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"Everybody knows every child should be educated"

The Strive Towards Universal Primary Education in Tanzania

Lindsjö, Karin

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*“Everybody knows every child
should be educated”*

The Strive Towards Universal Primary Education in Tanzania

KARIN LINDSJÖ | FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE | LUND UNIVERSITY



*“Everybody knows every child
should be educated”*

The Strive Towards Universal Primary
Education in Tanzania

Karin Lindsjö



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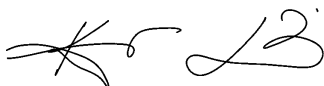
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Abstract <p>In 2001, the first Primary Education Development Plan declared that the previous obligatory primary education fee was to be abolished in Tanzania. This was an attempt to increase the access to public primary education for all children. This thesis aims to understand how the reform and its focus on the abolition of school fee influences parents' and caregivers' support for primary education and impacts on children's inclusion and possibilities to receive education.</p> <p>In rural and urban contexts parents and caregivers as well as teachers have shared their opinions on the obligatory primary education and this thesis explores the values of education, the perceptions of quality, children's possibilities to participate in education as well as the links between education and livelihoods in Iringa Region, Tanzania.</p> <p>Six study sites were included in the study: three rural and three urban areas. The empirical data draws on a mixed-methods approach, including interviews with primary school teachers, interviews and focus group discussions with parents and caregivers of primary school aged children, a household survey, and interviews with key informants.</p> <p>This thesis concludes that the previous obligatory primary education fee has been replaced by obligatory parental contributions. Furthermore, this thesis suggests that regardless of socio-economic background or geographical context parents and caregivers highly value education as it is perceived necessary to be able to find employment, move out of poverty and leave the traditional rural livelihoods. By contrast, children's ability to receive education as well as schools ability to provide education is contextual and geographical variations are manifested in the inclusivity of children in primary education.</p>		
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The Strive Towards Universal Primary
Education in Tanzania

Karin Lindsjö



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To Vera, Malte and Simon with love

I don't have anything to give him in the future – only education

Mother in Iringa town, low income area, November 13, 2013

Content

	Acknowledgments	11
	List of Articles	14
	Acronyms and Abbreviations	15
	List of Tables, Figures and Maps	17
1.	Introduction.....	19
	The Global Agenda on Education	20
	The Tanzanian Agenda	22
	Aim and Research Questions.....	23
	Thesis Structure	24
2.	From Universal Primary Education Towards Equitable Quality Education.....	27
	Education and Development Outcomes	29
	Problems with UPE.....	31
	Defining Quality of Education	33
3.	The Tanzanian Education System	37
	Historical Background of Education in Tanzania	38
	Education Structure, Finance and Enrolment Rates.....	44
4.	Conceptual Framework	49
	Human Capital Theories.....	50
	The Human Rights Approach	51
	The Capability Approach	52
	Geographies of Education	57
	Livelihoods and Education	59
	Parental Perceptions of Education	65
	The Tanzanian Education Policy in Relation to Theoretical Framework.....	68
	Linking Theories with Research Questions.....	69

5.	Methodological Choices and Concerns.....	71
	Site Selection and Description.....	73
	Qualitative Data Collection.....	78
	Quantitative Data Collection	87
	Place of Interviewing, Discussions and Survey.....	89
	Informed Consent and other Ethical Concerns.....	90
	Field Assistants	91
	Data Analysis	92
	Observations	93
	To Work in Rural versus Urban Areas.....	95
	Valuation of Data Quality and Potential Biases	95
	If I Would Have Done Things Differently	96
6.	Summary of Articles	99
7.	Concluding Discussion.....	103
	Valuation of Education	103
	Quality of Education.....	104
	The Next Policy Already?	106
	Rural Livelihoods and Education.....	106
	Theoretical Implications.....	108
	A Geographical Perspective	110
	The Paradoxes of Expensive Fee Free Education.....	111
	References.....	115
	Appendix 1 – List of Interviews	131
	Appendix 2 – Interview Guides.....	137
	Appendix 3 – Household Survey 2014.....	145

Acknowledgments

We can all relate to education and probably recall our first day in school and the dreams we had when choosing a certain path within education. Many of us are lucky to once more reflect on education – this time through our children. To study the education system and its consequences at the household level in another country, so different from the context I am familiar with, has been a challenging, interesting, difficult and at times a very emotional journey. Even though I have certainly felt lonely sometimes, the journey has not been done alone. Therefore I wish to acknowledge those who have supported me during this journey.

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Annika, if I could change geography I would start by moving Stockholm closer to Skåne. You are simply too far away and always will be. Nevertheless, our friendship is never further away than a phone call, and we can always continue where we left off. Let us plan for yearly treats and let us stick to the nice idea of having a glass of champagne in a wooden tree house when we grow old. I am grateful for having you in my life!

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Mimi, my dear friend who made leaving my family behind somewhat easier by hosting me at my stopovers in Zurich and spoiling me with the best of dinners before continuing with the early morning flight to Dar. And for not hesitating to visit us up in the North from time to time, challenging the language barrier with our children and introducing us to the chocolate game.

On walks with trolleys along the seaside I found a new close friend in Lotta. At this stage in life, I sadly wasn't sure I could find this kind of friendship, and I am so glad you finally decided just to move from one side of the village to the other. I hope for many more walks over the years – without trolleys.

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One year after being accepted to the PhD programme I became a mother. This, of course, gave me new perspectives of what is important and what really matters in life. At times, motherhood has challenged thesis work: during fieldwork, or the days in the office after a sleepless night or the unpredictable days at home with a sick child. But it has certainly contributed to thesis work as well; you make your day count in a different way, and you make the most out of your hours. Still, in the end, a thesis is just a thesis, while my children mean the world to me.

Vera, Malte och Simon – våra små trollungar, era bubblande skratt har fått mig att se annorlunda på livet. Att följa era vägar och val i livet är den verkliga resan.

Pålsjö skog, September 29, 2017

List of Articles

Article 1

Lindsjö, K. (2016) Education – a Key to Life? Caregivers' Narratives of Primary School Education in Iringa Region, Tanzania, *Journal of Poverty Alleviation and International Development*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 137-162.

Article 2

Lindsjö, K. (*re-submitted to a peer-reviewed journal*) Contextualizing Quality of Primary Education in Urban and Rural Settings - The case of Iringa Region, Tanzania.

Article 3

Lindsjö, K. (*submitted to a peer-reviewed journal*) The Financial Burden of a Fee Free Primary Education on Rural Livelihoods - A case study from rural Iringa Region, Tanzania.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BRN	Big Results Now
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EFA	Education for All
FHH	Female Headed Household
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRA	Institute of Resource Assessment
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFS	Minor Field Study
MOEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NECTA	The National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NKRA	National Key Result Area
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDB	President's Delivery Bureau
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SGH	Skipped Generation Household
Sida	The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SSA	Sub-Sahara Africa
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
Tsh	Tanzanian Shilling ¹
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	The United Republic of Tanzania
WB	The World Bank

¹ During the fieldworks in 2013 and 2014, 1 USD was equivalent to 1 650 Tsh, while in 2015, 1 USD was equivalent to 1 800 Tsh.

List of Tables, Figures and Maps

Table 1:	Location of data collection 2013 and 2014, by type of interview	85
Table 2:	Key informants, 2015	86
Table 3:	Household survey respondents, 2014	89
Figure 1:	Primary Net Enrolment Rate: Sub-Saharan Africa and the World	28
Figure 2:	The Tanzanian population pyramid 2012	37
Figure 3:	Primary Net Enrolment Rate: Tanzania and Sub-Saharan Africa	47
Map 1:	Map of Tanzania	18
Map 2:	Map of Iringa Region	74



Map 1: Map of Tanzania
 Source: UNESCO, 2014b:1

1. Introduction

To many of us education has a symbolic value, it is associated with hopes, ambitions and changes. By reading this thesis I presume you have been part of an education system. Somewhere. Growing up in a privileged part of the world it is easy to take access to education for granted. Questions of concerns rather relate to *what* to study and *where* to study. Unfortunately, this reality does not apply to everyone. On a sunny afternoon on November 14, 2013 I meet Mrs Mkwawa², a 50 year old grandmother who lives alone with her two grandchildren, a girl and a boy, in a village along the highway in southwestern Tanzania. Her husband has passed away as have her son and daughter in law and the grandchildren now depend on her. Outside her small mud house she introduces me to her life, her background and her values on education. As a girl, she was not herself allowed to attend any school at all. Her father could not afford schooling for all children and her brothers were favoured. Today, education for her two grandchildren is a necessity, she argues, in order for the children to find employment and to have an easier life than her.

“If they pass education they can be employed /.../ they will be educated and know what to do and how to live with their families /.../ they will not struggle much, they will get money where they are working.”³

(Grandmother in village A, November 14, 2013)

With only one and a half acres to cultivate and a few hens she is struggling to meet the basic daily needs of the household. To manage the costs of education she grows and sells pumpkins. This interview captures a change in the perceptions on the value of education; regardless of social or geographical background or sex, primary education nowadays is meant to include everyone. The interview also captures a

² Mrs Mkwawa is not her real name.

³ Throughout the thesis and articles, quotes are presented as quotes although being the field assistant's translation of the discussion.

true struggle of a single grandparent to meet the needs of her household and at the same time to secure education for her new dependents.

This thesis explores the perceptions and values of education in Iringa Region, Tanzania. In rural and urban contexts⁴ parents and caregivers⁵ as well as teachers have shared their opinions on the obligatory primary education, its quality and its links to livelihoods. The strive towards Universal Primary Education (UPE) is analysed first and foremost from a local perspective, which includes three rural and three urban study sites, although also including the national visions of implementing UPE and the gap between policy implementation and the outcome in reality.

Never before have the number of children around the world attending primary school been higher. Neither in absolute terms, nor relative. And never before have children continued climbing the academic ladder as they do today. Education, of present, is one of the key components on the global agenda when sustainable development is debated. Despite these significant achievements, findings from Iringa Region indicate that simply being enrolled in school is not enough and much is left to be considered regarding policy implementation.

The Global Agenda on Education

Already in 1948, through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the right to education was acknowledged (Sifuna, 2007) and free and compulsory basic education was included in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959 (UN, 1959) as well as in the 1989's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (UN, 1989). Thereafter, the international debate on education has been encouraged through the *World Conference on Education for All* in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990

⁴ The official Tanzanian definition of urban and rural contexts defines urban domain as: "Formal cities and towns characterized by high population densities, high levels of economic activities and high levels of infrastructure" while rural domain is defined as: "Farms and traditional areas characterized by low population densities, low levels of economic activities and low levels of infrastructure. It includes all other areas which do not belong to the Urban Domain and Dar es Salaam Domain" (URT, 2014b:5).

⁵ Throughout the fieldwork I have met with parents and caregivers, not necessarily the biological parents. Due to AIDS many children are orphans and being cared for by someone else, usually the grandparents or other relatives. To avoid referring constantly to "parents and caregivers" the terms are alternately used. The use of "parents" does not only refer to biological parents and correspondingly the use of "caregivers" does not only refer to someone other than the biological parent being responsible for the child.

and the *World Education Forum* in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, and not least by being one of the global development goals. Within the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) education was included as goal number two: to achieve Universal Primary Education. This goal, as well as the two conferences, had a strong focus on increasing access to education for all and by 2015 Universal Primary Education was to be achieved. This has not yet been realized. Still, 59 million primary school aged children are estimated to be out of school worldwide. Or, put in other words, nine percent of primary school aged children do not have access to education. Out of the 59 million primary school aged children out of school, 30 million are found in Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA), and 1,4 million in Tanzania⁶ (UNESCO, 2015). By contrast, neither the global primary enrolment rate nor the SSA primary enrolment rate have ever been higher than today. 89.6% and 77.9%⁷ respectively (World Bank, 2017a).

Following the initial focus on increasing enrolment rates worldwide, the quality⁸ in primary education has been given increasing attention (Wagner, 2010). Two years ago, the MDGs were replaced by a new set of goals through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG); this time 17 in numbers. Goal number four comprises the category of education and aims to: “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UN, 2015:14). Even though it still withholds a strong focus on universalism; the perspective of making access available to all children and to be inclusive no matter of vulnerability, this time a much stronger focus is given to the dimension of quality. Education should be “relevant”, lead to “effective learning outcomes” and education facilities need to be “effective learning environments for all” (UN, 2015:17). The global agenda on education is to be guided by this goal until 2030.

On October 9, 2012 the global debate on education as a human right was once again initiated, this time in the cruellest way. A young schoolgirl in Pakistan was shot on her way home from school. Fifteen year old Malala amazingly survived the attack and it did not stop her from claiming her and other children’s right to education. Two years later, in 2014, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize as the youngest award winner ever (Yousafzai and Lamb, 2015). Unfortunately, violence against school age children is not unique. Apart from being declared as a basic human right, thus motivating Universal Primary Education in itself, education is highlighted to be linked to several positive development outcomes, for instance

⁶ Formally named The United Republic of Tanzania but commonly referred to as Tanzania.

⁷ Excluding high income countries.

⁸ The term quality is elaborated on in chapter two *From Universal Primary Education Towards Equitable Quality Education* and again discussed in chapter seven *Concluding Discussion*.

decreased poverty, (URT, 2006; Jung and Thorbecke, 2003; Mbelle and Katabaro, 2003), improved health (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003; Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011; Sifuna, 2007) and improved agricultural productivity (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003). In this sense, education is regarded as a tool or instrument in order to improve various development areas, several of them linked to other MDGs and SDGs, and not only as a goal in itself.

