve CMs in matters that needed their support, as discussed earlier.

Another strategy was setting targets, to accomplish one objective at a time, before they introduce a new one, as noted by the headmistress:

> Also, if given priorities, for instance what are we going to implement this year… and not giving several of them…people will not do any of them. But, if they have a target, it is easy (Headmistress, Ogoti).

The comment by the headmistress indicates that implementable goals were used to achieve objectives and to motivate community participation. The CMs, particularly parents, were influenced by close contacts with school leaders. This enhanced participation in school matters. On the other hand, the ward office focused more on follow-up strategies than procedures that would increase participation of CMs. Local leadership needs to seek acceptance from the CMs, as noted by the board member:

> …It is ward leadership in all spheres. If it is accepted, they will be able to sensitize citizens, but if they collide/quarrel…mmh… (BM, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that the ward leadership team could easily influence community participation if they had friendly relationship with CMs.

Openness about school income and expenditure was another strategy to facilitate CMs' participation. When there were clear reports on school income

and expenditure, CMs participated more. For example, posting on school boards the amount of funds disbursed from the central government (observation made on 16th November 2016), and presenting reports on what was mobilized from CMs, and how it was used, motivated them to boost their contributions:

> When there is openness and closeness to citizens, they are sensitized...they should see their little contribution being well utilized (BM, Ogoti).

More participation could also be expected when leaders involve CMs in issues from the initial stages and throughout all the stages. Parents at Ogoti participated more when they were involved by leaders from the initiation phase and throughout all stages of the programme:

> ...involvement is in planning, making decisions, identifying problems to be able to provide their suggestions, to set strategies for development of their school (BM, Ogoti).

The participation in all the stages of a school issue gave them deep understanding and opportunities to participate effectively in decision-making, as well as in implementation. However, in practice, what was found at Ogoti was that CMs were involved after the ward and school board had made decisions during their meetings.

The level of community members' participation was also influenced by negative facilitators. Local leaders involved CMs at short notice, mostly through meetings in which an issue was introduced and discussed, and an action plan was established. This process involved CMs and, soon after meetings, CMs were asked to make their contributions. If CMs could not make the agreed contribution, they were asked to contribute in instalments until the whole amount had been paid. Actions would be taken against those who did not pay:

> During the meetings, we set resolutions. If anybody goes against them, he is sent to court as anti-development (BM, Ogoti).

These control mechanisms set during meetings helped to make CMs accountable for their roles. CMs were not participating as volunteers but because they were compelled to participate. In respect of parents, for example, the headmistress commented that "there is no motivation provided; every parent must contribute the amount stated" (Headmistress, Ogoti). This view was supported by one of the parents who argued that "As a parent, I have to participate whenever I am asked". (Parent Y, Ogoti). This is because failure to participate would lead to interrogation by ward officials and they could be fined for irresponsibility, as indicated by CMY:

> …to make follow-ups on them, to threaten them, for example to send them to police/court, to pay fines, or the WDC to call and talk to them (CMY, Ogoti).

This implies that leaders used threats to make CMs participate in development activities. CMs feared these threats, so they found it better to participate rather than facing any of the actions against them:

> No motivation, but there are steps taken for those who do not contribute, they are asked to report to the ward office (Parent Y, Ogoti).

This indicates that it is the obligatory nature of CP that kept CMs participating in the WBSS.

Community leaders generally were able to influence the participation of CMs. They made this possible by positive facilitators including organising meetings to communicate information related to the school, developing closer communication, setting achievable goals and focusing on them, being transparent on issues of income and expenditure thus developing trust and enhancing sustainable participation, and by sending appreciations. They also used negative motivators such as threats, and charging them fines.

Benefits related to community participation in the school

Community members were motivated to participate in the development of WBSS due to the benefits they expected from having a school in their ward. CMs participated so as to have a school that would activate the development of their ward:

> To know the importance of the school will assist CMs to like development (CMY, Ogoti).

This comment implies that, if CMs were aware of the importance of the school, they would participate in school matters so as to maintain the school that, in turn, would activate ward development. Some CMs especially parents participated because they were aware of benefits from the school.

The need for the CMs to perceive the benefits of their efforts for the school was necessary in sustaining their participation. CMs would develop more spirit of participation when they witness the impact of their participation on school improvement:

> …they want to see the products. You say you want to build toilets… They don't see them, instead of three gates they see only one, I don't know whether they will agree next time (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that, CMs were motivated by seeing and believing that their contributions were reflected in the improvement of the school. They were more likely to continue contributing to the school when they perceive that their participation contributed to development. This had implications for the sustainability of CMs' participation. When they were aware of what was going on in terms of school resources, sources of school funds, and the expenditure patterns, they developed a sense of responsibility and a willingness to contribute for the welfare of the school.

Education policies

National policies are set by the responsible ministries; in this context the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT). Institutional policies are expected to draw from, and be consistent with, the national policies. The 1995 Education Training Policy, the 2014 Education Training Policy, circular number six of 2015, and circular number three of 2016, required CMs to volunteer in providing labour, material and cash contributions, as well as controlling students' discipline (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017). These helped to hold CMs responsible for the policy requirements, including volunteering to support the development of the school. However, it was the implementation of the national policies that was influential in enforcing CP, regardless of local needs and school priorities:

> We executives are supposed to stand for government policies…but the implementation is difficult. It is difficult because the situation of our schools requires priority requirements that do not match government policies (MEO, Ogoti).

This comment indicates that local leaders were expected to safeguard and ensure that national policies were implemented. They could not declare inconsistency between national and school policies because of their oath to government. Therefore, they had to strive to see that the national policies were implemented. However, they faced challenges in implementing them because they did not match local requirements. Nevertheless, such policies, regardless of their irrelevance to local needs, helped to make CMs responsible to the school by stating what was expected from CMs.

Factors Inhibiting Community Participation in the Development of Ogoti WBSS

Introduction

This section focuses on barriers to community participation and funding. The findings are organised into four themes; low income, policy awareness, policy contradictions, and the politics of multi-partyism, as presented below:

Low income

Income levels influenced the ability and readiness of community members to participate in school matters. It was a major factor hindering CP in the development of the school because most CMs found it difficult to contribute, due to limited income. Several participants admitted that low income was a barrier for CP in WBSS, as illustrated below:

> Truly they have difficult life conditions...but it should not come to be 'free is expensive'... When they are required to contribute, they should contribute (BM, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that CMs had limited income to contribute for school development. However, the comment suggests that they were not supposed to rely totally on government funding of their school. This view is supported by the head who argued that income was among the factors that inhibited contributions:

> If they have… no problem, they contribute. Some are limited by their incomes… What I know [is that] citizens are not such misers, if educated there won't be a problem (headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment shows that, apart from limited income, awareness was important to make CMs participate if they had the resources. One parent also commented on low income as a factor inhibiting participation:

> …when I have no money, and contributions are required, or if there are family problems (Parent Y, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that CMs failed to participate in resourcing the school because they had several priorities with limited resources. Therefore, they could not prioritise school funding at the expense of family needs.

Community members were allowed to contribute in instalments since it was understood that income levels were among the problems that hindered their participation. This was because most of the activities required resources as noted:

> No barriers other than low income ability. Thus, we are allowed to contribute in instalments (Parent X, Ogoti).

This comment indicates that local leaders allowed CMs to make their contributions in instalments because they were aware that CMs were limited by low income levels. Yet, the contributions were delayed because of their low-income abilities. The board member added that:

> Mhh...There is…there is [the] economic situation, economic income …you may say they don't want… [to participate]. But when you look at them the way they are… so there is the economic situation (BM, Ogoti).

This comment implies that one may think that CMs do not want to contribute, but when their income abilities are examined may show that they are incapable of making contributions. Low income was mentioned by seven out of nine participants as a major obstacle that hindered CMs from participating in school matters.

Policy awareness

Education policies in Tanzania are prepared by policy makers in collaboration with representative stakeholders. However, their dissemination seemed to be limited, so that community members were not always aware of the policies, as noted by the WEO that "[only] a few are aware about policies" (WEO, Ogoti). The fee-free education policy was announced by political leaders for political interests, not by those who were required to disseminate it. Politicians used it as a pledge to citizens during political campaigns, thus blurring it, leading to it being perceived as totally free by the CMs, as the MEO commented:

> People want to follow government policy because it favours them (MEO, Ogoti).

This comment implies that the policy of fee-free education was conceived by CMs to mean that all the costs would be the responsibility of the government. Most CMs were happy with the free education policy. Over time, leaders came

to know that the CMs were still expected to participate in school issues and they had power to enforce them, as explained by the MEO:

> Leaders could not enforce it unless they had a permit from the district office (MEO, Ogoti).

This comment implies that leaders had powers to enforce CP after having a permit from the district offices. The fee-free education policy pronouncement was made on political platforms, because the politicians wanted to win the votes from community members. They used the fee free education policy to influence CMs to support their party. The policy was also announced to convince CMs that they were working to serve the masses. It was promulgated as though education was totally free to CMs while, in reality, they had some responsibilities in resourcing the school.

Parents had a similar conception on free education. They were not aware that they had some costs to pay. For example, they were expected to pay the private costs for their children. These included transport fares, lunch costs, uniforms, for day scholars, and mattresses, sheets and return fares for boarding scholars (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017).

The headmistress maintained that:

> They think, since it is free education, they are just to send their children without being responsible for anything… if you ask students to bring just brooms [something usual for these schools], they complain, … it is a case/problem (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment indicates that communication between top authorities and the CMs was not effective enough in providing accurate information about the implementation of policy statements. Consequently, CMs stopped performing roles that they used to perform before the free education policy announcement. CMs did not engage in any school activity, as the headmistress explained:

> …they were contributing but not for the year 2016. Last year [2016] they didn't participate in any way…The free education concept makes

> the community step back on participating in school activities (Headmistress, Ogoti).

This comment implies that CMs could not participate in activities that needed their support unless they were involved by their leaders. Lack of participation by CMs can be explained by the lack of awareness about what was expected from them. Lack of awareness was a result of the limited involvement of CMs by their leaders. This was because local leaders also lacked basic information related to the policy. They thought that they were not supposed to collect, and they dared not collect any contributions from CMs. This implies that even leaders were less aware of the directives linked to the fee-free education policy, while they were the people expected to create awareness among CMs about the new policy. Surprisingly, even the headmistress, who had copies of the circulars with all the directives, was less aware. The circulars were sent to each head, so that they implement them. They were also expected to disseminate them to education stakeholders for awareness and implementation.

Policy contradictions

Policy contradictions also hindered community participation. This happened where government policies were difficult to implement in the school context because of a mismatch with school priorities. For example, the school priority was to ensure that school facilities and infrastructure accommodated all the students, through CP, while the government announced free education focusing on relieving parents' burden:

> The school policies and plans, and [those of] government, do not match, many [school] plans [programmes] have stagnated. For example, we planned to build a school-hall, but it has failed because we can't involve citizens (Teacher, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that the free education policy made it difficult for the school management team to seek support from community members. The school-hall was intended to be constructed through contributions from CMs

but, after the fee-free education policy announcement, there was no ongoing activity related to the construction of any school building. Leaders stopped involving CMs because they perceived that it was against the policy.

The findings also indicate that, before policy dissemination, there was no thorough analysis of educational policies. The policies were disseminated without conducting a needs analysis and assessing whether the policy could succeed. One participant, after experiencing policy barriers, suggested the need to clarify the responsibilities of each party:

> My opinion is that, before political announcements, there should be a check on those higher authorities. They should discuss and keep clear on aspects to be contributed by the CMs as well as the responsibility of the government . . . (WEO, Ogoti).

This view suggests that policy dissemination did not keep clear the roles of CMs. Thus, it recommends a thorough presentation of details of the policy so that every stakeholder is aware of what is supposed to be implemented.

The politics of multi-partyism

Ogoti experienced strong competition and conflicts arising from multiple ideologies of political parties. Community members supported different political parties. The ideologies of political parties seemed to impact negatively the levels of participation of CMs. For example, the headmistress noted that "the councillor of this ward is from the opposition political party" (Headmistress, Ogoti). During discussions and decision-making, both parties, attempted to induce party interests, or argued for their party interest rather than the interests of the school (Field notes taken on 17th January 2017). The *mtaa* executive officer cautioned that:

> The ideologies of multiple political parties have brought problems in implementing activities. Development activities are not supposed to be associated with the ideologies of parties (MEO, Ogoti).

Politics seemed to obstruct activities related to school development. In working together towards development, for example, opposition leaders who won elections faced challenges of lacking acceptance and support from members of ruling party, as noted by a teacher:

> Political interference causes demotivation among those who are in [the] front line (Teacher, Ogoti).

This comment implies that the elected leaders from opposition parties were demotivated due to challenges from leaders of the ruling party.

Politics affected the reception of the fee free education policy. Each political party made use of policy misconceptions for their party advantage. Politicians had taken advantage of the misconception about the fee-free education policy to win support from citizens. The ruling party used the policies to convince citizens that they were implementing national policies. The opposition parties, on the other hand, argued that the ruling party was charging community members for education while it was supposed to be free and that, if it were their party in power, they would not ask CMs for any contributions. The political parties seem to mislead CMs.

> Politics has destroyed/harmed because . . . for now the issue of free education, people have received it differently [wrongly] (Headmistress, Ogoti).

In addition, political issues seemed to affect community members' participation in school:

> But also there are political issues. You may find a person does not want to respond [to issues related to school] just because the one in power messed up (quarrelled) during elections (BM, Ogoti).

This comment suggests that a person would not be willing to participate in school matters because s/he had a conflict with a leader from the other political party. Also, they would not participate so that the party in power appears to

fail, so the other party would convince the CMs to allow it take over. Conflicts among opposition political parties were a barrier to community participation.

Overview

This chapter presents the findings on CP in the development of WBSS from the first case-study school, Ogoti. The findings are based on data from interviews, observation, and documentary reviews.

This case has shown that community participation was mainly through contributions and was made by two groups; community members and parents. The findings show the significance of local leaders in involving CMs to participate in school matters. It has identified community contributions as the most common methods used to involve CMs in the school. The contributions found in this case were mainly ideas during decision-making meetings, and funding in its various forms. The case has shown the importance of CP in school matters especially when the government could not afford to provide and fund education on its own. However, it suggests that local leaders lacked long-term plans for involving CMs, with participation following events as they emerged.

Parents were more involved in school matters than other community members. They were able to organise the construction of classrooms on their own. Contributions were on a 'voluntary' basis, although there were steps taken against those who did not contribute. Participants thought funding could be improved through involving the wider community in sponsoring the school, and by providing information through formal channels, so that CMs would take them seriously.

The fee-free education policy significantly affected the nature and extent of CP due to political interference, lack of awareness. and a mismatch with individual school policies and priorities. The participants had varied perceptions on their responsibilities to the school, with a range of views about the balance between government and community members' responsibility.

The case identified strategies for successful participation of CMs in school matters, including involving CMs through meetings, setting implementable goals and follow-up strategies, transparency and appreciation, and stressing the obligatory nature of community participation. However, CMs developed low trust in their local leaders due to lack of feedback on school income and expenditure. CP was further hindered by several factors, including low income, lack of policy awareness, policy mismatch, and multi-party ideologies that were dividing people.

CHAPTER FIVE: TONONGWA SECONDARY SCHOOL

Background

This chapter presents and discusses the findings from the second case study, Tonongwa secondary school. It describes the participants, sources of data and the context of the case, followed by presentation of findings and finally it provides an overview of the chapter.

This case draws findings from data that were collected from interviews, observation, and documentary reviews. The interviews were held with the headmaster, one teacher, one board member (BM), the Ward Executive Officer (WEO), the Village Executive Officer (VEO), two parents (Parent X and Parent Y) and two community members (CMX and CMY). Interviews took place in different offices including school, ward, and village offices. The interview data were supplemented by data from documentary reviews. The documents reviewed include the monthly reports, minutes of parents and board meetings, official letters, documents from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT). School observation involved observing school buildings, facilities, and the surrounding environment. The findings are arranged in themes and sub-themes emerging from the data.

Context

Tonongwa secondary school is a rural based ward secondary school. Like many other WBSS, it was established in 2007, the second of two secondary schools serving the Tonongwa ward. The other school is a well-established government school. Tonongwa is located in an isolated area three kilometres away from the ward centre and from the other secondary school. It serves several villages some distance from the school. One village is about 20 minutes' walk away, but the rest are more than 45 minutes from the school. Tonongwa is isolated from community residences because of disagreement about the location of the school. Every village wanted the school to be located at their village. Finally, they agreed on a location by considering accessibility from all the villages. The host village was required to provide a site for the

school. The best places that could offer an area large enough to accommodate the school were village farms, so a portion was acquired from farms owned by the village government.

The school is surrounded by village farms and villagers' plots. On the south-west side is an elongated shrub, occupying about 20 square kilometres. Sparsely distributed houses can be seen at a distance. As noted earlier, village settlements are situated away from the school area and some students had to walk long distances to reach the school.

The school location is disadvantaged in terms of accessibility to social services including public transport, health, electricity and water. The road is distant from the school, as it passes through the ward centre in a different direction. Even if students and teachers were to travel to school by bus, they would have to walk a long distance from the bus stop at the ward centre. Hence, few teachers and students chose to ride to school, and the majority had to walk.

There are no social services close to the school. The school has only a first aid kit, so they have to walk a long distance for health services located at the ward centre. There are no electricity lines and no water system to supply the school. The school board was planning a project to draw water from one village where there is a water source.

The members of the community are mostly from one tribe with a few belonging to another tribe. The two tribes share similar cultural aspects, including ways of greetings, food, and clothes.

The economic activities at Tonongwa are mainly limited to small-scale peasant farming. These farms mostly produced seasonal crops such as maize, beans, potatoes and bananas. A few cash crops, particularly coffee, are also grown. Most of CMs at Tonongwa are peasants with average income derived from their plots. A few CMs produced substantial crops to sell at markets located in the town. However, some CMs are very poor, with low incomes.

School context

At the time of the research, Tonongwa secondary school had enrolled a total of 301 students, of whom 134 were boys and 167 were girls. Table 5.1 summarises student numbers by form and gender.

Form	Boys	Girls	Total
Form 1	49	58	107
Form 2	33	46	79
Form 3	22	33	55
Form 4	30	30	60
Total	134	167	301

Table 5. 1: Number of students at Tonongwa
(Source; Documentary review)

Tonongwa had managed to acquire certain basic facilities and infrastructure but it faced an acute shortage of furniture, as summarized in table 5.2:

Furniture	Required	Available	Shortage
Tables	346	206	140
Chairs	346	240	106

Table 5. 2: School furniture at Tonongwa
(Source; Documentary review)

The school required 346 tables and chairs, for use by students in classrooms and by teachers in offices, with a few extra for school visitors. Apart from two classrooms that were constructed by the aid of TASAF (Tanzania Social Action Fund), classrooms were constructed by community members. There were ten classrooms, enough in number, but the windows, walls and roofs were not finished. The floors were dilapidated and dusty. The offices in the administration block were unfinished; the walls were not painted and they had no ceiling boards. However, they were already in use.

The school had no library; therefore, books were stored in the deputy headmaster's office for teachers to access them for their classes. It had three laboratories, but they were not finished. The roofs lacked ceiling boards and walls were not yet painted. Moreover, none of the teachers' houses had been built. The school had 18 toilets, but these were not in use because there was no

reliable source of water. Hence, 12 temporary toilets, that could be used with little water, were in use instead, but these were about to be full and hence out of use. So the school was struggling to build other temporary toilets because providing water was a long-term plan and expensive to instal. Table 5.3 summarises the facilities at Tonongwa:

facilities	Required	Available	Shortage
Administration block	1	1	Unfinished
Classrooms	8	10	2 extra
Library	1	0	1
Laboratories	3	3	Unfinished
Girls' toilets	9	8	1
Boys' toilets	6	8	2 extra
Teachers' toilets	2	2	0
Teachers' houses	16	0	16
Store	1	0	1

Table 5. 3: Tonongwa facilities
(Source: Documentary review and observation)

The school had 16 teachers. It also employed part-time teachers who were paid by parental contributions. It employed one typist, who also worked as the headmaster's secretary, and two security guards from the community. The school board had to look for sponsors for students from very poor households. The school had farms and bee-keeping projects that supported the running of the school although the production was at a low level.

Community Participation in the Development of Tonongwa Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

Community participation at Tonongwa was initiated by the leaders involving community members in school issues. The community members (CMs) included both parents and non-parent CMs. Both school and ward leaders were responsible for overseeing community participation. There were three main ways of involving CMs in school matters. These were attending, and

contributing to, meetings, participating in decision making and planning, and funding the school.

Meetings

Community members at Tonongwa were involved in various school issues through meetings. Meetings were used for communication between leaders and CMs as well as for discussing school matters. Both parents and other CMs were involved in public meetings. They had an opportunity to attend such meetings after being informed by local leaders. The meetings enabled several groups of CMs such as teachers, parents, CMs, and local leaders, to engage in discussions, as the board member suggests:

> The school board cannot mobilize CMs for a meeting, if there is a need, it should inform the ward office to organize a public meeting. …parents, teachers and CMs used to discuss together… (BM, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that school leaders could not organize CMs' meetings. Most public meetings were held by the ward, village and hamlet officials. These are government officials given power and a mandate to lead people in their respective areas. The school had to wait for the authorities to call meetings. These meetings were held to seek support from the community for the intended activities, as one community member commented:

> The headmaster communicates with the ward and village government, then a meeting is held. If accepted, the issue is implemented (CMY, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that meetings provided important opportunities for CMs' participation in discussions. Through their involvement, it was possible for CMs to participate in the implementation of the plans they were involved in setting, although they targeted mainly on contributions.

In contrast, parents' meetings could be organized by the school management team and school board without informing the ward office. A Tonongwa teacher confirmed that "parents are asked [by school management] to come to school for discussions" (Teacher, Tonongwa). These meetings were held at the school

compounds. They were mostly held during construction season and at the beginning of school term. These meetings comprised the headmaster, parents, teachers, and few members of school board (Field notes taken on 13th October 2016). The field notes showed that the average parents' attendance ranged at 62 percent, implying nearly half of CMs were not attending.

Decision making and planning

Community members at Tonongwa participated in decision making and planning through meetings. They participated by contributing their ideas for the development of the school. They were also given an opportunity to calculate the amount provided by the government, and the total school requirements. Then they calculate the amount for CMs to contribute, as the comment explains:

> . . . we plan and decide. We do an evaluation of what the government has done and what is left for us to do (Parent X, Tonongwa).

Both community members and parents participated in discussing various matters suggested by leaders, or arising in the meeting, for example the feedback reports on community contributions presented to them. This enhanced accountability for leaders, as CMs were involved in discussing the reports, as one community member suggests:

> The leaders bring a report to the public meeting and it may be the main agenda [item]. The citizens question it, discuss and may accept it or not (CMY, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that CMs participated in deciding whether the report prepared by their leaders should be accepted or rejected, based on the perceived accuracy of the information.

In some cases, CMs participated in discussing emerging issues, as one community member comments:

> A meeting may be called if there is an emergency case, and it is discussed (CMY, Tonongwa).

This happened when CMs' support was required to resolve pressing issues emerged at the school. Thus, CMs were involved in making decisions pertaining to contributions for the wellbeing of the school, as one community member commented:

> The amounts are decided by all the members in the meeting. They decide the rates basing on challenges and requirements, for example desks, or classrooms [requirements] (CMY, Tonongwa).

The comment suggests that all the CMs were involved in decision-making, although the involvement seemed to be limited to certain aspects, especially those intended to lead to requests for contributions from CMs.

Moreover, it seemed that decisions were made during leaders' meetings at the ward office and, subsequently, public meetings were held to involve CMs. School board meetings were also held to discuss issues facing the school, prior to parents' meetings, as noted by the teacher:

> The board makes decisions based on teachers' views. It represents the parents in making decisions (Teacher, Tonongwa).

This sub-section shows that the majority of CMs were not given an opportunity to participate in all stages of decision-making. Leaders made decisions on behalf of CMs. Community members became involved notably in deciding the amount, and the deadline, especially when contributions were required from them.

Management of community participation

Community participation in school matters was managed by the school management team and the school board together with the government administrators at the ward level. These included the WEO, and all village and

hamlet[10] leaders. The management of CP was initiated by informing CMs about various school matters, as the WEO demonstrates:

> When we have an issue … we discuss the issue, then VEOs call meetings with citizens in their respective villages (WEO, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that, in managing community participation, ward leaders first shared information among themselves, and then the information was further channelled to CMs by village leaders. Villagers would then participate in the issue through their hamlets:

> The village government used to give us [hamlet] information… we were participating through our leaders (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that local leaders involved community members by informing them about school requirements, and the support required from them. CMs would then suggest solutions and start implementation. One example relates to the problem in using the toilets at the school due to lack of a reliable source of water. CMs were involved, and they suggested that two villages should process water pipes to the school and the other two villages should deal with constructing temporary toilets. In the following year, permanent toilets should be built. So parents agreed to contribute 12,000Tsh within 18 days. After the deadline, a penalty would be charged, so one will then have to pay 20,000Tsh. However, by the end of the deadline only 60% of contributions were collected (Field notes taken on 13th December, 2016).

School activities were distributed to hamlets for closer supervision by hamlet leaders. Village leaders scheduled activities for all hamlets, as the VEO indicates:

> Every hamlet is given a roster to go to volunteer at the school (VEO, Tonongwa).

Each hamlet was given a timetable to attend to school activities. CMs from each hamlet attended under the supervision of the hamlet leadership.

[10] A hamlet is an administrative area below the village. Four to six hamlets form a village

Local leaders were strict on the issue of contributions, so that CMs viewed it as a very strict government undertaking. However, they seemed not to be comfortable about the way contributions were handled by their leaders. If a community member did not contribute, as planned, the person would be contacted to report at the ward office to state why he/she did not make contributions. CMs at Tonongwa had a fear of being penalized as one parent suggests:

> WDC provides punishment if one resists contributing, for instance they are sent to court or the person may be called to the WDC to state why he is not contributing (Parent, Tonongwa).

This comment implies that local leaders supervised the participation by administering some control measures that made CMs feel threatened. It seemed that there was a wide gap between the leaders and CMs, so that the latter's involvement was forced rather than collaborative:

> We are given orders from the WEO, so it is a command that every community member must implement (CMX, Tonongwa).

However, a teacher indicated that CMs were sensitized to create awareness among them about the importance of education:

> …we can sensitize them so that they know the importance of education… (Teacher, Tonongwa).

This comment implies that leaders mobilized CMs and created awareness about the importance of education, and the need to contribute to the school. They sensitized the participation of CMs in school matters to ensure maximum participation.

The extent of community contributions

The level of community participation at Tonongwa was determined by the number of times CMs were involved in contributing to the school. CMs

participated in school issues whenever they were involved by leaders, as noted by one parent:

> …we can be involved thrice a year depending on how the situation appears … (Parent X, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that the frequency of CMs' participation in school matters was determined by school requirements. It was also determined by the seasons for construction, because CP at Tonongwa mostly focused on construction activities, as one community member suggests:

> Construction starts from April to October, before the rainy season... (CMY, Tonongwa).

Therefore, CMs participated in school activities mostly during the dry season. In addition, the ward leaders also determined the levels of CP as they set the amount for a hamlet to mobilize from CMs, as one parent suggest:

> Every hamlet is given the amount to contribute… (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

This comment implies that leaders were aware of the number of residents in each village and hamlet. This is because calculations of amounts to contribute were decided based on the number of CMs who could work. However, following the fee-free education policy announcement, the level of mobilization of resources from CMs declined:

> …. the education requirements are many, but the order has come out that we should not collect contributions (Teacher, Tonongwa).

This comment implies that, despite the support needed from CMs, local leaders were asked to stop collecting contributions from CMs. This order was related to the announcement of the fee-free education policy. Consequently, the level of community participation dropped, as the headmaster indicates:

> …the policy of free education has stepped back the rate of participation (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

The headmaster's comment shows that the policy announcement impacted on the level of CMs' participation. CMs were no longer participating in school matters. This was because the policy announcement led to orders from district authorities requiring ward, village and school leaders to stop collecting contributions from CMs.

Community Participation in Funding Tonongwa Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and discusses findings on community funding for Tonongwa secondary school. It considers the perceived need for involving CMs in funding the school. It also covers the nature and forms of community funding for the school.

The need for community participation in funding WBSS

Community participation at Tonongwa was necessary for several reasons. First, it was necessary for CMs to participate in funding the school because their contributions enhanced the construction and maintenance of the school:

> It is important for them to be involved in WBSS because the schools are constructed by citizens and not by parents [alone], so it is important to involve them (BM, Tonongwa).

This comment implies that community contributions were important in supporting the construction of school buildings. Community participation enhanced the mobilization of resources from local sources. Construction and maintenance of the school were made possible through the participation of both CMs and parents.

Community participation enabled CMs to receive more details concerning their school. It also enhanced awareness creation about school activities. This helped to promote a positive response of CMs to emerging school issues. It also made possible for CMs to think about solutions for the issues facing the school. One community member commented that:

> It is important so as to know what goes on from the bottom to the top and from the top to the bottom (CMX, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that, by participating, CMs were able to access updates concerning school matters at all levels of the school hierarchy, thus making them more closely related to the school. Participation enabled CMs to receive details about the school, and to consider solutions for school issues.

The nature of community participation in funding the WBSS

Community participation at Tonongwa begins with sharing information from the school to the ward office, and then to lower administrative units; the villages and the hamlets. The communication was done through meetings, as indicated by the WEO:

> We give the chance to the headmaster to present and explain about the school problems, we discuss to get solutions. Then we assign the VEOs to organize public meetings in their villages. Then, the village burden is shared by considering the number of citizens who are able to work (WEO, Tonongwa).

