The Decentralization Policy for Education in Tanzania: The Impact on Primary Head Teachers and their Instructional and Managerial Roles

by

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Abstract

For several decades, decentralization has been included in most educational reforms, particularly those developed after the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. This study explores the impact of the decentralization policy for education on Tanzanian primary school head teachers and their instructional and managerial roles. Utilizing Political Discourse Analysis and decolonizing theories' conceptual framework, this study unpacks the power relations and rationales for policy development and implementation, which eventually framed the head teachers' practices. A qualitative case study and Political Discourse Analysis are used to examine the policies and practices of head teachers in the decentralization context and to address the ways in which policy development and implementation are contingent on colonial power relations through globalization, neoliberalism and neo-colonialism. The research methods included the observation of the study participants and semi-structured interviews conducted in schools with head teachers. In order to obtain additional information, deputy principals, council education officers, and policy makers were also interviewed regarding principals' experiences in managing their roles.

The research findings reveal that the mismatch between the decentralization policy and the local context is undermining the principals' managerial efforts. This policy is an outcome of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Programs; thus, the policy's external orientation does not correspond with the local contextual realities, particularly their social and professional requirements. The policy's neoliberal framework requires head teachers to respond to a multitude of stakeholders' needs and demands that are increasing the head teachers' workloads and limiting their efficiency and their ability to address the needs of their students. Also, because of centralization and interference, the principals do not have enough autonomy to make constructive innovations. The interviews also revealed that, in Tanzania, community support for schools varies because of either poverty or the communities' many other obligations. This problem, coupled with insufficient government support in terms of financial, human and material resources, limits the head teachers' ability to increase the quality and efficiency of their school management. These findings suggest that, in order to eliminate the colonial residues in policy and practice, the process must be decolonized, freed from market influences, and contextualized. Thus, the process must be aligned with the relevant institutional arrangements and power relations, including sustainable mechanisms for supporting schools.

Dedication

For my dear parents, John Rwiza and Clezentia Kagemulo:

You were always the shining light in my life.

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Introduction: The problem.

Blackmore and Sachs' (2007) opinion that "educational reform needs to be seen within a broader context of restructuring in economic and social relations among the individual, the state and new modes of governance" (p. 1) is helpful for understanding the essence and influence of the decentralization policies in Tanzania and elsewhere. When studying the education system in any context, researchers need to consider the powerful global actors, who, due to their dominance in the world order, influence and shape the nature and direction of education (Crossley, 2000; Jones, 2007), regardless of a state's interests, the context of the practice, and a policy's outcomes (Ball, 1993). The measures of the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) during the changes in the world economy in the 1970s and 1980s provide evidence of these global actors' influence on education due to these organisations' policies, which eventually influenced educational policies and practices.

My interest in exploring the head-teachers'[1] experiences of decentralization, particularly its impact on their management of their instructional and management roles, was based on three factors: (1) my experience as a classroom teacher and administrator at different levels including the school, council, regional, and ministerial levels in Tanzania; (2) the demand for quality education in the context of Tanzania in a globalised world, a demand that led me to reflect on the existing school context; and (3) my course work as a graduate student.

[1] In this thesis, I use the terms "head-teachers" and "principals" interchangeably.

I served in Tanzania's education ministry before and after the 1994 decentralization reforms (Kabagire, 2006; Mmari, 2005), which I refer to in this study. I worked as a classroom teacher and then as a principal before the reforms. I also served as an administrator at the school and the council levels before and at the council, region and ministry levels after the educational restructuring. In my capacity as an administrator, my responsibility to supervise, coordinate, monitor, and evaluate educational programs required me to visit schools and meet with their principals and teachers. Through my experience, I observed that the structure as well as the demands of the reforms, especially the demands on the head-teachers, was affecting the education system. Because of this observation, my intention was to help the schools to achieve their purpose of supporting the students' cognitive, affective and psychomotor development (URT, 1978/1995; 1995). Achieving this purpose requires time and commitment from the school community, particularly from the school leadership. However, the reforms brought in new roles and heavy workloads (Gunter et al., 2004) and, in some cases, the demands have been accompanied with stipulated guidelines and pressures.

Dimmock and Walker (2005) observe that the convergence of global and local forces is likely to create challenges for the execution of new managerial roles because of the cultural tensions that are created. For example, the issues of competition and individualism that are embedded in market values may not match well with the nature of the teaching profession because teachers have to care for each student. Likewise, some of the values motivating the educational reforms are undermining the kind of egalitarian principles that are common in the principals' local context, basing on the communal African philosophical foundation of human relations (Assié-Lumumba, 2016). These values may create tensions between the policy makers,

who developed the reforms, and the principals, who must implement them. One may argue about the current state of Tanzanian society. I am aware of the changes in it, but despite them, its important socialist elements are being retained, even following the introduction of free markets and other characteristics of a neo-liberal economy (McHenry, 1994). I am interested in Nyerere's (1968) original socialist vision for Tanzanian society.

The reforms have assigned new roles to the principals, who need to meet the demands and expectations of a number of stakeholders including the teachers and students in their schools, other local stakeholders, and global stakeholders, who all have demands with different orientations. Principals also have to meet market demands according to set standards and to negotiate with different demand forces. This work environment is creating tensions for school principals. Lingard and Christie (2003) use Bourdieu's theory and the field of education, and argue that the pressure on school leadership emanates from "the tensions between the apparent enhanced autonomy and yet simultaneous enhanced external accountability demands on the work of principals in the context of rapid change" (p. 319). During my work as an administrator, the challenge for principals was how to handle their instructional and managerial roles without compromising the achievement of the policy objectives.

In addition, as in any organization, including schools, the leaders' main role is to contribute to the development and achievement of organisational objectives. The only way the young generation can survive in a globalised world is through access to quality education. Achieving it requires overcoming a number of challenges, especially in developing countries. However, in any case, the school leadership must contribute to (has a role to play in) the provision of high-quality education because as Omari (2013) suggests, a school leader is a model

in the school context. Principals' roles may include but are not limited to mobilizing human resources (teachers), teaching, and supervising, modeling, mentoring and providing support as key activities in instruction development. In my view, these activities must be supported by the local contexts in terms of policy and other empowerments such as human, financial and material resources. For example, in the current era of post-New Policy Management (NPM), some nations are embarking on critical dialogues and taking measures to identify sensitive areas involving the common good, particularly such areas as security (Pal, 2010). Experience shows that several crises and events such as those of September 11, 2001 have necessitated the review of such policies. This activity aroused my interest, prompting me to reflect on what is taking place in our schools. My overarching questions have been about how we are positioning schools and education. Is education a common good? Are we achieving our goal, given what is expected from policy and, particularly, from school leadership? What can we learn in school contexts under decentralization, and what can be done to improve them?

As a graduate student, I was inspired by the content of my courses, especially those related to citizenship, globalization, global actors and governance. For example, key documents including URT (1978/1995; URT, 1995) state that education is a right and an important tool for attaining citizenship, but including this belief in documents is not sufficient if we cannot ensure that our schools are supporting it. Also, my knowledge of global governance and the unidirectional influence that shapes the nature and direction of education (Crossley, 2000; Jones, 2007) further motivated me to study what is happening in schools in Tanzania. Finally, my awareness that in a globalizing world, not only business and industry but also education is caught in the new world order (Dimmock & Walker, 2005) also motivated this study.

Finally, my study explores the head-teachers' experiences in managing their instructional and managerial roles under the decentralization guided by the devolution policy in Tanzania. To achieve this objective, I draw on critical political discourse theories to indicate how power has influenced decisions and functions, on the one hand, and how policy as texts and discourse (Ball, 1993) has conditioned the nature and orientation of our educational institutions, on the other hand. Thus, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) assisted me in analyzing the consistency of Tanzania's decentralization policy and its expected outcome.

Although decentralization in Tanzania has a long history and has been evolving since the early self-government of chiefdoms before colonialism, the 1994 second wave of decentralization (devolution) is unique because of its external influence. This type of decentralization was initiated in the context of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) influenced by the WB and the IMF. George (1999) argues that SAPs can be described as an extension of neo-liberalism.

According to the United Republic of Tanzania (URT, 1995; 2000), since gaining independence, the nation has stressed that social-economic development is meaningful only if it is based on the needs and expectations of all the beneficiaries of the results of development in the whole society. This mindset originated in African socialism (Nyerere, 1968; Nkrumah, 1966). To achieve this objective, the government initiated and implemented several social-service development plans and programs including some in education. The government realized significant progress in education and the economy in the 1960s and early 1970s. However, in the late 1970s, Tanzania experienced serious economic instability, which led to the deterioration of the economy by the end of the 1980s, and thus, all prior gains were affected (McHenry, 1994).

The economic instability also affected the education system. For example, the system faced an acute shortage of teachers, teaching and learning materials, classrooms, and teachers' houses. Referring to African countries, Assié-Lumumba (2000) points out that the education system's new problems, including the decline in overall enrolment, coincided with the economic crisis that "started in the early 1980s" (p. 90). As a result of this entire process, the Tanzania government

> responded to the economic crisis by embracing IMF-backed Structural Adjustment Programmes, (SAP), which were characterized by a transition period from the African socialist (Ujamaa) philosophy to an open economic system based on private enterprise, fiscal discipline, free trade and markets and a pluralistic political system. (Kabagire, 2006, pp. 5-6)

The powerful global organizations influenced Tanzania, as part of the world system, to adopt externally driven policies. The 1994 reform carried out the conditions of the IMF as an extension of neo-liberal ideology (Kabagire, 2006). The policies in this paradigm are based on the neo-classical theories of economics, which emphasize the efficiency of private enterprise, liberalized trade, and relatively open markets (George, 1999; Harvey, 2005; Martinez & Garcia, 1996; Treanor, 2005).

One of the advocates of liberalism/neoliberalism is Hayek (1944), a political philosopher who promotes the value of individualism and competition and rejects the assertion that individualism is related to egoism. He bases his philosophy on his belief that the power of our imaginations is limited; thus, our "scales of values" (p. 59) have difficulty accommodating the needs of our entire society. Therefore, the individual should be the judge of all his goals, and within clear limits, his actions should be directed by his own views. These beliefs are the basis of individualism. Moreover, Hayek (1944) sees competition as a way of coordinating human efforts

and adjusting activities without using coercive measures. Thus, he argues that effective competition should guide an individual's efforts (Hayek, 1944).

Hayek (1944) draws from the political thinkers De Tocqueville and Lord Acton and argues, "Socialism means slavery" (p. 13). Thus, he states that any move towards socialism rejects the views not only of the proponents of competition, like Adam Smith, but also of Western civilization, the liberalism of the 19th and 20th centuries, and, above all, the concept of individualism, which originated in ancient times. Therefore, according to Hayek (1944), opting for socialism is equivalent of abandoning economic freedom and giving up personal and political freedom. This logic influenced the WB and IMF policies. For example, the WB and IMF directives to developing countries, including Tanzania, required the reduction of public expenditures, competitive exchange rates, trade liberalization, and privatization (Abdi, 2002; Galabawa, 2001; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Robertson et al., 1997; Shivji, 2006). These measures marked a major shift from centralized economic policies focusing on collectivity, to decentralized policies focusing on the individual. McHenry (1994) sums up this change, stating that pressure from pragmatic socialists and the IMF led Tanzania's shift from policies emphasizing equitable distribution to those emphasizing increased production. One reason for the new acceptance of individualism was that "The state did not have the power or will to stop it" (p. 97). Similarly, Urch (1991), in his work *Shifts in socioeconomic and educational policy in Tanzania*, suggests that during the economic crisis, the political leaders had only limited control over the corporations that were protecting their own monopolistic positions and moving capital at their discretion and according to their own economic interest.

The change in the economy influenced educational policies, and Tanzania took the road towards liberalization and devolution. In practise, these options, for example, authorised individuals and local authorities to make decisions (Kabagire, 2006). Decentralization creates different levels of decision-making (Lauglo, 1995; Rondinelli, Nelson, & Cheema, 1984; Welsh & McGinn, 1999). The government devolved the authority to make decisions about school management to Local Government Authorities (LGAs) and schools and allowed individuals and private organizations to establish and own schools (URT, 1995). Decentralization by devolution aimed at making the schools more responsible to local communities in order to increase participation, transparency and innovations (Kabagire, 2006).

This decentralization process brought in new roles in school leadership (Gunter et al., 2004). For example, under the devolution of decision-making authority from the centre to Local Government Authorities (LGAs) and schools, principals now deal with school development plans. In this role, principals are responsible for coordinating school construction activities; networking with different stakeholders including the funders of school programs, for which every funder has specific guidelines; following up on financial transactions at the district level (by making school cheque clearances); purchasing school materials; making payments to different service providers; and supervising school-related activities (URT, 2002).

Equally important, although the literature suggests that the core function of principals is to lead instruction; principals' work context influences their functions. In order to explain the contextual constraints on principals and the expectations for them, Lingard and Christie (2003) refer to Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, fields and strategies. By "capital," Bourdieu refers to the principals' cultural, social, intellectual and symbolic attributes that are the basis for

their actions. He uses "habitus" to refer to leaders' traits, characters, and personal influence in relation to the specific social structures to which leaders are exposed. He views habitus as based on the leadership experiences gained through the apprenticeship of schooling and from educational management and leadership. According to Bourdieu, a "field" represents the context of leadership, while the competition for power defines the positions in the field and leads to the development of operational strategies (pp. 319-322).

Lingard and Christie (2003) use the concepts of "habitus" and "field" to discuss leadership and consider "habitus" in relation to specific social structures. The authors also use the concept of "field" to discuss principals' context; thus, they view a school as a "structured social space with its own properties and power relations, overlapping and interrelating with economic, political and other fields" (pp. 319-320). In this framework, the fundamental variable is the interplay between the practices of school principals with a certain habitus, functioning in the conjunction of fields that have different power structures and influences as well as logics of practice.

While discussing Bourdieu's concepts separately and the interplay of fields, Lingard and Christie (2003) suggest that "the concept of productive leadership habitus is developed as a normative contribution for educational leadership, predicted upon the assumption that the focus of principal practices should be to lead learning" (p. 320). However, in the contemporary educational field, the ongoing educational reforms are eroding the principals' ability to maintain this focus. Because the level of power determines the level of influence, and there is always a struggle either to transform or preserve the field, Lingard and Christie (2003) suggest that educational policy has positioned principals as managers even though their role should be to lead

learning in schools. From what the current context of schools reveals, school principals in Tanzania and elsewhere are faced with multiple roles including instruction and management roles. My concern in this study is how primary school principals are managing these roles in the context of the decentralization policy.

Drawing on models of school leadership, instruction leadership prioritizes school's "goals, the curriculum, instruction, and the school environment" (Stewart, 2006, p. 4). In this case, the expectation is that school heads will lead the school community towards academic excellence by teaching, supervising, modeling, mentoring and evaluating.

In education, market-focused reform aims at achieving quality by creating competition among schools (Carnoy, 2002) and between public and private providers, and by meeting stipulated market standards. Such a reform is geared to make educational providers (including teachers) accountable to their clients. This requirement to satisfy clients including students, parents, and the community, government, and development partners leads to an increased emphasis on accountability (Omari, 2013). This kind of process leads to what Blackmore and Sachs (2007) call an "institutional identity crisis" whereby schools "struggle to develop new profiles in order to maintain their legitimacy and existence in the eyes of the key stakeholders and the community as well as their distinctive contribution to education" (p. 1). For example, in Tanzania, the schools are expected to respond to clients' demands from the school, village, ward, council, region, the ministry, and from local and global funders. In response, the day-to-day school functions expose head-teachers to both managerial and instructional roles. In such a situation, the principals in the current education system are "politically squeezed between the expectations of classroom teachers, parents, the senior management team, and the members of the

community" (Stewart, 2006, p. 6). Principals are in charge of all school activities (URT, 2002). Thus, in my research, I wanted to explore how the experiences of head-teachers have changed and how they are managing their instructional and managerial roles in the context of decentralization. As well, I wanted to learn whether head-teachers have strategies to handle their roles and how those strategies are being implemented.

Although at their core, educational reforms aim at increasing education quality, access, and equity improvement, my study is about neither these components nor students' achievements. I discuss education reforms in their broader context of economic restructuring, social relations, and new modes of governance (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Crossley, 2000; Jones, 2007). Thus, my study includes a focus on how powerful global actors have influenced the functioning of educational institutions, how the contributions of local actors reflect power relations, and how these relations influence principals' functions.

Context for the study

During the decades of economic crisis (the 1970s and 1980s), and in response to economic instability, the WB and IMF directed countries including Tanzania to implement SAPs. The educational measures geared to respond to these changes were competitive, financial, and equity- driven reforms (Carnoy, 1995; 1999). For example, competitive reforms attempted to achieve quality through organisational reforms of educational institutions by using decentralization policies. Based on the notion that public systems are inefficient, autonomy in decision-making and competition are seen as means of achieving high quality, efficiency and effectiveness (Bonal, 2002; Carnoy, 1995; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Gropello, 2004; Wells & Holme, 2005).

The reforms aimed at incorporating the notion of economic efficiency into education, which is now seen as an important means for achieving economic development. Globalization (neo-liberalism) is influencing the ideas, policies, and practices involving economic growth and cultural, environmental and social interdependencies. The globalization process leads to the emergence of transnational financial, economic and political institutions, with increased flows of people, goods, ideas, money, and images across space and place (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007). The interconnectedness in globalization results in changes in one region being followed by changes in other regions. As a result, when changes in the global economy influenced policy changes in education to enhance market freedom, competition, and efficiency, the process was replicated in Tanzania.

The Education and Training Policy (ETP) (URT, 1995) indicates that in the previous system, the power and decision making in the management and administration of education and training were concentrated at the center (e.g., the ministry). Thus, the system prevented educational managers at the lower levels from being autonomous and making decisions. Under decentralization by devolution, the responsibility for managing and administering education and training was given to the heads of school and institutions. Also, because the authority to manage and administer education and training was given to the institutions, the change called for community participation and involvement in the management and administration of schools. This development led to an institutional arrangement that strengthened the school committees and made school heads answerable to them.

Through decentralization by devolution, school committees now have the power to make decisions on their school plans, to purchase school materials, and to supervise and follow up on

issues related to school construction (URT, 2002). The school leaders have to remain connected with various educational stakeholders, including parents, school committee members, village governments, ward leaders, and other senior education managers. Keeping track of day-to-day activities involves school leaders in managerial roles. Thus, I explored how the decentralization policies in Tanzania are influencing principals' experiences and how these policies are affecting principals' management of their instructional and managerial roles. Given that education is perceived as a common good, that primary schools are the foundation of the higher levels of education, and that the decentralization policy is a product of NPM, and nations are now re-assessing the role of the public sector in issues of national interest, primary education requires special attention. Moreover, given that the primary sub-sector in Tanzania is serving about 8.2 million pupils (URT, 2012), focusing on primary school leadership is of great importance.

While competition in the market is a pre-condition for quality and efficiency, competition in school settings requires principals to achieve stipulated market standards and respond to clients' needs. This requirement creates new managerial roles for school principals, in addition to their core instruction role, which is to lead instruction (Leithwood, 2001; Lingard & Christie, 2003; Reitzug, West & Roma, 2008; Stewart, 2006). Thus, for this study, I investigated how decentralization influences head-teachers' experiences and affects both their instructional and managerial roles.

Given global networking, and how the influence of power from one region affects other regions, I draw on critical Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Wagenaar, 2011) and decolonizing theories (Abdi & Shultz, 2012; Blackmore &Sachs, 2007; Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Fanon, 1961/2004; Nyerere, 1968; Rodney, 1982). I describe how

powerful global actors in a form of re-colonisation have exposed the head-teachers to market forces under the umbrella of NPM (which emphasizes competition, quality and efficiency). In addition, I also explore the contextual premise and means-goal for the decentralization policies' expected outcomes. To attain this objective, I use PDA (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) to analyse the existing educational policy and program documents as well as the related literature. I also use my interview scripts and observations to supplement the policy and program documents.

During my fieldwork, I worked with principals who had served before and are continuing to serve after decentralization, in order to learn about their changing experiences and the impact on their role management. I also interviewed deputy principals, education administrators and policy makers in order to gain additional knowledge about principals' experiences. Both my respondents' comments and my analysis of key documents assisted in establishing the power (colonial) relations between global and local actors and the extension of these relations to the school context. Based on the belief that education is a common good, and also this study's findings about what is taking place in Tanzania's primary schools, measures to decolonise educational policies are urgently needed in order to achieve their expected outcomes. My main interest is the strategic position of leadership in school development processes.

The purpose of the study

This study on the influences of decentralization policies on principals' experiences and management of their instructional and managerial roles is a qualitative case study under interpretive inquiry. The aim was to explore how the principals' experience of decentralization is impacting their ability to manage their roles. The process of making sense of the study participants' experiences involved me in constructivist analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

In this study, I use critical Political Discourse Analysis to establish the influence of global actors on the decisions and functions of local agents and principals. In this analysis, I draw on Lukes's (2005) definition of power and Fairclough & Fairclough's (2012) ideas on the power behind discourse. Fairclough & Fairclough's (2012) ideas are consistent with Lukes's, particularly those on the third radical dimension of power. Where necessary, I supplement these authors' ideas by using other relevant literature and analysis. As a specific type of power, "power over" (Luke, 2005) means the ability to secure the compliance of others to live differently than they would according to their own nature and judgement, through limiting others' choices. I also use Ball's (1993) conception of policy as discourse. As discourse, policy has the ability to orient and mold its target group. In this case, the principals' functions under decentralization reveal the power of policy to shape our world, particularly its policy implementers.

Although colonial rule is over, the previously colonised countries continue to live with its residual effects (Abdi & Shultz, 2008; wa Thiongo, 1986). This post-colonialism (Wright, 2012) reflects the rise of Euro-American hegemony after the fall of the Soviet empire in the 1980s, and the belief that this event confirmed the superiority of the West. This line of thinking has led to re-colonization (Abdi & Shultz, 2012) including the re-colonization of the mind. Gamsci's concept of cultural hegemony suggests that if the minds of the people can be won over, their hearts and hands are likely to follow (Gramsci, as cited in George (1999). Thus, neo-liberalism influences the world through discourse and the practise of globalization. This process is the essence of decentralization, the context of the school principals that this study aims to explore.

The research questions

Given the purposes of this study, the following research questions guided the study**:**

1. How have the experiences of principals changed since the introduction of the policy for decentralizing of the management of primary schools?
    a. What are the local, national, regional and international policies that are framing principals' work and experiences of the decentralization of the management of schools?
    b. What are the principals' experiences of the decentralization of the management of schools?
2. To what extent do school leaders (principals) see themselves as autonomous?
    a. What influences do school leaders identify as being most important on their work in managing schools?
    b. What strategies are principals using to manage their instructional and managerial roles in the context of the decentralization of education management, and how are these strategies being implemented?

Significance of the Study

This study intends to fill a gap in the literature on primary-school leadership in Tanzania, particularly on how decentralization policies influence head-teachers' experiences and the impact on their instructional and managerial roles and in the wider Sub-Saharan context. I acknowledge that some previous studies have focused on decentralization/ educational reforms. Some studies have focused on the policy and its impact, and others on the policy implementation process (e.g., Baganda, 2008; Dachi, 1994; Makule, 2008; Masue, 2010; Mbele, 2008). Some researchers such as Makule (2008) and Mbele (2008) have focused on the school level, particularly on the impact of globalization on the roles of primary school leaders, with the aim of understanding how they

have responded to globalization and the mechanisms used to accommodate changes. However, no study has focused on how head-teachers' experience of change is impacting their instructional and managerial roles**.** Therefore, this study aims at filling this gap.

Given the influence of power from the global to the local, this study also traces the influence of global power on local agents' decision-making and leadership functions. Due to the complexity of the principals' context and the demands of the local, on the one hand, and the global (and of the meta-level in between), on the other hand, and also given the accountability principle because of the outcome-based nature of their work, principals have to negotiate with different forces in order to meet multiple expectations. This need raises the question of how principals are managing their instructional and managerial roles in such a context.

Thus, this study generates and adds new insights to the current knowledge of primary-school leadership and the decentralization policy in Tanzania. Drawing on the importance of education and the role of leadership in achieving educational objectives, this study improves our understanding of the school context and the way principals manage their roles. The results and recommendations of the study will inform policy makers about the areas that need attention regarding principals' management of their instruction and managerial roles, with the aim of helping principals achieve their educational objectives.

Definition of terms

Head-teachers and principals. Primary school heads. In this study, these terms are used interchangeably.

School-based management. Governance structure in the form of decentralization, which perceives a school as a unit of improvement through the redistribution of decision-making authority, the process that stimulates and sustains improvements**.**

Instruction. Involves all activities related to the aspects of teaching and learning that directly affect students' achievements.

Managerial roles. These are all the administrative roles inside and outside a school, including travelling, attending meetings, networking with school stakeholders, purchasing school materials, supervising the construction of school buildings, and following up on school committee meetings' deliberations within and outside schools.

"Mtaa." The term refers to the sub-division of a ward that is located in urban councils. It is the lowest unit of the Local Government Authority (LGA) and has its own elected leaders: the chairperson and members of the council. It also has its own executive secretary, who is a LGA employee.

School committee. A committee established under section 39 of the Education Act No. 25 of 1978 and its amendment No. 10 of 1995. This committee is responsible for supervising and advising on the management of primary schools.

Village council. An administrative organ linking the local government and the residents in a rural area. A Mtaa council is the urban equivalent of a village council.

Structural Adjustment Programs. These are World Bank and International Monetary Fund programs for achieving economic growth and involving the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) in the world economy. These programs usually require the reduction of public

expenditures on social services including education, and are characterised by minimal state intervention and the deregulation and privatization of the economy (Bonal, 2002; Canoy, 1995).

Chapter Two: Literature review and theoretical framework

Introduction

Dimmock and Walker (2005), in *Educational leadership: Culture and diversity,* state that "globalization" represents "the tendency for the same or similar trends in ideas, policies and practices to spread across national boundaries and societies" (p.12). With this conception, they assess globalization as a complex set of forces and trends that are shaping our contemporary world. Pressured politically and economically, nation-states are handicapped in making independent decisions: "At the macro-level, multi-national corporations transcend nation-states, affecting organizations and the lives of individuals" (p. 16). The authors also discuss how international agencies including the WB, IMF, and United Nations (UN) support globalization and how the globalization process benefits from American economic and political dominance. Because of these factors, nation-states, organizations and individuals have had to respond to global forces (Dimmock & Walker, 2005).

In my study, I explore how primary school head-teachers in Tanzania are experiencing decentralization and how it is affecting their ability to manage their instructional and managerial roles. I focus on how the global forces that are influencing decisions and shaping the functioning of primary school principals. Finally, I discuss the ideas that the decentralization policy borrows from business, especially those involving marketization and competition, and consider their compatibility not only with the Tanzania's social, cultural, and economic contexts, but also with principals' core roles and the need to contextualize foreign values so that they match local human relations' foundational realities (Assié-Lumumba, 2016). Therefore, the literature review in this chapter covers the areas that are basic to my study: neo-liberalism/globalization, the WB's and

IMF's interventions, African Union (AU) education policy: language and culture, Tanzania's policy response to globalization (in the Tanzanian context), and decentralization reforms and school leadership**.** Other areas include perspectives of leadership and suggested alternatives, dimensions of autonomy and education reforms, including the conceptual framework of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), and the decolonizing theories that guided my study and conclusion. My literature review leads into Chapter Three, which deals with reform for leadership decolonization in Tanzanian schools, and "autonomy" from an African perspective.

Neo-liberalism/Globalization

To provide a context for the decentralization policy in Tanzania and in other similar countries, one needs to consider the global forces influencing such a policy. The origin of this type of reform can be traced back to the global economic crisis that occurred after World War II and also to the rise of Euro-American hegemony in the 1980s. This important period in global politics occurred just before the fall of the Soviet empire in 1991.

Harvey (2005) defines "neo-liberalism" as "a theory of political [and] economic practices that proposes that human wellbeing can be well developed by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (p. 2). The requirements for market supremacy and the flourishing of individuals reflect neo-liberalism's close relationship with liberal democracy. At neo-liberalism's core is the belief in minimal state intervention, although neo-liberals still believe that the state has to guarantee the quality and integrity of financial capital, protect private property rights, and ensure the proper working of the market (Harvey, 2005).

The leading neo-liberal states have been the US and Britain. Their neo-liberalism originated in the economic crisis that occurred after the Second World War, and the need for the new international economic order established by the 1944 Bretton Woods's Agreements, which led to the creation of the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank (WB). The United States and its financial institutions influenced neo-liberal practices in various countries such as China, New Zealand, Sweden and South Africa, as well as countries in the developing world. However, the nature and scope of these practices differed. Some states chose neo-liberalism voluntarily, whereas other states responded to coercive pressures from the IMF and the WB (Carnoy, 1995, 1999; Harvey, 2005; McNamara, 2007).

Moreover, neo-liberal ideas have been dominant since the fall of the Eastern bloc and now influence almost all lifestyles (Abdi & Shultz, 2012; Fukuyama, 1992; Lauglo, 1995). These ideas spread quickly and receive wide media attention because of the assumption of their superiority. This phenomenon is another form of colonialism in a post-colonial context. For example, globalization tendencies include the increase of international interactions and create societies in which the flow of ideas and information dilutes the concept of national boundaries. In addition, the cross-border ideas tend to penetrate into domestic policy-making processes and to turn social policy decisions into the "result of cultural imperialism exercised by international agencies that have imposed a 'neo-liberal agenda"' (McNamara, 2007, p. 66).

These agencies' dominant influence reflects a power imbalance because of a unidirectional trend. As Agger (2006) argues, domination is basically structural because "peoples' everyday lives are affected by larger social institutions such as politics, economics, culture, discourse, gender and race" (p. 4). Agger (2006), drawing on Marx, Gramsci, and

Derrida, cautions that factors such as people's false consciousness may be promoted by ideology, hegemony, and the metaphysics of presence, which all reproduce the structures of domination. However, an agency's power can transform society because "although structure conditions everyday experience, knowledge of the structure can help people change social conditions" (Agger, 2006, p. 5).

A balanced study of educational policy has to consider global governance and market convergence, although the focus has often been on the pressures on national economies rather than on the social sector. Moreover, some of the researchers who have dealt with the social sector have merely assumed, instead of demonstrated, that social policies are "governed by global process and economic patterns" (McNamara, 2007, p. 61).

Decentralization policy as an educational reform is linked to globalization, which has its roots in the discourse and policies of neo-liberalism (Apple, 2001; George, 1999; Wells & Holme, 2005). The countries that have chosen a decentralization policy are evidence of how globalization has affected educational policy (McNamara, 2007; Schugurensky, 2007). In essence, a close relationship exists between the development of educational decentralization and economic restructuring. Carnoy (2002) sees the restructuring of the world's public sector and the modalities of delivering schooling as the main impact of globalization on education. This author suggests, "Economic and educational restructuring are twinned outcomes of the new globalization" (p. xvi). Experience shows the commonalities in the countries implementing decentralization policies because of the same external pressures, procedures, and organisational patterns (McNamara, 2007; Schugurensky, 2007). Thus, decentralization is basically a neo-liberal reform.

Globalization involves economic growth; cultural, environmental, and social interdependencies; and the emergence of transnational financial, economic and political institutions. It also involves the increased flows of people, goods, ideas, money, and images across space (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Olssen, 1986).

Carnoy (1999) visualizes globalization in its totality and argues against the belief that it undermines national economies and states. This author suggests that "the essence of globalization is not contained strictly in trade and investment figures, nor in the percentage of a national economy that is national, but in *a new way of thinking about economic and social space and time"* (p. 19, italics in the original). Castells (1996), in the *Rise of the network society,* describes the notion of space and time as a space of flows. This conceptualization is linked with different factors including the outcome of the world wars, which extended national geopolitical platforms, the advancement of transportation, and new information and communication technology that allows networking among the most distant locations in the world. While networks of information are increasingly becoming individualised, their benefit depends on an individual's ability to obtain and interpret information (Carnoy, 1999; Castells, 1996).

Olssen (2004), in his seminal work, *Neoliberalism, globalisation, democracy: Challenges for education,* emphasizes the complexity of globalization, which, at the policy level, requires national states to interact with international forms of capital. Thus, globalization encompasses "neo-liberal orthodoxy (open borders, floating exchange rates, abolition of capital controls, etc.), deregulation and liberalization of government policy and establishment of highly integrated transnational systems of alliances and privatization and marketization, also the growth of private international authorities" (p. 241). The development of international authorities and their

influential power facilitates the export of ideas across borders as a way of dominating other spaces, satisfying the exporters' economic demands and increasing the role of the individual in the market. This process necessitated the elements of the deregulation, liberalization, and privatization that are embedded in economic decentralization before ultimately being transferred to education systems.

In education, the main expectation for decentralization was that, with increased decision-making authority, council and school officials could increase their flexibility and have more control over school development. The assumption was that decentralization would improve the match between educational methods and the customers served, on the one hand, and increase the officials' accountability, on the other hand. The model of private schools with market structures influences the advocates of decentralization, and, thus, in such a scenario, they believe that schools are able to respond to clients' needs. In this case, public schools are expected to imitate this model. Under decentralization, such a model is expected to enhance the competition through school choice and between public and private schools and thus, to increase the quality of education (Carnoy, 2002, 1999; Wells & Holme, 2005).

Wells and Holme (2005) point out that this business orientation is not a new phenomenon in the history of education. A few decades ago, public schools were made more business-like and efficient, although these changes did not attain their goal. In the current environment, the common term for such reforms is "marketization," but the core values of the previous and today's models are the same. The expectation is that public schools will be "more efficient, competitive, accountable and more like private businesses than democratic institutions" (p. 19). However, although the general aim of decentralization is to improve the quality of service delivery, many

researchers have argued that decentralization has not achieved its purpose (Carnoy, 1995, 1999; Wells & Holme, 2005). For example, Carnoy (1999) argues:

> Although decentralizing the management and financing of highly bureaucratic, centralized systems of education should lead to more innovativeness and efficiency of educational service delivery, with more accountability to parents, there is little evidence that educational quality improves as a result. (pp. 53-54)

In addition, Carnoy (1999) wonders if the decentralization policy aims at providing greater freedom to teachers or greater control of teachers' functions. Carnoy adds, "Many of the decentralization reforms do not have their origins in the desire to increase school productivity, but in the need to reduce central government financial and management responsibility for secondary and primary education" (p. 54). This observation has an implication for school leadership because a lack of resources affects the implementation of school plans, since not all communities are able to support schools (Apple, 1986). In such a context, the school leadership is likely to need to spend considerable amounts of time searching for support from other stakeholders.

Although decentralization by devolution and privatization is the favoured strategy for "ensuring quality and flexibility in a globalised economy" (Carnoy, 1999, p. 9), globalization has directly and indirectly affected education, in terms of equity, quality, and educational leadership. Whereas the issues related to the unequal distribution of human and financial resources call for government compensation to avoid disparities (Welsh & McGinn, 1999), on the one hand, in countries where a market-type education system is emphasized, institutional management is eroding due to what Blackmore and Sachs (2007) refer to as an "institutional crisis" (p. 1), on the other hand. This problem has led some authors such as Carnoy (1995, 1999) and Bonal (2002) to

argue that very little evidence supports the claim that decentralization policies have helped to improve the quality of education.

This discussion of neo-liberalism and globalization is intended to show their relationship and also their effects on the flow of ideas from one context to another, particularly their ideas about deregulation and liberalization, and privatization and marketization, which are concepts embedded in globalization. When neo-liberal policies are replicated in the education system, the role of the state, for example, involves the provision of policies ensuring a supportive environment for the functioning of education providers including those in the private sector. Such policies also involve devolving decision-making authority to the lower- level institutions including schools. Decentralization has a specific package of policies/guidelines that influence the work environment of primary school principals. This study explores how principals' experiences of decentralization policy are impacting the management of their instructional and managerial roles.

World Bank/IMF Intervention

The WB/ IMF began to intervene in Tanzania during the 1970s. This country experienced an acute economic crisis in the 1970s and early 1980s. Based on the essence of the WB's and IMF's policies, which are linked to neoliberalism, one can argue that their orientation is against socialism. As Tanzania was practising "Ujamaa" (socialism), which was against global capitalism, it is likely that the economic crisis was not accidental but, rather, a neoliberal creation and imposed on Tanzania (McHenry, 1994, Urch, 1991**).** For example, recognizing Tanzania's efforts to build a socialist society, McHenry (1994) comments that "Those who [led] the state

[had] persisted in their formal commitment to build socialism for more than twenty-five years in the face of strong external and internal pressures to abandon the effort" (p. 2).

In this situation, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program, launched in 1974, was very much affected by economic concerns, and, as Galabawa (2001) observes, the fundamental challenge was to sustain the UPE program, while the practical challenges included the growth of Tanzania's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as Tanzania's imports exceeded its exports. Later, during the 1990s, some features of the economy were not encouraging. For example, the public revenue was stable at around 12-13 percent of GDP from 1990-1999, and the servicing of Tanzania's external debt consumed about 22.6 percent of the recurrent expenditure from 1995-1999. These economic problems reduced the government's capacity to support social services including education. As a result, education began to receive a declining share of government expenditures. For example, "the education sector's share [of government recurrent expenditure] was high in 1975 at 19 percent, falling to a minimum low of 12.7 percent in 1985" (Galabawa, 2001, p. 20).

The main effects of the WB's and the IMF's intervention in economic and, ultimately, education policies were caused by the global actors' strategies for dealing with the global economic crisis. For example, the New York investment banks became more active after 1973 and required the development of international credit and international financial markets. The developing countries were encouraged to borrow heavily. International organisations such as the WB and the IMF became centres for the propagation and enforcement of free market fundamentalism. In order to manage debts, indebted countries were required to implement reforms (the products of the Washington Consensus). The directives required cuts in welfare

expenditure, more flexible labour market laws, systematic privatization of major government institutions, direct foreign investments, on-going programs of deregulation, legally entrenched and constitutionally binding property rights, and exchange rates responsive to IMF priorities. These directives led to the development of the IMF's Structural Adjustment policies (Abdi, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Although these were economic reforms, their crossover effects influenced education. Carnoy (1999) and Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) discuss how globalization goes beyond reformation of the global economy and promotes a powerful ideology that is reconstructing education systems in a variety of ways. The education reforms focus on the areas of access, quality, financial efficiency, and the centrality of the private sector in education (Galabawa, 2001). For example, the centrality of the private sector is a hallmark of globalization and neo-liberalism alike.

While the New Public Administration's (NPA) market-oriented reforms are tying education closely to economic concerns, deregulation policies aim at allowing competition through school choice and between public and private education providers. Wells and Holme (2005) argue that in such a market-oriented reform, all efforts are "consequences of globalization and the dominant neoliberal policies in which education is not only required to further economic productivity but to be economically efficient" (p. 47).

As Blackmore and Sachs (2007) argue, in such market-oriented reforms, "students (and parents) have become volatile subjects, consuming individuals empowered by [the] market discourse of choice while focusing on more instrumental vocational outcomes" (p. 2). Although a business orientation and its focus on competition may benefit an economically oriented environment, some scholars argue that such reforms in education settings create tensions in their

implementation. These tensions result from the nature of education and the conflict between egalitarian objectives and individualism in decentralization policies, as well as a conflict between the school principals' traditional responsibilities as teachers and their new managerial roles (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Goodwin, Cunningham, & Childress, 2003; Lauglo, 1995). In response to the WB's and IMF's interventions in the economic crisis, Tanzania implemented new policies including decentralization. The following section deals with the African Union's (AU) education policy.

African Union (AU) education policy: Language, culture and de-colonialism

This section discusses issues related to culture, focusing on how the exporting of ideas, which is the hallmark of globalization, has undermined indigenous frameworks, thus creating the need to return to the roots while formulating and implementing education policies. From a sociological perspective, culture includes the values and norms of a group of people, as well as the material objects they create. These three elements make each group unique and thus, distinguish one group from the other (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Giddens, 1989). From this perspective, "culture" may be used to mean a society or group's lifestyle, historical connections, and plans for the future. Culture is displayed and expressed through "language, thought, and action …and through social interaction such as how people relate to one another, make decisions and share experiences" (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 8). These activities are crucial to the conception of culture and are its aspect most closely related to education leadership.

Given the unique patterns of behaviour embedded in any culture, the study of its members must include their cultural context. In other words, a culture's meaning and values must be studied in their appropriate context. Dimmock and Walker (2005) caution about the need to avoid

'ethnocentricism,' or the "judging of other cultures from our own cultural perspective" (p. 9), and suggest developing the kind of understanding that focuses on the unique features of a particular culture and not on the point of view of the indigenous culture alone. The point I want to emphasize is that tension can be created between cultures, especially when no critical measures for their contextualization are available. In relation to globalization, the essence of the tension is the relationship between a particular culture and globalization efforts. In practice, two forces are co-existing here. One force involves the conditioning factors of globalization, which aims at convergence, and the other force involves the uniqueness of each culture and, thus, aims at divergence. These forces can be aligned although "they are often in tension" (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 13). The problem can be understood by considering it from a historical perspective and examining the current efforts to rectify the situation.

Prior to the era of colonialism, African societies developed at their own pace, and all their systems, including the economic and education systems, responded to societal needs. Although Abdi (2006) reminds us that education and culture in Africa developed differently in different places, he joins Mandela (1994), Rodney (1982), and Nyerere (1968) in explaining how in pre-colonial traditional Africa, all systems in all walks of life including education were practical and closely connected to the lives of the African people. As well, their systems were open and accommodating, as societal needs were subject to change.

Moreover, Rodney (1982), in his book *How Europe underdeveloped Africa,* acknowledges the relevance of traditional African education for social development. He recognizes the strengths of traditional education, which include its collective nature; closeness to social life; and material, spiritual and developmental nature, as every stage of human

development had its own curriculum. Other strengths were traditional education's link with productivity and the ability to match with the realities of the pre-colonial society. Here, Rodney (1982) agrees with Nyerere (1968) about the role of indigenous knowledge. Through it, African societies developed the norms, values, and attitudes that formed their cultures. Abdi (2006) defines "culture" as "different components of everyday life that people learn, interact with, react to, and in diverse ways, generally use to respond to physical and social environments that surround them" (p. 13). Verhelst (1990) views culture as "the sum of total of the original solutions that a group of human beings invent to adapt to their natural and social environment" (p. 17). Fundamentally, culture forms a person's identity and distinguishes one group of human beings from another.

Under colonial rule, the traditional African systems were changed to suit the interests of the European ruling class. As Dei and Asgharzadeh (2006) observe,

> The majority of earlier formal schools in Africa were organised mainly by missionaries who implemented the dictates of colonial powers in terms of the structure of schooling, curricular design, aim of education, kind and nature of subjects to be taught, and so forth. (pp. 56-57)

Through the exportation of culture and ideas, the change impacted the indigenous knowledge as well as the African culture.

The supporters of Western modernization perceived the world as consisting of two distinct systems: the centres of modern progress and the peripheries of traditional backwardness (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Although, there is little doubt about the contribution of modernization to development, it is also irrefutable that this perception limited development in those societies

regarded as backward, destroyed their existing culture, and, above all, gave their indigenous knowledge no space in the new development.

As elsewhere, the policy of divide and rule was applied in Africa to weaken strong ethnic groups. Through this policy, artificial boundaries were located to divide African territories without considering the ethnic, linguistic and cultural composition of the people in different areas. Dei and Asgharzadeh (2006) correctly observe that the thrust of this policy was to destroy powerful pre-colonial ethnicities and languages, and replace them with European culture, languages, religion practices, and cultural forms. The colonial process used education as a socialising agent to impose the colonial identity, culture, language, and religion on African people. The outcome was that Africans over-valued Western religion, language, and individualism, which all began to dominate African life. This phenomenon reflects the tendency of globalization to override indigenous cultures and make them less and less important (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 13).

Abdi (2006) refers to Van Sertima to present the scope of the impact of colonialism and concludes that the great disaster of Europe's successful "conquest of Africa was the destruction of the indigenous education systems, and their replacement with an irrelevant, limited, and purposefully imposed program of European languages and related structures of learning" (p. 15). In this regard, the African Union (AU, 2007) (an organization of African independent nations) has implemented several interventions and innovations as mitigating measures. The AU has its own vision and works to attain its dream. All AU actions aim towards creating an integrated, peaceful, and prosperous Africa in which the African people can have their own place in the "global community" and "knowledge economy." The AU attempts to achieve this goal by

strengthening the capacities of Africa's people. By implication, the organization gives education the first priority as a mechanism for preparing African people to take up their new roles. However, the AU acknowledges that education in Africa faces severe challenges, and has often emphasized the need to ensure access, improve quality and relevance, and ensure equity.

Moreover, the AU recognises the role of education as a mechanism for imparting appropriate skills, knowledge, and attitudes and for forming a base for innovations, science, and technology, which will help Africa to take up its role in the global knowledge economy, as well as its rightful space in the global community. Also, the AU is aware that quality education is the only means whereby Africa will establish a "culture of peace, gender equality and positive African values" (AU, 2007, p. 1).