The Tanzanian Agenda

The Tanzanian government's vision is to become a middle income country by 2025 which include high quality livelihoods, a semi-industrialized agricultural economy and more widespread industrial and service activities throughout the country, including the rural areas. It is believed that education, not only primary education, has a central role to play in order to compete on a regional and global level as well as to meet the domestic basic needs of people (URT, 2000). The vision for primary education is, according to Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) (2015): "To provide quality education to all children" which is to be achieved by establishing conducive environment including improvements of infrastructure, ensure availability of teachers and increase the enrolment. This vision is driven by a global demand; global meetings, forums, development partners (personal communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015) and global competition (personal communication with Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa, Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, June 12, 2015).

Ever since independence, Tanzania has had a strong tradition on emphasizing education for its people. Initially, and for some decades, it was encouraged by the country's first president Julius K. Nyerere, as to make the country self-reliant and improve the living standards in the communities (Nyerere, 1967). More recently education is argued to create strong human capital which is needed to generate a competitive economy to lift the country from a poor country status to a middle income country (URT, 2000).

Aim and Research Questions

The Tanzania government stated in the first Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP)⁹, launched in 2001, that it aims to ensure that all children:

“[H]ave equitable access to a good quality primary education. No child should be denied the opportunity to participate in education because of poverty, gender, disability, or because of a lack of school uniform, fees or other parental contributions, or because of a lack of school facilities, materials or teachers.”

(URT, 2001:v)

Starting from January 2002, the previous obligatory school fees in primary education were thus removed and aimed to increase the access to public primary education for all children¹⁰. Moreover, primary education was to be of “good quality” (URT, 2001). The overall aim of this thesis therefore is to understand how the 2001 PEDP reform and its focus on the abolition of school fee influences parents’ and caregivers’ support for primary education and impacts on children’s inclusion and possibilities to receive education. To this end the thesis explores the following research questions:

1. How do parents and caregivers value and perceive Universal Primary Education and how do these perspectives influence learning outcomes?
2. What is the current narrative on quality in education perceived by teachers, parents and caregivers?
3. How are children’s possibilities of participating in primary education affected by whether they live in rural or urban areas?
4. How do rural household and livelihood characteristics influence inclusion in primary education?

By addressing these questions this thesis contributes to the understanding of children’s possibilities to receive education and schools ability to provide

⁹ The two following PEDPs launched in 2006 and 2012 were instead named *Primary Education Development Programme*.

¹⁰ The number of private primary schools is increasing in Tanzania, and while private primary education to some extent is included in the thesis, the focus is mainly on public primary education and more research is needed on the future consequences for pupils’ academic carriers following this division of primary schools.

education and thus to the extensive ongoing debate on education linked to development but also to the much more limited debate on the links between geography and education in the Global South. In relation to this, the thesis contributes by exploring inclusive primary education from a rural-urban perspective going beyond the rate of enrolment. Furthermore, it contributes to the literature on parental perceptions on education from a developing country context and is including various households' characteristics – a subject that is underresearched.

The first three questions include a strong rural-urban perspective while the fourth question explicitly relates to rural livelihoods. While research questions one, two and three centre on teachers, parents and other caregivers, as well as the current situation in schools and the potential of education, research question four situates these findings in the broader context of the livelihoods of rural households. Question number one is explored in article one, questions number two and three are explored in article two and research question number four is mainly discussed in article three but also to some extent in the other two, as it links to both perceptions and children's possibilities of participating in primary education.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 gives an introduction to education by discussing Universal Primary Education and quality of education from a broader international perspective. In Chapter 3, the Tanzanian education system is presented; what it looks like today, the government's vision and some important historical developments. Thereafter, in Chapter 4 the conceptual framework which has guided the thesis work is outlined. The three conventional theories of human capital theories, the human rights approach and the capability approach are highlighted and special attention is given to the most recent approach: The social justice and capability approach. The chapter also includes a geographical perspective on education, how livelihoods and education link together and a discussion on parental perceptions of education. Chapter 5 begins with an introduction to the field and more specifically the study sites, which include three urban and three rural settings. The remaining part of the chapter is devoted to methodological concerns and choices throughout the process and I have also allowed myself to include some personal reflections in this part. Chapter 6 provides a summary of the articles. In Chapter 7 a concluding discussion is held, summarizing the findings from the field and returning to the research questions. A list of interviews is found in Appendix 1, interview guides are found in

Appendix 2 and the household survey is found in Appendix 3. Finally, the three articles are included.

The first article “*Education – a Key to Life? Caregivers’ Narratives of Primary School Education in Iringa Region, Tanzania*” emphasizes parental perceptions of primary education. Why do they send their children to school and what do they aim for by doing this? The collected qualitative data suggest that regardless of geographical setting or social class, education is believed to be a positive, or even necessary, investment. Several factors contribute to this opinion; education is needed to improve living standards and move out of poverty, to begin a more modernized way of farming, to enter formal employment or, to remain within a certain social class. Among rural households, another aspect is raised which considers expectations of future assistance from more educated children. Widespread poverty and lack of infrastructure and services are understood to have a negative effect on school activities and learning.

The second article “*Contextualizing Quality of Primary Education in Urban and Rural Settings - The case of Iringa Region, Tanzania*” turns the focus towards the concept and valuation of quality in primary education. Considering the young population of Tanzania, primary school as an institution has the potential of not only reaching a large share of the population but possibly also to make changes on youth’s learning outcomes, skills and attitudes. Unfortunately, though, qualitative data from Iringa Region corresponds to previous literature confirming a poor status of quality in primary education in Tanzania (see Mbelle and Katabaro, 2003; Rajani and Carlitz, 2007; Yusuph, 2013) as in other developing countries (Aturupane *et al.*, 2013; Benavot and Gad, 2004; Kendall, 2007). This article concludes that both teachers and parents argue that the current school system was overwhelmed and not well prepared for the implementation of the new fee-free policy resulting in overcrowded classrooms, lack of desks, text books and teachers. Rural public primary schools especially face difficulties in this aspect. However, the rural-urban dichotomy is not that distinct and it is notable that urban public schools may have more in common with their rural counterparts than with the urban private schools.

Finally, in the third article “*The Financial Burden of a Fee Free Primary Education on Rural Livelihoods – A case study from rural Iringa Region, Tanzania*” I am interested in how the rural households are financially affected by the abolishment of the school fee. The fee was abolished but instead primary schools started to request various contributions from the households to be able to supply examinations, lunches and the maintenance of schools. Even though these contributions are not to be viewed as obligatory (URT, 2001; personal

communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015) parents and caregivers are of a different opinion as children are suspended or beaten when contributions are delayed or not delivered. The main finding in this article is that the financial burden on households today is high, ranging from 1.3 to 2.3 monthly incomes per year within the rural study sites, and together with food these expenses are perceived as the main expenditure.

2. From Universal Primary Education Towards Equitable Quality Education

The introduction of a formal education system in developing countries is a relatively new phenomenon following the independence era (Buchmann, 2015). In 1990 the World Conference on Education for All was held in Jomtien, Thailand. The World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) was established and UPE was to be achieved by 2000. This conference was followed up ten years later by the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal. This conference resulted in the Dakar Framework for Action including six areas to be addressed: I) expand early childhood education, II) free UPE by 2015, III) access to life skills, IV) 50% improvement in illiteracy, V) eliminate gender disparity by 2005 and finally VI) improve quality of education (Mundy, 2006:20).

Following the two world conferences on education and the declaration of the MDGs in 2000 the international debate on education have gained worldwide recognition, Mundy (2006:35) phrases it as: “[U]niversal public access to free basic education has now achieved status and legitimacy as a global public good”.

Initially the debate had a strong focus on increasing access to basic education and to reach UPE. While this goal is not yet achieved, the debate now also includes a strong focus on quality as visible in the SDG; being present in school is not enough, education needs to be relevant and promote learning.

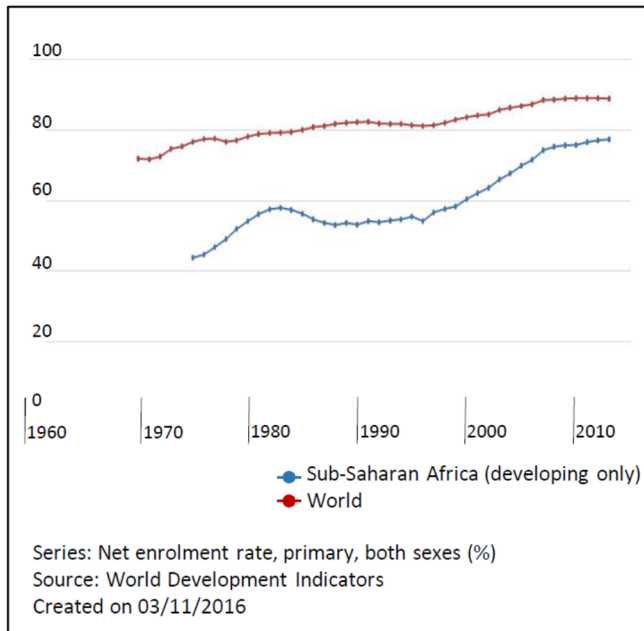


Figure 1:
 Primary Net Enrolment Rate: Sub-Saharan Africa and the World

The World Bank's (WB) data on primary net enrolment rate (NER) for SSA starts in 1975. NER is the total number of enrolled children of school age in relation to the total number of school aged children in the population. At that time, the NER was modest and did not reach more than 43.7%, while the global NER at the same time was almost the double, 76.7%. Since then, however, SSA has managed to decrease the gap and in 2013 SSA's NER reached 77.4% while the world's NER had climbed to 88.9% (World Bank, 2016b) illustrated in Figure 1. Whereas the world's NER curve is much more stable and slowly progressing, the SSA NER curve fluctuates indicating a rapid increase in the 1970s, followed by a decline and stagnation during the economic crisis in the 1980s and early 1990s, then again a rapid increase between late 1990s and the initial years following the turn of the millennium. Lately, the curve has slowed down in its progress.

Education and Development Outcomes

According to Knutsson and Lindberg (2012), policy makers of the Global South are faced with financial limitations, being dependent on external donors and internal development differences, such as the gap between urban and rural areas. Nevertheless, policy documents following the turn of the millennium indicate a broad consensus that the entire education sector must be prioritized in order to reach national development goals.

Apart from being declared as a basic human right, thus motivating UPE, education is associated with several positive development outcomes, out of which several are directly linked to the global universal MDGs and SDGs. First of all education is believed to have a long-term positive effect on economic growth (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003; Mbelle, 2008) exemplified with its role in the East Asian progress (Stiglitz, 2006), and poverty reduction, (URT, 2006; Jung and Thorbecke, 2003; Mbelle and Katabaro, 2003). Linked to this is improved agricultural productivity (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003) as the majority of the world's poor still depend on agriculture for their livelihoods (Townsend *et al.*, 2013, World Bank, 2016a). Previous research, furthermore, emphasises a strong link between education and improved health (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003; Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011; Sifuna, 2007) including positive effect on maternity health (Ahmed *et al.*, 2010), child mortality (Agwanda and Amani, 2014; Sabates *et al.*, 2011) and infant mortality rates (Agwanda and Amani, 2014; Peadamallu *et al.*, 2010). The Tanzanian government also highlights that well educated girls tend to marry later and have fewer and healthier pregnancies (URT, 2012).

Furthermore, education is linked to SDG number five “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls” (UN, 2015) as it is argued to have a positive effect on gender imbalances by empowering girls and women (Agwanda and Amani, 2014; Clarke, 2011). Recent research from rural Tanzania found a positive correlation between women's education and household authority including decisions on crop cultivation and expenditures (Anderson *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, women's education is linked to the enrolment, as well as educational performance of their children (Sabates *et al.*, 2011; URT, 2012). Female education is additionally shown to have a positive effect on child health (URT, 2012) including child nutrition (Barrett *et al.*, 2006; Onis *et al.*, 2013) which in turn is confirmed to have a positive effect on learning outcomes (Aturupane *et al.*, 2013). Simply by its structure, the potentials of primary education can be

recognized: It is obligatory, and involves a large share of the population directly, and an even larger share indirectly.

From an individual perspective education provides pupils with the capability to act and alter their livelihoods (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013) and from a social and democratic perspective, education is found to have a positive effect on social stability (Mbelle, 2008), to decrease crime rate, to increase civic participation (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011) as well as to reduce the population growth rate (Padamallu *et al.*, 2010; Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011). Finally, in addition to increasing the educational level of the population, educational institutions have the potential of enhancing social capital, that is the cooperation among individuals, social rules and norms within a given context (Fukuyama, 2001).

The links between education and positive development outcomes in terms of economic and social changes are also questioned in the literature. It is argued that an educated population does not automatically result from increased enrolment rates and that the quality in schools is too poor to make any progress, let alone alleviate poverty (Kendall, 2007; Riddell, 2003; Kadamira and Rose, 2003). While Jung and Thorbecke (2003) acknowledge the importance of education as a tool for poverty alleviation, the targeting of public educational expenditure must be improved reaching first and foremost the poor households if it is to have any effect on poverty. Wedgwood (2007) additionally questions the positive relationship between education and fertility rate, education and poverty alleviation as well as education and increased agricultural output. Urbanization has a stronger effect on fertility, she argues; to enrol children in school is not enough to reduce poverty and regarding the links between education and agricultural outcome there is a lack of empirical data for the whole of Africa (Wedgwood, 2007). Moreover, there is a risk of education possibly being perceived as the one and only solution to problems that actually should be addressed and solved elsewhere in society. Nevertheless, education is believed to have a potential role to play in economic development as part of a broader reform program (Tikly, 2011; 2013). McGrath (2010) proposes a more nuanced attitude towards the relationship between education and development. The author for example highlights that the relationship between education and economic development needs to be analysed from various levels of education, and that girls and women need to be viewed as individuals with their own agencies, not just as contributors to development by their reproductive roles and the arguments of links between education and later marriages and fertility.