Certain aspects of the school are the responsibility of all the community members while some costs are the responsibility of parents. These differences were noted by the board member:

> There must be a difference [implying that there is an obvious difference due to varied responsibilities] between CMs and parental contributions (BM, Tonongwa).

This comment confirms that there are differences in contributions made by CMs and those by parents. CMs are involved in the construction and maintenance of school infrastructure. Parents are responsible for funding the costs for their children's learning in addition to the roles they played as CMs. This is noted by Parent X:

> There are activities that concern the CMs, especially those that concern the school, but when contributions are for students' needs, it is the concern of parents (Parent X, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that all the activities related to maintenance of the school are the responsibilities of CMs while those related to private costs of students' learning are the responsibility of parents.

Forms of community members' funding

Community members participated in construction activities, and maintenance, as well as in the running costs of the school. They participated in the funding of the school in three forms; cash, labour, and material contributions:

> …through contributing materials, labour power, cash, and attending meetings (WEO, Tonongwa).

Community members' participation could involve any of the three forms of contribution:

Cash contributions

Cash was useful in the budgeting process, and the distribution of responsibilities. They simplified the calculations, and the division of costs among the contributors:

> Cash form is used, for calculating the contribution from each citizen (CMY, Tonongwa).

The cash value was used to calculate the amount for each community member to contribute. It also enhanced the recording of contributions. Other forms of contribution were converted to cash terms for recording purposes.

Community members were asked to pay cash contributions for certain categories of payments, including payments for non-teaching staff, security guards and the typist, employed by the school, as well as for part-time teachers. This was noted by the teacher who commented that "the contributions were through cash money" (Teacher, Tonongwa). Cash contributions were sometimes made also for payments related to construction and maintenance of school infrastructure, and purchasing furniture as the WEO suggests:

> …they contribute money for classroom construction and for purchasing desks (WEO, Tonongwa).

Cash contributions were regarded as more convenient because they simplified the payment related to construction activities.

Labour power contributions

Some CMs at Tonongwa were involved by providing their labour power at the school, as noted by one community member:

> …by contributing labour power . . . we participate for example in carrying building materials… (CMY, Tonongwa).

The labour power contribution at Tonongwa was mostly evident during the construction activities at the school. It was considered an alternative for those who had no cash or materials to contribute:

> . . . When a person has no cash, he/she [can] contribute the alternative, which is labour power or crops (CMX, Tonongwa).

Community members provided their labour power by assisting constructors. For example, they participated by fetching water, laying bricks, and working at the site to support constructors, as Parent Y commented:

> …the contributions included brick laying, [and] fetching water… (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

Community members also made their contributions by providing their labour power to school as professional constructors by substituting their labour for the cash they would have contributed, as commented by one community member that "I contribute technical and labour power" (CMY, Tonongwa). The labour power contribution was further explained by the headmaster:

> Previously, before free education, the CMs used to make bricks … to fetch water… the WDC also used to recruit people to construct the [school] buildings (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that community members participated in numerous activities at the school, ranging from skilled to unskilled labour provision.

Material contributions

Community members at Tonongwa participated in the construction and maintenance of the school by offering materials. These materials were accepted, and calculated into cash terms, as one parent suggests:

> If they [CMs] provide construction materials, they [leaders] accept to calculate to monetary value, for example bricks, sand, water, poles (Parent X, Tonongwa).

Community members who could not provide cash contributions were free to contribute materials instead. The added advantage of material contributions was that they could be acquired in the villages. For example, those CMs who had trees offered poles for construction purposes. Some would be asked to offer such materials as sand, and others could offer crops, as the WEO noted:

> …contributions of materials…They also provide crop contributions and their participation level is good (WEO, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that community participation was not affected by lack of money because some CMs could offer materials instead. Community leaders accepted materials provided by the CMs because they could calculate their monetary value and equate them to the cash contributions they were required to contribute.

Parental Participation in Funding Tonongwa Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

Parental funding was a common practice at Tonongwa. Parents participated in funding the school, as community members and as parents. They made contributions for construction and maintenance, and also paid private costs for their children. Moreover, parents were involved in school matters whenever a problem emerged. They were requested to support the school, especially in development programmes. Their participation was demonstrated in several ways, as discussed below:

Ways of involving parents in funding WBSS

Parents were involved by local leaders in funding the school initially by being informed about school requirements. Leaders communicated with them through parents' meetings.

> . . . calling parents' meetings, telling them that the school still faced some problems, and the need for their support (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

Before parents began to fund the school, they were involved in discussing plans to encourage their contributions. They were also supposed to be involved in reviewing their participation, as one parent commented:

> The previous leadership phase provided chances to evaluate our contributions; currently we have not done any (Parent X, Tonongwa).

Through the evaluations, parents would be aware of the status of their contributions. The evaluation also enabled them to know the successes they have made on school matters and the next actions to take.

Parents were also directly involved in providing private costs for their children, such as uniforms and the cost of private tuition, as the teacher's comment suggests:

> Their responsibility is to ensure uniforms and other needs are given to their children (Teacher, Tonongwa).

Discussion with parents sometimes led to additional contributions, for example to provide for lunch for distant students, as reflected by the board member:

> When the board meets, it involves parents, for instance, since we saw that some students come from afar, we agreed to contribute for lunch (BM, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that the school board held discussions with parents to resolve various issues, such as lunch. Parents agreed to contribute for their children to receive lunch at school.

Management of parental participation in funding the school

Parental participation in funding the school at Tonongwa was the responsibility of the school management team, with support from the school board, and local government offices, particularly the hamlets. The school management team organised meetings, contributions, and supervised parents in school matters. It allowed parents to discuss and agree on solutions to school problems. Field notes taken on 13th December 2016 show that parents agreed to contribute for the construction of temporary toilets. They could also set deadlines, as a way of controlling the contributions.

The management of parental participation also involved announcements about the contributions they were required to make:

> By announcing to us about…contributions for the security guide [and] for tuition… We contributed in cash form (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

Announcements were through meetings and via students. They were designed to inform parents about the school's requirements.

The teachers and the school board organised contributions first, by informing parents, and then by mobilizing their contributions. They also supervised the activities carried out by parents to ensure that parents fulfilled the requirements for their children's learning. In cases where parents resisted or delayed contributing, school leaders took some control measures, as noted by one parent:

> The parent is called to the school to state why s/he is not participating, and [or] not fulfilling the student's [learning] requirements (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that actions were taken against parents who failed to cover the costs of their children's learning.

Perceptions of Community Members about their Participation in the Development of Tonongwa Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and analyses the perceptions of community members on community participation and funding of WBSS. The findings in this section are mainly drawn from interviews and documentary reviews. The section is organised into five sub-sections:

- funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community members,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of CMs,

- lack of trust in ward leaders to manage school resources,
- ways to improve funding and managing WBSS.

Funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community members

Five of the nine participants perceived that funding and managing the school was a shared responsibility between the government and community members. The government of Tanzania was aware that grants reaching the school were not enough. Hence CMs were requested to participate in school matters to supplement government efforts, as the teacher indicates:

> The view on the side of the government [is that] what is reaching the school is not enough, other stakeholders/funders consider only those schools located in places they are interested (Teacher, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that the government recognises that it is not possible for one source of funding to cover all the costs. Moreover, at Tonongwa, there were no interested donors to fund the school, thus the reliable source to supplement government funding was from the CMs.

Two of the participants viewed that the government is more responsible than parents and CMs, but parent Y believed that parents and CMs should also contribute to the school:

> The government was supposed to provide the big portion…The amount contributed by parents and CMs should be the same because they are contributing for development even if one has no children at school, others' children are like your children (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that, while the government should contribute more, both CMs and parents should also participate in school matters regardless of whether they have school-aged children. The parent used a Swahili saying "*mtoto wa mwenzio muone kama mtoto wako*", meaning 'one should consider others' children as hers/his', and so participate in school matters. Also, both should participate because it is for the development of the whole ward.

This view was supported by CMY who argued that the government should increase its contribution. She added that CMs should contribute less than any other educational stakeholder:

> We initiate, and then the district council will notice that we like development, so they will support us…CMs should be less involved than other stakeholders such as parents and the government (CMY, Tonongwa).

Community member Y believes that the government supports CMs efforts after seeing the hard work done by the community. However, she also suggests that CMs should have fewer responsibilities to school than the parents.

Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government

Two of the nine participants at Tonongwa perceived that the government is responsible for funding and managing the school. The headmaster thinks that some community members view the school as a public school under government ownership, and perceive that management and funding is the role of the owner, the government:

> They would like the government to provide everything because the school is under government ownership [They question] why shouldn't it incur all the costs? (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

The WEO had a similar view that funding is the responsibility of the government. This perception was enhanced by the announcement of fee-free education, perceiving that the government had resumed its responsibilities through this policy:

> …they view it as a responsibility of the government. Previously the trend was good**,** because they contributed a lot in school development. Now the trend has declined (WEO, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that, before the announcement of the fee-free education policy, CMs had developed a sense of responsibility for WBSS.

However, following the announcement of the policy, they developed a perception that it was the responsibility of the government.

Another factor that might have resulted in the perception that funding and managing the school is the responsibility of the government is the way that school ownership is defined. Field notes taken on 19th October 2016 indicate that CMs identify these schools as government schools. Certain documents also seem to acknowledge the District Executive Director (DED) as the owner of the WBSS. For example, circular number six of 2015, about implementation of free basic education, addresses the directors of cities, municipalities, and districts, as the owners of the WBSS in their areas of jurisdiction. This influenced CMs to perceive that the school is not theirs and that the owner should take the responsibility.

Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of community members

Two out of nine participants perceived funding and managing the school as community members' responsibility because that is their traditional role, as indicated by one community member:

> It has been usual [for some time], so the citizens view it normal. We see it as our own responsibility (CMX, Tonongwa).

Community members perceived that participating in funding is their responsibility. They viewed that, even if a person is from a low-income family, they could contribute something valuable instead of cash. The participation of every community member was thought important because it accelerated development of the ward, as one community member commented:

> We are responsible to contribute because education activities bring development (CMY, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that CMs associate school activities with ward development, thus perceiving that funding and managing the school is the responsibility of all CMs in the ward.

Trust in ward leaders to manage school resources

Community members at Tonongwa trusted their ward and village leaders. The trust was developed because of their feedback reports on what was received and what was used (both from the government and CMs). This sort of evaluation was shared during public meetings, so that it cleared all doubts, as noted by one parent:

> We get feedback through information we get from meetings where reports are read. We are satisfied with the reports, we see what we contributed is correct. So, we are OK (Parent X, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that community leaders provided feedback to the CMs, and that their reports were clear and thus accepted by CMs. The feedback provided to CMs developed a sense of trust towards their leaders. The reports focussed on the expenditure patterns of school funds, as indicated by a parent:

> The reports are read showing income and expenditure. The expenditure [information] was satisfying us (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

However, some CMs perceived that there were misappropriations of school resources, as commented by one community member:

> …misuse of money…if CMs see that what they aimed at is not implemented, or when they see money being misdirected [that is] using the money differently from what had been planned… (CMY, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that, when CMs see money being used contrary to initial plans, or when they don't see the expected results of their contributions, they develop a lack of trust in their leaders.

Similarly, some CMs perceived that the reports were forged. This implies that they did not trust their leaders, as suggested by a community member:

> …normally they [reports] are of forgery…[we need] leaders who are faithful, who will administer well the contributions; converting fairly the value of labour power and crops into cash terms (CMX, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that there were some CMs who believed that local leaders misused school resources and forged the reports to hide the flaws. The comment also suggests that leaders were not faithful in aspects of quantifying the non-cash contributions into cash terms, thus developing mistrust among CMs.

Ways to improve funding and managing WBSS

Community participation and funding seemed to be low for several reasons, including the CMs' perception that they were not responsible for funding because they had no school-going children, the view that their income was too low to contribute to the school, and the perception that it was the responsibility of the government. Based on participants' perspectives, one way proposed to improve CP was to sensitize CMs in order to simplify mobilization of resources, as noted by one teacher:

> We can sensitize them so that they know the importance of education (Teacher, Tonongwa).

Another way to improve participation would be setting clear educational policies and directives by specifying those aspects to be funded by CMs:

> …there should be categorisation of contributions from CMs… contributions to stop and those to continue, for example school fees, academic and school running [costs] should stop but school development-related contributions should continue (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that CMs should be given clear explanations about the contributions that are expected from them. It also suggests that contributions from CMs related to school development should continue.

Other community members were of a similar view that CMs should continue contributing for the school. They argued that the little they were contributing had a valuable impact on school development, as suggested by one parent:

> As a community, I think that little contributions could continue so as to help teachers (Parent X, Tonongwa).

This comment also implies that teachers are facing hardship in the working environment due to inadequate resources. For example, they face shortages of learning facilities which can be enhanced through continued contributions. Supporting the need for continued contributions from CMs, the VEO argued that:

> I see it as a good approach because their contribution is seen. So CMs should be involved (VEO, Tonongwa).

Community contributions, though limited, had a notable impact on the management of the school.

Other community members believed that, if the government could assume the responsibility of controlling school resources, it could reduce misappropriations, as noted by one community member:

> Embezzlement of school funds should be controlled by the government so that the community gains the spirit of volunteering (CMY, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that CMs have lost trust in their local leaders in respect of school resources, and that the government should take charge of monitoring school resources. However, there was a system of reporting school income and expenditure in monthly reports, prepared by the school management team in collaboration with the school board that was sent to the district council and subsequently to higher authorities (field notes taken on 13th October 2016). This suggests that the community member was not aware of this procedure or that the procedure was ineffective in controlling school resources.

Factors Facilitating Community Participation in the Development of Tonongwa Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and discusses factors that facilitated community participation at Tonongwa secondary school. The findings indicate that CP was facilitated by various strategies used by leaders, the benefits that CMs perceived to get from the school, and educational policies, as discussed below:

Community Leadership

Community leadership affected community participation in various ways, both positively and negatively. First, leaders communicated the school's requirements among themselves, and subsequently with CMs, as noted by the WEO:

> When the headmaster comes with the school demands here at our office, we discuss in the WDC meeting in which VEOs also attend… and they go to tell their people [at their respective villages] about the needs raised in the meeting and what they are required to do (WEO, Tonongwa).

This comment shows the importance of leaders communicating school requirements to CMs. In this way, they involved CMs in discussing possible solutions and the support expected from them.

Local leaders at Tonongwa also prepared and shared their development plans with CMs so that they could provide their comment. Participatory plans, according to the VEO, provided positive results from CMs during the implementation period:

> Participatory plans…involved making an analysis of decisions reached by the WDC after the village leader presented to the public. If accepted, they [CMs] would implement (VEO, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that village leaders provided platforms for CMs to evaluate the plans they prepared. CMs evaluated, criticized, and commented on the reports presented to them. This, in turn, created an environment in which CMs were motivated to participate in implementing the plans.

Additionally, community leaders cooperated with the school management team in supervising the CMs in activities related to the school. Field notes taken on 13th October 2016 indicate that village and hamlet leaders had delegated powers to supervise the labour provided at the school, and to collect community contributions. This was also supported by the VEO:

> The headmaster . . . submits the school requirements [to the WDC], then a resolution is set for each leader to call public meetings about the school problem and to administer the set resolutions (VEO, Tonongwa).

Moreover, the implementation of plans was done by dividing the workload among CMs in each hamlet. One community member explained that:

> The division of work considers the number of residents in the hamlet (CMX, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that leaders were well informed about the number of CMs in each hamlet, so they used the strategy of dividing the workload to ensure that everyone participates in school issues. By dividing the workload among CMs, it was easy for hamlet leaders to supervise and to follow up.

The leaders also supervised community participation by making clear the alternative ways that CMs could participate, as explained by the board member:

> There was an explanation on the alternatives for those who have no cash, for example to go to school to provide their labour power (BM, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that leaders ensured that every able-bodied community member was involved, through providing them with alternatives that they could afford. They perceived that CP is essential and so exerted closer control as indicated by the VEO "…contributions for school development is a must" (VEO, Tonongwa). This comment suggests that local leaders' strict approach to community contributions enhanced community participation.

Other steps that were taken to make community members participate in funding the school included sending them to the ward office for interrogations, as noted earlier. Ward leaders would call CMs who resisted participating, and have sessions with them to explain or interrogate them. The VEO viewed it as important to create awareness among CMs about the importance of CP and funding:

> Those who do not contribute are called [to the ward office]… they lack awareness about the education agenda...contribution for school development was . . . necessary (VEO, Tonongwa).

The VEO's comment suggests that CMs may not respond to school development activities because they lack awareness. Therefore, awareness creation was done by ward leaders.

Local leaders also used a strategy of setting measures to enforce participation from CMs. Those who did not meet the deadlines, for example, were obliged to pay fines, as the VEO explains:

> Deadlines were provided, [and] then the auxiliary police made follow-ups whereby those followed had to pay a disturbance fine (VEO, Tonongwa).

In a few cases, leaders would go further to provide punishments to make CMs participate:

> WDC provides punishments if one resisted contributing, for example they are sent to court (Parent X, Tonongwa).

These steps facilitated community contributions, through obliging them to participate.

Benefits related to community participation and funding the school

The benefits expected from the school facilitated participation of community members. They participated by contributing to the school because they perceived that having a school within their locality was advantageous. They would no longer send their children for education away from their ward, as one community member noted:

> They initially had to send their children away from this ward for secondary education (CMX, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that parents previously had to send their children away from the ward to attend school, thus paying higher costs compared to those at the school within their ward. Hence, they participated to develop and sustain the school.

A similar view was expressed by Parent Y, who indicated that she was participating because she perceived benefits for her children acquiring education within the ward:

> …when I see my children studying, when I see better development of my children… (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

This was also supported by CMX, who viewed that "community participation enhances the provision of education and development" (CMX, Tonongwa).

The improved provision of education also motivated CMs to participate in the school. This was because pass marks in final examinations in Tanzania decide access to further academic levels:

> How the school can enable students to pass their final exams satisfies the villagers, they are satisfied by the teachers' hard work (CMY, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that community members participated in school matters because there were expectations for students to pass their final examinations. They were also motivated by the hard work demonstrated by teachers. Their expectations were due to strategies set by the school management team in collaboration with the school board, ward officials and CMs at large. Field notes taken on 13th October 2016 indicate the strategies set to improve academic performance. They included controlling truancy among students, continuing with extra time teaching, purchasing teaching and learning materials, and improving the process of teaching and learning. The school management team also encouraged every member to fulfil their responsibilities to the school. CMs participated in school matters because they believed that graduates from their school would proceed to higher levels of education, and thereafter they could bring development to their ward.

Educational policies

Educational policies enhanced community participation and funding by placing the burden of funding on CMs, thereby making them accountable for certain school costs. Policies facilitated CP by enforcing contributions regardless of any policy shortfalls, as discussed by the headmaster:

> The school policy and government policies do not concur because the school demands do not concur with government priorities. The school may have its own policies to implement but the government may just give orders (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that, despite the mismatch of educational policies at different levels, they were instrumental in enforcing CP. Policies operated to enforce involvement of CMs on school matters. However, school policies and

priorities were supposed to change to concur with national policies. This would enhance implementation of national policies at all levels:

> The school is supposed to implement government policies (WEO, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that the school was required to formulate school policies that would match with national policies. In the context of national policy changes, school leaders had to implement national policies even if they were contrary to school priorities. This showed that continued community participation in school development was perceived to be important.

Factors Inhibiting Community Participation in Tonongwa Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and discusses the factors that hinder CMs from participating in the development of Tonongwa secondary school. The findings are organised into the following subsections; low income, policy awareness, policy contradictions, and the politics of multi-partyism:

Low income

Many community members at Tonongwa had low incomes. The findings indicated that low income levels hindered the participation of CMs in school matters, as one parent explained:

> Low income, the economic situation contributes to factors for not participating. A person would like to contribute but finds . . . that he has no money (Parent Y, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that some CMs had low income that made it difficult for them to cater for their own basic needs and to cover the costs for participating

in school matters. They could not prioritise community contributions at the expense of their basic needs:

> Their income is low, for a large section of citizens (Teacher, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that most CMs' incomes were too low for them to contribute to the school. However, the headmaster expressed a different view, arguing that they had enough income to contribute:

> They have crop products… economically they are well off (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This was contrary to local leaders' views, particularly village and hamlet leaders who were more informed about the economic capabilities of CMs in their areas of jurisdiction. The VEO for example, viewed CMs as having low incomes, due to "poor agricultural production" (VEO, Tonongwa). This view was supported by the ward leader who commented that "other CMs fail to contribute due to low income levels" (WEO, Tonongwa). These comments confirm that some CMs had very low incomes such that they could not afford to make contributions for the school.

Policy awareness

Community members at Tonongwa had limited awareness about their responsibilities as stated in the policy. They thought that, with the fee-free education policy, they were not responsible in any way. The WEO noted that CMs had a notion that 'why should I [engage in construction] while the government is there?' This comment indicated a limited understanding of CMs on policy issues, as also indicated by the headmaster:

> To participate or not...is due to, first, low understanding… (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that community members had limited information about the fee-free education policy. They were not aware of policy details that

required them to participate in school related activities, as noted by the board member:

> The announcement of free education has retarded the development…citizens have not understood the demarcation of free education (BM, Tonongwa).

This comment suggests that there was limited understanding of the policy's details. Limited awareness of the new policy reduced community participation.

Policy contradictions

The introduction of the fee-free education policy posed contradictions that hindered its implementation. During its announcement, political leaders emphasized the notion of free education, thus CMs perceived it to be totally free. Parents thought they were now free from educational costs for their children. As a result, during its implementation, it became difficult to convince them that they were required to participate in contributing to school-related costs. This was demonstrated by one teacher:

> The government has created difficult conditions, it becomes difficult to involve parents. Involvement in [students'] discipline and attendance matters is OK, [but] the school development has stagnated… (Teacher, Tonongwa).

This comment shows that parents were not ready to contribute to the development of the school because the government had announced the free education policy. The education circular number five of 2015 removed school fees and all other contributions for basic education. However, the subsequent circular directives indicated that parents and CMs were required to volunteer their resources for the school (Field notes taken on 19th October 2016). This created problems because of the contradictory information in the two documents.

Further contradictions emerged in situations where school fees and all contributions were removed, but the government disbursed limited funds to

cover school requirements. Moreover, the disbursed funds were intended for a specific use. The school had no mandate to relocate the funds to fit its requirements, as the headmaster commented:

> The school policy and national policies do not concur because the school demands do not concur with government priorities. The school may have its own issues to implement but the government may just give orders (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that national policies simply led to directives to the school without regarding the specific needs of the school. Government directives are one way, thus the school cannot ask for alterations. Community contributions could reflect and focus on resolving problems facing the school, but they had stopped following lack of clarity of the announced policy.

The politics of multi-partyism

The politics of the multi-party system impacted negatively on community participation and funding. Leaders from differing political parties sought to win the interests of CMs by indicating some favour to them, as the headmaster demonstrates:

> Barriers include politics, for example, a council man can order that no steps should be taken, [and] let them contribute in phases, aiming to win political legitimacy (Headmaster, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that leaders pretended to be in favour of CMs when implementing development activities. The aim was to win support from CMs and to gain followers by impressing them, as indicated by the WEO:

> Some parties ‘preach’ about free education and the citizens who are followers of such parties orient to that perspective, saying we have no such ‘contribution policies’ in our party (WEO, Tonongwa).

This comment indicates that political leaders from various opposition parties provided information that misled their followers and other CMs by believing that their party, if it was in power, would not charge citizens the costs of education. The aim was to win their party popularity without regard to the welfare of the school.

Overview

This case indicates that the way community members participated in school matters was influenced by a gap that existed between leaders and CMs. Leaders assumed powers of control over CMs. They posed threats to CMs to enforce participation, including fines and interrogations at the ward office. Therefore, CMs had to contribute because they were threatened and concerned about penalties.

Moreover, CMs had diverse perceptions about community participation and funding the school. Some perceived that it was a shared responsibility between the government and CMs, while others thought it was the responsibility of the government to fund the school, and a third group believed that it was CMs' responsibility to provide contributions.

The case has identified factors facilitating CP, including the tendency of Tonongwa leaders to provide reports to CMs, and involving CMs to evaluate their leaders. These strategies were influential in encouraging CMs to participate in school development. Furthermore, the fee-free education policy made CMs accountable to the school, despite its flaws.

However, the case has identified factors that hinder CP and funding, including low income. Some CMs seemed willing but could not participate because of low income. Further barriers include the fee-free education policy that was found to set back efforts already made in involving CMs in school matters. Opposition parties also interfered with school activities through their campaigns that impacted negatively community contributions for school development activities.

The chapter has identified several ways to improve community participation, including creating awareness of the importance of CP. It also suggests making clear the roles for each stakeholder and making them aware of their roles. The chapter also suggests encouraging community contributions due to the importance attached to them, and more government control against misappropriation of school funds.

Meetings were found to be a key aspect for involving CMs in school issues. This was through enhancing information sharing, and involving CMs in decision making, planning and evaluation.

CHAPTER SIX: TRINITY SECONDARY SCHOOL

Background

This chapter presents and discusses findings from the third case study, Trinity secondary school. It describes the case study context, the participants and the sources of data. It presents research findings and provides an overview of the chapter.

The chapter presents data collected through interviews, documentary reviews, and observation schedules that were conducted at Trinity. Interviews were held with the headmistress, the Ward Executive Officer (WEO), one *Mtaa* Executive Officer (MEO), one teacher, one board member (BM), two parents (Parent X and Parent Y) and two community members (CMX and CMY). Documentary review involved reviewing documents such as the monthly reports, agendas and minutes of board meetings and parents' meetings, official letters, and documents from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Also, the chapter presents data collected through observation that focused on the availability and status of school buildings and facilities. The findings are arranged in themes and sub-themes emerging from the data.

Context

Trinity is an urban based ward located along the Great North Road connecting certain Tanzanian regions, including Mbeya, Morogoro, and Arusha. The road runs northward from Cape Town in South Africa through Zimbabwe and Zambia, then through Tanzania to Kenya, Ethiopia and finally to Cairo. The school has good transport networks, with frequent access to public buses. Motorbikes are also frequently hired for fast trips. Bicycles are not commonly used.

Trinity secondary school is in a ward near the city centre. It is close to big shops, markets, and both private and public hospitals. There are well established systems for electricity and tap water. There is also a river nearby

that the school uses for various purposes such as gardening, construction, and cleanness.

The school is in a ward comprising community members (CMs) with diverse cultural backgrounds. This is because they are from various regions of Tanzania, and different rural parts of the Mbeya region. Some shifted from their home regions to Mbeya because they were posted for jobs. Others shifted to seek jobs and a better life. The residents here belong to diverse professions and they have mixed income levels. There are government employees, private company employees, business-men, and self-employed CMs. There are various activities in which CMs are employed. They range from government offices to private companies and small-scale business and trade. There are small-scale traders and a few wholesalers. Most traders conduct their business at big market centres where their shops and stores are located. There are also small-scale farmers who travel to the countryside for farming and return to their residences in the evenings or after a few days.

Trinity residents are willing to participate in funding the school because they are aware of the benefits of investing in education. They are also motivated because the school has several former students who have progressed to higher levels of education, some of whom were pursuing bachelor's degrees at the time of data collection. Most children from the ward attend Trinity school. However, some CMs send their children to other schools within the ward or to boarding schools away from the ward and the region. CMs are ready to invest in their children's better education, so Trinity was not the only school serving the community.

Apart from Trinity, there are three other neighbouring public, and one private secondary school located in the same ward. One of the three public schools is a Ward-Based Secondary school.

School context

Construction of the school began in 2004, following government directive to construct at least one secondary school in each ward. Trinity residents faced a

challenge in acquiring the school site. Due to urbanization, there were limited spaces that could be large enough to accommodate the school. Therefore, they decided to construct it in an open space that had been reserved for further extension of one primary school. Thus, Trinity has a limited space on the site for further expansion. Consequently, CMs are proposing to start a new school in another location.

The school is located in a densely populated street, serving the majority of students within the ward, as noted above. The school is also a centre for qualifying test examinees, serving students who are repeating their form four national examinations. It has established a hostel for girls. It has a school hall that can be hired by CMs for their use. The school has a shop serving the school community. It has a vegetable garden, benefitting from a river passing close to the school.

At the time of this research, the school had enrolled 750 students, of whom 305 were boys and 445 were girls. Table 6.1 summarises student numbers by form and gender:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Form1	99	122	221
Form 2	82	119	201
Form 3	45	83	128
Form 4	79	121	200
Total	305	445	750

Table 6. 1: Number of students at Trinity
(Source: Documentary review)

Table 6.1 indicates the number of students enrolled at Trinity. However, the number of form one students changed every day as they were still reporting. The number was also unpredictable because some students who were allocated to the school could opt to transfer to other schools, and others would request to be transfered to this school.

The school had 43 teachers, 22 males and 21 females, and four non-teaching staff.

The community members had managed to construct several buildings and to acquire some facilities. The facilities included 644 chairs out of the 750 needed, a shortfall of 106. It had 724 out of 750 tables, a shortfall of 26, as summarized in table 6.2:

furniture	Required	Available	Shortage
Desks		190	
Chairs	750	644	106
Tables	750	724	26
Cabinets	10	7	3

Table 6. 2: School furniture at Trinity
(Source: Documentary review)

The school also had 190 desks, but it did not require more as it wanted to phase out desks and replace them with tables and chairs. The school had 23 classrooms, four more than it required. It had one administration block, in use though unfinished, two laboratories with a deficit of one, both unfinished. The school had no library and used one classroom as a temporary library. It had six girls' pit latrines, with a shortfall of 17, and six boys' pit latrines, with a shortage of seven. The school had three teachers' houses, with a shortfall of 40. Table 6.3 summarises the infrastructure available at Trinity.