The AU priorities for education are equity and access to basic education, quality, relevance, effectiveness, complementary learning modalities, and capacity building. The AU focused on these areas during the first Decade of Education for Africa (1997-2006). However, the AU faced a number of challenges including little evidence of ownership by the stakeholders and insufficient support from Africa's development partners. These problems led to the launch of the second Decade of Education for Africa, which Africans organised for the benefit of all Africans. Moreover, the second decade plan takes advantage of the existing capacities of institutions such as the African Development Education Association (ADEA), African Development Bank (ADB), Forum for African Women Educationists (FAWE), Association for Development of Education (ADEA), Association of African Universities (AAU), and UNESCO. Thus, the AU is optimistic about its new plan. More specifically, the second plan focuses on gender and culture; education management-information systems; teacher development; tertiary education; technical and

vocational education and training, including education in difficult situations; curriculum development; teaching and learning materials; and quality management (AU, 2007). For example, the AU's focus on gender and culture aims at eliminating gender disparities by enhancing gender equality and ensuring girls' and women's empowerment throughout the education system while emphasizing the positive aspects of African culture. One key point is that most African nations share common aspects in their cultures, which originate from the Ubuntu philosophy, which honors human dignity and is based on a collective ontology (Assié-Lumumba, 2016; Abdi, Shultz, & Pillay, 2015; Swanson, 2015)**.** Also, as was observed at the AU Summit in 2006, "re-establishing the linkages between education and culture releases synergies that can widen the range of options for individuals and societies to meet the challenges of the 21st century and participate effectively in the global economy" (AU, 2007, p. 5). The AU hopes that its interventions in education will revive African cultures, which combine all aspects of life, including language. This section is not intended to focus on how colonialism underdeveloped Africa and how the AU is responding; however, the tendency of globalization to export ideas and culture and to destroy local cultures is crucial to this discussion.

When linking educational policy to globalization as theory, policy, and practice, and also when considering the interaction between the global and the local, one needs to consider several factors. For example, decentralization and school-based management originated in the Anglo-American sphere and have implications for leadership and management. The crucial point in this argument is that the conception of "leadership" is culturally specific. For instance, in Western societies, leadership is linked to a set of skills (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 15), while, for example, in Africa, indigenous leadership is based on skills, collectivism and sharing (Mugambi,

2007). The challenge is whether with globalization, the meanings and styles of leadership will converge in the future or remain culturally specific and also whether some Western organizational generic procedures and policies are important enough to justify ignoring local cultures. Dimmock and Walker (2005) suggest that the participants in this debate about leadership and management, particularly in our current context, should develop an "international, cultural and cross cultural comparative perspective" (p. 15). My concern in this study is the principals' experiences with the decentralization policy (which is the outcome of globalization and neoliberalism), and this policy's impact on the principals' management of their roles. Thus, I am interested in how decentralization is imposing neoliberal ideas and culture on primary school head teachers and how they are adjusting to their new roles as both teachers and managers. The following section discusses how, in terms of policy, Tanzania responded to globalization.

Tanzania's policy response to globalization

Before discussing Tanzania's response to globalization, this section will explain the concept of decentralization and its practice in Tanzania's post-colonial setting. This information will clarify the levels of authority for decision-making under decentralization and, thus, explain which levels apply to Tanzania, the prior efforts to implement decentralization in Tanzania, and decentralization's different motives and scope over time.

The decentralization of the management of education involves the devolution of authority for decision-making from the higher to the lower levels including schools (Carnoy, 1995; Welsh & McGinn, 1999). This process changes the location of the schools' governors, or, in other words, it involves a transfer of authority from one level to the other. This process transfers the

authority for decision-making from the apex to the base of the pyramid (Welsh & McGinn, 1999).

In comparison, a centralized system of administration has the advantage of promoting unity by controlling disintegration. Nevertheless, this system has been criticised for overlooking individual initiative. Judging centralization from the perspective of the market-oriented ideology, researchers argue that a public bureaucracy's delivery of services is inefficient because of the bureaucracy's distance from local users, its tendencies towards monopoly, and the absence of the kind of competition that enhances efficiency and quality (Carnoy, 2002). Decentralization, on the contrary, "involves dispersal, and space, [and] permits the development of individuality, or diversity," but also creates heterogeneous systems that create challenges for "communication and integration" (Welsh & McGinn, 1999 p. 20). Nonetheless, the proponents of decentralization point out that the continual development of new technology is facilitating communication, and claim, therefore, that the benefits of decentralization outweigh those of centralization.

The transfer of authority under decentralization can be observed at four different levels: (1) de-concentration, where the devolution of authority is directed to other administrative levels of a ministry; (2) delegation, where authority for public education is delegated to representatives of the minister at other levels; (3) devolution, which transfers authority to elected bodies; and (4) privatization, or the shift of authority to private entities or individuals (Gropello, 2004; McNamara, 2007; Rondinelli, Nelson, & Cheema,1984).

In practical terms, one can argue that centralization and decentralization complement each other because the dominance of one over the other depends on the nature of the policy that will be implemented. Caillods (1999) argues that from an ideological and philosophical perspective, a

system cannot be either completely centralized or completely decentralized. The question is which decisions should be decentralized, to which degree schools should be accountable, and what regulatory role should be assigned to the state. Decentralization can occur in contexts where the genuineness of the transfer of the authority for decision-making to lower levels is questionable because of the on-going influence and interference from the centre. Discussing the relationship of the local and central governments, Therkildsen (2000), in *Contextual issues in decentralization of primary education in Tanzania,* notes the ineffective involvement of local governments in decision-making in primary education and comments that parents do not have enough influence on the collective decision-making process. Therkildsen suggests that for genuine reforms to occur, significant changes in the relationship between the local and central governments are necessary.

Decentralization in Tanzania is not a new phenomenon. Supporters of decentralization commend the model as it provides "opportunities for grassroots participation in planning and local resource utilization" (Maro & Mlay, 1979, p. 291). Thus, the purpose of the Arusha Declaration of 1967, which established socialism and self-reliance, was "to give the people power over their own lives and their own development" (Nyerere, 1972, p. 1). In this case, the decentralization model of 1972 in Tanzania aimed at implementing socialism and encouraging self-reliance, which were the key components in the political philosophy of Julius Nyerere. Nyerere believed that, in order for the policies promoting socialism and self-reliance to be effective, the local level had to be more involved in the planning and control of development than it had been, because Tanzanians were aware of their contextual problems and, thus, were able to prescribe more appropriate solutions than central administrators could. Nyerere suggested that, in

contrast, “when power remains at the centre, ... local problems can remain, and fester, while local people who are aware of them are prevented from using their initiative in finding solutions” (Nyerere, 1972, p.1). Such ideas were the foundation of the early decentralization efforts in Tanzania.

Systems of local administration existed prior to the current reform, which started in 1994. In the early post-colonial period (the 1960s), the well-established local administration system was deprived of resources and thus failed to deliver the expected services. Therefore, the local government system was abolished in 1972, and the de-concentration system replaced it. Under this system, the central government controlled all government services. However, the regions’ administrations (under de-concentration) also failed because the delivery of services deteriorated. This problem necessitated the re-introduction of the local government system through the Local Government Act of 1982 (Kabagire, 2006; Tidemand & Dege, 2010), which was implemented in 1984 (when the LGAs started to operate). Contrary to the expectations, the central government’s bureaucracy handicapped the system, which suffered from a shortage of senior and technical personnel; thus, the center delegated to regions the authority to supervise all local government functions. Kabagire (2006) reports, “The system also failed to yield the desired improvements in the delivery of local services, while stifling local democracy, and, by the early1990s it had become evident that fundamental reform of the system was imperative” (p. 8).

The 1994 decentralization by devolution was established in the context of the implementation of a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) introduced in 1986 in order to help the economy’s private sector. One of the reforms included in this process was the Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP). Its components included the Local Government Reform aimed at

decentralizing government functions, responsibilities, and resources to LGAs, as well as strengthening their capacity.

Generally, the proponents of neoliberal-influenced decentralization presented several reasons to justify the decentralization by devolution policy. Even though genuine democracy involves more than just participation, the main consideration was that decentralization by devolution would benefit participation and democracy. The other justifications included the following. First, the collapse of the Western "Keynesian consensus," which had favoured strong, centralised governments, required the reformulation and reduction of the role of the central government and, thus, also an increase in the market's role (Welsh & McGinn, 1999, p. 27). Second, while economic globalization and supranational organisations weakened central governments and national sovereignty, the local groups were empowered by the shift towards market-based decision-making. Third, the increase in the number of students and teachers overloaded the capacity of a centralized bureaucracy to maintain quality, and thus, the public's dissatisfaction with centralization justified decentralization. Fourth, privatization, as part of decentralization, was regarded as an alternative source of revenue after governments began spending less money on education. Fifth, some supporters of privatization argued that it uses resources effectively. Sixth, supporters of decentralization also argued that the development of information and communication technologies has facilitated the management of decentralized systems (Bonal, 2002; Harvey, 1990; Wells & Holme, 2005; Robertson et al., 1997; Welsh & McGinn, 1999).

Finally, Kabagire (2006) argued that for developing countries, including Tanzania, the justification for decentralization is "the need to establish working local governments that can

deliver quality services to the people in a participative, effective and transparent way, where local authorities are directly accountable to the local people" (p. 9). In the contemporary global context, policy is an outcome of a combination of different national, regional, and global variables including political, social and economic goals. The influence of power is an important factor in this process because experience shows that the global actors who dominate the world order also influence states' decisions. This influence has led national states to choose policies that are not in line with their interests, contexts of practice, or local needs (McHenry, 1994; Urch, 1991). This problem implies the role of power (Luke, 2005). Thus, some scholars assess the current decentralization as a neoliberal agenda being implemented by the SAPs (George, 1999) and its extension, NPM.

The local government reform in Tanzania involves five areas including service function decentralization, which aims at bringing the management and provision of services closer to the end user while focusing on the issues of quality and quantity (Kabagire, 2006; Mmari, 2005). The content of the service function decentralization was provided in the Education and Training Policy of 1995, the main guideline for education in Tanzania. Strategically, the government chose to follow the subsidiarity principle, whereby "public service responsibilities must be exercised by the lowest level of government unless a cogent and convincing case can be made for higher level assignment" (Kabagire, 2006, p. 10). Thus, the authority for managing primary schools was devolved to the LGAs, so that at the school level, school committees now oversee the schools on behalf of the village government (URT, 1995; 2002).

Decentralization reform and school leadership

Decentralization reform, with its emphasis on autonomy and competition, on the one hand, and on widening the scope of participation, on the other hand, has introduced new roles for primary school principals. As a result, principals now have to take care of the demands and needs of a variety of stakeholders and thus, must perform excessive managerial roles. Some scholars believe in "the centrality of instruction to the main business of the schools – student growth and development" (Ubben & Hughes, 1997, p. 19). The URT (1995) and The Alberta Teacher Association (ATA) (2011) support this belief by indicating that one purpose of education is to develop students' abilities so that individuals can achieve their personal aspirations and contribute positively to society. Schools also play a fundamental role in attaining national goals. In both roles, the school leadership contributes to the schools' efficiency and effectiveness (Schein, 2010) by, for example, role modeling, teaching, coaching, and allocating rewards. However, the context also plays a key role in the functioning of an organisation and its leadership (Lingard & Christie, 2003).

Principals' instructional roles involve the issues of teaching and learning in their broadest sense. Ubben and Hughes (1997) state that principals must be skilled at "demonstrating high energy, setting standards of excellence, establishing goals, being positive example[s], creating a motivating work environment, all with[in] a context of collaboration, so that a high-performance learning community exists" (p. 19).

Ubben and Hughes (1997) use Sergiovanni's work to present five effective instructional principal behaviours: "technical, human, educational, symbolic, and cultural behaviours" (p. 23). While technical behaviours include good planning, organizing and coordinating as well as

controlling for organizational effectiveness, human behaviours involve human relations skills. Educational behaviours involve the "ability to diagnose educational problems, carry out the functions of clinical supervision, evaluate educational programs, help develop curriculum, implement staff-development activities, and develop good individual educational programs for individual children" (p. 23). Symbolic behaviours include demonstrating to others what a leader believes is important and are key to the development of an organization. On the other hand, cultural behaviour "seeks to strengthen the values and beliefs that make the school unique" (p. 24). By sharing the most valued school elements with others and orienting new group members to the school's values and beliefs, this goal can be attained (Ubben & Hughes, 1997).

Some writers believe that the role of principals is to lead instruction (Christie & Lingard, 2003; Stewart, 2006), whereas others argue that the roles of principals as leaders and managers are inseparable because "it is inconceivable that a good leader would not also be a good manager" (Ubben & Hughes, 1997, p. 2). This argument implies that ineffective leaders are also ineffective managers. Although writers acknowledge that principal-ship is not a one-person show, they emphasize the key role of principals in guiding school development. According to this view, principals who do their jobs well support students "in achieving their potential" (Ubben & Hughes, 1997, p. 1) and, thereby, achieve the main objective of schooling.

In the current context, experience shows that the principles of business management are now the main influences on education policies and practises. Dimmock and Walker (2005) draw from Bottery (1999) to present three main arguments for defending the business model: "First, organizations have generic functions, such as mission-stating, goal-setting, recruiting, monitoring and evaluating; second, comparisons between types of organizations and their management may

be instructive; and third, governments are keen to make school management more business-like" (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 14).

The recent education reforms world-wide, particularly those involving decentralization and privatization, include elements of business, such as competition, meeting clients' demands, and achieving the stipulated market standards, which all influence principals' functions. Nevertheless, the mere transferring and applying of the business model to education has several risks. While service and business firms may share common traits, schools

> in shaping and educating young people go beyond the rudiments of business. Unlike business, schools are not primarily in existence to make [a] profit. They need equally to be concerned with processes and outcomes, many of which defy easy measurement or quantification. (Dimmock & Walker, 2005, p. 14)

Another argument is that transferring the business model to education alienates principals from students, teachers, and core curriculum issues because, as office managers, principals must pay attention to administrative issues and accountability in order to meet the expectations of the senior management. The school-based management model, which transfers responsibilities from the central to the local (including schools), is likely to increase the focus on administrative rather than instructional duties (Dimmock & Walker, 2005). Thus, although instructional leadership is a core responsibility of school principals (Reitzug, West, & Roma, 2008), Stewart (2006) suggests that

> devolution and decentralization … divert the principal's attention from the technical core of the school. Many school principals are so engrossed in the managerial and administrative tasks of daily school life, that they rarely have time to lead others in the areas of teaching and learning (p. 6).

In addition, the competitiveness and interdependencies in the market dynamics position schools in a complex system of school hierarchies (Ball & Maroy, 2008, p. 13). Showing the complexity

of principals' roles, the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) (2001) states:

> Today's principal must be a legal expert, health and social services coordinator, fundraiser, public relations consultant, parental involvement expert, and security officer, who is technologically savvy, diplomatic, with top-notch managerial skills, whose most important duty is the implementation of instructional programs, curricula, pedagogical practice, and assessment models. (p. 1)

This statement indicates the complexity of principals' roles, which range from instructional to managerial roles. Eacott (2010) places a principal's roles between policy production and the practise of schooling. Using Bourdieu's concept of capital, fields (which refer to issues such as economies and politics in the principals' context), habitus and strategies, Eacott (2010) perceives a school as a structured social space with power relations that are overlapping and interrelating with those in other fields. In such a process, there is always a struggle to either transform or preserve the field (Eacott, 2010; Christie & Lingard, 2003). Thus, an individual's level of power determines his or her level of influence.

Discussing the tensions created by the reforms to education, Blackmore and Sachs (2007) argue that

> Paradoxically, at a time when passion, creativity, and caring social relationships [are] necessary for individual and institutional survival, the tendency of educational reforms has been toward technical expertise, standardization and uniformity, products of both markets that produce risk and the new managerialism that seeks to manage it. (p. 2)

The trend towards market domination in the education system can be seen as a kind of colonization due to its tendency to create a performative culture focusing on appearance and marketable performances (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007). The results of the performative culture include standardized evaluations and a culture that minimizes the fundamental work of education

such as teaching (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Elliott, 2001). Thus, the outcomes have included a loss of autonomy for educators, "due to the intensification of their labour and the simultaneous exploitation of their desire to perform, but with professional care and compassion" (Blackmore and Sachs, 2007, p. 2).

Blackmore (1999) positions principals at the intersection of various fields that lead principals to negotiate various logics of practice. For instance, she comments that the negotiations with the central office and the mediating local organisational structure work with a particular logic that locates principals as managers rather than education leaders. Thus, the basic questions are the following: To what extent are school principals negotiating with the forces making demands on them, and how are principals ultimately managing their roles efficiently in the context of the decentralization of school management? What strategies do principals have for managing their instructional and managerial roles?

Most findings on the principal's role include the issue of the tension between instructional leadership roles and administrative management roles. Some assessors view this tension as a dichotomy because the management demands usually are given priority over those of instruction, while others see these roles as dual and argue that the tension between them has to be overcome. Deal and Peterson (1994) see this tension as indicating the paradoxical relationship between the reasoning and creativity required from principals. Some authors focusing on management in the context of education reform suggest that whether intentionally or not, management dominates instructional roles. Due to the dominance of managerial roles, some scholars believe that this trend is likely to be magnified in the school-based decision making (see Isherwood & Achoka, 1992).

Perspectives of leadership and suggested alternatives

The literature presents different perspectives on leadership and its evolution over time. These perspectives have implications for the study of leadership because any perspective can be influential. For example, the pre-dominant scientific model of leadership studies focuses on logical empiricism and the belief that scientific methods might be useful for studying leadership. Lakomski (2005) suggests that although the use of science is correct, the empiricist model is not helpful for studying leadership, because of this model's "conception of evidence as empirical adequacy, a conception that does not allow for other than observation-based criteria to play a role in the justification of a scientific fact or theory" (p. 140). Also, the variables such as values, which are non-observable, are unlikely to be accommodated in the scientific framework, and also it is difficult for the empirical methodology (observations, surveys, or questionnaires) to capture leaders' abilities and qualities. In this situation, the observer fits the observation into a given template or into his or her own frame of reference (Lakomski, 2005), so that any observation is already an interpretation.

Interpretivist and post-modernism organisational or administrative theories provide another lens for studying organisations and leadership. These theories reject the scientific model because they accommodate different perspectives (subjectivism, interpretivism, critical theory) as means of explaining phenomenon. In the process of understanding human values, these models do not separate facts from values. Therefore, a leader's values and experiences are seen from within the framework of naturalistic science (Lakomski, 2005). However, new developments in leadership approaches, based on the social sciences, are concerned with organisational culture, practice, and the social context of action (Lakomski, 2005). Such thinking doubts the causal link

between leadership and practice, to the extent of proposing the end of leadership. This argument is based on the assumption that, by emphasizing leadership, organizations are expecting more than leaders can offer, given their own resources. Organisational work involves many different people, and leaders are neither all-knowing nor always dependable. Thus, the defenders of these approaches are tempted to propose the end of leadership.

Lakomski (2005) suggests two subjects that link all organisational theory in organisational theory studies: The view of leadership as a collective effort to create an organisation's culture, on the one hand, and a conception of leaders as individuals who develop their own visions to create their organisations' culture, on the other hand. Here, culture is regarded as a tool of management for attaining organisational objectives. However, leaders have had difficulty changing their organisational cultures because of the diversity and complexity of modern organisations. This problem creates doubt whether leadership can achieve organisational change. Thus, authors including Lakomski (2005), Robinson (2001) and Spillane (2006) recommend a leadership style such as distributed or disbursed leadership, which responds to situational and contextual factors.

According to Spillane (2006), distributed leadership occurs when a number of people in an organization share leadership functions or when leadership originates from the interactions within a group. In distributed leadership, as Lakomski (2005) observes, a leader is not detached from others and is embedded in task performance. When two individuals serve as leaders, the result is a form of distributed leadership under the co-principal leadership model (Spillane, 2006). Disbursed leadership takes place when leadership is dispersed across an organisation's members and can be observed from the organisation's actions because leadership is an integral part of the

task that is to be accomplished (Lakomski, 2005; Robinson, 2001). This orientation considers leaders as organisational agents embedded in and constrained by a complex network composed of many object-human relations.

Distributed leadership can logically be associated with Nyerere's (1972) approach to decentralization. In 1972, Tanzania was implementing policies of socialism and self-reliance that emanated from the Arusha Declaration of 1967. The main objective of the Declaration was to give people power over their lives and their own development, and decentralization was used as a tool for achieving this objective. Nyerere's (1972) concern was that "in order to make a reality of our policies of socialism and self-reliance, the planning and control of development in this country [Tanzania] must be exercised at [the] local level to a much greater [degree] than at present" (p. 1). At that time, all decisions were made at the centre. Nyerere believed that local people are aware of their problems and are more likely to use their initiative to find solutions for their challenges than anybody else from a distance. Also, he suggested that when power remains at the centre, local problems are likely to remain unsolved. This line of thinking is similar to the ideas that justify the need for the distribution of leadership, because leaders at the top are not always adequately informed and knowledgeable about matters in their organisations (Lakomski, 2005).

In their interpretive study, Newton and Wallin (2013) explore the role of the teaching principal in Alberta and Manitoba by focusing on this role's moral and legal requirements. In this framework, principals are expected in their position as instructional leaders to support student learning. The authors refer to Clarke and Stevens' (2009) definition of a teaching principal as one who carries out the roles of teaching and administration. After exploring the constitution and the

way the two roles have affected the leadership practices of rural teaching principals, the authors call for policies that will guide administrators who need to carry out dual roles in smaller schools. Newton and Wallin (2013) also argue that the need to teaching principals' methods of adapting to their new roles is a new development in the conceptualization of school principal-ship**.** In Tanzania, this argument implies a need for a policy to guide principals' management of their instructional and managerial roles as a new conceptualization of principal-ship. However, such a policy should be based on the principals' context.

Dimensions of autonomy and education reforms

Contemporary philosophical discussions in the English- speaking world have produced an increasing consensus about the nature and history of the liberal political tradition. Most scholars agree that this tradition draws on Locke's concepts of religious toleration and property theory. The concepts of human equality and human rights (emanating from the French and American revolutions) are also important in the liberal tradition, and thus, liberals commonly speak of "human rights" and assume that they are "equally a possession of each human being" (Appiah, 2005, p. ix). This conviction assumes an individualistic ethics: liberals believe that everything that matters morally does so because of its impact on individuals, and that if any kind of group matters, it matters because it affects the lives of its individual members.

Traditionally, autonomy is associated with the absence of coercion and the availability of options. However, some scholars have expressed doubts "about preferences that are unreflectively bequeathed by custom, about 'likings in groups" (Appiah, 2005, p. 37). According to these scholars, personal autonomy involves more than an individual's freedom because "to have autonomy, we must have acceptable choices" (Appiah, 2005, p. 30). Thus, autonomy is also

associated with collective bodies including national states, minority groups within states, and indigenous people.

In some cases, "autonomy" connotes a kind of self-direction that shapes the principles of thought and action that direct one's life in a unified manner. However, as Appiah (2005) suggests, even a person who is free from external constraints and has the capacity to pursue a certain kind of life may not be "autonomous," due to this individual's inability to organise his or her principles in a unified way. This problem suggests the need to reflect on one's norms and the practices that may set limits to one's autonomy.

Held (1995) relates autonomy to the situations of individuals and their capacity to shape the conditions under which they find themselves. However, Held cautions that individuals' capacity to shape conditions is dependent on the kinds of conditions in which they find themselves. As well, the inclusion of others in the notion of "autonomy" produces a collective sense of autonomy. In this collective sense, "autonomy" usually means something close to the meaning of its Greek roots, auto (self) and nomos (law), which imply the capacity to develop laws for one's self. According to Held (1995), modern thinkers believe that, in the context of democracy, autonomy is the principle that ensures individual and collective fulfillment and that enables legitimacy in collective decision-making. However, currently, autonomy is not necessarily a universal value.

Based on culture, a conflict exists between liberals' and communitarians' conceptions of society. Appiah (2005) asks whether any society argues that individuals should be allowed to choose their own ends, or whether we can "imagine individuals without any involuntary ties at all, unbound, utterly free" (p. 45). Thus, in order to reconcile the liberals' belief in self-direction

and the communitarians' emphasis on social ties and obligations, "it's natural to speak of partial autonomy and partial authorship" (p. 52). Experience shows that the liberal-communitarian debate is concerned with autonomy. It has conditions involving mental abilities, the adequacy of options, and independence. However, in both the primary and secondary sense, autonomy is a matter of degree (George Eliot, as cited in Appiah, 2005). While at one level, autonomy may involve choice, our choices may be limited by our capacities. Thus, Appiah (2005) argues:

> The familiar determinist conclusion is that a really complete specification of your conditions and circumstances, internal and external, would permit one to infer your preferences, plans, and actions. From this highly granular perspective, the concept of autonomy simply has no role to play. You are not author; you are authored. (p. 53)

The term "autonomy" commonly appears in legal contexts. Experience shows that in national laws, the term connotes a public institution's self-government (autonomy) and involves the institution's ability to regulate its own affairs. However, "autonomy" has been used differently based on the context because the concept lacks a clear legal definition (Heintze, 1998). In philosophy, and based on the rational will of an individual, "autonomy" refers to the power of a human being to have self-determination; in natural science, the term connotes organic independence; and in law and politics, the concept has several meanings. Lapidoth (1993) has emphasized the complexity of the term. In law, "autonomy" means the right to act upon one's own discretion in certain matters; independence; decentralization; and having exclusive powers of legislation, administration and judgement.

Technically, the granting of internal self-government to an institution, for example, implies that it has partial independence from the central governments' influence. However, as Hannum and Lillich (as cited in Heintze, 1998) caution, autonomy is always based on the

particular circumstances of a case and cannot be defined in general, because a legal definition calls for concrete legal content.

Although autonomy has no commonly accepted definition, the principle of subsidiarity has been the basis for the use of autonomy. This principle is a political and social tool for organizing the state and society. Heintze (1998) explains that the principle of subsidiarity

> is based on the idea that there are elements between the State and the individual which enable the individuals to preserve their identity. As a principle, subsidiarity has both a positive and a negative content: as a negative obligation, it restrains the superior community level if a solution can be achieved at a lower community level. This is complemented by the positive duty to assist the smaller community if necessary. The principle of subsidiarity is thus based on the spreading of public functions among different communities in order to avoid excessive centralization (p. 12).

Wiberg (1998) brings in another dimension of autonomy by seeing the concept as confusing because it is closely connected to contested concepts such as "authority, control, freedom, interdependence, interest, liberty, non-interference, paternalism, power, responsibility, social coordination, [and] sovereignty – all core concepts in modern political theory" (p. 43). In the context of politics, Wiberg (1998) sees autonomy as the freedom of agents (ranging from individual persons to collectivities). However, because of autonomy's connection to such a wide range of contested concepts, this author sees little hope of developing a clear understanding of what an "autonomous political entity" involves.

Wiberg (1998) sees an "autonomous agent [as] one that is exempt from arbitrary control, un-coerced and unrestricted. An autonomous agent is free to choose without any deterministic intervention by external facts or agents" (p. 44). However, the author questions whether this definition implies that the autonomous agent is autarchic, self-sufficient and self-sustaining.

Technically, "autonomy" does not mean either that the agent is isolated or that external factors have some kind of impact upon the autonomous agent.

The author suggests, "Autonomy should refer rather to self-direction than to self-sufficiency" (Wiberg, 1998, p. 44). Autonomy does not exist for its own sake. It exists in order to help an agent to achieve his or her goals, and given that autonomy is not a goal in itself, but rather an "instrument to guarantee that the preferences of the autonomous agent making the choices are fully taken into consideration" (Wiberg, 1998, p. 44), the term should have a clear legal definition. However, as Wiberg (1998) explains:

> A vague notion of autonomy is useful in several instances, since there is no commonly shared clear notion of what autonomy in the final analysis stands for, that is, what it covers and what it excludes, it is a very useful tool for many actors in various kinds of social disputes (p. 56).

Therefore, "[it] is not the clarity, but the ambiguity of the concept [of autonomy] that is the most important guarantee of its popularity" (p. 57). As this argument suggests, "autonomy" has various meanings, and no universal meaning is available in Western political thought. However, although the vagueness or ambiguity of "autonomy" may benefit the political system, "autonomy" must have a clear definition and be legally binding in order to serve the best interests of each party. One of the pillars of decentralization policies is the devolution of decision-making powers (autonomy) to the local levels including schools. While autonomy in decision-making is important for Tanzanian principals' ability to develop their own schools, such autonomy requires relevant institutional arrangements and a clear relationship between levels of authority such as the school and council, and the school and ministry levels to ensure its realization. Moreover, such arrangements require legal back-up.

Locating Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) in policy studies

PDA and decolonizing theories guide this study. The general purpose is to show the framework and complexity of policy processes and the nature of the context where principals work.

PDA is an advanced stage of critical discourse analysis and distinguishes itself by accommodating the analysis of arguments in both critical discourse and critical political analysis. While all critical theories deal with issues of power**,** what is new in PDA is its involvement in "practical argumentation, argumentation for or against particular ways of acting, argumentation that can ground decisions" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 1). In such a process, the actors consider the reasons for and against a proposed action or alternative in their decision-making process. Ultimately, deliberations are made in relation to various possibilities for action. Fay (1975) reminds us about the action concepts that "are employed to describe behaviour which is done with a purpose such that one can ask, what is its point, aim or intent, or what was the person trying to do, desiring or meaning" (p. 71). In this context, an "action" is distinguished from a "happening."

Deliberation and practical reasoning are key concepts in PDA. While "deliberation involves critical examination of options in the light of criticism" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 90), "practical reasoning is a mental process that corresponds to the practical argument as linguistic object, as premise-conclusion set" (p. 13). However, PDA also involves non-argumentative categories such as narrative, description and explanation. Its logic resides in how the connection between other categories and practical argument is made. For example, by

analyzing a crisis, the premises for decision-making can be created (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012).

The purpose of analysis in PDA is to reveal hidden agendas by showing either what has taken place or the reasons for policy failure including implementation constraints (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 166). Yanow (2000) supports Wagenaar (2011) by asserting that interpretive policy analysis is based on the "premise that the promise and implications of a policy are not transparent and easily evident in its text" (p. v) due to the hidden and in some cases incompatible conclusions endorsed by policy makers. To get out of this trap, Yanow suggests the need to identify a group of stakeholders and 'policy artifacts' (symbolic language, objects and actions), which, together with the policy process, can show how the policy is understood. Yanow (2000) also acknowledges that meaning is a focus of policy analysis.

Specifically, while discourse involves the process of social interaction that produces texts and their interpretations, the objective for their analysis is "precisely to relate the texts under review to the other elements of text production, thereby explaining aspects of the texts that were initially obscure or hidden" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 159). Drawing from literary theory on how texts express meaning, Yanow (2000) argues that the meaning of texts comes from more than their language, form, or both, or from the authors' intentions. In a way, a text's meaning also includes the readers' interpretations. Thus, the meaning of texts "resides not in any of these--not exclusively in the authors' intent, in the text itself, or in the reader alone but is, rather, created actively in interactions among all three, in the writing and in the reading" (Yanow, 2000, p. 17). In such a process, I had to be aware of interdiscursivity in the sense of the contradictions within a

discourse, between different discourses, and in a discourse's associated practices (Farrelly, 2006; Wagenaar, 2011).

Policy analysis, traditionally, intends to inform policy makers "about an anticipated policy: what its impact will be on a target population, whether it is likely to achieve the desired outcome, whether it is the right policy to address a specific problem" (Yanow, 2000, p. viii). Wagenaar (2011) and Yanow (2000) both discuss the relationship between analysis and desired policy outcomes.

However, policy analysis has evolved over time and thus, may have different orientations. For example, the traditional analyst focuses on cost-benefit analysis or, rather, comparative analysis in order to establish the costs and benefits across samples. As a quantitatively oriented approach, it has been challenged for lacking democratic processes. Although an analyst focusing on citizen participation is likely to conduct a survey of stakeholders in order to learn their opinions, researchers have pointed out this model's limitations in quantifying values (Kelly, 1987; Yanow, 2000). The interpretive techniques assign a meaning to a proposed program and identify the group for which the program has a meaning. Because the program may have different meanings for different groups, the analyst tries, as the first major step, to identify the "communities of meaning" in order to understand the different meanings for each group (Yanow, 2000, pp. vii-viii). These interpretive techniques are relevant to my study because, first, they shift the discussion from values as a set of costs, benefits, and choice points to a focus on values, beliefs, and feelings as a set of meanings. Second, they shift from a view of human behaviour as, ideally, instrumentally and technically rational, to human action as expressive (of meaning)

(Yanow, 2000, p. ix). The logic behind this statement is that interpretive methods assign subjective meanings to a subject.

PDA is useful in contexts involving a crisis. Normally, responses to crises are in the form of policies or strategies. Any crisis is structural and has its own components, which are central to the analysis process because it must provide decisions on how to act. Choices, decisions and strategies are political and address different groups' interests and objectives, and groups struggle to have their choices, strategies and policies prevail (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Harvey, 2010).

A prevailing narrative may cover a crisis' source, nature, and resolution, but not the resolution's justification. Because narratives, explanations and imaginaries constitute a practical argument as a road map for decision- making or, rather, as premises in arguments for action, people must be informed of the reasons for taking a particular course of action. For this reason, my role was to consider the subjective and objective aspects of the economic crisis because my focus was on how the actors responded to the crisis and what followed the response, i.e, what they were doing, saying and writing (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). This orientation justifies my focus on political agency and the way people respond to a crisis and affect an outcome; on the significance of the discourse used to present, explain, and interpret the crisis; and also, on how the suggested responses and possible outcomes are articulated. However, how these factors are associated with political actors and are justified as reasons for action has been ignored (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 6) in studies of the entire process of dealing with a crisis.

In an argumentative approach to political discourse, one expects the presence of actual deliberative democracy and democratic deliberations in politics that are genuine in the sense that

they allow for argumentation or weighing of considerations. Nonetheless, experience shows that this norm is not always practised. Some groups have used their power to dominate the political decision-making process and to act to further their own interests. Although such decisions are made through practical reasoning, in such a context, "power can be and often is itself a reason for action" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 14). Any valid argument needs to be based on wide-ranging information in order to facilitate decision-making. For example, "a succinct reconstruction of the argument would have to include circumstantial premises, goal premises, value premises and a claim for action" (p. 88).

In this context, Lukes (2005) identifies three critical dimensions for "power over" that are incremental. In the first category, power over involves dominating others in decision-making. In the second dimension, power over involves including others in decision-making but limits their ability to make choices that would be disadvantageous to those in power. The first two dimensions involve observable behaviours and decision-making. The third dimension challenges the first two by pointing out that some decisions may be unintentional. For example, an actor's bias may be influenced by the socially structured patterns of culture and behaviour of the group. Thus, the third dimension considers a non-intentional perspective, which involves the role of the system or group behaviour or institutional practices in influencing the scope for decision-making. This dimension implies domination, whereby individuals adopt values and beliefs that oppress them. In such a situation, individuals' real interests are never addressed.

As PDA, post-colonial theory has been commonly used as a lens for analyzing not only colonial discourse but also the relationship between colonizers and colonized (see the work of Nyerere, 1968 and Fanon, 1961/2004). Moreover, this theory has been a critical tool for

analyzing current power relations among nations, cultures, and people, including those relations affecting the construction of knowledge. Drawing upon the work of Michael Foucault, I am concerned with analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge in the production of truth and subjectivity. In his work *Discipline and punish: The birth of prisons*. Foucault (1977/1995) suggests, "There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (p. 27). This work in addition to Political Discourse Analysis is helpful in explaining how powerful global actors have used power and knowledge as "two sides of a single process" (Ball, 1990, p. 17) to influence policy and practice after Tanzania's economic crisis of the 1970s and 80s. According to Foucault, power produces knowledge, in this case, policy (statements, rules), while "truth" is whatever knowledge becomes widely accepted. Foucault (1977/1995) further suggests that we need to analyze knowledge in terms of the material relationships in which it exists.

A fair policy analysis process has to focus on the political setting, as well as its features such as power plays, structural inequality, deep complexity, dispersed decision making, lack of trust among actors, value pluralism and fundamental orientation to practice (Wagenaar & Cook, 2003; Wagenaar, 2011). Given this focus, a consideration of power is inevitable because it is an "intrinsic, constitutive part of all public policy - call it ontology" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 81). Thus, power can influence the formulation of the problem, the prioritization and selection of alternatives, as well as the choice of policy instruments.

Political discourse analysts have been paying attention to representations and discourse. Representations may include "artifacts of human creation such as language, dress, patterns of

action and interaction, written texts, or built spaces" (Yanow, 2000, p. 14). In policy analysis, this statement implies a focus on "policy or agency artifacts as the concrete symbols representing more abstract policy and organisational meaning" (p. 14). Discourse can be understood as "language as social practice determined by social structure" (Fairclough, 2001, p.14). Fairclough (2001) distinguishes between the textual and the social-theoretical dimension of discourse. The former is "the analysis of texts and spoken language, as well as the production and interpretation of speech and writing," and the latter is the "constitution of areas of knowledge and social practice" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 158).

Fairclough's (2001) conception of language as social practice has three implications. First, language and society depend on each other, and their relationship is "internal and dialectical" (p. 19). Fairclough (2001) explains that "language is part of society; linguistic phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (are in part) linguistic phenomena" (p. 19). Second, texts (written or spoken) and discourses are related. Here, discourse, in its broad meaning, is regarded as "the whole process of social interaction, which gives rise to texts but which also includes processes of interpretation for which texts (but not only texts [J. Gee, 1990] are a resource" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 159). This definition implies that discourse analysis can be used to study other resources than texts. Thus, in normal circumstances, the interpretation of the social reality goes beyond texts, by considering other resources such as inflections of spoken language (the prosody of spoken language) and the body language of the speaker. Other resources include the speakers' clothing style, the interpreters' reading of the immediate context of the text, 'members' resources,' and the tacit background knowledge that the interpreter brings to the process of interpretation (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 159). Third, by "members'

resources," Fairclough refers to the role of social orientation in the knowledge, appreciations, and expectations that people bring to the text during the interpretation process. In other words, as Yanow (2000) and Iser (1989) argue, the reader's perspective also contributes to the meaning of texts. Peoples' understanding of texts and the process of interpretation "are dependent on the social and ideological struggles that define a particular society" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 159).

Fay (1975) argues that an action has a meaning only in a specific context, and thus, he links an action with a set of social rules. In this case, an action is recognized through its reference to social rules. While an action contains a reference to an intention, to understand an action one needs to be aware of the social practice. Therefore, in such a process, interpretation needs first to discover the guiding rules of certain actions and "relate them to other rules in the society" (Fay, 1975, p. 76).

Fundamentally, a discourse's context, and both the social institutions' and society's levels determine the scope of social conditions (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough (2001) focuses on how power and the social structures (such as the economic order) may pressure actors to choose certain possibilities. Nonetheless, the relationship between possibilities and reality (an event) may not necessarily be direct or linear because of social practices. In this context, the means of controlling the selection of some structural alternatives, the exclusion of others and the retention of selected possibilities over time are what are referred to as "social practices" (Fairclough, 2001; Wagenaar, 2011). Linking the determinants of social conditions and language as a means of communication, language as a social structure and set of possibilities sets constraints on what can be said and acted (Wagenaar, 2011). Thus, for example, a policy document (text) as an event is influenced by the social structure and language, although in an un-deterministic fashion.

Moreover, the role of language in mediating the 'order of discourse' is seen as the networking of social practice (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 160). Actors, although constrained by different factors such as material reality, still have room for negotiation (Fairclough, 2001; Wagenaar, 2011). Although PDA's purview includes the nature of language in the analysis, this study focuses more on the nature of argument construction, which includes "circumstantial premises, goal premises, value premises and a claim for action" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 88). My goal is to establish the essence of decentralization (its circumstantial premise), claim for action (its measures for implementation), and its goal premise, which are all affecting the principals.

Conclusion

In essence, decentralization as a neo-liberal agenda hinges on allocating autonomy in decision-making and using market values to achieve high quality, efficiency and effectiveness. This agenda is common in all the countries implementing the decentralization policies, because of their common origin and influence. Decentralization affects school leadership because in this context, the school leader has to respond to neoliberal needs and demands. Not only the initiating actors, but also the nature of policy as discourse pressures principals to ensure that these demands are met. One outcome for Tanzania's principals has been the tension created by the need to carry out both instructional and managerial roles efficiently.

The literature on leadership under education reforms indicates the conflicts or, rather, tensions between instructional leadership and administrative roles. The principals' experience of decentralization and its impact on their dual roles are the focus of this study. While decentralization aims at increasing quality and efficiency, some studies show that decentralization reforms create new roles that lead to heavy workloads for principals. On the one

hand, managerial responsibilities prevent school leaders from effectively carrying out their instructional roles. This problem is due partly to the demands of decentralization, which promotes autonomy, on the one hand, and a business orientation and competition, on the other hand. The compatibility of an imported culture with that of the host society in general and the principals in particular is another important issue. For example, the contradictions between the imported content of the reforms and the local content of the host culture, between individualism and egalitarian principles, and between a business orientation and the nature of the teaching profession are important factors in the decentralization process.

Based on the meaning of societal culture as "sets of values, beliefs and practices that distinguish one group of people from another" (Dimmock &Walker, 2005, p.13) and to avoid the overriding tendencies that cause tensions in the context of globalization, the local culture must be recognized in any theory of policy and practice. In other words, there must be what Assié-Lumumba (2016) calls "fusion by choice" (p. 25), whereby the African systems of education for example, would carefully accommodate appropriated foreign aspects, revised by using African human relations' philosophy. In this case, in policies guiding school practices, such recognition or measure should include, for example, the sense of community that is meaningful for African societies including Tanzania and a sense of care for all students.

Chapter Three: Reform for leadership decolonization in Tanzanian schools and autonomy from an African perspective

Introduction

Africa is being suffocated by the complex challenges created by external groups. These groups claim to know what is good for Africans but perceive them through Eurocentric lenses and develop coercive partnerships based on the colonization of the African mind, the colonial legacy, and the dominant policy strategies spreading neoliberalism through globalization (Abdi & Shultz, 2012; Dei, 2014; Shizha & Abdi, 2014; Shultz, 2013a; Swanson, 2015; wa Thiongo, 1986). This external orientation ignores the realities and sensibilities of the local context and fails to recognize and validate the indigenous ways of knowing and being. As a result, the local communities' freedom and egalitarianism are destroyed by what Swanson (2015) refers to as the instrumental material means of tech - scientific and economic progress.

Clarifying these challenges, Shultz (2013a, 2013b) joins other scholars including Ball (2012) and Harvey (2005) by enlightening us on the impact of neoliberalism and corporatism, in which the market influences more policy development than the need to consider citizens' welfare. This influence diminishes the public sphere, or the space where community members can discuss and develop their norms for constructive actions. These norms reflect the community's identity, so without them, the community members lose their common bonds. In this space, the community's solidarity is recognized and negotiated for collective purposes, as opposed to supporting individual interests and competitiveness, which are emphasized in market models. The outcome of following these models (the products of neoliberalism) is the obedient commitment to extensive privatization, the rejection of what used to be public, and the

institutionalizing of public support (Shultz, 2013a; Habermas, 1991). Thus, public spaces, public services, and the public good are all undermined.

Institutions including schools (particularly public schools) are expected to be service providers. However, given the current globalization and privatization trends and the way schools are using market models (Shultz, 2013a), these institutions are experiencing a dilemma regarding their roles as service providers. The fundamental concern here is the schools' context regarding norms, values and cultural orientations. By considering this context, one can attempt to harmonize the market-model orientation with the goals of education, on the one hand, and indigenous social objectives, on the other hand. However, a careful blend is needed so that none of the three factors (the goals of education, "modernity" and endogenous resources) is marginalised and thus, loses its position and identity in the whole process. As Dei (2014) suggests,

> Africa cannot be made in the image of Europe or some other place else! Africa has to find solutions to its own problems and we must accept [the] responsibility and challenge. This does not mean there is no room for allies, assistance and partnerships. But the partnerships and forms of assistance must be on Africa's own terms not the dictates and interpretations of the capitalists and global powerful (p. 16).

Through self-reliance and cooperation, appropriate policies and development can be a reality for Africans.

Coleman, Szeman and Rethmann (2010) in *Cultural autonomy, politics and global capitalism* remind us that although culture was "long shaped by the forces of belonging, identity, memory, and space associated with national-states, many of these forces spill outside their territorial boundaries" (p. 1). The authors suggest that these forces of belonging and culture are changing their forms since in the current global context, states play new roles while responding to

and supporting global capitalism. One of the contributing factors in effecting this change is the central position attached to information and communication technology coupled with the dominance of financial capital, all of which have commodified daily life and cultural practices. The authors, however, offer the possibility of challenging global capitalism, a process that

> often requires individuals, states, and various other collectives to organise themselves in a networked way. Entering into networked relationships backed by digital technologies raises new questions about meaning-making and thus cultural autonomy for those involved. Not only do these networks have their own cultural logic that shapes the actors involved, but they also give rise to new dimensions of cultural autonomy (p. 2).

In these relationships, the actors have to consider the extent to which they have become integrated into networks, and the methods they are using to safeguard their autonomy. The success of such a process (articulating, embodying and acting upon alternatives) would challenge the dominant form of neoliberalism.

The context and its trends

As Kauzya (2007a) and Juma, Rotich, and Mulongo (2014) explain, highly centralized governance was dominant in African countries during the colonial and immediate post-colonial periods. The efforts to end this form of governance by searching for inclusive, involving, and participatory governance have taken the route of decentralization. In the same spirit, political and administrative reforms have been common in African countries, particularly since the 1990s. Many officials believe that decentralization provides greater "participation of communities in problem analysis, project identification, planning, implementation as well as oversight which in turn will increase ownership and the likelihood of sustainability of such initiatives" (Kauzya, 2007a, p. 3).