Problems with UPE

In less than 40 years SSA managed to increase the primary NER from almost 44% children to nearly 80%, an impressive enrolment increase. However, despite these significant numbers, the rapid increase in access to education has opened up for new concerns.

Households Educational Expenditures

Despite the introduction of a fee free primary education, a heavy financial burden still falls on the household level considering both the direct costs of clothes, school supplies and lunches and indirect costs in terms of loss of incomes when children are sent to school instead of supporting their household's livelihoods. To consider school fees only is not enough; other direct costs affecting the households need to be considered to equalize educational opportunities. A partially free education, now including children from poor households rather impose new expenditures for these households as these children did not attend school *at all* previously (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003; Zuze and Leibbrandt, 2011).

Rapid Expansion in Enrolment Rates

The immediate consequences of a free primary education in SSA were the deterioration of available resources due to a rapid increase in enrolment; lack of qualified teachers, classrooms, school supplies and with rural schools being especially affected (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003; Raja and Burnett, 2004; Hoogeveen and Rossi, 2013) suggesting that school systems actually were not ready to cope in practice being unprepared for the rapid enrolment increase. The two aspects of access and quality, instead ought to be acted on simultaneously, as there is a risk of parents not sending their children to school, or withdrawing them, if schools cannot offer quality education (Birdsall *et al.*, 2005).

Similar concerns are raised in the Tanzanian context. The local UNESCO office in Dar es Salaam specifically draws attention to quality in primary education. "Most [pupils] cannot read, cannot write, and cannot do simple mathematics" (personal communication with Mr. T. Mmari, Programme Specialist Education Sector, UNESCO, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). Availability as well as quality of teaching and learning materials is being questioned, as are teachers' pedagogical skills. Similar concerns are raised by Mr. F. Lyelu (2015) representing the local NGO HakiElimu (meaning Right to Education), which has been working with

primary and secondary school issues since 2002. The rapid increase in enrolment rates during the last decade has strained the education system. Among others, lack of teachers and overcrowded classrooms, lack of school supplies, lack of food and lack of funds to run the schools properly which affect the quality negatively are highlighted (personal communication with Mr. F. Lyelu, Programme Officer, Research and Policy Analysis, HakiElimu, Dar es Salaam, June 15, 2015). However, despite a deteriorating quality in primary schools, parents and caregivers still value education highly (Lindsjö, 2016) and continue to invest in it. This paradox will be returned to and addressed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Rural-Urban Disparities

Rural-urban educational disparity in SSA is related to numerous factors, such as differences in income, living standard, access to electricity, running water and health care. Globalization and the use of modern technology might further increase the rural-urban gap as television and internet are mainly used in urban areas. Furthermore, rural-urban disparity is visible in the fertility transition in SSA. This transition tends to follow a three-step pattern initially with declining fertility in urban areas and stable fertility levels in rural areas. The second stage involves falling fertility in both areas, while during a third step fertility level declines more in rural areas. Family structure affects age dependency ratio and consequently investments and savings. Lower investment in individual education is noted as a consequence of high fertility levels in rural areas. This uneven demographic process might increase the rural-urban education gap as most poor people are settled in rural areas. Higher educational attainment is found in urban households and private returns to education are high, especially in the formal sector (Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux, 2012; Wiggins and Proctor, 2001).

Rural to urban migration is commonly explained by wage imbalance or fosterage, that is a temporary guardianship of children by relatives. Urban schooling and employment opportunities encourage families to send their children to towns in the face of poor opportunities for rural education (Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux, 2012). There is, according to Mr. T. Mmari (2015), still a rural-urban dichotomy in Tanzania when primary education is considered. Middle and upper classes are found within the urban context as are the elite schools. The rural areas “have less facilities, less incentives for teachers and for children to learn and therefore we are not expecting miracles” (personal communication with Mr. T. Mmari, Programme Specialist Education Sector, UNESCO, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). No matter how small the requested contributions are, some poor

households are unable to meet these financial requests. Moreover, the home environment is less conducive for learning in rural areas, meaning access to light in order to study, food and supportive parents is more limited than in rural areas (personal communication with Mr. T. Mmari, Programme Specialist Education Sector, UNESCO, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). Lack of motivation among teachers is a recurring element, especially among teachers requested to work in remote rural areas. Without access to electricity, water and transportation, and without services like hospitals or banks it is hard to find teachers who are willing to settle in these areas (personal communication with Mr. F. Lyelu, Programme Officer, Research and Policy Analysis, HakiElimu, Dar es Salaam, June 15, 2015). This is confirmed elsewhere in the literature (see Benavot and Gad, 2004; Lindberg, 2005; Sherman, 2008).

While the general rural-urban education gap is well documented, research in Tanzania also highlights how low-income urban groups have even poorer access to education, health facilities and water supply than some rural areas (Bah *et al.*, 2003). Future rural-urban inequality will be shaped by, firstly, demographic differentiation e.g. differences in fertility level, educational attainment and age structure between rural and urban areas and secondly, exchanges between rural and urban families (Eloundou-Enyegue and Giroux, 2012).

Defining Quality of Education

In the post-independence era when formal education systems expanded rapidly in the Global South, the quality aspect was neglected (Närman, 2004; Lindberg, 2005). The MDG2 has been criticized for being too narrowly focused on children attending school and for neglecting learning outcomes (McGrath, 2014). Nowadays, the global agenda on education is no longer limited to enrolment rates and concerns of deteriorating quality following the abolition of school fees have been addressed e.g. in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Mozambique. Even before abolishing school fees concerns were raised regarding the low quality but the situation has been escalating after such reforms (World Bank, 2009). Lately, the quality aspect has gained interest, especially through SDG4 which aims to “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UN, 2015:14). This goal includes not only primary education but also pre-primary and secondary level education.

Still, while educational quality is now in focus concerns are raised about inequality being neglected. Educational inequality refers to which groups of children attend

schools and which groups of children are able to perform in school (McGrath, 2014). As SDG four includes the dimensions of inclusiveness and equality these fears ought to be tempered, at least in this initial phase following the launch of SDGs. To what extent the goal will be achieved in 2030 remains to be evaluated, however.

The literature on what defines quality education is diverse suggesting several possible dimensions. In the global debate, quality education incorporates a strong focus on the development of the child, the educational process and what happens within schools. Schools are recognized not only for the learning of a certain curriculum but also as places where students gain attitudes and values. Depending on country status it is suggested that educational quality should have different priorities, within low income countries attention needs to be focused on learning adaptive livelihood strategies. In addition to relevance to the specific context in which education is provided, the global debate furthermore includes issues of inclusiveness and equality among different groups of pupils (Barrett *et al.*, 2006).

The UNICEF definition (2000:4) of quality education outlines five central dimensions: learners, learning environments, content, process and outcomes. These five aspects are all interdependent and include:

- Learners who are healthy, well-nourished and ready to participate and learn, and supported in learning by their families and communities;
- Environments that are healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities;
- Content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace;
- Processes through which trained teachers use child-centred teaching approaches in well managed classrooms and schools and skilful assessment to facilitate learning and reduce disparities;
- Outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes, and are linked to national goals for education and positive participation in society.

A quantitative assessment tool of quality education is the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The PISA test assesses 15 year old school students' performance on mathematics, reading, science and problem

solving and is comparable across countries. The program was launched in 2000 and tests are done every third year. The last one, in 2015, included 540 000 pupils from 72 countries; 35 OECD countries and 37 partner countries. From Africa only Algeria and Tunisia were represented (OECD, 2016a; Nagdy and Roser, 2016). However, Zambia and Senegal are included in the Pisa for Development (referred to as PISA-D) which aims to increase the use of PISA in low and middle income countries (OECD, 2016b). The PISA-D framework is under development as to better capture local contexts in low- and middle income countries. Willms and Tramonte (2015) argue that in these countries 15 year old students' performance are more likely to be influenced by children's previous school experiences as well as outside school factors than in OECD countries, where current classroom and school factors play a more influential role in 15 year old's school performance (Willms and Tramonte, 2015). So far, seven countries are included within the PISA-D initiative (OECD, 2016b).

In Tanzania, as in other developing countries, the term quality has become equal to measurement of different ratios; teacher-pupil, classroom-pupil, textbook-pupil, exam results (Ramirez and Boli, 1987; Sherman, 2008; Birchler and Michaelowa, 2016; Kremer *et al.*, 2013). The term quality, thus, to a large extent is relying on the quantification of various school elements. This is referred to as the 'economist' view of education (Barrett *et al.*, 2006). These ratios might, however, be a result of a sparsely populated area or because a school is not perceived as good enough and are thus far from being an indicator of quality (Lindberg, 2005).

Perhaps the focus on quantity in developing country context is not that surprising, as long as these basic elements are not met to satisfaction they will gain attention in the hope that quality will follow. As an outsider, though, it appears somewhat narrow minded. Is it necessarily the case that quality will follow from better ratios? Of course, a limited number of pupils per teacher allows more individual attention and assistance while a larger availability of books naturally increases the chance of children actually reading them. Nevertheless, the focus on ratios disregards aspects related to curricula, relevance and quality of text books, quality of teacher's education, pedagogical skills and safe learning environments.

3. The Tanzanian Education System

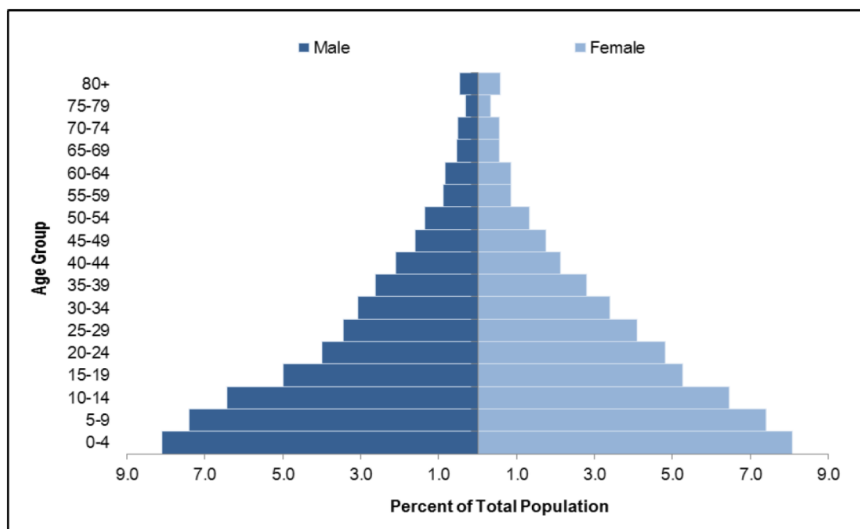


Figure 2:
The Tanzanian population pyramid 2012
Source: NBS, 2014b:24

According to the latest census, Tanzania’s population is close to 45 million, with 43.9% being under the age of 15 (NBS, 2014b) see Figure 2. The primary school system is thus an institution that directly includes, or ought to include, a large share of the population, with an even larger share being indirectly connected to the school system at the household level. Tanzania has had an annual population growth of 2.7% for the time period of 2002-2012, one of the fastest worldwide (Agwanda and Amani, 2014). According to the World Bank the current population growth is even higher, 3.1% (World Bank, 2017b). This high annual growth will not ease the country’s challenges in meeting the demand for social services, including education (Agwanda and Amani, 2014). More than 120 ethnic groups exist within the country and the languages spoken are as many. Officially though, Kiswahili and English are used (UNESCO, 2014b; URT, 2012), the latter introduced during the British colonial time (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013). The country is mainly rural; less than a third of its population lives in urban settings

(NBS, 2014b) and nearly three quarters of the labour force is engaged in agriculture (UNESCO, 2014b).

Despite strong economic growth in recent years (UNESCO, 2014b) the country remains one of the poorest countries in the world and is listed as number 151 out of 188 countries on UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) ranking list (UNDP, 2016). Since independence, Tanzania has been a large recipient of aid (Tripp, 2012) and is also a heavily indebted country (Vavrus, 2005; Vavrus and Moshi, 2009).

Historical Background of Education in Tanzania

Formal education is relatively new in Tanzania; in 1924 about 72 public primary schools existed. In addition to the public schools various schools run by missionaries existed and in total approximately 21% of the child population was enrolled. At that time, primary education was four years (Siwale and Sefu, 1977). The colonial education system prepared pupils to serve the colonial state and its values, including values of human inequality. Prior to colonial time, education was informal and children learned by doing from their parents; practical skills and traditions were transferred from one generation to the next and served to raise the children in a specific context (Nyerere, 1967).

Tanzania's first president after gaining independence in 1961 was Julius K. Nyerere, himself a teacher and founder of the nationalist party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in the mid-1950s (Nyerere, 1969). Already in the early independence era a strong focus was put on educational expansion at both primary and secondary levels as well as reducing adult illiteracy, as it was perceived this would have positive outcomes on rural economic development (Sabates *et al.*, 2011). The spirit and purpose of primary school therefore needed to change, it was to become 'the people's school' which would prepare the students for work and development of the communities (Siwale and Sefu, 1977).

Arusha Declaration

In 1967 the Arusha Declaration was launched in Arusha town by the late President Nyerere. This framework meant changing the curriculum to support the development of independent Tanzania, for example by introducing agriculture as a subject and making Kiswahili the medium of instruction in primary education. The declaration focused on rural development through the

policies of socialism and self-reliance (Siwale and Sefu, 1977). The three components of the socialist society was (I) “equality and respect for human dignity”, (II), “sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts” and (III) “work by everyone and exploitation by none“ (Nyerere, 1967:50).

Socialism was to be built and maintained through increasing peasants’ and workers’ ownership through co-operatives and major private enterprises were to be nationalized, while the country should avoid assistance from abroad (Siwale and Sefu, 1977). The main concept framing the declaration was ‘ujamaa’, translated to ‘familyhood’ (Nyerere, 1967; Daley, 2005).