Infrastructure	Required	Available	Shortage
Admistration block	1	1	Unfinished
Classrooms	19	23	4 Extra
Girls' toilets	22	6	16
Boys' toilets	12	6	7
Teachers' toilets	4	4	0
Teachers' houses	40	3 plus one unfinished	37
Store-room	1	0	1
Laboratories	3	2	1
Library	1	0	1

Table 6. 3: School infrastructure at Trinity
(Source: School monthly reports)

There were few teaching and learning resources. The laboratories were unable to accommodate all the students. Subject teachers had to distribute students in groups and sessions to accommodate all the students for practical lessons.

Community Participation in the Development of Trinity Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

Community participation at Trinity included participating in meetings, decision-making, and planning, and contributing resources. The participation was enhanced by local leaders involving community members in school issues, including parents of Trinity school students. Their participation is explained in the following subsections:

Meetings

Meetings were the common means of undertaking community participation in management and funding the school. Local leaders organized meetings to involve CMs in school matters. These meetings were held at ward, *mtaa* and school levels to discuss issues related to school development. The meetings were initiated by the headmistress informing the ward office. This was followed by the discussions during ward development council (WDC) meetings, and then *mtaa* leaders were assigned to hold meetings in their respective areas to inform the public about what was discussed in the WDC and the actions to be undertaken by the CMs.

> . . . the head of school initiates, then presents it at the board in which the WEO, MEO and councillor attends, then all the CMs are called and informed through public meetings (BM, Trinity).

This comment shows that meetings were held to communicate school issues after the leaders' meetings. The *mtaa* executive officer (MEO) maintained that, public meetings were organized to involve other CMs.

> …to call public meetings, to sensitize people on contributing for the school (MEO, Trinity).

Community members attended meetings called by their leaders and participated by discussing the contribution levels and the deadlines for contributing. CMs were also involved in meetings when there was a matter to resolve at the school, as noted by the headmistress:

> Whenever there is a problem at school and when they are asked to do so, they will attend meetings, they will contribute (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that meetings facilitated participation to meet school requirements whenever there was a school matter that required community support. This is also indicated by Parent X:

> They call us in the meetings, they tell us, they give us [the] time and [the] deadlines [and] we contribute (Parent X, Trinity).

Meetings were used to involve parents in school matters that required their contributions. Through meetings, CMs were able to access information and participate in school matters, though limited to only aspects related to contributions. Moreover, documentary reviews taken on 26 November 2016 indicated that parents and community members attendance was in average, at 67 percent, implying a big number of participants were not attending.

Decision making and planning

Community members at Trinity participated in decision-making through providing their views on various matters related to the school. This was noted by the board member who commented that "they contribute their ideas in meetings" (BM, Trinity). They participated in decision-making during discussions that led to decisions for school development. Community members were also involved in planning and budgeting for the school. They had to discuss the matter, and the costs to be incurred, as reported by the MEO:

> They participate in decisions on what to do to solve the problem, the amount to contribute, and when to contribute (MEO, Trinity).

This comment indicates that their decisions could lead to actions to improve the school. However, decisions and plans that were made by CMs were based on the prior resolutions reached by their leaders at the ward development council. For example, in the name of shared decision-making, CMs estimated

the budget and the number of CMs to contribute. This was revealed by the MEO:

> …through meetings, we discuss together and decide the amount per each community member depending on the amount specified by the WDC (MEO, Trinity).

This comment suggests that CMs' participation in decision-making was influenced by decisions made previously by their leaders. They could not change the decisions reached by ward leaders.

Management of community participation

The communication channels were an important function of management at Trinity. Community participation was managed by first sharing information about the status of the school with CMs. Then the headmistress channeled the identified problem at school to the ward development council (WDC). Based on the requirements identified at the school, the ward leadership estimated the costs to fulfil them and coordinated the involvement of CMs. Then the WDC assigned the MEOs to disseminate information to CMs and to collect the agreed contributions.

> Activities are distributed throughout the ward… it is to count residents after doing estimations…It is to those who have the ability to work (Parent Y, Trinity).

Community members were informed about the need, the amount and the time frames for contributing. The contributions were collected from body-abled CMs. Moreover, through these channels, it was possible to communicate the support required from CMs and to organise the contributions required from CMs, as described by the MEO:

> The ward councillor and the Ward Education Coordinator (WEC) get information from the school about the school requirements or shortages, and then they call a meeting in which I am a member. Then we are asked to go to our areas to tell our people through public meetings about the decisions reached at the WDC (MEO, Trinity).

This comment indicates that after receiving information from the headmistress who is the secretary to the school board, the ward discussed the budget, distributed the cost to body-abled CMs and informed them.

Furthermore, CMs were given receipts for recording purposes, and to control school funds, in line with government procedures, as noted by community member Y:

> By counting the total number of hamlet residents, and calculating the amount of contribution from each member, then we contribute and are given receipts from the school bursar (CMY, Trinity).

This comment suggests that arrangements for contributions were made and receipts provided. This was a way of managing school funds that enhanced recording of school information.

Furthermore, community leaders had a role in influencing community participation on school development, and in resource mobilization, as explained by the MEO:

> …to call public meetings, to sensitize people on contributing for the school, to supervise the collection of the contributions . . . (MEO, Trinity).

This comment indicates that local leaders sensitize, mobilize, and managed contributions from CMs. They were also to manage the utilization of community resources for school improvement.

However, following the announcement of fee-free education, parents perceived that they were exempted from providing school fees and other contributions to school. But, according to the policy directives, they were expected to contribute (Field notes taken on 26th November 2016). Thus, there was provision for local leaders to seek a permit from the District Commissioner's office to mobilize resources from CMs, as noted by the WEO:

> After receiving a permit, local leaders could mobilize resources for the school (WEO, Trinity).

The mobilization was delegated to the *Mtaa* Executive Officers (MEOs) for each *mtaa* in the ward, as one of them commented that:

> In the funding, I involve them by announcing and supervising collection of the cash contribution and submitting the contributions to the ward office (MEO, Trinity).

This comment shows that MEOs were responsible for collecting contributions from CMs within their areas of jurisdiction. After collecting, they had to submit payments to the WEO, who handed them to the school.

The extent of community participation

The extent of community participation at Trinity was influenced by several factors and hence was changing over time. Before the introduction of WBSS, CMs were participating in education at a very low rate. With the establishment of WBSS, from 2004, the rate started to increase, as the board member commented:

> Historically most of them were participating. But participation was low . . . but after 2004 the participation increased (BM, Trinity).

This comment indicates that CP increased after the introduction of WBSS in 1984. However, the introduction of fee-free education policy in 2015 affected the level of community contributions. Later the contributions continued after the provision of directives on how to implement the policy. Their contributions were low such that some projects could not be achieved. For example, the toilet construction was not achieved within the time frame as only 47% of the relevant contribution was collected (Field notes taken on 26 November 2017). Also, local leaders could not mobilize resources from CMs without the District Commissioner's permit, hence contributing to delay.

The extent of community participation depended on the nature of the problem and the way local leaders involved CMs, as the teacher explains:

> The rate of contribution depends on timing and sometimes the issue/problem itself and the way CMs are involved (Teacher, Trinity).

This comment indicates that some school issues received due attention, and so contributions were higher compared to others. For example, the construction of the hostel was prioritized compared to the construction of teachers' houses. While the construction of teacher's houses came as a government initiative, hostel construction involved CMs through discussions. Thus, they perceived the need for constructing it and so participation was higher compared to the construction of teachers' houses that received little attention and hence minimal contributions.

The extent of community participation was determined by demands from the school, as Parent Y indicates:

> It is the school requirements that determines how much and when to contribute (Parent Y, Trinity).

This comment indicates that the amount and frequency to contribute was determined by emerging school problems. Also, the amount was determined by the number of able-bodied CMs to contribute the costs to address the problem. The rate of contribution was determined by the school's annual plans that limited CP to only two or three meetings each year, as Parent X indicates:

> There are also activities scheduled for the whole year, so we are given the schedule. So, it can be twice a year especially at the beginning of each term (Parent X, Trinity).

This comment suggests that participation levels were determined by the number of times CMs were required to participate annually. It also indicates that involvement in school matters was preceded by meetings held mostly at the beginning of each term. It indicates that CMs were aware of the schedule that meetings were held before commencement of each school term, thus

facilitating attendance. However, field notes taken on 26 November 2017 indicates that parents would attend the meetings at an average of 67 percent. This signifies a lack of motivation among CMs that is demonstrated by passive responses to calls for participation.

Moreover, income abilities seemed to affect the rate of community members' participation. There were contrasting views about the effect of income levels. Some interviewees viewed that CMs had low income abilities, making it difficult for them to contribute, as noted by the WEO:

> Some do not totally want to contribute. This is contributed by poverty. They see it as a heavy burden (WEO, Trinity).

This comment suggests that some CMs were not willing to participate in any way because they perceived that they could not afford to contribute. An alternative view was that some CMs had high incomes and could afford to contribute, as suggested by the board member:

> The economic situation is high, thus enabling people to respond positively (BM, Trinity).

The views of the headmistress present a general indication that the income of community members was low, but this did not affect the contributions because the amounts were set at a low rate that anyone could afford:

> The contributions are in amounts that do not cost much; they can contribute 4000/5000Tsh based on the [annual] budget, so you find it is an amount that is within their capacity (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment suggests that, whether CMs had high or low incomes, they could contribute since the amounts were set at a rate that was perceived to be affordable for everyone.

Community Participation in Funding Trinity Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents findings on community participation in funding Trinity secondary school. The findings are organised into three themes; the need for CP in funding WBSS, the nature of CP in funding WBSS, and forms of community members' funding.

The need for community participation in funding the WBSS

Community participation enhanced resource acquisition to cover school requirements that could not be met by the government alone. Trinity school found it necessary to involve CMs in the construction and maintenance of the school for several reasons. First, CP was necessary to simplify the maintenance and running of the school, as commented by the WEO:

> It is important to involve them. If you don't involve them, it will be difficult to run the school (WEO, Trinity).

Similarly, the headmistress maintained that CP enhanced the acquisition of resources from CMs by requesting them to support school funding:

> They participate in funding when there are requirements that the district council cannot fulfill (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that it was important for CMs to contribute because they supplemented the central government grant that comes via the district council. Moreover, the government has limited resources, meaning that community support was necessary, as the headmistress noted:

> …government has many schools and a lot to implement (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that the government has to fund various schools and cannot cover all the requirements on its own. CP is needed to support the acquisition of resources from community members.

Community participation was also important because it enhanced the timely acquisition of facilities and infrastructure that could not be covered by the government within the required time-frame, as noted by the MEO:

> Without their contributions, the government cannot cover all the school requirements. For instance, toilet construction would have not been achieved if we could say we should wait for the government (MEO, Trinity).

Contributions from community members are important in maintaining the school. It enabled the completion of projects that the government was yet to implement. The school could not rely on government funding for all its requirements. It needed to mobilize local resources from CMs for minor and affordable works at the school, as one parent commented:

> The government cannot solve all the issues for us… some are minor [and] we can work on them (Parent X, Trinity).

There were minor works that could be implemented by the CMs without government intervention. Thus, it was necessary to seek community support for the school to meet some of its requirements.

Also, community participation was significant in situations where the school needed additional resources for aspects that were inadequately funded by the government. The documentary review conducted in 24th November 2017 indicated that mock examinations were not conducted as planned because the school lacked resources for its preparation. The review indicated that funds allocated for examinations were partly disbursed, and used for internal examinations. The other portion was delayed. The school was not allowed to relocate resources from less pressing needs to more pressing ones as reflected on the ground.

In addition, it was found necessary to involve CMs because, through their contributions, they developed a sense of ownership:

> For a community member to feel a concern [s/he] must contribute… It is important to participate because the school is theirs without regarding whether a person has children at school or not (WEO, Trinity).

This comment indicates that, through community participation, CMs became more concerned about the school, so they could volunteer to ensure its sustainability, as noted by the teacher:

> It also builds a sense of ownership when they know that it is their contribution that has enabled the existence of this school (Teacher, Trinity).

This comment suggests that it was important to involve CMs because, on realising the impact of their contributions, they felt encouraged to continue contributing.

The nature of community participation in funding WBSS

Community participation at Trinity begins with local leaders organising communication strategies that enhances the involvement of CMs. They organize several meetings at ward and *mitaa* levels to get the community involved in school matters. These meetings are organized after the headmistress has advised the ward about problems facing the school.

> It's the school requirements, for example construction of toilets. The actors [the headmistress and the MEO] are the ones to see a problem and to present it at the WDC or to citizens to discuss and contribute (Parent Y, Trinity).

This comment implies that since the headmistress and the MEO are closer to school, they can see the problem easily and report it to the WDC or to parents. The head may become aware of school requirements and communicate them to the ward office, as the headmistress indicates:

> After I saw that the toilets are about to be full, I sent a request to the ward leadership… (Headmistress, Trinity).

After discussions in the WDC, the MEOs are assigned to inform their citizens and thereafter, collect contributions in their respective *mitaa*. Then CMs participate to resolve the issue as described by the headmistress:

> Then the formal procedures took place and now the toilets are under construction in the final stage (Headmistress, Trinity).

After being called into meetings, CMs participated in discussions. They decided to organise themselves to make contributions and acted to address the problems. However, it was until when the leaders had a permit from the regional office to collect contributions from CMs and parents, even during emergence cases as it was when the toilets collapsed due to prolonged heavy rainfalls. They had to adhere to bureaucratic procedures to seek permit for mobilizing resources from CMs, thus delaying the construction, while the issue needed immediate action (Field notes taken on 24th November 2017).

Forms of community members' funding

Community members at Trinity provided their contributions in three forms; cash, material and labour power contributions, as the board member comments:

> …contributions can be cash, real things and labour power (BM, Trinity).

This comment implies that school management and local leaders provided different ways for CMs to participate in school matters. The school flexibly accepted all kinds of contributions in forms of cash, labour power, and materials, that could support school development as discussed below:

Cash contributions

Cash contributions were a commonly used and preferred form of contributions. Through cash contributions, the school preferred to purchase materials of uniform quality and type instead of collecting materials of varying quality from CMs. It also simplified record keeping, as noted by community member X:

> We evaluate first the shortages, so we contribute cash so as to select items of good quality and maintain uniformity (CMX, Trinity).

Moreover, cash contributions were preferred because they allowed CMs to engage in their own businesses instead of spending time at school, as one community member suggested:

> …cash contributions are initiated by citizens … so that everyone continues with his/her personal issues (CMY, Trinity).

This comment suggests that, instead of working on school construction sites, CMs continued with their individual activities. Thus, school activities were done by tenderers who were paid from community contributions:

> Construction activities are done through tenders provided and advertised by the construction committee (CMY, Trinity).

In addition, cash contributions had become useful in activities like paying workers employed by the school and for maintenance activities, as the teacher indicated:

> We need to request their support, for example in the maintenance of infrastructure or collecting some amount to assist in the payment of part-time teachers (Teacher, Trinity).

Community members at Trinity made cash contributions that were useful in supplementing government grants that were provided in cash via the district council to support maintenance activities and in running the school.

Labour power contributions

Some community members at Trinity contributed to school development by volunteering their labour, especially during the construction of school buildings, as the headmistress indicates:

> First of all, they come to volunteer on various school construction activities. For instance, . . . When it is their turn they come to fetch water, lay bricks, [and] carry sand and bricks to the site (Headmistress, Trinity).

Community members participated by providing their labour power by providing support activities to constructors at the site. This was also supported by one community member who commented that:

> I participate in brick laying, [material and cash] contributions and assisting the constructors by handing building materials during the construction (CMY, Trinity).

This comment shows that CMs supported construction activities through labour power provision, therefore reducing the costs of recruiting workers.

Material contributions

Following the directive by the government for each ward to construct a school, CMs made material contributions to the school, as noted by the WEO that, "…they contribute poles, water, stones, and sand" (WEO, Trinity). However, this form was dominant in the initial stages of constructing school buildings. Subsequently, they contributed cash because some materials were hard to obtain.

Parental Participation in Funding Trinity Ward-Based Secondary School

Ways of involving parents in the WBSS

The school management team and the school board used various ways to involve parents in school matters. The school management team was able to involve parents by sending invitations via students, as Parent Y noted:

> Sometimes, if any need arises, they send a message through the students (our children) (Parent Y, Trinity).

This comment indicates that parents were involved by being contacted through students. They could receive invitations and directives that the school sent through the students.

Local leaders further involved parents in meetings by giving them opportunities to discuss, and to reach decisions, about school matters. Parents participated in various meetings, leading to decisions, as noted by the headmistress that "Parents can just discuss and decide, and they implement" (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that parents were involved in making decisions. They also participated in implementing the decisions reached. Additionally, field notes taken on 26th November 2016 indicate that the headmistress initiated discussions by informing parents about the issue. Then parents could participate in discussions, make decisions, and take actions.

Management of parental participation in funding the school

The participation of parents in funding the school at Trinity was managed by the school management team and school board, through meetings. In some cases, the school management organised one to one meeting to resolve individual issues of students or parents as the comment indicate:

> Also, individual directives, for example when the individual parent or student has a problem in meeting deadlines for contributions (Parent X, Trinity).

The school management team was also able to organise school matters through parents' meetings for parents as a whole group. Parents could receive and respond to the information from the school and provide feedback sent via students, as Parent Y noted:

> They send message through the students …we use our children to send money (Parent Y, Trinity).

This was a way of communication to ensure parents participate by contributing the required support to school. Leaders were able to provide directives and engage parents in discussions for easy implementation of the plans formulated collaboratively.

Perceptions of Community Members about their Participation in the Development of Trinity Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and analyses the perceptions of community members on community participation in funding Trinity school. The section draws mainly from interviews. The section is organised into five sub-sections:

- funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of CMs,
- trust in ward leaders to manage school resources,
- ways to improve funding and managing WBSS.

Funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community

Community members at Trinity were positive on matters related to participation in school matters. Seven of the nine participants indicated that they perceived that managing and funding the school was a responsibility shared between the government and community members. While CMs were able to provide contributions, local leaders managed the contributions for the school, as the head of school indicated:

> In management and funding of the school, I think it is all CMs in their totality…in management let us consider ward level, they participate well. Starting with the ward councillor… '*anajitolea kwa hali na mali*', [meaning] 'he volunteers morally and materially'… and he is a good sensitizer, he knows how to sensitize his people. The WEO….the leaders at all *mitaa*, board members… are very active for example, there is a board member who is a priest … [and] very active… (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment suggests that there was a widespread community participation in the ward, with most community leaders dedicated to school development. Two participants perceived that funding and managing the school was a shared responsibility between the government and CMs, but the government should assume more roles because CMs are just there to support government efforts in the management. One community member commented that ". . . I think they [government] should contribute more" (CMX, Trinity). Suggesting that, the government should be doing more than the CMs. The parent commented that:

> It is important for the community to be involved in education despite [that] the government has the responsibility to care for the citizens. If we provide contributions, we gain a step forward (Parent X, Trinity).

This comment indicates that, CMs recognize the significance of supporting the government efforts in education provision. However, the comment implies CMs consider themselves less responsible.

Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government

One participant viewed that some community members had negative views about CP because they perceived that the government was the one responsible for funding and providing education to its citizens:

> Those with negative perceptions believe that all activities of the institution are the responsibility of the government, some do not see the importance of institutions like these (Teacher, Trinity).

This comment indicates that there were some CMs who perceived that funding the school is the responsibility of the government. This was because they did not perceive the benefit of having a school in the ward.

Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of community members

Two of the nine participants perceived that funding and managing school is the responsibility of CMs, together with local leaders, as noted by the MEO:

> It is citizens and we leaders [who should] ensure that we contribute what is required for the school (MEO, Trinity).

This comment suggests that CMs, under their local leaders' supervision, were responsible to provide the resources required by the school. It suggests that CMs perceived that they are obliged to participate in school matters because it was their responsibility.

Trust in ward leaders to manage school resources

Community members at Trinity perceived that they had leaders who managed well their contributions. They felt encouraged to continue participating in school matters as noted by one community member:

> We are informed about how our contributions are used…the present councillor is doing well, it encourages us (CMY, Trinity).

Community members developed trust in their leaders because they were transparent in the use of school resources. This motivated the continued support from CMs. One parent had the same view on transparency and the utilization of the mobilized contributions:

> …but money contributed should be well used. The report presents income and expenditure for example …it is read. It is ok, I am satisfied… (Parent Y, Trinity).

The ward leadership under the councillor was trusted. The trust was maintained when they saw their contributions support the improvement of school infrastructures and facilities. They witnessed changes occurring at the school due to their contributions. Furthermore, trust was developed because reports were read, and everything seemed clear.

Ways to improve funding and managing WBSS

Numerous ways were thought to improve participation at Trinity. Community members viewed that it would be better for the government to create more awareness and sensitize CMs' participation in school matters. This would, in turn, increase participation levels, as one parent commented:

> …sensitizing each other is a good thing …government can sensitize CMs' involvement and enhance school development (Parent X, Trinity).

Sensitization of CMs would create more awareness and bring change in the funding and managing of the school.

Community members at Trinity also viewed that, to improve CP, it is better for the government to clearly state the responsibilities of the government and those falling to the CMs, as commented by the MEO that "...it should be clear what free education is covering" (MEO, Trinity). This comment suggests that the policy should clearly define the responsibilities of both the parties.

Another participant held a view that, CMs should identify themselves as owners of the school for them to continue participating in school matters:

> Citizens should be aware that the school is theirs, together with their children. They should continue to see that they will continue using it. (WEO, Trinity).

In addition, CMs preferred situations in which the local leaders involved them at every stage. They were interested to see that their views were sought, as commented by Parent X:

> CMs would like the approach where the teachers say we see this may be better, how do you see it CMs? (Parent X, Trinity).

This comment implies that parents wanted their views to be sought and to be considered as equal partners in every stage. However, it also suggests that CMs were not involved in some stages of participation.

Factors Facilitating Community Participation in the Development of Trinity Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and discusses the factors that facilitate community participation in the development of Trinity secondary school. The findings are presented in three sub-sections; community leadership, benefits related to community participation in the development of school, and educational policies.

Community leadership

Good leadership strategies at Trinity were perceived to facilitate community participation in school development. Local leaders used various strategies to facilitate the participation of community members. These included educating community members on participation and funding the school. Leaders could educate CMs in case they seemed to lack awareness of the importance of participating in school matters, as the headmistress noted:

> …they are sent to the ward reconciliation board where they are well explained, [and] then they contribute (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment implies that some CMs were not participating until when community leaders educated them on the importance of participating in school matters.

Local leaders also devised control measures and motivation. There were fines for those who resisted, and appreciations for those who actively participated, as noted by the teacher:

> Steps taken against who do not participate include paying fines while active participants are praised/ appreciated for meeting the deadlines (Teacher, Trinity).

Leaders provided motivation by praising active participants during school or ward events. This took the form of appreciation and compliments, as reported by the headmistress:

> So, the motivation we offer is to recognise and explain their volunteer ship during functions and other gatherings …we only (merely) congratulate and appreciate them (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment shows that leaders were unable to provide material prizes. Therefore, they used the strategy of publicly appreciating the work done by active CMs to motivate them and to influence other CMs.

<u>Benefits related to community participation and funding the school</u>

Community members at Trinity were motivated to participate in funding the school because they believed that this school offered a place to study for the majority of children in the ward. In addition, the school enabled many students to advance to further studies, as noted by the headmistress:

> …this school is really liked because most of the children who graduated from here advanced far, some have become lawyers, others engineers… So, they consider it with a hope for their children… so they value it . . . (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that CMs are aware of the benefits from the school and this means that they are ready to invest in the school for their children and the community.

Community members also participated in school matters because they wanted to ensure they have a school within the ward, as commented on by one community member:

> We contribute so that we also can have a place for our children to study . . . (CMX, Trinity).

Community members were concerned about the long distance that children had to travel to reach schools outside the ward. They participated in school matters to enabled children to attend school within the ward.

In addition, CMs participated in school matters because they were motivated to have a school of their own in their ward. They felt proud having a school as the comment by the WEO showed:

> They feel prestigious to have their own school in their ward (BM, Trinity).

Another factor was the presence of a WBSS in a neighbouring ward. Their neighbours were proud of their school, so they also wanted to have their own school in their ward, as one community member commented:

> We reached a stage of envying others (fellow citizens in the other ward nearby) sending their children to their own school thus we also wished our children go to our school (CMY, Trinity).

This raised a desire among CMs to have a school in their ward. Thus, they participated by making their contributions for the school.

Educational policies

Educational policies facilitated community participation at Trinity. The policy guidelines and directives were influential in ensuring CMs fulfil their roles. The policy directive stated the roles of each stakeholder to the school, and this influenced their participation, as the teacher comments:

> The responsibilities of CMs are many. The policy guideline on participation in development holds them responsible to ensure that the infrastructures are in good order (Teacher, Trinity).

This comment suggests that policies stated the roles assigned to each stakeholder and held them responsible in the participation. Field notes taken on 18th November 2016 indicate that CMs were assigned to volunteer resources for the well-being of the school. However, the directive was not specific enough to show how much contribution was required from CMs. In addition, community members at Trinity were aware of the issue of CP in development activities, education being one. They were aware that they were required to contribute for the school, as commented by Parent Y:

> Most of community members know [and] are aware, so they pay (Parent Y, Trinity).

Community members were aware that they were responsible to contribute to the development of their community through participating in development issues, including school matters. They participated in school activities knowing that they were held responsible to contribute for school development.

Factors Inhibiting Community Participation in the Development of Trinity Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section focuses on barriers to community participation in the development of Trinity WBSS. The findings are organised into four sub-sections; low income, policy awareness, policy contradictions, and the politics of multi-partyism, as presented below:

Low income

Despite the higher level of CMs' willingness to participate in school matters at Trinity, there were some who failed to contribute because they were too poor to do so, as noted by the MEO:

> Some citizens have a very low income. They see it as a good thing to contribute for the school, but they have nothing to contribute (MEO, Trinity).

This comment indicates that CMs were willing to support the school, but they had limited income ability. This view was maintained by the teacher who commented that:

> The economy of community members hinders participation even if they are aware of the benefits (Teacher, Trinity).

This comment indicates that even if CMs were aware of the benefits of contributing for the school, they were limited by their income abilities. However, there were other CMs who felt demotivated to participate because their incomes were very low, as the WEO noted:

> Some do not totally want to contribute. This is contributed by poverty, they see it as a heavy burden (WEO, Trinity).

Low incomes were a barrier to community participation. CMs found it difficult to provide their limited resources for the school. Some CMs were not able to spare time to spend on school matters. Some were busy with productive activities, while others simply engaged in alcoholism as commented by a parent:

> Other CMs were busy with their businesses of production. Others had different timetables, for example going to take alcohol (Parent X, Trinity).

This comment indicates that CMs were not ready to forego the little resources they had due to prioritizing their individual interests at the expense of public requirements.

Policy awareness

Lack of policy awareness was among factors that hindered participation of CMs in school matters at Trinity. Field notes taken on 26th November 2016 indicate that the defined roles of each stakeholder from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training did not reach all CMs in time to inform them. Therefore, they perceived that they were free from any contribution to school. Due to this lack of understanding of the policy, the participation declined, as noted by the teacher: "…for the time being, contributions have stopped" (Teacher, Trinity). Community members were not participating in any school matters following the fee-free education policy announcement. In addition, local administrators were asked not to collect any contributions from CMs, as explained by the headmistress:

> . . . So, based on this policy, we at school had stopped totally to collect contributions from citizens . . . unless we should send the problem to the ward office . . . (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that, soon after the announcement of the fee-free education policy, all the contributions stopped. This happened in the period when the school had high demand for community support in both the

maintenance of school infrastructure, and in running the school. Later, there were directives that the school should seek permission from the district commissioner's office, before collecting contributions.

Policy contradictions

The announcement of the fee-free education policy posed contradictions for CMs, who became unsure whether to continue contributing as usual or not. The politicians announced that education was now free while the policy directives stated the roles of various stakeholders. Moreover, local leaders were assigned to collect the contributions, as noted by the headmistress:

> …there are challenges in implementation, more during this period of free education . . . (Headmistress, Trinity).

This comment indicates that it was difficult to implement community participation because the fee-free education policy announced the exemption of parents from contributing fees and other contributions. The announcement was silent on the exemption or non-exemption of CMs, implying that they were to continue contributing for the school. This was contradictory because CMs considered themselves less responsible than parents as they had no children at the school. This policy contradiction was also a challenge to leaders because CMs and parents perceived that they were not supposed to contribute anything while local leaders were asked to collect contributions from them, as noted by the MEO:

> For example, we are asked to collect contributions from citizens, [community members and parents] but they know that the government has announced free education . . . (MEO, Trinity).

This comment shows that the contradiction between the announced policy, and its directives, hindered CP. This was because the policy directives indicated that CMs had roles to play in some school matters while the policy removed

school fees and other contributions. (Field notes taken on 26th November 2016). The general understanding that developed from this policy was that CMs and parents were exempt from costs related to the school.

The politics of multi-partyism

Political parties reversed development initiatives due to varied ideologies, interests and goals. To win the support of the majority of CMs, opposition parties sometimes reverse the efforts of the political party in power, as noted by Parent Y:

> The person in power will be opposed by other party followers even if the issue is for development because they see that the one in power will be praised [and so win majority interest] (Parent Y, Trinity).

This comment suggests that political leaders in power may be struggling to improve the school. But those from opposition parties may be against the development initiatives by leaders in power to hinder them from realizing the goals they have set and hence lose CMs' interest on them.

Some politicians used campaigns to win support for their political parties. Their campaigns hindered CP as they misled CMs that they could manage and finance the school without asking contributions from CMs, as explained by Parent Y:

> …political campaigns, for example . . . if I am elected, you won't contribute for school…and the citizens, they like free offers ehh… (Parent Y, Trinity).

This comment shows that these campaigns affected community participation because CMs were happy to be exempted from contributions. The government, on the other hand, was had been emphasizing CP because it was clear that it had inadequate resources to cover all the school requirements, but the

politicians overlooked this reality when campaigning. This view was supported by the MEO, who commented that:

> Others are driven by politics…Opposition leaders feed the citizen wrong information so that they don't participate (MEO, Trinity).