Generally, political decentralization can be realised at two levels: devolving the power to select the political leaders and representatives from central to local governments, and vesting the power and authority for decision making regarding socio-political-economic matters to local governments and communities. This second level calls for structural arrangements and practises that will allow local governments and communities to choose their local leadership and representatives, on the one hand, and to have a voice in making decisions and implementing, monitoring, and evaluating their plans and programs, on the other hand (Kauzya, 2007b). While the two levels of political decentralization are key, Kauzya (2007b) cautions us that, if we aim at efficiency, we need to go beyond transferring power to local governments to creating structural arrangements combining vertical and horizontal decentralization:

> While vertical decentralization transfers power and authority from central government to local government, horizontal decentralization empowers the local communities and enables them to receive and utilize the powers that are transferred to them especially in problem analysis, priority setting, planning and constantly demanding accountability from their local and national leadership or any governance actor at the local level (pp.4-5).

However, effective horizontal decentralization requires legal-back up promoting the participation of local communities in setting up priorities, planning, and making decisions. The literature suggests there is no stand-alone form of decentralization. Scholars such as Kauzya (2007b), Juma et al. (2014) and Welsh and McGinn (1999) believe that successful decentralization usually needs to accommodate some aspects of devolution, de-concentration, delegation, and delocalization. Thus, creating a pure form of decentralization might be impossible.

African countries have had different motives for choosing decentralization. For example, in Rwanda, decentralized governance was required for development after the 1994 genocide and was intended to help Rwandans to determine their own destiny (Kauzya, 2007b), whereas in

1994, Tanzania chose decentralization partly to overcome the economic crisis of the 1970s and 80s. The economic policies of the global actors, notably the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Bank (IMF), influenced the education policies (URT, 1995). The main thrust of education decentralization reforms in Tanzania is to make the lower levels, including schools, autonomous by providing them with decision-making power and authority in order to encourage community participation in the management of schools. As Kauzya (2007a) suggests, no matter what the motive or context of decentralization is, a mechanism must be in place for agreeing about how power and authority will be shared, and this mechanism should not be taken for granted.

Decentralization by devolution and conflicts

The motives behind decentralization by devolution are to enhance decision-making and participation by the target groups and to improve quality and management's efficiency. In other words, decentralization by devolution involves devolving and decentralizing powers in order to create more autonomous Local Government Authorities with an aim of improving and strengthening governance (Tidemand & Msami, 2010). This kind of governance is likely to be well received as an alternative to centralised governance. However, Kauzya (2007a) and Juma et al. (2014) warn that decentralization by devolution does not in itself guarantee community participation, which is the fundamental objective of decentralization and good governance. Establishing the means for participation is vital and requires patience, sustained negotiations, and conflict-solving skills. Conflicts in devolution have several causes including the following:

- Unconstitutional (unilateral) declarations based on power preservation tendencies (Colombage, as cited in Juma et al., 2014).
- Implementing devolution without having proper mechanisms for participation;
- Rushing the transition and dealing with budgetary fiscal stress;

- Failing to set up realistic structural arrangements and practices for empowering the local stakeholders; and
- Failing to understand a country's historical linkage to the new devolution system (Juma et al., 2014).

Effective institutions are the key for mitigating devolution conflicts. However, according to Gunawardena (1995) (as cited in Juma et al., 2014), decentralization has been handicapped by centralism, inefficient local participation, and politicians who retain decision-making powers instead of sharing them with the people. While devolution ideally brings governance closer to people by giving them a sense of participation, conflicts in governance can threaten the whole process. Mitigating conflicts is possible, but requires the good will of the government (Juma et al., 2014). To ensure the effectiveness of decentralization and to prevent conflicts, we need to de-colonize the devolution policy and contextualize the governance process. Conflicts occur when a policy does not fit well in its context because the global actors have implemented the same decentralization policy for all contexts. Abdi (2015) explains:

> The challenge is that anything that is classified as global, especially when it is uni-theoretically conceived and produced, can too easily be coopted into serving neo-colonial, neo-imperial or even neo-patriarchy systems that deliberately globalize neoliberal ideologies which de-legitimate the needs and aspirations of marginalised populations (p. 3).

The details of a decentralization policy as developed by global actors require us to reflect on its underlying features.

Historical genesis and African perspective of rights/ autonomy

Meaning of autonomy. Autonomy involves elements of choice and control of one's actions. Cazdyn (2010) suggests that "Autonomy relates to the relative degree of choice and control (power and agency) one has over his or her actions" (p. 53). Autonomy's meaning

changes with time and space, particularly the "qualitatively different meanings and effects of autonomy" (p. 53). In this case, meaning is context-specific and is socially created and owned.

Origin of autonomy. The devolution reforms emphasize autonomy, which is a genuine move towards efficiency. Nevertheless, we need to understand autonomy's origins. From an historical perspective, the word "autonomy" takes its meaning from a Greek word connoting 'to give laws to oneself,' which implies empowering individuals and social groups. This process may require individuals' and society's capacity for unlimited self-questioning, self-creation, and alteration. Autonomy is an integral component of the transformative functions (Harting, 2010). However, because the notion is tied to the concept of the "mature self-knowing and knowable individual and social subject" (Harting, 2010, p. 175), autonomy of this nature is rooted in an Eurocentric perspective**.**

If we consider autonomy in relation to rights and view it from the lenses of its historical genesis and the philosophical basis of rights, particularly in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, we will understand that "autonomy" is a Western concept. First, as Mwangi (2012) and Rwiza (2010) state, the environment in which autonomy was initiated was the English-speaking democratic West (the United States and France). Second, the content and perspective of the declaration is largely Western since most developers of the declaration came from the United States, South America, Europe and Canada. Since the global actors from the West, notably the WB and IMF, are spearheading the reforms and their contents (autonomy, competition and efficiency), these actors are likely to be influenced by liberal democracy's notion of autonomy.

Advocates of liberal democracy, such as Hayek (1944), privilege the individual over the group. He believes that individual autonomy increases the efficiency and effectiveness of any undertaking. Likewise, the values of human rights are grounded on individualism rather than on collectivism, reflecting the Western understanding of human rights (Mwangi, 2012; Rwiza, 2010). The African perspective, on the contrary, places the rights of the community above those of the individual, while also recognising the individual's presence as part of the community. Plurality is the hallmark of African humanism. Rwiza (2010) draws from the African Charter to present two fundamental principles regarding the position of the individual and the group. The African Charter views the "individual and people' rights (collective rights) as interlinked. [It focuses] on collective rights and an individual duty has a socialistic orientation but also reflects African Communitarianism. This ought to be considered in view of African culture and wisdom" (p. 163). Similarly, Mbiti (1970) states that "we" is central in the African understanding of rights: "I am because we are and since we are therefore I am" (p. 144). From this standpoint, and as Mwangi (2012) explains, "I" must always operate within the "we".

Ubuntu African philosophy: Meaning and applicability

Ubuntu philosophy is an important African form of humanism based on a collective ontology (Abdi, Shultz, & Pillay, 2015; Assié-Lumumba, 2016; Boon, 1996; Swanson, 2015). In Africa, the sense of community is strong, and the *Umuntu* in Zulu language accurately expresses this predominant worldview in African culture. The Zulu, one of the largest tribes in South Africa, believe that a person should be seen in relation to other persons. Also, in Xhosa, which is one of South Africa's eleven official languages, the spirit of Ubuntu is expressed through the words *Umntu ngumntu ngabanye abantu*, meaning that people are always seen through other

people, and that one is human because he or she belongs to the human community and has a duty to view and treat others accordingly (Chaplin, 1996). As Neville (2008) explains, according to the Ubuntu philosophy, a person is seen as a person because of other people. Elaborating, Boon (2006) explains the life force of Ubuntu:

> One's humanity can, therefore, only be defined through interaction with others. It is believed that the group is an important as an individual, and a person's most effective behaviour is in the group. All efforts towards this common good are lauded and encouraged, as are all acts of kindness, compassion and care and the great need for human dignity, self-respect and integrity (p. 32).

Ubuntu is a universal philosophy. In the above quotation and as Chaplin (1996) adds, Ubuntu is concerned with what it means to be human and places self-interest below the good of the community. At its core is the spirit of service to people, respect for others, honesty, and trust. In Ubuntu philosophy, humanity is positioned as an integral part of the eco-system, in which humans have a communal responsibility for sustaining life. Natural resources are shared equally among and between generations. Thus, Ubuntu emphasizes fairness to all, compassion, and collective respect for human dignity. The focus of Ubuntu is on the people.

Here, Chaplin (1996) joins Swanson (2015), who views Ubuntu as an African indigenous contribution to ideas regarding social and ecological well-being. The Ubuntu philosophy, which emphasizes social African humanism and the spiritual way of collective being, "provides the possibilities for replacing, reinventing and reimagining alternatives to the current destruct[ive] path of increasing global injustice, as it is also offers opportunities to decolonize recuperative global citizenship discourse and coercive Western epistemologies" (Swanson, 2015, p. 33). Swanson further calls for going beyond decolonization to indigenization in order to give a voice

to the previously silenced local, non-Western voices expressing an ethical philosophical position for carrying out democratic transformation.

Ubuntu philosophy locates itself uniquely in the decolonizing process because this philosophy focuses on the ethics of collectiveness as opposed to individualism. The Nobel Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu has demonstrated the power and practicability of Ubuntu philosophy as a way of knowing what it means to be human. Desmond Tutu became the chair of the post-apartheid South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1995. Swanson (2015) indicates that in the process of reconciliation, Tutu advocated

> the philosophy and spiritual power of Ubuntu in the recovery of truth through narratives of atrocities from the apartheid era. He [Tutu] also viewed it as necessary in the more important and subsequent process of forgiveness, reconciliation, transcendence and healing that arise through the cathartic process of truth-telling (p. 34).

Tutu opted for forgiveness, negotiations and compromise. As a philosophy of African epistemology, Ubuntu pays attention to human relations and the moral and spiritual consciousness of what it means to be human and in a relationship with an-Other. This philosophy, which focuses on collectiveness or community, asserts that the strength of the community comes from its members' support for each other and that through mutualism, empathy, generosity and community commitment, dignity and identity are achieved (Assié-Lumumba, 2016; Rwiza, 2010, Swanson, 2015).

Distinguishing African ways of knowing from those of the West, Asante (1987) and Swanson (2015) suggest that in African modes, knowing is conceptualised as circular, organic and collectivist, whereas in the West, it is linear, unitized, materialistic and individualistic. Traditional African thought seeks interpretation, expression, understanding, and moral and social

harmony, whereas Western ways of knowing are pre-occupied with verification, rationalism, prediction, and control, based on scientific norms.

Nyerere (1968) and Nkrumah (1966) have shown the value of Ubuntu as a practical philosophy for resisting colonialism and capitalism through African socialism. For example, Nyerere (1968) used the epistemologies of Ubuntu to develop his philosophy of African socialism through Ujamaa (brotherhood). His philosophy is people-centred and emphasizes peace, unity, and solidarity.

Similarly, Nkrumah (1966) suggests that from an African perspective, "socialism" recognizes the restoration of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles. Referring to their context, Nkrumah (1966) suggests that the main aim of socialism is

> to remold African society in the socialist direction; to reconsider African society in a manner that the humanism of traditional African life re-asserts itself in a modern technical community. Consequently, socialism in Africa introduces a new social synthesis in which modern technology is reconciled with human values, in which the advanced technical society is realized without the staggering social malefactions and deep schisms of capitalist industrial society (p. 3).

The author adds that many African societies' basic organization in different periods of history manifested a certain level of communalism. Moreover, behind any organization there was a humanist philosophy that is worth maintaining. In any community, each member regarded his or her wellbeing in terms of the welfare of the group. Nkrumah (1966) suggests that "What socialist thought in Africa must recapture is not the structure of the 'traditional African society' but its spirit, for the spirit of communalism is crystallized in its humanism and its reconciliation of individual advancement with group welfare" (p. 5).

African traditional society is based on egalitarian principles, so that each person is viewed as an end in himself or herself, and not just as a means to an end. Thus, this society guarantees each individual opportunity for development. This guarantee implies that social and economic policies need to be based on a scientific perspective and must work towards achieving that promise. Thus, any meaningful humanism begins from egalitarianism and, therefore, also from socialism and scientific socialism.

Nkrumah cautions us that

> the defeat of colonialism and even neo-colonialism will not result in the automatic disappearance of the imported patterns of thought and social organizations. For those patterns have taken root, and are in varying degrees' sociological features of our contemporary society. Nor will a simple return to the communalist society of ancient Africa offer a solution either (pp.6-7).

The difficulty he observes regarding a mere return to communalism is that African society is faced with contemporary problems including those emanating from political subjugation, economic exploitation, and increases in population. Given the evolution of society, a simple return to communalism is impossible. Basically, when one society encounters another, the encounter results in, on balance, a forward movement, a trend in which each "society assimilates certain useful attributes of the other" (Nkrumah, 1966, p. 7). A social dialectical process with its ups and downs is, on balance, an upward trend. Nkrumah (1966) suggests that any new African society should be one "in which the quintessence of the human purposes of traditional African society reasserts itself in a modern context - forward, in short, to socialism, through policies that are scientifically devised and correctly applied" (p. 7).

Likewise, based on Ubuntu epistemologies, the philosophy also offers hope and shows the possibility of contributing to human rights beyond an African context. Swanson (2015) draws

from Murithi's (2004) conception of a culturally inclusive human rights and its relevance for a new international charter. Murithi suggests a reformulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 in order to focus on social justice and economic justice and the obligation to support them. Murithi emphasizes a re-articulation of human rights from an Ubuntu perspective, which focuses on the obligations that people have to each other.

African leadership

A common proverb states that the stability of families contributes to the state's harmony and prosperity. Also, most Africans believe that the power of the family is the power of the whole society and vice versa. While noting that all leadership starts in a family because a good family has good leaders, we need to be aware that families have different kinds of leadership and that family leadership can be a model for social leadership.

Participatory family leadership. The African family is composed of a father, mother, children and members of the parents' extended families. Kasongo (2007) suggests that in this context, the concept of leadership involves the "skill or the capacity of taking responsibility for matters that encompass all areas of life in society, i.e., the economic, the social, the political and the religious [where] all these aspects are reflected in family life" (p. 64). The family, as a social group and entity that needs development, requires leadership. The father and mother in their capacity as parents are the main leaders. Their core responsibility is to sustain their family by ensuring their family members' welfare. The family leadership is committed to protecting the family's members, and this role "requires love, caring, self-respect and respect of others, loyalty, wisdom, etc. Without love, parents cannot sacrifice themselves and cannot carry out their

responsibility" (Kasongo, 2007, p. 64). Parents' self-respect and respect for the family members help the parents to establish and maintain strong, respectful family leadership.

In a family, the parents teach their children to be responsible for their own lives and their environment (Abdi, 2002, Kasongo, 2007, Nyerere, 1968). Moreover, every member of the family is responsible for contributing to the common good of the family. With this kind of leadership style, leadership is a shared activity and not a one-person activity. While the decision-making process involves all aspects of life and is the responsibility of the parents, they still must train their children to be good decision-makers. In this training process, parents can create and maintain order, on the one hand, and empower members, on the other hand, to carry out "human and environmental development" (Kasongo, 2007, p. 70). The most important aspect is that responsible parents are the role models for their children as future leaders and also government leaders, who are responsible for practicing participatory leadership (Kasongo, 2007).

Participatory leadership is common in most families (Kasongo, 2007). However, some families practice *patriarchal and exclusive family leadership*. In this leadership style, although both parents are leaders, the father always dominates the family. This style excludes the mother from guiding the family and making decisions, because the patriarchy regards women as inferior.

"Patriarchy" is a system that operates by creating privileges for men and oppression against women (Johnson, 2005; Neuenfeldt, 2015). Generally, this system's oppressive kind of family leadership (Kasongo, 2007) is a poor model for social leadership. Given the unique role of each individual in contributing to the common good, we need to ask the following questions: Who benefits from such a system of privileges? What are these privileges? In what ways do they lead to oppression, and who suffers as a result? After answering these questions, we need to

develop tools, processes, strategies, and policies for deconstructing the system (Neuenfeldt, 2015). The fact is that, although we are in the system, we can still find positive ways of living in it (Johnson, 2005).

Responsible leadership

Mugambi (2007) reminds us that the words "education" and "development" are commonly over-used, misused and abused today. He argues that "education" is used as a synonym for "schooling" and "literacy," and that in nations labelled "developing countries, "development" "has been commonly used as an indicator of the extent to which a former colony has adopted the North Atlantic mode of industrial production, economic organisation and political governance" (p. 79). Although these words are taken for granted, the urgent need to pay attention to them is aggravated by globalization, because they carry a variety of meanings and connotations.

Mugambi (2007) views education as a socialization process where individuals are prepared to become responsible adults in their communities. In contrast, schooling, as an institutional-based process, deals with inculcation of knowledge and skills in order to achieve specific objectives. Objectives derived from policy are always either ignored or not questioned by students and teachers. From the African perspective, the words "education" and "development" as commonly used are externally defined and imposed on Africans. The developed countries, for example, use the GNP and GDP as macro-economic statistics indicating "development" and ignore the micro-economic level and the local cultural specifics of the peoples in each country. Throughout the history of colonialism, schooling was used to alienate Africans from their "own selves, their history, cultural and religious heritage" (Mugambi, 2007, p. 85). In this process,

Africa's cultural and religious heritage is labelled as a hindrance to development while the 'developed' celebrate their own cultural and religious traditions. Development needs to be aligned with culture by allowing for cultural and religious self-critique. For example, the European Renaissance, which is the foundation of modernity, was a revival and re-interpretation of the European cultural and religious heritage (Mugambi, 2007).

In the African context, people can benefit from the diversity of resources for developing responsible leadership. For example, African education offers rich resources that are being replaced by "schooling." Table 1 compares traditional African and post-colonial African schooling.

Table 1: Resources from traditional African education and the emerging resources from post-colonial African schooling.

	Traditional African Education	**Post-Colonial African Schooling**
Place of learning	Home	School and college
Teachers	Parents and relatives	Professionals
Knowledge content	Distilled from African heritage	Imported from Western-culture
Skills	Ways and means of survival	For salaried employment
Techniques	Apprenticeship	Theories and experiments
Pedagogy	Oral and practical	Textual and theoretical
Values	Self-esteem and integrity	Upward mobility
Beliefs	From African religious heritage	From secular philosophies or modernity
Norms	Cooperation and diligence	Competition and opportunism
Attitude	Caring and sharing	Individualism and exploitation
Practices	From each according to ability	According to job description
Impact	Mutual responsibility	Selfishness and self-centredness
Consequence	To each according to need	Corruption and inefficiency

Source: Mugambi (2007) pp. 88-89

Post-colonial externally imposed values, norms, attitudes and practices are harmful because they are not blended in with traditional African values. As Mugambi (2007) suggests,

within every culture a creative tension always exists between the past and the future. From this tension, innovations can be realised when transformative tendencies overcome conservatism, and changes become acceptable norms. To achieve desirable transformation, "schooling systems in post-colonial Africa [need] to take seriously the traditional values, norms, attitudes and practices as a prerequisite for endogenous development" (p. 90). Asante (2007) makes a similar point by observing that apart from an importation of values, which in the first place is unfair to Africa, Africans have not yet achieved an authentic social transformation because, according to him, the general outlook of post-colonial Africa is still traditional. In this context, Mugambi (2007) comments that when values, norms, attitudes and practices are externally imposed, creating constructive change is difficult.

People need to be aware that whenever and wherever external forces enter into a culture, a conflict arises between the foreign and local advocates of the new culture and the preservers of the old culture. Thus, as Mugambi (2007) suggests, responsible leadership in education and development requires space for re-training and re-orienting the people concerned with the preparation of youth for responsible adulthood and citizenship. According to this author, "Schooling and skills training is important but inadequate. Inculcation of moral values, norms and attitudes must become an integral part of the process of education [since] only in this way will responsible leadership be enhanced and sustained in the long term" (p. 95). Thus, every stakeholder needs to take an active role in realizing this mission, and the whole process needs to be disengaged from colonization.

Globalization and responsible leadership

Asante (2007) asks how we can best use Western education for what Mugambi (2007) refers to as "schooling" to support traditional African values, norms and practices in the context of the dynamic culture of globalization. The key is not to choose between the traditional African education and post-colonial African schooling based on their dichotomy in pedagogical approaches and epistemologies, but "how to blend the two in the nexus of post-colonial education that will be both critically transformative and conservative, and holistic" (Asante, 2007, p. 100).

However, before blending the two, it must be clear that "globalisation is not a substitute for national and local aspirations. Rather, it is a distraction which fragments local and national initiatives in response to the pressures of advertising and propaganda from the more powerful nations and transnational corporations" (Mugambi, 2007, p. 90).

Practically, the impact of globalization is felt at the national, local, and community levels. The areas, including Africa, that have minimal ability to influence globalization, need to understand its nature and its impact in order to use it to benefit development. Kauzya (2007b) cautions, "If central governments are finding it difficult to influence globalization, local/community level leaders must find it even harder" (p. 8).

In his seminal work *The Lexus and the Olive tree*, Thomas Friedman (2000) describes globalization as "everything and its opposite" He suggests that it can be

> incredibly empowering and incredibly coercive. It can democratize opportunity and democratize panic. It makes the whales bigger and the minnows stronger…While it is homogenizing cultures; it is also enabling people to share their unique individuality farther and wider. It makes us want to chase after the Lexus (the essence of modern life) more intensely than ever and cling to our olive trees (our traditional ways) more tightly than ever. It enables to reach into the world as never before and it enables the world to reach each of us as never before (p. 406).

From the African perspective, regardless of globalization's two faces, its extensive impact on lives creates a continuous tension. For example, globalization can create an identity crisis when it displaces people from their traditional cultures (Harrison & Huntington, 2000), and this crisis can threaten the spirit of belonging to a family, a community or a nation even though the African sense of community is very strong. I am aware of the powerful influence of globalization, and I do not intend to embrace a static African perspective. However, we must have a system in place that matches with the local context. Mwangi (2012) and Rwiza (2010), for example, borrow from both Western modernity and African tradition, on the one hand, and from Western tradition and African modernity, on the other hand. In other words, developing an appropriate system may imply borrowing appropriate aspects and adapting them (Assié-Lumumba, 2016). Overall, globalization has created an urgent need to develop integrative and entrepreneurial leadership in Africa. The fundamental questions are what kind of people and what kind of leadership do we require? For the former, Asante (2007) argues:

> In our educational leadership, we must engage the whole person and not only the mind, given that the deepest learning is that which involves the whole person. The whole person can hardly be a whole person without the community which informs and defines the person. Human beings are gregarious. It means that a person's wholeness is defined by the community as the context of the individual human being taken into consideration (p. 106).

This argument suggests that we need to return to our roots of plurality, connectivity, and diversity. The author, by emphasizing holism, suggests that everything exists in a relationship to everything else. This idea promotes the logic of human relationships existing within a community, and of diversity, which does not undermine individuality. In such a community,

human responsibility is guided by ethical values, is holistically inclusive, and is free from any kind of discrimination.

For the kind of leadership we need in a globalised context, Kauzya (2007b) provides key insights. This author suggests the four essential leadership skills are integrative, entrepreneurial, administrative and operative.

Figure 1 provides a framework for appropriate leadership.

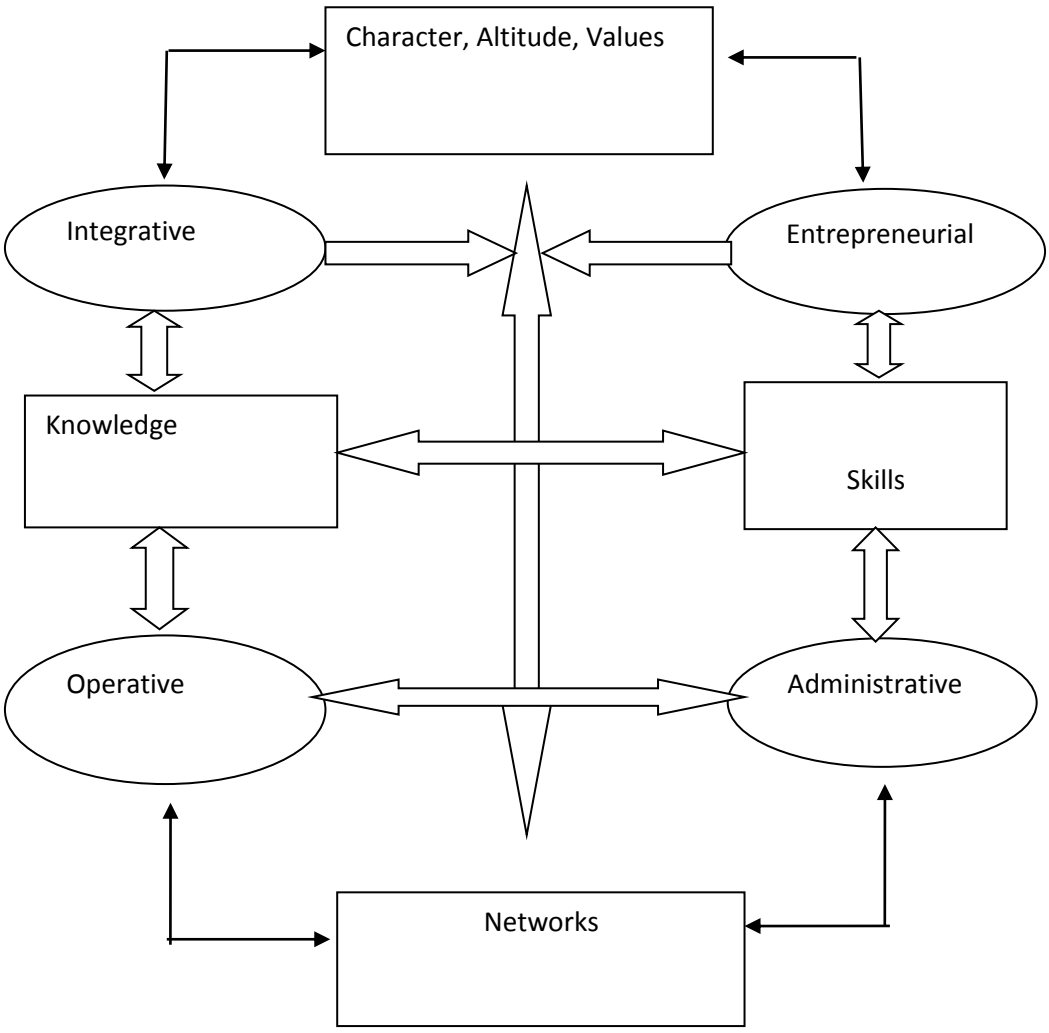

Figure 1: The leadership framework (Source: Kauzya (2007b).

Integrative ability is required to redefine one's position and to integrate it into the global village without losing one's individuality. This integrative process, which should be reflected at every level, makes a community or an organisation (an institution such as a school) accepted by others as an equal player. On the other hand, entrepreneurial ability is the key for visioning and strategizing. It involves analyzing the past, present and future as the basis for mapping out the way forward. This ability is required in all forms of leadership. Moreover, entrepreneurial ability is not necessarily associated with making a profit. As Kauzya (2007b) argues,

> Entrepreneurial ability is necessary to make people participate in planning for and believ[ing] in their future. Entrepreneurial leadership, within the context of global governance is crucial because even if under globalization the world becomes a small village, the benefits and the challenges within this small village can only be perceived and harnessed by those with an entrepreneurial mindset and agility (p. 14).

Administrative ability is essential for adhering to laws, regulations, and due process, and using scarce resources, whereas operative ability focuses on execution. Action always either builds or destroys trust. Kauzya (2007b) concludes that "a well-balanced leader will have an appropriate mix of integrative, entrepreneurial, administrative, and operative abilities supported by adequate knowledge, skills, networks, in a character that is driven by appropriate values and attitudes" (p. 17).

Conclusion

Africa's possession of adequate local knowledge as reflected in its practices of development enabled Africa to flourish "over millennia in the historiographical points and platforms of explaining, doing, and achieving" (Shizha & Abdi, 2014, p. 3). Africans must acknowledge that because of globalization, change is inevitable, but the change process requires the inclusion of African indigenous knowledge systems and discourses of development,

particularly in the development of policies and programs that will affect the African people. Such inclusion calls for the decolonization of policies and programs (contextualizing) when developing partnership between Africans and external actors. The following chapter on methodology covers the issues of epistemology, ontology, and this study's methods for data gathering and analysis, as well as trustworthiness and research ethics.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction

Two main beliefs informed this study: (1) the belief that education reform needs to be seen in relation to the restructuring of the economic and social relations among individuals, the state, and the powerful actors who influence the nature and direction of education (Blackmore and Sachs, 2007; Crossley, 2000; Jones, 2007); and (2) the belief that neoliberal policies have emphasized market values in social policies that are diminishing the public space and ignoring the need to consider their local context (Ball, 1986; Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Habermas; 1991; Said, 2000; Shultz, 2013a). With these beliefs in mind, and inspired by the work of Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), Fanon (1961/2004), Said (2000), Shultz (2013a) and Wagenaar (2011), I developed a methodology with a decolonizing nature and intention. To do so, I used Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) method of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) to trace the (dis)connections between the visible and hidden agendas regarding decentralization's influence on principals' experiences, particularly on the management of their instructional and managerial roles.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce PDA as a methodology and thus, to explain the modalities used to explore the principals' experiences and decentralization's impact on their roles. Drawing from Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) PDA framework, which analyzes a policy in terms of its circumstantial premise, means-goal, values, and goals (expected outcomes) and its use of practical reasoning (reasoning for action), in analyzing these factors, I conducted an analysis that enabled me to reveal the open and hidden agendas in decentralization policies regarding principals' functions. My analysis of the interviews broadly focused on the

circumstantial premise, means goal, values, and goals. Also the analysis extended beyond these topics by identifying emerging themes and paying attention to the respondents' language. For example, I considered the respondents' artifacts, non-verbal expressions and emphasis. This study of the principals' experiences in the context of decentralization in Tanzania, and decentralization's impact on the principals' ability to manage their roles uses a qualitative case study design guided by interpretive inquiry. Thus, I will initially describe the qualitative research and case study design and then explain how PDA, which guides this study, informs its ontological and epistemological perspectives. Next, I will discuss the methods used to select the participants, collect data, and conduct the analysis. I also explain some of the limitations and delimitation of this methodology and design. Finally, I explain the way I ensured trustworthiness and dealt with ethical considerations.

Qualitative research

As a researcher, I involved myself in making sense of the principals' experiences of decentralization, particularly of how they are managing their roles. This focus put my study in an interpretive inquiry and constructivist paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ontologically, the constructivist paradigm is based on relativism, whose proponents believe that

> [r]ealities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions. (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110)

Thus, according to constructivism, no single reality exists outside of the knower, for reality construction is the cognitive process of each individual and results in multiple realities (Merriam, 2009; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). For this reason, reality is

subjective, and, therefore, principals have different views regarding policy development and the implementation process.

Constructivism

I had to establish a systematic inquiry procedure for my work regarding principals' experiences in managing their roles. My motive was to find out what meanings principals attach to their world, since "qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their world, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). Qualitative research is an interpretive research perspective, and given that reality is socially constructed, and that multiple constructions of the same event are possible, I had to use both the participants' answers to my questions, and principals' context in order to construct my interpretations (Merriam, 2009).

I focused on my respondents and their contexts to develop an understanding of their world and their experiences' subjective meanings. This process enabled me to consider multiple meanings for the participants and to interpret responses and contexts according to my experience. According to Cresswell (2007) and Merrian (2009), during individuals' interactions with each other, they negotiate subjective meanings by applying social, cultural, and historical norms, and this process leads to social constructivism. In other words, individuals' interactions with their context provide the experiences that shape the individuals' reality. In addition, as Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain, "The nature of social construction suggests that individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction between and among investigator and respondents" (p.111). During my interactions with my participants, I had to consider several factors including power relations and language. For example, bearing in mind the role of the

context in shaping reality, and the role of language in facilitating or limiting understanding, I used a clear and familiar language (Kiswahili) when conversing with my respondents.

Aware of the landscape in which qualitative research operates in a complex context consisting of five historical moments ranging from the traditional to the post-modern or present moments, I was mindful of the parameters of a complex historical field in which the epistemological and ontological position and emphasis have changed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). For instance, whereas in the traditional moment, epistemological theorising was associated with positivism, "the postmodern moment is characterised by a new sensibility that doubts all previous paradigms" (p. 2). This sensibility influences postmodern researchers' methods of operation, including their evaluation mechanisms, and desire to give their respondents a voice in the research process. In my study, the use of open-ended questions satisfies this desire. Wagenaar (2011), for example, argues that qualitative methods of obtaining subjective meaning can give a "voice to otherwise excluded and marginalised groups" (p. 75).

Supporting this position, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) assert that, in order to capture many voices with their various perspectives, qualitative research is relevant because it "is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This approach means that researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 2). Since the new paradigm of inquiry uses multi-methods, and since methods are not the only aspects that ensure delivery of context-grounded answers, I included the interpretation process in my work (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011).

The key role of a qualitative researcher is to understand how the participants interpret their experiences and how they construct their reality and the meaning they attach to it (Merriam, 2009). Therefore, my role was to make sense of the context by collecting data, analyzing the context, and making descriptions that would eventually be shared. Interpretation and meaning-making were achieved by analyzing the principals' accounts of their experiences and their contexts and by studying key policy documents in order to learn about the arguments for and the outcomes of decentralization. By engaging fully in my research, and given my experience in the field of education, one of my key roles was to be aware of my own experience, pre-conceived ideas, and understanding, so that, and as also suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), my subjectivity would not bias my analysis.

Qualitative case study research

In my case study research, I explored the principals' experiences of decentralization in two councils in Tanzania (one rural district and one urban municipal council), in order to identify decentralization's impact on the principals' management of their roles. As Merriam (2009) suggests, a case study can be understood as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (p. 40). Other authors consider a case study in terms of the choice of the research sample. Stake (2005) considers case- study research as less of a methodological choice than "a choice of what is to be studied" (p. 443). By studying the principals' experiences in the Baraka and Tumaini councils and focusing on principals who had served before and were continuing to serve in decentralization policy implementation, I established clear boundaries and units for what I intended to study (Merriam, 2009; Smith, 1978). As well, I conducted this study in the principals' real-life context where observation was part of the research process. Yin (2008)

suggests, “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). As I involved myself in a systematic inquiry, I developed a research design that matches my research question (Merriam, 2009). My research sample has specific features, because principals have specific life experiences and distinctive views that justify collecting data from them (Oliver, 2010). Thus, the case study design is appropriate for this study. Technically, my study required me to identify what was happening to my participants and to learn how and why it was occurring. In order to achieve these objectives, I had to have in-depth contextual knowledge. Therefore, my role was to strive to learn the participants’ cultural values, resources, routines, relationships, goals, and challenges (Ellis, 2009). Thus, “the purpose of case study research is to gain in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning for those involved” (Ellis, 1997, p. 2).

In my study, I purposively selected six principals from two different councils. I interviewed and observed these principals in order to allow for an in-depth study that would include descriptive explanations of a phenomenon’s interpretation. In addition to the principals, six deputy principals, two Council Education Officers, and three policy makers shared their views on how the principals were managing their roles in the context of the decentralization of the management of primary schools. My broad aim was to obtain the respondents’ views regarding the principals’ work experiences in the context of decentralization and to identify its impact on their roles, and thus, to obtain useful insights that could help the principals in the future. These additional interviews gave more information about the principals and provided insights from some major stakeholders. For example, deputy principals are key supporters of

principals, and education officers and policy makers want them to achieve the policy objectives. In this process, I was the primary instrument of data collection and interpretation. Although case-study data are distinctive and unique, they do, to some extent, reflect characteristics of other similar situations (Merriam, 2009; Oliver; 2010). However, my findings do not have external validity. They cannot be generalized because, for example, of the participants' potential to oversimplify or exaggerate their situations, and the researcher's potential bias when interpreting the participants' responses (Merriam, 2009).

Positioning PDA: Discussion of ontology and epistemology

The purpose of analyzing in political discourse is to uncover hidden agendas by showing what has taken place. As Wagenaar (2011) puts it, the purpose is "to describe and explain, how and in what ways, the policy fails; what impediments and constraints of implementation will give [give] the policy the shape it eventually comes [has come] to have on the ground" (p. 166). In other words, the objectives of my analysis were to provide information on the problems of a complex social and economic context, on the one hand, and, by focusing on policies or programs, to evaluate the process of their formulation and implementation, on the other hand (Fischer, 1995; Yanow, 2000). Political discourse analysis can focus either on anticipated outcomes or on a policy's implementation results. My analysis focused on the contextual reality**.**

PDA prioritizes argumentation; consequently, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) believe that the "analysis of political discourse should centre upon analysis of practical argumentation" (p. 1) **(**Argumentation for action). As argumentation deals with meaning, I was automatically involved in interpretation and, thus, was dealing with the interpretation of the policies that I was studying. Fay (1996) defines interprevitism "as the view that comprehending human behaviour,

products and relationship consists solely in reconstructing the self-understandings of those engaged in creating or performing them" (p. 113).

The role of critical discourse analysis including political analysis is to place "power, conflict and struggle in the heart of its analytic approach" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 158). Thus, the analytical process will attempt to "reveal the hidden contradictions and tensions that flow from structural power differentials in everyday policy initiatives" (p. 158). Decentralization policy was a product of the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Given that they resulted from a neoliberal agenda (George, 1999), my role was to explore how neo-liberalism, through the decentralization policy, was framing the experiences of the principals and affecting their ability to manage their roles. Thus, I wanted to discover the influence of power on the principals' functions whether this influence was from local or global sources or was direct or indirect.

Bevir and Rhodes (2004) argue, "Interpretive approaches begin with the insight that to understand actions, practices and institutions we need to grasp relevant meanings, the beliefs and preferences of the people involved" (p. 2). Thus, interpretive policy analysis deals with the meanings that shape both individual actions and institutions. This phenomenon is complicated because it deals with peoples' beliefs about their acting modalities, which correspond to epistemological and methodological trends in social science (Wagenaar, 2011). Thus, as a researcher, I was careful in handling the participants and asking questions because I was dealing with their beliefs, actions, and institutions.

Meaning is context-specific because groups, whose members share common norms, construct it. Therefore, "to explain something in an interpretive manner is to situate it in its proper context. By grasping the context, we make sense of whatever it is that needs to be made

sense of" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 23). Drawing on the social element of meaning, Fay (1975) explains why the meaning of an action makes sense to an individual: the meaning falls under a description "which is socially recognizable as the description of that action because it involves reference to certain social rules" (p. 75). However, the reference is not only to rules but also to a common shared understanding, conceptions, and modalities of acting. The challenge is to justify one's interpretation of a particular action.

Meaning is very complex. Because of its complexity, an interpretive researcher has to identify and analyse concrete, observable and accessible artifacts that have abstract meanings. To carry out this process, a researcher needs "to identify the artifacts that are significant carriers of meaning for the interpretive communities' relative to a given policy issue, and to identify those communities relevant to the policy issue that create or interpret these artifacts and meaning" (Yanow, 2000, p. 20). We live in a world of different interpretations, and thus, we need "to identify the communities' 'discourse': how they talk and act with respect to the policy issue" (p. 20). The purpose of this activity is to capture a community's meaning in terms of the community's values, beliefs, feelings, and artifacts. For example, the principals, as a community, are the key implementers of the decentralization policy. Therefore, each of these four factors was important for me. Moreover, being an active researcher in the field by visiting the schools and mingling with the school community allowed me to observe which symbols have meaning for my participants. In the entire research process, my role also was to identify contradictory meanings, which "are in conflict between and among groups and their conceptual sources" (Yanow, 2000, p. 20). During my research, I identified the commonalities and differences in the policy communities' responses and established the reasons for them.

Qualitative analysis plays a vital role in conceptualizing "the meaning that the world has for a particular population" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 33). This process brings us to the three states of meaning: hermeneutic, discursive and dialogical. Hermeneutic meaning pays attention not only to how individuals position themselves in the context of understanding, but also to how they make interpretations in that context. The role of the researcher is to make sense of individual agent's actions based on the context of shared insights and experience. Discursive meaning focuses mainly on issues related to the linguistic framework. For individual agents, these issues are less recognizable than other issues even though they are part of our everyday lives. A linguistic framework supports both legitimate or illegitimate beliefs and practices. Regarding this category of meaning, my role was to clarify how unnoticed patterns emerge historically and how they either hinder or support an individual agent (Wagenaar, 2011). On the other hand, "dialogical meaning focuses on the fundamentally social and practical nature of meaning" (pp. 40-41). Although individual agents hold meaning, the shared agency determines the meaning (Taylor, 1995; Wagenaar, 2011). Thus, the social interactions between agents, and agents and their context are the essence of meaning, and, therefore, meaning is socially shared. My role was to reveal how meaning is constructed at these three levels. The key factor in the categories of meaning is how each category works uniquely and hence distinguishes itself in terms of its analysis and ethical issues. While analyzing the different categories of meaning, I was aware not only of how meanings are constructed by using different methods, but also of the possibilities and limitations in every category. In this case, since principals shared the policy content and its common guidelines for policy implementation, and these factors were influencing how principals were interpreting the policy, their contexts contributed to shaping their reality and experience.

Through my interviews and my observations of the principals' everyday environments, I was able to learn the subjective meanings for the principals, in order to obtain information about the world of these individuals that was as accurate, dense, and precise as possible (Wagenaar, 2011).

While discussing knowing and meaning, Fay (1996) suggests that "to know someone else or ourselves requires not the ability to psychologically unite with them or ourselves at an earlier time, but the ability to interpret the meaning of the various states, relations, and processes which comprise their or our lives" (p. 25). Therefore, the process involves translation whereby the meaning of the entity or event is unfolded and rendered comprehensibly (Fay, 1996).

Qualitative methods enable individuals to express their views, perceptions, and feelings. As Wagenaar (2011) argues, "The most important contribution of qualitative research to public policy is to bring the perspective of the target audience into view. Building upon its ability to articulate subjective meaning qualitative policy research can give voice to otherwise excluded and marginalised groups" (p. 75). Thus, I gave the principals, as an "interpretive community" (Yanow, 2000, p. 20), the opportunity to discuss their experiences of decentralization and its impact on their roles. In their responses, the principals were likely to reveal the opportunities and challenges they were encountering in their policy implementation.

Study design and procedures.

I used multiple methods (participant observation, interviews, and document analysis) to gather data regarding the principals' experiences of decentralization and its impact on their instructional and managerial roles. The various methods enabled me to investigate the influence of the decentralization policies on the principals' functions and management of their roles in two councils in Tanzania. The two councils were chosen because of their settings: one council is rural

and the other is urban (The Ministry of Education treats them equally). These councils are located in two different regions. The position of the principals in such different settings provided an interesting context for examining the decentralization policies in terms of the influence of power, their limitations, and the strategies that principals were using as survival mechanisms.

I gained access to the schools through the Ministry of Education's research clearance on October 2, 2015. I had to visit regional and council authorities for research permission and information. At the council level, the authorities identified principals who had served before decentralization and were continuing to work in their positions. At the council level, the key places for me were the schools and council offices. I selected the council education officers and policy makers from the councils and ministry levels, respectively. Initially, I planned to interview two policy makers. However, the ministry officials frequently mentioned a retired policy maker, whom I later selected as a study participant (Refer to Table 2.)

The selection of principals was purposive, and where possible, I tried for gender balance. The following criteria guided my selection process.

1. Willingness to participate in the study.
2. Balanced representation from both councils.
3. Balance representation of both men and women respondents.
4. (For principals): service before and after the decentralization policy was implemented.
5. (For my other respondents): positions at either the council or the ministry level.

Table 2: Participant selection

Location	Schools	Principals		Deputy Principals		Education Officers		Policy Makers		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Baraka	3	2	1	1	2		1			7
Tumaini	3	3	-	-	3	1	-			7
Ministry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
	6	5	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	17

I used the purposive sampling technique for selecting my interviewees, a method that enabled me to choose specific participants to help me to understand the problem and to answer my research questions (Cresswell, 2009), as well as to maximize the variation (Wellington, 2000) within my research sample. From each of the Baraka and Tumaini councils, I chose three principals, each one from a different school (five males, one female); and their deputies (one male, five females); and the education officers (one male, one female). From the ministry I selected two policy makers (one male, one female) and a retired male policy maker.

All seventeen participants were each given an information letter (See Appendixes A & B) and consent form (See Appendix C) introducing them to the nature of the study and the conditions of their participation in case they wished to opt out. During our meeting prior to each semi-structured interview, I conducted a brief conversation with each of my respondents. In this conversation, I reminded them of their rights while participating in this study: the right to withdraw from the study at any time; the right to choose whether to be recorded; and the right to access the interview scripts for review and to request changes. As well, I explained the measures

that I would take to ensure the participants' anonymity. In the process, I obtained written and verbal consent from each participant to participate in the study and allow the interview to be audio-recorded. After transcribing the interviews, I took the transcripts in person to the participants to allow for review and additional input. Two participants provided additional information, which I added into the final draft of their transcripts.