The philosophy of the Arusha Declaration was to be introduced to children already at an early age, thus following the Arusha Declaration, the policy of “Education for Self-Reliance” was launched the same year. This new approach to education focused on reaching more people, encouraging socialist values and serving the purposes of Tanzania; the content of education, therefore, related to the specific context, the Tanzanian society, and stressed preparing the pupils for participating in the development of the community (Nyerere, 1967). Self-Reliance activities were introduced in schools, for example farming and animal keeping in rural areas and handicraft activities like tailoring in urban settings to spread co-operative ideals and demonstrate the benefits of working together (Siwale and Sefu, 1977). In fact, the pupils’ living standard depended on how well they worked on their project as the income was used for food and school facilities (Nyerere, 1967). Prior to 1967, the education system was referred to as elitist by Siwale and Sefu (1977), not meeting the needs of the broader population (Siwale and Sefu, 1977). Following independence, primary education, was not perceived as a stepping stone to secondary education but as a complete education in itself and it was perceived to serve to enhance rural community development (Nyerere, 1967; Sabates *et al.*, 2011).

Universal Primary Education in Tanzania

In 1974 the ruling party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), through the Musoma Resolution declared that Tanzania aimed to achieve UPE by 1977 (Sabates *et al.*, 2012). The UPE reform meant that children enrolled in primary education increased significantly (Sabates *et al.*, 2011) and in 1978 primary education was made compulsory between the ages of seven and thirteen (Dennis and Stahley, 2012). By this time only 1-2% of pupils continued to secondary school (Sabates *et al.*, 2011). During the 1980s and 1990s the Tanzanian economy faced serious recession following the downturn in the world economy as

well as the war with Uganda. Therefore, it was decided that parents should contribute per each child in school. Later on, in 1995, a formal primary school fee of 2 000 Tsh¹¹ per pupil was introduced as a condition for World Bank loans during the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (World Bank, 2009). As a consequence, enrolment rates immediately began to drop (Mbilinyi, 2003).

Following the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All and the World Summit Millennium Development Goals in 2000, Tanzania launched its first Primary Education Development Plan I (PEDP) which covers the time frame of 2002-2006. The first PEDP has then been followed by PEDP II and PEDP III. The PEDP II covers the period of 2007-2011 and the latest released, PEDP III, for the time frame of 2012-2016 (URT, 2001; 2006; 2012).

Primary Education Development Programme I-III

When the Primary Education Development Plan I (PEDP) was launched in 2001 and the primary school fee was abolished¹² (implemented since 1995), this was a condition from The World Bank (WB), who also financed the PEDP I. The abolishment of the fee was carried out to improve access and participation of all primary school aged children. During the 1990s the primary enrolment rates dropped significantly and the Bank's main argument was that many people were left behind without education (personal communication with Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa, Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, June 12, 2015; Hoogeveen and Rossi, 2013). No child should be denied access to school due to households' inability to pay school fees (World Bank, 2009). However, the need to end user fees had been raised locally and accordingly been used by US NGOs to put pressure on the US government and in turn the World Bank (Mundy and Manion, 2015).

PEDP I included four objectives: (I) enrolment expansion, (II) quality improvement, (III) capacity building and (IV) strengthening the institutional arrangements that support the planning and delivery of education services¹³ (URT, 2001). By the time of introducing PEDP I, three million children aged seven to twelve, equivalent to 40% of children in this age group, were estimated to be out of school (Hoogeveen and Rossi, 2013). In order to increase access to

¹¹ In December 1995, 1 USD was equivalent to 558 Tsh (URT, 1997).

¹² In February 2001, 1 USD was equivalent to 822 Tsh (URT, 2002).

¹³ The PEDP I was launched in 2001 but the period of implementation lasted from January 2002 to December 2006.

primary education, school fees and mandatory contributions were abolished and primary education was made compulsory. So, as not to overwhelm the education system, expansion was to increase gradually during the time frame of PEDP I (URT, 2001). When the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) was asked if the reform was not launched too early and before the system was ready, the reply was “It was not early, it was not early, it was the right time” (personal communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). Accordingly, school fees seemed to be an obstacle for enrolment at that moment and nowadays when enrolment has increased the focus needs to address quality instead (personal communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015).

Instead of the previous obligatory fee of 2 000 Tsh per child a governmental capitation grant of 10 USD per enrolled child was introduced to cover non-salary expenses in the local primary schools (URT, 2001). The capitation grant remains at 10 USD today, however, less than half of the amount actually reaches the individual schools. The capitation grant is paid to the individual schools’ bank accounts (URT, 2015; personal communication with Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa, Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, June 12, 2015). In line with Tanzania, several neighbouring countries introduced free primary education at a similar time; Kenya 2003, Malawi 1994, Uganda 1997 and Zambia 2002 (Riddell, 2003). The access to primary education in these countries, as well as in SSA in general, has indeed increased.

According to official statistics presented in PEDP II, the PEDP I had a major impact on enrolment, both gross enrolment rate (GER) and NER. GER is the total number of pupils of *any age* who attend school in relation to the total number of primary school aged children. Due to repetition of classes or late school entry the GER may exceed 100%. NER is instead, as earlier described, the total number of enrolled children of *school age* in relation to the total number of school aged children in the population. In 2001, primary NER was 65.5% and GER was 84.0%. In only five years the figures had increased to 96.1% and 112.7% respectively (URT, 2006) and the reform especially benefitted girls and children from poorer households (Hoogeveen and Rossi, 2013). The number of primary schools increased during the same period by almost 3 000, from 11 873 primary schools in 2001 to 14 700 in 2006, and the transition rate to secondary school more than doubled, from 22.4% in 2001 to 49.3% in 2005 (URT, 2006). However, critical voices were also raised. Professor Galabawa (2015) was not impressed by the reform which according to him had a populist appeal for the

politicians'; they were able to declare universal primary school free of charge and moreover, schools were to be given a grant to cover the individual school expenses. Therefore, Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa actually advised against it. First of all, he argued, a loan was not sustainable and the education system would lose billions of Tsh by abolishing the primary education fee. Secondly, even though he argues some households may not be able to pay the school fee, about one third of the Tanzanian population is capable of paying – both for primary and secondary education, and ought to do so (personal communication with Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa, Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, June 12, 2015).

PEDP II increased its focus areas to seven instead of the previous four; some programme areas remained from the first plan while others were added. The seven areas for this time frame were: (I) enrolment expansion, (II) quality improvement, (III) strengthening capacity in governance and management, (IV) cross-cutting issues, (V) strengthening institutional arrangements, (VI) educational research and (VII) educational monitoring and evaluation. In PEDP II, concerns are raised that not enough attention was paid to quality aspects during the first plan and consequently several quality goals have not been met. These include, among others, pupil-book ratio, teacher-pupil ratio, inadequate classrooms and other facilities (URT, 2006). However, PEDP II also states that enrolment expansion, despite increased GER and NER, “continues to be the highest priority component” (URT, 2006:9).

The latest PEDP was launched in 2012¹⁴ and has the following six areas of focus: (I) access and equity, (II) quality improvement, (III) capacity in governance and management, (IV) cross-cutting issues, (V) research, monitoring and evaluation and (VI) institutional arrangements, thus almost identical areas as in PEDP II. While it proudly presents the achievements recorded during phase I and II already in the foreword, including a primary NER of 94.0% in 2011, a transition rate to secondary education reaching 53.6% the same year and more than 4 000 schools being built during the two initial phases, it also draws attention to the current challenges. The shortage of classrooms resulting in overcrowded classrooms and the lack of desks is alarming with almost two million desks missing. These shortages are explained by the lack of sufficient financial resources (URT, 2012). The budget allocated for the education sector is 17.4% of the total Government budget in 2013/14, of which primary education received nearly half, 47.3% in 2012 (UNESCO, 2014b).

¹⁴ A fourth PEDP has not been launched.

Despite rephrasing the main objectives in between the three PEDPs, the focus areas have more or less remained the same throughout; enrolment expansion, quality improvements and issues related to strengthening the management of the education system have been included in all three policies. Clearly, the issue of access for all children to primary education has been in focus in Tanzania for some time now, and despite not yet reaching full UPE the NER rates has increased significantly, resulting in an overwhelmed education system not being able to reach its own set of quality goals.

Throughout my fieldwork, primary school teachers have informed me that even though they welcomed the policy of making primary school free of charge and compulsory in order to reach *all* children, the education system at that time was not ready to handle the consequences of a fee free primary education. Teacher 2 in village C (November 1, 2013) summarizes it well:

“It is a nice policy, but the problem is when the policy says it is obligatory but the government is not ready to provide all needs to schools.”

The massive enrolment resulted in schools being unable to meet the basic needs for creating a satisfying learning environment; the lack of teachers and school supplies was further aggravated (Head teacher, village C, 2013; Teacher 2, village C, 2013; Head teacher, village A, 2013; Head teacher, village B, 2013, Head teacher, urban public school, 2013).

Big Results Now!

Inspired by the Malaysian government, in 2012 *Big Results Now!* was launched¹⁵. It is described as a methodology to monitor and accelerate the implementation of the national priorities set up in the Tanzanian vision 2025. The BRN monitored six focus areas, described as National Key Result Areas (NKRA): agriculture, education, energy, resource mobilization, transport and water. However, health and business environment will be added as priorities. The BRN was carried out within the President’s Delivery Bureau (PDB), an independent unit within the Office of the President. As a result of the BRN, a nationwide ranking of all primary schools final exam results, the Primary School Leaving Examination

¹⁵ Malaysia had in 2009 launched its Big Fast Results, described as a development strategy to reach the Malaysian national vision. A few development areas are targeted, a specific timeframe is outlined as are actions of efficient delivering (Abbasi Balozi *et al.*, 2014; personal communication with Mr. N.J. Shuli, Director at Communication and Advocacy, President’s Office, Dar es Salaam, June 8, 2015).

(PSLE), was introduced in 2013. This was implemented in order to encourage schools to perform well and to increase transparency among teachers and parents (URT, 2015; personal communication with Mr. N.J. Shuli, Director at Communication and Advocacy, President's Office, Dar es Salaam, June 8, 2015). BRN was a three year program and as of late 2015 the campaign was however dissolved by the new government (World Bank, 2017c).

Education Structure, Finance and Enrolment Rates

Tanzania inherited the educational structure from the British system (Siwale and Sefu, 1977). The structure follows a 2-7-4-2-3+ system. The two years of pre-primary education is followed by seven years of obligatory primary education, standard I-VII. Thereafter, secondary level which is divided into Ordinary Level, Form I-IV (four years), and Advanced Level, Form V and VI (two years), usually referred to as O- and A-level. The certificates from secondary levels may be used for further selection to formal education, for example vocational training or university degree, usually three years or longer.

The official age of entering primary education is seven (Sabates *et al.*, 2011). Selections to public secondary schools are done based on Standard VII national exam results, the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), (UNESCO, 2014b), while selections to private secondary schools either may be based on exam results or incorporate a higher fee. Thus despite poor exam results a pupil may achieve secondary education if the families' financial resources are sufficient. Since January 2016, ordinary secondary education (Form I-IV) in public schools is mandatory and free of charge. Advanced level as well as private secondary schools at both ordinary and advanced level are charged. In Tanzania, Kiswahili is used as the national language of instruction in public primary school and first level of secondary school (Trudell, 2016) while English is the medium of instruction in Advanced level. The two languages impose challenges as some children have minimal exposure to Kiswahili prior to primary school and even though English is being taught as a subject during primary school English skills are rather poor when they enter secondary level. Even teachers' skills in English have been documented to be limited consequently affecting students' learning (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013; Hartwig, 2013).

Financing Education

Today, primary education is mandatory and no official school fee is charged in the public schools, instead various contributions are collected by the individual schools. The same situation is found for example in neighbouring Uganda (Zuze and Leibbrandt, 2011). The previous school fee was established by law while the contributions should be viewed as an agreement between parents and the school committees. The current contributions are contextual and differ from school to school. If contributions are not being met by parents, the MOEVT does not have any guiding directives of how the schools should handle this. The contributions are, according to the Ministry, just minor; the major burden is still carried by the government (personal communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). The local schools are thus financed by the government covering the cost of teachers' salaries and the capitation grant, as well as parental contributions. As further described in article three *The Financial Burden of a Fee Free Primary Education on Rural Livelihoods - A case study from rural Iringa Region, Tanzania* contributions constitute a major issue for households. On a very warm and sunny day a focus group of elderly men gathered in village A. They are heads of households in so called Skipped Generation Households (SGH)¹⁶ and they raise their serious concerns on the contributions, and also confusions on who has requested the contributions:

“[W]e are aged but we must send our grandchildren to school and, as you see we are not able, we cannot work. If you have ten grandchildren and their parents have passed away, so you have to make sure all these ten [children] are at school. We know a child must be educated but the problem is that the government asked us to contribute a lot of money. But we are aged and we do not have means of getting all the money they ask us to contribute.”

(Focus group 1, village A, November 24, 2013)

¹⁶ A SGH is a household that consists of grandparents and grandchildren and thus missing the generation in between. By definition, I presume, it does not have to be the grandparent but someone from the generation prior the child's parents who are guardians. However, the SGHs I met during fieldworks all consisted of grandparents and grandchildren.

Enrolment Rates

The national NER for pre-primary was 35.5% in 2013 (UNESCO, 2014b). The NER for primary education is considerably higher, 76.8%. Nevertheless, between regions and urban-rural setting large discrepancies exist; the national urban NER is 90.6% versus the national rural NER of 72.3%. The NER is slightly favouring the girls, 78.4% compared to the boys' rate of 75.2%. Since the prior census in 2002 this gender gap has actually increased; by then the girls' NER was 69.9% compared to the boys' NER 68.3% (NBS, 2014b). The primary completion rate is 73.7% slightly favouring the girls at 77.1% (World Bank, 2017b).