Another factor was the division of people along multiple party ideologies. Community members were divided based on their political parties, thus they were no longer working as one group towards the development of the school:

> Multi-party [politics] has contributed to dividing people… [The] politics of multi-partyism divides people along party lines (BM, Trinity).

The opposition party would even go further to influence CMs not to go for school activities. Members of opposition parties could also resist contributing for the school because they don't want to support efforts of the political party in power, as Parent Y commented:

> A political party may have a viewpoint that we, in our political party, we don't go to development issues [initiated by leaders of other parties], …the politics have misled [them]…[politics] have brought another excuse for lazy people, a person does not go for school development activities with an excuse that they are of the other party (Parent Y, Trinity).

This comment suggests that followers of the opposition party would not participate in school activities simply because it was initiated by other political parties.

Overview

This chapter indicate that that there was widespread awareness about the involvement of CMs in school matters at this case. Their positive view was a major factor in their successful participation in school matters. Most CMs were

motivated because they were eager to have a school in their ward. Awareness of their roles also facilitated their participation in school matters.

Most community members were motivated and willing to contribute to the school except for some who were influenced by low incomes, or the politics of multi-partyism, and due to a lack of awareness and the contradictions arising from educational policies. The generally positive attitudes were interrupted by the announcement of the fee-free education policy, leading to the perception that funding was a government responsibility. The case also indicates that there were many strong opposition political parties, each struggling to win a majority of followers in the community, regardless of the impact on the welfare of the school.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FULISI SECONDARY SCHOOL

Background

This chapter presents and discusses findings from the fourth case study, Fulisi secondary school. It describes the context of the case, the participants and the sources of data; interviews, documentary reviews and observation. It also provides a thematic review of the issues arising from this case. The chapter ends with an overview.

Context

Fulisi secondary school is in a rural ward about 50 kilometres away from the city centre. The ward has a small population and the settlements are scattered, except for village centres. Community members (CMs) in this ward are from a single tribe, sharing the same culture. They speak the same tribal language, thus acting as a bond among them. They seem to find it difficult to interact with newcomers, including government officers and employees posted to work there, and prefer to isolate themselves from outsiders.

The ward has some social services that are accessed by the school, including a small dispensary, electricity, tap water, a court, a few churches and a Sunday market. There is only one bus that goes to this ward in the mornings and back to town in the evenings. It mostly carries people going to their farms and a few workers who are employed in Fulisi. Motorcycles can be hired at the road junction at the main road where the buses stop, about seven kilometres from the ward centre. However, these social services, including transport, health, market centres, and banking facilities, are limited.

Community members in Fulisi mostly have low incomes, with a few on average incomes. They engage in small scale agriculture. They mainly grow maize, beans, and peas for food production. Potatoes and wheat are grown in large quantity, for both food and for sale. Timber is produced for trade. After the government passing regulations to prohibit cutting natural forests, a few CMs engaged in planting trees, and they were harvesting them at the time of data collection. However, overall farm productivity is declining due to land

degradation, with the soil becoming exhausted. It can no longer attract people with capital to invest. Natives are migrating to other rural parts that are more productive, and others are moving to town centres to look for job opportunities.

Community members in Fulisi know famous people from their ward who are successful, and who live and work in urban centres. They wish that these people would donate for the development of the ward. However, CMs complain that, once they leave, they do not support the development of their original community.

Apart from Fulisi, there is a private secondary school in the ward. However, the majority of students are enrolled at Fulisi secondary school. Students from the village in which the school is located walk only a short distance to school. However, the majority of students, from the three other villages, walk long distances to the school, taking them 30 to 45 minutes.

School context

Fulisi was established as a result of the government initiative to ensure that each ward establishes at least one secondary school, and it started to operate in 2008. At the time of the research, the school had enrolled 162 students; 57 boys and 105 girls. Table 7.1 summarises student numbers by form and gender:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Form 1	23	40	63
Form2	9	16	25
Form 3	12	21	33
Form 4	13	28	41
Total	57	105	162

Table 7.1: Number of students at Fulisi
(Source: Documentary review)

Table 7.1 shows that the number of students at Fulisi secondary school was low, compared to the other case-study secondary schools. This reflects the low population of this rural ward, where many people have chosen to shift away to other places if they have an opportunity to do so.

The school had 16 teachers; 11 males and five females. The ward had managed to construct 10 classrooms, five more than required. The school had three uncompleted laboratories with a few instruments and chemicals. Chemicals were purchased whenever requested by the subject teachers. The school had not yet started constructing a library. It had three teachers' houses, of the 16 required. The school had an uncompleted administration block. The construction of toilets in the block had not yet started, so staff had to use temporary toilets outside the block. All the school buildings were already in use, though unfinished. The students' toilets were also already in use, though unfinished. There were six girls' toilets, with a shortfall of one, and six boys' toilets, a sufficient number for them. Table 7.2 provides a summary of the available infrastructure at Fulisi:

Facility	Required	Available	Shortage/extra
Administration block	1	1	0 (unfinished)
Classrooms	5	10	Extra 5
Girls toilets	7	6	1
Boys' toilets	6	6	0
Laboratories	3	3	0
Library	1	0	1
Teachers 'houses	16	3	13

Table 7.1: Availability of infrastructure at Fulisi
(Source: Documentary review and observation)

The construction of school buildings at Fulisi stagnated even before the fee-free education policy. Construction ceased after the buildings were brought into use, even though they were not yet finished.

The school had 264 tables, 86 more than required. It also had 202 chairs, 24 more than required, and three cupboards, with a shortfall of three. (See table 7.3).

Furniture	Required	Available	Shortage/extra
Tables	178	264	Extra 86
Chairs	178	202	Extra 24
Cupboards	6	3	3

Table 7.2: Availability of furniture at Fulisi
(Source: Documentary review and observation)

The school had extra tables and chairs because contribution for tables and chairs was a continuous programme. Parents of the new entrants were asked to contribute timber and cash for making tables and chairs.

Participants and Sources of Data

Interviews were held with nine participants; the headmaster, one teacher, two community members (CMX and CMY), two parents (Parent X and Parent Y), the Village Executive Officer (VEO), the Ward Executive Officer (WEO), and one board member (BM). The reviewed documents were monthly school reports, school guidelines, and minutes from parents' and school board meetings. Data from observation focused on the status of school buildings and facilities as well as the surrounding environment.

Community Participation in Fulisi Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

Community members at Fulisi participated in supporting the school in various matters. They participated in meetings, in decision making, and in management at different levels:

Meetings

Meetings were among the ways community members participated in the school matters by contributing their views. There were meetings organized and held at the ward office, and others at village level. This was after the headmaster had communicated with the WEO about school needs, as the WEO explains:

> I communicate with the Ward Development Council (WDC) chair-person (the ward councillor) about having a meeting… first we sit as a WDC… then if village chairpersons agree, they evaluate [the workload] and then distribute to the number of villages (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment shows that there were meetings organised and held at the ward level, followed by meetings at village level. Village leaders were required to

disseminate information from the ward meetings to CMs. This was through organising public village meetings, as the VEO commented:

> …to call meetings and inform citizens what was discussed and [decisions] reached at the WDC (VEO, Fulisi).

The village chairpersons and the VEOs were required to organise meetings in their respective villages after the ward meetings. These were to inform CMs about the plans discussed at the ward meeting and to seek their support. Meetings were also organised to involve CMs in making contributions, and to provide reports of their contributions over a period of time, as explained by community member X:

> During meetings, we discuss what we have contributed and what we are going to implement. The report is read to inform us where it [the programme] has reached (CMX, Fulisi).

Parents' meetings were also organised to discuss school issues. These were organised by the school management when the demands targeted parental contributions. Parents thus contributed their views on matters presented at the meetings, as one parent comments:

> We participate in meetings where all the issues are discussed, and solutions reached (Parent Y, Fulisi).

Meetings with parents emerged from the school needs that required parental contributions. These meetings involved school management requesting parents to attend meetings by sending invitations through their children. Parents participated in meetings that were organised by the school and held at school premises, though at low average of about 32 percent (Field notes taken on 7th November 2016).

Decision making and planning

Decision making at Fulisi was done at two levels; First, during leaders' meetings at ward level, and during school board meetings, and second, during

public and parents' meetings. CMs were involved in decision-making during the public meetings. The decisions were mainly driven by school issues that required community support. This is demonstrated by community member's comment:

> The decisions are reached at the meeting. We discuss the problem, how are we going to contribute, and the rates for each villager (CMY, Fulisi).

Community members participated in making decisions by contributing views during discussions. Most decisions seemed to focus on contributions, as indicated by the board member's comment:

> Decisions are done through meetings by considering [income] ability of CMs and other stakeholders who . . . can be involved (BM, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that leaders involved CMs in decision-making purposely to prepare them to participate in making contributions for the school.

Management of community participation

Management of community participation at Fulisi was organised by the ward government. The school had to contact the ward office whenever there was a need for support from CMs. The ward development council meets to discuss the matter, and then the headmaster (who is also the secretary of the school board) presents a feedback report to the school board. The WEO ensures that the information reaches the CMs through delegating the issue to the village leaders, as his comment indicates:

> Sitting for a board meeting, in which the councillor, headmaster and VEOs are members, to send the information to citizens . . . Then the headmaster presents the [feedback] report from the ward development council at the board meeting (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment shows that the information is channelled from school to the ward. Thereafter, feedback is sent back to the school board, and disseminated to CMs. The information communicated to CMs about school matters targets what is expected from them. The school has no mandate to directly seek community members' support because the management of CMs is the responsibility of the ward government.

> All those are done by the ward. They are the ones with people, so if they agree, together with experts and others in the ward development council, then it is already a declaration that requires implementation (Headmaster, Fulisi).

The ward government has authority over CMs in the ward. It could command CMs for any support required by the school.

From the ward meetings, village leaders are responsible for organising meetings that will enable them to mobilize CMs towards contributing for the school, as demonstrated by the VEO:

> My responsibilities are to call meetings and inform citizens what was discussed and reached at the WDC…to sensitize contributions from the citizen... I supervise the collection and record the status of contributions (VEO, Fulisi).

Distributing the costs among community members was a way of organizing them to make contributions. It also simplified the management of participation and follow-up actions. The costs to support school matters were distributed to CMs in each village, as noted by the headmaster:

> They do contribute in most cases, depending on the amount they have agreed, by considering the whole budget and the number of villages. So, when they go to their villages, they distribute to villagers (a flat rate) for all who are able to work (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that local leaders divide the costs of resolving a problem to the total number of able-bodied CMs in the ward. This strategy was

used to manage contributions. Village leaders further supervised all stages of community participation, as the WEO comments:

> The village chairpersons, who are the ones closer to the citizens, evaluates [the progress] in the WDC. Then the VEO continues with implementation… (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that the village chairperson presents an evaluation report to the ward showing the progress made in their village. The report is discussed and then the VEO from the respective village is assigned further steps arising from the report.

The extent of community participation

The level of community participation at Fulisi was determined by numerous factors. First, construction activities at school determined the extent and frequency of community contributions. Construction was active during dry seasons, thus participation was higher during dry season than the wet season, as explained by the WEO that "We consider seasons on matters related to construction" (WEO, Fulisi). This was confirmed by field notes taken on 7th November 2016 which indicated that only an average of 29% of planned contributions was made within time frames that were scheduled during wet season. The seasons determined the low and high seasons of contributions from CMs. This was because contributions targeted more on construction activities and less on other aspects.

> Contribution goes with seasons, construction starts at the end of the rainy season and it is in the dry season that most CMs harvest, so they have money… because most people here depend on agriculture (VEO, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that CP was emphasized during the dry season because it was a construction season. Additionally, CMs had money from their harvests that enabled them to contribute to school requirements. Moreover, dry seasons

were free periods for most CMs as they had ample time to spend at school, as commented by community member X:

> They consider seasons because, in some of the seasons, citizens are busy with farm work and their budgets are directed to farm production. (CMX, Fulisi).

This comment shows that it was difficult for CMs to divert their resources to the school in seasons when their farms required their attention.

Community Participation in Funding Fulisi Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents the findings about community members' participation in funding Fulisi secondary school. It starts by showing the need for CP in funding, followed by the nature of CP in funding, ways of involving CMs in funding the school, and finally the forms of community funding.

The need for community participation in funding the WBSS

Community participation was necessary due to various factors. First, Fulisi secondary school is under the ownership of CMs. They had to participate in school matters as stakeholders, as commented by the headmaster:

> Yeah, because the school is their property, without involving them nothing will succeed. The school is not of the government, they are the great stakeholders, the government is a minor contributor, of bringing teachers and curriculum, but they [CMs] are the key stakeholders who build [the school] so they must be involved (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This comment shows the significance of involving CMs in the development of the school. The comment suggests that they are the owners of the school and the main contributors who lead to school success. However, the notion that the government is a minor contributor seems misleading. And the view that it is

their property is perceived differently by other CMs as they regard this school as the government's school. So, they considered that the government should be more responsible.

Involving CMs is important because participation fosters a closer relationship between the school and the community, as noted by the WEO:

> It is very important to involve them because the school is theirs. So, it is important to have a good relationship with the school (WEO, Fulisi).

Community members at Fulisi isolated themselves from government workers and other institutions in the ward. The best way to bring them closer was through involving them in development matters including funding the school.

Community participation is also needed because it enables the CMs to be aware of what is going on at school and the related updates:

> …it is necessary because, through participation, we get to know what is going on at school, what is required and how to resolve such issues (Parent Y, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that, through their participation, CMs developed a sense of responsibility to the school. Community members perceived it necessary to participate in school matters because they got an opportunity to perform activities that were within their capacity, and to contribute resources that support the development of their school. This was also noted by a teacher:

> It is necessary; there are minor construction activities like maintenance, so CMs are assigned such activities, because the school is a community property, so they are to contribute through activities that are within their ability, instead of waiting for the government (Teacher, Fulisi).

It was important for community members to participate in school matters that were within their capabilities because it reduced the burden of the government. Community members were also expected to participate from the first stage to

the last, instead of leaving it to the government. This enabled them to be aware of school issues and of the contributions required from them. Additionally, it was necessary for CMs to participate in funding because they help to provide solutions to the problems facing the school.

The nature of community participation in funding the WBSS

Community participation started with the school management communicating issues of concern to the school board. If the board found that the issue required community members' support, the secretary, who is also the head of the school, reported to the ward office. The ward leaders sat as a WDC to devise strategies to involve CMs. Support was sought after recognizing that the school could not afford to fix the problem without support from CMs. Therefore, their support was sought via their leaders. CMs were contacted through meetings held in their villages to inform them, and to involve them in funding the school, as the WEO comments:

> I inform the WDC in which village chairpersons, village executives and the ward councillor are members…to inform citizens (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment implies that the WEO shares the information received from the school, with leaders at all levels, during the ward meeting. Then these leaders communicate the information to CMs so that they participate, as explained by one parent:

> We participate from the beginning after the WDC's and citizens' meetings. The constructors list what is required, including the total budget, type of materials, and the support labour [during their work] from citizens. Then the whole budget is divided among hamlets (Parent X, Fulisi).

CMs are also involved by both the WDC and village leaders, in evaluating their contributions made for the school, as the WEO commented:

> They are given feedback about how their contributions are used, [and the] income and expenditure report is read to them by the WDC. Then it is read again at their villages (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that, normally, feedback is provided to CMs so that they become aware of how their contributions are utilized and probably the existing requirements that would require community contributions.

Forms of community members' funding

Community members at Fulisi participated in funding school matters flexibly, depending on school needs and CMs' capacity, as parent Y commented:

> It occurs when there are activities to engage in at school. It depends on what is needed at school and what I have [available] at the time (Parent Y, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that community members participated in funding the school in different forms, as also noted by CMY:

> I participate by offering materials, labour power, and cash contributions (CMY, Fulisi).

This comment shows that CMs could participate by offering their contributions in various forms, cash, material and labour power, as discussed below:

Cash contributions

Local leaders emphasized that CMs should provide their contributions in cash. Therefore, they had to sell what they had to obtain cash. This was because leaders wanted to have uniformity and easy calculation of records, as commented by the WEO that "mostly it is a cash contribution" (WEO, Fulisi).

This view was confirmed by community member X, who commented that "Involvement is through cash" (CMX, Fulisi).

Cash contributions were also used when paying for school lunch as noted by the teacher that "[They are] also contributing money for school lunch" (Teacher, Fulisi). Therefore, cash contributions were preferred than other forms as they simplified the recording keeping.

Labour power contributions

Community members at Fulisi participated in school matters by providing their labour power. Some CMs preferred to provide their labour power because they thought they were saving time and resources, as noted by the teacher:

> They think better they should work themselves, so as to save time and resources (Teacher, Fulisi).

Community members participated in various activities, especially those related to construction, as indicated by community member X:

> …construction, laying bricks for teachers' houses… labour power (CMX, Fulisi).

In support of this view, the teacher maintained that community members at Fulisi participated in the construction of the school by providing their labour power:

> They participate in the construction by contributing labour power (Teacher, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that community participation through labour power focus more on construction of school buildings than on any other aspect.

Material contributions

Community members also participated in funding the school by offering material contributions, as commented by parent Y:

> …we participate by contributing materials, like poles and sand (Parent Y, Fulisi).

Material contributions were predominantly provided during the construction of school buildings. Moreover, before the fee-free education policy, material contributions were common, as noted by the board member:

> …and materials were offered in the previous period before the free education (BM, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that, during the construction of this school, CMs offered their material contributions. This was common before the announcement of the fee-free education policy.

Parental Participation in Funding Fulisi Ward-Based Secondary School

Ways of involving parents in funding WBSS

Parental participation was mostly achieved through parents-teachers' meetings. The school management communicated with parents to inform them about the forthcoming meeting. During the meetings, parents were involved through contributing their views, as the teacher indicated:

> We send a message through students to inform their parents about the date of meeting, then teachers and parents sit together to discuss the issue at hand (teacher, Fulisi).

Parents were given the opportunity to discuss school issues by providing their views during the meetings. This was supported by parent X:

> We are given the chance to discuss in the meetings, especially in the construction committee meetings… (Parent X, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that parents were also involved in committees at the school. They were told about the problem, and the costs required to resolve it. They discussed how to distribute the burden among themselves:

> …during meetings, we are given a chance to do an evaluation of the costs and to discuss how to distribute the cost (Parent X, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that parents were given opportunities to make an analysis of the costs of the problem. They also calculated the amount that each parent was supposed to contribute.

Parents were able to contribute through offering various types of resources, as noted by one parent that ". . . by contributing labour power, cash and materials (Parent Y, Fulisi). This comment implies that parents made contributions, after they had been consulted, and after being asked to contribute resources:

> The report is read at the meeting, so everyone is aware of the contributions and how the money is used (Parent Y, Fulisi).

This comment shows that parents were also involved through discussing their past contributions and being made aware of the value of those contributions.

Management of parental participation in funding the school

The management of parental participation was done by, first, calling parents' meetings. During the meetings, the school management team informed parents about school matters that required their contributions. They also shared views with parents`. These discussions focused on orienting parents to accept their roles in the school, as parent X noted:

> We are given the chance to discuss in the meetings… The activities are initiated through parents' meetings (Parent X, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that leaders used meetings to share views with parents about their roles. They administered roles to parents by first involving them in discussions and then assigning them responsibilities for the school, as noted by the teacher:

> After teachers have presented their demands, and the school's requirements, a parents-teachers' meeting comes with decisions. Parents are the ones who implement . . . teachers are like supervisors for the implementation. (Teacher, Fulisi).

This comment shows that assigning roles to parents was done through meetings, which gave teachers and leaders an opportunity to assign roles to parents. In some cases, parents organised themselves, especially in respect of minor works that could be done without support from the government.

> …but in minor development activities we call each other and resolve … (Parent X, Fulisi).

This comment shows that some parents mobilized themselves when a problem at the school could be resolved through their own efforts.

Perceptions of Community Members about Participation in the Development of Fulisi Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and discusses the perceptions of CMs on their participation in school matters. The findings are drawn from interviews, observation and documentary reviews. The section is organised into five sub-sections:

- funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government,
- funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of CMs,

- trust in ward leaders to manage school resources,
- ways to improve funding and managing WBSS.

Funding and managing WBSS is a shared responsibility between government and community

The funding of Fulisi secondary school was perceived to be a joint role between the central government and local community. Seven of the nine participants viewed that it was a shared responsibility. For example, the headmaster commented that:

> It is the citizens' [contributions], together with support from the government . . . together with other pro-development stakeholders (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This comment shows that there was a shared management and funding for the school between the community and the central government. While community members initiated construction programmes at the school, the central government provided development and capitation grants, channelled via the district council.

Four of the seven participants, who perceived it to be a shared responsibility, thought that the burden for CMs should be reduced and the government's portion increased. This implied that the amount set for CMs to contribute was a burden to them, as also noted below, and so the government's burden was to be increased at the expense of CMs, as suggested by one community member:

> We can't say the government should bring even materials that we can get here. Both the government and community should participate . . . Citizens view that our burden of contributions should be reduced. The government should increase its contribution to the school. (CMX, Fulisi).

One parent also explained that the government and other stakeholders are responsible for resourcing the school:

> I think that all the people should contribute to the improvement of the school because it is a school owned by all…Other stakeholders, like the government, must increase the amount to contribute (Parent Y, Fulisi).

Another participant held the same view that the burden was heavy for them and that the government had to increase funding:

> Contributions are many, the government should increase its participation …the burden for citizens is heavy (CMY, Fulisi).

Other community members perceived CP to be a good practice, and part of CMs' responsibility, and that it is only the high costs that limit them, as noted by CMY:

> The members of this ward are responsible for this school, though the government has to support [them] because the costs are high…Personally I find it a good thing to be involved in school, but it is costly (CMY, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that community members have positive perceptions towards their participation in the development of the school, but they found it a burden.

<u>Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of the government</u>

Two of the nine participants viewed that it was the responsibility of the government to manage and fund the school. This perception developed after the announcement of the fee-free education policy that led CMs to perceive that the government was responsible, unlike previously, when they viewed themselves to be responsible, as noted by the WEO:

> Before the fee-free education policy, people volunteered to participate, they perceived the school to be theirs, but after the announcement of the free education everything has stagnated, for example the initiated construction of teachers' houses has stopped (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that there was a change of perception over time. Before the announcement of the fee-free education policy, CMs perceived that it was their responsibility. But, after its announcement, they perceived that it was the government's responsibility.

Community members perceived that it was the responsibility of the government and that they were no longer accountable to the school. Therefore, the government was expected to increase its grants to meet school demands, as one parent commented:

> For now, it is the responsibility of the government… Initially it was seen as our responsibility… About the other stakeholders, the government should put more efforts into ward schools; they still have requirements, especially on maintenance (Parent X, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that, after the announcement of fee free education policy, community members no longer perceived to be responsible for the school, but the government. Parent Y also held a similar view that the government is responsible for managing and funding the school:

> I think the government is the one responsible. If the schools are left to citizens, it is a heavy burden (Parent Y, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that the government is perceived to be responsible for school funding, and that it can afford it, unlike if the responsibility is left to CMs. They cannot manage the running costs.

<u>Funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of community members</u>

Unlike the other case study schools, none of the Fulisi participants perceived that funding and managing WBSS is the responsibility of community members.

Trust in ward leaders to manage school resources

Community members in this ward had a generally positive view towards their leaders, and developed trust in them. Leaders used to present reports to CMs on mobilized resources, and how they were utilized, as community member Y comments:

> We are informed by the reports read at the public meetings. The income and expenditure are read (CMY, Fulisi).

Additionally, community members developed trust because they could witness improvements in school facilities, thus they believed that their contributions were well utilized, as commented by one parent that "To a high extent we are satisfied because we see development…" (Parent X, Fulisi). This comment suggests that most CMs were content with all the practices related to management of CP, especially the contributions, due to the transparency maintained by local leaders.

However, a few CMs perceived that some leaders report inaccurate data on community contributions, as noted by the WEO:

> On the part of some leaders, what is reported is not the actual amount contributed by citizens (WEO, Fulisi).

This had negative implications for the trust of CMs in their leaders, and on their contributions. Their trust lowered, and their contributions decreased, because they could not trust the leaders who collect their contributions.

Ways to improve funding and managing WBSS

Community members at Fulisi had different views on how to improve the funding and managing of the school. Some CMs had a view that the government should increase the amount of grant disbursed to school:

> I can say the government should see the possibility of increasing the grants to the school, so as to improve it (Parent Y, Fulisi).

Other CMs viewed that the levels of community participation should increase. To increase the level of participation, the WEO suggested that there should be a practice of providing seminars to local leaders, and inviting guest speakers from outside the community:

> Politicians who are local to citizens should receive seminars frequently so as to know their responsibilities …Politicians from outside should be invited so as sensitize development (WEO, Fulisi).

Some CMs had a view that the alumni of the school should support the school, as suggested by the VEO:

> I think those who passed here, and in neighbouring schools, should see the need for them to support the development of these schools (VEO, Fulisi).

This comment implies that those natives who have moved to cities, and who are successful in life, should support the efforts made by CMs at the ward.

Participants also suggested that the involvement of CMs should be at all stages of development such as in planning, implementation and evaluation. This will enable them to fully participate in school matters, as noted by the board member:

> CMs need involvement because they are the stakeholders of the school. For example, when we are planning (BM, Fulisi).

The government is supposed to know the actual needs of each school, based on the context in which the school is located. This would help the government to supply the right needs to the right schools, as noted by the board member:

> The basic issue is that the government should try to do research so as to assist these schools, because, if it does so, it should try sending facilities required at school, it should . . . ensure that it reduces the inadequacy (BM, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that, whenever the government disburses grants, it should consider individual school needs instead of uniformly disbursing resources to all the schools across the country.

Factors Facilitating Community Participation in the Development of Fulisi Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section presents and analyses findings on factors that enhance community participation. The findings are presented in three sub-sections; community leadership, benefits related to community participation in the development of the school, and national policies.

Community leadership

National political leaders influenced community participation through the orders they provided. Their subordinates at the ward level find it easy to implement orders from higher authorities without being blamed by CMs and other party followers:

> It is only when the order comes from the top political authorities that they can respond. Otherwise nothing is done...so, without a political order, nothing goes on, even ward leaders wait for the orders to be empowered [as] they don't want to disturb the citizens (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that CP implementation was difficult without directives from national, regional and district authorities. Ward leaders were delegated with powers from higher authorities, and empowered to act. The orders from higher authorities made local leaders appear impartial in enforcing their implementation.

In addition, community leaders were able to motivate CMs as a strategy for sustaining their participation. They used appreciation to increase the motivation for CMs' participation as commented by the teacher that "To thank them in a special way, to invite them to meetings" (Teacher, Fulisi). For example, local leaders influenced community participation by publicly announcing appreciation to those who participated in school matters as noted by a parent that "Hamlet chairpersons used to call meetings and elaborate about citizens' contributions" (Parent X, Fulisi). Appreciation was mentioned by the board member for active participants, and punishments for CMs who resisted contributing to the school:

> They are motivated by special appreciation, [but] steps [are taken] against passive participants… (BM, Fulisi).

However, CMY commented that there was no reward but, if one resists, they were sent to the ward to be interrogated. CMs did not like to be called so they had to contribute:

> No rewards, but, if you don't contribute, you will be called to the ward office (CMY, Fulisi).

Parent X added that fines might have to be paid for not meeting the deadlines:

> There are actions taken… to be taken to the ward office to pay the contribution, plus fine (Parent X, Fulisi).

The WEO maintained that they had to withhold belongings of CMs who delayed or resisted to contribute, until they had paid the contributions:

> Initially the steps taken included taking one's belonging(s) until he/she pays what is required [contributions plus fines] (WEO, Fulisi).

In addition, local leaders practiced transparency on the income and expenditure of the school as discussed earlier. They used public meetings to elaborate issues of community participation in schools, as noted by one parent that

"Public meetings keep us clear about the contributions" (Parent X, Fulisi). This had positive results on the participation of CMs because they were aware of the ways in which their contributions were utilized. CMs were comfortable with the feedback that their contributions were utilized as planned:

> They are given feedback on how their contributions are used, [the] income and expenditure report is read to them by the WDC. Then it is read again at their villages (WEO, Fulisi).

This was supported by one community member who commented that they are content with all the practices related to management of CP, especially the contributions, due to the prevailing transparency:

> We are informed by the report read at the public meetings. The income and expenditure are read (CMY, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that leaders managed school resources in an open manner so that CMs were satisfied with how their contributions were utilized and thus were motivated to continue contributing.

Benefits related to community participation and funding the school

The participation of community members at Fulisi in school matters was driven by the perception that, through the school, the whole community would develop; hence they had to participate because they wanted development:

> The benefit I get is that we want development, by having a school in our ward… The benefit we get is [that], the school is in our ward so children do not go far to attend secondary education (CMY, Fulisi).

Some community members were motivated to participate in school matters due to the improvements they saw. They also perceived that their contributions could improve the provision of education, as noted by one parent:

> I contribute to the school because it gives chances to many children from this ward to join secondary education. Also, because it helps to improve the school environment, also it can help academically because part-time teachers can be hired and paid [through contributions] (Parent Y, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that CMs perceived that school conditions improved through their participation. They thought that it was important for them to participate because their contributions assisted in the physical structure of the school, and in academic matters. More importantly, the school provided access to the majority of children from its catchment areas.

Community members had role models who are successful in life through education. They perceive that, through their school, their children would also succeed in life, as noted by the VEO:

> They have examples of educated people from their village, who are now successful in life (VEO, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that CMs perceived that, through their school, they could produce more graduates who could succeed in life. This motivated them to continue participating.