The study methods: Interviews, document analysis and observation

Philosophically, the way researchers view ontological and epistemological questions determines the modes of data collection; therefore, how the researchers conceptualize reality and valid knowledge contributes to the choice of methods. A close relationship should also exist between the subject matter and the selection of methods (deMarrais, 2004, Oliver, 2010). Loseke (2012) suggests that a data-generating technique by its nature produces data that correspond with particular kinds of questions. Loseke further identifies experiments, fixed-question surveys, in-depth interviews, observation, and document analysis as five primary ways to generate social research data. Given the qualitative nature of my study, I used in-depth interviews, my observations of the participants in their local contexts, and document analysis to learn about the principals' experiences and knowledge of the policies that are framing the principals' experiences of decentralization. As Loseke (2012) confirms, "Empirical evidence for how people think/feel comes from asking them; empirical evidence for how people act comes from watching them" (p. 83). In my research, I used my observations not for evaluating behaviours but for interpretive purposes. As well, I used policy and program documents that provided a context for the interviews.

Interviewing, one of the common methods used in qualitative research, is "a process in which a researcher and participants engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study" (deMarrais, 2004, p. 54). I spent at least three days to interview each of the six principals and to observe them in order to learn and make sense of their discursive construction of decentralization and its impact on their roles. Each of the six principals had served in schools before and after the decentralization of primary school management. The other participants were six deputy principals, two Council education officers/administrators and three policy makers. The principals, deputy principals, and education officers were from two councils in two different regions, and from both urban and rural settings. The participants who were not principals shared their views on how principals were managing their roles in the decentralization context. For this group, the interviews ranged from one to two and a half hour. The process, which proved to be repetitive, involved theory, the participants' actions and words, the policy that was guiding the participants' practices, and my personal interpretations. My use of a combination of data-collection methods and techniques enabled me to obtain multiple perspectives, and I was able to confirm the responses and obtain clarification about emerging issues. This process helped to give me a better understanding of the complexity of the principals' decentralization context, particularly of the policies that were framing their experiences and of how the principals were responding. This understanding helped me to answer my research questions. In a post-colonial context, policy development and implementation are contingent on power and colonial relations involving the influence of powerful global actors and the influenced decisions of local policy makers (Carnoy, 1995; Fanon, 1961/2004; Shultz, 2013a). In line with the use of PDA, which

focuses on the policy premise, means-goal and expected state of affairs, the respondents provided rich insights.

Colonial power relations, notably those involving policy development and implementation, play an important role in my analysis. However, power relations and their effects regarding my position as a civil servant for about three decades in the education ministry are equally important. For instance, my position allowed for easy access to the ministry, region, council and school levels. Thus, I could engage in unfettered conversations with the principals and other respondents regarding the principals' experiences. In the entire process, I was aware of the qualities needed by a case-study researcher, including the ability to ask good questions, to be a good listener, to be flexible, to understand the subject matter, and to be aware of researcher biases and prejudices (Yin, 1994). I was also aware of the power differentials between the researcher and the researched, and the possibility of miscommunication and misinterpretation, especially in the context of unfamiliar cultural surroundings. As Weber (1986) comments, if the researcher does not have all the required qualities, communications might break down. Thus, a "balanced interview"

> might depend on the nature of the particular interview experience itself, on the nature of the relationship between interviewer and participant, on the preconceptions and power relations they bring to the interview, and on what happens after the interview is over, when the researcher decides how to deal with the experience. (p. 70)

In line with such a conception, Ellis (2006) suggests the need for researchers to adopt a heightened self-consciousness of their use of language when interacting with the research participants, in order to ensure the researchers' own words do not influence the responses. To adopt this suggestion, and recognizing the role of qualitative research as an important strategy in

dealing with subjective meaning, I followed Wagenaar's (2011) advice for qualitative researchers:

> For qualitative research to function as a strategy for exploring the subjective meanings of a particular 'interpretive community', it is necessary that, both in its method of data gathering, and in its explanatory strategies, it is firmly rooted in empirical reality. (p. 73)

I further discuss this issue in the Trustworthiness section of this chapter.

My research questions and theoretical framework called for specific attention to my research field and research participants. Through my research methods, I learned how the decentralization policies that were framing the principals' experiences were operating in the field. Thus, I collected relevant data by interviewing and observing my potential participants. This process did not aim at capturing reality from a positivist perspective, but at reflecting that reality construction is a cognitive process of individuals, and results in multiple realities (Merriam, 2009; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011). Thus, my role was to construct knowledge from the respondents' replies and their context, given that the goal of a qualitative researcher is to understand the "processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what those meaning are" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 49). The general assumption of qualitative research is that reality is socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011; Merriam, 2009; Wagenaar, 2011). In addition, Wagenaar (2011) suggests that researchers "cannot extract themselves from the situation of analysis because they are part of the process of inter-subjective understanding as are their subjects" (p. 62). In this case, I was completely engaged in the processes of interviewing and observing. Prior to my formal interviews, I visited informally with my participants. The interviews and their follow-ups also helped me to bridge the gap between my respondents and me.

Participant observation, interviews, document analysis

As Wellington (2000) suggests, participant observation positions the researcher as an active observer by allowing for participation in the study of the event. My participation in the study as an active observer situated me at a position where I could learn about the principals' experiences. Throughout my fieldwork, I took detailed field notes, which became the foundation for my later analysis. The logic behind my field notes was to keep records of the verbal and non-verbal communications and to record the tone of the events. Boostrom (1994) discusses the challenges facing researchers when they are trying to decide what they should pay attention to when conducting qualitative research. Boostrom suggests that the environment of the research itself should be the most important guide for a researcher. He argues that researchers should learn how and what to observe at the same time, and he makes the very important point that positioning ourselves in a subjective position without being self-focused can allow the environment to "speak to us" (p. 53). He lists six roles that he experienced during his extended observations in classrooms: the roles of video camera, playgoer, evaluator, interpretive inquirer, insider, and reflective inquirer. While every role has its own implications, Boostrom concludes, "One learns what to look at in classrooms by seeing them…I doubt there is any other way" (p. 64). One of the key challenges is that an environment changes and affects the data when an observer enters into it. Oliver (2010), for instance, writes that the presence of a stranger (the researcher) inevitably changes social interactions and thus, impacts both the researcher and the situation that he or she is trying to understand. To address this problem, I spent some time in each school to become familiar with with my respondents. Yanow (2000) suggests that researchers studying policies should familiarize themselves with the environment of the policy communities in order to

identify what is most important to them. During the whole process of my fieldwork, my central role was to create a context where I could access "local knowledge" (p. 38).

Interviews are the main sources of data in interpretive/ qualitative research in general and in interpretive policy analysis in particular: "deep qualitative interviewing and the systematic analysis of interview data are the core business of interpretive policy analysis" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 251).

The types of qualitative interviews that I used in my study were open-ended and semi-structured interviews, which are common in qualitative research. The assumption is that individual respondents view the world in different ways. Asking good questions is important in order to get good data. Since a researcher can improve interview questions through practice, I piloted the interview questions. The process involved the same categories of respondents, but with different individuals. Piloting is important because it allows researchers to practice their interviewing skills and to identify any questions that are confusing and thus need re-framing, questions that produce data irrelevant to the research subject, and questions recommended by the interviewees (Merriam, 2009). After piloting, I refined some of my questions. Ellis (2006) suggests the need for pre-interview activities because "a conversational relationship can be established through discussions of the pre-interview activity products, thus building rapport for [the] remaining parts of the interview" (p. 121). Prior to the interviews, I sent a Pre-Interview-Activity to all key respondents, in this case, principals, as way of initiating a conversational relationship with them. (See Appendix F.) Similarly, deMarrais (2004) explains that interviews benefit from good relationships between the participants and the researcher. Building rapport can help the researcher to know the participants and help them to recall and select memories to share.

One of the challenges of interviewing is to create conditions that enable a participant to recall significant experiences, to analyze them, and to reflect on their meaning. To overcome this challenge, I had follow-up interviews with the participants (Ellis, 2006) particularly the principals. The follow-up interviews enabled me to focus on issues that had emerged during the process of interviewing and were an opportunity to obtain more insights, clarification, and confirmation from the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985/1989; Merriam, 2009). I used interview guides **(**See Appendix D & E.) consisting of open-ended questions. My questions were in two categories. Appendix D presents the questions intended to ensure that all the principals discussed similar topics and responded to the same questions, which were open enough to allow for flexibility in the questioning and for exploring the ideas that emerged. Although my interview guide was essential, my role was to recognize that every participant was unique and to be flexible enough to tailor my questions "to fit comfortably into the experience of each interview" (deMarrais, 2004, p. 53). Similarly, Ellis (2006) argues that "the object of the interview is not to simply get answers to questions, but to learn what the topic of the research is about for the participant" (p.113). In other words, interviews go beyond normal conversations because interviews are a form of discourse whereby the participants and researcher, through their social relationship and conversation, create meaning (Milsher, 1986, p. 45). As Loseke (2012) suggests, "in-depth interviews are the only method that allows researchers to explore how people understand topics that are too complex to be reduced to the relatively simple and straightforward questions asked on surveys" (p. 87). However, although I had developed an interview guide with sample questions, in the course of interviewing and gaining experience, I modified some of my questions as my understanding deepened. I tape recorded all my interviews with respondents and

transcribed them ready for analysis. In the interview sessions, I recorded the emerging themes, notable issues and non-verbal communications that accompanied the respondents' words.

An interpretive researcher focusing on political discourse analysis uses text analysis as a source of interpretation. My field notes and interview transcripts, as well as the policy and program documents, were the "texts" I used to analyze the discursive constructions of the principals' experiences of decentralization and its impact on their management of their roles. The policy and program documents complemented the interviews by providing a context for them (Farrelly, as cited in Wagenaar, 2011). The objective of my policy analysis was to get a sense of the discourses that had emerged during the development and implementation of the decentralization policy. Studying all the councils and principals that were implementing this policy was not feasible, so I selected the Baraka district council and the Tumaini municipal council. In each council, I selected three principals to illuminate the policy context of the decentralization policy and to learn about its impact on the principals' management of their roles. The in-depth study of policy documents helped to create a foundation for assessing the principals' practices by analyzing the interview transcripts and my observation of the participants.

Initially, I collected the documents by using the University of Alberta Libraries. I obtained some documents from the authorities in Tanzania. Between 2012 and 2014, I was able to collect documents regarding the decentralization policies: the Tanzanians' Vision and Ministry of Education key policy and program documents including the ETP (1995), Education Sector Development Program (ESDP), Primary Education Development Programs (PEDP) (2002, 2006); and school-based management documents. I employed PDA and decolonizing theories to

analyze the discourses embedded in the policy documents and to examine them in terms of what they revealed about the power relations either among the actors in the policy itself, and among their influence on the principals' functions.

Argumentation is central in PDA because political discourse is fundamentally argumentative and primarily involves political debates. Consequently, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) believe that the "analysis of political discourse should centre upon analysis of practical argumentation" (p. 1). Given the centrality of the text in discourse analysis, the researcher needs to "focus upon the generic features of whole texts rather than isolated features of texts, and primarily on action, not on representations. In particular, analysis should focus on how discourses, as ways of representing, provide agents with reasons for action" (p. 1). The key issues for consideration include the policy content, the main normative claims presented, the different reasons given to support them, and the "rhetorical choices made, e.g., the particular linguistic formulations of premises, in relation to a particular strategy of action" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, pp. 119-120). Thus, my role was to identify "the claims to action; the goals, circumstances, values which support the proposed action, and then evaluate the argument by asking critical questions, following the dialectical approach" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 120).

Limitation/Delimitations

My study is a qualitative case study. A case study by its nature deals with a sample and a space that have specific features. Merriam (2009) defines a case study as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (p. 40). This definition suggests the conception of boundaries, which may involve either the research participants or the area to be studied. Thus, because I focused on a specific group in order to learn about its members' experiences, one of this study's

limitations is the issue of external validity or generalizability. In this study, the findings are not generalized to all jurisdictions implementing a decentralization policy. The main objective is to explain how the principals in Tanzania are adapting to their new roles, and, therefore to create an awareness of the new challenges these principals are facing.

This study is delimited to the primary-school head teachers' decentralization policy experience in Tanzania and this policy's impact on the management of their instructional and managerial roles after the 1994 Local Government Reform Program. This program initiated decentralization by implementing a devolution policy. Similar reforms occurred in many other countries. The global influences on this program justify the inclusion of global actors in this study because of their ability to shape the nature and direction of education. The study also reveals head teachers' strategies for managing their roles. Finally, the study is confined to primary school principals in two selected councils in Tanzania. My research population or "community of meaning" (Yanow, 2000, p. 20) was primary-school head-teachers who worked before the 1994 decentralization policy and were continuing to work after it. The external influence on the policy's establishment, the principals' experiences and the policy's impact on their roles are fundamental in my study. My qualitative interpretive orientation is consistent with the hermeneutical approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Thus, because hermeneutics is "the study of the interpretation of not only written material, but also of other sources of information transmission" (Oliver, 2010, p. 95), I used interviews as well as other sources. My sense-making of the principals' experience and my interpretation of policy documents follow Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) framework, which focuses on premise, means-goal and policy's expected

outcomes. Although the general objective of Tanzania's education reform was to achieve quality, this study is not about the students' achievements, access, or equity.

Trustworthiness considerations

The most important limitations of this research involve the nature of qualitative research compared to positivist research. My research is based on Lincoln and Guba's (1985/1989) assertion that no a single interpretation of truth, but only multiple constructions of reality are possible. This belief is widely used to assess the trustworthiness of research data. Lincoln and Guba further advise that any study's validity is based on the readers' judgement, as based on experience, knowledge and wisdom. Nonetheless, the researcher must select and present information in an unbiased and fairly manner. I use Guba and Lincoln (1981) and Lincoln and Guba's (1985/1989) conception of creditability and dependability to demonstrate the trustworthiness of my findings.

According to Guba & Lincoln (1981), "credibility" means the truth-value or internal validity of a study. In other words, credibility refers to the "degree of isomorphism between the study data and the phenomena to which they relate" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, pp. 104-105). To ensure the trustworthiness of the obtained data and their appropriate interpretation, or internal validity, I adhered to Merriam's (1989) two strategies: member checks and peer examination. As Lincoln and Guba (1985/1989) explain, member checks can be either informal or formal and can take place throughout a naturalistic study. During my interviews, I rephrased the participants' comments in order to confirm their intended meaning. In addition, the participants had opportunities to review the interview transcripts to identify and change passages that did not

accurately convey their intended meaning. In general, this process aims at assessing whether the researchers' interpretation "rings true" (Merriam, 2009, p. 217).

The term "fittingness" is used to refer to external validity or generalizability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). One of the features of case study research is its focus on a specific sample or area that has specific boundaries (Merriam, 1999), a characteristic that limits generalization of the research findings. The findings from this study focus on the principals' experiences in two councils regarding decentralization policies and their impact on the principals' management of their roles. This study's findings cannot be generalized to all areas implementing decentralization policies. However, by reviewing the level of the inter-case-study similarities that can be obtained from my findings, the reader can assess their transferability. Following Lincoln and Guba's (1985/1989) suggestion, I provide enough descriptive data to enable the reader to understand my findings.

Another criterion for ensuring trustworthiness is auditability. In a naturalistic study, this word refers to the concepts of consistency and reliability. To ensure the consistency and reliability of my findings, I used multiple methods (triangulation) in collecting data (Merriam, 2009): interviews, observations and document analysis. Also, while adopting an audit trail as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985/1989), I followed Merriam's (2009) suggestion to describe in "detail how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry" (p. 223). To ensure a smooth process, I wrote and kept record memos throughout my study.

Confirmability is another means for ensuring the trustworthiness of data. As Guba and Lincoln (1981) explain, confirmability or neutrality "shifts the burden of proof from the

information itself" (p. 126). In other words, confirmability relates to issues of fabrication, ensuring that the data and research findings are rooted in the research context as well as in the participants' experiences and not in the researcher's speculations. Aware of the need for confirmability, and in order to ensure the accuracy of my data and interpretations, I attended to the context's knowledge construction and minimized my biases. Thus, I "[reported my] data in such a way that it [could] be confirmed from other sources if necessary" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 126). One strategy I used often was to write regularly in my field notebook. During interviews, I recorded all key issues and their causes. In addition, after each interview, I wrote my personal reflections, which were later the basis for my analysis. These tools were key in mapping out my thought process and helped me to be self-critical throughout my research.

Ethical considerations

I obtained consent to conduct my study from appropriate authorities including the University of Alberta Research Ethics Office and the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) in Tanzania. In accordance with the University of Alberta requirements for all research involving human subjects to conform to the Tri-Council guidelines concerning research involving human subjects, I completed an ethics review. It required my research participants to give me their informed consent to volunteering to participate in my study, and required me to ensure that the participants' privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity would be protected during the research and after its completion. To follow these requirements, I sent potential participants information letters and obtained written informed consent from the participants before interviewing them. The information letter and informed consent specified the purpose of the study and the conditions of participation, including a guarantee of the participants' freedom,

confidentiality, and privacy. Before each interview session, I provided an opportunity for my research participants to ask questions and clarify their role as participants in this study. All audiotaped recordings of the interviews will remain under the secure care of the researcher for five years.

Conclusion

This methodological chapter of this study is informed by PDA (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012 & Wagenaar, 2011) and decolonizing theories (Abdi & Shultz, 2012; Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Fanon, 1961/2004; Nyerere, 1968; Shultz, 2013a). These theories helped to explain how power influenced the economics and politics that impacted the social policies guiding the principals' functions. I am aware of global and local power relations, on the one hand, and of policy as a discourse with the ability to influence the implementers, on the other hand. I am convinced that PDA and qualitative research about public policy have the ability to give a voice to my targeted group. Thus, my study uncovers hidden agendas, analyzes the influence of the decentralization policy on principals' roles in primary schools and suggests ways to help school principals in their struggle to handle their instructional and managerial roles more efficiently.

As the principals are positioned at the conjunction of different fields (Christie & Lingard, 2003), these individuals need to negotiate with the demands of their stakeholders, who are positioned at different levels, including, for example, government officials at the village, ward, district, regional and the ministry levels; parents; school programs' funders; and the community at large. Thus, the decentralization policy requires the principals to carry out new managerial roles and their traditional instructional roles, resulting in heavy workloads. Although some

writers claim that these roles are inseparable, I argue that they differ. My study uses PDA to explore and explain the principals' experiences of the decentralization policy and its impact on their management of their instructional and managerial roles. The following chapter presents my findings from my analysis of policy and program documents.

Chapter Five: Framework of political discourse and policy analysis.

Introduction

This study of decentralization policies in education in Tanzania focuses on how such policies influence the functioning of principals, particularly on how they handle their double roles. Thus, in this analysis, the focus is on the policy claim for action (decentralization by devolution) and the future policy goal or the future state of affairs (quality and efficiency in managing schools). I concentrate on how the action either enables or limits the achievement of the expected goal, particularly on how principals manage their instructional and managerial roles. Given the circumstantial premise (economic crisis and global actors' intervention) that led to the policy claim for action, one cannot overlook the global context regarding the actors and their influence on policy and implementation.

In this chapter, I present the findings from my policy analysis by using Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) as advocated by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) to examine the major discourses and power dynamics in decentralization by devolution policy formulation and implementation. The issues of what and how policies set the stage for decentralization by devolution practices guided the inquiry. Thus, I analyzed national, council and school policy documents and key statements to learn how they have contributed to the new requirements and discursively shaped the practices of principals in conducting their roles. In this context, I analyzed key policy documents including the Tanzania National Vision 2025 Policy, Tanzania Education and Training Policy (ETP) (1995), the new Education and Training Policy (2014) and the Education Act No 25 of 1978. Others include Amendment 10 of 1995; Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) 2001; Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) 2002;

2006, 2013; Big Results Now (BRN) in Education (2013), and the School Improvement Toolkit: Practical guide for head teachers and heads of schools (2013). The PDA framework informed my analysis aimed at establishing the existing and previously existing circumstances in the policy documents: the goal, means-goal, and values. In addition, by comparing the merits of centralization vs. decentralization, my analysis helped in establishing how policy makers defended the claim of action, for example.

This chapter has three sections. The first section presents Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) PDA framework. The second and most significant section discusses national, council, and school policies as well as key statements, particularly those on the management of primary education. In the analysis, I paid attention to the circumstantial premise, claim for the action, expected future, and transitional strategies towards the future including the means-goal and adhered values. The final section is the summary. Overall, this chapter provides a basis for examining principals' experiences of how these policies influence their practices in managing schools.

PDA framework as per Fairclough and Fairclough (2012)

PDA deals with argumentation for or against and involves reasoning. There are two kinds of reasoning: practical and theoretical reasoning. While theoretical reasoning deals with finding reasons for believing, practical reasoning is essentially searching for reasons for action. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), "practical reasoning is reasoning concerning what to do [and] arises in response to practical problems which are addressed to us as agents who are acting in particular circumstances and aiming to achieve various goals" (p. 35). Technically, practical reasoning is usually categorised as a conductive argument unlike deductive and

inductive arguments, because practical reasoning involves the weighing of pros and cons of various considerations, and conclusions are drawn on balance. In essence, PDA focuses on practical argumentation as the basis for making decisions. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) view political discourse as a form of argumentation for or against certain ways of acting. The authors further suggest a detailed structure of practical argumentation. This structure combines the arguments from goals and circumstances to claims for action while at the same time taking into account the negative consequences of the action.

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), the evaluation of a practical argument applies the standards of informal logic. Doing so requires going beyond the truth, acceptability and sufficiency of the premise and considering the argument's rational persuasiveness. As well, the evaluation reconciles descriptive and normative orientations for the study of argumentation. From this perspective, the normative approach regards argumentation as striking a balance among different forms of argumentation by adhering to the set norms that define rational argumentation. In the whole evaluation process, the effectiveness of an argument is central. However, new developments, particularly from Pragma-Dialectics, have introduced the idea of strategic maneuvering, which suggests combining effectiveness and reasonableness in order to develop a rational and persuasive argument (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Kienpointner, 2013). In this case,

> [a] reasonable decision results therefore from following a reasonable procedure. This decision itself may not be the 'best' or most 'rational' but it will have been arrived at in a reasonable way, by following a dialectical procedure of systematic critical testing (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 63).

Therefore, following the norms or established procedures is important in practical argumentation.

Likewise, evaluating practical reasoning through the lens of Pragma-Dialects focuses on causal argumentation as a means-end. In this orientation, the presentation of a certain action is the means for attaining a given goal. According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002), there are fundamental questions in evaluating the claim of a means-end argument. The first is whether the action is sufficient for attaining the goal. The second concern explores the consequences of the action while the third question asks whether in view of the goal, the action is necessary. Practical reasoning aims at causing effects, and based on the nature of causality, an action can have multiple effects, which can be either intended or unintended.

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) not only contribute to political discourse analysis in social and political science, but also provide a key instrument for those evaluating political responses to an economic crisis (Kienpointner, 2013) by setting out "a much-needed method for analysing political discourse" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 245). The importance of discourse in analysing a crisis is widely recognized. For example, scholars used this model to analyze and evaluate the Labour government's and subsequent Conservative/Liberal Democratic Coalition government's main arguments for action in response to the global economic crisis of 2008-2009. Each government presented a budget report (the November 2008 Pre-budget, and June 2010- Emergency budget reports) to the House of Commons. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) report:

> Critics of the Coalition government's austerity strategy … tried to show that the argument in favor of spending cuts [was] flawed (actually, invalid), by pointing to other desirable goals, questioning the necessary and sufficient character of the action (as means), and indicating the existence of the other, arguably better means that [would have led] to economic recovery (p. 238).

The Coalition government rejected the Labour government's proposal for budget cuts by claiming that it would have negative consequences and thus would make the legitimate goals of action unachievable. Based on this claim, the argument was that the strategy would not achieve economic recovery and was unfair and detrimental to human wellbeing. Thus, the advice to the government in power was to change its strategy because it was unreasonable.

Both governments tried to legitimize their strategies by weighing competing concerns and value commitments in order to arrive at a decision for action that was compatible with the kind of values that had to ground reasonable action since they had emerged from extensive deliberation. On the other hand, the interpretation of the criticism of the proposed action of the government in power was a challenge to reasonableness in the deliberative process (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012).

However, the authors admit that few academics make use of political discourse analysis due to lack of a suitable analytical framework that particularly focuses on decision and action. The authors' components for their PDA framework are shown in Figure 2.

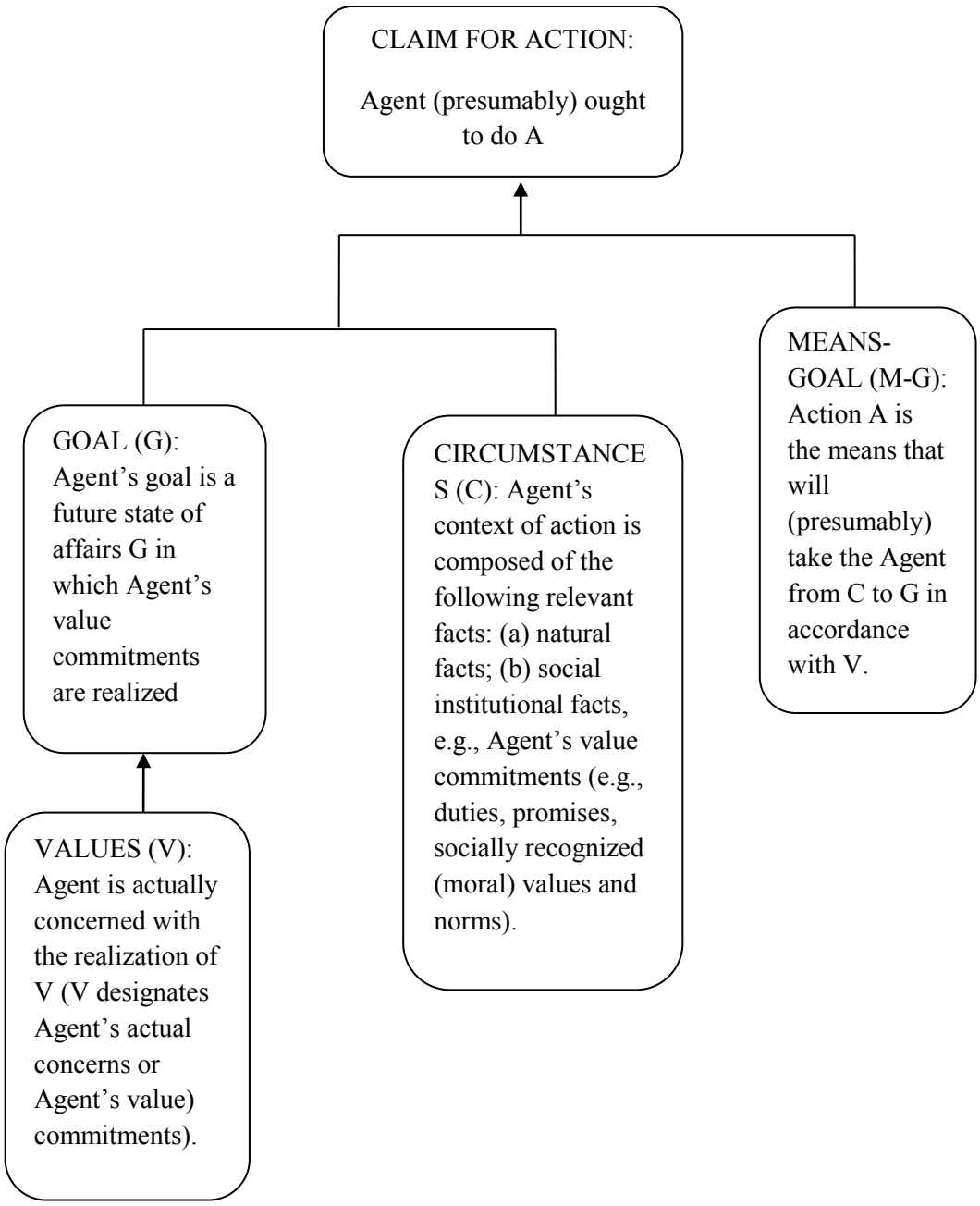

Figure 2: The structure of practical reasoning: detailed representation (Source: Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 48)

Figure 2 provides a structural representation of practical arguments that indicates all their theoretical points. For example, given the agent's actual goals, circumstances, and values, the agent ought to do A. In the same vein, an agent, by virtue of being part of society, needs to adhere to the social, moral and institutional order (universally recognized norms), which, in an argument, are premised as social or institutional facts. Since in normal circumstances, "we cannot reason logically, inferentially from premises about what is known to claims about what is unknown" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 49), a gap has existed between premises and conclusions. To handle such situations in order to increase the rationality of a final decision, agents would have to think of challenges to their hypothesis and to develop a claim for action that would survive critical attempts to reject it until it became provisionally accepted.

In my study, I am concerned with how principals are managing their instructional and managerial roles in the context of the decentralization policy. According to Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) analysis framework, the way that principals manage their roles can be considered as the policy's expected state of affairs. Thus, I focused on the premise that led to the policy development, the claims of action that steered it to its expected goal and the policy's goal by studying how principals' handle their roles.

Policy analysis: **national, council, school and key statements**

This section begins by explaining the meaning of policy and its evaluation process. A policy can be understood as a text or discourse. Ball (1993) suggests that as a text, policy is a representation of pre- arranged processes and outcomes, while as a discourse, policy has the power to create a type of people: "we are subjectivities, the voice, the knowledge, [and] the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows" (p. 14). From this standpoint, policy

implementation is a complex process that can be examined by interviewing the people impacted by it. Ball (1990) also asserts that policies "are operational statements of values" (p. 3). In this case, policies for education can be in the form of statements, which can lead to either action or inaction and either validate or invalidate particular norms and values. Policy analysis and evaluation can reveal whether the means-goal was necessary as there was no better alternative, or whether the action is achieving the goal.

Policy analysis and evaluation as per Fairclough and Fairclough (2012)

In this study, I am concerned with the influence of decentralization by devolution policies (the claim for action) on the functioning of principals, particularly on how they handle their roles. PDA offers a critical methodology for detecting and analyzing discourse and the production of knowledge and expression of subjectivities in policy texts. It also focuses on arguments, particularly on those either for or against ways of doing things and which eventually are used as the basis for decisions (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Furthermore, PDA pays attention to political settings and their features, particularly power plays, disbursed decision making, and fundamental orientation to practice. The central questions that surface in the course of my policy analysis involve the issue of power regarding external influence, on the one hand, and the power of policy, on the other hand, and also whether the policies are achieving their objectives. As well, in the whole process of policy formulation and implementation, whose values, knowledge and experiences are accommodated and legalized? What kind of and whose power is behind the whole process? How are principals either empowered or limited by policies? Based on such questions and given the nature of PDA and the context of globalization, we need to understand that globalization (the essence of decentralization) has an intimate link with neo-liberalism,

whose ideologies are highly animated by actors who have vested interests and control "much of the thinking, and therefore much of the power" (Bottery, 2006, p. 7). This control contributes to the hegemony of globalization, which needs to be "deconstructed, and its implications for education examined" (p. 7) and acted upon. For example, Bernstein (2005) draws on Mackintosh (1992) to explain the political course of neo-liberalism as a programme of state reform, particularly in the South. The author does so by showing how the Northern governments devised and pursued the rolling back of the state by using either bilateral partnership aid programmes or multilateral agencies, notably "the World Bank, which has established a unique ideological and intellectual hegemony in development policy discourse in the last twenty years or so" (p. 115). In this case, the role of power is obvious in policy formulation and implementation.

Based on the circumstances that led to the claim for action and the process of developing the claim for action, I am convinced by Crossley's (2000), Jones's (2007) and Ball's (1993) opinion. Thus, I am aware that when studying education systems in any context, one needs to pay attention to powerful global actors, who, due to their dominance in the world order, are capable of influencing and shaping the nature and direction of education regardless of a policy's outcomes. I am also interested in what policy documents state as practical reasoning in responding to the practical economic problems that led to the existing policies. I focus as well on the future state of affairs, or on how primary school principals might be either limited or supported in achieving their goals. For example, how does what the policy documents state influence the actual practice of principals in managing their roles?

Circumstantial premise and policy development.

According to Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) PDA framework, the context of the action or circumstantial premise involves two components: natural and social institutional facts, where examples of institutional facts may include socially recognized norms or duties. The analysis of policy documents indicates the existing circumstances that led to the proposal for the decentralization by devolution policy. As stated in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 policy document (URT, 2000), its new economic and social development vision emanated from the results of economic reforms, particularly those that had occurred since 1986. This policy was partly a response to a global economic crisis. In the same vein, the ETP (1995) acknowledged that the context of the education policy revolves around the "rationalization of investment, liberalization, entrepreneurship, self-reliance, enhancement and integration of development efforts" (p. x). In addition, what triggered this process was a shift away from the policy emphasis of the 1960s to the early 1980s, which gave the government control of the economy and the public sector. This shift of emphasis ultimately influenced the form and direction of the education and training policies contained in the ETP (URT, 1995). The Minister for Education provided a rationale for the ETP in the forward to the policy, indicating that it considers "various reviews, reports and recommendations regarding our education system, **both internal and external** [bold face added], and is a guide to the future development and provision of education and training in this country as we move towards the 21st Century" (URT, 1995, foreword). The Minister's foreword can be seen as attempt to persuade stakeholders to accept the policy and, according to Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) is a form of strategic manoeuvring. Similarly, in Tanzania's vision 2025 document, the Tanzanian government recognized that its existing development

policies and strategies were not consistent "with the principles of a market-led economy and technological development occurring in the world" (URT, 2000, p. ix).

The Tanzania Education and Training Policy (ETP) (1995) states that before 1995, Tanzania did not have a comprehensive education and training policy. Thus, such a policy was developed in order "to guide, synchronize and harmonize all structures, plans and practices; to ensure access, equity and quality at all levels; as well as proper and efficient mechanisms for management, administration and financing of education and training" (URT, 1995, p. xiv). The URT (1995) also recognized that, initially, the system did not "empower education managers at lower levels to exercise autonomy in decision making" (p. 26). Therefore, this problem called for a claim for action and means that would achieve this desired state of affairs. The objective, or claim for action, was to increase access to schools; enhance equity, quality and efficiency in the management of schools and education; and empower those in the lower levels by giving them decision-making powers.

Policies and the claim for action

The claim for action had to consider the prevailing situation. This involved the government's inability to support education as it had been supported before the economic **crisis** of the 1970s and 1980s (URT, 1995). Another aspect was the recommendations from global actors such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), particularly for decreasing public expenditures on education. Similarly, the shift away from the Tanzanian government's control of the means of production called for a need to align policies with the principles of a market-led economy. In addition, a policy was urgently needed that would harmonize education levels and programs in light of the desired future state of affairs: increased

access, equity, quality, and efficiency in the management of education (Carnoy, 1995, 1999; URT, 1995, 2000, 2001a). All these factors led the government to choose a decentralization policy.

The experience of decentralization, particularly that involving devolution, is common to almost all countries including Tanzania that experienced the economic crisis in the 1970s and 1980s (Hayter, 2005). This commonality reflects the common source of power that influenced these countries' decisions. For example, Hayter (2005), in the *Secret diplomacy uncovered: Research on the World Bank in the 1960s and 1980s*, argues that in the 1970s and 1980s, the WB was eager to be known as an institution that "engaged in the business of persuading governments to adopt 'reforms', through what it called 'dialogue" (p. 101). The bank introduced Structural Adjustment Lending (SAL), a process that Hayter (2005) argues had disadvantages for the recipient countries because it put "immediate pressure on governments to change their general policies" (p. 101). Thus, the pressure from the same actor resulted in similar decentralization policies in the WB's client countries.

Following the crisis of the 1980s, the Tanzanian government was unable to continue to provide quality social services and thus, withdrew from this role. At this time, the government "shifted from [a] central [ly] planned economy guided by the vision of African socialism based on a one-party state, self-sufficiency, and economic independency towards a market-oriented economic policy" (Holger, 2002, p. 273). This shift negated Nyerere's philosophies of socialism and self-reliance, which guided not only economic decisions but also education management processes. Specifically, socialism and self-reliance (Ujamaa) were based on the concept of African brotherhood, respect for human dignity, sharing of resources, work for everybody, and

exploitation by no one, as stipulated by the Arusha declaration (1967) (Holger, 2002; Nyerere, 1968). Also, Nyerere's philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) of 1967 aimed at curriculum reform in order "to integrate theory with the acquisition of practical life skills" (URT, 1995, p. ii). Here, my concern is to what extent the shift either positively or negatively influenced principals' management of their roles.

Subsequently, the shift from the government control of the economy, and the government's inability to support education, led to the call for "streamlining of the management structure of education, by placing more authority and responsibility on schools, local communities, districts and regions" (URT, 1995, p. xii). This measure was in line with decentralization by devolution principles. As well, the state asked for support from the stakeholders; for example, the government urged the communities in Tanzania to share the cost of education. Indeed, one of the policy's key objectives was to "broaden the base for the financing of education and training through cost-sharing measures involving individuals, communities, NGOs, parents and end-users; and through the inclusion of education as an area of investment in the Investment Promotion Act" (URT, 1995, Foreword). This statement clearly shows that the government's aim was to decentralize authority from the higher levels to the local governments and schools. The term "decentralization" and the call to decentralize education and training by empowering regions, districts, communities, and educational institutions often appear in the ETP (1995) policy document. However, different views on the aims of decentralization have been expressed. For example, Carnoy (1995, 1999) suggests that the aim was to shift the burden of education from the government to the stakeholders after the WB and IMF instructed governments to reduce their expenditures on education. Showing its commitment to

decentralization by devolution, the Tanzanian government called for the responsible ministries to devolve their responsibilities regarding the management and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities (URT, 1995). However, the expression "lower organs" (URT, 1995, p. 26) is ambiguous: for example, does it refer to the levels with people's representatives, like the district /municipal councils, and village governments, whose officials (e.g., councillors) are elected by community members, or to the ward and division levels, which are administrative? Following the decision to carry out decentralization by devolution, the authority for decision-making regarding school development was devolved to local government authorities and schools. For example, the communities were expected to augment the government's funding for education.

Policies and the future state of affairs (the goal)

In the future, the Tanzanian government wants to maintain access, quality, equity and efficiency in the management of education and to tackle the deficit in the education budget through decentralization by devolution and the involvement of key stakeholders in education management. Several policy documents indicate that in order to realize this goal, several measures were taken. For example, the Education Act No. 25 of 1978 and its amendment No. 10 of 1995 endorsed the changes made by the ETP (1995). The expression "School Committee" now means a committee established under section 39 of this Act for the purposes of supervising and advising the managers of primary schools. In this case, the committee is the overseer of school development activities. My concern is that, given that the principal is the secretary of the committee, and therefore an advisor, to what extent does the principal have authority regarding the management of his/her roles? In practise, the principal's advice can be either accepted or

ignored. This situation raises doubts about the level of autonomy vested to school leaders. By their nature, school committees work in a school-based management context, where the principal and his/her committee members are expected to have autonomy in decision-making. However, Therkildsen (2000) is concerned about the inefficiency of local governments' involvement in decision-making regarding primary education and, thus, suggests that significant changes in the central and local governments' relationship are needed for fair reforms to occur.

Similarly, given that the economic crisis set the foundation for decisions about the future state of education, the fundamental questions are what are the implications for schools of the shift from government control of the economy, and, ultimately, for the principals in managing their roles? Moreover, given the differences in communities regarding the financing of education, what will ensure the affordability of the minimum requirements in different communities, and what are the consequences for principals' roles? Again, given the inclusion of external recommendations in policy formulation, how are external values reflected in education practice and their influence on principals? As Fairclough (1995) points out, in developed countries, power is exercised mainly through consent rather than coercion, or through ideology rather than physical force. However, Hayter (2005) concludes that before the SAPs and SALs were implemented, the WB and IMF, under the cover of "dialogue," pressured governments to change their general policies. If global actors such as the WB spearheaded the implementation process and given that these actors are animating neo-liberal policies, they were likely to have been based on neo-liberal values such as individualism and competition (Hayek, 1944). Although the ETP 1995 emanated partly from internal material conditions such as economic instabilities, one cannot overlook the external influences in the overall process of this policy's formulation and implementation. Also,

given the lack of funding for not only education but also for maintaining other sectors of the economy, the government was likely to accept the WB and IMF's recommendations. For example, the Minister of Education acknowledged the external recommendations for improving Tanzanian's education system (URT, 1995), and the technical support from the donor community and partners is acknowledged (URT, 2000) in the whole process of policy formulation and implementation. While partnerships or supports are not necessarily problematic, the influence of powerful external organisations can lead governments to make decisions that are not in their countries' best interests (Luke, 2005).

The ETP was partly a response to structural adjustment policies. Nevertheless, the policy document did not include provisions for how to handle issues involving the access, equity, quality and affordability of education for community members "under the competitive cost-sharing approach" (Holger, 2002, p.275) or for the management of schools.

However, as of September 2014, when this study was in the initial stage of data collection, the ETP (1995) was under review. A new Education and Training Policy (URT, 2014a) was launched on February 13, 2015. This new policy acknowledges the contribution of previous policies to its development, including the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (URT, 2000), the Education and Training Policy (1995) (URT, 1995) and the Partnership between the Government and Private Sector Policy (2009). The new policy aims to align education and training to the current global changes in social development encompassing political, economic, scientific and technological advancements (URT, 2014a). In this context, the policy also acknowledges the influence of globalization. The government through the 2014 policy has identified key areas, which require emphasis in order to achieve the expected goals. These areas

include the strengthening of educational leadership and administrative capabilities at all levels and developing sustainable financing mechanisms. In order to achieve these policy objectives, the government calls for collaboration with the private sector, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and development partners.

In addition, a sector-wide program, the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) (URT, 2001a), was implemented in order to operationalize the sub-sector policies indicated in the ETP (1995). This program focuses on all sub-sectors including primary education and allocates resources in adherence to the guidelines provided by the macro reform policies such as the Tanzania Vision 2015. Aiming at devolving the power to make decisions in education, the policy document confirmed that one of its strategic areas was primary education, which would be given priority in the national education budget at a rate of 70 percent from 1998-2015. According to URT (2012), the primary sub-sector has been receiving the lions' share of the education budget allocation. However, although the government, kept its promise by even exceeding a 70 percent allocation in the financial years 2002/2003 (73 percent) and 2003/2004 (74.1 percent), for the following financial years, the allocation decreased from 63.8 percent in 2004/2005 to 55.8 percent in 2012/2013. Although the primary education sub-sector has been receiving the largest percentage of the education allocations, experience in most sub-Saharan African countries, as Faller (2008) report, reveals that about 90 percent is spent on teachers' salaries and only about 10 percent on investments in the quality of education even though this percentage is insufficient.

Defending the claim for action (decentralization by devolution), the ESDP policy document's rationale for decentralization is that centralized planning is non-participatory and, in the development process, ignores the distinctive features of the different localities (URT, 2001a).

Following the devolution of power and the authority for decision making to the schools, several initiatives such as the decentralization of textbook provision and distribution were implemented.

Moreover, as the ESDP document shows, all the interventions were realigned with the Local Government Reform Program (LGRP), which emphasized effective service delivery, autonomy in decision-making, transparency, accountability, and good governance (URT, 2001a). Examples of these initiatives include the Primary Education Development Programme (2002-2006) and Adult and Non-Formal Development Plan (2003). These initiatives are managed at the grass roots level under the supervision of Local Government Authorities (LGAs) and schools. The policy ESDP document also clarifies the planning reform process (bottom-up vs top-down) by recognizing a school as the lowest and initial planning unit. Each institution is required to prepare its own development plan and submit it to the planning unit at the next level (the ward), which synthesizes all school plans in the ward and forwards them to the district level. This bottom–up hierarchical planning process continues up to the national level, "in line with the national guidelines aimed to match grass roots developments with [the] national interest" (URT, 2001a, p. 11), since in some cases, top-down planning may be required to handle a national crisis or disaster (URT, 2001a). The whole process of planning supports Caillods' (1999) argument that, from a philosophical and ideological point of view, pure decentralization is impossible. Also, by consolidating school plans up to the national level while also being mindful of national interest, does the process give schools the capacity to actually implement those plans? In order to strengthen school management, the document provides some strategies such as the provision of training for strategic planning and implementation, financial management and control, reporting

lines and relationships, and reward and incentive systems. In the following section, the discussion will focus on the influence of the reform on school leadership.

Transitional strategies for achieving the goal

To ensure an easy transition from the circumstantial context to the future state of affairs, the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP), URT (2002), (2006), and (2011a) (the school management guiding policy) indicates that two ministries will manage and coordinate the primary education sub-sector: the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and the Prime Ministers' Office-Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG). The LGAs are the actual service providers (Kabagire, 2006; Mmari, 2005; URT, 1995; URT, 2001a). As of July 9, 2015, a bill was being discussed for establishing the Commission for Teachers' Services, which will be responsible for hiring, promoting and disciplining primary and secondary school teachers. However, since in theory, two ministries manage primary education/schools, it is not clear whether in practise the responsibilities of these two managing organs will have clear demarcations, although theoretically, the Ministry of Education ought to deal with policy issues while the PMO-LARG should deal with the coordination of policy implementation.