From the completion rate to the transition rate from standard VII to Formal I, ordinary secondary level, a decrease is recognized as this rate is 59.5%¹⁷. From Form IV to Form V, advanced level, the rate drops significantly to 10.6% (URT, 2014a).

Available data from the WB (2016) show the NER development since the mid-1970s, see Figure 3. Considering the current NER, it is notable that the WB has a slightly higher rate than the one referred to in the last Tanzanian census. As the figure shows, the NER in Tanzania has fluctuated more than the average for countries in SSA. Until the turn of the millennium, the Tanzanian NER to some extent resembled the SSA mean NER. Some differences stand out though; first the great difference in 1980 in favour of Tanzania, most likely due to the high emphasis on primary education and to achieve UPE already by 1977 as declared in the Musoma Resolution mentioned above. Secondly, in the late 1990s when the country's NER came close to ten percentage points behind the regional NER and, finally, and possibly as a result of the 2001 reform, the significant increase of the Tanzanian NER at the beginning of the century. This increase meant that UPE was almost achieved in 2008 with a NER of 95.9%. Unfortunately, since then it has decreased somewhat again and was in 2013 closer to the SSA NER mean (World Bank, 2016b). Similar patterns of sharp NER increase following school fee abolition have been observed in several SSA countries, among others Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi and Uganda (World Bank, 2009).

¹⁷ The statistic is from 2012 and as of 2016 ordinary secondary level was made obligatory, most likely affecting the figures.

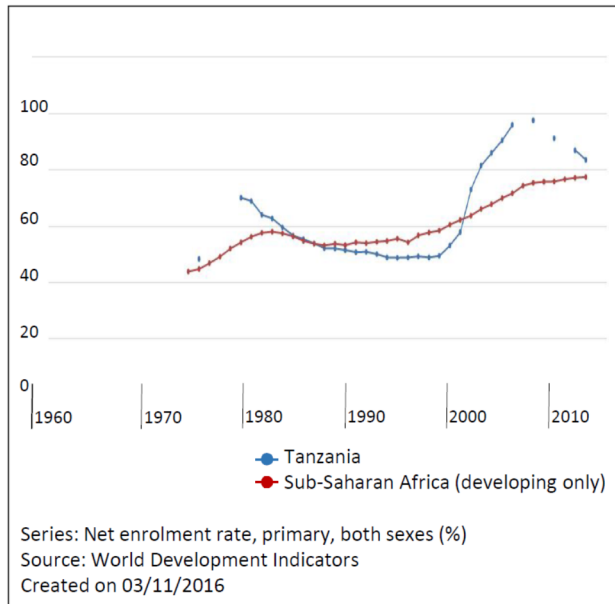


Figure 3:
Primary Net Enrolment Rate: Tanzania and Sub-Saharan Africa

Despite the country’s strong emphasis on education ever since independence, and its role as a large recipient of development assistance including funds directly targeted towards education, the country remains within the low human development category (UNDP, 2016).

Teachers

In 1970, only 26% of the primary teachers’ labour force was female, today 52% of primary school teachers are female (World Bank, 2017b). To be a teacher in a public school does no longer have the status in the community it used to have during the colonial time and the early post-independence era (Kironde, 2001). Today, teaching is poorly paid and teachers need to complement their salaries with other income generating activities, see article II. Teachers in public primary schools are posted to work in a specific school, not necessarily the school of their own choice. This system is questioned by teachers themselves as teachers may end up being placed far away from their families. Additionally, and in relation to the earlier discussion on languages, they may be posted in an area where they are unfamiliar with the local language. Even though Kiswahili is the official language

in primary school, if children are not yet familiar with Kiswahili the early learning process in school will certainly be challenging. Nowadays, the teachers may request to be posted within a certain region which at least limits the geographical area where they can be posted. Teachers appointed to private schools apply individually directly to the school of their choice.

The rural teachers' school day is furthermore limited by the need to report to the district authority on a monthly basis and their own needs related to household maintenance and access to services. For teachers working and living in remote rural settings, to collect their salaries alone requires several days of absenteeism each month.

Private Education

Private primary schools children are charged with a fee. Since 1993, the government has opened up for allowing private primary schools to be established in Tanzania (UNESCO, 2006). Today, out of 15 656 primary schools nationwide, nearly 550 (or 3.5%) are private primary schools (NECTA, 2013) and 2.4% of primary aged children are enrolled in private institutions (World Bank, 2017b). For the overwhelming majority of Tanzanian households, to afford private primary education is simply impossible. Without doubt, some children will be more favoured than others and possibly making it even harder for the large mass of Tanzania's young population to climb the academic ladder. The long-term outcome of the private primary school expansion is yet to be evaluated. Considering exam results the private primary schools are generally performing better than the public schools (NECTA, 2013) while the opposite situation is noted in secondary schools (Lassibille and Tan, 2001).

Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa (2015) raises concerns of a more segregated and unequal society in the future due to the division between private elite primary schools and a failing public school system. The children who will fall behind and loose out within this system are, in his opinion, the rural children (personal communication with Mr. J.C.J. Galabawa, Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, June 12, 2015). The rise of privatisation of primary schools is a global phenomenon. One reason for the increased demand for private schooling is the low quality provided in public schools. These new schools are, naturally, located where the demand is found; that is, where parents are in a position to afford it (Lindberg, 2005). In Iringa Region, private primary schools are only found in the urban middle and upper income areas.

4. Conceptual Framework

In this chapter the conceptual framework for this thesis is outlined. The chapter starts with perspectives on why education is being invested in. The demand for formal education in developing countries increased rapidly during the 20th century, especially during the second half. The explanations behind this rapid increase vary and include, among others: demographic changes, a strategy for nation-building and national progress in newly independent countries, for personal development, goals and rewards and in order to be part of the modern world influenced by organizations like United Nations and the World Bank (Craig, 1981; Ramirez and Boli, 1987). Conventionally though, three traditional schools of thought dominate the perspective on education in developing countries. Human capital theories are formulated within economics, whereas the human rights approach and the capability approach are based on a more normative perspective and embedded in a broader understanding of development. A fourth body of theory, the social justice and capability approach, has lately challenged more traditional perspectives. Without ignoring the two schools of human capital and human rights, this thesis first and foremost draws on the social justice and capability approach which can be seen as an extension and development of the earlier perspectives, but primarily the capability and human rights approaches. The three traditional schools are presented separately although fieldwork suggests an overlapping position towards education is needed to understand the contemporary situation in rural and urban Iringa. This is further elaborated on in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

To address the aim of the thesis and explore the research questions outlined in the introduction other perspectives are also relevant. Therefore, this chapter includes a discussion on the links between livelihoods and education. The chapter ends by linking the conceptual framework with the research questions posed in the introduction.

Human Capital Theories

Within human capital theories the population of any economy is the key factor to production and human capital is increased by education and training. To achieve development and guarantee sustained growth an educated labour force is necessary (Cypher and Dietz, 2009; Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011). Human capital differs from other types of capital as it is embodied in individuals and is a source of future satisfaction and/or income at the personal level (Schultz, 1971).

State Investment and Private Investment

Labour is viewed as a mouldable input to production and a nation can therefore invest in its population and increase the quality of its labour force. Apart from educational investment that increase labour force qualities, investments can be made through on-the-job training, nutrition, health care and sanitation (Cypher and Dietz, 2009). Within this approach the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the dominant indicator of development and the reason for public investments in education is the strong belief that economic growth will increase (Tikly, 2011).

Human capital accumulation is considered to be necessary for success but in itself is not enough to guarantee success. The number of years of education is used as a measurement of human capital stock and a higher level of human capital is a result of a higher average level of education. It is thus presumed that better educated workers are also more productive workers. Lately it has been recognized that the numbers of school years is inadequate as a measurement of human capital and that attention needs to be paid to the quality of education as well. One suggested indicator of quality is the teacher-student ratio as it is likely that more learning will take place in smaller classes (Cypher and Dietz, 2009). Improved quality will also be achieved by improved school autonomy, improved opportunities for parents in selecting schools encouraging a competition between schools and the publication of school performance results (Tikly and Barrett, 2013).

People have for a long time been recognized as an important part of the wealth of a nation but within human capital theory it is also recognized that people themselves make large investments in themselves and their children. By investing in oneself the individual enhances his or her capabilities both as a producer and as a consumer and the approach embarks on a benefits versus costs logic (Schultz, 1971; Craig, 1981). For individuals there is a motivation to educate oneself and one's children as it is likely that investments in education will bring positive returns in terms of higher future incomes (Cypher and Dietz, 2009). Individuals

are believed to make rational choices acting to maximize their interests (Tikly and Barrett, 2013; Bonal, 2016) knowing that different occupations are compensated differently and that the rate of return is potentially greater when one is investing in higher education (Davenport, 1999). As there is a scarcity of human capital in developing countries, the private return to investing in education is believed to be higher than in the Global North. On the other hand, returns of education to farmers and self-employed workers are questioned (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011).

The World Bank, despite including a social dimension for justifying investment in education, still withholds a strong focus on the economic returns to education in line with human capital theories:

“[I]nvestments in quality education lead to more rapid and sustainable economic growth and development. Educated individuals are more employable, able to earn higher wages, cope better with economic shocks, and raise healthier children.”

(World Bank, 2011:v)

The criticisms towards the human capital approach are numerous. First and foremost, it is argued that development should not be limited to materialistic visions only (McGrath, 2010). Moreover, the approach ignores the complexity within societies in terms of politics, culture and sustainability in a perspective on human development that emphasizes economic growth only (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). Furthermore, the linear relationship between investing in education and economic output is problematic and disregards contextual variations such as the background of pupils and differences in educational processes and learning environments (Tikly, 2011).

The Human Rights Approach

The second approach, the human rights approach, acknowledges that human development is broader than economic growth involving also the political and cultural dimensions and being “linked to the realisation of peace, human security and environmental sustainability. Human rights are seen as fundamental, indivisible and integral to the development process /.../ the role of education in securing rights to education, rights in education and rights through education” (Tikly and Barret, 2011:5). Within this approach, the realisation of human rights is the aim of development (Tikly, 2011).

In 1948, through Article 26 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, education was declared as a basic human right. Already at this time, it was argued that basic education should be compulsory and free of charge (Mundy, 2006; Sifuna, 2007).

This normative approach to education supports the UPE goals and is closely linked to the frameworks and models published by the UN agencies such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the ‘child friendly school’. Each nation has a central role in guaranteeing its citizens the basic human rights (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). Within the CRC children’s rights as individuals to participation and influence are stated. Children are considered as citizens-to-be and as individual right claimers, with one of their rights being the right to formal education (Kjørholt, 2013). The approach includes both negative and positive rights. A negative right is for example the protection from abuse while positive rights include the use of local languages in school and pupil participation in debate. Within this approach democratic school structures are encouraged and the structure, content and process of education should be influenced by children, parents, communities, employers and political leaders (Tikly and Barrett, 2011).

Kjørholt (2013) argues, however, that the rights-based approach is not always applicable in the SSA context and that it may contradict local livelihood practices. In some societies children are raised to obey and respect elders and their decisions and therefore children are subordinate in the social order. Children might also be required to work despite their young age as parents depend on children’s labour. The neglect of local context is one of the main criticisms of the human rights approach (Tikly and Barrett, 2011).

With reference to South Africa, Christie (2010) emphasizes that the right to education has become subordinate to the market for schooling. At the household level this implies that the right to education is the one affordable to the family.

The Capability Approach

The capability approach was developed by the economist Amartya Sen (1999) and by the philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2000, 2003). Recently, this framework has been further developed into the *Social justice and capabilities approach*.

The capability approach views human capabilities as the opportunities for individuals to realise ‘functionings’ that they themselves value. Furthermore, capabilities serve as a measure of development and human well-being and broaden

the focus of economic growth found in the human capital approach (Christie, 2010; Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). ‘Functionings’ are defined by Sen (1999:75) as: “[T]he various things a person may value doing or being” and the ‘functionings’ vary from elementary ones to complex ones. A person’s capabilities are instead defined as “the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve.” (Sen, 1999:75). Furthermore he explains (p. 75):

“While the combination of a person’s functionings reflects her actual achievements, the capability set represents the freedom to achieve: the alternative functioning combinations from which this person can choose.”

Simply put ‘functioning’ is defined as an achievement itself and capability as the ability to achieve. Through a capability an individual may realize a functioning, the capabilities are the opportunities to realize the functionings (Tikly, 2011). Capabilities are related to individual freedom and what opportunities you have for deciding how to live your life (Saito, 2003). The difference between capability and ‘functioning’ is that a capability is a potential ‘functioning’; it is the difference between potential and actual outcome. As an example, reading and taking active part in the community are functionings while having been taught to read and live in a society where everyone is allowed to play an active role in the community are capabilities. Education is to be understood as a basic capability which improves the development of other capabilities and which is needed in order for individuals to develop and choose the life they value (Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). Literacy and numeracy is argued, by Sen and Nussbaum, to be key capabilities in life (Tikly, 2011).

Freedom of agency is central within the capability approach. Individuals have the freedom to act and make the changes they value, and can use their individual resources to reach certain outcomes. It is however recognized that some groups may not be able to convert their resources into capabilities and ‘functionings’. Structural inequalities due to economic, cultural and political factors may create social barriers and affect an individual’s capability set. Factors such as living in a rural setting, gender, disability and ethnicity are all examples of potential structural inequalities that influences individual capabilities (Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Walker, 2006).