Educational policies

Community members at Fulisi were participating in school matters as a contribution to development activities. They knew that they were required by the policies to participate in community activities. Field notes taken on 7th November 2016 indicated that they participated in school matters through joint school activities and meetings. The education policy which requires each ward to have at least one secondary school made community members feel responsible to the school. They were generally aware that government policies required them to participate in development activities, as reported by the headmaster:

> They were educated/ explained during public meetings in their villages, so they were contributing whole-heartedly, knowing that it was their property (Headmaster, Fulisi).

Educational policies, whether stated implicitly or explicitly, guided the participation of CMs. They participated because they knew it was a community school belonging to them and so responsible to it. The policy that prevailed during the establishment of secondary schools in every ward enabled local leaders to involve CMs in school matters. They involved CMs in decision making, and subsequently in the implementations of the decisions, as the WEO comments:

> Since they have decided they must participate [in implementing], it's a responsibility… it is very important to involve them because the school is theirs…mmh… they are the school's owners… (WEO, Fulisi).

This understanding enabled local leaders to administer the policy and it became established that CMs should participate in development activities including school development.

Factors Inhibiting Community Participation in the Development of Fulisi Ward-Based Secondary School

Introduction

This section focuses on factors that hinder community participation and funding Fulisi secondary school. The findings are organised into four categories; low income, policy awareness, policy contradictions, and the politics of multi-partyism, as presented below:

Low income

Community members were hindered from participating in school matters due to low income. Their contributions for the school were low and limited by their income levels, as noted by the headmaster:

> …even the toilets in the administration block had stagnated for a long time… (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This was also illustrated by the documentary review that indicated only 29% of total contributions to construct teachers' toilets was made by the deadline. CMs had low incomes that made them busy with their own activities, to raise their income and fail to spare some time and resources for school, as noted by CMY:

> …low income that limits contributions, and sometimes lack of time to attend school activities due to farm activities (CMY, Fulisi).

Parent Y also commented that low income hindered CMs from participating:

> Largely [it] is low income that places most citizens in hard conditions (Parent Y, Fulisi).

Another factor mentioned was the low money circulation that made CMs to live in difficult conditions, and fail to contribute for the school as explained by the board member:

> Also, it is difficult to raise income, money circulation is low. CMs find themselves living in a difficult environment (BM, Fulisi).

Low agricultural productivity was also mentioned as a factor hindering participation of CMs in school matters. This resulted from climatic conditions and soil exhaustion that lowered agricultural production, making it difficult for them to contribute to the school, as the WEO suggests:

> Poverty for most people…economic production versus climatic conditions (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that CMs depended on climatic conditions for their agricultural production. Community members were limited by their poverty, attributed in part to unfavourable climatic conditions and soil exhaustion for their crop production. Poverty reduced the rate of participation of CMs because they lacked the resources to contribute.

Policy awareness

The fee-free education policy, announced in 2015, changed the CMs' view of their role in the WBSS. Initially, they knew they were responsible to participate. But, with free education, they thought they were free from all contributions, as noted by the parent:

> Initially it was seen our responsibility …with the announcement of free education, it is difficult for CMs to accept (Parent X, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that CMs were no longer participating in school matters because of the fee-free education policy. Most of them were not aware about the roles specified in the policy directives that followed the announced policy. This view was outlined by the board member that "…the problem is the [limited] awareness of CMs" (BM, Fulisi). Community members had limited awareness of the education policies. They had only a little knowledge about the policies and this seemed to be a barrier to community participation and funding of the school. This was revealed by the board member, who thought that the education policies were too demanding:

> These policies are hurting much…otherwise the government should be able to identify challenges facing them (schools) and devise ways to fund them (BM, Fulisi).

Moreover, after the fee-free education policy, it became difficult to mobilize local resources from CMs because they thought that they were free from contributions. One participant thus suggested that:

> It is a good thing, but the government should increase the amount provided through grant that comes to the school because [currently] it is difficult to collect money from citizens (VEO, Fulisi).

This comment implies that since fee-free education policy has made it difficult to mobilize resources from CMs, the government should increase funding to cover school requirements.

Policy contradictions

The announcement of the fee-free education policy has brought certain contradictions. CMs are not sure what roles are the responsibilities of the government and what are their responsibilities.

> For now, it is the responsibility of the government but, in minor development activities, we call each other and resolve (Parent Y, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that CMs cannot clearly show the demarcation of their funding from those of the government. It shows that the policy has changed the perception of CMs, from perceiving that they are responsible, to thinking that it is the responsibility of the government. However, they are still uncertain about what, specifically, are their responsibilities. They admit that they are responsible for minor works, but there is no directive to this effect.

The politics of multi-partyism

The multi-party system affected CMs' participation in numerous ways. Politicians from the ruling party were struggling to win acceptance by the citizens. School development activities seemed to be driven by political orders. Each presidential political phase would come with different priorities and strategies that would limit the continuation of the previous policies, as noted by the headmaster:

> Look at laboratories that were initiated by the former president's order, they are not completed up to the time being. Now we have shifted to desks… (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This comment indicates a lack of continuity in school development programmes from one presidential phase to the next. It shows that, before the former president's order to construct laboratories in every school was fulfilled, the new president shifted the focus to desks. This practice demotivated

community members because they could not see their goals achieved through their contributions. Also, there were no efforts made to develop the abandoned programmes.

The political party in power used every means to show that they were better than the other political parties. For example, they used a strategy of inaugurating, and handing over, school buildings even before they were complete.

> The important thing is to focus on development… it is political pressure. For example, politicians just provide orders, for example, the completion and handing over of the buildings, regardless of the real situation (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment indicates that handing over was done so as to put on record that the party in power succeeded in accomplishing a certain number of programmes, and has contributed to development. This tendency demotivated CMs from participating as it made them perceive that they were no longer responsible in construction after inauguration.

The school started using the buildings, expecting that construction would continue, and would be completed in the near future, but they remained uncompleted over several years. It was hard for CMs to finish the uncompleted parts as noted by the head:

> Community participation has decreased contrary to how it used to be. Yah, ... after the buildings are put in use, they see as if they have finished, while there are many other buildings required, like a library and a school hall for meetings and exams, teachers' houses, so now the speed has ceased (Headmaster, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that, after political leaders announced a new project, CMs stopped contributing to the previous one. They diverted their efforts to a newly announced project. By shifting to a new project, the former one remained undeveloped because no one stressed on its completion.

Moreover, multi-party politics had the effect of dividing people along party lines, thus reducing cohesion among CMs in the ward, as noted by the WEO:

> Generally, the multi-party political mentality separates and is against unity . . . [it promotes] selfishness (WEO, Fulisi).

This comment suggests that political parties had varied party ideologies, orientations, and aims. They influenced their party followers so that each party tended to pull followers on their side, thus reducing the cohesion that existed. Multi-partyism reduced the cooperation in development activities among CMs from different political parties.

Overview

This case study school is located in a rural ward with limited social services. CMs had low interaction with government officials and visitors. They were aware of joint efforts towards development activities, including education. They participated jointly as a community, based on their experience of working cooperatively. They participated by contributing to the school, mainly in cash terms, after selling their farm products, though in low amount. They were aware that education could bring development, so they were motivated to participate. Local leaders were empowered by orders from top authorities in the process of mobilizing local resources. Transparency of local leaders was reported as a factor that sustained the spirit of CMs in contributing to the school.

The fee-free education policy changed their perception from thinking that they were responsible for school funding and management to believing that it was the responsibility of the government. Political pressures, which led to handing over projects before completion, made CMs perceive that they were no longer responsible to contribute towards their completion. Moreover, the introduction of new projects, before the completion of the previous ones, demotivated CMs from continuing to contribute to the partly completed buildings.

The CMs in this case indicated that they had generally low income that hindered them from contributing to the school. They also complained about their fellow residents, who were successful in life, now living other cities, but

not supporting school development. Politics also divided CMs by political party ideologies, thus reducing cohesion.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter provides a cross-case analysis of the four schools and their communities. It discusses the findings linked to previous research on community participation in development of schools. The chapter focuses on how community members participate in Ward-Based Secondary Schools, how they are involved in funding, their perceptions on community participation, and the factors influencing their participation. The analysis and discussion are based on themes linked to the five research questions and on themes emerging from the data. The eight themes are:

- Community participation in the Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS)
- Management of community participation in the development of WBSS
- Community participation in funding the WBSS
- Policies related to community participation in the development of the WBSS
- Politics affecting community participation in the development of WBSS
- Perceptions of CMs on community participation in the development of WBSS
- Factors that Facilitate Community Participation in the Development of WBSS
- Barriers to community participation in the development of WBSS

Community Participation in the Ward-Based Secondary Schools

This section analyses and discusses community participation in the four case-study schools. It starts with community participation, followed by community participation in meetings and finally ends with community participation in decision-making.

Community participation

Community participation followed a generally similar pattern across the four cases. This is because all the schools are Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS), established by a policy directive intended to provide such schools in every ward throughout the country. However, there were also a few minor differences, attributable to contextual variations, notably between the rural (Tonongwa and Fulisi) and urban (Ogoti and Trinity) contexts, and in the participation of CMs who are parents of children at the schools, and those who are not.

Community participation followed a top down model as evidenced by local government leaders receiving directives from higher authorities and subsequently involving CMs in school issues. All the cases used the same approach to initiate the involvement of CMs, that is, through meetings rather than evolving from the perceived needs of CMs. This finding is similar to community participation reported in other African studies, including Ethiopia (Daba, 2010, Yamada, 2015) and Ghana (Wedam et al., 2015). In these countries, community participation formed part of decentralization policy, although in some parts, it was initiated by communities, particularly, in areas where the government could not provide education service. In Tanzania, CMs were used to community participation initiated by the government even before the 1980s official launch of CP in the construction of secondary schools in each ward, and before the 1990s decentralisation policy. It is linked to the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)[11] policy framework of 1970s, as explained in chapter one, suggesting a long experience of top-down approaches in the involvement of CMs to support the provision of education. This reflects planner-centred community participation as identified by Fitriah (2010), in Indonesia, that it is initiated by the government targeting administrative and financial efficiency. However, this approach is also viewed as a government strategy to abdicate its responsibilities for service provision and to place it on

[11] Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) is a concept in the policy of socialism that required community members to contribute to the nation building that was dominant in 1970's in Tanzania.

the shoulders of community members. This policy is challenged by Chapman, Barcikowski, Sower, Gyamera, and Woode (2002). Referring to Ghana, they argued that the responsibilities are transferred to community members who are even less able to address them than the government. My study shows that participation did not empower community members, rather it was focused on collecting resources from them.

The findings show that involvement of CMs by local leaders was a key factor in community participation. This is because CP in education was planned at ministerial level, and local leaders were the ones who played a significant role to ensure that they involved CMs. However, the findings suggest that, at Ogoti, local leaders were less active in involving CMs while, at Trinity and Tonongwa, leaders were active, and, at Fulisi, they relied on orders and directives from higher authorities to require CMs to participate. The insistence of local leaders in involving CMs was also revealed in a study by Chirenje et al. (2013) on community participation in decision making in Africa. These authors advocated involving CMs in local decisions. My findings show that CMs were not thoroughly involved in school matters, but faced pressure from leaders to participate.

Factors affecting community participation

The findings from the present study indicate that there was generally low participation of CMs in school matters. Several factors were found to affect participation across the four cases. Community members at Ogoti were passive and needed to be pushed to participate by their leaders. This was due to two reasons, first, it was because they thought they had no school-age children, and so not responsible and second, they were involved in construction of another WBSS, therefore they perceived overburdened. At Trinity, CMs were more willing, and demonstrated a level of participation, because they were aware of the benefits of investing in education, although multi-partyism was found to affect CP negatively. The findings also indicate that CMs' low income affected the level of participation in all the cases, but with some variations. The rural

schools, Fulisi and Tonongwa, and poor context urban school, Ogoti experienced more effects of low income.

The author's findings largely support other studies (Bekoe et al., 2013, Yamada 2014; Mlaki, 2014), which all mention low income levels, and politics, as factors inhibiting CP in Eastern Ghana, Ethiopia and Central Tanzania respectively. Similarly, Uemura's (1999) study of community participation in World Bank projects in 23 countries found several factors that hindered CP in education. These include the view that education is essentially the task of the central government, the length of time taken to realize the benefits of better schooling, community members' ignorance about school structures and functions, and the constraints facing the school. These factors were also reflected in this study, including the view that education provision is the role of the government, low income, politics, lack of awareness, and contradictions in national education policies.

Community participation in this study was mainly through attending meetings, contributing views and decision-making, all focusing on resourcing the development of the schools. Community members were involved in decision-making related to implementation, rather than through participation in decision-making about funding or school policies. This finding suggests that CMs were excluded from those aspects that could make them feel that they were part of the schools, including needs assessment, problem identification, planning, and evaluation. This confirms Chirenje et al.'s (2013) findings in African countries, where the authors comment that it is inadequate to label a programme as community based if CMs are not actively involved at all stages. The findings from my study show that the top down-approach to management is still dominant, even in the current context of decentralization. Neglect of CMs by local leaders deprived them of an opportunity to participate in school-level decision-making. This led to a failure to go beyond material contributions to fully assume responsibility for the school.

Community participation in meetings

Meetings in both rural and urban school communities were held at two levels; ward leaders and public meetings. During the leaders' meetings, community members were represented by their leaders. However, findings from all four cases indicate that no consultations were made to establish community views on agenda items before the leaders' meetings. Wilcox (1994), in his guide to effective participation, recommends that community members' ideas should contribute to agenda formation. The present research shows that community members were not involved in influencing leaders' meetings. If the purpose of the meeting is really to represent and discuss issues that concern CMs, they should be given an opportunity to influence the agenda.

Community participation in public meetings

Public meetings were organised by local leaders as a strategy to inform CMs about various issues related to the school. Community members participated in meetings where they were expected to contribute their views. However, the review of minutes indicates that meetings were not used genuinely to involve CMs, but rather focused on disseminating decisions made at the leaders' meetings, or to receive progress reports, a communication targeting to seek further contributions, as noted, for example, by local leaders at Fulisi. At Trinity and Tonongwa, the interview findings indicated that community members were involved in meetings whenever there was a school problem and when they were asked to participate. This was done by *mtaa* and village leaders, respectively, who were assigned to hold meetings with CMs in their areas. These meetings were held to inform CMs about decisions reached at ward level meetings and the actions needed to meet school requirements. This is contrary to the advice of Makwinya and Komba (2014), based on their study of community-school partnership in Tanzania, who recommend comprehensive consultation and cooperation with CMs on school matters. To be genuinely participative, meetings require the involvement of CMs in devising agenda items, and in scrutinizing decisions, to reach consensus. Allowing CMs to

contribute to agenda-setting prior to meetings would enable them to fully participate in meetings as they would be aware of the topics for discussion.

As noted previously, the interview findings from the four cases indicate that community members attended meetings without being informed about the agenda, making it difficult for them to contribute their views. This echoes the finding of Okitsu (2011), who notes that CMs were not informed about such meetings in Zambia. Similarly, Makwinya and Komba's (2014) Tanzanian study found that, when CMs are informed ahead of a meeting, they prepare more fully. This would also mean that CMs would feel more valued.

Parental participation in meetings

Parents participated in two ways, as community members, and as parents of children in the schools. They were represented in school board meetings by the school board members. However, the boards at Ogoti, Tonongwa, and Trinity schools were not representative of parents because, as the interviews with the heads revealed, board members were proposed by school heads, and then their names were sent to the regional office for approval. This finding reflects Kamando's (2014) Tanzanian study, which found that local leaders were appointed by top authorities without consulting CMs. Interviews with the heads of schools revealed that some board members in this study were residing outside the school-community, so they hardly represented the views and interests of CMs in meetings. This finding is similar to that of Westhope et al.'s (2014) study, in low and middle-income countries, which established that elected members in the community can represent the views of parents only if they are elected democratically. The finding also reflects Okitsu's (2011) Zambian study finding that members of the governing board did not consider the need to consult parents as they thought they had sufficient grasp of their interests. She also found that Zambian parents lacked effective channel to air their views despite the existence of the governing boards.

Parents also participated in meetings with teachers during the parents' and teachers' meetings. These were organised by school management, in

collaboration with the school boards. The meetings were intended to give parents an opportunity to contribute their views. However, the discussions were based on issues introduced by school management that mainly focused on financial contributions. Parents' meetings could provide platforms for parents and teachers to contribute to raising issues, and setting priorities, based on their experience. However, in practice, parents rarely had the opportunity to propose ideas related to planning or designing programmes, as noted in the data from interviews with heads and community members. Instead, as noted earlier, they were asked to attend meetings when there was a problem, and to contribute to resolving the problem. They were also involved in making contributions, suggesting that participation was more about extracting resources from CMs than inviting their wider participation. According to Makwinya and Komba (2014), such practices result in parents failing to identify themselves as partners in school matters. Consideration of their views could yield a feeling of confidence and acceptance as part of the school community.

Rural and urban similarities and differences

The findings indicate similar patterns between rural and urban meetings, except that time pressure and job commitments affected attendance variably. In rural areas, attending school meetings during the rainy season was problematic as this clashed with their farm duties. Community members from rural Fulisi commented that, not only time, but also budgets, were directed to farm activities. CMs found it easier to participate in the dry season because, during this time, they were less occupied with farm activities. This reflects the finding of Okitsu (2011), in Zambia, where parents' attendance at meetings, which were usually held at the end of the year, was limited by time constraints as they were busy in their maize fields.

In urban schools, especially at Ogoti, CMs were busy with their occupations throughout the year. They found it difficult to spare time for meetings and other school activities due to the diverse nature of their occupations that were not linked to seasons. Therefore, their economic activities made it difficult for

both rural and urban community members to reconcile on time for meetings. This repeats the findings of Miller-Graundvaux and Yoder (2002), in their review of community schools in Africa, that urban CMs and parents have diverse backgrounds and occupations that make it difficult to spare time for school-related activities. However, they found that rural communities are small, isolated, and cohesive, and this cohesion may help to reach consensus, a view also expressed by Watt (2001), following his study in sub-Saharan Africa.

My findings also suggest that CMs in both rural and urban schools were not interested to attend school meetings because most meetings focused more on resource mobilization, rather than full participation. This echoes Okitsu's (2011) finding that community members in Zambia were reluctant to attend school-related meetings because their ideas had little influence in decision making. The finding also confirms Kambuga's (2013) Tanzanian study, which showed that CMs associated attending meetings with requests to contribute resources. Consequently, few of them would attend school meetings. This links to the current study, where local leaders in both rural and urban schools made attendance at meetings obligatory. Arguably, 'forced' involvement led to a negative attitude, which contradicts the fundamentals of mutual relationships and genuine participation. Effective community participation requires willing partners to genuinely participate in school matters, as postulated by Arnstein's (1969) highest level of community participation in the ladder, although it does not mean the lower levels are less important. Each level is appropriate for a particular interest and expectations depending on time (Wilcox, 1994). In my study, the concern is the need for genuine participation of CMs, expected after years of practicing community participation, as opposed to the usual participation in meetings and resource mobilization.

Community participation in decision-making

The first step to community participation is through effective communication, and this depends on the type and purpose of shared information. These could lead to CMs being partners, who can share their views, or being merely

recipients of information. In this study, communication with CMs involved implementation of directives from higher authorities. This resembles the nature of participation in Zambia, reported by Okitsu (2011), where school management collaborated with government leaders to develop proposals intended to raise school fees. These were presented during the CMs' meetings for discussion. However, this was a strategy to make CMs commit themselves to implementation through agreements reached.

Decision-making in this study occurred at two levels; during leaders' meetings and public meetings. At the leaders' meetings, school board members and ward leaders represented CMs in making decisions on school matters. However, the representation of CMs in decision-making bodies was limited. The limiting factors are explained in three points. First, there were no set criteria for the selection of board members and other local leaders. Second, there were no attempts to find out the interests and views of CMs prior to decision-making, to inform the resolutions reached at the meetings. Third, there was no forum to disseminate the decisions reached.

Decision making in public meetings

The second level of decision-making occurred during public meetings for all CMs, and during parent-teachers' meetings. The interview data indicate that decisions made during public meetings were merely a repetition of those pre-discussed by local leaders, as found at Tonongwa and Fulisi. Even when they provided constructive ideas, the pre-meeting decisions were still imposed on them, as expressed in interview data at Ogoti, where decisions were announced to community members during meetings. This view was confirmed by the Ogoti *mtaa* executive officer who explained that they were asked to call meetings in their *mtaa* to inform the citizens about decisions reached during ward meetings. This connects to Kambuga's (2013) Tanzanian study which concluded that some groups of CMs are not adequately represented and have limited opportunity to participate in WBSS decision-making. This finding contradicts a framework developed by Burns et al. (2004), which establishes that people should participate in determining their priorities, planning and

managing programmes, collecting information, choosing performance indicators and targets, and setting criteria for evaluation.

During the public meetings, community members had opportunities to participate, but their views received little attention. Public meetings also provided limited space to discuss the concerns of the school, because several aspects of development were discussed, not just education. Consequently, CMs lost interest in attending, and participating in decision making, because they expected their contributions to be disregarded. This suggests that local leaders were comfortable with pre-meeting decisions, and less concerned with ideas contributed by CMs and parents. This links to Aref's (2010) Iranian findings that the physical presence of the CMs did not guarantee a high degree of participation, because of demotivation. Meaningful participation allows negotiation and bargaining, thus fostering a spirit of community belonging, ownership, and commitment to implementation.

The findings indicate that decision-making was an arena where leaders claimed to involve CMs but there was a lack of genuine involvement. CMs in the four cases merely discussed the issues introduced by leaders, including the amounts to contribute, how to divide activities among themselves, and the deadlines. They had no chance to participate in decisions that might lead to programmes that reflect their needs. This is contrary to Chirenje et al.'s (2013) comment that CMs should have powers to initiate programmes. The evidence from the current study indicates that the agenda for decision-making was imposed on CMs by local leaders. This supports Yamada's (2016) finding in Ethiopia, that community participation is 'top-down', with little reference to local community interests. This approach is likely to hinder the genuine participation of CMs and cannot inculcate a sense of ownership and commitment. Decision-making in such situations is viewed as intended to prepare CMs for contributions. Uemura (1999) recommends that the focus of community participation should be on raising consciousness about the significance of CMs' awareness about school maintenance, and supporting its functioning, and not primarily on resource mobilization. This is made possible when CMs are made aware of the benefits and are willing and able to participate.

Where community participation has been introduced by the higher authority, and where local leaders lack the skills to involve CMs appropriately, genuine participation is hardly realised. Leaders may feel that they are involving CMs in decision-making while CMs may perceive that they are merely receiving information about implementation of decisions made previously. This was the case at Trinity, where the local leaders, including the *mtaa* executive officer (MEO), viewed that they involved CMs in deciding the level of contributions, while CMs perceived that the amount specified by the WDC was just announced. Similarly, at Ogoti, the MEO stated that they involved CMs in decision making about the amount to contribute, based on the number of citizens. However, leaders were aware of the number of able-bodied community members who could contribute for the school, but they held meetings to make it appear that they involved CMs in decision-making. This was similar to Tonongwa and Fulisi where CMs indicated a perceived hierarchical gap between them and their leaders. This finding suggests that CMs were not really involved but were told how to participate in school matters. This type of involvement reflects the lower level of participation in the typology developed by Arnstein (1969), and Shaeffer (1994), non-participatory and artificial, in which views may be solicited but may not be regarded and so may not change the status quo of power holders.

Decision making during parent-teachers' meetings

Parents–teachers' meetings concerned teachers and parents of children in the school, that is a section of community members. Rather than contributing to high-level decisions, such as needs analysis, planning, and evaluating programmes they had initiated themselves, parents were involved in less significant issues, such as allocating tasks among themselves and setting deadlines. This finding is contrary to Wilcox's (2001) guide that participation that goes beyond the surface problems helps to develop trust and consensus among participants. In this author's study, parents were not involved in decision-making that might lead to consensus. For example, at Trinity, they

participated in discussions on contribution rates, and how to implement school programmes. At Fulisi, parents were involved in making decisions related to construction costs and about distributing the costs among themselves. Ogoti parents were similarly involved in deciding how to top up the grant disbursed by the government, to distribute the costs presented in the budget, and in setting deadlines. Parents at Tonongwa also had an opportunity to discuss the contributions required from them. These findings confirm conclusions by Chirenje et al. (2013) that, in the developing world, engaging communities in decision-making processes, especially in budgeting, is unusual. In the present study, parents are not involved in decision making through meaningful discussions. This is challenging because making decisions without genuinely involving parents is likely to compromise implementation, because they may not develop a sense of ownership and responsibility.

Rural and urban comparisons on the degree of community participation

Community members in both rural and urban communities were less willing to participate in school matters, including decision-making. Lack of willingness was due to low confidence, limited time and resources to contribute, and lack of appreciation of their views, as discussed in previous sections. Community members in rural Tonongwa and Fulisi attended decision-making meetings unwillingly and hardly contributed their views. The findings show that they attended by force due to a fear of penalties being imposed on them. This was also found in Okitsu's (2011) Zambian study, where leaders introduced fine for non-attendance. Attendance in urban schools in my study was low but at least CMs were contributing their views more than those in rural communities. The findings suggest that CMs in rural areas have less confidence, than those in urban contexts, to interact with school and government officials, an observation similar to that of Watt (2001) in sub-Saharan Africa. However, low and 'forced' participation cannot yield commitment to participate in school matters.

Community members had limited time to participate in decision-making. This was partly due to their occupations, a factor mentioned in both rural and urban contexts. Job commitments limited participation in urban communities, while

farm activities in rural areas affected participation in decision-making, depending on the season. This finding is consistent with Reddy and Devi's (2015) finding in their Indian study, that personal occupation, and the seasonality of CMs' activities, including agriculture and migration for employment, affected participation. Mokoena's (2011) study of participative decision-making in South African schools shows that home obligations also prevented parents from being involved in school matters. This relates to both rural and urban communities, where CMs find it stressful to allocate time for home obligations and school commitments.

Management of Community Participation in the Development of the Ward-Based Secondary Schools

This section discusses and analyses the management of community participation in the Ward-Based Secondary Schools. It reviews the hierarchy of community participation, the power relations within the hierarchy, how community participation is managed, and how the board members are elected to represent CMs.

Hierarchy of community participation

School governing boards and ward offices were the key players in managing community participation in the development of the case study schools. Management of community participation was based on the Education Act of 1978, the 1995 Education and Training Policy (ETP), the 2014 ETP, the decentralization policy and the subsequent education circular number three of 2016.

The management of community participation involved four levels; central, local authorities (at the district and ward level), and the schools. The top management, central government, devolved powers to local authorities at the regional and district level. Directives from the centre reached schools through the district authorities. The district authority also supervised the utilisation of

fiscal resources disbursed from the central government to schools. It was also involved in the authorisation of the use of the grant, and the approval of school reports prepared by the school board. This finding echoes Barrett's (2005) observation that district authorities in Tanzania hold a prominent position in the supervision of schools within their jurisdictions. It also reflects Dunne, Akyeapong, and Humphreys' (2007) conclusion that district authorities in Ghana have powers over the approval and audit of school budgets to access capitation grants. This means that school governors and managers lost autonomy in making decisions that would reflect individual school contexts. Similarly, my study shows that schools could not make financial decisions that differed from the prescribed allocations by the top authorities. In other words, decisions that were made at school level had to correspond to top authority directives, especially those related to funding. This type of participation reflects the top-down approach, and the dominance of the lower levels of participation such as informing, contributing, and consultation, as identified by Arnstein (1969) and Shaeffer (1994). In practice, school-level decisions were pre-determined by higher authorities, while local people had little influence over them.

The school boards had powers to make decisions for the schools and acted as governing bodies for the schools. This was enforced by the Education Act of 1978, section 39. School boards made decisions and plans for the schools on behalf of parents and other CMs. They offered advice to school heads on how to involve CMs in school matters. However, school boards had no genuine powers devolved to them in making school decisions. They had to comply with guidelines prescribed by higher authorities instead of having discretion or autonomy to make decisions based on the school context. This is contrary to Matshe's (2014) recommendation that South African school boards should have powers not only to manage finances, but also to translate them into physical resources in the most cost-effective way to promote quality education.

Parents' self-management was practiced for some activities. For example, at Ogoti, the school management team gave power to parents to manage these activities. This resulted from lack of transparency on the utilization of

community contributions by the school management, and from the way the implementation of the school plan was undertaken. The school management was not transparent about parental contributions and parents suspected that their contributions were not appropriately utilized. Therefore, the school management decided to hand back the contributions to the parents, to allow them to manage and implement the plan on their own. Parents, thus, were left to organise themselves, and manage the utilization of their contributions in the construction of classrooms. This happened in this newly established school that required additional classrooms each year, to accommodate the yearly intake, until they have enough classrooms to accommodate four intakes for all the four grades/forms. However, they could not succeed because of low economic status and lack of support from other CMs. This was because, by this time, CMs were already excluded from classroom construction due to their lack of readiness to respond to school management requests. They were thus required by their ward and *mtaa* leaders to participate in matters other than classroom construction. This reflects Grauwe's (2005) Egyptian study finding that involving CMs is complex because the policy is not owned and internalised by the beneficiaries. In my study, the lack of transparency was also found at Tonongwa where the school management was not transparent in the utilization of contributions made by parents, leading to discontent and demotivation. Community members commented on the need for the government to control misuse of school funds to improve the spirit of participating in school matters. This echoes Daba's (2010) finding, in Ethiopia, who found complaints concerning the utilization of community contributions, due to lack of transparency.