Practical initiatives and responsibilities. One of the practical initiatives for achieving the goal of decentralization is the PEDP. As the PEDP document states, the policy is the translation of the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (URT, 2000) and the ETP (1995) into specific priorities and achievable targets. Also, this policy is a means for realizing the goals and targets agreed upon in different forums such as those for Education For All and the World Summit Millennium Development Goals (URT, 2002). The PEDP strategic objectives include enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building, and strengthening PEDP

institutional arrangements. Each strategic objective has its own strategies for achieving it. For example, under enrolment expansion, the plan's highest priority is to increase the gross and net enrolment of both girls and boys. The strategies set for realizing this objective include using the existing teachers and classrooms more effectively, recruiting new teachers, constructing new classrooms, and expanding the complementary education program for out-of-school children and youth. To ensure enrolment and access, the government introduced the Development Grant (DG) and Capitation Grant (CG) and abolished school fees and other mandatory parental contributions, in order to enable parents to enroll their children and to ensure compulsory attendance, which the regulation requires. Also, an official teacher to-pupil-ratio (TPR) of 1: 45 was set (URT, 2002, p.7 and 2006, p. 7). These developments led to an increase in enrolment: "the Gross and Net enrolments improved from 84% and 65.5% in 2001 to 112.7 % and 96.1% in 2006, respectively" (URT, 2006, p. i). Despite the efforts to train more teachers, the TPR was at 1:52 instead of 1:45 (URT, 2006). Also, the number of primary schools increased from 11 873 in 2001 to 14 700 in 2006 (URT, 2007).

The school committees are responsible for setting implementation strategies for increasing enrolment in schools by, for example, constructing classrooms under the support of council experts. The communities are expected to support the schools in their localities and augment the government efforts. School funds such as Capitation Grants (CGs) are disbursed through school bank accounts, according to the number of pupils enrolled. Whereas the previous funding was 10 USD per pupil per academic year, each student is currently entitled to 10 thousand Tanzanian shillings during an academic year. However, for "the Capitation Grant, the PEDP financial guidelines [state] how the Capitation Grant should be used, i.e., 40% for books,

20% for stationary, 20% for rehabilitation, 10% for examinations and 10% for administration" (URT, 2010, p. 21). This stipulation implies that a school/committee has either little or no freedom to make decisions based on its needs.

All the above measures have implications for principals' roles. Global actors influenced the requirement for 10 USD per pupil as a criterion for disbursing CGs, since during the initial phase of PEDP, the World Bank was the main supporter of the program. The fluctuation of Tanzanian currency's exchange rate led to inconsistencies in the amount disbursed to schools and thus made school planning and policy implementation difficult. Here, questions arise regarding the design of strategies for achieving the desired goal. Moreover, the fluctuations in the US currency made accurate budget forecasting impossible. The problem led to the use of the local currency for disbursing CGs. Nevertheless, the funding to schools is sometimes delayed, and, in some cases, schools do not receive the expected amount (URT, 2010, 2011b). For schools, as indicated in a joint monitoring report, the major challenge is that they receive a quarterly disbursement that does not necessarily match the requirements for implementing the plan for the quarter (URT, 2010).

Moreover, the policy document (PEDP) stipulates the principals' responsibilities such as coordinating the school-construction activities, communicating with different stakeholders to solicit their support, making payments to different service providers, and providing follow-up. The Education Act of 1978, ETP, and PEDP require the school committee to take care of all school development (URT, 1978/1995), and the head teachers are the secretaries of the school committee. Thus, the principal is responsible for guiding the committee on policy issues because he or she is very knowledgeable about education matters. For example, the PEDP capacity-

building component aims at strengthening institutional capacity and competence in order to increase efficiency. Under governance and management, PEDP introduced a new financial mechanism for devolving financial management to schools. Thus, the key stakeholders including the school committees and head teachers are trained to use this mechanism in order to adhere to the financial and accountability regulations for the use of CG and DGs. The question is to what extent the mechanism accommodates the target group and provides for their other needs, since guidelines stipulate how and where to spend funds. Given these financial and accountability regulations, one may suggest that schools are limited by the budget guidelines and thus, must obey the policies rather than the school managers.

In the course of achieving the desired state, one of the strategies was to give school committees flexibility in augmenting the funds allocated to schools (URT, 2002, 2007). This process includes connecting with different stakeholders through meetings, for example, as a means for soliciting resources. This task is time-intensive. As a practical initiative, PEDP's first phase took place in 2002-2006, and currently, the government is implementing PEDP Phase III, (2012–2016). The PEDP initial strategic objectives have been increased in the later phases to accommodate current demands, although the issues of enrollment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building, and institutional arrangement cut across all phases. For example, in PEDP Phase II, the new areas included crosscutting issues (HIV, child rights and environmental issues), educational research, monitoring, and evaluation (URT, 2006). Although government programs address these issues, the government, Development Partners (DPs), and Non-State Actors have all participated in the preparation stage. By its nature, and as elaborated in

the program document, PEDP implementation involves a wide range of stakeholders, and every level has its own specific roles.

Institutional arrangement, as one of the PEDP strategic objectives, aims at optimizing "the use of human, material and financial resources with the institutions that comprise the education system" (URT, 2002, p. 15) and has been accompanied with institutional reform in terms of institutional and individual responsibilities. For example, while administratively, central ministries focus on policy development and monitoring, local governments are responsible for education delivery management and development. Institutional responsibility includes the roles of the village/mtaa, ward, council authority, regional and ministry levels (MoEVT and PMO-RALG). Specific committees such as the Basic Education Development Committee (BEDC), Education Sector Development Program Steering Committee (Ed-SDP), donors and funding agencies, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) work hand in hand with the ministries.

The hierarchy of PEDP stakeholders indicates the levels and committees that are linked either directly or indirectly to primary school principals and that have a degree of influence on their roles. For example, in the context of the village/ mtaa, the rationale for decentralization is to broaden democratic participation and the accountability of all levels involved. Thus, a partnership among teachers, schools, and communities is needed in order to strengthen school management. In LGAs settings, a school committee is accountable to the village council in district authorities' settings (rural settings), while in urban areas, this committee is responsible to the mtaa council (URT, 2002, 2006, 2011a). The specific responsibilities of the school committees, according to the PEDP document, include

- Sensitizing and including all pupils, parents, teachers, and the community and community-based organizations in the development of the school;
- Overseeing the day-to-day affairs of the school;
- Approving whole school plans and budgets and submitting them to relevant authorities for scrutiny, consolidation and approval;
- Operating bank accounts and efficiently and effectively managing funds received for implementation, while guaranteeing maximum accountability and transparency;
- Ensuring safe custody of the property acquired by PEDP… funds;
- Preparing and submitting accurate and timely physical and financial progress reports to LGAs through village/mtaa authorities and the Ward Development Committee (WDC);
- Ensuring systematic information [about] the community by [posting the committees'] deliberations/decisions/school budgets on public billboards;
- Ensuring the compulsory enrollment and attendance of all school-age children in the village/mtaa. (URT, 2006, p.31)

As the secretary of the school committee, the head teacher needs to be active and, in collaboration with the chairperson, has an important role in ensuring that the set target is achieved, through performing, coordinating, and communicating, either orally or in writing; holding meetings; providing follow-ups; and carrying out supervision. This role does not exclude instructional leadership roles. For example, the School Improvement Toolkit (SIT- school level policy) (URT, 2013b), which is the practical guide for principals, indicates clearly that principals should participate in teaching. Also, the SIT indicates that 40 percent of a principal's time must be allocated for instructional leadership and services.

The program document (SIT) also identifies the responsibilities of every level in the hierarchy. For instance, the ward level is responsible for supporting school committees in their daily undertakings, specifically by ensuring the enrollment and retention of eligible children and

the transparent and accountable implementation of PEDP-funded activities. The mandate of the LGA level is to manage and deliver pre-primary, primary and secondary education in an LGA's area of jurisdiction. The LGAs' responsibilities also include involving communities and other stakeholders in planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating educational plans and activities; communicating educational information to key stakeholders including the mtaa/village, schools, and other stakeholders and providing technical support to schools. To ensure the efficient implementation of PEDP, the councils have to guide and enforce the proper use of and accounting for the program funds (URT, 2006).

The responsibilities of the regional office include providing technical and advisory services to LGAs to ensure that PEDP is implemented efficiently and effectively. Also, along with conducting regular audits for LGAs, including schools, the regional office has to communicate educational information to the stakeholders including schools. The central level (the ministry headquarters), on the other hand, involves two ministries, as was indicated previously.

The MoEVT deals with policy formulation and regulation, quality assurance, setting standards, monitoring and evaluation and has five core institutions supporting the delivery of quality education. These include the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE); the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA); the Tanzania Library Services (TLS) and the Agency for Development of Education Management (ADEM), which is responsible for training educational managers and supervisors. Each of these institutions has either a direct or an indirect link with the primary schools. MoEVT's roles include collaborating with PMO-RALG and other stakeholders to ensure quality education provision (URT, 2006)

PMO-RALG oversees the delivery of the decentralized government functions to the LGAs, including the delivery of education by them. The PMO-RALG is also responsible for providing technical support to regions' secretariats and LGAs; monitoring, evaluating and coordinating plans at regional levels; and collaborating with MoEVT. (As of November 2015 Regional Administration and Local Government is under president's office (PO-RALG.) The PEDP program is implemented by a partnership between the two ministries. For example, the government, donors and other funding agencies are partners in supporting the program. Their support normally is channeled to the government through different methods including support to sector budgets. The center's other responsibilities include harmonizing "government, donors' and other funding agencies' policies and plans for development and support of pre-primary and primary education" (URT, 2006, p. 36). The roles of the different stakeholders indicate their direct or indirect relationship with schools. For example, the donors' group relationship is direct because if their pledges are not forthcoming through, for example, sector budgets, the principals will be directly affected. Also, harmonizing the funding policies depends on which party has the ability to influence the others. Most likely, power determines the influence. However, given the existing hierarchy from the school up to the nation, and also given that the other levels' roles have either a direct or indirect relationship to schools, the question is how much pressure through guidelines and regulations is exerted on the schools and how this mechanism allows for school autonomy.

How the "Big Results Now" in Education policy aims to support education. Another practical policy initiative is the Big Results Now (BRN) in Education policy. The question is what differentiates it from other initiatives and whether the BRN has actually provided big

support now. The BRN program was launched in July 2013 and is a joint initiative between the Tanzanian government and Development Partners (DPs). Through BRN, the government works under a specific timeframe for delivery of the step-change required, and has prioritized the resources available to the education sector among others in order to achieve the BRN program's goals. The main thrust of BRN is quality education improvement in response to several existing challenges such as the shortage of teachers, infrastructure, and teaching and learning materials, which has led to the deterioration of the quality of education. The document identifies one of BRN's priority issues as poor management and, thus, sets strategies to redress the situation. The decentralization policies' influence on the function of principals in managing their roles is the key issue at this point. The strategies to redress the abnormalities include creating performance transparency, motivating through incentives, providing support where needed the most, and improving teachers' conditions.

BRN's nine initiatives include the School Improvement Toolkit, official school ranking, capitation grants and teacher motivation. For example, under official school ranking: performance and improvement, several targets are set to improve the pass rates, and the expectation is as follows: 60% -2013, 70%-2014 and 80% - 2015 (URT, 2013a). With this initiative, schools are classified into three major groups; Green, Yellow and Red, representing High, Medium and Low performing schools, respectively. This initiative is designed to motivate and increase the accountability of these schools to the public. The schools' information will be made public to raise community awareness and engagement. In this process, the views of the public will be considered for increasing transparency and efficiency. This strategy will allow the public to monitor, evaluate and give feedback. The initiative is in line with decentralization by

attempting to increase participation, transparency, and accountability. The challenge involves the extent to which schools are empowered in order to achieve the set targets. The concern, is whether the set targets under, for example, official school ranking: performance and improvement consider the uniqueness of the schools and community contexts, such as the availability of teachers and the basic requirements including classrooms, or whether the strategy is working under the one- size-fits-all principle.

Under BRN, the government has also developed a guide for school leaders: the School Improvement Toolkit: Practical guide for head teachers and heads of schools. The document makes clear the commitment of MoEVT and PMO-RALG to provide quality education through "empowering school heads by giving them more authority to manage schools effectively and efficiently" (URT, 2013b, p. iv). The government also recognizes the strategic role of the heads of schools because unless the heads are successful, our schools cannot be. Therefore, to support school leaders, the School Improvement Toolkit (SIT) provides a practical guide for solving the challenges in their schools. The SIT indicates the roles and responsibilities of heads of schools by listing their core functions:

a) Plan, review and monitor the implementation of the work of teachers, non-teaching staff and students;

b) Ensure that the curriculum is implemented according to current regulations. To ensure that lessons are taught, tested, marked, and returned to students, teachers make corrections, keep proper records, and provides reports on time;

c) Supervise the utilization of school funds;

d) Supervise teachers' service and carry out disciplinary actions;

e) Perform other functions assigned by the District Executive Director (URT, 2013b, p. 1).

The Toolkit further indicates activities for each function. For example, managing instructional activities includes preparing the school timetable and distributing the teachers' workloads. The Toolkit also says that heads of schools is to participate **"in teaching and monitoring the teaching process of all teachers; monitoring class attendance of teacher and students, and supporting junior staff"** (bold face from the original document) (URT, 2013b, p. 1). Other activities involve managing teachers and non-teaching staff by, for example, determining staff needs, using the participatory management approach so that the entire school community feels and sees that the school-improvement process is a collective responsibility. Managing teachers and non-teaching staff includes delegating roles and responsibilities as well as authority to enable the teachers to perform their duties. One resulting issue is the extent of the authority vested to head teachers. For example, after determining the staff needs in his/her school, what should the head teacher do next, and what is the implication of his/her roles?

Other activities include managing resources (mobilizing, managing and utilizing); developing student and school community relationships by, for example, establishing and maintaining the relationship between the school management and the community; conducting committee meetings to strengthen community relations; organizing and communicating with parents to attend meetings; participating in school-development activities; and managing extra-curricular activities. In order to balance the head teachers' many responsibilities, the Toolkit allocates the amount of time required to perform each activity.

Table 3: Time split for best practice: Guidance for how school heads should allocate their time

No	Core functions of a head teacher	Suggested time split (hours)	Suggested time split (%)
1.	Managing instruction (full moon*)	620.8	40%
2.	Managing teachers and non-teaching staff (full moon*)	310.4	20%
3.	Managing resources (financial-full moon*)	232.8	15%
4.	Managing students (half-moon)	155.2	10%
5.	Managing community relationship (quarter-moon)	155.2	10%
6.	Managing extra curriculum activities (quarter-moon)	77.6	5%
	Total	1552	100%

Source: URT (2013b). School Improvement Toolkit: Practical guide for head-teachers and heads of schools.

* Full-moon: Functions that are to be performed by head teacher without delegating

Table 3 shows the allocation of time to the various functions of principals. The percentage of allocated time assumes 8 working hours per day for 194 days per year. In addition, according to the Toolkit, the functions identified as full moons are to be performed by the heads of schools without delegating. The information from Table 3 shows that managing instruction is the first priority function and is allocated 40% of the expected time. Other areas to be performed by the principal in person include managing teachers and non-teaching staff and issues related to resources management. When deciding how to delegate responsibilities, schools with an acute

shortage of teachers are faced with challenges since some duties do not need to be delegated, including managing instruction and managing teachers and non-teaching staff (URT, 2013b).

Although SIT is a key guide for head teachers, it does not replace other documents and guidelines. Other resources that the head teacher should consult include the ETP (1995); Education Act 1978 and its amendments 1995, 2002; and the Guidelines for the use of the Capitation grant. However, these documents are not always accessible in schools. Technically, school management is a responsibility of the head teachers although other stakeholders provide help (URT, 2013b). The SIT document suggests that the head teacher can seek advice regarding school management from the MoEVT, PMO-RALG, Regional Education Officer (REO), District Education Officer (DEO), Ward Education Coordinators (WECs), and Teachers Service Department (TSD).

Moreover, the Toolkit emphasizes the importance of a good relationship between a school and its surrounding community, given the community's role in school development. However, the Toolkit identifies some key issues including low support from some communities, some parents' inability to support schools by providing their children with teaching and learning materials, and some parents' lack of time for monitoring their children's learning. The Toolkit proposes solutions including fostering dialogue between schools and communities through meetings, strengthening interaction by preparing activities that will involve students in working and interacting with the community, and establishing Parent-Teachers Associations (PTAs). According to the Toolkit, one of the major challenges is some parents' inability to provide teaching and learning materials for their children. Experience shows that many poor parents cannot afford to support their children's education. Moreover, some students are orphans, and

others live in difficult environments. The question is what are the strategies in place to support such students, given that education is the right of every child? Also, given the presence of such students in schools, what are the implications for the roles of principals?

All the documents discussed present decentralization by devolution policies as a panacea for solving the existing educational challenges. The main expectation of decentralization is that with increased decision-making authority, schools can increase their flexibility and have more control of school development. Another expectation is that making schools more responsible to local communities will increase participation, transparency, and innovations (Kabagire, 2006).

Means-goal and adhered values. According to Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) framework, given an agents' actual goals, circumstances and values, an agent must do alternative A, for example. In such a process, an agent as a member of society should abide by certain values that are universally recognized. While policy documents indicate access, equity, quality, empowerment, financing and efficiency in the education system as goals, all interventions in the Tanzanian education system, including, for example, PEDP and Adult and Non-formal programs, were realigned with the Local Government Reform Program (LGRP). This reform program emphasizes effective service delivery, autonomy in decision-making, transparency, accountability, and good governance (URT, 2001a). In addition, the ESDP policy document clarifies the planning reform process of bottom-up vs top-down by recognizing a school as the lowest and initial planning unit. However, questions arise regarding the extent that the system allows, for example, bottom-up planning or the extent of the autonomy accorded to principals in the process of planning.

Summary

The circumstances of the 1970s and 1980s (the economic crisis) in Tanzania and the world economic system set a basis for "practical reasoning" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 35), which guided education policy development, notably Tanzania's Education and Training Policy of 1995. The context was characterised by economic decline, debt, deficits and inflation. For example, "declining prices in the international market of raw agricultural commodities and minerals produced by African countries and by increasing prices of manufactured goods imported from industrial countries, compounded in many cases by local mismanagement of public revenues" (Assié-Lumumba, 2000, p. 90), weakened the economies of most African countries. The above factors required these countries to rely on loans from international organisations in order to sustain their public sectors. This dependence led to a debt crisis and eventually the intervention of the WB and IMF (Assié-Lumumba, 2000). Thus, following the economic decline in Tanzania and its inability to fund education (Holger, 2002), for example, the government had to implement SAPs and to accept the WB's demand for stabilization measures and budget cuts to education. The WB, by "insisting on neo-liberal austerity measures and reliance on market mechanisms, was clearly adopting a particular ideological position" (Hayter, 2005, p. 104). Since African governments were pressured to adopt neo-liberalism, its philosophies have influenced decentralization by devolution policies, which are part of the neo-liberal agenda. Principals' work is likely to be shaped by these policies, given the power of the external actors in influencing them and the nature of their content, notably that of PEDP and SIT. Decentralization policies by devolution advocate autonomy in decision-making, empowerment, efficiency, and accountability in school settings. In addition, these policies aim at widening the scope for participation through

the involvement of stakeholders in the management of education. However, issues involving the extent of schools' participation in the planning process, the degree of transparency between and among different levels, and the extent to which the new autonomy of schools facilitates accountability are the concerns of this study, particularly in terms of how these factors influence principals' ability to handle their roles under decentralization. The following chapter, which presents the results from the interviews with principals, their deputies, council education managers, and policy makers, will shed light on how principals are handling their roles in this context.

Chapter Six: Interviews with principals and views from deputy principals, council education administrators and policy makers.

Introduction

This chapter draws on interviews and observations made in fieldwork conducted in three primary schools in each of two councils (Baraka and Tumaini) from October 2014 to March 2015. My visits prior to the interviews and at least three formal visits to each school enabled me to be in the school compounds, particularly in the principals' offices, for several hours, and to build relationships with my respondents. As well, I was able to observe how the principals were managing their roles. In line with policy analysis, this chapter focuses on the practices and experiences of the principals by providing my observations; the information provided by head teachers, their deputies and the comments of council education managers and policy makers. The quotations from the respondents' interviews suggest the complexity of the policies enabling and limiting principals' practises. Several issues emerged, including those related to the principals' context and the policy contents. Also, some issues with external causes arose, either partly or wholly from principals' work. Thus, researchers need to focus on several factors when exploring principals' management of their instruction and managerial roles. Although principals are the key respondents in this study, the discussion and analysis also include deputy principals' explanations, because the deputies work closely with the head teachers and are well-informed about their duties and challenges. The discussion and analysis also include the opinions of council education administrators and policy makers on how the principals are managing their roles. Given Ball's (1993) discussion of policy as discourse, I wanted to explore the decentralization policies that are framing the principals' experience of decentralization and management. I also wanted to learn from the principals how their experiences have changed since

the inception of decentralization, how much autonomy the principals have, and what strategies, if any, they are using to manage their roles. The following section discusses the decentralization by devolution policies and their influences, and cites from my interviews with principals and deputy principals. Other quotations are from education managers and policy makers from the council and the ministry levels, respectively.

During the interviews, I took note of all emerging issues. In my analysis, I categorised the responses according to their similarities, and then organized each group of similar data into thematic sections, all of which correspond respectively to my study's research questions. I used these themes to organize my presentation of the interviewee's responses in Chapter Six, and my discussion of findings in Chapter Seven.

Long-service principals

I used purposive sampling to select principals who were in service before the introduction of the decentralization of primary education (ETP, 1995) and, particularly, during the introduction of PEDP (2002), which implemented the decentralization-by-devolution process in schools. For example, during the inception of PEDP (2002), the schools started to receive Capitation Grants to enable them to implement their school development plans. However, some policies, for example, SIT (URT, 2013b), guide the principals' day-to-day functions. The logic behind the criteria for my selection of the head teachers was to obtain a sense of their experiences, given that they had worked before and after the decentralization policy implementation and were in a good position to comment on the decentralization process. Most of the principals have served in their positions for between 15 to 20 years.

Justification of rural and urban settings

In this study, I used case studies of principals (my key respondents) in two councils in Tanzania: the Baraka district and Tumaini municipal councils, which are located in a rural area and an urban setting, respectively. I chose councils in these different settings because the Ministry of Education treats both settings equally; for example, in the provision of Capitation Grants to schools, the criterion is the number of students regardless of a school's location. The study of principals in different settings provided a wide range of experiences concerning the management of their roles.

Policies' expectations (Desired state)

This section explains the expectations for the decentralization by devolution policy. Most of the policy documents discussed in this thesis, particularly the Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995), Primary Education Development Plan (URT, 2002), Big Results Now in education (URT, 2013a) and School Improvement Toolkit (URT, 2013b); present the decentralization-by-devolution policy as a panacea for solving the existing educational challenges. The main expectation for decentralization is that with increased decision-making authority, schools can increase their flexibility and have more control of school development. As Babyegeya (2000) and UTR (1995) suggested, the aim of decentralization reform in Tanzania was to promote community participation in decision making and cost sharing in order to ensure sustainability in the provision of education, on the one hand, and the proper use of and maintenance of school resources, on the other hand. In addition, the reforms were aimed at reinforcing the planning and management capabilities of schools. The schools are supported by the Capitation Grants at a rate of 10,000 Tanzanian shillings per primary school student per year to help pay for non-salary expenses. Communities and other stakeholders are expected to augment what the government

provides. Thereafter, the management of a school resides in the hands of the principal and his or her committee. The policies' frameworks, notably those for PEDP and SIT, have set the principals' responsibilities.

Conceptualization of decentralization by devolution

When I asked the principals about what comes into their mind when they think about decentralization by devolution, many replied that currently, the powers of decision-making have been devolved to their levels. The principals added that several duties that they are currently performing, such as coordinating and supervising construction and renovations, and solving school problems including disciplining of teachers, were formerly performed by higher authorities and that schools were just receiving directives from higher authorities. One of the rural principals explained decentralization by referencing school management:

> The way I understand the decentralization of the management of primary education is that the school managers are the head teacher; the assistant head teacher, who is also the head's main assistant; the academic coordinators; the discipline master; the environment and school materials teachers. The head teacher, as the school manager, performs all his daily duties by following the vision and objectives of education, as stated in the policy, regulations, rules and school plan (Rural principal B1, December 1, 2014).

Here, the principal describes a school as a unit of management characterised by the division of responsibilities.

Describing her school's operations in the decentralization context, another rural principal commented that currently, she and other managers develop their school development plans in collaboration with school stakeholders. The collaborators implement whatever they can, and present the remaining plans to higher levels for advice and support. Clarifying this practice, she stated that "This system is different from back then when higher authorities gave orders and

directives for performing and achieving the things they had planned" (Rural principal B 3, December 3, 2014).

When discussing their roles, the principals revealed that they still depend on the higher levels of authority. Also, while acknowledging that decentralization delegates the power for decision making, most principals I interviewed stated that the motive is to ensure the effective management and supervision of instruction, by ensuring that students are taught and achieve according to the national guidelines and that teachers perform their duties effectively. Generally, as many principals and their deputies commented, they are supervising the implementation of the school curriculum.

Putting decentralization by devolution into practical terms, the principals argued that the devolution of power has simplified the implementation of their duties because they are now responsible for solving school problems. When asked about which problems they could solve at their levels, a principal from an urban setting reported that, following the *Delegation of Authority Guide*, they can now take measures against teachers, who, for example, are absent from school for three consecutive days. Explaining how the guide works, the principal said: "I will give a teacher a warning letter the first time and the second time, but for the third time, I will advise the education officer that because of this teachers' absence, I request for his work environment to be changed" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

The principals mentioned that they are also responsible for the registration of pupils, although the guidelines come from the district or ministry levels, for restricting mandatory contributions for students' registration, constructing schools, and soliciting resources, for example. The principals may also discipline teachers and students. When asked whether taking

disciplinary measures against teachers was in accordance with regulations, an urban principal explained:

> When the directives are brought to us, we do quote some phrases from the directives but we don't exactly have the regulation documents. When you decide to take action against someone and he seeks for a defence, we are forced to find the regulation so that we both can reach a compromise. In the directives, for instance, we are told that according to a certain regulation or law of a certain year, this person can be dealt with in a certain way regarding a certain mistake (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

As the above quotation reveals, higher authorities provide the principals with guides for implementing their roles. However, it is clear that principals lack some key documents such as regulation documents. For example, in all schools where the principals mentioned the *Delegation of Authority Guide*, no one had this document even though the *School Improvement Tool kit: Guide for Heads of schools and Head teachers'* states that a copy of the regulation should be attached to it for easy access.

One of the rural principals explained that he supports decentralization by devolution and sees a difference when he compares the current to the previous system. With his experience of twenty years as a principal, he commented that previously, he was overburdened because everyone regarded a school as a principal's property. As an example, he stated that, when the government provided desks, they were at risk of being vandalised because the community did not have a sense of ownership and believed that since the government owned the schools, it would provide other desks. He added that when the community members started to contribute to school development, they began to feel responsible for the schools (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

Most principals described how they work in cooperation with different stakeholders including the community, parents, Non-Governmental Organisations, and Development Partners in supporting their schools. Interestingly, when asked whether the stakeholders they collaborate with influence their duties, one urban principal stated:

> There is a relationship because it reaches an extent where you have to take extra measures. For instance, I asked a donor to build us a fence. As the head teacher, I was forced to write a letter and take it to the donor. I took the letter in person because the donor would recognize me. If anyone else took it, there might be some misunderstandings (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

As the above reply shows, some situations require the head teachers to perform some duties in person. When asked how his deputies normally give him a hand, the principal stated, "In such matters, you need to initiate the relationship on your own, but for follow-ups, you can assign someone else" (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014). Similarly, the Toolkit for principals' responsibilities indicates that some duties need to be performed by the principal in person even though he or she has deputies. Such duties include issues related to teachers and finances.

The transferring of decision-making authority to the lower levels and the stakeholders' participation in augmenting what the government provides to the schools are the main thrust of decentralization by devolution. Most deputy principals I spoke to explained decentralization by referring to school management. For example, they explained that head teacher and the school committee lead the planning process and assigned responsibilities to teachers.

Similarly, a policy maker respondent explained decentralization by devolution as a system whereby "the government devolves decision making authority from higher to lower levels (consumers). The aim is to ensure that decision-making is done at these levels. For example, we devolved decision-making powers to local government authorities that are closer to communities"

(Policy maker 2, February 27, 2015). This orientation of devolution is further reflected in an interview with a council education manager, who indicated that the "delegation of responsibilities gives the principals opportunities to plan for their development since they are free to make their own decisions" (Council education administrator T, February 10, 2015). Most respondents commented that the principals were now free to decide how to perform their roles.

The principals indicated that they have changed from being the recipients of directives for planning their activities, although, at a certain level, they still need to consult higher authorities for guidance. A good example is the forwarding of school plans for scrutiny and allocation of funds. Asked about how they interpret such a process and whether the principals' authority is complete, one urban principal commented about forwarding plans to higher levels, especially to the municipal education office:

> When you ask for permission, your authority is complete because we work in cooperation. The committee or the school is the one with the responsibility. Therefore, forwarding matters to the higher level is just for the sake of information. When the office disburses funds to schools as authorised by the director's representative, it is because the office has first-hand information about what is taking place at the school, so in this case, the matter is not new to the office (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

The response indicates that cooperation and information sharing are vital among the different levels in order to implement school plans effectively. However, it is unclear whether the schools actually have full autonomy, as various policy documents suggest. Most respondents mentioned that their freedom (autonomy) enables them to make decisions, handle school issues and plan for their schools. However, questions arise about the relationship between the council and schools, and the schools' autonomy level. In practice, all these factors have implications for principals' roles.

Another urban principal had a different view of the devolution of power. For example, when asked about what power was being devolved to schools, he argued that the authority to perform only simple tasks had been devolved:

> There is nothing I can say is new compared to the previous system. For instance, I work with my fellow teachers. If there is a teacher who has been transferred here or started working here and has not been promoted, it is my duty to write a letter to my boss, telling him or her that this teacher has not been promoted. If I received a prompt reply, I would say I have been given authority and power. But these challenges are still there. You write a letter, but it takes a long time to get a response (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

The respondent cited another example of such a bottleneck in the implementation process. In his school, an alcoholic teacher had been causing trouble and ignoring warnings. The principal explained, "If I recommend his dismissal, then I should receive a quick response because it should be clear that I must have a problem. However, this kind of request is usually ignored" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014). The respondent further stated, "When you try to follow up, you are told that the regulations do not allow your request" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

Similarly, a rural principal also explained that only minor powers have been devolved, such as the authority to deal with latecomers, absenteeism, and the destruction of school equipment. When asked if, in his capacity, he could demote a teacher or reduce his or her salary, a rural principal surprisingly stated, "I cannot deal with a teacher's salary or increment. What mandate would give me such power? The first step is to give the first warning and then a second warning. If the teacher's misconduct continues, I forward the matter to higher authorities" (Rural principal B1, December 1, 2014). Such an account reveals the limitations that are placed on the principals' autonomy.

Discussing the complexities of the management of teachers, a council administrator identified several parties that, along with the employer, deal with teachers' matters. This system, according to the respondent, handicaps not only principals, but also the employer:

> The other thing, which we have spoken of several times, is the authority and control of the person who is supervising the teachers. The head teacher manages the school on behalf of the District Executive Director (DED) and therefore, the DED, as an employer, could have the authority to hire and fire teachers. Currently, however, the DED does not have the power to discipline teachers, so his or her power over teachers is limited. The DED is the chief employer in his council, but only the District Teachers' Service Department (DTSD) has the authority to discipline teachers, even though the DTSD secretary is supposed to be under the authority of the DED. The district TSD secretary is like any other personnel officer, but now instead of directing him, the DED requests the TSD on matters related to teachers, and is supposed to be under the regional level. Therefore, once teachers realize how complicated the system is, they take advantage of its weakness (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

These comments reveal the institutional control of teachers' affairs, which raises the question of how much authority the principals actually have in the system. As Babyegeya (2000) explains, school committees and head teachers' ability to work effectively together, particularly in regulating of teachers' behaviour and absenteeism, "will depend on successful re-definition of responsibilities and powers of district and school authorities over teachers and other resources" (p. 5).

A rural principal provided another interesting insight when she explained how she assesses her authority in the whole system:

> My authority is not that much in terms of enabling me to plan what I have to do. I perform according to the guidelines, and I have to use extra time to persuade the authorities to allow me to carry out my plans. For example, if I have planned to construct a classroom, I have to persuade the community through the school committee, call for meetings, convince the committee of the importance of my plan, and involve other teachers so that they realize that my plan should be given priority. I do not have much authority, but rather, I have to involve others in every innovation, advise others, and after reaching a

> compromise, then I can finally plan and implement (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014)

This respondent indicated the need for the key stakeholders to participate in the decision-making process to ensure their ownership and a plan's smooth implementation. However, she also revealed the limitations of her authority and her need to take extra time to explain her ideas to the other stakeholders. The extent to which the process enables principals to handle their roles more efficiently is one of the key concerns because the respondent explained that her limited authority undermines her ability to plan for her school's future development. She also indicated that she has to spend a great deal of time to convince the stakeholders to agree with her decisions.

Another urban principal commented that decentralization by devolution is a good policy, and that the government leaders who authorized it had good intentions. However, its implementation process has faced many challenges. The principal added,

> For example, one of my roles as head teacher is to admit new students to school. However, according to my understanding, a school with good quality should have a standard number of students. But you are told that you have no mandate to refuse admission of any child since the school will never be full. In this case, running such a school will have many challenges because at times, you register beyond the capacity of the school without considering the actual number of available spaces and teachers and other school requirements (Urban principal T3, November 4, 2014).

This principal is aware of his roles and the guiding norms. However, directives from above appear to negate the standard norms and to limit his autonomy.

Framework of principals' roles

When discussing what policies have determined principals' experience of decentralization, most principal respondents I spoke to mentioned "D by D," meaning "Decentralization by devolution." When I asked the principals to provide specific examples, the

policies that were often mentioned included the Education and Training Policy of 1995, the Primary Education Development Plan (2002, 2006), the Big Results Now in Education (2013), and the School Improvement Toolkit (2013), which includes the Delegation of Authority Guide. When asked whether there was any directive that they could link with something beyond their council/nation, some principals, who had made international connections by, for example, attending conferences outside the country, had some reflections. One urban principal explained:

> In today's world if you see something being done by Tanzania, then you know that our fellows somewhere else have already done it. For instance, I am a mathematics teacher. There are topics that do trouble us. I was lucky to attend a certain seminar, and I was given cassettes recorded in Korean. I discovered that the topic troubles the Koreans as much as it troubles us (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

The above comments present three key ideas: (1) the conception of a world with fragile boundaries where there can be a flow of ideas, (2) the possibility of adopting ideas from other contexts, and (3) the identification of common challenges. Similarly, a policy maker participant emphasized that "Decentralization by devolution is a global issue and is not something we practice in Tanzania only" (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015). This comment supports the argument that decentralization in education is a global process with common guidelines and pressures (Hayter, 2005). The respondent further added:

> For example, in 1996, I went to Israel, and we were told that the central government is responsible for policy and guideline development while councils deal with day-to-day administration including that of education. The quality control unit provides minimum standards, and variations come in practice because this depends on sensitization, learning from others and this is common to most places… it looks like either the knowledge we got is not being used effectively and efficiently or that we did not pick the best practices, but rather, used practices "wholesale." For example, there are issues of policy that are in our mandate and we have sent them to local authorities. In this case, we should expect nothing (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015)

The policy maker further stated, "The way I understand decentralization by devolution and the way it is like in various countries, day-to-day administration is done by the community and not the central government. But the fundamental issue is what do you support the community with?" (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015). This question echoes what is stated in the PEDP (2002) program document regarding the division of roles. The respondent raised the issues of global connectivity and the importation of "best practices." However, the word "wholesale" raises the key question, which involves the consideration of the context. The respondent also raised the important issue of empowering principals and teachers in order to ensure the effective implementation of programs.

Policies such as PEDP and SIT, particularly the Delegation of Authority Guide, clearly state principals' roles and authority. In the interviews, the principals, their deputies, council education officers, and policy makers often referred to these documents while explaining the principals' roles and their performance. Many principals referred to PEDP (2002), for example, explaining that the government's grant of ten thousand shillings per student in an academic year is the main source of school income. One urban principal stated, "We are normally given a Capitation Grant," and when asked how much is disbursed to his school, he replied, "It depends; for instance, the government allocated 10 US Dollars for each child, but the amount we actually receive does not equal that amount. It might be less, and it is always decreasing" (Urban principal). Similarly, clarifying the amount his school received, another urban principal explained that his school received 2,700 Tanzanian shillings (about three CAD) per student. He added, "This amount comes quarterly and it never comes on time. Moreover, when you allocate 2,700 Tanzanian shillings to four yearly quarters, you find that the amount that is disbursed is very

little, and at a big school like mine (1,886 students and 60 teachers), it becomes difficult to run the school" (Urban principal, T2, November 4, 2014). When asked what happens when the school receives less than what was expected, one urban principal stated that he and his staff prioritize their activities and ignore things that are less important and thus, work according to what they have. He also explained, "We ask the stakeholders to help us, but we don't succeed most of the time" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

Another urban principal added that along with getting support from stakeholders, sometimes "you can go to a shop and borrow a box of chalk, and pay them when you get the money" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014). Explaining how challenging the shortage of resources is, the rural principal explained, "With the fewer funds that we receive quarterly, you cannot even purchase enough lesson plan documents for all teachers for the whole term. This forces teachers to pay for lesson plans from their own pockets" (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014). Similarly, a rural deputy principal explained:

> When the Primary Education Development Plan started, a Capitation grant was sent to help us in operating schools. This helped in examinations, administration, and maintenance of school infrastructure, but currently, this plan is limping. Now the head teachers and even we ordinary teachers pay for our own chalk. You buy a box of chalk and keep it to facilitate your teaching. So the issue of funds for school management purposes is a great problem for the head teacher. Sometimes he uses his own salary to run the school (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The deputy principal noticed a change that occurred after PEDP program had started. Although during the initial stage of PEDP, their school received a satisfactory CG for non-salary expenses, the teachers must now purchase their own school materials. Currently, principals and teachers have to use their salaries to buy basic school materials. This practice raises a number of concerns, since some principals and teachers may be either unable or unwilling to pay for these materials.

The question is what the implications of this practice are. A deputy principal with different perspective suggested how principals should handle financial challenges:

> The head teacher is supposed to be creative in various matters. Things should not be the same as he found them for years. By having various income-generating projects, you cannot be stranded due to the lack of chalk. By being creative, for instance, we have a banana and bean farm so when we harvest, the head teacher gets at least money to run the school (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The deputy principal raised the issues of creativity and self-reliance. The concern is with how the system supports creative and self-reliant principals.

According to policy expectations, communities are the owners of schools and are expected to be in the forefront in supporting them. While some communities are active in supporting, for example, school construction, and some parents pay for their children's school requirements, one urban principal explained that some parents send their children to school without exercise books or pens. His statement reflected my observation at an urban school. I had to wait for hours before I could enter a principal's office, because he was conducting a meeting with each individual parent and his/her child to find out why their children had no exercise books and why some parents had not paid their school contributions. In the next room (the deputy principal's office), about twenty pupils' backpacks were in a corner. These backpacks had been confiscated by the administration because the parents of the students who owned the backpacks had not paid their school contributions and had been asked to meet with the principal.

A rural principal believed that the communities are being overburdened:

> In our environment, we face some challenges; there is poor response of the community in supporting schools. This may be associated with poor income or because of many community's responsibilities and failure to accomplish all that they have started. For example, we had a project to rehabilitate our primary school's toilets. A government directive ordered to construct science laboratories for every secondary school by

> November 2014. Following the directive, our community members had to postpone the rehabilitation project and focus on the laboratories (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The respondent added that in situations like this, a primary school project has to be postponed until the following year, and "This problem affects our school planning" (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014). An urban principal and administrator commented on a government directive prohibiting schools and school committees from demanding parents' contributions. These respondents saw the directive as an unfairly limiting the autonomy of school committees in making decisions regarding their school's development. At times, schools may require students through their parents to help pay operating costs such as the salaries of school guards and the cost of water.

According to policy guidelines, the communities own the schools, and if, for example, "new classrooms have to be built, the community pays most of the cost. Experience shows that paying for primary school's requirements is a big challenge for some communities. If a community is unable to pay, the differences among the schools become clear" (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014). Describing how even in the same council, there are differences in community responses, a council education officer who manages education matters in a council commented:

> Apart from paying for new construction, the communities are not very active in supporting their schools. For example, we had suggested that all schools should provide food, and if that was not possible, then at least porridge. You find that the response in some communities is positive and in others is negative. In areas where people are active, community members contribute maize floor to schools, and hire someone to prepare porridge for their children. You find that in areas where the response is negative, even the attendance of students is poor. The main reason for this is the communities' inability to pay for primary education (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

A community's inability to support its schools has implications for principals. For example, if students are not supported, one of the outcomes is poor attendance. Although the negative results of poor attendance might not be evident at the end of school year, they will eventually harm a school's entire community and not fulfil society's expectations. With irregular attendance in schools, a student is unlikely to attain knowledge and skills, despite a principal's follow-ups efforts.

Another predominant topic throughout the respondents' interviews was the school support received from Non-Governmental Organisations, especially from development organisations, banks, and individuals. The respondents stated that development organisations usually support rural schools while banks and individuals usually support urban schools. NGOs commonly support the construction of school infrastructure, conduct capacity-building seminars, and support needy students such as orphans. Describing the relationship between a school and the stakeholders' contributions, an urban deputy principal explained:

> For example, the presence of a good relationship is what makes the stakeholders to continue helping the school, because when the school administration is good, it attracts even more people to help the school. Therefore, good administration is a basic condition for continuing a school's development. The head teacher is supposed to look for stakeholders to help his school (Urban deputy principal T 2, November 4, 2014).

In this case, a principal is expected to have enough social capital to enable him or her to network for the benefit of the school. The issue of to what extent principals are supported enough to be effective and efficient was explored and will be explained.

Principals' tasks in decentralized management

When the principals were asked about their experiences in managing schools, most stated that they work in a close relationship with their school committees as well as their teachers, non-teaching staff, and students. In addition, they collaborate with the village government, parents, the community at large, and other education stakeholders including NGOs and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). Most principals I talked to stated that their roles include managing the students' registration, which is done after completing a census of the children in their catchment areas, in order to identify eligible children. This task is done in collaboration with the village government by providing guidance on age requirements, attending meetings and, sometimes, follow-ups. The principals are also managing academic activities by ensuring that the students attend school and are being taught according to the guidelines, supervising teachers' work, and ensuring enough infrastructure and teaching and learning materials are available. Other roles include supervising construction, ensuring teachers have convenient places to live, and taking care of teachers and students' welfare including providing school meals for students. Principals also have to teach, as well as conduct and attend various meetings such as staff and school committee meetings as well as out-of-school meetings. Another key role is building relationships with the community and other stakeholders. Although a school receives financial resources through the Capitation Grant from the government, the principal also is responsible for finding alternative sources of income. In such a process, the principal needs to involve the school committee so that it can obtain community contributions.

When asked exactly how the system works, one urban principal explained how he supervised his teachers:

> I have a system of collecting teachers' lesson plans every Friday. I have 90 teachers. Instead of them bringing me all the work, I have delegated this duty to academic teachers. In this case, they also have teachers to supervise (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

This practice corresponds to what I observed in school X. When I walked into the principal's office, six teachers were there, and heaps of thick documents were on the table. Because I had an appointment, the principal asked his teachers to give us some space. Then I asked the principal what was going on. He said the teachers in his office were academic teachers who, after going through the teachers' lesson plans, had some issues that they had to share with the head teacher. This situation was common for the interviewed principals. One urban principal emphasized that when he used to delegate this activity, he found some teachers were not serious in lesson planning simply because the principal was not going through their plans. This experience forced him to evaluate their plans in person.

Another urban principal explained that every head teacher has a letter of appointment that identifies his or her tasks and boundaries. The principals' first and foremost role is to supervise instruction. Similarly, a rural deputy principal explained, "The first task of the head teacher is to teach, because this is what he was trained for. So he is supposed to teach and to be a model to other teachers" (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014). Thus, a principal must satisfy high expectations. The question is how successfully he or she can do so.

Head teachers are required to have lessons to teach. When asked how they manage their classes, most principals stated that they have a reduced number of subjects to teach so that they can attend to administrative chores. The follow-up question was whether any regulations or guidelines support principals in their dual roles. While some principals explained that their teaching load was determined at their council head teachers' meeting, one of the education

administrators stated, “This just needs common sense and respect” (Education administrator B, December 16, 2014). A rural deputy principal stated that although principals teach, they never complete their syllabuses:

> Most of the time, the principal is in meetings and fails to teach his lessons. Even at the end of the year, he does not complete the syllabus. The education officer, may ask the principal to take cases of school pregnant girls to the authorities, so the head teachers have a lot of work (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014).

As these comments suggest, despite being exempted from some teaching responsibilities, principals still have difficulties in carrying them out. Most of the respondent principals made this observation.

Supervising instruction involves a number of duties. An urban principal explained that some students face many challenges and that, at times, principals have to make an extra effort to ensure that every student is getting a good education:

> There are children who live in difficult situations. A student comes every day with no exercise book. It reaches a point where you call his/her parents but they never show up. Then you are forced to visit the parents or guardians and you realize that there is a problem. If you had not visited them, you could not have known the intensity of the problem (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

Visiting the homes of students requires time, and supporting students from poor families is difficult because their parents or guardians cannot afford to pay for their children’s’ school requirements. An urban deputy principal explained:

> Some children are orphans, some live in harsh environments, and some are suffering from various diseases. Therefore, they have no parental care. You find some teachers feeling sorry for them, one saying to bring them a shirt and the other saying to bring them some pants. The government is supposed to give a certain amount to help the children who are orphans. Such children are challenges for the head teacher. A child comes with a problem, and you feel sorry for him and use your money to buy him clothes. This becomes a burden to the head teacher. When the teachers discover such a child in their classroom,

> they ask the head teacher to question him. When he explains his situation to you, you realize that you do not have enough money to help him (Urban deputy principal, T1, November 5, 2014).