Education is by Sen (1999) not only valued as a capability in itself, but it may support livelihoods, generate income and reduce human insecurity (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). The approach is less concerned with what people can buy with their income and more of what they can do; the ability to do and learn certain things while avoiding others. Sen (1999) does not however deny the importance

of an income and its relationship to capabilities. The capabilities may be enhanced by an income and vice versa, the possibility to live more productively and earn higher incomes is improved when capabilities are increased (Saito, 2003). Poverty is to be viewed as capability deprivation hampering people's ability to make choices and reach a sense of well-being, with lack of basic education defined as one poverty indicator (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013).

Education is the facility that enhances capabilities as skills are developed. Education has to be equally accessible to all and the learning outcomes need to enhance individual freedom. The human capital theory has a limited view of education as it focuses narrowly on its contribution to production and income. Within the capability approach education instead has the possibility of enhancing capabilities, enlarging choices and developing individual agency (Radja *et al.*, 2003).

Social Justice and Capabilities Approach

The social justice and capabilities approach is the most recent of the theoretical approaches to education in developing country contexts and was developed by Leon Tikly and Angeline M. Barrett (2011). This approach is a development and an extension of previous approaches, especially the right-based approach and the capability approach. The central object within this approach is to achieve "good quality education for all" (Tikly and Barrett, 2013:18). It defines good quality education as the:

"[E]ducation that provides all learners with the capabilities they require to become economically productive, develop sustainable livelihoods, contribute to peaceful and democratic societies and enhance individual well-being. The learning outcomes that are required vary according to context but at the end of the basic education cycle must include at least threshold levels of literacy and numeracy as well as life skills, including awareness and prevention of disease."

(Tikly and Barrett, 2011:9)

According to this approach, the quality of education is influenced by, and a result of, the interaction of three different environments: (I) the policy environment, usually at the national level, where quality is being decided upon and the school system monitored, (II) the school environment where education is being implemented and (III) the home and community environment which considers

the local context and how communities and home environment affect parents' ability to support their children to receive education. The three environments are influenced by inputs and processes. Within the home/community environment and the school environment, the (negative) inputs recognized are for example lack of food, poor living conditions, child labour and poor learning environments. Processes emphasise the democratic debate at various levels in the society on educational quality and its implementation (Tikly and Barrett, 2013; Tikly, 2013). These three environments are not to be understood as definitive but they aim to contribute and stimulate the ongoing debate on educational quality. The role of geography is only briefly mentioned within the approach. The local geography's impact on inputs and processes is mentioned – within brackets – and the poor infrastructure in terms of school buildings and lack of electricity are recognized as a barrier to improved performance (Tikly, 2013).

My understanding of the social justice and capability approach is that it does not really relate to the mass expansion of formal education itself. Rather, and in line with the changes in the global debate on education, it relates to quality and inclusive education. Unlike the human capital and the human rights approach, this framework strongly emphasizes the quality of education and incorporates three dimensions of educational quality from a social justice perspective; inclusion, relevance and democracy shortly outlined below.

Inclusion

The perspective of inclusion concerns individuals' and groups' access to education as well as their possibilities in reaching their desired outcomes. It recognizes that learners belong to different socio-cultural groups and that this influences how locally valued capabilities are developed. It is stressed that different groups of learners have various resource inputs and therefore some groups would benefit from targeted resource inputs (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). The perspective is concerned with the inclusion of children regardless of differences related to gender, socio-economic status or disability (Polat, 2011) and attention is drawn to overcome existing economic, social and culture barriers within societies and increase the inclusion of children (Tikly, 2011).

Relevance

The perspective of relevance concerns the learning outcomes and whether these are meaningful for the learners and valued by communities. To develop capabilities valued not only by individuals but also by communities and national governments is central to the approach (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). In the African

context, Babaci-Wilhite (2013) argues that the local values and community needs have been ignored in the inherited provision of education and subordinated to colonial aims.

The language of instruction is considered an important tool in converting resources into outcomes and it is recommended that instruction at least in the early years should be in the mother tongue. If instruction is given in a different language it might limit children's access to curricula (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). The issue of language of instruction is intensely debated (see Brock-Utne, 2015; Clegg and Simpson, 2016; Trudell, 2016) and shows how the different theoretical approaches overlap. Instruction in the mother tongue is highlighted as an essential tool within the social justice and capability approach, and is also claimed to be a right, together with a locally formulated curriculum (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013).

Democracy

The third and final perspective relates to democracy and the decision-making and monitoring of learning outcomes. Within the social justice framework education is considered a political issue and participation in deciding what are valued outcomes of education, valued school policy and school environment is central (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). The principle of democracy relates to the national frameworks on education and how these are debated and implemented at the local level. Learning outcomes should be determined through democratic processes and public debates (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2013). The perspective is furthermore concerned with students', teachers', parents' and marginalized groups' participation in the educational debate (Tikly and Barret, 2011).

Out of the three principles, democracy is highlighted as the most fundamental one as the other two principles can only be guaranteed through democracy (Tikly and Barrett, 2013). From a gender perspective, though, the principle of inclusion is emphasized in order to reach gender justice (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2013).

Against these three principles, inclusion, relevance and democracy, any education system can be evaluated in terms of social justice (Tikly, 2011).

This thesis mainly contributes to the discussion of inclusion and how this relates to the two environments of (I) the school and (II) the home and community. From a rural-urban perspective, the collected data presented in the articles contribute to the current debate on the importance of these two environments. Notably, the data suggest a missing component underpinning the three environments outlined in the social justice and capabilities approach, namely the geographical or natural environment. To some extent, geographical barriers are

mentioned within the social justice framework. Still, the framework would benefit from a more explicit geographical component as argued in the concluding chapter. Here, perspectives from two bodies of literature can be used to strengthen the social justice and capabilities approach. On the one hand the literature on the geographies of education can provide an understanding of the institutional and spatial aspects of schooling and school systems. On the other theories of sustainable livelihoods can be used to situate education in the context of livelihoods (whether rural or urban) thus enhancing the analysis of the household and community levels. The latter also relate to more individualized perceptions of parents and caregivers with respect to education.

The remaining part of the chapter will continue with a discussion on the school environment and how geography links with education followed by the home environment, that is the conception of livelihood and how education is valued by parents. Unfortunately, much of the current literature on the geography of education as well as parental valuation is referring to the developed world. The chapter concludes by linking the conceptual framework to the Tanzanian education policy and to the research questions earlier presented.

Geographies of Education

In many countries of the Global North, education is said to have become a major political issue the last few years. Due to globalization, education is needed to be able to compete internationally and governments have tried to minimize the group with less educational skills. This group has faced labour market exclusion because of increasing globalization of labour (Butler and Hamnett, 2007). The emphasis on education is not only limited to societies of the Global North though, but takes place globally and education is claimed to be necessary both to reach individual welfare and to guarantee sustainable development of national economies (Kjørholt, 2013).

Collins and Coleman (2008) recognize school in relation to space in two distinctive ways; within the first view, the school itself is a place, a geographic area within which specific rules take place and learning activities are organized. School is compared to other institutional geographies such as those of prisons and hospitals as isolation, or part isolation, from regular social life is central. Within school, children are somewhat isolated while they are being both protected from and prepared for coming adulthood. The school day is organized by routines and the space is facilitated by adult authority. School is a central institution globally.

Most of us will at least at one point in life have a profound contact with school, re-establishing this attachment with school when our children come of school-age. The amount of hours spent in school makes the authors resemble it to a workplace. During the school-age years school is central not only to the children themselves but also to their families and communities, as other social activities are planned and structured around the school day and the semesters. The second perspective stresses that school and education has a place within larger society. Not only is it part of a community but it may also be reflected at regional and national levels e.g. in debates and policy-making. Beyond its physical boundaries the social geographical importance of schools are found for example within communities as schools serve as meeting points for parents and thus social interaction and networking. Furthermore, the school system can be used as a tool to reduce and overcome segregation and social exclusion, but it can also have the opposite effect and increase segregation by providing varied quality of education or restricting access to well-regarded institutions (Collins and Coleman, 2008). Schools, Christie (2010) argues, are complex institutions which provide the right to education. As institutions they are limited and inflexible in what subjects they offer, in opening hours as well as location and the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood is usually reflected in the school. The institutions also encompass possibilities for the individual student and future access to employment as well as social cohesion and nation-building.

In the context of the Global North, Butler and Hamnet (2007) highlight how educational outcomes vary over space. Educational provision varies over space as some schools are better equipped and have more teachers than others. Not only is there a variation in educational provision and attainment, the social characteristics of families also vary geographically, thus “geography matters to social outcomes in a major way” (Butler and Hamnet, 2007:1164). It is suggested that the educational outcome reflects the differences in both social power and the knowledge and goals of parents. Furthermore, the authors stress the differences between private and public provision of education whereby access to the former is limited due to financial possibilities and school recruitment criteria (Butler and Hamnet, 2007).

Despite the breadth of geographic work on education Nguyen *et al.* (2017:1) urge for a “cohesive critical geographies of education subfield”. Geographers are encouraged to engage more deeply with the complex social dynamics around schools and the geographical problems of education. The authors especially highlight the unjust geographies of education and the need for inequalities and disadvantages to be explored (Nguyen *et al.*, 2017). Unfortunately, much of the

existing literature refers to the Global North. The reality of education in many countries in SSA is that it is highly differentiated. Private education can make students globally competitive but is available only to a few. The majority will receive an education that hardly makes them competitive even for low-skill jobs and a middle tier will receive an education somewhere in between the two. Access to education needs to be widened at all levels and education needs to be adequately funded if it is to play a major part in development (Tikly, 2001). Närman (1998) describes the dichotomy of the traditional rural life and the modern urban life in developing countries and how education is a potential determinant for leaving the traditional life behind and accessing a modern lifestyle. Nearly 20 years later the rural-urban division is still clear, yet appears to have been challenged by interactions between the two types of areas for instance through mobile phones and fosterage.

Livelihoods and Education

Livelihoods and education are closely linked to one another. Despite the increasing abolishment of official school fees worldwide, education involves substantial expenditure that needs to be covered by the households and education restrains the households' potential labour hours during school days when children are unable to assist their families. On the other hand, as previous researches argue, education is viewed as a tool to move out of poverty. Indeed, the quantitative data from Iringa suggest that households where the head of household had at least primary education have a higher income compared to households where the head of household had no education.

Livelihoods

Livelihood perspectives are concerned with how people make their living in a certain place; what activities and interaction take place, how people diversify their activities and how they use their resources. A well cited definition of a sustainable livelihood and a starting point of the sustainable livelihoods approach is Chambers and Conway's discussion paper from the early 1990s:

“[A] livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.”

(Chambers and Conway, 1992:6)

Another well cited definition is found in Ellis (2000b:10):

“A livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household.”

Both definitions include a wide approach to livelihood incorporating more than simply means of income for example by including the perspective of access to assets.

In addition to meeting consumption needs and economic necessities, livelihood perspectives thus also include non-material aspects of well-being, such as the ability to act and to give a sense of meaning. The issue of access needs to be recognized in understanding livelihoods perspectives. Social relations, institutions and organizations determine access to livelihood opportunities (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005). The construction of livelihoods is an ongoing process Ellis (2000b) argues and any definition might fail to adapt with ongoing changes and circumstances affecting the households' livelihoods. Rural livelihoods need to be able to adapt to, among other things, to weather conditions and economic trends.

It is crucial to have a local, often household level, perspective to understand local complex realities and responses to development problems need to be guided by a diversity of approaches (Scoones, 2009). Individuals' (or groups') access to resources vary as they are spatially structured and consequently livelihoods are constructed differently depending on location and context. Livelihoods in rural areas in southern Africa are challenging and may require certain spatial strategies such as multi-local livelihoods and fosterage (Andersson, 2002; Andersson Djurfeldt, 2012a; Andersson Djurfeldt, 2015).

Seasonality has a strong influence on rural livelihoods as agriculture is affected by weather, market prices, seasonal flows of the agriculture cycle, seasonal migration

and transportation networks. Seasonality, or the ability by households to handle seasonality is therefore a source of vulnerability. Recent research in Kenya suggest that poor households are especially vulnerable to seasonal changes as they lack margins to cope or wait for changing market prizes, either as buyers or sellers of crops and food (Andersson Djurfeldt, 2012b).

Although livelihoods in SSA are primarily agricultural they often combine farm as well as non-farm sources of income (see e.g. Alogo Loison, 2015) which creates a diverse portfolio of income generating sources thus reducing the risks of income failure (Ellis, 2000b). Agricultural growth and an increased demand for goods and services could trigger non-farming employment but it may also be seen as a strategy to diversify income sources. Furthermore, access to and control over resources are usually determined by gender and generation, thus some groups might need to find other sources of income in order to gain some personal independence (cf. Andersson Djurfeldt *et al.*, 2013). Vimefall (2015) identifies four different potential sources of income for livelihood diversification: (I) household's own farm, (II) other farms, (III) non-agriculture wage work and (IV) non-farm self-employment. Households can also diversify within their own farm for example by growing different kinds of crops or combine with livestock keeping. Off-farm work is associated with higher returns as well as lower vulnerability to shocks within the agricultural sector. Diversification within one's own farm or through off-farm work within the agricultural sector might, however, still incorporate some of the same risks due to weather conditions (Ellis, 2000b).