Power relations

Management of community participation at school level was organised by school management teams, school boards and ward offices. These three organs worked collaboratively and supportively. School heads, as secretaries to the school boards, were responsible to inform the ward offices about the schools' requirements. The ward government provided support because they had powers over CMs in all villages within their wards. The heads also collaborated with

school boards in planning and decision making on CP. However, these local bodies together with the district authority were influenced by powers from higher authorities. They were local education authorities just to implement plans, decisions and directives from the central government. For example, they had no power to alter the allocations of funds disbursed by government to suit their contexts. This observation reflects Dunne's et al. (2007) Ghanaian findings that governing bodies are not mandated with genuine decision-making powers. Although delegated with some limited power to manage schools, they have no ultimate decision powers on critical issues that determine school improvement.

In addition, the heads sought advice from the four school boards, as they were expected to provide advice on school policies and on plans related to management and funding. They had meetings for policy-making, planning and decision-making. However, the heads remained powerful in relation to board members due to their professional knowledge that influenced all the decisions about school policies. This finding reflects Bush and Heystek's (2013) conclusion that South African school governing bodies relied on the principals to decide on school policies on their behalf.

In my study, the district offices adhered to directives from central government. They also influenced community participation and funding because they provided the directives to be adhered to by both the heads and the ward officials. This shows that leaders at lower levels in the hierarchy did not have full powers on school matters. Their powers were determined and dictated by higher levels.

Management of parents was done by the school management teams and school boards. School boards met twice a year at Ogoti, Fulisi and Tonongwa. At Trinity, the school board could meet more than twice a year. Board members informed parents about what was needed at school and the support required from them. Heads contacted parents by sending messages via their children. The headmistress at Ogoti expressed that parents were mostly consulted in January when the school was about to open for the new term. In this period, the

school needed extra facilities to accommodate the new entrants. Most board and parents' meetings were scheduled at this time to sensitize contributions. Village and *mitaa* leaders involved community members in making contributions because they were closer to them than the districts and school management team. For example, at Ogoti, they encouraged participation by sensitizing, and by asking CMs to participate in making contributions in various forms, including their opinions, materials, labour, and cash. This confirms Mlaki's (2014) Tanzanian study which showed that CMs were only consulted when they were required to make contributions, and were rarely contacted for feedback. Their support was limited to deciding the amount and timetable for contributions, and then making the contributions.

How community participation and funding are managed

Communication marked the beginning of the management of community participation and funding. The findings show that parents and CMs were involved in school activities, and in raising school funds, following communication. Educational programmes initiated at the national level were channelled to schools via district levels through orders and directives. Heads of schools communicated with local leaders on financial directives to involve CMs through official letters and mobile phone communications. Local leaders informed CMs through public meetings. This reflects a top-down approach to managing community participation and funding, despite the prevailing decentralization policy.

The involvement of CMs in funding decisions was through meetings, and was limited to discussion about the amount of contributions and the deadlines for contributing. The WEOs and their subordinates, VEOs and MEOs, could inform and enforce contributions because they had political power, and their voices were obeyed by CMs. Parents were involved in school matters by school management. At Ogoti, Tonongwa and Trinity, they were consulted periodically by the school board. At Ogoti, they were mostly consulted in January. At Fulisi, they were consulted whenever there was an identifiable

school need. This shows that communication was primarily about funding. This reflects Watt's (2001) observation, about sub-Saharan Africa, that, where parental participation is insisted upon, it hastens the cost sharing policy that considers them as the first and foremost alternative source of revenue.

How board members are elected to represent community members

Selection of school-board members followed directives from higher authorities that, heads of schools had to propose names of CMs they thought appropriate to form a school governing board. However, some of the proposed members were not residing in the school community. This was evident at Trinity, Tonongwa and Ogoti, where chairpersons of school boards were living in urban centres. The practice reduced the opportunity for CMs' representation on the school board. This echoes Dunne et al.'s (2007) study on developing countries which found that board members may not really be representative of parents and community members.

Community Participation in Funding of the Ward-Based Secondary Schools

This section discusses, and analyses findings related to the funding of the Ward-Based Secondary Schools by community members and parents. It includes the nature and rationale for community funding, and forms of funding WBSS by community members and parents in four case study schools, linked to the literature.

Nature of community funding

Community funding was triggered by the policy through which CMs were required to contribute to the construction and upkeep of WBSS. Community funding was further emphasized by the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995, and of 2014. These policies diversified the funding arrangements to include community members.

Community members and parents in the case studies participated in WBSS by contributing mainly for the construction and maintenance of school infrastructure and facilities. In addition, parents funded the costs for learning materials and other academic requirements of their children. Parents also made contributions for running costs of the schools such as for security guards. Their contributions were mainly to support government funding due to the latter's limited resources. This finding stresses the nature of CP in Tanzania, as in most African countries, where it is used to supplement government funding. This participation is explained by Nishimura's (2017) 'excess demand' model that communities can fill the gap left by the government's inability to provide services. This finding is similar to Daba's (2010) study which found that the Ethiopian government emphasized community participation to support the construction and rehabilitation of schools, as it found the costs for funding education beyond its capacity.

Funding decisions at the community level were made by the school boards in collaboration with the school management teams. School heads also involved the ward offices in decisions pertaining to school funding. For example, at Tonongwa, the school board decided on cash contributions for lunch because some students had to walk long distances to school while, at Trinity, they decided to construct a dormitory to resolve the same issue. This showed that local leaders played a significant role in making CMs and parents become involved in school matters.

Community participation in funding was introduced to community members through information provided during meetings, followed by actions for implementation. The school management teams in the four case study schools informed community leaders and parents about school requirements. They requested support for those needs that could be afforded by CMs. At Tonongwa and Fulisi, the heads introduced the problems facing the school for discussion by ward leaders. Subsequently, ward leaders shared this with CMs at public meetings, followed by assigning roles to all able-bodied community members. At Trinity, CMs received invitations and directives about the required contributions, and they participated in discussions about the sums

needed, and the deadlines, leading to contributions. At Ogoti, they decided the amount to contribute, that was flat rate based on the total budget and on the number of CMs. However, this was a kind of 'pseudo participation', as identified by Arnstein (1969), because leaders knew the total budget and the number of CMs who could participate. Calling meetings to make decisions on the size of contributions was to justify that local leaders involved CMs, and to legitimize decisions that were previously made by local leaders including the contribution levels. This finding reflects Fitriah's (2010) conclusion that parents were asked to 'rubber stamp' decisions that were already made by the school heads.

Rationale for community funding

Community funding was perceived to be necessary because community members were regarded as stakeholders necessary for the success of the school. For example, at Ogoti and Fulisi, it was a way to develop in them a sense of ownership over their schools. At Tonongwa, the rationale was to enable CMs be aware of school issues, and what goes on in the education system, on the grounds that development is brought by CMs. At Trinity, community funding was justified by the need for community support to mobilize resources for school development. Community funding in this study was a strategy to increase sources of funding and to bring CMs closer to the schools.

Community participation in funding was necessary to supplement school requirements after the government has disbursed its grant. Their contributions were enforced by involving them in discussions such as those related to the amount of grants disbursed by the government, then discussing the school requirement, so as to determine the deficit that they would address through contributions. As noted earlier, community discussions about deficits after government disbursement was just a way to involve them in funding the schools. This repeats Nishimura's (2017) findings which show that, through decentralization, many African states disburse grants to schools that determine the amount that CMs had to supplement. Daba's (2010) Ethiopian study also

found that block grant disbursement determined the extent of finance required from CMs to cover the shortfall. However, it differs from Marishane's (2013) finding that South African schools which were declared 'no fee' schools were not allowed to collect contributions, even where parents were ready to provide support.

Furthermore, community funding was necessary in all the studied schools because it supported limited government funding due to limited government resources. According to Mlaki (2014), and HakiElimu (2017), the government was failing to disburse on time the full stated amount of 25,000Tsh per student per annum. This also confirms Chung's (1990) findings, in Zimbabwe, that developing states have limited resources to support their education systems while they have a noble aspiration of providing education for their citizens. However, it is important to create a positive attitude towards community participation and funding, because it is an alternative approach to supporting education that can be made sustainable.

The funding of my case study schools was mainly from the central government through a grant to the schools, supplemented by community members' and parents' contributions. This is because the central government financed construction and maintenance, and running costs such as water, electricity, transport, communication, and for the procurement of furniture and equipment. It was also paying workers' salaries. This finding contradicts Daba's (2010), and Kambuga's (2013), studies in Ethiopia and Tanzania respectively. In Ethiopia, community contributions counted higher than any other source, followed by government grants. Daba's (2010) study shows that the extent of community members' contributions considered the economic ability of the locality, so the government could finance up to 35% of the construction and rehabilitation costs, with the CMs financing the remaining. Kambuga reported that CMs and parents in Tanzania were supposed to contribute 80% and the government to provide 20% for the schools. The current study showed that CMs could not afford to contribute more than the government. They were expected, to supplement government funding by contributing approximately 20% of the education costs, yet, they could not afford. This finding is similar to

Kamando's (2014) Tanzanian study that the government-community contribution split was ideally 80%:20%.

My findings suggest that government grants did not consider contextual variations of communities when disbursing development grants. It also suggests that there were two major sources of funding WBSS. These were the central government, and the community members and parents. Thus, CMs and parents were considered as a significant source to supplement government funding. Although the findings indicate that their contributions were low, community members and parents considered their contributions to be high. This may be due to their low incomes, making it difficult for them to provide for the school. However, in addition to cash, materials, labour, and ideas contributions, they also contributed their time on school matters.

In certain situations, where the school faced a problem that was within CMs' capabilities, local leaders initiated a participatory programme to resolve it, instead of waiting for the government. An example is the reconstruction of a toilet that collapsed during the rainy season at Trinity. Similarly, at Tonongwa, local leaders organised CMs to construct toilets and contribute for water installation at their school. This finding reflects the conclusion of Gongera and Okoth's (2013) Kenyan study, that, low income countries cannot rely solely on government funding due to the complexity and diversity of basic learning needs. However, this is contrary to Marishane's (2013) finding in South Africa, where the government asked the schools to refund the contributions volunteered by parents to 'no fee' schools.

Forms of community funding

Community members in all the schools provided resources in various forms for the construction and maintenance of the school. These included cash, materials and labour power. These forms varied from activity to activity, and were based on decisions made at meetings. Preferences about the form of contributions varied between leaders, CMs and parents, across the four cases.

Cash contributions were preferred in all the four schools, but mostly used in the urban contexts, Trinity and Ogoti. Cash contributions were favoured, and sometimes insisted on by local leaders, because they simplified their work in recording and reporting, and in distributing costs among participants, and was easy to contribute in instalments. It was also the best way to acquire resources of a uniform type and quality and useful in payments made by the schools. CMs often preferred providing cash because they could engage with their private activities while school construction and maintenance could be undertaken by tenders paid through those CMs' contributions. Fulisi was an exceptional, where labour provision was preferred because it was believed to save their time and other resources. This may be because most of them were small peasants, whose farm activities during the dry season were minimal, thus allowing them to arrange their personal schedules flexibly to match school activities, unlike urban residents, whose jobs and businesses made them busy throughout the year. However, an option was open for CMs in other schools who could afford to provide their labour power.

The provision of labour power was common for school construction and maintenance and it was an alternative for those who had no cash or materials in all the case study schools. However, CMs across the cases were often given freedom to contribute in any form to encourage their participation. This was deemed necessary to reinforce collaboration, which in turn worked as a motivation to encourage community participation in funding.

Materials, such as water, firewood, poles and sand, were sometimes provided as an alternative mode of funding the schools. This also was commonly practiced during the construction of school buildings. At Fulisi, CMs contributed poles, timber, water and firewood for baking bricks. At Tonongwa, they participated by fetching water, sand, and providing poles. On some occasions, material contributions were provided as part of the running costs of the schools, for example, contributions of maize and beans for students who were staying in dormitories at Trinity. Table 8.1 summarizes the forms used to fund various school activities in the case study schools.

School activities	Forms of Funding		
	Cash	Labour	Materials
Construction	yes	yes	yes
Maintenance	yes	yes	yes
Furniture	yes	yes	yes
Transport	yes	no	no
Lunch	yes	no	yes
Security guide	yes	no	no

Table 8. 1: Forms of funding school activities
(Source: Research data)

Table 8.1 indicates that cash was the dominant mode used in funding various activities. Cash contributions featured more in funding the running costs of the schools. The table also shows that any form of funding was accepted in all the case study schools to provide an opportunity for all CMs to participate. Materials and labour power, both technical and non-technical, were accepted, and converted to cash value.

Community members' and parents' funding

Differences in funding between community members and parents were also observed. Community members made contributions to activities related to the construction and maintenance of the school, and to purchases of furniture. Parents, as community members, were also expected to participate in such contributions. They were also responsible for contributions related to the private costs of student learning, such as uniforms and other academic requirements, in all the case studies. Parents also had to pay for security guards, and learning materials, in all four schools. They also paid for transport at Ogoti, Tonongwa, and Trinity. Parents at Tonongwa contributed for lunch, as well as for transport. These contributions were mostly paid in cash although other forms were also accepted. This echoes the findings of Nishimura (2017), that, despite fee-free education, parents in developing countries still had to contribute a significant amount, not only through the costs of their children's schooling, but also through construction and maintenance of school infrastructure and the procurement of furniture. Table 8.2 summarises the

nature of community funding among CMs and parents at the four case study schools.

School	**Ogoti**		**Tonogwa**		**Trinity**		**Fulisi**	
Activity	CMs	Parents	CMs	Parents	CMs	Parents	CMs	Parents
Construction	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	Yes	yes	yes
Maintenance	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	Yes	yes	yes
Furniture	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	Yes	yes	yes
Security guards	no	yes	no	yes	no	Yes	no	yes
Lunch	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
Transport	no	yes	no	yes	no	Yes	no	no
Uniforms and Learning materials	no	yes	no	yes	no	Yes	no	yes

Table 8:2: Community members' and parents' funding
(Source: Research data)

Table 8.2 shows that community members participated only in construction, maintenance and procurement of furniture. Parents, on the other hand, participated in all the activities indicated in the table. Community members' contributions for maintaining the schools were very low compared to those made by parents. This was more pronounced at Ogoti where contributions were minimal compared to the total budget, culminating in lengthy delays, so that Ogoti school management no longer contacted them for contributions. Similarly, a parent at Tonongwa revealed that CMs were more reluctant to contribute than parents. This confirms Mlaki's (2013) finding, based on Tanzanian data, that there were delays in community contributions, as well as in disbursing the government's school fees compensation grant. This posed challenges for school heads in managing the schools.

Policies Related to Community Participation in the Development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools

This section analyses and discusses national and school level policies on community participation in the development of WBSS and their implementation. It discusses stakeholders' participation in policy formulation, dissemination and implementation. It also analyses and discusses policy awareness, contradictions and difficulties experienced by actors, especially at grass-root levels, in the policy implementation process. The essence of policy analysis and discussion here is to reflect how policies influence community participation and funding of WBSS.

Policy-making

The findings indicate that national policies made at ministerial level determined the practice of community participation at community and school levels. The policies include the Tanzania Education Policy of 1995 and that of 2014. The ETP of 1995 insisted on the need for diversifying funding sources to include community members, parents and end users. The ETP 2014 policy committed to the provision of fee-free basic education in the country. In line with these policies, the government issued education circulars directing their implementation. These policies and circulars were made at national level and disseminated to grass-root levels for implementation. However, there were no consultations with CMs throughout the policy-making process. This contributed to a lack of commitment among community members and parents, confirming Wilcox's (2002) view that, if they have no stake in the idea and are not involved in negotiations, CMs are not likely to be committed.

Policy dissemination

National policies became popular through political forums, which enabled most Tanzanians to be aware of the policies. However, policy details could not be disseminated in this way. Education circular documents were sent to school heads for them to photocopy and disseminate to school stakeholders. In

practice, however, they did not disseminate these documents. Consequently, most parents and CMs were not aware of the directives, while the documents were available in school files at Ogoti, Tonongwa and Fulisi. This finding echoes that of HakiElimu (2017) which found that heads of Tanzanian schools were supposed to disseminate the circular, but they were limited by the cost of photocopying, and the circulars remained in their files.

At school level, some policies were made by school governing boards in collaboration with school management teams. These policies provided directives on how to maintain schools through the participation of community members and parents.

Both national and school level policies were found to be helpful in enhancing community participation. The policies enhanced community participation because they made parents and CMs accountable for some school costs, and they also helped to enforce contributions, notably at Ogoti, Tonongwa, and Fulisi. This finding reflects Nishimura's (2017) findings in West African study which showed that policies made CMs active and accountable for various school activities such as construction of buildings, and the procurement of learning materials.

Policy awareness

The findings indicated that parents and CMs were initially aware of their responsibilities to their schools due to the policy that required each ward to construct a school. Their initial awareness was changed by the circular number six of 2015 announcement about the fee-free education policy. The policy stated that secondary education would be provided free from school fees and other contributions. Despite the education circular number three of 2016, which clarified the responsibilities of parents and CMs, most conceived that they were free from any contributions to the school while, in practice, they were still required to participate. Most parents and CMs at Fulisi perceived that they were free from any school-related contributions. Similarly, CMs at Ogoti

perceived education to be totally free. At Tonongwa and Fulisi, they thought the government had resumed its responsibilities because they perceived that the government was responsible for schools. At Trinity, parents perceived that the policy announcement exempted them from providing fees and other contributions. These findings reflect HakiElimu's (2017) Tanzanian finding that details of the fee-free education policy were hardly shared with stakeholders, leading to misconceptions. The findings also echo Aref's (2011) Arabian study, which showed that communities did not always fully understand the policy processes. My findings show that parents and CMs had low awareness of education policies, including policy directives, notably education circular number three of 2016, which followed the policy pronouncement about fee-free education. This decreased their willingness to participate.

The findings also show that, subsequently, policy awareness enhanced community participation and funding at all four schools by providing guidelines on how each stakeholder should participate. However, school policies had to change so as to conform to national policies. Local leaders at Tonongwa ensured policy implementation after they became aware of policy directives. They made CMs accountable for some school requirements and for enhanced contributions. At Trinity, it was due to the head's awareness of policy directives that CMs were responsible for ensuring that the school is maintained. At Fulisi, CMs had to adhere to policy directives although they found the policies too demanding. At Ogoti, parents had to fulfil school requirements for their children. They had to implement agreements on the amounts and the deadlines to pay made during their meetings.

Policy contradictions

The findings show that there were contradictions between the fee-free education policy statement in the Education and Training policy (ETP) (2014) and the circulars that came after it. The ETP (2014), section 3.1.5, states that the government will ensure that basic education in the government system is provided fee-free [own translation]. Education circular number six of 2015

states that the government has waived school fees and other contributions, implying that basic education shall be provided free from fees and any other contributions. This implies that students would go to school without parents or guardians paying fees and other contributions. The education circular number three of 2016 restates the same concept of free education; 'free from school fees and other contributions' (URT, 2016a). However, it goes further to state the roles of various stakeholders in the implementation of the fee-free education policy. The stakeholders include government officials at various levels, community members, and parents. The circular spells out that communities shall continue to volunteer their labour power and materials so as to nourish the development of schools in the community. It also states that parents shall be responsible for the costs of their children's learning. However, the policy also includes a general statement, which shows that education will be fee free and free from other contributions. This may explain their passive response to making school contributions. This reflects Daba's (2010) Ethiopian findings that lack of clarity, and understandable policy processes, are challenges caused by the government itself, that hinder community participation.

Second, the circular stating the responsibilities of each stakeholder was not as widely disseminated as the fee-free education policy. Consequently, parents and CMs in all four cases were not aware of this circular and the details about their roles stated in it. This confirms HakiElimu's (2017) finding that the information in circular number three of 2016 was not conveyed to citizens. For example, at Fulisi, the directives were not disseminated, so parents could not identify their responsibilities, and those of the government. At Ogoti, the head, who had the policy documents and directives, and was expected to be aware, and to inform others, could not involve CMs in activities related to school development before it was communicated to the district office. After the fee-free education policy was clearly understood, community participation resumed. The policies were not only unclear to community members, parents and school heads, but also to government officials such as those at the ward and district offices. Their limited understanding of policies undermined

implementation, for example by providing misleading directives. This is a serious challenge when it comes to implementation, since government officials have powers to instruct or direct those within the hierarchy.

Further contradictions arose due to some politicians insisting on the notion of free education, while policy documents indicated the roles of each stakeholder, and CMs and parents were asked to contribute during the policy implementation. For example, at Trinity, some CMs thought that the policy exempted them from contributions, but they were still asked to contribute. Community members at Fulisi and Trinity expressed a view that it was difficult for leaders to mobilise resources from them after the announcement of fee-free education policy. These findings reflect HakiElimu's (2017) view that lack of clarity in circular number six of 2015, and contradictory statements from some political leaders, caused parents to perceive that they were totally free from paying any of the costs of education. On the other hand, CMs were in a dilemma about whether they were exempted or not because the policy directive was silent on this. The policy aimed to relieve parents' burden of having to fund education. However, it was unclear whether this should relieve the burden of CMs as well, or whether CMs should not be exempted while those with children at school are exempted. That may be the reason for CMs in all the case study schools, especially at Ogoti, to show a lack of readiness to participate in school matters, unless urged to do so. This finding reflects Mlaki's (2014) argument that politicians interfered in development programmes by telling community members that they were exempted from payments, because the Tanzanian government was responsible for providing education to her citizens.

The findings also indicate a mismatch between national and school contexts, and school policies. This was because national policies were made without consulting community members and, consequently, they did not match school circumstances. In addition, while the national free education policy aimed to relieve parents' burdens, school policies needed support from parents and CMs. The announcement of the free education policy made it difficult for local

leaders in the four cases to mobilise resources from parents and CMs. Consequently, school projects that relied on community participation stagnated for a while after the policy was announced, at all four schools, especially in the construction and maintenance of buildings. This was observed at Ogoti and Fulisi, where a school hall and an administration block, respectively, remained unfinished. Also, at Ogoti, school policies required parental contributions to maintain school facilities and infrastructure. At Tonongwa, school policies aimed to improve school facilities and infrastructure while, at Fulisi, they aimed to complete the construction of school buildings through community support. My findings confirm those of HakiElimu (2017), who conclude that the introduction of the fee-free education policy resulted in CMs withdrawing their support to schools.

Politics affecting Community Participation in the Development of the Ward-Based Secondary Schools

Politics was found to be a factor that influenced community participation in the development of WBSS. Presidential leadership phases were found to influence community participation and funding of the schools. This was because each president produced distinct priorities, resulting in a lack of continuity for education development programmes. This was evident in all the case schools, for example, at Fulisi, laboratory construction that was to be accomplished two years past remained incomplete until during my fieldwork, because desks were the priority of the current president.

The party in power was also ambitious to inaugurate projects, even before they were complete, for them to be perceived that they were working hard for educational development. In all the case study schools, buildings were inaugurated when they were incomplete. Consequently, the focus of contributions shifted to new development projects, leaving the inaugurated buildings uncompleted, as indicated earlier. This echoes Kamando's (2014) Tanzanian study that showed that politicians wanted to shine on platforms by announcing the number of schools constructed, regardless of quality or

completion. The abandonment of unfinished programmes left school buildings uncompleted for years, demotivating contributors who could not see the complete outcomes of their contributions. This was contrary to Wilcox's (2002) guide which states that people become interested and committed to a project when they expect to achieve their goal.

The political orders from the top authority were influential because it was easy for their subordinates at ward level, and at grassroots levels, to enforce the implementation of community participation based on national directives. This was also observed by Kamando (2014), who noted that national policies enhanced CMs' followership. This was found at Fulisi, where local politicians took advantage of national policies to command CMs, without being blamed or disliked. They attributed their orders to directives from top authorities. This reflects Daba's (2010) Ethiopian study, which showed that administrators hold more power over local leaders, and CMs, by enforcing national objectives. Similarly, Kamando (2014) found that top administrators had more power over local leaders and community to enforce national interests, and impose their views, instead of being facilitators. This suggests that the powers of higher authorities enforced the involvement of CMs in school matters.

The politics of multi-partyism

Politicians at different levels used the policy of fee-free education for their own political interests. Those in the party in power emphasized the aspect of free education, without making the details clear, as indicated by a teacher at Tonongwa. The fee-free education policy was announced at political platforms for political interests. Politicians from the leading party aimed to win support from community members, and to convince them that they were working to serve their best interests. They painted fee-free education as a party achievement, for making free education possible all over the country. At a lower level, politicians at Ogoti used fee-free education as a pledge to CMs, during their party campaigns, by blurring it to be perceived as totally free on the part of CMs and parents. At Trinity, campaigns used by politicians from

opposition parties, to win support for their parties, were also found to negatively affect community participation. They oriented CMs to a perspective that once elected their party would not charge any contributions arguing that all the costs were covered by the government while, in fact, the country had inadequate resources to cover all school costs. This echoes Jones's (2005) study in Yemen and Pakistan, which found that national and local leaders exercised power to strengthen their status quo, rather than to increase the awareness and participation of CMs and parents.

The party in power and opposition parties reversed development initiatives in their struggles to win the support of community members. This was through opposing development initiatives made by each other. This was more prevalent in the two urban cases, Trinity and Ogoti, than in the rural contexts of Tonongwa and Fulisi. For example, at Ogoti, the ward councillor was from the opposition party. Therefore, he faced challenge of not being supported by the party in power, whereby, his initiatives where opposed by the ruling party leaders and followers. Consequently, the development of the school was stunted through lack of support. And during their meetings, most of the discussions were influenced by party interests as leaders from the political party in power were striving to gain support for their party, against opposition parties, without regard for the development of the school. This reflects Jones's (2005) findings that government officials exercised political power to influence decisions in favour of the government and the party in power. Community members could not respond to school needs due to political differences with the opposition ward leader, who was responsible to provide directives of what to do in the ward, and so they obscured the success of school programmes. These oppositional politics affected the spirit and commitment of community members and parents to school. There were similar findings in Kambuga's (2013) Tanzanian study that CMs and parents were reluctant to participate in school matters because political leaders from opposition parties informed them that the government disbursed enough funds for schools. This seemed a strategy to make the party in power fail so that the opposition party could take advantage, to win the next election and take over power.

The findings indicate that the politics of multi-partyism tended to divide CMs along party lines, thus reducing cohesion and cooperation in development activities. This effect was evident at Ogoti, Trinity, and Fulisi, where CMs were separated by party ideologies, thus hindering them from working as a single group towards school development. They influenced their followers to ignore activities announced by leaders from other political parties. This is similar to Kamando's (2014) finding that bureaucrats and politicians prevented the extension of network ties that could link the social capital necessary for the development process.

The findings at Fulisi indicated that some politicians were less educated, thus less effective in influencing community participation. This was evident from the WEO's comment that they needed seminars and sensitization from politicians outside their community. This finding suggests that local leaders' limited capacity to involve CMs in school matters was partly due to low education. Kamando (2014) also found that those leaders, especially volunteers, lacked the necessary mobilization skills.

Perceptions of Community Members on Community Participation in Development of the Ward-Based Secondary Schools

This section discusses and analyses perceptions of community members on their participation in development of the WBSS. It includes community perceptions about shared responsibility, perceptions about the role of the government towards WBSS in relation to community roles, perceptions about the roles of community members and parents to WBSS, and perceptions related to income abilities, and to community participation and funding.

Community perceptions about shared responsibilities among stakeholders

Community members had different views about sharing their roles with the government. While the majority of CMs, that is seven out of nine participants at Trinity and Fulisi, and five out of nine at Tonongwa and Ogoti, perceived it to be a shared responsibility, especially on funding and managing the school, four participants at Fulisi suggested that the government should have more

responsibility than CMs and parents. They proposed that the burden on CMs should be reduced, and added to the responsibilities of the government. And at Tonongwa, two participants perceived that the government should be more responsible than parents and CMs. These perceptions indicate that CMs participated in school matters while they perceived it as more the responsibility of the government. They implied that the government was supposed to be more responsible than it was.

Perceptions about the role of government

Community members and parents perceived that WBSS are public schools under government ownership, and funded by the central government. Therefore, they perceived that it was government's responsibility to fund the construction, running, and maintenance of the schools. Two participants from each case perceived that WBSS were public schools so they should be managed and funded by the government. This was attributed partly to circular number six of 2015 that provides a statement indicating that school ownership is under the District Executive Director (DED). This statement had an impact on the developed sense of community ownership among community members. It brought an impression that CMs had no ownership of the schools, although the schools were known as community schools. Also, circular number five of 2015 led CMs to perceive that the government was resuming its role of funding and managing its schools. Unlike others, one community member at Ogoti was able to state clearly that the government collects tax, so it should be responsible to provide education to its citizens. These findings had implications on participants' perceptions that the government was supposed to be more responsible in school matters than it was.

Perceptions about the roles of community members and parents

A few community members and parents, two each at Trinity, Tonongwa and Fulisi, and one at Ogoti, perceived that WBSS were under community ownership and therefore they had a role to play. They revealed that they had developed a sense of school ownership because they were involved in the

construction of WBSS from their beginning. However, this sense was disrupted by the pronounced fee-free policies, as discussed earlier. Consequently, most participants at Fulisi no longer perceived it to be their responsibility, and another participant at Ogoti claimed that it was not their responsibility, but they were just forced to contribute. Another parent at Tonongwa commented that CMs and parents should contribute equally because, even if one has no children at the school, the contribution is important for school and ward development. This shows that most CMs resisted contributing because they had no school-aged children, and so perceived that they were not responsible. This reflects Chapman et al.'s (2002) Ghanaian finding that disagreements do exist in local communities due to differences in group interests, and diverse views about how to manage local schools.

Perceptions about community participation in funding in relation to income abilities

Most participants perceived that their incomes were too low for them to contribute to school funding. For example, at Ogoti, they perceived that it was difficult for them to contribute for economic reasons. However, one participant argued that low income should not lead them to resist contributing for school development. Rather, they should try their best to actively participate in school matters, which do not involve monetary contributions. Similarly, at Trinity, two participants perceived CMs too poor to contribute to the school, contrary to perceptions of the head of school that the contributions set were low and within income abilities of CMs, suggesting a perception that it was not their responsibility, and therefore not committed.