The above passage reveals a number of complications that schools are facing. The deputy principal raises the issue of students who have no support, then recommends that the government should support these students, and mentions the challenges that schools face in trying to identify and help such students. Although teachers may be willing to support them, the issue is how many times should they do so and what kind of help should they give.

The availability of teachers and teaching and learning materials is another aspect of instruction supervision. Most principals indicated a shortage of teachers in their schools, especially in rural areas. For example, school X had a shortage of 11 percent of 90 teachers. When asked how they handle this problem, the principals explained that they have to report to the council education officer so that they can be assigned more teachers. This reply supports the policy maker who stated that the role of the head teacher is to report to higher authorities and wait for their response. In an interview with a rural principal, she commented,

> We usually request for teachers through the monthly reports that we send to the district. In such reports, we normally explain our shortages like desks and buildings. This also depends on the teachers available. For example, I may be having a shortage of teachers, but my school may be better off compared to other schools and so supplying another school is taken as a priority (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

The above comment shows that the shortage of teachers is not only a school issue but also a district issue. However, a rural deputy principal explained a very important measure taken in response to a shortage of teachers: “For example, when we register many students, the streams become many [40 students form a stream] so we are forced to hire a teacher so that we can reduce

our burden, and we pay him" (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014). When asked whether the person they hire is a teacher by profession, the deputy principal stated,

> Yes, he might be a teacher who has retired. The situation is very bad. If you do not do that, the society will not understand you. When you do that, you are avoiding something. If you do not do that for a child, you limit his or her chances to, for instance, continue with secondary education and eventually become self-reliant. We help children in that way so that they can be self-reliant and prevent them from having problems (Deputy rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The most interesting insight from the above comment involves the intention and actions of teachers to meet their society's expectations. Similarly, a council education administrator explained:

> There are certain ways apart from bringing reports to the council about shortage of teachers to get help. As teachers, there are things they do; for example, there was a time the school together with the community arranged to get youths who have completed form four and form six, and are interested in teaching. They request from us and before placing them in the school, they bring their credentials, examination results and then are tested and confirmed before they assist schools. Such a youth may be given small support like transport fare and some pocket money (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

In line with school and community arrangements to have youths support schools, another common issue for school communities and, particularly, parents, according to most principals, is pay for teachers, especially those who teach after-school hours and during weekends and holidays. In most cases, such teaching helps students to prepare for national examinations. When I asked an education administrator about the rationale for teaching during after-school hours and during weekends and holidays, he commented that the practice aims to compensate for the time lost during a shortage of teachers and some unexpected assignments. He stated,

> For example, some days back we had local government leaders' election activity. In addition, apart from personal issues, there are national issues that one is involved in

> directly. For example, teachers are involved in the registration of voters, because registrars must be employed, and village teachers qualify.
>
> Therefore, you find that almost one to two weeks are wasted while teachers are registering of voters. For this reason, you find that there is need for compensating for the lost time, and also, you may find that on Saturdays and Sundays, they may fail to come; therefore, the appropriate time for additional teaching is during holidays (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

Explaining how the government handles teaching and learning materials and teachers' allocation to schools, a rural principal acknowledged that the government has succeeded with learning materials since every student has the required textbooks. However, she questioned whether the government was equally successful with teachers' allocations (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

When I asked principals how they assess their responsibilities, some principals provided more depth than others did in their assessments. For example, one urban principal suggested,

> From my point of view, if you just look at these responsibilities, you may say that they are not many, but for someone who fulfills his duties as required, these responsibilities are many, and they are many to the extent that they can make you as the head teacher forget your other responsibilities. By profession, we are teachers, and our work is to teach. When you get into writing reprimands and all that, it becomes very difficult in a school with many teachers and students. You may find that you spend the whole week giving directives. Honestly, I can say that these responsibilities are many. The ministry should consider other ways to deal with challenges concerning matters like truancy and laziness of teachers (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

Similarly, another rural principal, explaining how she sees her responsibilities she stated:

> Personally, I see they are many, and so one cannot claim you manage them one hundred percent because there are a number of challenges given the fact that the duties are many. For example, there is supervising the use of school materials, financial accounts, and these are the things, which contribute to school development. However, we do not have technical expertise, although sometimes we are trained on these issues. Moreover, when a new teacher is employed, he is not trained, and yet those leadership seminars are for only a short time. The main concern is that the head teacher performs his or her administrative

> duties and that he or she still teaches. The truth is that the work is too much, and it is like one person working in two departments, teaching and finance or material management. We usually manage with difficulty and not adequately as required in the guideline (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

In the same spirit, a rural deputy principal explained that the head teacher has a lot of work, to the extent that he is overburdened. He is the supervisor of everything, the teaching and non-teaching staffs rely on him for different things including breakfast, and in some cases, he pays for services with his own money. (These services are justified because most teachers do not live near their schools). The head teacher is also responsible for providing school reports and may be required by the council education office to attend meetings and to follow-up cases of pregnant school girls. Therefore, the "head teachers have a lot of work, and they don't even have an administrative allowance. It is possible and likely that I may be having a greater salary than his" (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014). The above comments raise some interesting issues. The speakers believe that the principals are overloaded, doubt whether they manage their responsibilities efficiently, and draw attention to the lack of an administrative allowance for principals. Another emerging issue is the question of capacity building, particularly for new appointees.

In the same vein, a policy maker respondent identified the principals' roles including budgeting, coordinating, purchasing school materials, supervising contractors, and ensuring that a construction satisfies building standards. She added, "These [roles] are added to academic roles and in the real sense we give principals a big burden!" (Policy maker 2, February 27, 2015). Moreover, the head teacher is also responsible for coordinating data and information, writing and submitting reports to different authorities, and informing stakeholders including community,

ward, and educational officials at different levels of what is taking place at school. The policy maker commented also on the need to review principals' responsibilities. Commenting on the principals' role of submitting reports to higher authorities, one urban principal was concerned with the directives from above and the resources of the schools. He commented:

> Although the ministry granted authority to us, still the ministry makes decisions on most of the things. This gives us trouble, especially when you get directives without required resources. When I speak of resources, I mean people and funds. When you tell me (the head teacher) to prepare a report by using a computer, and to make sure you send the report on-line, it is unfair. As you can see, here at school, we have no power. We are still in the process. You have no computer, and if you do not have money to go to the Internet either, it becomes difficult. Some directives do not consider available support and resources to schools. Therefore, if you have authority with no resources, it becomes difficult. When they give orders, they should ask themselves if they have given enough support to people. In addition, you find that a report is needed within three days. They should ask themselves, is there any money this person can use. Most of the time, you are told to use your experience (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

This comment vividly reveals some of the pressures that principals face, and also their need to be proficient with computers.

In the course of the interviews, the policy makers and education administrators commented on the importance of obtaining the views of a particular retired policy maker because of his long service in the education system. He believed that principals' duties are doable and that the main challenge comes from outside interference:

> Personally, I think that the duties they have are the right ones in the way of accomplishing school objectives and also which they deserve, but as you know, this country is driven by politics. Sometimes head teachers are assigned duties, which are not theirs. They are assigned duties that are politically oriented, and such duties take a lot of time compared to those meant to be performed by head teachers. This is a problem all over the country, and if you ask our teachers, they will tell you that you must be aware of politics. Today we are having a ward meeting, tomorrow we are supervising elections, and all these duties are directed towards teachers and especially the head teachers. Sometimes, they will be attending village activities, and so they have interfering issues, which are not school-

> related, but politically oriented. Those duties within the school are enough and are within the head teachers' authority (R-policy maker 3, February 24, 2015)

The remarks of policy maker 3 introduce the issue of politics and raise questions about whether the principals have enough time to achieve their work objectives efficiently. In the proceeding responses, the principals and policy makers identify several responsibilities for principals. However, some principals (see principal B3) feel that they lack the knowledge needed to carry out some of their responsibilities such as financial management. The respondents called on the ministry to analyse principals' jobs and responsibilities and to consider capacity building and strengthening and empowerment. Another emerging concern is that new teachers increase the difficulty of managing schools. The speakers question the duration and content of the training for students' teachers as well as their motives for joining the profession. One urban principal stated,

> Previously, we got into teaching by desire. Teaching is in our blood, you love teaching, but now with our youth, the ones we call "express" (Voda-faster), managing them is very difficult. Even head teachers say that the principal-ship we have nowadays is like an examination. If you look at the teachers from the 1970s for instance, they have no problems. The problems are for those who started teaching in the 2000s (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

When asked to identify the main problem, the principal added:

> The problem is that in those years (1989), we used to choose a profession, and only devoted teachers were obtained. Due to my love for teaching, I went for teaching. That is why even the way I do my work is different from others. The teachers of these days, all they do is following-up what the head teacher is doing. When you give them work, doing it becomes a problem (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

Although the principal explained that they have mechanisms in place to enable long-service teachers to mentor new teachers, he believed that they become teachers only because of the shortage of other jobs in Tanzania. Thus, the parents' only choice for their children is to suggest

that they become either teachers or government employees. This view of new teachers matches with the observations by a rural principal, who suggested:

> It would be better if the principals had a specific term in office, for example, five years, and after that, they could rest, and others could replace them. Back then in our teachers' training colleges, we had courses on leadership, but I am not sure if it is still taught. Back then, when one left the college, he would have a good understanding of leadership (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

When asked when she was in her initial training and what differences she had observed since then, she further added,

> At first, I was at college in the year 1983. The last time I was in college was in the year 1994 for a leadership seminar. Currently, these teachers leave college, and I am not sure if they are taught leadership. This is because there are so many changes. Most new teachers perform according to what they think and not according to guidelines and the existing system. It would be better if teachers were taught how to become leaders in our schools (Rural principal B2, December 3, 2014).

The former policy maker, commenting on new teachers, made a similar suggestion.

> Personally, the first challenge I think is our teacher's background. Our teachers have training, but I do not think they acquire enough, and of course, you will not know who is going to be a head teacher, but I am speaking from a leadership perspective and also from a professional point of view. Therefore, the lack of leadership training is a weakness already.
>
> In addition, I do not think the selection of head teachers is based on good leadership. One chooses one simply because they are friends and fill up the position. For this reason, the process involves even unqualified head teachers. For example, someone has just completed school and is selected to be a head teacher. This is too early, and even if it was after five years, it is still early. Maybe it is because we do not have teachers, and so we are forced to appoint premature teachers who lack experience in running a school. We select people who are incompetent to run a school and because of this, other problems occur.
>
> Thirdly, most of the current teachers do not care what plans the head teacher has. A teacher simply teaches, and after he goes on his own business. He does not spare time to sit and help the head teacher. Therefore, the head teacher does not get enough cooperation from his fellow teachers due to the economic conditions. For example, a teacher and I travelled together in a bus and was a working day. He was telling me how hard it is to

> depend on one source of income, which is his salary, since life is harsh. He was travelling to Dar-es -Salaam to buy some items, so that when he returned, he could do some business. This will take him three days in order to get those items, which is a very long time for students to be without their teacher. You do not expect such a person will save time and sit with the head teacher to plan school activities. I wanted to ask him but I knew I would annoy him (R-policy maker 3, February 24, 2015).

Along with the training of teachers, the respondent commented on the experience of teachers who are appointed as principals and how the selection process may purposely involve unqualified teachers for personal reasons. The question of commitment to the profession and concern for the students and also support for the principals are the issues raised by the former policy maker.

The council education officer, who is responsible for education development in the council, provided additional reasons for why some principals ask to be allowed to step down from their positions:

> Our head teachers are affected to an extent that some teachers ask to be removed from leadership. The reason is that in some cases, they have to supervise without resources and do not have anything to make them go to the ward education coordinator, or come to the council headquarters, or to communicate with the village chairperson or with the school committee chairperson. They do not have anything extra, and if you say that they should depend on their readiness and willingness, then it reaches some point where they request that their positions should be given to someone else (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

As most of the principals explained, they normally send reports or have to attend meetings at different levels. Sometimes, they need to contact different leaders. Doing so involves traveling and by implication, costs. The administrator respondent further added that the head teachers who tend to give up are usually from an unfriendly environment, particularly in places where education is not perceived as important thing or a priority. Concerning principals who ask to be removed from their positions, the administrator said, “You can do nothing, since if you try to

force them to stay, then you can expect nothing from them. You cannot insist that they stay because they respect your authority, but, on the other hand, expect nothing from them, for they will be unwilling to work" (Council education Administrator B, December 16, 2014).

Explaining how decentralization works, particularly in terms of how it confines employees to their council, a rural principal explained:

> The other problem that I can see is teachers teaching within their home areas or environment, which I see is part of decentralization because one belongs to a certain employer in a certain district council. The way we see is that the government has ability to follow up things, but we are failing to confirm this. This is because you may find a teacher works within his or her home environment while his or her performance is not effective since community social problems interfere. For example, back then, a teacher was coming from district X, which was far from home, so he or she concentrates on the area where he or she was working (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

As the rural principal explained, teachers are confined to their councils, but no longer feel a strong sense of commitment to them. The government places teachers where they are needed. After teachers have been assigned to a council, they are confined to it and, in some cases to their areas/schools.

Dynamic experiences

Some principals indicated that their roles have changed from being recipients of directives to being the planners of their own activities. Also, some explained that they are now authorised to deal with issues that they could not deal with before decentralization, such as disciplining teachers.

When I asked an urban principal to explain how his experience has changed, he stated that, currently, he has more duties because, formerly, his duty was just to write a letter to the

council education officer, who was supposed to respond to the principals' requests. Currently, he has to take the lead. He explained,

> Decentralization of management has increased my duties because if there is a problem of truancy, for instance, previously I would write a letter to the education officer. Currently, I have to take measures myself. For example, for regular truancy of teachers, I have to sit with them twice or thrice. I have been given more duties, especially in schools with many teachers like mine with 90 teachers. If such challenges arise, you leave other matters and concentrate on the new challenge until you get a solution (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

A rural principal expressed similar views about the effect of large school populations on the principals. She commented that in the past, the school populations were small and that only some schools had many students, "but currently, a big percentage of our schools have many students, and that is one of the differences between now and previous years" (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014). The principal associated this change with the "birth and death rate changes" (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014), which contribute to the challenges in schools. Another difference that most principals mentioned involved the availability of classrooms and teachers' houses. One principal commented,

> The school used to have enough classrooms, but now the buildings are old, and we do not have enough classrooms. We do not have any teachers' houses, so when comparing the past and current situation, there is a big difference. In the past, teachers used to stay close to the school and so it was easy for them at any time, even evening hours, to participate in duties concerning the school and to complete their tasks easily and efficiently. There were no issues like the head teacher having to extend school duties to his home. Currently, there are many hardships. Even when I leave school at four o' clock in the afternoon, I still have to continue with my work at home. However, there are still some things that you can't carry home since it is far away, but if you lived near the school, you could work at home more easily (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

Because the principals have to deal with their employers, society, and students' high expectations, new survival strategies have been necessary.

Survival strategies

Most respondents acknowledged that principals have a huge workload. However, one principal suggested that the workload depends on the size of the school population. For example, he suggested that you could not compare "a school with 500 students and 50 teachers to a school with 4,000 students and 90 teachers in terms of workload (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014). When I asked the principals what kind of roles take up most of their time, some identified administrative roles, and others indicated instructional roles including ensuring that teachers are teaching according to school guidelines (by going through their lesson plans), ensuring that there is enough space for the students, and networking to ensure the school requirements are being met. For example, an urban principal explained:

> Following up on the way teachers are teaching consumes most of my time. Another matter is truancy, although some teachers have attendance registers and take attendance. Sometimes, I have to interfere because the voice of the head teacher makes a difference in our way of working. Sometimes, a teacher writes a letter to request a visit from a parent; in some cases, I intervene to make sure things go well (Urban principal T2, November 2, 2014).

Most respondents identified teaching as the key activity for principals. In addition, a rural principal commented:

> The administrative roles take up much of my time. For example, you may be told to prepare a school report. At the same time, you are told to prepare a seniority list of teachers. Meanwhile, you are also told to submit your school development plan. In the whole process of decentralization, we are involved in a number of activities, and we normally involve school committees. For example, in developing a school plan, a lot of time is spent on this activity. Therefore, you need to involve the school committee and make sure the plan is in place for implementation (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

In my interviews with the principals, I asked them about the strategies they use to handle their heavy workloads. All the respondents replied that they delegated responsibilities to their teachers.

For example, an urban administrator explained that a big school (one with 4,000 students) might have two assistant head teachers (deputies). An urban principal stated that

> Luckily, I have directed my assistants in such a way that even when I am not around, you cannot notice my absence. There are some places when you visit you will notice right away that the head teacher is not around. Therefore, it depends on how the head teacher has planned and organized his/her staff (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

However, although principals delegate responsibilities, they still have to follow up to ensure that things are in order. For example, an urban principal explained that "Although I have delegated the task of going through lesson plans, sometimes I have to go through them myself. In this way, I act as an auditor. This is because lesson plans help me to understand where the school is heading" (Urban principal T2, November 2, 2014). When asked whether some roles cannot be delegated, one principal replied, "It depends on the significance of the matter. Let us consider a truant teacher, for instance. I cannot delegate this matter to someone else. I have to work on it myself" (Urban principal T2, November 2, 2014).

Principals also reduce their instructional duties by delegating instructional roles to academic committees composed of teachers who are experts in their subjects. An education administrator stated, "Academic committees help principals a lot in supervising how teachers teach, preparing monthly and end-of-term exams. This gives the head teacher some relief (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

In addition to the delegation of responsibilities, the principals often mentioned cooperation among teachers and school committees. For example, one rural principal commented:

> The thing that helps me to work smoothly is cooperation from staff members and the school committee. For example, when you give teachers duties, they perform them. As

> you can see, there [showing me the notice board in his office] is the distribution of work, and everyone supervises his or her own area, for example, academics and the school garden, etc. (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

Commenting on delegation and cooperation, a rural deputy principal stated:

> There is one thing. As I said, you should be creative. There are those who get the power and center it on themselves. For them, work becomes difficult. However, for those who get power and distribute authority to other teachers, and have teamwork and a good relationship with the people they are leading, the work becomes easier. However, for those who do not like to involve others, work becomes difficult. So the head teacher's ability to manage activities depends on how he involves others, distributes power, and how he has built relationships (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The deputy further added that motivating teachers is another strategy that principals use. For instance, at the end of the year, the head teacher uses the school funds or even his own money to organize a party to congratulate the teachers, so on the last day of the school term, they cook, eat and drink together. This kind of event encourages the teachers to help the principal with his or her work.

The most cited strategy for handling principals' work was working after school hours, during weekends and holidays, and coming to school early. Most of the principals said they come to school before the official stating time (7:30 in the morning). An urban principal explained that he comes to school at six o'clock in the morning, and that he is always the first one to arrive and the last one to leave (at about five o'clock). He leaves last after making sure the duties of that day are fulfilled. When asked whether he works during the weekends, he said he normally does and that he had worked on the previous Saturday. He added:

> My responsibilities are many, madam. If you do not come on weekends, some tasks cannot be accomplished. Mostly, I come to go through the lesson plans. As you know, there are 60 teachers here. If everyone prepares his or hers, then you have at least 49

> lesson plans to go through. You have to look at every part if possible, even looking at the students' work to see what has been done (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

The principal has assistants and sometimes has to deal with emergencies. Nevertheless, he is held responsible if, for example, the academic level declines. He reported, "If things don't go well, you will be asked, 'Isn't the head teacher there?' In addition, this is how the system is at our level. Even if the problem is caused by someone else, you the head teacher is the one going to be asked" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

Another urban principal, commenting on how he handles his work, stated that he normally evaluates his tasks, and when he has failed, he is never ashamed to ask and learn from others. Asked on how spends his time, he replied:

> Mostly, I do use my extra time. For example, although I come to school at 7 o'clock in the morning, I often have to work Saturdays and Sundays. This helps me to handle my work. During holidays, for instance, I use the first ten days, or half an hour each day to do school work (Urban principal T3, November 4, 2014).

Principals who work extra hours do not receive allowances for their extra work. A rural principal commented:

> The thing that I can see is letting us down is our income. If the head teacher could receive a responsibility allowance, he could have lunch at two o' clock and therefore would be able to proceed until a half past five o' clock in the evening to complete tasks of the day (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The policy makers, education administrators, and deputy principals all reported that principals did not receive any form of allowance for working overtime.

Another mentioned strategy was finding stakeholders who will help pay for repairs to school infrastructure, including classrooms and toilets. The most commonly used strategies were

using the school committee in all school activities and consulting different levels, including the ward, council, and region.

System support

When I asked the principals how the system supported them in carrying out their roles, most replied that they normally get various forms of support from the government. These include monthly meetings where they discuss the issues concerning them in their schools; training or capacity-building programs; seminars on, for example, leadership and financial management; visits by ward education coordinators, who send feedback to the council levels; and quality control units (school inspectors), who in most cases, provide instant support during their visits. Other support comes from the provision of Capitation Grants, circulars, and guidelines such as the School Improvement Toolkit document. Elaborating on the nature of this support, a policy maker respondent cited SIT as a quick-reference document and stated, "It gives the head teacher high powers of decision making" (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015). However, he cautioned that a circular or guideline can be helpful, but if the principal does not receive cooperation from higher authorities, guidelines lose their meaning. For example, he said, "If the head teacher disciplines a staff member and the higher authorities interfere by defending the culprit, then the principal's powers are downgraded" (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015). This comment by itself raises doubts regarding the extent of the principals' authority in managing their roles.

Moreover, one principal not only saw changes when comparing himself and the new appointees, but also felt that the system handicapped him by not training him to deal with the new changes. He explained:

> When head teachers are appointed, they do not get leadership seminars. For example, during our first appointment, we went to MANTEP in Bagamoyo, and we stayed there for

> two weeks, and we were well conversant, but with the changes taking place daily, we are just learning based on our environment (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

A policy maker dealing with quality assurance also discussed the support provided to principals, particularly for capacity building:

> We normally provide help, but sometimes our help comes in very late. For example, we have about 17,000 primary schools. Therefore, the modalities of, for example, reaching the entire target group on time so that they can manage their roles effectively become a problem. At times, we appoint a person, but it takes time before one gets orientation or training. For this reason, sometimes I feel pity because some principals are penalized because of the weaknesses of other parties. The good example are those who have problems because of improper bookkeeping and financial irregularities (Policy maker 2, February 27, 2015).

Given the new changes that are taking place in the system due to the new demands, and given the need for efficiency among principals, capacity building and strengthening seminars are very important. However, the respondents indicated that principals are receiving only limited support.

Conclusion

The respondents constructed their worlds by attaching meaning to their experiences. The interviewees' reality was socially constructed and offered multiple interpretations of single events. For example, the respondents expressed diverse opinions about principals' level of autonomy. The inclusion of long-serving principals from different settings (rural and urban) was an advantage for my thesis because these participants interpreted the same issues by using different lenses. All the respondents understood the decentralization policy and contributed widely to the discussion of principals' experiences in managing their roles. Moreover, issues of power, ranging from external influences on policy development, internal and external influences on policy implementation, and the power of policy in moulding principals' experiences, were

common concerns. Generally, the interviews suggest that polices, on the one hand, and the context's realities, on the other hand, can either assist or limit the principals' efforts to manage their schools. The next chapter presents a discussion of my findings.

Chapter Seven: Discussion of findings

Introduction

Although globalization is not new, it is still able to create new changes. For example, currently, in our globalized world, "states have a diminished capacity to protect their borders against private international decision-making" (Olssen, 1986, p. 262). At the global governance level, issues are complex and fragmented, but the situation is even worse at the cultural level, where globalization is having a marked effect. Cultural global flows are not compatible with the forms of national states and, therefore, create conflicts (Appadurai, 1993; Mugambi, 2007). The situation is aggravated by the post-colonial atmosphere where the tension between colonizers and colonized is animated by global actors, on the one hand, and by new national actors who perpetuate new forms of colonialism, on the other hand (Abdi & Shultz, 2012; Fanon, 1961/2004; Said, 2000). Thus, power plays motivate the policies developed under global actors' influence and national actors' decisions. In a discussion of the features of power, Luke (2005) suggests the existence of a kind of power that secures the compliance of others through a process that gives the compliant limited choices and enforces submission to the powerful. Apple (1986) cautions that "we should understand that these [exported] policies are radical transformations. If they have come from the other side of the political spectrum, they would have been ridiculed in many ways, given the ideological tendencies in our nations" (pp. 470-471). Although the role of the state is changing, the hope is that it is not withering away, since the state still has a significant responsibility regarding welfare and education (Olssen, 1986).

This chapter demonstrates that in a post-colonial context, policy development is contingent on colonial relations of power and knowledge and also that principals must respond to

the decentralization policies even though they fail to consider that the principals' professional and indigenous contexts might undermine their ability to achieve their goals.

This chapter draws from Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), particularly that on contextual premise, means-goal and the expected state of affairs, and considers the interplay of power in the whole process. This chapter also focuses on decolonizing theories to illuminate the formation of decentralization policies, their implementation and their influence on principals' functions. The chapter highlights how policy positions principals and the way they negotiate with different clients' expectations and market requirements in their context (Ball, 1993; Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Shultz, 2013a). The discussion of my data suggests a need to re-reflect on the essence of decentralization policies and their link to neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism. This process entails a need to disengage by going beyond decolonization to the contextualization of policies in order to allow them to focus on the principals' contextual realities. In the globalized world, we need a new kind of partnership that works in the best interest of each party. Thus, we need to re-assess the extent to which we are achieving our policy goals.

Interpretive considerations

Making sense of one's experience locates a researcher in an interpretive perspective. In this case, interpretation from a qualitative perspective expects to discover multiple observable realities about a single event. For example, principals are likely to have multiple views about the level of authority vested to them through the decentralization policy. Thus, both the participants and their context are important resources for a researcher's knowledge construction (Merrian, 2009). While engaging in fieldwork in schools, I had to depend on my own interpretations and translations in portraying the social world of my respondents and had to rely on my own language

and knowledge. Other key aspects that affected my interpretation and translation include the way I became part of the field process and ultimately engaged in it with the data and theory. Political discourse, decolonizing theories and interpretive policy perspectives informed my data analysis. Interpretive policy analysis helped me to reveal the tensions, ambiguities and inconsistencies that are in the policy documents. The following discussion contributes to a new way of understanding the effects of the policies and practices associated with decentralization by devolution. The knowledge gained from my research will help policy makers to understand what is taking place on the ground and to develop and implement appropriate new policies.

Responsibility without authority

In response to a question about their understanding of decentralization by devolution, the respondents provided many different answers. The respondents clearly understood that decentralization by devolution devolved power to their levels and required them to form partnerships with stakeholders including parents, the community, NGOs and CSOs. The respondents also viewed a "school" as an organisation led by a head teacher who is in charge of school functions and works in cooperation with the staff and other stakeholders. However, the respondents expressed different views of decentralization and their responsibilities. The respondents mentioned a number of responsibilities for principals, including teaching and supervising instruction, administrative work: holding meetings, ensuring the availability of school infrastructure and the welfare of teachers and students and building relations with stakeholders.

Regarding the principals' autonomy, the policy makers and administrators emphasized that devolution is an opportunity for principals to make decisions regarding their schools'

development. As this thesis's chapter on policy explained, two important aspects of decentralization by devolution are the transfer of decision-making authority to the lower levels, and the stakeholders' participation in augmenting what the government provides to the schools as a means for achieving quality and efficiency (URT, 1995).

Binary oppositions were consistent throughout the answers to the questions about the principals' autonomy. Some principals believed that the decentralization policy has simplified their work since they are now responsible for solving school problems. These respondents cited the *Delegation of Authority Guide*, which has given them the authority to deal with teachers' issues. For example, some principals commented that they have changed from being recipients of directives to being the planners of their activities although they normally consult higher authorities as part of information-sharing and cooperation: "When you ask for permission, your authority is complete because we work in cooperation" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014). However, although information-sharing is vital, it is unclear whether the principals have enough autonomy to perform their roles effectively and efficiently.

The answers to my questions about the principals' experiences and the challenges associated with the decentralization by devolution policy enabled me to see how the discourses regarding decentralization by devolution involved issues of power. In some cases, the principals cannot make their own decisions and have to forward matters to a higher authority for decisions and guidance. Such matters include teachers' discipline and human and financial resources. For example, a principal explained, "We usually request for teachers through the monthly reports that we send to the district. In such reports, we normally explain our shortages, [and allocations] depend on the teachers available" (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

The principals recognized that their limited autonomy and outside interference contributed to their inefficiency. For example, one principal stated that although principals have authority, the ministry still makes decisions, suggesting a misunderstanding about the principals' actual level of authority. Similarly, an urban principal stated that he has decision-making authority for only simple matters:

> There is nothing new. If there is a teacher who has been transferred here or started working here and has not been promoted, it is my duty to write a letter to my boss, telling him or her that this teacher has not been promoted. If I received a prompt reply, I would say I have authority and power. However, these challenges are still there. You write a letter, but it takes a long time to get a response (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

The statements above portray the limitations that the principals are facing. Although a principal supervises the teachers, he or she cannot promote them and has to wait for feedback from the higher authorities that are directly involved in the decision-making process. In the above quotation, the principal associates prompt feedback with his autonomy. His answer suggests that centralism limits the devolution of authority. In their interviews, the administrators and deputies confirmed this conclusion, explaining that although principals may develop and implement their own school development plans, their success depends on the amount received from government allocations, which, in most cases, are insufficient. Although they have insufficient resources to carry out their plans, the principals are not encouraged to collect contributions from parents and interpret this lack of encouragement as a limitation to their autonomy. In their answers to a question about autonomy, the respondents indicated that the policy's promise of autonomy and the actual practice are far apart. To what extent and in which areas principals have full autonomy is unclear, but this problem is undermining their efficiency. The issues involving the principals' autonomy reflect the conflict in devolution. The conflict emanates from power-preservation

tendencies (centralism) and the implementation of devolution regardless of whether the proper mechanisms and realistic structural arrangements are in place for empowering the local actors (Juma et al., 2014).

When I asked the principals to reflect on their experiences of decentralization, I received a range of responses. The interviewees consistently contradicted each other in their interviews. Some stated that the previous system overburdened them because of regarding the schools as the principals' property, whereas the decentralization by devolution policy created a sense of school ownership by the community. However, some respondents stated that the community is not supportive either because of the feeling that providing education is the role of the government, because of poverty, or because the community already has a number of obligations in education (primary and secondary), health care, and other fields. Reflecting on community support, a rural principal explained that "In our environment, we face some challenges; there is poor response of the community in supporting schools. This may be associated with poor income [among community members] or because of many community's responsibilities and failure to accomplish all that they have started" (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014). Such statements have a number of implications. For instance, the variation of community support to schools will lead to social stratification and unequal provision of services in different communities. As well, the poor support from the community increases the workload of the principals, who have to find strategies to fill the gap left by the community even though they have only limited autonomy.

This dissertation's policy chapter, particularly its section on the SIT (URT, 2013b), also revealed the weaknesses of some communities in supporting schools. Apple's (1986) work helps to summarise the principals' views regarding what is taking place in their context:

> There are hidden similarities between advocates of school effectiveness research and those committed to 'neo-liberal reforms.' Both tend to ignore the fact that external characteristics of schools such as poverty, political and economic power, and so on consistently account for much more of the variation in schools (p. 477).

As this passage suggests, the different levels of poverty and political and economic power continue to create inequalities in the level of the services being delivered in different schools in Tanzania. An education administrator revealed a common source of conflict facing principals. Although they often have a school committee, hold meetings with parents and other community members, and reach consensus through deliberations, "There are community members who claim that there is no need of community contributions since schools receive Capitation Grants from the government" (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014). The causes of such a claim could be the lack of cooperation and support from local leaders, and interference from politicians who discourage such a process because it "disturbs their voters" (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014). Moreover, scholars including Carnoy (1999) see the government efforts to involve the community in supporting education after an economic crisis and budget cuts as a way to transfer the burden from government to communities.

The interviews and policy documents revealed that decentralization by devolution in Tanzania is a combination of different aspects. While autonomy is the hallmark of decentralization by devolution policies, the kind of autonomy granted to schools is related to several factors including the state's political culture and the history of decentralization reform (Wohlstertter, Wenning, & Briggs, 1995). Sen (1999) perceives autonomy in two dimensions as the process that allows freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual opportunities for making such decisions. The process dimension involves formal authority from the government, while the

opportunities dimension focuses on the school in making decisions. Wohlstetter et al. (1995) distinguish between autonomy from the government, on the one hand, and from the local level or organizations, on the other hand, but both fall under collective autonomy, meaning deregulation and control, respectively. Autonomy from the central government and the local government is necessary, or else decision-making at the school level will be limited, and the whole decentralization process will be undermined.

The limitations for principals include, first, the requirement to spend Capitation Grants (CG) regardless of school needs; for example, a principal could be required to spend 10% of these grants on school examinations. Second, although the PEDP (URT, 2002) document requires the preparation of school development plans, their implementation is subject to the amount of funds allocated by the central government, and a plan is unlikely to be fully funded. Third, although principals have some decision-making powers, some orders from the center may not necessarily match with their plans. Fourth, principals rely on council offices regarding the allocation of teachers. For example, some respondents suggested that a role of the principal is to remind the council office about the shortage of teachers so that the district office can allocate more of them. This role raises concerns regarding principals' ability to manage their schools: (1) What is the level of the principals' autonomy regarding the adequate number of staff? and (2) How does a shortage of teachers impact the management of the school? Fifth, principals deal with the identification and admission of pupils although enrolment guidelines come from the center. The Grade One enrolment guideline (URT, 2001c) specified the eligible age for enrolment and prohibited mandatory parental contributions, in the spirit of compulsory enrolment and attendance under UPE. To some respondents, given their insufficient resources, this specification

limits their autonomy. Sixth, some teachers' disciplinary matters must be forwarded to councils for decisions. Additionally, a number of organisations deal with teachers' affairs. The Council Executive Director is the employer but does not have the authority to fire teachers. The Teachers' Service Department, which belongs to a different ministry, has this power. These two organisations both have power over teachers, and yet the principals are to be the supervisors. With such an institutional and hierarchical arrangement, principals tend to be obedient rather than autonomous

These issues reflect Addi-Raccah's (2009) opinion that government laws have never enforced decentralization or executed it throughout the entire education system because in most cases, schools continue to work under pressure and lack the freedom needed to introduce some innovations.

The key aspects of school-based management across national states are the models of control in decentralization. These models can be categorized as administrative control, where the principal makes the important decisions; professional control, where teachers are in the driver's seat; community control, where the community and parents make decisions together (Hanson, 1991), and balanced control, which gives parents and teachers equal power in the decision-making processes. The status of the Tanzanian school-based management style is "unfolding" (Nguni, 2005, p. 54) because it is still in transition. Given the 20-year lifespan for implementation, one can expect some more developments. The nature of the current school-based management in particular schools depends on the awareness and empowerment of school committees, parents, and teachers. According to Hanson (1998), the two models for systems of decentralization are the simultaneous and the gradual models. Hanson (1998) recommends the

use of gradual models because they are more realistic. Babyegeya (2000), in his work *Educational reforms in Tanzania: From nationalization to decentralization of schools*, supports this opinion by asserting that unless local communities are ready to receive authority, transferring decision-making to them is not feasible**.** Nonetheless, the fundamental aim of any reform including education reform is to challenge the existing system's weakness in achieving formally stated objectives and its inability to achieve the new sets of priorities. The system does not work in a vacuum but in a social context, and, as Assié-Lumumba (2000) explains, "for the reform to succeed, its objectives must not be in conflict with the values and norms of the broader society" (p. 93). For example, the populist philosophy of education would work better in an egalitarian society than one with an elitist educational philosophy.

Travelling policies

The expression of the idea that global actors externally influenced Tanzania's decentralization policy was common in the literature and my interviews. For example, statements such as "We learned, we did not pick best practices" (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015), "When you see something is implemented in Tanzania, be aware that others have gone through that" (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014), and "Decentralization is a global practice" (Policy maker 1, February 24, 2015) reveal the participants' views of the implementation of decentralization by devolution. These opinions suggest the policy's foreign origin, the common source of global practises, and a sense of connectivity, which all are features of globalization and its outcomes, despite the need to consider the local context and outcomes (Ball, 1993).

The policy chapter indicated that the political push to decentralize school management had an external origin and has spread across the globe in many policy circles (Rivarola & Fullar,

1999). For example, despite having "nominal political independence, most African countries have designed their domestic policies under the guidance or influence of external powers" (Assié-Lumumba, 2000, p. 92). Therefore, the external factors, particularly the SAPs, have negatively influenced the domestic policy for institutional restructuring, and the WB and IMF restrictions have limited the principals' autonomy in budget management. Several Tanzanian educational policies have also acknowledged this reality, including ETP (1995) and Tanzania Vision (2025) (URT, 2000; 2001a). For example, the shift from state control of the economy and public sector created a mismatch between the existing national development policies and the principles of a free economy as well as the technological development taking place worldwide (URT, 2000). Thus, the shift triggered a change. In this case, the policy responded to the global economic crisis, and thus, decentralization is an outcome of global issues. Largely, the process is an outcome of the WB's and IMF's SAPs developed to maintain the world order.

Said (2000) explains that a travelling theory is one that developed away from its original site of formulation, but instead of becoming domesticated to bring about local solutions, it restates and confirms its own inherent tensions by moving to another site. Since such a theory is an imposed epistemology, it lacks the ability to provide local reconciliations and solutions. As Said (2000) and Slee (2004) explain, some theories that travel to other times and situations lose some of their original powers and thus become disfigured in the course of travelling. While in such situations, the recipient can benefit from understanding the best practices globally, such understanding cannot be achieved in the local context "without making some adjustments" (Karagiongi & Nicolaidou, 2010, p. 67) due to context differences. For example, Said (2000) suggests that when a human experience is attached for the first time to a theoretical formulation,

"its force comes from being directly connected to and organically provoked by real historical circumstances. Later versions of the theory cannot replicate its original power; because the situation has quieted down and changed, the theory is degraded and subdued" (p. 436). In this case, the theories selected need to be domesticated in order for them to be relevant to the local context.

Experience shows that once externally oriented policies are selected, there has been a tendency to over-praise them and to overlook their effects. This tendency may be due to the decolonisation processes associated with the influence of power, the colonial legacy, or the colonization of the mind (Abdi & Shultz, 2012; Fanon, 1961/2004; wa Thiongo, 1986). Since travelling policies or theories need to consider their destination sites, settings and situations, borrowing from them and adapting them may be necessary but not sufficient, for their destinations' context, the way core values are animated, and the intellectual life of the hosting environment must all be considered (Assié-Lumumba, 2016; Ball, 1993; Said, 2000).

The trends in Tanzania reflect similar school management practices in other countries. For example, the USA and Canada have site-based management while in New Zealand decentralized schools are referred to as "self-governing schools." In the United Kingdom, such schools are called "self-governing and grant-maintained schools" (Levin et al., as cited in Blackmore & Sacks, 2007). In Tanzania, this style of school management is referred to as "school-based," but the whole trend reflects the influence of global actors, which creates similar school-management styles in different countries.

Burden and efficiency

In responding to my open-ended question about whether and how decentralization adds to their duties, the participant principals provided a number of different insights. The answers to this question and the answers quoted in the previous chapter convey that devolution has increased the principals' duties because the principals now have to respond to various stakeholders' needs and demands. According to the respondents, decentralization has significantly increased their workloads. A common theme emerged regarding the principals' workloads and inefficiency. For example, one participant stated, "For someone who fulfills his duties as required, these responsibilities are many, and they are many to the extent that they can make you as the head teacher forget meeting your other responsibilities" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014). Other principals indicated that they were spending a great deal of time holding meetings and trying to persuade stakeholders to support their schools. A rural principal commented:

> The main concern is that the head teacher performs his or her administrative duties and that he or she still teaches. The truth is that the work is too much, and it is like one person working in two departments, teaching and finance or material management. We usually manage with difficulty not adequately as required in the guidelines (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014).

Throughout the interviews, the principals, deputies, administrators and policy makers expressed concerns about the principals' workloads. The respondents identified the principals' roles, including instructional and new administrative roles that also include the responsibility for finding alternative sources of income. Reflecting on these roles, a policy maker stated, "These [roles] are added to academic roles and in the real sense we give principals a big burden" (Policy maker 2, February 27, 2015). This statement implies that instruction is seen as a core function of principals, as the policy document also indicates (URT, 2013b). However, the interviews

revealed that the level of the principals' efficiency differed among individuals and places, and that in some cases, the principals were either exempted from some duties or had few classes to teach in order to give them more time for administrative activities. Nonetheless, no official guideline currently regulates the use of exemptions for head teachers. A deputy principal stated that principals who do not receive exemptions cannot carry out all their teaching duties:

> Most of the time, the principal is in meetings and fails to teach his lessons. Even at the end of the year, he does not complete the syllabus. He may be required to the education office [and] to take cases of school pregnant girls to higher authorities so the head teachers have a lot of work (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014).

The discussion in this dissertation's policy chapter supported these comments. The delegation of authority guide (URT, 2013b) provides guidance for how school heads should allocate their time and for which activities should or should not be delegated. For example, 40 percent of the principals' time (out of 8 hours a day), the most time allocated for any activity, is allocated for supervising instruction. Although supervising instruction involves monitoring lesson plans and teaching, the guide assigns these tasks to principals and does not suggest delegating them. Nevertheless, my own observations and the interviews revealed that school principals assign teachers (academic masters) to supervise this activity. This practice has a number of implications. Although principals are aware of the tasks that they have to perform in person, they are not adhering to this guideline, perhaps because either the principals' workload is too heavy or the guide is not realistic based on what is taking place on the ground. An urban principal revealed why he could not always follow the guideline: "I have a system of collecting teachers' lesson plans every Friday. I have 90 teachers. Instead of them bringing me all the work, I have delegated this duty to academic teachers. In this case, they have also teachers under their supervision"

(Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014). However, it was noted that regardless of the delegation of some duties, principals are still forced to go through the lesson plans because some teachers do not prepare their plans carefully unless the principals monitor them. On the other hand, several participants reported a shortage of teachers in some schools. This problem could amplify the challenge because the number of teachers available determines a principals' ability to delegate authority.

The participants offered several insights into principals' workloads and how they are being handled. All the head teachers reported that they worked overtime during weekends and holidays. An urban principal commented:

> My responsibilities are many, madam. If you do not come on weekends, some tasks cannot be accomplished. Mostly, I come to go through the lesson plans. As you know, there are 60 teachers here. If everyone prepares his or hers, then you have at least 49 lesson plans to go through (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

The extra duties assigned to principals led to their need to work overtime. For example, the education administrators mentioned that principals and teachers were required to register voters. This task requires one to two weeks, so the principals need to make up for the lost time. An administrator explained, "You may find that on Saturdays and Sundays, they may fail to come; therefore, the appropriate time for additional teaching is during holidays (Council education administrator). One may doubt that principals and teachers can be efficient in such a setting, where they must work almost continuously throughout the year.

A policy maker suggested that principals' instructional roles give them enough work to do and that any failure to carry out these roles can be attributed to their heavy workloads. He explained politics interfere with the professional work because head teachers are usually

responsible for holding frequent meetings at the school, village, and ward levels and for supervising elections. A policy maker explained, "In essence, [principals] have a lot of interferences, and a big percent of these are not school but politically oriented" (Policy maker 3, February 24, 2015). An education administrator suggested that given the workload facing principals, what they manage to do is an achievement. She asserted, "To manage all this [work], head teachers arrive very early. At exactly six in the morning, he arrives and leaves at nine in the night so he/she may accomplish all that including those out of his plan (Urban Education Administrator T, February 10, 2015). This situation led a rural principal to comment on the requirement for 194 school days (minimum); she stated that this requirement is not practical, and thus, the guideline is not being followed. Overall, the participants acknowledged that instruction is a core function of principals, but doubted that they are able to carry it out efficiently.

Some observers argue that the autonomy emphasized in decentralization is a trade-off for accountability. Due to the reforms, principals now have to invest more time than they had to previously, and some principals' workloads have been increased to the extent of affecting their work and family lives (Gunter et al., 2004).

In line with Gunter et al.'s (2004) opinion, a policy maker stated that if the aim of devolution is efficiency, "I could advise if there is a possibility we need to reduce head teachers' workload. He/she could remain with most of academic and minimal administrative roles such as those of communication." She noted that in the former system, the ministry had appointed experts, such as accountants, material management officers and engineers for schools located in the same cluster. Although the number of schools has doubled, best practices from the previous system could still be followed if appropriate adjustments were made.

Since the introduction of decentralization policies, principals' roles have changed. As Addi-Raccah (2009) suggests, this trend "has expanded the role of school principals" (p. 161). Fullan (1998) notes that the changes caused by decentralization have increased workloads and demands. The demands originate partly from the increase of the range of stakeholders because all are regarded as "clients," and principals need to work hard to satisfy their needs. In addition, principals must satisfy market demands and meet the standards provided. This requirement suggests a market or business orientation in management that may not necessarily match with the nature of the services in schools. In the policy chapter, the discussion showed that documents such as PEDP (2002) and SIT (2013) clarify in detail the principals' roles. Some respondents sympathized with the principals, while others thought that if they were empowered (by being given sufficient human and financial resources), the principals could manage their work efficiently. This view confirms that principals have heavy workloads and reflects that some inefficiency exists in the whole process of managing schools.