Livelihood diversification is to be considered as a risk-coping or survival strategy as these households are less vulnerable to economic shocks (for example drought, disease and pests) than households that depend on one source of income only. The decisions behind livelihood diversification are, according to Ellis (2000a), based either on necessity or choice. Factors within or outside the household itself might lead to involuntary decisions to diversify the sources of income. By contrast, decisions behind a multi-faceted livelihood may be voluntary based tied to an aspiration for something more for example the wish to engage in non-farm income generating activities and increased income. As a direct link to education, the decision to educate one's children is highlighted as a voluntary livelihood diversification strategy as it will increase future chances of non-farm employment (Ellis, 2000a). As primary education is obligatory in Tanzania, and excluding children from school might enforce a fine on the parents, it is hard to explore whether children are sent to school on a voluntary based decision or not. In Iringa Region, where NER is high and education highly valued (Lindsjö, 2016) not

sending one's children to school might also be questioned by the surrounding community.

A livelihood strategy that also has increased due to increased food prices and cuts in public expenditures is mobility. However, migrants keep their links with their home areas through social identity and remittances (Bah *et al.*, 2003).

According to Chambers and Conway (1992) many livelihoods are predetermined by being born into a certain community, or by inheriting certain kinds of livelihood activities. The livelihood activities are furthermore determined by gender in many societies. On the other hand, a certain kind of livelihood may also be chosen through education or migration. However, this choice is not available for everyone and usually a wider range of choices are available for the better off households.

Livelihoods directly relate to children's welfare including their access to food and other basic needs, and their possibility to attend school is connected to households' need for extra labour. A recent study from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda suggest child welfare is improved by households' ownership of land and housing standard (Inder *et al.*, 2017).

Livelihoods directly link to education since children who need to contribute to raising household income are unable to spend the same amount of time in school, or on school related tasks outside official school hours, as children who are not required to support their families. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), worldwide 10.6% of children are involved in child labour and SSA has the highest regional rate of 21.7%¹⁸. Nevertheless, despite the high proportion of children involved in child labour the statistics still indicate a downward trend from 2008 when the figure was 25.5% (ILO, 2013). Traditionally, in SSA widespread use of child labour within the agricultural sector is reported. Results from recent research in Kenya show that children from full-time farming households are more likely to engage in labour and work longer hours than children from households that depend on diversified incomes. Not surprisingly, poverty was more commonly found among these full-time farming households than other types of households (Vimefall, 2015) and resource-constrained households face difficulties in sending all their children to school (Inder *et al.*, 2017).

Despite a lack of job opportunities for school leavers, there is a belief that formal education is a key to a prosperous livelihood. The extensive catchment areas of

¹⁸ The statistics from 2012 include children aged 5-17.

secondary schools in rural areas require young people to commute over long distances or to board at school or nearby. Financial constraints set the premises for a spatially limited education system (i.e. with limited numbers of secondary schools) and require young people to take responsibility not only for their studies but also their own well-being (Ansell *et al.*, 2012). As experienced in the field, it is not only secondary schools that have a large catchment area, this applies to primary schools as well. However, it is possible to walk daily which is not the case for many secondary schools.

Access to education in SSA differs depending on family income, geographical location and gender, with geographical location argued to be the second most influential determinant for access. Both direct and indirect costs are likely to be higher in rural areas. The direct costs include for example uniforms, school supplies and even financing the construction of schools while indirect costs, or opportunity costs, represent the cost of having children in school instead of helping the households with various tasks, not necessary income generating activities. These tasks may include looking after younger siblings, fetching water, collecting firewood or engaging in farm work. Additionally, children in rural areas are more likely to face long-walking distances to school and less conducive home environments for school work (World Bank, 2009). Hedges *et al.* (2016:148) describe parental investments in education in rural Tanzania as a “risky gamble”. Educational investments have the potential of improving economic and social status through formal employment, yet the poor quality in education and a labour market which until now is ill-prepared for a more educated youth gamble with parental investments.

Social Mobility

Closely related to livelihoods and education is the idea of, and wish for, upward social mobility and a strong focus has been directed on possible ways of terminating the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The two main intergenerational links referred to are land as a physical asset being inherited from one generation to another and education as a resource or asset being invested in from one generation to another (Lambert *et al.*, 2014; Cooper, 2010; Lentz, 2015; Buchmann and Hannum, 2001; Bossuroy and Cogneau, 2013). Lambert *et al.* (2014) argue that formal schooling generally has a higher rate of return than inherited physical assets, although this relationship appears simplified and may be differentiated by the size and quality of land, closeness to markets as well as years in school, the quality of schooling and the labour market. Early research carried

out by Foster (1963) questions the share of population who has the possibility to actually move socially upwards as only a limited segment of the population at that time attended education. Of those who did attend, the share of non-farmers' children were overrepresented (Foster, 1963). By contrast, access to education today has become more inclusive and a challenge to social mobility might instead be for societies to include and make use of all the educated youth. The growth of the middle class in developing countries has gained interest and it is argued that this class has broader positive effects such as contributing to economic growth and enhancing social stability (Lentz, 2015).

The wish for children to be employed is repeatedly mentioned in the interviews with parents and caregivers from the rural areas as well as urban poor and middle income areas as illustrated below:

“Why do you send your children to school?

I have sent my children to school for their future benefit.

How do you mean?

Because, if they are not educated their life will not be good. It will be difficult to get a job and life without a job is difficult. Taking an example, I am a farmer who works hard but still, I have a low income that makes my life difficult. I even like to study to get employment so my life becomes easy, but because my parents were poor I ended up with standard VII. So, that is why I make sure my children go to school.”

(Mother in village B, November 7, 2013)

And:

“Why do you send your children to school?

Because, as I experienced, I was studying in the village and I have only completed standard VII and my life is so difficult now, in order for my children to be employed I have to make sure my children go to school.

What are the benefits of education in your opinion?

In my opinion, if someone has education, he or she is in a position of being employed.”

(Father in Iringa urban low income area, October 28, 2013)

In the upper income urban area, employment in itself is not highlighted that often. Instead, education is referred to as the “key of life” (mother in Iringa urban

upper income area, October 27, 2013), as a necessity to join a certain college (grandfather in Iringa urban upper income area, October 26, 2013) and needed to be able to “interact with the changing world” (father in Iringa urban upper income area, October 27, 2013).

Parental Perceptions of Education

To reach universal primary education it is important not only to consider the structure of education but also conditions for individual families and, among other things, to consider parental perceptions of education. Parental perceptions of education are only one aspect of parental involvement and the existing literature on parental involvement in education is broad, even from a developing country perspective. Parental involvement, or engagement, may be understood as parents participating actively in encouraging children’s learning at home or improving conditions at school. It may include, for instance, participating in various forums related to educational improvements, financing of school fees/contributions, uniforms and school supplies and, of course, support and encouragement for children’s learning within the home environment (for further discussion see Goodall and Montgomery, 2014; Harris and Goodall, 2008; Hornby and Lafaele, 2011; Suzuki, 2002). Involvement is also identified from a community level perspective which relates to advocating for changes at local or national levels, learner support, financing and networking (Barnett, 2013; Kendall, 2007). This thesis, however, aims to contribute to the much less discussed area of parental perceptions of education within a developing country context by researching parents’ and caregivers’ perceptions in Iringa Region, Tanzania.

Parents’ perceptions about children’s schooling are central as they influence children’s involvement with school and also may influence their children’s attitude towards school. Pupils’ motivation, behaviour and academic performance are closely linked to their attitudes about school and thus learning outcomes may be affected by parental perceptions (Schueler *et al.*, 2014). The role of parents is further stressed by Harris and Goodall (2008:286) who claim that “Parents are the most important influence on learning”. Parents’ perceptions, and thus motivations for educating their children, might further be related to the relevance of education, the total cost of education and perceptions related to the future labour market and expected returns (Jones and Ramchand, 2016). Education is perceived by many parents as a tool for social mobility or maintaining of current class status (Johnson *et al.*, 1997). Furthermore, higher levels of parental involvement come from a positive perception of school climate while negative

perceptions might result in withdrawing pupils from school. School climate can be divided into two sub-categories: academic and social climate. Academic climate refers to the school environment and whether it is perceived as supportive of learning while social climate instead refers to student well-being and social development and how these are supported by the school environment (Schueler *et al.*, 2014). Other authors claim that it is the parents' engagement in learning in the home, and not the parents' involvement at school, that has the possibility to increase learning outcomes (Harris and Goodall, 2008). This engagement and educational attainment is closely linked to social and economic factors. Thus, some parents are not able to meet their children's need of a conducive learning environment at home (Harris and Goodall, 2008; Jones and Ramchand, 2016).

Findings from research carried out in countries of the Global North generally demonstrate a positive relationship between children's educational outcome and their parents' attitudes and perceptions of education. However, studies of parental perceptions *and* their importance for learning outcomes are limited in the context of developing countries. On parental perceptions itself though, previous research from developing countries suggest a positive parental attitude towards education. A study from South Africa highlights parents' and other caregivers' positive attitudes towards education which are "seen as the key to children's future" (p. 39), showing that parents will try their utmost to ensure their children's education. One might expect that the rise of HIV/AIDS and consequent reductions in life expectancy would result in a devaluation of children's education, such that parents and other caregivers were less keen to invest money into education for possible future returns at a time of declining life expectancy. On the contrary, however, the authors show that education is perceived as a safety net and as a way to enter the formal economy and thus ensure a future livelihood. Unemployment and economic vulnerability were of central concern to parents. Education was believed to be a strategy to be formally employed and being able to secure a future livelihood as well as to support their families (Drimie and Casale, 2008). Buchmann (2000) identifies parental perceptions about the value of schooling to be a determinant for enrolment in Kenya. Furthermore, the expectation for future financial assistance from children is a significant determinant for enrolment. In Burkina Faso formal education is associated with modernity and rural children entering education are expected to leave the rural life and move to the modern urban way of living. If not, rural returnees are regarded as failures. Despite being a symbol of modernity Hagberg (2002) refers to formal education as a double loss implying a loss of labour from children as they attend school and a future financial burden if they are unable to find a job after finishing their education and unable, or unwilling, to do farm work.

Lindberg's research from Sri Lanka (2005) highlights the importance of differentiating between perceiving education as a potential value and expectations of the currently available education. Do parents believe that the particular school their children attend can provide the education perceived as needed to reach the aspired outcome? Lindberg concludes from his research that poor farmers with little education themselves are highly aware of the potential of education to reach the lives they value and for their children to be able to leave marginal rural areas after completing education. If parents want to improve the children's future situation, they need to invest in education.

According to Maghimbi (2012) there is a widespread reluctant attitude among parents in Tanzania that government will pay for education resulting in unmotivated parents unwilling to contribute to education. This government-will-pay attitude is, Maghimbi argues, a result of the long lasting period (1967-1992) of socialism dominating the initial postcolonial era and relates to the majority of parents. In fact, only those parents who send their children to private primary schools are described as motivated. To the public primary schools, parental contributions are described as minimal. These arguments outlined by Maghimbi strongly contradict the findings presented in this thesis. Findings presented in article one and three instead highlight how education is highly valued among parents and caregivers in rural and urban settings and how the strong belief in positive outcomes of investing in education unite different socio-economic groups. Furthermore, results presented in article three indicate that rural households spend a large proportion of their annual income on education. These rural contributions on education might be small in absolute terms, but not in relation to the households' yearly income. This suggest that even rural parents indeed are motivated and prioritize education rather than conform to the government-will-pay attitude and I strongly disagree with the statement that the parents who send their children to private primary schools are the only motivated parents.

Parental perceptions and value of education closely relates to livelihoods as parents usually have an aim or a wish by investing in their children's education. In rural areas, especially, one of these wishes might be to change livelihoods.

The Tanzanian Education Policy in Relation to Theoretical Framework

The global actors on education and the global debate to a large extent frame their work on education as a basic human right, to be inclusive and assuring access to quality education to everyone (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011; UNESCO, 2014a; UNICEF, 2013; UN, 2000; UN, 2015). To some extent this is also reflected in the Tanzanian government's official documents. However, first and foremost there is a strong focus on education as an investment.

In the first PEDP, children are viewed as a resource for the country and it is stated that the country will benefit from investing in education. In line with the human capital approach, the national rate of return is claimed to be positive. Furthermore, the positive return will also affect the individuals whose quality of life will improve. Similar thoughts are repeated also in PEDP II and PEDP III. In PEDP II it is stated that "Investment in human capital is recognized as central to improving the quality of lives of Tanzanians and reduction of poverty" (URT, 2006:1) and in PEDP III primary education is referred as "one of the smartest investments a government can make" (URT, 2012:5).

The Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 clearly states its aim to become a middle income country by 2025. Once again, a strong economic focus is apparent. Nevertheless, even though this document has a strong focus on creating a "competitive economy" (URT, 2000:5) referring to education as the "strategic agent" (URT, 2000:19), it also encompasses a broader perspective on the usefulness of education. The Tanzanian people need to be equipped with education in order to adapt and meet the challenges of development and shocks in the society (URT, 2000).

Despite the strong economic focus in the PEDP I-III, in which education is highlighted as an investment and a positive return on both national and individual levels are expected, they also do encompass a dimension of the other theoretical approaches. For example in PEDP II education is highlighted as a right and it is mentioned that Tanzania has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). PEDP I states explicitly that:

“Education enables people to use their capabilities and to increase their earning potential. It also empowers individuals to participate in the transformation of their own lives and of society at large. /.../ Considering the enormous potential of a well-educated nation in achieving economic and social well-being, the attainment of universal primary education (UPE) is a priority development target.”

(URT, 2001:3)

This is clearly more in line with the capability approach, focusing on empowering the individuals to take a more active role in changing both their own lives and the society they belong to. PEDP III pays attention to not only the link to positive economic outcome but also to positive social development generated by primary education, for instance lower fertility rates and healthier children (URT, 2012).

Linking Theories with Research Questions

Before moving on to the methodological discussion it is now time to conclude this chapter by linking the four research questions presented in chapter one to the theoretical discussion.