The community members at Fulisi perceived that their fellow CMs who were well-off could assist them by sending remittances for the development of their rural home villages because they perceived themselves as unable to contribute to school development. At Tonongwa, CMs perceived themselves to be low income earners so regarded school demands as a heavy burden. Similarly, CMs at Ogoti found it a heavy burden to contribute for school construction. This

finding echoes Dunne et al.'s (2007) conclusion that, due to poverty, community members in sub Saharan and South Asian countries perceived participation to be a heavy burden.

Factors that Facilitate Community Participation in the Development of WBSS

Community participation was facilitated by several factors mainly the community leadership, benefits perceived by CMs and the educational policies as explained in the following sub-sections:

Community leadership

Ward offices in the four cases influenced community participation in school development because they are vested with power through decentralization policy. In all four case-study schools, they also helped to enforce community members and parents to participate in school matters. They also received requests from schools to enforce CMs to implement decisions. *Mtaa* and village executive officers were delegated with power from the ward office to supervise the CMs and parents in their respective areas. Moreover, their power to command compliance was boosted by directives from higher authorities. This was evident at Fulisi, where the implementations of decisions reached by local leaders were boosted by government orders. This finding repeats Mokoena's (2011) observation in her South African study that developed formal management structures improve CP. This implies that community participation and funding were not voluntary; rather CMs and parents were required to participate in school matters. This finding reflects Dunne et al.'s (2007) study, of sub-Saharan African and South Asian countries, which showed that core decisions were hardly ever decentralized in a way that encouraged genuine local community participation in decision-making.

School heads, on behalf of school board and school management teams, consulted ward offices so as to gain their support and to command community obedience on participating. In both the cases, they used motivations such as appreciations during public gatherings. They also used negative motivators

such as sending those who resisted to the court, and even charging them fines. Enforcement was needed because community members were often not ready to volunteer for school development programmes, for several reasons. One factor was the lack of CMs' involvement in programme initiation. This suggests limited authority to command community participation among local leaders at the school and ward levels. This finding reflects Grauwe's (2005) Egyptian study, which concluded that most community involvement was imposed by national government authorities where the government could not organise or finance basic public services.

Benefits associated with WBSS

Community participation was facilitated by the community desire to have a school in their ward and avoid costs associated with sending children away for education. Also, CMs were aware that through having a school, development could be activated. They also had role models who went through education path and were successful in life. They expected that their schools would produce successful graduates from their community. This echoes findings by Yamada (2014) in Ethiopian study showing that establishing a school in a ward increased awareness among CMs on the benefits of education, and the existence of role models who exemplify the benefits of education facilitated their participation.

Educational policies

Educational policies, both national and institutional policies were influential in enforcing CP. They stated what was expected from CMs and helped to hold them responsible, thereby facilitating CP. For example, national policies stated what was expected from CMs for the schools, thereby enhancing their participation. However, these policies could not sustain CP as they focused on enforcing rather than developing a sense of commitment contrary to Mfum-Mensah and Redenour (2018) caution that for CP policies to be viable, care

should be taken to avoid inclining power to the already existing powerful structures.

Barriers to Community Participation in Development of the Ward-Based Secondary Schools

This section analyses and discusses the challenges related to community participation in development of the WBSS. It focuses on factors that hinder participation of community members and parents in school development, including educational policies, low incomes, and lack of willingness.

Educational policies

Educational policies were found to limit community participation in development of the WBSS for three reasons. First, parents and CMs in the case study schools were not consulted during policy making, and so were not conversant with policy statements. Second, the policies did not match their contextual needs and interests. Third, dissemination strategies were not effective enough to convey the information to all stakeholders and, in some cases, the information was provided incorrectly, thus limiting implementation. This echoes Kanau and Haruna's (2013) finding in their Nigerian study that CMs were not fully involved in the formulation and execution of education policies and projects, so it was difficult for them to participate.

The announcement of the fee-free education policy was a challenge that hindered community participation by stating that it would remove school fees and other contributions. Additionally, politicians at national and local levels emphasized free education without mentioning other details about the policy. As a result, parents and CMs became reluctant to make any contributions. Thus, the national policies made it difficult for plans implementations to be achieved through CMs' contributions. For example, laboratories and libraries in all four case study schools remained unfinished. At Ogoti, for example, there was a plan to build a school hall through community members' contributions,

but it failed because CMs thought they were free from contributions after the announcement of free education policy. Similarly, at Tonongwa, toilets were unfinished, while, at Fulisi, the construction of classrooms and the administration block stopped. This reflects HakiElimu's (2017) conclusion that the introduction of the free education policy resulted in CMs withdrawing their support from schools. The policy affected CMs' and parents' willingness to contribute to participating and funding WBSS.

Another challenge was that heads of schools and local leaders, who were expected to disseminate and mobilize community participation, were mis-directed by their superiors. They were instructed to stop collecting contributions from CMs and parents at Ogoti, Tonongwa, and Fulisi. The contributions resumed after the policies were understood by district, ward, and school leaders because there was still a need to support school development. This contrasts with Fitriah's (2010) conclusion that community participation in Indonesia diminished, not because of a lack of policy misunderstanding, but because the government provided grants and so stopped the contributions from parents, who felt disempowered in making decisions about resources they did not contribute. In my study, CP diminished due to policy misunderstanding, while the government could not fully fund the schools. The participation increased over time as heads, local leaders, parents and CMs became aware of the policies and were obliged to participate.

Low incomes

Low incomes were found to be a major barrier to community participation in school matters. CMs at Ogoti and Fulisi were found to have low incomes and could not provide labour, material or cash contributions. Some CMs at Ogoti, Tonongwa, and Fulisi had low incomes, and lived in difficult conditions, so that they could not support their own lives, let alone provide school funding. For example, at Ogoti one parent explained that contributions may be required while there are unresolved family problems that require resources, and take priority over school issues.

At Fulisi, local leaders perceived that the government was demanding too much from the poor. This reflects Grandvaux and Yoder's (2002) conclusion that forcing poor people to pay for education raises serious equity concerns. They could not concentrate on contributing for the school while their families' basic needs are not fulfilled, for example to address hunger. As Maslow's (1943) hierarchy illustrate the needs progression from basic needs to the highest level of self-actualization needs, CMs were not motivated to participate in school matters to satisfy the educational needs of the majority while their family basic needs were not yet met. Thus, their time was occupied by activities to earn a living. This echoes Kambuga's (2013) Tanzanian study that the main challenges of community participation relate to costs in the forms of labour, cash, and time. Similarly, Taniguchi and Hirakawa (2016), in Malawi, and Matshe (2014), in South Africa, found that limited income and lack of time hindered community participation in schools.

At Fulisi, low agricultural productivity, linked to low money circulation, led to low earnings that were insufficient to support participation in their school. This supports Kanau and Haruna's (2013) Nigerian finding that people in rural areas, and in poverty-stricken communities, could not afford to participate meaningfully in education matters.

Willingness

Another challenge was community members and parents' lack of willingness to respond to community participation initiatives. In all four schools, CMs and parents were reluctant to attend school-related activities such as construction activities and meetings. At Ogoti, the headmistress stopped asking for contributions from CMs because she perceived that they were not willing. At Tonongwa and Fulisi, parents and CMs' low attendance at school meetings and activities can be explained as lack of willingness. This echoed Pansiri and Bulawa's (2013) Botswana finding that parents were not willing to attend meetings, and to contribute their ideas, and did not volunteer their services to schools. Arguably, willingness matters more than the other challenges.

Townsend (1994) argues that willingness would increase if parents and CMs perceive the benefits of education for their children. Lack of willingness in my study seemed to develop among CMs due to weak strategies used to involve them, low income, and the perception that education provision was the responsibility of the government.

Overview

This chapter has analysed and discussed findings on community participation in development of the four Ward-Based Secondary Schools, linked to previous research and theory. It focuses on exploring how community members and parents participated in school matters, including funding, policies and politics. The analysis was concerned with CMs' perspectives on community participation and funding, and the influence of policies and politics. It further analysed the perceptions of CMs and parents about their participation.

The chapter focused on analysing community participation from the perspectives of people at the grassroots, to establish their perspectives of participation practice and the challenges they experienced. The study has several implications as follows:

The study suggests that, first, community members and parents have overlapping, but distinct, roles in participation and funding of WBSS, and that their level of participation varies between them. Second, community funding is required to supplement government provision of education in WBSS, therefore, CP is still a potential strategy. Third, the top-down approach by national and local leaders limits the level of community participation in WBSS. Fourth, participation and funding are 'forced' by local leaders, leading CMs to feel compelled to contribute, rather than developing a sense of ownership, willingness and hence sustainability towards development of community schools. Fifth, the shifting priorities of politicians frustrate participants because it leaves projects unfinished. Sixth, the dissemination of the 'fee-free' policy was confusing and led CMs to believe that their contributions were no longer required.

The next, and final, chapter addresses how the research questions were answered and discusses the significance of the study.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research and addresses the significance of the study. The first main section shows how the research

questions have been answered. The second section discusses the significance of the study and outlines knowledge claims. The third section makes recommendations for policy, practice and research, grounded in the data. The chapter closes with an overview of the chapter, and of the study.

The term 'community' in this study refers to people residing in the ward in which the school is located, who have shared roles in the development of the school. It includes residents, with and without school-aged children, referred to as parents and community members respectively, ward, village and *mtaa* executive officers, school board members, and teachers.

Answering the Research Questions

The aim of this study was to find out how community participation contributes to development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS) in Tanzania. Five research questions were addressed through this enquiry:

1. In what ways, and to what extent, do community members participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS)?
2. In what ways, and to what extent, do community members participate in funding Ward-Based Secondary Schools?
3. What are the perceptions of community members about participation in the development of WBSS?
4. What factors facilitate community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?
5. What factors inhibit community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?

Research question one: In what ways, and to what extent, do community members participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS)?

Community participation was generally similar across the four case-study schools, with some minor contextual variations. The participation in these schools was not initiated by the community members (CMs), rather, it was devolved from the national authorities. Local leaders played a significant role in enforcing participation, such as setting time-frames, guiding and supervising implementation, and enforcing fines. Therefore, community participation (CP) was influenced by policies, guidelines and directives, rather than being due to community members' and parents' personal commitment to the shared responsibilities.

The data show that community members and parents participated in schools in distinct ways. First, they participated by attending meetings. Attendance at meetings differed between rural and urban schools. In rural schools, it was influenced by the seasons. During the rainy season, from November to April, they were busy with farm activities and all their resources were directed to farming. In contrast, during the dry season, from April to October, CMs and parents had more time and other resources to contribute for the school, because farm activities were minimal after harvesting. Community members in urban schools focused on their occupations and businesses throughout the year, so that their attendance was consistently low.

Second, community members and parents participated in meetings through discussions, but this was limited to basic funding aspects such as the amount and deadlines for contributions. The discussions did not offer them an opportunity to participate meaningfully in decision-making that could lead to consensus, and foster ownership and commitment. Their views and experiences relating to needs analysis, planning, controlling and evaluation of school programmes were not really taken into consideration. Community members and parents had little influence on decisions, and their participation was to

'rubber stamp' what had already been agreed during leaders' meetings held prior to community members' and parents' meetings.

Theoretically, community members and parents are supposed to participate in evaluating school programmes in progress. However, the study revealed that the management structure did not provide such opportunities, even if they had supported the funding of the programme. In rare cases, implementation reports could be read during meetings, but with a purpose to inform CMs about further contributions required. They did not allow community members' influence on the programmes. Consequently, CMs were not motivated to visit the schools to check the progress of relevant programmes after they had made their contributions.

The data revealed that meetings and discussions were primarily about seeking contributions from community members and parents. For example, they were not involved in setting school annual plans, but they were required to approve and implement the plans set by the school management and the local government, and they were just involved in planning the amounts to contribute, and the deadlines for contributions. Consequently, their attendance and participation were low because they were demotivated by what happened during the meetings. The lack of motivation was signified by the passive response to calls for participation, and by low attendance. For example, the attendance was low at Trinity (67%) and Tonongwa (62%) (see chapters six and five respectively), and lowest at Fulisi (32%) and Ogoti (24%), implying more than half of expected parents not attending meetings as discussed in chapters seven and four respectively. The data indicate that attendance was very low at Ogoti, an urban school, because community members were given short notice about meeting dates. At Tonongwa, a rural school, attendance was relatively higher because most meetings were held during dry seasons when CMs were not too much occupied with farm-work. This allowed a higher attendance than at Fulisi where meetings did not consider seasons and at Ogoti where they provided short notes about forthcoming meetings. However, the relatively high participation was largely due to pressure from higher authorities, rather than community members' willingness and commitment.

Research question two: In what ways, and to what extent, do community members participate in funding Ward-Based Secondary Schools?

Powers related to grants disbursed by the central government were pre-determined by central authorities. Local authorities, both at district and ward levels, as well as the school boards and the school management teams, had no real influence, for example to advise on allocation or reallocation of funds to reflect schools' priority needs. Consequently, some problems that required urgent measures remained unaddressed, because funds could not be relocated according to local priority areas from those priorities identified by central government. The schools could neither relocate funds allocated for other functions that were less pressing. For example, schools failed to conduct mock examinations because grants allocated for examinations were minimal and had already been used in schools' continuous examinations, as discussed in chapter six, and they were disbursed in an untimely fashion. Another example is the toilet reconstruction at Trinity school. This was an emergency case that required a quick repair, but the government could not disburse the funds on time, and the schools could not use funds allocated for other functions for this repair. Instead, CMs and parents self-mobilized themselves for contributions to reconstruct the toilet. However, local leaders had to seek permission from the district office before contributions could be collected from community members and parents, thus delaying the resolution of this problem.

Community funding was required to supplement government funding of WBSS. It focused mainly on construction and maintenance, plus some running costs from parents. Community members and parents resourced schools through mobilizing local resources. These were in three forms, cash, material and labour, but with a preference for cash contributions. However, the data show that their contributions were minimal, and with lengthy delays. This was caused by the way CMs and parents were involved in planning and decision making, as well as the perception that it was the government's responsibility to resource schools.

Both community members' and parents', participation levels were generally low, with parents contributing more. This is because parents funded schools both as CMs and as parents of children at the schools, so they felt a heavier burden. The contributions remained low, because most CMs and parents had low incomes, and they contributed by force, rather than participating voluntarily. This suggests limited resources and a lack of willingness and commitment to contribute to the school.

For example, community members and parents were expected to contribute for the construction of toilets at Tonongwa. Their cash contributions were supposed to be made by September 2015, before construction began. However, by the end of the next academic year, 2016, only 60% of the required cash was collected, despite the stated penalties. Consequently, the project was not achieved within the expected time-frame. Low contributions were also recorded at Trinity during the construction of toilets. In collaboration with the *mtaa* government, only 47% of the agreed contribution was made at Trinity (urban school) while, at Fulisi (rural school), it was only 29%, within the planned time scale.

Research question three: What are the perceptions of community members about their roles in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?

The data show the varied perceptions that community members and parents had about participating in the development of WBSS. While some considered that contributing to the WBSS should be shared, most CMs and parents perceived that the government should be responsible. This was because WBSS are public schools, under government ownership, and they expect the government to provide education for her people, as a public service. Community members perceived that they were not responsible because they had no school-aged children, while parents thought that they were no longer responsible for paying school fees, and other contributions, because of the fee-free education policy. Moreover, they paid tax to the government, and thus expected the government to finance the schools. Consequently, both CMs and

parents participated only because they were obliged to do so, otherwise they would not participate.

The perceptions of community members and parents were significantly affected by educational policies, especially the fee-free education policies, as discussed in chapter eight. They had a strong influence on the attitudes, and readiness, of community members to participate in WBSS. Through the notion of free education, community members and parents were influenced to think that the government could fully resource the schools and that there was no need for their support to school development.

The data also show that most community members and parents perceived that their low income hindered them from contributing to the participation and funding of WBSS, although they could contribute to the development of schools in other ways. However, it was generally perceived that community participation is all about resource mobilization. Less attention was paid to non-material contributions, such as participation in decision-making, and attending school events.

Research question four: What factors facilitate community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?

Top-down policies and directives from national authorities obliged community members and parents to participate in school matters. This was after they became familiar to local leaders, CMs, and parents. Community members were required to adhere to, and participate in the implementation of, the national policies, guidelines and directives. Policies were used to enforce CMs' participation because they made them aware that they were responsible to participate in development activities, including educational activities. This enhanced their participation.

Local governments, particularly the ward and *mtaa*/village levels were instrumental in facilitating the participation of CMs and parents. The local government leaders played a role in informing, directing and enforcing policies, guidelines, and procedures for community members. Similarly, heads of schools influenced community participation through their roles as managers,

and as members of school boards, by involving parents in school affairs. They also influenced CP by linking ward government to the management of community participation in WBSS. The aim was to enforce implementation through contributions. This was done through communication and discussion whenever there was a need for community contributions. However, the leadership abilities of heads of schools, and their readiness to bring the community closer to school, varied and influenced the extent to which CMs participated in school matters.

Motivations used by local leaders to enforce participation played a significant role in facilitating CP in school development. CMs were publicly appreciated in special ways thus motivating others to participate in providing their contributions. Negative motivations as well facilitated CP in the development of WBSS in the cases as CMs were scared of being called at ward offices for interrogations, or for paying fines.

Community participation was facilitated by the benefits perceived by community members. They felt prestigious having a secondary school of their own in the ward. The presence of role models and the possibility that their children could advance through WBSS to higher levels of education encouraged CMs to involve in the development and sustenance of the schools. They also perceived that by participating in school development, community development could be stimulated.

Research question five: What factors inhibit community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?

Barriers to community participation included the contradictory policies about whether education is free or not, and its effects on parents and other community members. The contradictions include the statement in circular number six of 2015 that education is free from fees and other contributions from parents, but is silent about community members' contributions. This is contradictory because it implies that community members must contribute, while parents who are community members with children at school are exempted from any payments. However, circular number three of 2016 shows

the contributions expected from parents and CMs, while parents believed that they were exempt. The contradictions also included whether the fee-free education policy referred to school fees only, or also included other contributions. However, the circular shows that parents and community members are exempt from other contributions, but still other costs and support are needed as identified in circular number three of 2016. This circular was not fully disseminated, thus limiting awareness among CMs and parents.

The unclear fee free education policy affected the willingness of community members and parents to participate in school matters. They were reluctant because they perceived that the policies set them free from school costs. Therefore, they did not volunteer willingly in school matters, rather they were obliged to participate.

Policies and circulars were made at the national level and disseminated to the local level for implementation. They lacked support because community members were not consulted about the policies during formulation, which, in addition did not match school level policies, priorities, and needs.

Moreover, dissemination strategies were not effective in reaching the wider community. Thus, policy awareness among CMs and parents was limited, and they lacked awareness and understanding about the information contained in the policy documents.

The tendency to introduce new school programme priorities, leaving previous ones unfinished, affected negatively on the motivation of participants. This was because they could not influence its completion before the focus moved on to subsequent projects. Consequently, CMs did not feel that their contributions had contributed to realizing a goal they could feel proud of.

Low income was another barrier to community participation and funding. Community members and parents could not prioritise school requirements at the expense of family needs. They also perceived that the government was demanding too much from them, without regard to their poor economic status.

Multi-partyism also impacted negatively on community participation and funding. Development initiatives by a political party were not supported by other political parties because they were all struggling to win, and to maintain, political legitimacy. This tendency to divide community members along party lines reduced the cohesion necessary for the development of community participation in school matters. Moreover, some political leaders influenced community members and parents that they should not provide their contributions since the government had enough funds to support its schools through the capitation grants, as part of the fee-free education policy.

Lack of genuine representation of community members and parents in school boards, and ward government meetings, limited their participation in planning, and evaluation of their contributions, and of school programmes. Moreover, local representatives did not consult and represent the interests of CMs and parents in their committees and boards meetings. Community members could not make leaders accountable, they could not control the utilisation of their contributions, and they could not evaluate the programmes in which they had participated. Consequently, many did not feel committed to school programmes.

Significance of the Study

This section reflects on the contribution of this study in terms of contextual, empirical and theoretical significance. The study provides insights into the practices, perceptions and barriers of community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools. It provides research-based data of value to policy-makers, planners, practitioners, administrators and researchers.

Contextual significance

Studies on community participation are complex and diverse, attributed to contextual diversity and the difficulties involved in defining the concept of community, and whether participation is to fulfil basic needs or to influence

decisions. My study adds knowledge that contributes to an understanding of the ways CMs are involved, the roles and their perceptions in their participation in the development of WBSS, a gap left by other studies in Tanzania. Kambuga, (2013) focused only on community roles in the ongoing construction of classrooms in two urban schools, while my study goes further to include development of a range of facilities, not just classrooms. It also contributes to understanding of facilitators and barriers of CP in school development in both urban and rural schools, and both community members and parents. Mlaki (2014) focused on the drawbacks of cost sharing in curriculum implementation in rural districts, but not on school development programmes, and in both rural and urban schools, as in my study. Makwinya and Komba (2014) focused on comparing partnership practices, and parents' perceptions, reflecting the communication between school governing boards and parents. My study goes further to explore and provide an understanding of ways in which both parents and community members get involved in school programmes, and the resulting perceptions of their roles in participation and funding school development.

Moreover, data from my study contribute to knowledge about community contributions to school development in diverse rural and urban poor and rich contexts. Rural schools are less developed, and have few buildings, although the student-facility ratio is similar to those of urban schools. This can be explained by the nature of varied rural and urban areas' population. Fewer students were enrolled in rural schools compared to the urban schools. The enrolment at the two rural schools was only 301 students at Tonongwa and 162 at Fulisi, while the enrolment in the two urban schools was 1019 students at Ogoti, and 750 at Trinity. Only one previous study in Tanzania (Kalolo, 2015) targeted facility adequacy in secondary schools, but this was limited only to science facilities. Thus, the present study adds to our understanding of community participation in facilitating the adequacy of school facilities.

The multiple case-study data show certain contextual variations across cases, implying that community participation is context responsive. In one urban school (Trinity), community members and parents were more willing and able

to participate in school matters, than the urban school in a disadvantaged context (Ogoti), and the two rural schools of both advantaged and poor contexts. Also, the study found that the two urban schools had more and better buildings and facilities than the rural case-study schools. No previous studies have focused on community participation in both rural and urban contexts. Kambuga (2013) focused on urban settings while Kamando (2014) and Mlaki (2014) addressed only rural contexts.

Moreover, my research provides more contemporary data than previous studies, capturing policy context from 2014-2016, as well as those before 2014. This is distinct from previous studies in Tanzania (Kambuga, 2013; Mlaki, 2014; Makwinya & Komba, 2014; Kamando, 2014), which reflect only the country's policy context before 2014. In particular, the present study provides insights into the impact of the new policy initiatives, especially the fee-free education policy for secondary education. Within this current policy context, my findings show that community perceptions have been altered by the post-2014 policies, factors that could not be reflected in previous studies. The data show that these policies impacted negatively on community members' willingness to contribute to schools than facilitating CP.

This thesis contributes to understanding about prevailing community participation in Tanzania, with a focus on management, financial, human and material resources contributions for schools development, but not in involvement in classroom activities. Similarly, no previous studies indicated participation of community members in instructional activities, in contrast to other sub-Saharan countries (Watt, 2001). Previous studies were limited to contributions of resources for construction of classrooms, and their impact on curriculum implementation (Mlaki, 2014), and for science educational facilities (Kalolo, 2015). Makwinya and Komba's (2014) focus was limited to the management aspects of school governing boards and parents.

My study also establishes that, in the context of decentralised school governance, unequal power relations can be dominant. This includes evidence of the autonomy of school heads, who had power to influence appointments to

the school board, as explained in chapter eight. According to Education Act Number 25 of 1978, Section 38, the Board exercises supervision over the school but, in practice, they are disempowered. The findings suggest a need to address, first, the powers of heads to decide the composition of school boards and second, and the provision of capacity-building programmes for board members. Previous studies did not focus on the influence of heads and local leaders on the nature of community members' perceptions and their ways of participation. Rather, they limited themselves to parents' perceptions about how school boards communicated with parents, and the willingness of parents to participate (Makwinya & Komba, 2014).

Empirical significance

This study produced new knowledge about community participation in WBSS in Tanzania. It utilised a multiple case-study approach to capture data from four schools in very different rural and urban communities. Previous studies, including Kambuga (2013) and Mlaki (2014), adopted case study designs, but researched only single cases, urban and rural respectively. These single case study designs do not offer the same richness of data as my multiple case-study design.

My research differs from some previous studies in adopting, and triangulating, multiple methods to provide a rounded exploration of the phenomenon of community participation. The use of mixed methods contributes to in-depth understanding of the extent and nature of community members' and parents' participation. The study obtained multiple perspectives of participants mainly through interview data from different actors, supplemented by field observations and documentary review. In my study, the use of multiple methods focused on deep understanding about the ways in which CMs and parents were involved in school development from their own perspectives. Other studies, including Kambuga (2013), Mlaki (2014) and Kalolo (2015), also used mixed methods, including quantitative approaches. However, their studies did not focus on deep understanding of participants' own experiences

of the participation process. Mlaki (2014), and Kalolo (2015), also included questionnaires but their data did not provide in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Similarly, in Makwinya and Komba's (2014) study, questionnaire was the main data collection tool and did not secure in-depth data.

My study adopted stratified purposive sampling to obtain data from participants who had information and experience regarding community participation in WBSS development (see chapter three). Respondent triangulation facilitated the inclusion of multiple perspectives of community members and parents, as well as their immediate leaders, including village, *mtaa* and ward executive officers, to provide comprehensive data. In contrast, previous studies, including Mlaki (2014) and Kalolo (2015), targeted parents and excluded the experiences of community members. Kambuga's (2013) study involved community members but did not target parents.

Theoretical significance

This study has made a significant contribution to our understanding of how decentralization and participation theories can be used jointly to frame the thinking and orientation of studies related to community participation. The assumption of decentralization bringing power to lower levels, and the complex nature of community participation relationships, are explored through the data and lead to a comprehensive framework that can be used to enhance community participation in Tanzania and other developing contexts.

The existing theories of decentralization and community participation explain how top-down directives affect the structure and agency of community members in school programmes. By merging the theory of decentralization with the theory and models of CP, this study has offered a comprehensive theoretical base for the study of CP that captures both the central and grassroots actors in participatory programmes. This framework can be used by researchers in the field of CP to explain the dynamics of power and influence in respect of local communities and participatory programmes. For example, it

was useful in explaining why it was difficult for local communities to influence major decisions in the present study. Moreover, the framework was useful in advancing knowledge of the local fiscal arrangements, including the funding mechanisms and the related autonomy over resource acquisition and use. It suggested that decision-making was mostly 'rubber stamping' of what had already been decided by local leaders, as explained in chapter eight, a form of 'tokenistic participation' (Arnstein (1969). Therefore, the theoretical framework was useful in explaining the institutional structures that defined powers and role relations between local leaders and community members.

The reviewed models of participation (Arnstein, 1969; Connor, 1988; Shaeffer, 1994; Choguill, 1996) are useful in explaining community participation practices in the case-study schools. The rungs are useful in understanding my data, as they are helpful in explaining first, the extent of CMs' involvement, and second, the influence on CMs' response to participation. These rungs provided a guide to understanding the interactions involved in informing community members' roles, grounded in policies, procedures, guidelines, and circulars. However, the communication did not encourage feedback channels, but was 'one way', based on orders and directives. This thesis offers a proposition about effective communication as a significant aspect of decentralisation and community participation. It fills the gap left by Kambuga (2013), who suggested that respected members of the community should inspire and mobilize others to contribute to education development, but does not propose the means.

The ladders models of participation offer an understanding of the top-down approach dominant among authorities, which may explain the general involvement of CMs without giving details. For example, Arnstein (1969) discusses attending and participating in meetings in which plans are shown to community members, to 'sign of' that they have participated. This approach shows a lack of collaboration that cannot encourage the commitment of CMs to participate, and in sustaining the participation. This reflects a similar kind of involvement found in my study, thus suggesting community participation that gives due attention to the involvement of all participants in all the steps. Kalolo

(2015) suggests the need to strengthen partnerships, to work collaboratively, and to find solutions for challenges. Similarly, Kamando (2014) proposed redistribution of power structures, to enforce collective working, by empowering the local communities to achieve a bottom-up model of development. However, they do not show how these propositions can be realised. My study extends the proposition by suggesting a model to bring together actors from different hierarchies in a two-way participation.

The higher-levels of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, delegated power and citizen control, or full powers of decision-making, fail to explain the findings of the present study. The data show that community members had limited powers over decision-making about school programmes, and that such programmes did not include accountability to them. Arising from my data is a proposal for a higher degree of involvement of CMs at every stage of collaborative participation from the initial point of identifying a programme, through implementation, to its evaluation, reflecting Connor's (1988) progression of step-by-step participation in resolving issues or undertaking a programme.

Building on this theoretical contrast, my data indicate a need for participation of the power-holders, and the power-less, in all processes, for genuine participation to be attained and sustained. The data show a need for a participation model that recognizes communication as central in community participation, an aspect which is overlooked by most models and studies in the field. For example, the data suggest that plans and decisions were imposed by central authorities. The data indicate a low involvement of CMs, so devising a better way to engage CMs can lead to genuine participation. Local authorities at ward and village/*mtaa* levels had limited powers to freely decide and plan for development based on local communities' experiences. The participation of CMs can be genuine if real powers are devolved to district, ward and village offices, who can in turn involve CMs in every aspect that concerns them, unlike when powers are administratively deconcentrated to appointees who are accountable to the authority that appointed them rather than to the CMs they serve. Moreover, the fiscal transfers from the central authorities direct to schools, without adequate decision-making powers, limit the development of

schools because they cannot decide based on their priorities. Also, the uniform transfers perpetuate the inequalities among schools from disadvantaged and advantaged contexts because of local variations across schools. The data suggest that community decision powers are impaired, thus suggesting a need for a new model for empowering local communities by genuinely involving them to have a high degree of participation by all stakeholders, across all phases of participation.