The findings in the policy chapter mention the strategies for motivating teachers, including offering them incentive packages. However, the education administrators confirmed that there is no responsibility allowance, for example. This problem may demoralize principals and affect their performance. Thus, a deputy principal stated that "Head teachers have a lot of work, and they don't even have an administrative allowance, and it is likely that I may be having a greater salary than his" (Rural deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014). The principals agreed that they should receive a special allowance. When asked whether the allowance, for example, would reduce the workload, one principal suggested that at least he would be able to afford a daily lunch, and thus, he would have enough energy to work extra hours.

The respondents, particularly the education administrators, also revealed that the heavy workloads were causing some principals to request to leave their positions and that administrators were sometimes ignoring problems that, in normal circumstances, would prompt administrative actions. Some administrators were reluctant to criticize principals, because not many teachers are motivated to replace them. Such reluctance may contribute to the erosion of integrity and accountability during principals' struggle to carry out their functions, which involve new duties and responsibilities regarding the management of students and teachers. In addition, principals must handle external factors such as elections while also being accountable for school outcomes and reporting to various governing bodies (Addi-Raccah, 2009; Wildy & Louden, 2000). Thus, some observers argue that autonomy is being provided to schools in exchange for accountability.

Fate of professionalism and the effects on principals

The increased functions of principals reflect the outcomes of colonial and post-colonial discourse in the school context. Assié-Lumumba's (2000), Faller's (2008) and Hayter's (2005) works help to clarify what the policy documents and interviews revealed. The economic crisis involved the rise of oil import costs and high debt-servicing costs, which imposed constraints on education budgets and public expenditures. For example, Faller (2008) indicates that the Gross National Product (GNP) share declined from 3.8 to 3.1 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and, as a result, funding of education was no longer perceived as an essential public expenditure. In this case, the economic crisis became the global field influencing domestic policies on economic revival and education management (Assié-Lumumba, 2000). This influence came from global actors, notably the WB and the IMF, which directed developing countries to implement the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). The externally defined budgets, particularly the

budget for social services, affected education management in general. As my participants stated, the way educators are now being trained (although their training might have slightly changed) reflects the long-term effect of the SAPs' policies, particularly those that externally determine a country's budget.

One of the most interesting submissions I received was from an urban principal. Reflecting on the challenges in the management of schools, the principal stated that previously, people really wanted to teach and joined the profession by desire and that teaching was in their blood, "but now with our youth, the ones we call "express" (Voda-faster), managing them is very difficult. Currently, head teachers say the principal-ship we have nowadays is like an examination" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014). The principal compared the teachers of the 1970s and those of the 2000s and concluded that whereas those of the 1970s had no problems, those of the 2000s have many. The principal's term "express" refers to the duration of teachers' training. Formerly, the teacher-training certificate course for the Certificate for Secondary Education Examination (CSEE) (equivalent to Grade 12) graduates was two years. After the economic crisis and the need for more teachers following high enrolments, one of the options was to reduce the teacher-training course's duration and to provide more support to teachers in the field, including practicum and mentor systems. In an interview, a rural principal suggested that principals should have a five-year term in office and then be replaced. However, she also commented that "Back then [in 1983] in our teachers' training colleges, we had courses on leadership, but I am not sure if it is still taught. Back then, when one left the college, he would have a good understanding of leadership (Rural principal B3, December 3, 2014). The participants indicated the difficulty of managing the new teachers (the products of the 2000s)

because of their inadequate training and/or the nature of the people who are allowed to join the teaching profession.

The challenges regarding new teachers were also apparent in the education administrators' comments. The procedures for recruiting new teachers are less strict than they were previously. One reason is that freezing the hiring processes during the economic crisis led to an acute shortage of teachers that affected the duration of and standards for teacher training. An administrator stated that the process of getting new teachers was like throwing a fish net into a lake and capturing every kind of fish! As well, the selection criteria have changed. For example, at one time, a division three ranking in the CSEE was the minimum qualification for enrolment in the teacher-training program. The same ranking became the minimum criterion for being accepted for advanced secondary education, a level that after two years qualified successful students for university. Therefore, some highly qualified students who had been selected for teacher training and were from well-to-do families chose to enrol in advanced secondary education instead. In order to attract more applicants for the teacher training programs, the admission officers had to become more flexible about whom they accept. In an interview, a retired policy maker suggested why new teachers are less qualified than previous teachers were. He stated that, first, new teachers do not acquire enough teaching and leadership training, and that second, the selection of head teachers is not based on good governance because even new teachers (with less than five years' experience) are being appointed as head teachers and that sometimes the selection is based on personal interests. The respondent associated the appointment of incompetent teachers to principal-ship with the shortage of teachers in the schools. The editor of the *Guardian Newspaper* in Tanzania (Nyirenda, 2015) confirmed the

shortage of teachers. In the article "Shortage of teachers growing into a crisis," the editor stated that "An acute shortage of teachers has hit hard newly established districts to the extent that half of the public schools have not filled their teaching positions, putting administrators in an awkward situation" (p. 1). Third, the retired policy maker also stated that the new teachers have less commitment to their students than previous teachers had to theirs. For example, he described a teacher who travelled from one region to another during the school term to buy items for his shop, making a trip that could take three to four days and that left his students unattended. Many factors ranging from the teachers' inadequate training to Tanzania's economic problems account for the kind of new teachers who have been hired during the 2000s.

An education administrator and the principals suggested that we have fewer committed new teachers because the recently hired teachers did not really want to join the profession. In a period of high unemployment, parents will do almost anything to secure a government job for their children. *The Guardian's* editor supported this argument: he commented that the teaching profession "has today lost its glory" and thus, is seen by "many as the last resort for students who did not do well in class" (Nyirenda, 2015, p. 2). Similarly, Omari (2013) argues that most selected teacher candidates had the lowest levels of performance in their CSEE. Of course, the lack of qualified new teachers contributes to principals' teacher-management problems.

In their interviews, the education administrators also revealed how capitalist relations are firmly embedded in the current education system and how those relations are influencing teachers' practices. These relations contribute to head teachers' management difficulties. Teachers are experiencing financial hardships, so that depending on only one source of income is not feasible for them. Thus, many teachers are involving themselves in some kind of business and

are not devoting all their working lives to their teaching. An education administrator commented about the increasing number of teachers who are receiving loans from private financial institutions. A teacher might have two or three loans from different financial institutions and be unable to make all the monthly loan repayments. Although the government will normally not reduce an employee's salary by more than one-third, this policy becomes difficult to follow when teachers obtain multiple loans, because the employers do not realize that their teachers have been negotiating with different financial institutions**.** In such a situation, teachers' work commitment decreases, and absenteeism and the principals' management problems increase. Another major challenge occurs when teachers have their own motorcycle business, which is a growing industry in Tanzania. In most cases, the teachers employ youths to run their businesses. However, when the youths are cheating them, the teachers have to either spend time investigating the youths or involve themselves more in running their businesses. Head teachers have great difficulty in managing such teachers.

Performativity and impression management

Ball (1986) defines "performativity" as "a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation, or even a system of terror…that employs judgement, comparisons and displays as means of control, attrition and change" (p. 692). In this process, the individual or organisation's performance serves as the measure for evaluation. Accountability and competition are hallmarks of this discourse of power as a new regulative form in education (Ball, 1986; Lyotard, as cited in Ball, 1986). However, the process compromises professionalism by restructuring the meaning and identity of the profession. This reformation is due to the uncertainty and instability in judging professionals in diverse ways and means by using different measures. Moreover, the restructuring

is due to the consistently changing demands, expectations and indicators that make professionals continually accountable for their actions (Ball, 1986).

The policy chapter, my interviews with principals and policy makers, and my field observations all demonstrate contexts where principals have to obey the requirements of the market. The sense of performativity was clear during my fieldwork. Since one of my respondents was busy during weekdays, we agreed to meet on a Saturday. Coincidently, Grade One applicants were being interviewed on that day. A large number of parents turned up with their children. Given that the deputy principal was in charge of the interview process, it delayed our interview and gave me opportunity to interact with the parents. The parents whose children had been unable to attend pre-primary school were tense. One parent had just hired a private teacher to coach her child before the official interview. Children who have attended pre-primary school have a better chance for admission than other children do. Ball (1986) refers to such a selection process as reflecting the logic of market incentives, because the selection of students aims at enhancing the schools' reputations. The students who have been successful in the past tend to be the cheapest to teach and the easiest to manage, whereas those "who threaten the reputation or performance of the school will be deselected" (p. 699). Although the ETP (1995) policy requires all primary schools to have pre-primary classes as a preparation for Grade One, there are not enough of these pre-schools because not all primary schools have these classes (URT, 2012), and some of the existing pre-schools are established and owned by private institutions or individuals who charge tuition fees. The entire selection process is complicated because it results from the government's inability to provide services as expected, but, given the level of accountability and competition, schools are choosing options based on whatever helps them. In effect, schools act like doctors

who try to maintain their reputations by not accepting high-risk patients (Ball, 1986). In education, the selection process has shifted emphasis from student needs to student performance, or from what the schools are expected to do for students, to what students are expected to do for the schools (Apple, 1986).

In an interview, a rural principal raised another troubling issue when she commented that the increase of Tanzania's school-age population is exceeding the capacities of schools. This situation exists because the governments' slow increases in service provision cannot accommodate the rapid increase in population. A report by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) (2000) discusses this concern. Between 1990 and 1998, the average annual growth rate of the world population was 1.9 percent, while that of Africa stood at 2.7 percent. Statistics from the Tanzania Population and Housing Census (PHC) indicate that during this same period, Tanzania had an annual population growth rate of 2.9 percent (URT, 2013d). This high growth rate resulted from a decreasing mortality rate and high fertility rate. The current annual growth stands at 2.7 percent (URT, 2013d). Moreover, sub-Saharan Africa has the youngest populations in the world. Such population growth creates huge problems for educators because to accommodate "an ever-increasing school-age population, every year more schools, teachers and books will be needed" (ADEA, 2000, p. 17). For example, the PHC of 2012 revealed, "Tanzania's population is characterised by a young age structure, with 43.9 percent of the total population below age 15 years. The percentage of population below 15 years of age for Tanzania is slightly above the average for African countries (41 percent)" (URT, 2013d, p. 34). While these statistics reflect a high fertility regime, the age structure implies that even if the

fertility rate falls, the population will continue to grow and "could exert pressure on the available resources, and adversely affect the country's socio-economic development efforts" (p. 34).

An urban principal expressed a related concern about the norms and standards guiding school admission practices. He commented on the pressure that higher authorities are placing on school administrators regarding enrolments. Although the standard number for a stream is 40 students, the authorities often require school administrators to enrol as many students as possible, without considering the availability of teachers and classrooms. The urban principal stated,

> For example, one of my roles as head teacher is to admit new students to school. However, according to my understanding, a school with good quality should have a standard number of students. Nevertheless, you are told that you have no mandate to refuse admission of any child since the school will never be full. In this case, running such a school will have many challenges because at times, you register beyond the capacity of the school without considering the actual number of available spaces and teachers and other school requirements (Urban principal T3, November 4, 2014).

This issue has implications for the accountability of principals, who are being asked to enrol more students than schools can accommodate, in order to satisfy the UPE's expectations. Over-enrolment and overcrowding due to the shortage of classrooms and teachers do not support classroom interaction and optimal student learning. For this reason, some principals may ignore government directives in order to avoid increasing the burden on their schools, while other principals might accept these directives in order to impress the higher authorities and access a larger Capitation Grant. On the other hand, the entire enrolment process may be aimed at impressing the stakeholders by having expanded enrolments.

Performativity was also an issue in the policy chapter's discussion of strategies for improving student performance. Under the performance initiative, targets are set to improve the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) pass rates. For example, the expectation for 2014

was 70 percent and for 2015 was 80 percent (URT, 2013a). This strategy classifies schools into three major groups: Green, Yellow and Red, representing High, Medium and Low-performing schools, respectively. The main aim of this initiative is to motivate school officials to be accountable to the public. The schools' performance rates are made public to raise community awareness and engagement (URT, 2013a). During the interviews, the principals introduced their schools by referring to their rank in the PSLE. Partly, the principals' goal was to show that their schools were either improving or had good records. Generally, principals use the PSLE results as a way to build trust in parents and the community at large. However, in an interview, a policy maker argued that the targets set are too high and do not reflect reality. For example, before the BRN initiative, the actual pass rate in 2012 was 30.72 percent. After the BRN initiative, the set target in 2013 was 60 percent, and the actual pass rate in 2013 was 50.61 percent, whereas the target for 2014 was 70 percent (URT, 2012; URT, 2013a; URT, 2013c). The policy maker based her argument on the level of support that was available, including the availability of teachers, infrastructure, and financial resources. In most cases, a school that excels is celebrated even if it has not used justifiable performance strategies. In contrast, schools that fail to achieve their targets are held accountable without any consideration of their conditions such as their level of community support and the availability of teachers.

Throughout the interviews, the participants commented on the pressure on them to have good PSLE results. As the policy chapter explains, schools are ranked as either high, medium, or low performing. Performativity such as a school's ranking in the examination results has two different faces. Willmott (as cited in Ball, 1986) suggests that performativity can be related to culture building and inculcating pride or belief in the quality of service provided. On the other

side of the coin, when ratings and rankings are established, the competition between groups can produce feelings of not only pride, but also guilt and shame. The combination of performance indicators, comparisons, and competitions may be seen as values conflict, on the one hand, and colonisation or de-professionalization of teachers' roles, on the other hand (Ball, 1986).

Apple (1986) comments that when commercial issues become important, educational principles and values are compromised. For instance, the demand for examination results to be published implies that schools have to increasingly look for means to attract motivated parents with higher-achieving students. In practical terms, this demand is confirmed by the private tuition in public schools, where parents now have to pay for extra teaching for their children after school hours, on weekends and during holidays.

According to Apple (1986), a new powerful block alliance that is influencing education has been formed. The alliance has made a set of compromises that draws elements from neo-liberal-market orientated solutions to education; neo-conservative higher standards and common culture; and professionalism techniques involving accountability, measurements, and management. In the process, the alliance has connected education to neo-liberal ideology, so that educational objectives are now linked to economic and social goals. The guiding principles include "the free market, the drastic reduction of government responsibility for social needs, the reinforcement of intensely competitive structures of mobility both inside and outside the school" (p. 469). With such an educational platform based on neo-liberalism, the belief is that the adoption of market values will inevitably lead to improved schools. As Apple (1986) comments, "This coupling of markets and mechanisms for the generation of evidence of performance is exactly what has occurred" (p. 471). This coupling has resulted in new pressure on principals.

Principals' empowerment

Findings from the policy chapter, notably in the discussion of the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) URT (2002), confirm that the government intends to empower principals so that they can perform their roles effectively. This empowerment is in the form of financial resources, particularly Capitation Grants (CGs), training, human resources and support from communities. The term "empowerment" is often used in the literature of educational reforms. According to Dunst, Trivette, & Deal (1988), empowerment is a function of the opportunities that a person is provided to demonstrate her/his competencies. This definition is based on three factors: (a) a chance to access and control required resources, (b) the ability to make decisions and solve problems, and (c) the skills required to interact with stakeholders in order to acquire resources (Crawford, 2001; Dunst et al., 1998).

Consistently throughout the interviews, the principals, deputies, administrators and policy makers confirmed that the principals were not being empowered enough to be efficient. For example, the issue of the CGs emerged in policy documents as well as in the administrators' interviews. The amount of the CG provided to schools "is not adequate because the amount approved is not sufficient to the number of pupils in primary schools" (URT, 2010, p. 21). According to the promises in the policy documents, the criterion for the allocation of the CG is the number of pupils in a school. Apart from being inadequate, the CG allocation is on a quarterly basis, and sometimes there are delays in receiving the funds. This trend reflects Blackmore and Sacks' (2007) discussion of school restructuring in two territories in Australia during the 1990s. The different territories implemented different levels of devolution. However, the common trend during that period was "funding based on enrolments of individual schools

through global budgets to facilitate local flexibility, and the delegation of increased responsibilities for outcomes down to schools with stronger accountability mechanisms" (p. 37). It should be noted that the WB was a key partner in the initial implementation stage of PEDP. The challenge is that schools have to accumulate enough funds to purchase essential items and services. If there is a delay in receiving the CG, then some principals have had to negotiate with suppliers and therefore incurred school debts. Moreover, the joint Monitoring visit report indicated that schools with few students, such as newly established schools, suffer the most because with only a few students, receiving enough funding is almost impossible (URT, 2010). Therefore, in order to save their schools, principals must look for alternative sources of income. Although this requirement is one characteristic of empowerment, in practice, a principal's success depends on his or her strategies for survival and the nature of the conditions in his or her context. For this reason, the search for adequate funding reflects the neoliberal orientation as individual principals are left to struggle on their own (Hayek, 1944) as if in a jungle where only the fittest survive. The question is how much time is invested in such a process and how much time is left for other school-related activities. What is the fate of schools that fail to survive, and what is the implication for educational objectives? I am inclined to argue that there must be a mechanism for equalizing or contextualizing policies, and thus, we need to decolonize educational policies in order to achieve the intended educational objectives.

Supporting schools is one of the strategies in keeping them functioning well. In this case, training is one of the most important methods for keeping the target group up to date, particularly in the current context of new knowledges and technologies, but, in the interviews, the principals

stated that their training was inadequate. The urban principal commented that principals are sometimes required on short notice to submit reports on-line:

> Although we have autonomy, still the ministry makes decisions on most of the things. This gives us trouble, especially when you get directives without required resources. When I speak of resources, I mean people and funds. When you tell me (the head teacher) to prepare a report by using a computer, and to make sure you send the report on-line, it is unfair. As you can see, here at school, we have no power. We are still in the process. You have no computer, and if you do not have money to go to the Internet either, it becomes difficult. Some directives to schools do not consider available support and resources. Therefore, if you have authority with no resources, it becomes difficult. When they give orders, they should ask themselves if they have given enough support to people. In addition, you find that a report is needed within three days? They should ask themselves, is there any money this person can use? Most of the time, you are told to use your experience (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

The above comments reveal the gaps in principals' knowledge, or their computer literacy, and their lack of important tools such as computers, electricity, and financial resources. However, despite these gaps, the higher authorities still expect principals to carry out their assigned duties. In this kind of situation, school management is likely to be inefficient.

In the interviews, the principals and policy makers also expressed their concerns about the training for new head teacher appointees. Some principals reflected on their two-week orientation program at the Agency for the Development of Educational Management, and stated that their training had been useful. However, a policy maker explained:

> We normally provide help, but sometimes our help comes in very late. For example, we have about 17,000 primary schools. Therefore, the modalities of, for example, reaching the entire target group on time so that they can manage their roles effectively become a problem. At times, we appoint a person, but it takes time before one gets orientation or training. For this, sometimes I feel pity because some principals are penalized because of the weaknesses of other parties. For example, those who get problems because of improper book keeping and financial irregularities (Policy maker 2, February 27, 2015).

The above statements demonstrate how the system is incapable of supporting the entire group of principals. Similarly, URT (2010) admitted, "most schools do not have sufficient financial management skills to maintain their books of accounts" (p. 59). The lack of support, including insufficient training, affects principals' functioning because it limits their efficiency and thus, compromises their ability to manage their schools efficiently. In some cases, this problem may be associated with budget constraints following budget cuts. Although, for example, the government promised 70 percent of the education sector-allocated budget to the primary education sub-sector, data indicate a decreasing trend from 73 percent in 1999/2000 to 53 percent in 2010/2011.

In an era of budget cuts and a decline in public spending, the expectation is for communities to augment what the government provides (URT, 2002). In this context, some authors believe that the essence of decentralization reforms is not a desire for school productivity, but rather "the need to reduce central government financial and management responsibility for secondary and primary education" (Carnoy, 1999, p. 54). As was evident in the principals' and administrators' interviews, communities vary regarding their economic status, awareness, and location, all of which impact the communities' support for principals and schools. In such a situation, if, for example, no intervention plans are in place for reducing council/schools' financial disparities, we are legitimizing stratification among councils and schools and thus, making the work of principals become more difficult. No matter how small a school is in terms of enrollment, the basic requirements must be available, such as classrooms, lesson plans, chalkboards, and stationary. Nonetheless, policy documents do not mention the minimal required amount that an entire community would need to contribute in order keep a school operating.

Educational regulations, circulars, and guidelines are important in managing schools and, more importantly, in making informed decisions. One of the important factors in good governance is decisions based on law and, in this case, regulations and circulars (Omari, 2013). The principals and administrators consistently referred to the *Delegation of Authority Guide*, which provides principals mandate guidelines for managing schools. The policy document entitled School Improvement Toolkit (SIT) states that a copy of a guide should be attached to the SIT for head teachers' quick reference. Because of the importance of the guide, I was surprised that most principals did not have a copy in their offices. An urban principal explained:

> When we have education circulars, we do quote some phrases from the directives, but we do not exactly have the regulation documents. When you decide to take action against someone and he seeks for a defence, we need to find the regulation so that we both can reach a compromise. In the directives, for instance, we normally get advice that according to a certain regulation or law of a certain year, this person can be dealt with in a certain way regarding a certain mistake (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

This lack of the necessary documents contributes to the principals' inefficiency.

Principals' struggle to meet expectations

In the neo-liberal market-orientated solutions to education, which feature neo-conservative-higher standards and common culture and professionalism, techniques to improve accountability, measurements, and management (Ball, 1986; Shultz, 2013a), the principals must look for survival mechanisms and innovations and might not always adhere to professional ethics or societal norms. As this thesis' chapter on leadership explained, two important components of the African philosophy of Ubuntu and professional ethics are humanism, and a sense of care and equity, respectively. The principals discussed a number of strategies and measures they take either to make their work easy or to meet their clients' expectations. An urban principal explained

how he manages his school in a context of insufficient and irregular CG funding. He reported that he had to persuade donors to construct latrines for his school. Afterwards, the overcrowding in the small number of new latrines caused some students to exceed the amount of time allowed for washroom breaks. In order to renovate the old latrines and pay for their maintenance and other school costs such as those for water and school guards' wages, the principal required every student to pay 200 Tanzanian shillings (equivalent to twenty cents CAD). Although not all 4000 students were able to pay this amount, the initiative enabled the principal to keep his school operating. He commented that if his school had received the CG in the expected amounts and on time, the funding "would have done wonders" (urban principal T1, October 27, 2014).

Although the schools may carry out fund-raising activities, the spirit of Universal Primary Education and compulsory enrolment and attendance prevents principals from collecting contributions from parents, and principals must make special arrangements and receive permission from the relevant authorities before asking for contributions from the community. As Assié-Lumumba (2000) explains, "One of the consequences of the economic crisis has been a negative impact on countries' abilities and willingness to fund education, thus, resulting in a heavy direct cost for the families required to pay fees previously borne by the state even at the primary level" (p. 91). As a result, parents incur indirect costs, especially when "free" education is not fully funded (Faller, 2008 & Galabawa, 2001). For example, Faller (2008) reports:

> Limitation on public expenditure, coupled with drive to increase enrolment usually results in a greater financial burden being imposed on households in the form of fees. School fees can take a variety of forms: tuition fees, textbooks charges, the cost of compulsory uniforms, contributions to parent-teacher and community organisations, and activity fees (p. 65).

Principals facing such challenges resort to survival mechanisms. The solution is not to prevent principals from collecting contributions, but to have a mechanism for empowering principals so that they can concentrate on managing their schools. The indirect costs of education are particularly serious for some students and have implications for school management.

The findings from my interviews and observations revealed students who come from difficult environments or are orphans. Some students come to the school every day with no exercise books, and other students never attend school even though the principals call the students' parents. In one school, the managers decided to confiscate the students' backpacks in order to force the parents to pay their contributions. A deputy principal explained:

> Some children are orphans, some live in harsh environments, and some are suffering from various diseases. Therefore, they have no parental care. You find some teachers feeling sorry for them, one saying to bring them a shirt and the other saying to bring them some pants. The government is supposed to give a certain amount to help the children who are orphans. Such children are challenges for the head teacher (Deputy Principal T1, November 5, 2014).

These statements portray the challenges for principals with students who have no parental support. Faller (2008) provides more details. HIV /AIDS have developed from being a public health problem to becoming an obstacle to development. Data indicate that more than 90 percept of AIDS orphans live in sub-Sahara Africa (SSA). The disease has affected the education system by creating "huge numbers of Aids orphans and others who are forced to abandon schools to practise the role of family care-giver and bread winners" (p. 40). In this case, it is not surprising that some students have none of the basic requirements, attend school infrequently, and perform poorly. This problem, as a deputy principal commented, poses challenges for school management. The deputy principal suggested that the government should have a sustainable

special program to support this group. As she explained, some teachers feel sorry for these students and decide to help them. Their concern reflects not only their genuine professionalism, but also Ubuntu's African philosophy, where humanism and a sense of care are core values.

Reflecting on the challenges principals face because of inadequate resources, one deputy principal stated that head teachers have to be creative by, for example, developing income-generating projects. She explained that her school has a banana and beans farm to increase the school's income. These fund-raising activities reflect Nyerere's (1968) philosophy of education for self-reliance, which merges theory and practice and encourages schools to contribute to their economic wellbeing. However, one of the challenges the school faces is poor support from parents. The principal from the same school commented that when students are required to bring hoes to school, the parents provide outdated tools. The parents' poor cooperation can be related to the existing context of neo-liberalism, which calls for activities that benefit individuals as opposed to the collective. Moreover, as the leadership chapter explains, the traditional African education emphasizes mutual responsibility, whereas post-colonial African schooling leads to selfishness and self-centredness (Mugambi, 2007). The colonial and post-colonial kind of schooling is preparing students for white-color jobs (Nyerere, 1968). Thus, many parents do not support activities that encourage manual work.

Teachers are key player in school development. The interviews revealed some schools have a shortage of teachers, while other schools have an excess. Under decentralization by devolution, personnel are in most cases confined to their council. Teachers are not usually transferred from municipal councils (which often have excess teachers) for example, to rural district councils in the same or different regions even if the rural councils have a shortage of

teachers. However, given the shortage of teachers in some schools and the need to meet the required standards and societal expectations, teachers and, in some cases, teachers and parents hire additional teachers. In normal circumstances, the government assigns teachers to the public schools. The interviews revealed that the principals' role is to report teacher shortages to the higher authorities. A rural principal commented that the shortages among schools differ and that getting additional teachers depends on their availability (at the council level). Responding to my question about what kind of people they hire, one deputy principal replied:

> He might be a teacher who has retired. The situation is very bad. If you do not do that, the society will not understand you. When you do that, you are avoiding something. If you do not do that for a child, you limit his or her chances to, for instance, continue with secondary education and eventually become self-reliant (Deputy Principal B2, December 2, 2014).

An education administrator explained that graduates are hired from either ordinary or advanced secondary education programs after being tested and after the school receives permission to hire them. This discussion implies that principals need to meet societal expectations, particularly for students to pass their PSLE. In addition, as professionals, principals have a sense of duty that requires them to help their students to achieve their full potential. However, while the commitment to teaching by retired personnel might be doubtful, secondary school graduates might lack teaching expertise. The fundamental question is whether principals and teachers, who hire and pay new teachers, are sincerely committed to their students, or are they just worried about the performativity and accountability mechanisms that are in place.

Throughout the interviews, the respondents identified teaching after work hours, on weekends and during holidays as a way to compensate for lost time and the shortage of teachers. While non-stop teaching of students may concern one, private teaching is the main threat to the

teaching profession. In some schools, teachers organise private teaching and require students to pay for it. It is not clear how these teachers can find the time to give extra teaching to students whose parents cannot afford to pay for it. Experience shows that many students cannot afford to pay for extra teaching. This disparity compromises equity and professionalism. Teachers resort to this measure partly to increase their incomes and partly to improve school performance. This practice reflects market-oriented reforms where students and parents are focused on instrumental vocational outcomes (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007). This orientation in education creates tensions because a good education should be available for every individual. The principals reported that when they fail to meet expectations, the common questions include "Is there a principal there?" (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014). Thus, head teachers feel pressured to find alternatives to maintain their status and the reputation of their schools regardless of their level of empowerment. This situation results in the "de-professionalization of teaching as teachers crumble under multiple pressures, intensified work demands, reduced opportunities to learn from colleagues, and enervating discourses of derision" (Hargreaves, 1986, p. 690). The outcome of such a process may lead to impression management. As Ball (1986) explains, in situations where performativity influences the management of performance, people may struggle to satisfy the demands for performativity.

Summary

Administrators wanting to implement global decentralization policies in education should be aware of such policies' embedded post-colonial values in the form of neoliberalism and its effects. These policies' internal conflicts and inherent problems, as broadly presented in the literature and gleaned from my respondents, offer rich insights into the difficulties that principals

face in managing schools. Overcoming these difficulties requires all the key actors to have a high level of commitment to developing policies that will help principals to manage their schools effectively.

Educational reforms are seen as phenomena occurring in economic, cultural, and political contexts (Ginsburg, Cooper, Rajeshwari & Zegarra, 1991). Such reforms might be categorized in terms of their intended effects on the education system, even though not every reform is intended to effect change (Ginsburg et al., 1991). Some educational reforms may be seen as merely symbolic gestures indicating the government's awareness of the problems and not as serious efforts to achieve social change. Indeed, the rhetoric and activity associated with educational reforms sometimes function only to legitimize those with political power (Campbell, as cited in Ginsburg et al., 1991). In Tanzania, the WB designed the landscape for educational reforms but overlooked key issues including "the social class structure of students and their families and their actual needs for public financial and/or in kind support" (Assié-Lumumba, 2000, p. 115). Good intentions need alignment with a sincere desire for change embodied in implementable policies. Given that educational reform is more of a political problem than a technical one, a change in power relations is necessary in order for such reform to succeed. By paying attention to professional requirements, social norms, and policy outcomes, the next chapter begins to re-imagine the policy and practice of decentralization by devolution. I focus on the internal and external inconsistencies in this policy in order to understand it and offer recommendations and conclusions.

Chapter Eight: Principals' experiences and the practicability of decentralization by devolution: Opposing poles, recapitulations and recommendations

Introduction

I used Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) and decolonizing theories as a theoretical framework for my research in order to analyse a complex social and economic context, on the one hand, and the essence of the decentralization policy and its influence on the principals, on the other hand. Thus, I was able to uncover the hidden agenda that constrained and shaped the policy on the ground (Fairclogh & Fairclogh, 2012; Fischer, 1995; Wagenaar, 2011; Yanow, 2000). After analysing my data, I began to perceive the policy from a new perspective regarding the policy makers' expectations and the realities of the principals' school management. In a discussion of imported theories and policies, Said (2000) remarks: "What seemed almost inevitable was that when theories travelled and were used elsewhere they ironically acquired the prestige and authority of age, perhaps becoming a kind of dogmatic orthodoxy" (p. 437). Said's (2000) comment illuminates the dichotomy between policy and practise. The preceding chapters, observations, and analysis show that the actors who adopted neoliberal perspectives convinced Tanzanian leaders that education reforms were inevitable and persuaded many people to accept that neo-liberalism was the best option for these reforms. This perspective matches with McHenry's (1994) observations that, for example, Tanzania had only limited choices when it was adopting neoliberal policies. After learning about the decentralization policy's external origin with minimal local contextualization, the principals' limited autonomy due to conflicts caused by centralism (power relations), disadvantageous institutional arrangements, lack of empowerment, compromises of professionalism due to increased workloads, and the constraints imposed by

poverty, I came to face my own assumptions about these realities. Thus, I paid attention to the theory framework and requirements for a well-balanced policy formulation and implementation (Ball, 1993; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Fanon, 1961/2004; Luke, 1995; Said, 2000). I also focused on issues of power; the policy recipient context, principally its foundation; and policy implementation, in order to uncover the often taken for granted assumptions about decentralization, particularly decentralization by devolution. The theory framework enabled me to go beyond policy decolonization to contextualization (Ball, 1993; Said, 2000). Re-visiting the work of Apple (1986), Ball (1986), Faller (2008), Slee (2004), Shultz, (2013a), and Karagiongi & Nicolaidou (2010) was essential for the understanding the nature and inherent values of decentralization by devolution policies and their effects on the functioning of principals. The insights I received from these authors allowed me to identify the deeply rooted colonial power relations in policy formulation and implementation in developing countries, as well as the challenges in establishing policy outcomes. Although a theory can account for part of the social world, no single theory can explain the social world's complexity in its totality. Thus, neo-liberalism is neither the natural human condition nor the only alternative. Therefore, since neo-liberalism's own failures require urgent and determined action, we need to challenge the neo-liberal reforms (George, 1999).

In this final chapter of my thesis, I open a discussion regarding the policy makers' expectations for their decentralization by devolution and policy's influence on principals' management of their instructional and managerial roles. From this standpoint, I use the perceptions of my interviewees and the theorists I encountered in the course of my study to discuss my key insights and concerns regarding the theory, policy and practice of decentralization

by devolution. This chapter presents a summary of my final observations and recommendations for decolonizing the policy and practices related to decentralization by devolution as it affects principals' functions.

In the preceding chapters, I showed that the devolution of decision-making powers to the lower levels is among the important pillars of the decentralization policy. After giving the principals' autonomy and imitating a business model, the policy makers believed that the schools could make their own decisions regarding their development and, thus, enhance the quality of education and efficiency in management. In addition, the policy makers wanted to increase the scope of the participation in the education system by involving communities in supporting schools. The rhetoric stating this intention was present in not only the policy documents but also some administrators and principals' interviews: both these sources expressed the belief that decentralization by devolution would enable principals to make decisions regarding their own schools' development. However, although some principals believed that they had an increased level of autonomy, others questioned this belief and stated that their lack of autonomy was contributing to their inefficiency.

School development and financial resources

The contradictions in the decentralization policy extend from its original directives for its development and implementation. The Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) (2013) identified some common barriers that are compromising the efficiency of school leadership. In this survey, 84 percent of the participants reported that they had inadequate school budget and resources, 78 percent identified government policies and regulations as problems, and 73 percent reported that their workloads and responsibilities had increased. Moreover, neo-

liberals acknowledge the high social returns of primary education (Carnoy, 1995) on the one hand, but advocate budget cuts, including cuts to education, on the other hand. The decentralization policy's external origin and conditions, coupled with its failure to consider the local context and the policy outcomes (Assié-Lumumba, 2000; Ball, 1993), not only reflected colonial discourse by determining the budget for education but also undermined the principals and, thus, prevented the policy from achieving its expected outcomes.

Unstable expenditures on education affect principals' ability to manage their schools efficiently. Like the Joint Monitoring Visit Report (URT, 2010), my participants revealed that the Capitation Grant's support for schools is inadequate. The principals reported that they are not receiving the expected amount (10 Tanzania shillings per academic year per student) for running their schools. For example, a principal explained that the CG "is disbursed in pieces, and you may find the term ends (January-June/July-December) and you receive the Capitation Grant in December and not even complete" (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014). Consistently, the interviewees reported that the CG their school received was either insufficient, fluctuated in its amount, or was received late. Similarly, the BRN's 2013/14 financial year report indicated that the government was able to provide only 4,200 out of 10,000 Tanzanian shillings (Nyirenda, 2015) per pupil. The funding problems caused some principals to postpone some of their planned activities to the following year whereas other principals cancelled some planned activities. One of my study participants explained, "We need to look at the first priorities and ignore things which are of least importance" (Urban principal T1, October 27, 2014). One of the key challenges is that the government set 10,000 Tanzanian shillings for the CG in 2002, or about 14 years ago. Since then, inflation has increased, and the value of the Tanzanian shillings has fallen. The principals

cannot maintain their schools at 2002 levels if the CG's purchasing power continues to decrease (Nyirenda, 2015).

The principals are required to have school development plans, but cannot fully implement their plans when government funding is insufficient. The expectations for principals do not change despite the insufficient allocations. Therefore, this situation forces principals to ask for contributions from parents or other stakeholders. Faller (2008) reminds us:

> In most countries the proportion of public expenditure on primary education for teachers' salaries amounts to as much as 90 percent, so there is little money left for quality investment in school upgrading, the provision of textbooks and classroom learning resources and teacher in-service development. Access to essential teaching and learning resources becomes dependent on contributions from (usually very poor) communities or else donor agencies (p. 62).

However, the school's dependence on parents' contributions contradicts the educational guidelines, particularly those aiming at UPE and compulsory enrolment and attendance. For example, Educational circular No. 3 of 2001 (URT, 2001c) prohibits mandatory contributions from parents, particularly for the admission of Grade One students. This inconsistency between policy and practise concerned my respondents. Advocating free education, but providing insufficient support and disallowing the parents' contributions without providing clarity for the stakeholders' role, on the one hand, and limiting the principals' freedom to seek additional funding, on the other hand, imply that education is solely a government responsibility and interferes with the principals' autonomy, respectively. Thus, the principals have difficulty in convincing parents and community members to contribute financially to their local schools.

The uncertain funding undermines the principals' ability to manage their schools and thus, also to achieve the expected educational outcomes. When government financing to schools

is inadequate, principals will inevitably ask parents to contribute funds for their children's education. Such funds temporarily ease principals' work, but they normally must spend a great deal of time in making follow-ups. Moreover, poverty prevents some parents from making financial contributions, and many orphans have no one to contribute for them. This dissertation's preceding chapters showed how the principals were managing their schools with great difficulty because of the insufficient government allocations. These chapters also demonstrated how some principals went to the extent of confiscating the students' property in order to force the parents to make financial contributions. The work of Apple (1986) supports my finding that the decentralization policy did not take into account the level of poverty in communities.

Another finding revealed the differences in community support for schools. Some communities organise themselves to support their schools in terms of meals, infrastructure and other school requirements. Some communities are more able to support their schools than others. For example, urban schools have more opportunities than rural schools to get support from financial institutions, individuals, and cellular network companies. Thus, schools differ greatly in terms of the different levels of support they receive from stakeholders. This problem ultimately compromises the education system's ability to achieve equity. Most respondents suggested that financial component is important in making principals and schools function. Thus, in order to help principals to manage their duties effectively, the government ought to institute a sustainable mechanism to finance education in general and to support orphans and students from poor families in particular.

Autonomy as a policy requirement

Most of the literature describes decentralization by devolution in relation to autonomy, or to the power of decision-making. However, scholars such as Juma et al. (2004) caution us about this aspect of the impracticability of decentralization due to its internal conflicts such as the conflict created by the tendency towards centralism. In my interviews, an urban principal commented:

> Another thing, is, may be you have a teacher who is a drunkard and for a long time he has been causing trouble. When you warn him he continues. If I recommend his dismissal, there should be direct fulfillment knowing that there is a problem to the extent of providing such a recommendation. However, in most cases the fulfillment of this matter fails. (Urban principal)

The principals identified several factors that are limiting their autonomy. One problem is that the current laws do not mandate the principals to deal with some matters, regardless of what the *Delegation of authority guide* states. All the principals identified this guide as one of the key documents describing their powers. However, no school had this document when I asked to see it. Most of the principals believed that their authority is incomplete. An urban principal explained, "I think this decentralization has to be worked upon. It looks like we have been given half authority or we have been given simple things, but things that could help in bringing improvement have not been brought to us." The principals (schools) do not have the level of autonomy that the decentralization by devolution theory assumes they will have. The principals believed that their autonomy is incomplete and merely allows them to perform tasks that they were not performing previously. For example, currently they are allowed to deal with some issues involving teacher discipline, but not to make the final decisions, so they do not have the promised autonomy. The decentralization policy must be contextualized so that it reflects the local realities.

The policy makers have to give the principals the kind of autonomy that is genuine and realistic according to their context. Doing so calls for appropriate structures and institutional arrangements including legal definitions. For example, the required autonomy should reflect the former decentralization policy (Nyerere, 1972) and Ubuntu African philosophy, which, respectively, transfers power to lower levels and honours collective autonomy, while aiming to make schools more self-reliant. Overall, we need to recapture the spirit of communalism, which is crystallised by Nkrumah's (1966) emphasis on "humanism and its reconciliation of individual advancement with group welfare" (p. 5). In order to do so, we need to align our efforts to achieve this objective with the social relations, notably the power relations.

High workload and responsibilities

The study participants identified the principals' increased workloads as factors limiting efficient school management. A key expectation was that decentralization would allow the principals to manage their roles effectively since the principals would have the power to make decisions and would receive community support. However, in most schools, this expectation is unrealized. As the study participants explained, the principals must carry out both instructional roles (teaching, supervising, and ensuring teaching are materials in place) and administrative roles (holding meetings, following-up on students' performance, and seeking parents' contributions and donors' support or pledges). The principals mentioned that delegation is a key strategy for easing their workloads. Lakomski (2005) and Spillane (2006) support a leadership style that distributes or disburses leadership duties by responding to contextual factors.

Omari (2013), in his article "The nature and causes of school effectiveness and the education under performance in Tanzania," suggests that "while school effectiveness is

ultimately the product of team work, the trend setter is the head of the organisation, who, in our case, is the head master or head teacher" (p. 18). Similarly, a deputy principal's comment is worth repeating:

> Those that get power and distribute authority to other teachers and have teamwork and good relationship with the people you lead, for these the work becomes easier. However, to the one who does not like involving others, work becomes difficult. Therefore, the ability to manage activities by the head teacher depends on how he involves others, distributes power and how he has built relationships (deputy principal B2, December 2, 2014).

My findings revealed that in big schools (4,000 students and 90 teachers), distributed leadership is common, and such schools have, for example, three deputy principals. Some teachers also have some administrative responsibilities. The *Delegation of authority guide* directs principals to perform some duties in person, such as those related to personnel and instruction. The interviews revealed the principals' awareness of this directive. For example, one principal commented, "It depends on the intensity of the matter. Let us consider a truant teacher for instance. I cannot delegate that matter to someone else. I have to work on it myself." However, other principals were delegating duties related to instruction, particularly in big schools where principals have to check, for example, 90 teachers' lesson plans. In this case, the principals responded to their situation even though the guideline did not allow for such delegation. Their actual situations can limit their ability to be trendsetters (Omari, 2013) in their schools. For instance, even though there are measures to reduce the principals' teaching loads in order to give them enough time to carry out their administrative work, the interviews revealed that the principals still could not finish the syllabus, because of their high workloads. In such a situation, the principals do not have enough time to carry out both their teaching duties and their

administrative duties effectively. The policy makers need to perform a job analysis of the principals' positions and assign the principals workloads that are more realistic, to consider the standard enrolment in schools, and to provide systems management support including clear circulars, directives, and policies. Although the School Improvement Toolkit, for example, restricts some roles to principals, my findings revealed that principals delegate those roles because of the overload.

In schools with enough teachers, the principals can delegate authority and distribute responsibilities effectively. Some schools have teacher shortages, but the principals reported that even in schools with an excess of or the required number of teachers, delegation was not always possible. I observed that, after reviewing their fellow teachers' lesson plans, some teachers requested help from their principals, especially on matters that the teachers believed were beyond either their abilities or their job descriptions. As well, some principals could not delegate authority to monitor lesson plans, because some teachers became less diligent if they knew that their principals were not monitoring them. I am not arguing that principals should not delegate their authority. Rather, I am presenting some of the problems preventing principals from managing their schools efficiently.

Principals in schools are like the heads of families. During an interview, one deputy principal commented that teachers have some expectations for their principal. In such circumstances, principals need to find ways to motivate their teachers. For example, a respondent explained:

> The other thing [principals' use] is motivation. For instance, at the end of the year, the head teacher through the school projects or even from his own pocket congratulates the teachers. So on the closing day the teachers spend the day at school, cook, eat and drink.

> By so doing, the head teachers get the assistance in doing their work (Deputy Principal B2, December 2, 2014).

While informal get-togethers are important for strengthening collegiality, a respondent also proposed using income-generating projects as a strategy for motivating teachers to work together for the sake of their schools. Income from such projects can help pay for get-togethers and for supplies such as chalkboards, which, currently, some principals and teachers have to purchase themselves. The idea of income-generating projects originates in Nyerere's (1968) philosophy and the policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). Nyerere advocated and emphasized ESR when he committed Tanzania to socialism. He intended this commitment to achieve social and economic equality under the rubric of Ujamaa (brotherhood) and self-reliance. In general, ESR aimed at transmitting socialist values and, as a philosophy, expressed the society's aspirations (Ndunguru, as cited in Babyegeya, 2000). The ESR policy intended, first, to make all schools centres for the production of economic goods and second, to produce citizens with socialist values. The notion of producing economic goods in schools received more attention than the desire to instil socialist values (Babyegeya, 2000; Omari & Mosha, 1987), partly because, as Mhina and Abdi (2009) and Urch (1991) suggest, most Tanzanians did not understand Nyerere's (1968) vision. Fundamentally, the policy did not achieve its goal because the schools alone could not transform society. Even in normal circumstances, "it would be difficult for the schools to inculcate a set of values that ran counter to social and political forces. Schools did not operate in a vacuum; society and global attitudes had to be considered" (Urch, 1991, p. 216). Nevertheless, because the need to return to the African values of collectiveness and care is more urgent than ever, we need to decide how these values can be re-established or strengthened in our current

neoliberal context. Neo-liberalism is not a natural human condition (George, 1999), so we have an opportunity to develop new and realistic innovations.

One area where we need to innovate involves principals' salaries and benefits. Principals have heavy workloads, but do not receive any extra pay or allowance. Moreover, some teachers earn higher salaries than the principals do because of either their experience or level of education. This problem can limit principals' job satisfaction. TALIS (2013) summarizes some of the other factors that undermine it:

> The job satisfaction of a school leader is associated [with] a school environment characterised by respectful relations with staff. On the other hand, a lack of shared leadership with other school staff members, and an excessively high workload and level of responsibility are factors associated with lower job satisfaction for school leaders. (p. 26)

Principals who cannot perform at the expected level cannot command respect from their staff. Principals' heavy workloads are no longer news. Even the administrators and policy makers interviewed for this thesis were aware of the principals' excessive burdens. Other respondents reported that whatever principals manage to do is an achievement, given their situation. Others proposed reducing the workloads of principals by assigning them instructional and minimal administrative work while allocating duties including budgeting and procurement to other staff, as schools used to do. We need to focus on the extent to which we are achieving our educational goals and to take action to address our failures. A critical analysis reveals, we are compromising the profession, because principals do not have enough time to learn from others (Hargreaves, 1986) and are experiencing low job satisfaction. For example, an urban principal stated:

> If you just look at these responsibilities, you may say that they are not many, but for someone who fulfills his duties as required, these responsibilities are many, and they are

> many to the extent that they can make you as the head teacher forget your other responsibilities (Urban principal T2, November 4, 2014).

This kind of situation is unhealthy and is likely to affect policy outcomes. These responsibilities include registering voters, preparing and participating in national ceremonies, holding meetings and participating in national/regional/council organised demonstrations. We urgently need to decolonise the decentralizing policy by enabling principals to perform the important and necessary duties directly related to their positions. As well, to increase job satisfaction, the policy makers need to re-establish the responsibility allowance. One deputy principal commented that regardless of the principals' workloads, subordinates might have higher salaries than their superiors do. Rural principal B was concerned about this problem's demoralizing effects. He also commented that, although the responsibility allowance did not reduce the principals' workloads, it increased the level of job satisfaction and helped him to endure even for the long work hours.

Government policies and principals' work

The current institutional arrangements, because of the laws and regulations, are affecting principals. Also, the heavy workloads assigned to principals are contributing to the limitations of their autonomy and are compromising policy outcomes. All educational stakeholders, including policy makers, parents, community members, and students, want their schools to perform well (Omari, 2013). However, the principals, education administrators, and policy makers interviewed for this thesis reported that principals are required to spend too much of their time on activities unrelated to schoolwork.

The principals reported that their administrative work requires more of their time than instruction. TALIS (2013) confirms the principals' reports and suggests that effective school leadership contributes greatly to creating the overall school environment regarding teaching and

learning as well as raising aspirations. This work may involve providing support to students, parents, and teachers. TALIS (2013) reports that "in most countries, school leaders' administrative activities have taken over an increasing share of their activities" (p. 26). Administrative work takes up so much of the principals' time that they are not able to obey the URT (2013b) directive to spend 40 percent of their time on instruction. The allocation of a high percentage of time to instruction implies that it is the core function of principals. However, the interviews revealed that even though the principals' have reduced teaching loads, they are still unable to cover all the material in their course syllabi.

A rural principal commented that, given this situation, the requirement for a 194-day school year is impractical. Omari (2013) has shown that the length of the school year differs in different countries. For example, the school year in Southeast Asian countries, South Korea, and Tanzania has 200, 210, and 194 school days, respectively (Omari, 2013). Research evidence confirms that students benefit from longer school years. For example, as Omari further suggests, in normal circumstances, the schools that have the longest school years are the most likely to realize their goals. Tanzania has the shortest school year compared to that in other countries. This problem contributes to the underperformance of Tanzania's education system (Omari, 2013), but outside interference and the principals' high workload prevent the target of 194 days from being achieved, and the principals' from providing the expected supervision. An administrator provided a good example of this interference:

> The other issue is the interference in duties, a teacher has his plan, but there are directives that require doing that and leaving this. For example, the other day, there was a directive that one hundred and fifty children from every school must go and demonstrate on Wildlife's Day as part of sensitization project. I asked myself why every group is coming to school to take students. Parents send their kids to school for education and so when they hear that their children are withdrawn for this demonstration, to another the next day,

> and in the end students are affected, it is unbecoming. In fact, we do not have what to do but rather to adhere. Sometimes you could find that they exceed the time that they requested (Council education administrator T, February 25, 2015).

The above statements not only indicate how interference can affect the schools, but also reveal the principals' limited autonomy. Normally, the administrators advise the schools that their students should attend their classes before participating in outside activities. Nevertheless, at times, following this instruction is difficult. Such interference creates difficulties for the principals, particularly in contexts where the evaluation of people depends on their performance. The interference and the shortage of teachers lead schools to try to compensate by teaching on weekends and holidays. This survival strategy might be necessary, but one may question its efficiency. The limited time for carrying out planned activities, the stakeholders' expectations, and the market standards force schools to use impression management (Apple, 1986) instead of focusing on performance. Nyirenda (2015) reports that a heated debate on this issue occurred in a 2015 parliamentary session in Tanzania following the release of the schools' examination results:

> One of the issues that sparked heated debate during discussion of the [Ministry of Education and Vocational Training] budget at the Parliament was the basic and secondary schools' examination results, which by 2014 reached 81 percent pass rate, under the phase of implementation of Big Results Now (BRN) initiative. The major issue here was justification of such results while teaching and learning environment is devastated, manifested by students sitting on the floor due to lack of desks, lack of teachers, inadequate classrooms, lack of teaching and learning materials and equipment, hiking fees in private schools, multitude of contributions demanded from parents, low teacher motivation due to lack of incentives and many more.
>
> MPs wanted to know what kind of investment to improve the said challenges was made through BRN to such extent that it suddenly uplifted the said academic results. They doubted that improvement in such results could have been through dubious means including reducing of pass levels (p. 1).

A pass rate was set for the Primary School Leaving Examination; for example, for 2013, this set rate was 60 percent, but the actual performance was 50.61 percent. The target for 2014 was 70 percent. In 2014, the government reviewed the examination-rating mechanisms (URT, 2013a; URT, 2013c; URT, 2014b). In the interviews, a policy maker discussed the examination targets set under the BRN initiative:

> For example, in BRN we have set high targets, and this appears as if we copied exactly from where we adapted the system. It may be possible our counterparts are better off. I am not sure about the status of their schools that I have not taken time to go through the literature. Although this innovation is good; however, we know very well our country's context because we have school inspectors' reports, we have in place reports of different leaders' visits and the variations are clear. Therefore, apart from the worthiness of the innovation, we need also to be realistic in order to achieve our objectives and be able to help our beneficiaries (Policy maker 2, February 27, 2015).

The policy maker's concern reflects the tendency to adopt policies without paying attention to the local context. Other respondents suggested that Tanzania adapted decentralization "wholesale" rather than just implementing its best practices, meaning that there was only minimal effort to contextualize the innovations. Ball (1993) and Said (2000) advise policy makers that adoption of a policy from outside their countries should go hand in hand with considerations of their contexts' core values and life in totality.

Likewise, setting targets would be meaningful if they focused on the schools' basic requirements including the requirements related to teachers, financial resources, teaching and learning materials, basic infrastructure such as classrooms, and teachers' housing and support. The respondents reported, for example, on the shortage of houses for teachers. Their need to live outside of the school compound, contrary to the past, makes their work more difficult. Given their high workloads, living in the school compound would make their work easier because at

times, it is difficult to take their work home, given the distance they must travel and the environment they are living in.

Another problem for principals is that the pressure to increase enrolment and the lack of attention to schools' basic requirements has led to overcrowding that limits classroom interactions and creates more tension for the principals, who have to accommodate the additional students. An urban principal explained, "But you are told that you have no mandate to refuse admission of any child since the school can never be full. In this case, running such a school will have a lot of challenges." Principals and schools are destination points for pressure from national and global sources. The principal's comments are related to the requirement to meet the Millennium Development Goals (URT, 2002). Goal number two requires the enrolment of all eligible boys and girls. This goal was set without considering the schools'/nation's actual capabilities or demographic factors. Comparing the past and present, one rural principal commented that the current schools are experiencing overcrowding because of Tanzania's increasing population. Faller (2008) explains:

> The ratio of this age group 0-14 is significantly higher in SSA than it is in any other part of the developing world. This inevitably puts added pressure on school systems and structure. It implies more schools, more teachers and learning resources, and that a higher percentage of public expenditure needs to be allocated to schooling. (p. 42)

The provision of adequate support for principals and schools would enable principals to manage their roles as expected. However, a policy maker reported that the budgetary challenges and the high number of schools are preventing new principals from receiving enough training. In 2012, Tanzania had 16,331 primary schools with a total enrolment of 8.2 million students (URT, 2012, p. 31). The government needs to have long-term and sustainable plans in place that take into

account the increasing number of school-going children. Such plans require government initiatives that secure the support and collaboration of a variety of stakeholders, with efforts to consolidate and manage the support efficiently (ADEA, 2000; Faller, 2008).

Under decentralization, many organisations have either direct or indirect relationships with the schools, and, in most cases, the organisations at every level produce directives and guidelines that require a response from the principals. According to URT (2002), the village/mtaa, ward, council, region levels and two ministries all deal with primary education and schools. In addition, the donors to schools have their own requirements. Indicating how stakeholders' demands and requirements can affect principals, an urban principal explained:

> I asked [the embassy of our donor country] to build us a fence too. Me as the head teacher, I was forced to write a letter and take it to the embassy. I took the letter in person because they recognize me. If anyone else takes it, there may be misunderstandings (Urban principal).

Donors are among the key stakeholders in supporting schools. Like all stakeholders, each has a specific working-modality and the principals need to respond to each stakeholder's specific requirements. In the interviews, an administrator expressed his concern about the level of schools' autonomy under the existing institutional arrangements. He explained that, in the initial phase of PEDP, the government authorities disbursed funds, and the role of the schools and the councils was to establish priorities and supervise the schools, respectively. The administrator added,

> For development projects, schools received Development Grants. That is why you can see that schools constructed many classrooms, and the same fund was direct deposited to the school account. So far, we have four years and there is no money from Primary Education Development Plan that comes for development projects. This makes the concept of decentralization by devolution to be incomplete as expected to be, and this is like as if decisions come from above rather than from below. Personally, I see that this is the

> biggest challenge that causes problems and sometimes when orders from above come and reach us, they tend to [be unrealistic] which principals later identify. It is better decisions may come from the users rather than from orders above and later to find mistakes. People are complaining yet have to go on like that (Council education administrator T, February 10, 2015).

The administrator was concerned about orders from above, which sometimes do not reflect the reality of the schools, and about the principals' ability to deal with the gap between the orders and the reality. Her concern also suggests how centralism is affecting the principals. The administrators' comments suggest that these major actors in education development are dissatisfied with the whole process of decentralization.

Another concern was the distribution of roles among the ministries managing primary education. For example, one administrator pointed out how, at times, the schools receive either duplicate or conflicting directives from the centre:

> Personally, on my side I have not liked this decentralization by devolution of education starting from the higher level because I have not understood what the main aim is. Is it to bring achievements or disorganization? It looks like the objective is not to bring education development. I usually ask maybe is it because I have not visited different countries. I ask myself whether there is a country without a ministry of education and yet things move systematically. Because what I see at our level of implementation, there is a mess up somewhere. We are currently receiving guidelines and directives from the Ministry of Education and Prime Minister's Office-Regional Administration and Local Government. Some other times there are contradictions when brought to us, and we take them exactly as they are to the lower levels as described. Think and ask yourself the challenges that are down there. Personally, I take the Ministry of Education as a delicate and very important sector, so it would be good if this sector would be in a proper organization with settled professionals and who critically think about the nation's education vision. A ministry compelled with education issues without other things so that we can move smoothly. With this confusion, in the ministry that also deals with other local government issues, [Education Development] becomes difficult (Council education administrator T, February 10, 2015).

One cause of this confusion may be the ministries' non- adherence to their mandate as stipulated in the institutional arrangement guidelines. For example, one policy maker commented on the misdirection of some policy issues (development, standards, monitoring and evaluation) to the implementing ministry, a problem that cannot facilitate the achieving of the intended outcomes. For example, any interested party who wishes to know the country's vision for sports and games will consult the policy development ministry, or, in this case, the Ministry of Education. However, in order to learn how actors put the vision into practice, the interested party will need to either go to the schools or consult the implementing ministry in this case, PMO-RALG. The two ministries could improve the efficiency and clarity of their directives by clearly dividing their responsibilities. This action would benefit the directives' end users (the schools).

Additionally, several different organisations manage teachers. A respondent explained:

> The head teacher manages the school on behalf of the District Executive Director (DED), and therefore, the DED as an employer could have authority of hiring and firing towards the teacher. Currently, the teacher's disciplinary authority is not in the mandate of the DED, and so it reduces the DED's authority in supervising teachers. The DED is the chief employer in his council, but for teachers the mandate belongs to District Teachers' Service Department (DTSD), and yet technically, district TSD secretary is supposed to be under the DED. The district TSD secretary is like any other personnel officer, but now instead of directing him, he requests from the TSD while also the district TSD secretary is supposed to inquire from the regional level. Therefore, once teachers realize how complicated the channel is, they make use of such system's weakness (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

These comments reflect the conflict in the institutional arrangements regarding the management of teachers. The most important issue is the principal's autonomy in managing teachers in such a complicated network. For instance, one principal reported that he "supervises all disciplinary issues on part of teachers and students and has the authority to take disciplinary measures such as lowering salary increment to a teacher in case he or she is proven guilty" (Rural principal B2,

December 2, 2014). However, later, when asked how he takes such measures, the principal explained, "The first step is a warning and then a scold. You cannot remove an increment; on what basis can you do that? After those steps, you forward the matter to relevant authority" (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014). An education administrator described a similar procedure: "The head teacher will have to write the first warning letter and where possible a second warning letter and if all that fails, the head teacher will write to us explaining what concerns the teacher and the steps he has taken" (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014). The inability to affect the teachers' wages is undermining the principals' effectiveness (TALIS, 2013). Thus, policy initiatives should determine what kind of incentives principals could use besides financial ones in order to reward excellence.

Nationalism and decentralization practices

The outcomes of decentralization are also creating problems that are threatening nationalism. Nationalism is one of Tanzania's core values. Immediately after Tanzania gained its independence, the nation made several efforts to replace tribalism with nationalism. For example, the government declared that Kiswahili was Tanzania's national language. In addition, deliberate efforts were in place to establish national schools that would serve students from all over the country regardless of their regions of origin (UTR, 1995). With decentralization, however, the tendency is towards "bounderism," or working within the boundaries of the councils. One rural principal commented that, for example, teachers were bound to their councils' employer (the Executive Director) and that this bounderism trickled down to the lower levels such as the wards and schools. A principal wondered why transferring teachers was difficult even when several reports requesting such a measure are sent when a teacher remains too long at a school. In

addition, teachers who have genuine reasons for wanting a transfer, such as health and marital problems and the need to care for their elderly parents, have to apply to a complex and strict bureaucracy in order to request a transfer.

Referring to artificial boundaries and comparing the past and present, one principal commented:

> The other problem that I can see is teachers teaching within their home areas or environment, which I see, is part of decentralization because one belongs to a certain employer in a certain district council. For example, back then a teacher was coming from district X that was far from home and so his or her concentration is within where he or she is working (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

These comments reflected the notion of "bounderism," which confines teachers to their home areas or to specific employers. Some teachers are bound to just one area or employer for their entire careers. The principal also revealed that in the past, teachers were recruited from different places and not from only their native councils. The principal associated this practice with a teacher's commitment to the council where he or she worked, but the practice also broadly facilitated nationalism. For instance, let us imagine a student who attends school in his or her home council, then receives teacher training in his or her home district or region, and then is employed by the same home council. The result is likely to be an inward-looking teacher in our education system and to undermine our long-treasured nationalism. Nevertheless, budget issues may be making this practice difficult to change. Moreover, excess teachers are sometimes confined to a particular area even though other areas are experiencing teacher shortages. This practice needs special attention because the results impair effective school management. The distribution of teachers during the period of my fieldwork can help us to understand this problem.

Table 4: Availability of teachers in Tanzanian primary schools 2015

Council	School	Number of Students	Current Number of Teachers	Current TPR	Required Teachers	+,-
Tumaini	T1	4,028	90	1:45	101	-11
	T2	1886	60	1:32	48	+12
	T3	2200	70	1:31	55	+15
Baraka	B1	537	21	1:26	14	+7
	B2	365	12	1:31	10	+2
	B3	1145	26	1:44	29	-3

Source: Data from field

Table 4 indicates the number of students and available teachers as of November 2015. The standard norm is 1:40 students, which in most cases, is for planning purposes. Although Baraka council has excess teachers, even distribution between councils is not practical.

The literature confirms this anomaly. Some councils/regions have an acute shortage of teachers, but no measures are in place to equalize the distribution among councils/regions, simply because the teachers are bound to the employers in their areas of employment. For example, in 2012 the TPR in the Kilimanjaro region (a region composed of several councils) stood at 1: 33, while in the Singida region, the TPR was 1: 71 (URT, 2012). URT (2001b) summarises this anomaly by indicating, "There are wide disparities in distribution of personnel and in the teachers' workload across schools and districts. Although the teaching force has grown over time, there is still a shortage of teachers and overstaffing in some areas or locations" (p. xxi). In order to provide enough teachers for all regions and councils and to help the principals to manage their schools, mechanisms for distributing available teachers evenly regardless of artificial boundaries need to be established. This change may include reviewing the law and regulations and

developing measures to improve the working conditions of teachers. Regarding the shortage of teachers, Faller (2008) suggests that the goal of improving efficiency in school management would be meaningful if it corresponded with an adequate supply of teachers. However, the shortage of teachers is actually limiting the principals' ability to manage their instructional and managerial roles. The teachers' shortage at the school level can be caused by the overall shortage in either the system or the uneven distribution of teachers across the system. To address the problem of distribution, the government needs to develop and implement "targeted support programs and incentives for qualified and specialized teachers to work at the schools where they are most needed" (TALIS, 2013, p. 4). As well, comprehensive long-term strategies for attracting the best candidates and retaining qualified teachers would help in curbing shortages of staff and, thus, would help principals to manage their schools.

Professionalism

In the preceding chapters, the interviews revealed the respondents' dissatisfaction with the current methods of training and recruiting teachers. The interviews revealed that newly appointed teachers have low commitment to their work and do not support their school principals. The respondents questioned these appointee's qualifications and wondered if they had received leadership training. Omari (2013) confirmed the respondents' concerns. Commenting on the entry ability level, Omari suggests that "it is important to set the entry grade point average to high. The Tanzania situation is quite pathetic since the system recruits and trains persons from the lowest levels of performance" (p. 14). Table 5 justifies his argument.

Table: 5: Number of Grade A teachers selected by performance: 2011

Division	Points	Female	Male	Total & Percentage
I	7-17	01	05	06 (0.1)
II	18-21	13	23	36(0.7)
III	22-25	244	412	656 (12.8)
IV	26-28	2336	2070	4432 (86.4)
		2620	2510	5130 (100)

Source: Omari (2013) p. 15.

Table 5 indicates the candidates' performance in the Certificate of Secondary School Examination (CSSE). 86.4 percent of the candidates selected to attend teacher's training in 2011 ranked in division four, which is the lowest level of performance. The training of below-standard candidates, as some respondents suggested, is due partly to the unattractiveness of the teaching profession and partly to the shortage of jobs. Thus, highly qualified students do not want to be teachers, and other students are using the profession as a last resort. The hiring of unqualified teachers also reflects the urgent need for more teachers because of increasing student enrolments. These factors and the scarcity of resources account for the short duration of the teacher- training programs. Largely, this problem is a neoliberal creation caused by budget cuts. Many countries are now at a crossroads, trying to strike a balance between training and deploying large numbers of teachers while remaining within their budgets. One outcome is the considerable differences among countries regarding the duration and cost of teacher education. In this context, policy makers need to consider experienced teachers' criticisms of the quick production of teachers. Faller (2008) suggests alternatives for rescuing the teaching profession. He believes that if the erosion of teachers' status continues, fewer and fewer experienced practitioners will be teaching. He suggests:

> Alongside drives towards short-duration of teacher training, education authorities need to consider the implementation of incentives for experienced teachers to accept their supervisory roles as a fundamental part of their professional profile. Funds directed to this

> end would be a sound investment, in that they would encourage in-service development for new teachers and reduce the risk of early-career attrition. (p. 65)

An incentive for experienced teachers, particularly principals, is important in encouraging them to accept their supervisory roles. Mentor systems and in-service training should be included in the kind of initiatives suggested by Faller (2008), in order to keep teachers on track and to reduce management problems.

The spread of neoliberal policies in education led my respondents to believe that the erosion of the teacher profession is government orchestrated. Consistently, the principals, administrators, and policy makers indicated that many teachers are now obtaining large loans and developing their own businesses in order to increase their incomes. As a result, my respondents perceived these teachers as not committed to either teaching their students or supporting their principals. Reimers (1994), in his discussion of the educational consequences of neo-liberalisms, reports, "Facing reduction in funds, education Ministries cut disproportionately the share for teaching materials. Eventually, teacher salaries deteriorate in real terms too" (p. 119). Faller (2008) supports this observation, stating, "Some countries already experience the problem of having teachers absent themselves from their school duties to seek second-or third-stream income, to the detriment of their pupils" (p. 65). This trend is contributing to the difficulties that principals are having in managing their schools and is causing some principals either to resign or to propose that principal-ships should have only a limited term (Rural principal B; Council education administrator B). Some administrators ignore the request of principals, because few teachers are willing to replace them. Indicating the level of their dissatisfaction, one principal commented,

> The first thing is the whole issue of support. When you are in charge of a school, there must be a difference between a leader and others. There are also comments that affect us. For example, people wonder since there is no difference between leaders and other teachers. You may hear one saying 'After all, he or she has a higher salary than I do.' Since we hear such words and is a reality, we are concerned (Rural principal B2, December 2, 2014).

Although some administrators like the heads of departments in councils receive a special salary and benefits package, principals currently do not. For principals, as for other teachers, salaries depend on their time in service and level of education (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014). The minimum qualification for principals is a diploma in education, but some teachers have upgraded themselves to the degree level, and this upgrading may account for part of the difference between teachers and principals' salaries. This issue calls for special attention to teachers' and principals' welfare in general, including salaries, teachers' housing and other benefits, and, in particular, bonuses for principals. Attention to these matters should go hand in hand with a review of principals' education requirements. Implementing this recommendation would help the government achieve its educational objectives, particularly those for managing schools. For example, provinces like Alberta in Canada have a special package for principals which takes into account the enrolment of pupils before a specific date, and "increases to this allowance [are] consistent with the date and amount of increases to the salary grid" (ATA, 2012, p. 8). While contexts differ, what is important is the domestication of best practices to fit the recipient environment.

Performativity syndrome

Neo-liberalism is shaping globalization and thus, its reform requirements have subjected principals and schools to a performativity culture. For example, the dominance of competition in

education today is "associated with neoliberal endorsement of free trade, open economies and marketization" (Olssen, 1986, p. 263). As the respondents indicated, it is now a common practise for educators to show evidence of performance, notably in the examination results. This practice is evident in Tanzania in policy documents such as the BRN (through its performance improvement initiative), where pass-rate targets are set (URT, 2013a). Setting targets is acceptable; however, reasonable setting (as a guiding vision) should go hand in hand with support to principals, or they will resort to impression management, fabricating results to impress stakeholders or ignoring guidelines for carrying out their duties. For example, one administrator commented:

> If you need teachers to perform to a certain extent, for example, seventy percent and that target is set just for next year, [you have to understand that]. For example, primary six pupils, it is very possible that they are currently at forty percent. In whatever situation these people will want to satisfy the boss in any way even through cheating. They will look for even illegal strategies that will help them reach at that point, for example, cheating in examinations or by supporting students so that they can attain their goals. The fact is that someone who is not in field has set the target but also people are not prepared from the start to attain that target (Council education administrator B, December 16, 2014).

Such concerns show the complications that result when principals are pressured to achieve the higher authorities' unrealistic performance targets.

My interviews also revealed that principals are conducting interviews for Grade One as a means for selection and not for placement. This practice has a number of implications ranging from exceeding the capacity of their schools and, more importantly, rejecting non-performing students who would tarnish the schools' reputations. The fundamental concern is that we are ignoring our educational value of equity.

The important promising factor is that the state still has a highly significant role in education regardless of its changing role in a globalised world (Olssen, 1986). However, the guiding principles of neo-liberalism and the influence of economic priorities, accountability, measurements, and performativity on education urgently need to be reviewed. We can also attain our objective for education by developing "a political project that is both local yet generalizable, systematic without making Eurocentric, masculinist claims to essential and universal truths about human subjects" (Apple, 1986, p. 482).

Explaining the relationships among community, liberty and justice, Olssen (1986) suggests that viewing human beings from a social and historical point of view must focus on the active expression of liberty throughout society. From this perspective, the active expression of liberty essentially involves forms of participation. Freedom, as a prerequisite for participation, needs re-assessing, and, based on the classical view, "it is held that liberty cannot operate in the absence of law" (273). Moreover, "it is only through the civil law of society that liberty becomes definite and bounded" (p. 273). Experience shows that most formal education institutions are public. Olssen (1986) suggests that the state must keep these institutions semi-autonomous:

> This is not the neoliberal sense where management and administration are devolved to the local school, but the sense in which the schools are located in, and represent local community groups. In this sense, schools are important as democratic organizations, through the particular way that they are connected to communities, through their ability to empower families, and involve minority groups in participatory projects (p. 282).

In order to realize Olssen's vision, principals need genuine autonomy, reduced workloads and full support for managing their schools.

Summary of recommendations and implications for policy and practise

Decentralization policies as a neoliberal creation have spread extensively and penetrated down to grass root levels in Tanzania. This phenomenon is an extension of colonialism in a post-colonial context, in which travelling policies and theories spread neoliberal values in policy development and implementation. While global actors' influence aggravates the process, power plays influence local actors' decisions (Blackmore & Sacks, 1987; Fanon, 1961/2004; Foucault, 1977/1995; Said, 2000). In such a process, the market influences the development and implementation of policies, diminishing the public space where institutions implement measures regarding social well-being (Shultz, 2013a; Habermas, 1991). This process's grave impact has been undermining public spaces by limiting their ability to develop public services and support the public good. Such an orientation does not match well with systems favouring the values of communalism and equity. For example, the teaching profession in general and school leadership in particular should work for the best interest of each school member but are not achieving this goal.

Given neo-liberalism's dominance, Tanzanian educators need to ask whether the education system is achieving its objectives concerning management, access and equity, for example. More specifically, Tanzanian educators need to consider the appropriateness of applying neoliberal policies to local realities in terms of their norms and values. The failure to domesticate these policies is creating conflicts and limiting the results (Apple, 1986; Ball, 1993). Since neo-liberalism is neither a natural condition nor the only alternative (George, 1999), and since Tanzania is experiencing challenges emanating from the inherent values of the education reforms, we need determined action.

At times, reasoning logically and inferentially from premises based on what we know about, to claims regarding what is unknown, may be difficult. Thus, a gap exists between premises and conclusions (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Since we are no longer at the policy-planning stage where we could think of the challenges to an hypothesis and develop a claim for action that would survive critical attempts to reject it, the best option is to review the extent to which we are achieving our expected outcomes and identify areas requiring improvement. One reason for optimism is that my interviews with principals, education administrators and policy makers highlighted dissatisfaction and created a space for resistance. This final section will briefly outline and discuss a few suggestions and recommendations for responding to the decentralization of education in Tanzania, for supporting the principals' management of their instructional and managerial roles, and for carrying out further research.

Implications for policy and practice

Education budget and empowerment of principals. The impacts of neoliberal policies through budget cuts need no more emphasis. In Tanzania, the main source of income for implementing school plans is the Capitation Grant (CG). However, the schools are not receiving the government-targeted 10,000 Tanzania shillings for every primary student, and there are often delays in disbursements. Moreover, the Grant amount was set in 2002 during the initial implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (2002) (URT, 2002). Given inflation, the CG's purchasing power does not match the current market requirements. As well, this study has shown that poverty creates variations in communities' ability to support schools. Schools are experiencing shortages of teachers, teachers' housing, and other basic infrastructure such as classrooms. All these shortages are undermining principals' ability to manage their

schools efficiently. In some cases, principals resort to either demanding contributions from parents even though not all of them can afford to make them or searching for other stakeholders who can help support the schools. The resulting tensions are unhealthy for school management and, often, lead to inefficiencies.

Therefore, the government should institute a sustainable mechanism to finance education. Such a mechanism should increase public spending on education and, to increase equity, provide specific support for orphans and students from poor families. In addition, the government should review the student unit cost and increase the scope for collaboration among education stakeholders in supporting education.

Decolonization and contextualization of policies. The effects of the neoliberal market and high-standard-oriented policies are clear and require action. This study showed that the government did not keep its promise to grant autonomy to the lower levels, in this case, the schools (principals), due to a number of issues including the tendency towards centralism.

The main cause of the problem is the imposition of the kind of autonomy that does not match with the local context's realities. For example, driven by market considerations, the autonomy is more for individuals rather than the entire community and ignores the importance of communal values in the local context. Thus, the government urgently needs to review the guiding principles of the education market, accountability, measurements, and performativity in order to align them with the local context's realities. Overall, we need to disengage education policies from colonialism and go further by contextualizing them so they reflect and accommodate the needs of educators and local needs and realities. This kind of disengagement also needs to be

aligned with power relations and institutional arrangements in order to achieve genuine autonomy for head teachers and will help in setting reasonable targets for their performance.

Professionalism. The market reform policies have hurt the teaching profession through performativity, heavier workloads, and the ever-escalating demands of accountability. The profession needs to be set free, through appropriate institutional arrangements, to make its own decisions. Currently, too many institutions are dealing with teachers' affairs. This situation is not only compromising the profession but also limiting principals' ability to manage their schools.

Maintaining the status quo of the teaching profession. The study findings revealed that the system admitted unqualified candidates into teacher training programs because the profession is no longer attractive to qualified candidates. In addition, the implication of the low teachers' salaries is causing many teachers to neglect their teaching duties in order to search for a second or even third source of income. To ensure that teaching profession is an attractive career choice, the government ought to focus on improving the quality and relevance of the teacher training; increasing teachers' salaries; and enhancing teachers' working conditions, in-service training, and opportunities for career advancement.

Management of new teachers (products of 2000s). The study findings revealed problems in the selection of candidates for the teacher training, the training itself, and job commitment. These problems are contributing to principals' difficulties in managing their schools. The government needs to put in place mechanisms for mentor support and to pay a special allowance to principals for managing the new kind of uncommitted teachers.

Addressing the shortage of teachers across councils. The findings from the policy documents and interviews revealed that overstaffing is occurring in some councils while teacher shortages are happening in others. This problem is due to the artificial boundaries created by the decentralization policies and because of the poor working conditions in some councils. In order to address the shortages linked to the distribution of teachers across the councils, the laws regarding distribution need to be changed, and support programs and incentives for teachers who agree to work where needed the most need to be offered.

Teachers' salaries. Scholars such as Omari (2013) suggest that education is a political creation and that politics is the platform on which education operates. Establishing policies and practices that are relevant to the local context is vital given that education is the foundation for the well-being and prosperity of any nation. Given this consideration, teachers "need positive political support, encouragement, appreciation, and reinforcement" (p. 14). This study's findings revealed that in Tanzania, some teachers' are neglecting their teaching duties in order to find other sources of income. This practice is compromising the decentralization policy's ability to achieve its objectives and calls for a review of teachers' salaries.

Principal-ships' management and school enrolment. The current decentralization reforms and demographic factors have increased school enrolments, giving principals heavy workloads, which are limiting the principals' efficiency. Therefore, a standard and realistic norm for school enrolment needs to be established.

Job satisfaction and commitment. All the respondents confirmed that principals have heavy workloads, but no workload allowance. In addition, some respondents mentioned that

some principals are earning less than their subordinates are. Since not only experience (duration of service) determines the level of an individual's salary, but also level of education, in the spirit of increasing principals' status and motivation, the government should re-write principals' job descriptions, set minimum qualifications, and give principals a new salary and benefits package.

System support. Leadership involves making decisions. In the context of good governance, principals need management support in order to make informed decisions. The interviews revealed that the principals did not have copies of key educational circulars such as *The Delegation of Authority Guide*. The responsible actors need to take action to ensure availability and clarity of circulars, directives and policy documents. The initiative should also consider teacher in-service training systems as support for the principals' work.

Implications for further studies

Education for self-reliance. The respondents emphasized the need for schools to have income-generating projects to meet some of their requirements. At the core of this requirement is the logic of merging theory and practice and encouraging principals to seek support from communities. Future studies should examine how schools can enhance their self-reliance and appeal to communal values in a market-dominated context.

Demographic factors and the school-going age. The rate of the population increase, particularly among school going-age children, is an increasing challenge for the education system in SSA. The respondents expressed concern about the increased enrolments in schools since the implementation of decentralization. Further studies are required regarding this increase and its implications for the government and principals.

Conclusion

SAPs are synonymous with neo-liberalism (George, 1999). Given that decentralization policies are products of SAPs, these policies are a neoliberal creation. As this study has shown, neoliberal policy development and implementation are contingent on colonial power relations, which influenced the establishment of the Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995). This policy and other related policies such as the Primary Education Development Program (URT, 2002), Big Results Now in Education (URT, 2013a) and School Improvement Toolkit (URT, 2013b) all provide guidance on principals' roles and expectations. The decentralization policy promised that schools (principals) would have increased authority and also that communities would augment the government's funding for education.

In the context of decentralization, this study explored principals' experiences in managing their instructional and managerial roles. The findings confirmed that the policy expectation for principals' autonomy in managing their schools is not realistic due to systemic barriers including tendencies towards centralism, which limit principals' autonomy to make constructive innovations. The center either makes decisions or, in some cases, interferes with principals by drawing them away from their work and not giving them enough resources to implement their school plans. One cause of principals' limited autonomy is that the decentralization's concept of autonomy originates from external sources (neoliberal directives) and does not match with the realities of the local context (particularly the foundation of the society's human relations). Thus, the principals' authority is limited because the current institutional arrangement, the laws, and the regulations (the power relations) do not support principals in making constructive decisions.

Another different but related problem is that the influence of the market forces principals to respond to different stakeholders' and market requirements. This necessity leads to performativity, where performance evidence is the main criterion for evaluating principals even though they receive only minimal support and have heavy workloads. The findings from the policy documents and interviews revealed that although the core function of principals is instruction, administrative work takes much of their time. Moreover, the principals are unable to manage their instructional and management roles satisfactorily.

The findings also revealed that the variations in community support are contributing to head teachers' management difficulties. The reason for this bottleneck is that, during policy initiation, the focus was mainly the fiscal crisis, which led to the requirement for community involvement in supporting schools despite the high poverty level in many communities.

Generally, the dominance of the neoliberal reform policies has driven us to the extent of allowing the market to influence social and political decisions. In addition, we have completely accepted the neoliberal version of autonomy without sufficiently contextualizing it. These problems, along with the reforms' content, have prevented the decentralization policy from achieving its expected outcomes. For example, one respondent suggested, "Regarding decentralization, we do not disagree; however, more researches should be done" (Urban principal B3, December 2, 2014). It is true that neo-liberalism is dominating other discourses and that its advocates have invested a lot in it. However, neoliberalism is a human purposive creation and an artificial construct. The study findings reveal that principals are at a crossroads, in terms of performing their roles, due to the reforms' systemic barriers. Given that neoliberalism is a human creation, people have the ability to change it (George, 1999) provided they are truly committed to

effecting change (Assié-Lumumba, 2016). In this case, we need to decolonize market-influenced educational policies and contextualize them so that they can reflect local realities and expectations. Decentralization should aim at creating collective autonomy, collective involvement, and a sense of care, cooperation and responsibility for social wellbeing. Fundamentally, this vision should go hand in hand with transformation in power relations and institutional arrangements.

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Appendix A: Sample information letter to principals

Study Title: The decentralization policy for education in Tanzania: The impact on primary head teachers and their instructional and managerial roles.

Principal Investigator:
Grace Rwiza
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Phone: 255 765 989729

Supervisor:
Lynette Shultz
Professor
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7-133 Education North
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Phone: 1-780- 492 4441

Dear (Name randomly selected from a list of head teachers who had served before and after the decentralization of the management of primary schools).

I am pleased to invite you to participate in the research being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctoral program in Education Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. The results of this research will be used in my thesis and also may be used in academic presentations, reports, research articles, teaching, web postings, or book chapters.

In this research, my supervisor and the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Alberta may have access to the generalized data produced in this study, but your anonymity and privacy will be safeguarded at all times. You are free to choose to participate, and your participation will not be made known to the other members of your school, ward, or council or to your regional or ministry officers. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your experience of working as a head teacher before and after the decentralization of the management of primary schools.

The purpose of the research is to interview head teachers to learn how they are, under the decentralization policy for education, managing their instructional and managerial roles.

Your participation is voluntary, and if you consent to participate, you will be interviewed twice for about one hour for each session. The interview will have three main activities. First, as a starting point, I will ask you to do a Pre-Interview Activity that help you to re-call the theme of my study by completing a statement: "The way I understand the decentralization of management of primary schools is …." and then writing a one-paragraph response. Second, we will meet twice for approximately one hour for each meeting at a location that will be convenient to you. Third, after I have listened to the audio recordings of the interviews, I might ask you to clarify some of your answers.

In the process of this study, you will not be required or requested at any time to provide identifying information. During the interviews, with you and when labeling the recording I will use pseudonym in order to protect your anonymity. The interview transcripts will be locked in a secure location for a minimum of five years following the completion of this study (in order to follow the University of Alberta research policy). Your interview transcript will either be emailed or given to you in person for your review. This research will be conducted in compliance with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants.

I consider that participating in such a study will create an opportunity for you to reflect on your experiences as principals. I do not anticipate that you will be harmed by participating in this study. I believe the knowledge that we

gain from it will support the development of sustainability and self-awareness in the formulation of the decentralization policies for education. In the study process, no costs are attached to this research, and you will not be reimbursed for participating in this study.

As indicated above, your participation is voluntary, and you can withdraw from the study at any time before two weeks have passed after the final interview, and all the data collected from your interviews will be destroyed. If you wish to opt out of the study, you can do so either verbally or in writing by indicating to either me or my supervisor that you are withdrawing. If you agree to participate, and indicate an interest in the findings, you will be given an opportunity to receive information by either email or regular mail.

A Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta has reviewed the plan for this study for its adherence to ethical guidelines. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at 1-780-492-2615. This office has no direct involvement with this project. Also, if you have any questions regarding the conduct of this research, you may contact my Academic Supervisor Dr. Lynette Shultz (1-780- 492 4441). If you have any specific questions regarding this research please contact me by email rwiza@ualberta.ca or by phone 255-765-989-729.

After reading the above, and if you believe you may be willing to consent to be interviewed, please review the Consent Form attached to this letter.

Thank you for considering this invitation.

Sincerely,

Grace Rwiza.

Appendix B: Sample information letter to deputy principals, education officers and policy makers

Study Title: The decentralization policy for education in Tanzania: The impact on primary head teachers and their instructional and managerial roles.

Principal Investigator:
Grace Rwiza
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Supervisor:
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Professor
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University of Alberta, T6G 2G5
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Dear (name/title purposively selected by virtual of their positions – deputy head teachers, district education officers, permanent secretary and director of primary education).

I am pleased to invite you to participate in research being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctoral program in Education Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. The results of this research will be used in my thesis and may also be used in academic presentations, reports, research articles, teaching, web postings, or book chapters.

In this research, my supervisor and the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Alberta will have access to the generalized data produced in this study, but your anonymity and privacy will be safeguarded at all times. A participant is free to choose to participate, and his/her participation will not be made known to any other members of your school, ward, and council or to regional or ministry officers. You are being asked to participate in this study because of your experience in the field of education, particularly with school sites and education policies.

The purpose of this research is to learn how head teachers under the decentralization policy for education are managing their instructional and managerial roles. The researcher is expecting to achieve this purpose by conducting two interviews with you.

Your participation is voluntary, and if you consent to participate, you will be interviewed twice for about one hour each time at a location convenient to you. Third, after I have listened to the audio recordings of the interviews, I might ask you to clarify some of your answers.

In the process of this study, you will not be required or requested at any time to provide identifying information. During the interviews with you and when labeling the recording I will use the pseudonym in order to protect anonymity. The interview transcripts will be locked in a secure location for a minimum of five years following the completion of this study (in order to follow the University of Alberta research policy). Your interview transcript will either be emailed or given to you in person for your review. This research will be conducted in compliance with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants.

I consider that participating in such a study will create an opportunity for you to reflect on experiences regarding principals' management. I do not anticipate that you will be harmed by participating in this study. I believe the knowledge that we gain from this study will support the development of sustainability and self-awareness in the formulation of decentralization policies for education. In the study process, no costs are attached to this research, and you will not be reimbursed for participating in this study.

As indicated above, your participation is voluntary, and you can withdraw from the study any time before two weeks have passed after the final interview, and all the data collected from your interviews will be destroyed. If you wish to opt out of the study, you can do so either verbally or in writing by indicating to either me or my academic supervisor that you are withdrawing. If you agree to participate, and indicate an interest in the findings, you will be given an opportunity to receive information by either email or regular mail.

A Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta has reviewed the plan for this study for its adherence to ethical guidelines. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at 1-780-492-2615. This office has no direct involvement with this project. In addition, if you have any questions regarding the conduct of this research, you may contact my Academic Supervisor Dr. Lynette Shultz (1-780- 492 4441). If you have any specific questions regarding this research, please contact me by email rwiza@ualberta.ca or by phone 255-765-989-729.

After reading the above, and if you believe you may be willing to provide to consent to be interviewed, please review the Consent Form attached to this letter.

Thank you for considering this invitation.

Sincerely,

Grace Rwiza.

Appendix C: Sample consent form

Title of Project	The decentralization policy for education in Tanzania: The impact on primary head teachers and their instructional and managerial roles.

Principal Investigator: Grace Rwiza
Department of Educational Policy Studies
Faculty of Education
7-104 Education North
University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB T6 2G5
Email: rwiza@ualberta.ca

Phone: 255 765 989 729

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	Yes	No
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information sheet?	Yes	No
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?	Yes	No
Have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you are free to refuse or participate, or to withdraw from the study at any time, without consequence, and that your information will be withdrawn at your request?	Yes	No
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Do you understand who will have access to your information?	Yes	No

This study was explained to me by: _____

I have read and understood the attached information letter and agree to take part in this study:

_____ _____

Signature of Research Participant Date

_____

Printed name

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agree to participate.

_____ _____

Signature of Investigator or Designee Date

A COPY OF THIS DOCUMENT WILL BE PROVIDED TO THE PARTICIPANT

Appendix D: Sample interview scripts for principals

A. Conceptions and understanding of the decentralization policy for education

I am interested on how the decentralization policy for education are affecting your roles

1. School location (urban or rural)
2. How long have you served in a principal-ship position?
3. How would you define the school community and education stakeholders? Are these stakeholders influencing your day-to-day activities/functions? If so, how?
4. How do you define the decentralization of primary school management/school-based management?
5. How does the decentralization of primary school management/ school-based management operate at your school?
6. How does school-based management influence your day-to-day function as a primary school principal?

B. Guiding policies, education circulars, guidelines and directives

1. Where do you get the directives that define the expectations for your roles, and how do you respond?
2. What education policies, circulars, guidelines and directives are guiding your school-based management, and how are they doing so?
3. To what extent does your school committee, council, region, and ministry influence the way you operate? (How do you distinguish among their different influences?)
4. Do any other groups/stakeholders influence your functions?

C. Principals' roles

1. What are your school-development roles, and how do you handle them?
2. What are your most demanding roles as a principal working in school-based management? Why?
3. What principals' roles in the decentralization context are either being or not being carried out satisfactorily? Why?
4. Generally, how manageable is your workload? Has it changed from before 1995?

D. Principals' strategies and autonomy

1. How do you handle your principal-ship functions? (Probe question: Do you have plans/strategies? How do you implement these plans/strategies?)
2. To what extent, as a school head, do you have the authority to plan, influence, and implement your school-development plan?

E. Implication for the future policy and practise

1. Do you have any other thoughts about your experience in school-based management that you would like to share?
2. If you were to change anything about the policy, what would it be?

Appendix E: Sample interview scripts for deputy principals, council education officers and policy makers

I am interested on how the decentralization policy for education is influencing principals' experiences in performing their roles.

1. How do you define the primary school-community and the other stakeholders? How these stakeholders influencing principals' functions?
2. What roles are principals expected to carry out in school-based management, and how are they fulfilling these roles?
3. What strategies are principals using to handle their functions, and how are these strategies being implemented?
4. From where do principals normally receive support for performing their roles? What kind of support do they receive?
5. What are the major challenges for the primary school principals in the decentralization of primary school management/school-based management, and how are they handling them?
6. In your opinion, what policies are supporting/hindering principals in their efforts to carry out their functions? How are these policies having their effects?
7. Do you have any other thoughts about your experience in school-based management that you would like to share?
8. If you were to change anything about the policy, what would it be?

Appendix F: Sample Pre Interview Activity for head teachers

After a potential participant responded positively to the information, letter and indicated the meeting time for the interviews, the researcher either sent a letter by email or regular mail or delivered the letter in person. The letter confirmed the time and venue for the interviews and provided a Pre-Interview-Activity (PIA) for the interviewees (principals) to complete.

The PIA was designed to take about 20 minutes. In the confirmation letter, the head teachers were asked to respond to a statement: "The way I understand the decentralization of the management of primary schools is ……." in a paragraph. The purpose of this activity was to help the participants to recall my research topic and organise their ideas.

The Pre-Interview-Activity was sent with a copy of the Consent form (Appendix C).