The proposed model of community participation

The data suggest that a cyclical model of community participation, rather than a ladder approach, can reflect more accurately the processes that facilitate genuine community participation in Tanzania, and in similar contexts. The data indicate that, in situations where CMs were involved in every stage, participation increased, notably for parents at Ogoti. Also, the interview data show that CMs suggested being involved in management roles, signifying that, they were excluded in some roles, such as decision making on key issues like setting priorities. Furthermore, the findings indicate that, if CMs are genuinely involved, participation will be high. For example, instead of considering communication as manipulative, as reflected in existing models, the proposed model regards it as a central aspect for community participation. The data show communication in the study was at a surface level, aiming to get contributions from CMs but not to empower them, thus calling for interactions that can enhance information sharing and lead to greater sense of control and agency, rather than focusing only on CMs' contributions to schools, which demotivate them. Moreover, interview data show that control measures were not participatory, rather they tended to scare and subject CMs to forceful participation. The modified model thus suggests participatory monitoring strategies that will focus on rectifying deviations away from genuine community participation. The model proposes active participation of every member in all the proposed elements and processes, as analysed in the following section.

Constituents of the proposed model of community participation

The proposed model (see figure 9.1) suggests a modified approach to community participation to explain the nature of involvement and empowerment following decentralisation. The model comprises six elements and processes, and it proposes jointly participating in all the processes by leaders and CMs. First, the model suggests a stage of needs and problem identification, whereby leaders come together with CMs to discuss proposals, which may arise from higher authorities, or from community members. The second element relates to jointly setting community priorities that can be relevant to their needs and problems when CMs are involved. The third aspect involves making plans, assessing the resources required and delineating responsibilities. The fourth element involves every stakeholder participating in implementing the programmes, with clear lines of responsibility. The fifth stage involves evaluation to determine whether the needs are fulfilled, and the problems resolved. If not fully resolved, the problems are rolled over to the next cycle. If the needs have been attained, further needs or problems to be addressed are identified for a subsequent cycle of participation in the process of development. At the centre of the model is the communication, with arrows pointing to every stage of participation. The arrows represent communication within and across the stages. Communication is required for all stages of the participation process, from problem identification, through setting priorities, planning, implementation, and evaluation. The faint line joining the steps represents monitoring throughout the process of participation. It involves checking whether the planned programmes are progressing as planned, or if there is a need for modification. It needs to take place in every stage of participation in a programme to effect change wherever appropriate, as shown in figure 9.1.

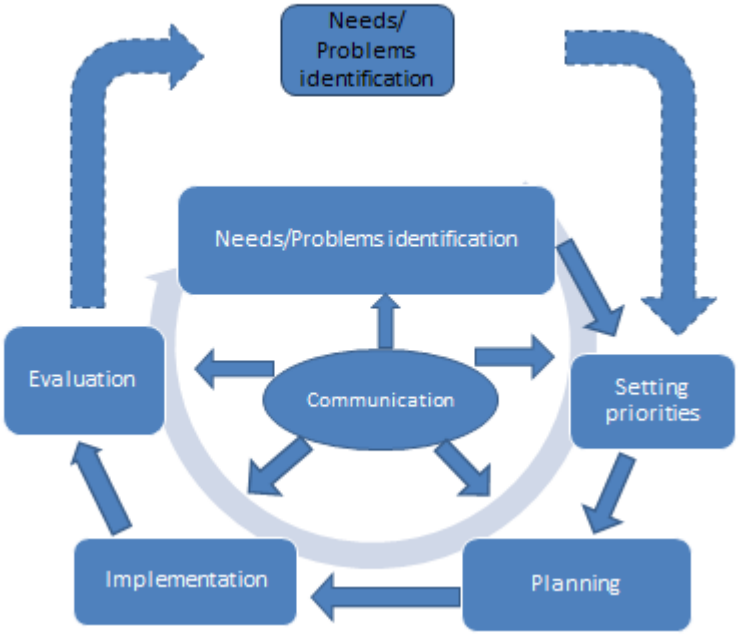


Figure 9.1: Proposed cyclical model of community participation

Figure 9.1 shows that community participation starts with power-holders and community members jointly identifying community needs and problems. Then they jointly identify community priorities in the second stage followed by joint planning, implementation and evaluation. While participating in all these stages, communication is significant in enhancing interactions, and monitoring to ensure that each stage is completed as planned. After evaluation, the arrow leading to subsequent needs identification represents an ongoing cycle of participation, based on the evaluation of the foregoing phase and the identification of a further set of needs, to provide a new focus for the subsequent cycle of participation in the process of development.

The model illustrates the potential for genuine participation especially in the context of a decentralised governance structure where authority is transferred to lower levels of hierarchy and to CMs. Local leaders can enhance genuine participation of CMs through emphasizing voluntary participation in identifying needs that will enable CMs to raise issues to be addressed. Hence, they develop a feeling of ownership of the problem and they become concerned to resolve it. Second, by becoming involved in setting priorities based on their experience of important needs and pressing problems, CMs develop a feeling

that they have power to decide on their priorities for problem resolution. It also helps leaders to facilitate resolving the issues that are important community priorities.

Third, through shared planning, genuine participation can be enhanced as CMs become part of the decision-making process, leading to resolution of the identified problems. Fourth, involvement in implementing the plans in a shared manner motivates both parties, the leaders and the CMs, to assume their responsibilities and to participate in actions as planned. Furthermore, participation of CMs and leaders in the monitoring of performance can facilitate genuine participation rather than the control model seen in this study, that scared CMs, and forced them to participate in school programmes. Communication at all stages can facilitate genuine participation because it helps to build relationships and understanding among leaders and CMs. It also helps to share information, encouraging genuine participation to occur.

The proposed model contrasts with the ladders' approach to community participation inherent in existing models (Arnstein, 1969; Connor, 1988; Shaeffer, 1994; Choguill, 1996). It suggests a cyclical approach, with two-way communication between government officials and community members, and among CMs themselves, while the existing models present communication as a lower level aspect in the ladders of participation, and they consider it as merely for consulting CMs. Moreover, the existing ladders' models tend to reflect unequal power relations, with CMs participating at lower levels, while leaders and authorities dominating the higher rungs. They suggest the implicit and explicit exclusion of grassroots participation at higher rungs, while the proposed cyclical model assumes their higher involvement at every stage. My proposed model also includes monitoring as an aspect of community participation dominant across all stages. If the model is implemented effectively, it can encourage CMs to participate in a more collaborative way. This could also influence community members' perceptions of their roles, and act as a factor to motivate them to be part of school development.

Recommendations

Community participation seems to be a complex phenomenon, whose implementation needs a thorough analysis of policies and practices, and further research to enhance understanding of how it can be successful. The following recommendations are grounded in the data.

Policy recommendations

Community participation practices have not led to resource adequacy in WBSS. This is attributed to first among many, the limited participatory fundamentals such as shared communication, and decision making, and the top down nature of policies in community programmes, second, the lack of clarity in national policies among community members and directives that guide community participation, third, the limited income among community members and, fourth the perceptions held by community members that the government should be responsible to provide and fund education, and that they are less responsible. These factors lead to the following policy recommendations:

1. The policy process should be sensitive to, and focused on, community needs and priorities. Policy-makers and decision-makers should consider incorporating the views of the community members who are the implementers and beneficiaries of such policies. They should redefine participation arrangement to encourage CMs' involvement in the policy process from the inception of policy ideas, to formulation, implementation, and evaluation, to enhance policy relevance and appropriateness (Chung and Cheung, 2008).
2. Because limited awareness and policy contradictions inhibited community participation, policy statements should explain policies in ways which are clear to lay participants, and without contradictions. Policy makers should also devise effective dissemination strategies to ensure that policy announcements are accessed, understood by all stakeholders, without misconceptions. The policies should further

specify the contribution expected from community members and parents in respect of WBSS, avoiding the confusion and uncertainty engendered by the politics embedded in education policies. When roles are identified, and CMs are held accountable, they are more likely to be committed to carry out their responsibilities (UNESCO, 2017).

3. This study also established that there were weak administrative and structural links between the ward office and the school. Therefore, the government should create clear legal and structural links between the ward governments and the schools, to enhance immediate supervision and accountability between the two.
4. The Ministry of Education should improve the trainings of local leaders about the process of involving CMs and parents, especially on campaigns to mobilise communities for school development programmes, since local leaders were found to have limited influence on inspiring participation.
5. It is evident from this study that some community members and parents are constrained from contributing to school development by lack of resources. Therefore, it would be valuable to modify policies so that they specify their contributions, according to their income levels. This strategy was found fruitful in involving community members in Ethiopian primary schools (Daba, 2010).
6. The Ministry of Education should consider providing circulars that reflect shared ownership of WBSS by the government and community members. Circular number three of 2016 acknowledge the city, municipal, or district directors' ownership of WBSS, while these schools were established by community members in wards, and they are known as community schools (see chapter one) but run by the government. Circulars should reflect shared ownership, to encourage commitment among community members.

Recommendations for practice

The practice of community participation was strongly influenced by the policy context, which viewed WBSS as public rather than community schools. Moreover, community members believed that they had limited responsibility for school matters because they had no school-age children. Both community members and parents also perceived that funding and provision of WBSS is the responsibility of the government. Therefore, they expected much from the government for school development. However, support and participation of stakeholders including parents and community members is paramount in contributing to development of schools (Bray 2001). This leads to several recommendations for practice as explained:

1. Local governments, at districts, wards and school levels, should carry out advocacy campaigns to create awareness about the limited ability of the government to provide and fund education and hence the need for community support. The campaigns should also focus on mobilizing voluntary community participation rather than on more forceful measures.
2. School managers and local leaders should involve community members and parents in school affairs at all stages. This should help to address the lack of a feeling of ownership and commitment among CMs and parents in respect of school programmes. Local leaders should try to develop a sense of shared responsibility towards WBSS among CMs. This could be done, first, by facilitating horizontal communication channels between the school and CMs, to bring them closer to the school and, second, by allowing participatory programmes to evolve from the community members themselves.
3. Community members and parents were found to be not interested in visiting the schools or lacked the confidence or time to do so. Heads and teachers, therefore, should create a welcoming atmosphere for CMs and parents to feel part of the school.

Recommendations for research

This research shows that community participation is still a viable strategy for sustained development of schools, and for communities to be better served by the WBSS. However, CP is a complex phenomenon that requires further investigation. Due to constraints of time and resources, the present study was limited to four schools of a single type in only one region of Tanzania. It also involved only community members at ward levels. Consequently, it could not obtain findings from other regions or different school types and from officials from higher authorities, including district, regional and national levels. Additional research is required to address these limitations:

1. This study focused on in-depth understanding of community participation in development of WBSS in four wards in one region, limiting the potential for generalization. Further research is required to explore this issue in other regions of Tanzania, including more urbanised, more advantaged, and less developed, cities and regions.
2. My study was focused on WBSS, and similar research is required on other school categories, such as the public schools established by the government, and government boarding schools, to establish whether the findings in these settings are like those in WBSS. There is also scope for research on other levels of education, including pre-primary and primary schools, to examine how CMs participate in school development.
3. This research focused on the perceptions of parents, community members, school heads and teachers, and local community leaders. It would also be valuable to study the perspectives of government officials at various levels, including district, regional, and national levels. This would provide complementary data from the perspective of officials at various levels of authorities for comprehensive understanding of CP.

Overview

This chapter shows how the research questions have been addressed, and the contribution of the study to the body of knowledge. The chapter also offers research-based recommendations for policy, practice and research.

This research shows that community members and parents contribute to WBSS, although their support does not fully cover the gap left by the government. This study also shows that the government has failed to make community participation effective. This is attributed to national policies that are practiced in a top-down and consultative manner as illustrated by Reed et al. (2017). This approach acted as a barrier that limited the implementation of genuine community participation in this study. Adopting a top-down approach impaired the realisation of the potential benefits of decentralised education system associated with CP. Further, the contradictory policies contributed to limited and reluctant participation of community members in supporting WBSS. Low incomes, poverty, and unwillingness to contribute, all serve to reduce the participation of community members in school matters.

The study demonstrates low community participation in WBSS, contributing to a persistent inadequacy of facilities in the case-study schools, which have uncompleted and dilapidated libraries, laboratories, dormitories, toilets, and insufficient furniture.

The research identifies barriers for effective community participation in WBSS, leading to recommendations for the development and maintenance of the schools. The clear need for community participation suggests a requirement for improved approaches to encourage participation and connect it to school-level priorities.

The study shows that there is a need to improve community participation in the establishment and maintenance of WBSS, linked to the increase in the school-age population. It also connects to the sustainable development goals, which include:

> By 2030, [to] ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes (UNESCO, 2016;15).

This goal of quality, free basic education for all in Tanzania can only be possible through the participation of CMs and parents. However, this requires an enhanced feeling of community ownership of the school, and clearer specification of the contributions required from community members. This is because education is an expensive undertaking that requires resourcing from reliable sources, such as the government, supported by CMs and other stakeholders. Education cannot be totally free. Even if it is free for the recipient, there are still substantial costs for the government.

Increased community participation may help to provide adequate school places, and to improve school facilities, in Tanzania, and in other developing countries experiencing financial limitations. To ensure this process, community participation should be grounded in information sharing, and democratic participation, as this not only supports the management and funding of schools, but also creates community links necessary to develop and sustain schools for students, and the wider community wellbeing.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Research Ethical Approval

2016/18/CP

School of Education – PGR Research Ethics Comments Form

The University of Nottingham

Name: Ahadi Anania
Supervisors: Tony Bush
Course: PhD
Title of Research Project: Community participation and funding ward based secondary schools in Tanzania
Is this a resubmission? No
Date statement of research ethics received by Research Office: 26/05/2016

Reviewer C – Summary Review		
Date of review	15/6/16	
Outcome of review	Revise and Resubmit	
	Approved	✓

Comments:

This application is approved subject to the following:

1. You should not say 'there are no expected risks related to this study'. It would be better to say 'this research is considered low risk', or similar.
2. The documentation should specify the length of storage of the research data i.e. seven years, unless there is a reason for a different length of time. Personal data should be destroyed when it is no longer needed.
3. In the invitation, it would be better to say: The study has received ethical approval from the University of Nottingham School of Education.
4. Use your university email address as a contact.
5. Could the invitation and the participant information sheet be combined?
6. The participant documentation needs further proof reading.

Please respond to confirm your agreement to comply with these conditions.

Good luck!

Modifications made and received in Research Office 21/06/2016
Research can commence

Appendix 2: Clearance Letter from University of Dar es Salaam to Dar es Salaam Region

UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR
P. O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

General: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001
Direct: +255 22 2410700
Telefax: +255 22 2410078

Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz
Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Regional Administrative Secretary
Dar es Salaam Region

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms. Ahadi Anania** who is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar es Salaam and a PhD Student at the University of Nottingham in United Kingdom. Ms. Anania is required to conduct research as part of her PhD studies in the United Kingdom.

In accordance with government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July 1980, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam is empowered to issue research clearances to staff members and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I am pleased to inform you that I have granted a research clearance to **Ms. Anania.**

I therefore, kindly request you to grant her any help that may enable her achieve her research objectives. Specifically we request your permission for her to meet and talk to the leaders and other relevant stakeholders in your region in connection with her research.

The title of her research is **"Community Participation and Funding of Ward Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania".**

The period of her research is from **August 2016 to January 2017** and the research will cover **Dar es Salaam Region.**

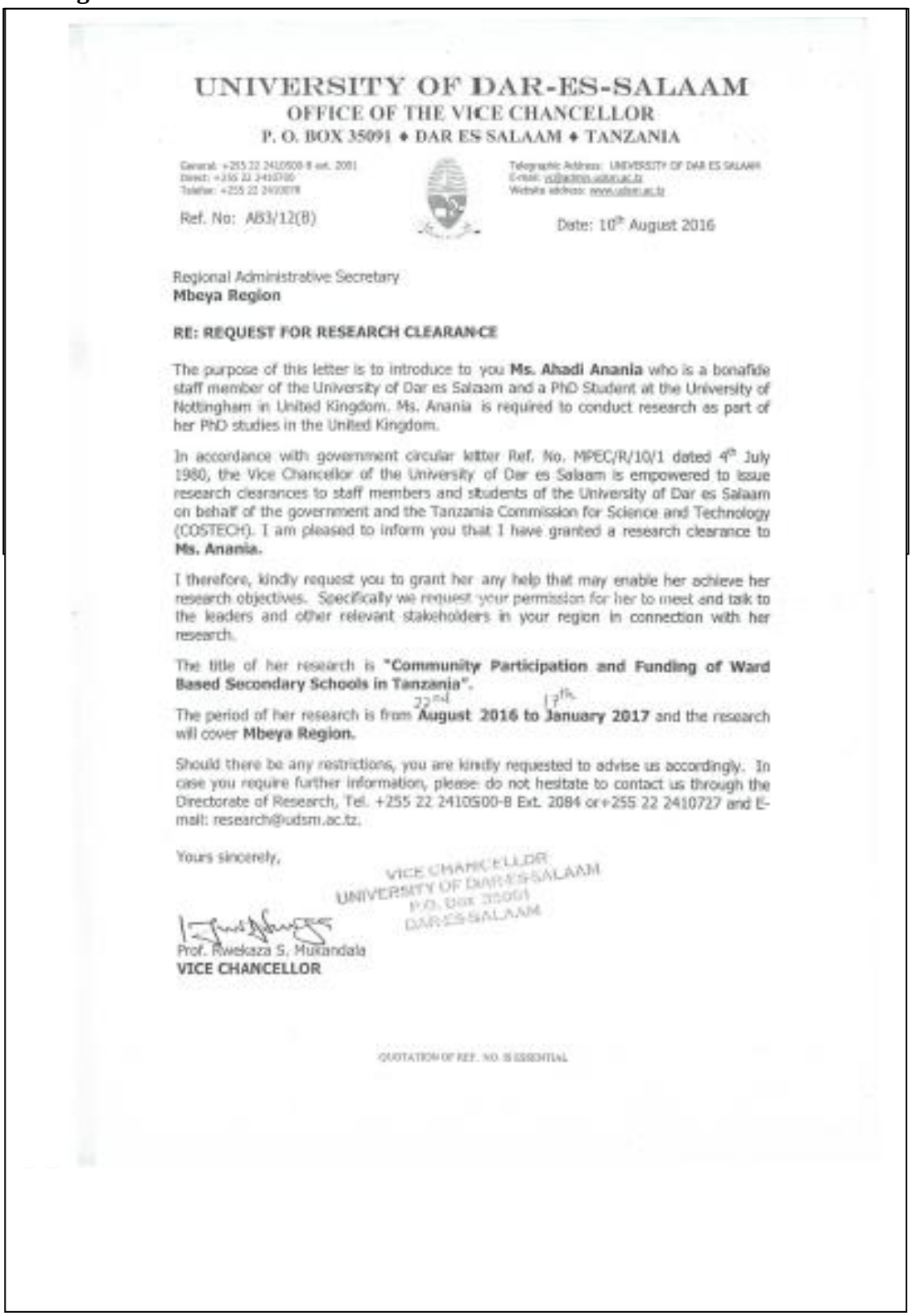
Should there be any restrictions, you are kindly requested to advise us accordingly. In case you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact us through the Directorate of Research, Tel. +255 22 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or+255 22 2410727 and E-mail: research@udsm.ac.tz.

Yours sincerely,

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
P.O. BOX 35091
DAR-ES-SALAAM

Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE CHANCELLOR

Appendix 3: Clearance Letter from University of Dar es Salaam to Mbeya Region



UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR
P. O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

General: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001
Direct: +255 22 2410700
Telefax: +255 22 2410078

Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz
Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Regional Administrative Secretary
Mbeya Region

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms. Ahadi Anania** who is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar es Salaam and a PhD Student at the University of Nottingham in United Kingdom. Ms. Anania is required to conduct research as part of her PhD studies in the United Kingdom.

In accordance with government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July 1980, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam is empowered to issue research clearances to staff members and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I am pleased to inform you that I have granted a research clearance to **Ms. Anania.**

I therefore, kindly request you to grant her any help that may enable her achieve her research objectives. Specifically we request your permission for her to meet and talk to the leaders and other relevant stakeholders in your region in connection with her research.

The title of her research is **"Community Participation and Funding of Ward Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania".**

The period of her research is from **22nd August 2016 to 17th January 2017** and the research will cover **Mbeya Region.**

Should there be any restrictions, you are kindly requested to advise us accordingly. In case you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact us through the Directorate of Research, Tel. +255 22 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or+255 22 2410727 and E-mail: research@udsm.ac.tz.

Yours sincerely,

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
P.O. Box 35091
DAR ES SALAAM

Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE CHANCELLOR

QUOTATION OF REF. NO. IS ESSENTIAL

Appendix 4: Participants' Information Sheet



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title of the project: Community participation and funding of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania

Details of the researcher's:
My name is Ahadi Anania, a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom. I am conducting a study titled 'Community participation and funding of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania'. It is supervised by Professor Tony Bush and Dr Andrew Townsend, both from the University of Nottingham. The study has received ethical approval from the University of Nottingham, School of Education.

Invitation to participate in the research:
You are being invited to take part in this research study on community participation and funding Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Mbeya region. You have been chosen to take part in this research because you are an important person with relevant opinions and experiences to share in the study. Your participation is on voluntary basis. You have the right to withdraw from this study at any time without having to give any explanation. Before you decide whether or not to take part in this study, kindly please read and understand the aim of conducting this study and what your participation will involve. If anything is unclear or if you would like more information, please contact me at ttxaa112@nottingham.ac.uk or phone +255754348533.

Aims of the research:
The Aim of this research is to find out perceptions, practices and factors influencing community participation and funding of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Mbeya region in Tanzania. Your participation in this research is very valuable. It will add important knowledge and understanding into the ways in which community members perceive, practice and experience various aspects that hinder or facilitate their participation and funding of schools. The findings will help to inform education policy makers and planners on the best practices to improve schools through improved community participation and funding of Ward-Based Secondary Schools.

Participants' requirements
In this study you will be required to contribute your views about your experiences on participation and funding of Ward-Based Secondary Schools through interview session. The interview is estimated to last for 30 to 45 minutes of your time

depending on how much you need to consider statements and to respond. I will seek your consent for note taking and tape recordings during interviews in order to simplify the process of transcriptions. You will also be required to provide your consent to be observed during school board meetings or community meetings/ gatherings.

Participants' rights

You have the right to accept this invitation or not. You can also decide at any point of time during the study to withdraw from participating or ask that the information you supplied be withdrawn or destroyed. You have the right to refuse to respond to any of the question if you wish so. You also have the right to ask any question arising from this interview guide.

Benefits and risks

This research is considered low risk study. Nevertheless, I will seek permission to enter the research site from relevant authorities, then I will seek your informed consent and I will treat your information with strict confidentiality.

The major big benefit of this study is that we can better understand the community participation and inform the state government to refine its policies and plans to ensure quality and access to education. Your participation therefore is very important contribution to the government policies and plans to improve Ward-Based Secondary Schools in your locality.

Confidentiality and anonymity

All your personal data and information to research questions will be treated with confidentiality and anonymity. In situations the results of this study are published in international journals and discussed about in conferences you will remain anonymous. Your personal data will be deleted when it is no longer needed and research data will be stored confidentially within seven years during the course of this research. Thereafter, all the research data will be permanently deleted or destroyed.

Contacts for further information

You may contact me at: ttxaa112@nottingham.ac.uk Phone: +255754348533 for any question or if you want information about the results of the study once data collection is complete. Also if you have any questions or concerns about the conduct of this study you may contact the research supervisors; Professor Tony Bush: at Email ttztb@exmail.nottingham.ac.uk or phone +044(0)1159514510, or the School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator at: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Thank you very much for reading this and taking part in this study.

Appendix 5: Participant Consent Form



PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Please read this page and sign it if you agree to take part

Research title: Community participation and funding of Ward-Based Secondary Schools in Tanzania.

Researcher: Ahadi Anania

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand the procedures of the study, that I will participate in interview and I will be observed, and that I will be audio recorded during the interview.
- I understand that I have the right to have my privacy respected and that data will be stored in a password protected hard drive by the researcher (Ahadi).
- I understand that I may contact the researcher (Ahadi) or the supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make any complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

I have read and understood the written details provided for me about the research, and agree to participate in the study.

Signed …… (Research participant)

Print name ……..…….

Position……..……. **Date**

……..……

Contacts Details;
Researcher: Ahadi Anania. Phone +255 754348533, Email ttxaa112@nottingham.ac.uk
Supervisor: Professor Tony Bush: phone +044(0)1159514510, Email ttztb@exmail.nottingham.ac.uk
University of Nottingham, School of Education Research Ethics:

educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix 6: Interview Guide

1. For Parents and Community Members

Introduction

I am Ahadi, a research student from University of Nottingham. Thank you for accepting my request. I welcome you to this conversation. I am sure I am going to learn a lot from you.

This interview intends to gather information about your views and practices in regard to community participation in the development of this (school name).

SN	Research Questions	Interview Questions and Probes
1	How, and to what extent, does the community participate in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools (WBSS)?	I. Do you participate in any school related activities? If no, why? If yes, in which activities do you participate? II. How are the activities initiated? III. How do you get involved in the school activities? How many times? IV. When or under what circumstances does participation take place?
2	How, and to what extent, do the community members participate in funding the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. How do leaders involve you to participate in school funding? II. What is the timetable for contributing? III. In what forms of funding do you contribute and why? IV. Who makes decisions, plans and evaluation related to school financial matters? How? V. Do you think it is necessary for you to be involved in funding? Why?
3	What are the perceptions of community members about participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. Who do you think is responsible for contributing to education? Why? II. What are your views about your role on participation and funding the development of WBSS? III. What are your views on the roles of other stakeholders on community participation (CP) and funding the development of WBSS? IV. Are you informed on how the school

		spends your money (contributions)? V. Are there other alternative approaches to funding and managing WBSS you would suggest? What are they?
4	What factors facilitate community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. What reasons/factors enable you to participate in the running of the school? II. What benefits do you get from your involvement in your school? III. What actions are taken to rewards those who participate and sanction those who do not?
5	What factors inhibit community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. Are there barriers that inhibit the local community from participating in the development of school? If yes what are they? II. In which ways do the barriers inhibit community participation? Do you have any other comments about CP and funding WBSS that we can share?
		Thank you for giving your time to discuss with me about your thoughts and experiences on CP.

2. Interview Guide for Members of School-Board, Headmasters, and Local Leaders

Introduction

I am Ahadi, a research student from University of Nottingham. Thank you for accepting my request. I welcome you to this conversation. I am sure I am going to learn a lot from you.

This interview intends to gathering information about the views and practices in regard to community participation in the development of (school name) Ward-Based Secondary School:

	Research questions	Interview questions and probes
1	How, and to what extent, does the community participate (CP) in Ward-Based Secondary School (WBSS)?	I. Is there any need of involving the CMs in school matters? II. In what activities do the community members (CMs) participate? How? III. How are the school activities initiated? IV. What ways are used to involve CMs? V. What are your roles in relation to CP and funding?
2	How, and to what extent, does the community members participate in funding development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. Do you think it is necessary to involve CMs in funding WBSS? Why? II. How do you involve community members to participate in funding the school? III. What form of contribution do CMs contribute? When? IV. Who makes decisions about the amount, the timing, and spending of community contributions? What is the basis and reasons for such decisions?
3	What are the perceptions of community members about participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. How do CMs perceive their participation in the development of the school? II. Who do you think is responsible for participating on management and funding of this school? III. What are your opinions on involving CMs in school matters? IV. What do you think are other best approaches to manage and fund WBSS?
4	What factors facilitate community participation in development of Ward-Based Secondary?	I. Why do community members participate or not? II. Are the government policies consistent with your schools' or community's policies and priorities with regard to participation and funding? How?

		III. In your experience have you contributed to make a difference? IV. What rewards and sanctions are used to ensure CP in the development of WBSS?
5	What factors inhibit community participation in the development of Ward-Based Secondary Schools?	I. I. Are there barriers that inhibit the local community from participating in the development of WBSS? If yes, what are they? II. In which ways do the barriers inhibit community participation in the development of WBSS? Do you have any other comment about CP and funding WBSS that we can share?
		Thank you for dedicating your time to discuss with me about your views and experiences on CP and funding

Appendix 7: Observation Guide

Observations of school compounds

Note taking about school infrastructure and facilities focusing on their availability, status and adequacy.

Community members' economic status and political and cultural aspects related to community participation.

Aspect for observation	**Reality on the ground**
School related meetings I will observe:- the number of attendees in relation to the expected number, participants' sense of duty and commitment (How engaged/ dedicated) Actions and their patterns (cause and outcome) like pattern of involvement during discussion in meetings in planning, in decision making, in monitoring, in evaluation, in feedback provision, and in reviewing goals Who initiates the topics for discussion? and how it is initiated, What are the communication networks (horizontal/vertical? How do the participants relate to each other during the meeting? How are decisions reached? Is it top down, bottom up or horizontal	
School facilities and infrastructures -The availability, status and adequacy of school buildings and furnitures	
Other observations	

Appendix 8: Documentary Review Guide

Document	Aspect related to	Information collected
Minutes of meetings	-CP and funding -What was discussed about CP and funding? who contributed ideas, who dominated -practices, perception and -barriers to CP and funding -Patterns of contributing ideas -How decision were reached	
School reports	-Reports on income and expenditure from local community and school improvement, -facility: students ratio	
School guidelines	-Set Policies, procedures, -who involved in preparing them, -facility adequacy , -who does what and how, -sanctions, rewards	
Recorded information	Contribution records, -available and status of infrastructure and facilities	
Other related sources		