The first three questions explore parents’ and caregivers’ valuation of UPE, the perceptions of quality in primary school and children’s possibilities to participate in education. These three questions are to some extent intertwined as they are more explicitly related to actual school activities, that is how school activities are perceived and valued as well as the possibilities to provide school activities in various contexts. Question number four instead relates to rural livelihoods and household expenditure and naturally theories on rural livelihoods are used to frame the discussion. The three previous questions relate to how education is valued, why it is being invested in at the household level and potential outcomes of education. Thus, the first three questions are addressed through the perspectives of human capital approaches, the right based approach and the capability approach. Notably, to explore and answer research question number three the perspective of inclusion within the social justice and capability approach is especially useful. This perspective considers who is included in schooling and blends well with the rural-urban discussion. The discussion on the principle of inclusion may be broadened to not only consider who is actually attending school, but which conditions determine children’s inclusion during the school day in different geographical contexts. Even though Tanzania has managed to increase

NER and thus has made primary education more inclusive children may not be included in the school activities despite their presence at school.

Under the section *Theoretical Implications* in the Concluding Discussion of this thesis the applicability of the various theories is discussed and as the discussion later will suggest there is a distinction between theories at the actors' level and for example the actors' explanation for why they invest in their children's education and my theoretical positioning in answering the thesis questions.

5. Methodological Choices and Concerns

In this chapter I discuss the data collected during the different fieldwork periods, the justification for including particular groups of participants, the sampling techniques used and the process of analysis. I also reflect on ethical concerns and what it is like to work in close cooperation with field assistants. Within this chapter I have included personal reflections which reflect on the process of data collection in a different cultural setting and on challenges in the field.

The aim of this thesis has been to combine a qualitative and quantitative approach in order to enrich the understanding and discussion of the research questions. I understand these two approaches as complementary to one another, not one competing with the other. Despite the small sample size in the household survey, this data made it possible to get a clearer picture of living standards, differences and similarities between the rural areas. What I had previously just assumed through observation and interviews was instead confirmed or rejected by this data. The qualitative data, on the other hand, allowed for a deeper understanding; to be given examples and life stories that would not have been documented otherwise. It also allowed for the research to take on a new dimension and to add some aspects I previously had not considered. In my case this is true for the quality dimension of primary education as the idea to include this aspect was entirely due to observations and interviews during my first visit to Iringa Region. Perhaps the qualitative data serves yet another function when research is conducted in an unfamiliar setting. It helps you (or at least has the potential to help you) somehow to “settle” while trying to understand the complex everyday life of a new context; customs, traditions as well as challenges. The interviews with parents, caregivers and teachers in both urban and rural settings have helped me tremendously in understanding the different everyday life people are facing. In this respect, including a variety of study sites enabled seeing a much more complex picture of the Tanzanian situation.

The underlying epistemological position for this research is critical realism and the belief that the world exists independently of our knowledge and thoughts of

it, and that social scientists try to understand and explain the reality. It is critical as it involves critical reflections towards the social practises and theories, as well as the possibility to describe social inequality and promote social change (Bryman, 2012; Sayer, 2000). Within this research, different empirical sources are used to describe structures of the social world and attention has been paid to structures of inequalities based on socio-economic or geographical background.

Additionally, the research also draws on interpretivism and phenomenology. Interpretivism is described as acknowledging social actions and realities as meaningful to the actors, and the researcher's job is to gain access and to grasp peoples' subjective meanings of their actions, or subjective experience of a phenomenon, and interpret the actions and understandings. The data collection is about generating information and understanding of how people interpret their own realities and actions. The interpretation does not end with the peoples' own interpretations, however. The researcher interprets the interpretations that have risen through data collection, and frames them through previous research, concepts and theories (Bryman, 2012; Mikkelsen, 2005). According to Sayer (2000), social science always includes an interpretive element as to try to understand the meaning of a social phenomenon. Within this research, initially I have listened and tried to gain knowledge of how parents and caregivers to primary school age children understand education and how they have been affected by the fee-free policy, how teachers understand the consequences of the 2001 reform at the primary school level and how key informants interpret the PEDP I and its focus on a fee-free obligatory primary school. Thereafter, through theories and concepts the respondents' interpretations were interpreted and framed.

According to Creswell (2013), the qualitative part of this research would fall into a phenomenological study regarding the purposive sampling of individual household interviews but rather a comparative case study considering the selection of study sites. In a phenomenological study, the sampling strategy is narrower than within a narrative study. The researcher is not only concerned with whom to sample and that the sampled individuals must have lived experiences to share as within narrative research. Additionally, all respondents must also share the experience of the particular phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 2013). In my case, the selected households did all have primary school aged children. A case study, on the other hand, is described as trying to maximize the variation of cases, including the unusual ones, providing a diverse set of data (Creswell, 2013). This does not correspond with my sampling of respondents; there has not been an intention from my side to maximize variations in perceptions of education or

livelihood status. Rather, the purposive random sampling served to include anyone within the stratified population. Nevertheless, when study sites were considered I aimed for a broad variety including both urban and rural settings, as well as different sites in terms of standard and access to services and urban centres within these two categories.

Data collection took place on three occasions: October 13 – November 28, 2013, October 8 – November 1, 2014, and June 4 – June 18, 2015. Before starting data collection there were some administrative issues to be dealt with. Throughout my fieldwork I was given permission from the Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA) at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) to work under their research clearance. I was given a letter from the IRA addressed to the Regional Office in Iringa where I had to register, introduce the project and to receive a letter to be stamped in each municipality and district covered by the study, that is Iringa Municipality, and Kilolo and Mufindi Districts. This process was repeated at the municipality/district and ward level and finally I was able to meet with the local leaders in the villages or town areas/streets to do the final introduction before starting data collection.

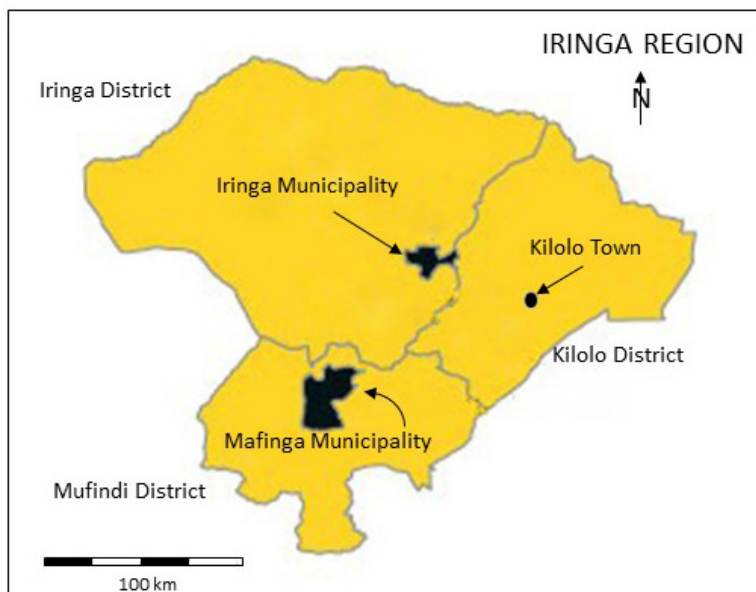
While article one and two are entirely based on qualitative methods, article three, which discusses the financial implications of abolishing the primary school fee in 2001 at the household level, draws on both a quantitative and a qualitative approach.

Site Selection and Description

Tanzania, as already explained, has a long tradition of emphasizing education and was about to reach UPE already in the 1970s. It is thus suitable for exploring the research questions outlined for this thesis and may be relevant also for other countries striving towards UPE. Additionally, in 2003 I did a Minor Field Study (MFS) at the University of Dar es Salaam where my interest for the country increased and I have benefitted from previous experiences as well as contacts when designing and planning this study.

Iringa Region has a high primary education enrolment rate and makes it possible to explore the consequences of the 2001 reform both at the household and school levels. Additionally, due to the high HIV prevalence in the area, all categories of caregivers are present which may give a more comprehensive picture of perceptions and values of education and links to livelihoods. On the other hand, the high enrolment rate might lead to a potential bias since parents and caregivers

in Iringa Region could possibly be more positive towards education than other regions.



Map 2:
Map of Iringa Region
Source: University of Iringa, Fahari yetu

Iringa Region

Iringa Region (see Map 2) is one of the 25 administrative mainland regions and it is located in the Southern Highlands in Tanzania, close to the borders with Zambia and Malawi. Despite its distance to the administrative centre of Dar es Salaam it is rather easy to access and the Tanzam highway linking Dar es Salaam with Zambia makes the travel smooth, though long. Iringa Region has a total population of 920 776 (NBS, 2014b) out of which 151 345 live in Iringa Municipality (NBS, 2012). The region is mainly rural with only 27.2% of its population being urbanized, compared to the national level of 29.6% (NBS, 2014a). However, Iringa Municipality has an urbanization rate of 93.8% (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment, 2007).

Naturally, the largest sector in economy is agriculture; the main staple crops are maize, potatoes and beans and the main cash crops are tobacco, sunflower and tea. More than three quarters of the regional economy comes from agriculture and

about 90% of the working population in the region is engaged in agriculture, compared to 74% of the labour force at the national level. Nevertheless, the agricultural sector is having problems like unreliable markets, poor transport network in rural areas and low prices offered to farmers (Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment, 2007; UNESCO, 2014b).

The region is severely hit by the HIV epidemic. Together with the neighbouring regions of Njombe and Mbeya it is the most affected area in the country. While the national HIV prevalence rate is at 5.1%, in Iringa it reaches 9.1%. The high prevalence of HIV has resulted in a large number of orphans¹⁹, 14.4% compared to the national rate of 7.7%, as well as a large number of SGHs (NBS, 2014b; TACAIDS *et al.*, 2013).

In terms of education, Iringa Region is ranked among the top four regions on Tanzania mainland regarding literacy rate and NER. In 2012, the regional literacy rate was 81.9% compared to the national average of 78.1% and the regional NER of 90.7% is well above the national level of 76.8% (NBS, 2014b).

Study Sites

The study includes six study sites; three sites in Iringa town and three villages. The reason for including both rural and urban sites, as well as different types of areas within each site category was to make the data as rich as possible and to identify possible nuances in how different households were affected by the policy on abolishing school fees. Furthermore, it aimed to explore how different households perceive education and primary school quality as one might expect perceptions to be influenced by living standards and geographical context.

Urban areas

In the urban area, Iringa town, three different sites were selected to represent an upper income, a middle income and a low income area. This selection was made on the basis of socio-economic standard, housing standard and access to services like water and electricity, rather than income data per se, which was not available. The selection was done with assistance from representatives of the Iringa Regional office, Iringa Municipal office and urban residents. While the upper income and the low income areas were easily identified, the middle income area constituted the remainder of the town. Therefore, to avoid an additional administrative process (as described above) a middle income area within the same ward as the

¹⁹ Defined as one or both parents are dead.

low income area was selected. These two areas, the poor and the middle income area, are close to each other, yet, the differences between the two sites are clearly noticeable.

The low income area consists of poorly constructed houses which lack both electricity and water. The houses are located along a gravel road and there are no gardens, however some families do have land plots outside the town. Water is collected in buckets from a well next to the street. Along the street, small informal shops and markets where vegetables and fruits are sold can be found together with auto repair shops. The area is busy, noisy and dirty. I am informed by the community leader²⁰ on my first visit that almost all households are headed by widows, which is also noted during data collection. The reason(s), though are not openly spoken about. Considering the HIV-prevalence in the region, this is one possible reason.

The middle area, also busy and noisy, consists of houses along a tarmac road. Most houses have piped water and electricity and this area has heavy traffic as public transport runs frequently through it. Along the street several shops selling groceries are found, giving a much more formal impression than the fruit and vegetable stands in the low income area. Several tailors are also found working outdoors in front of their workshops adding to the busy everyday life.

On the other side of the town the high income area is located. This area is a calm area with well-constructed family houses and gardens along a major tarmac road from which some houses are entered by smaller gravel roads. The houses are usually surrounded by high fences, either locked or with a guard and the area is very green thanks to the surrounding gardens and also large green areas along the tarmac road. No shops are found here, just a few restaurants with outdoor seating. The calmness of the area is striking and the impression is that the area is not passed through unless you live here. No public transport runs through the area but rather in the outskirts of it. Instead, access to private cars is more visible as is the use of taxis.

Rural areas

As previously mentioned, the three rural settings also represent different standards in relation to electricity and water supply as well as access to services like transport, dispensaries and markets. Staff at Mufindi and Kilolo Districts assisted with

²⁰ In town each residential street or area has a community leader similar to village chief. This person is the first one to meet in a particular area to introduce the project and who is supposed to know of ongoing activities and of challenges. After visiting the ward, the community leader was to be visited before data collection could be initiated in the urban areas.

selection of the rural study sites during the initial site selection process. Village A is located in Mufindi and village B and C are located in Kilolo.

Village A is located along the Tanzam highway towards Zambia and Malawi and transport from the village to any of the two urban centres Iringa or Mafinga is not a problem as buses run frequently. The easy access to urban areas gives the impression of more mobility in and out of the village, compared to the other two villages. There is always someone standing waiting for transport along the highway. Electricity is available in the village although not all houses are connected. There are several boreholes and also a small informal market, a shop and a few local pubs. The area is very dry and several respondents complain about difficulties in farming due to weather and soil conditions. In contrast to the stigma surrounding HIV/AIDS elsewhere, it is spoken about openly in this village. Everyone seems to know who is affected and who is not, and the village has put together a special team of community members working specifically to ease the situation for the growing number of orphans.

The second village, B, is located along a gravel road and does also have some access to services like electricity (although not all houses are connected), dispensary, market and some shops. Access to water is problematic, though, as it needs to be fetched from the nearest river. Once a week a larger market day with a wide variety of goods is arranged and attracts not only the local people but also people from surrounding villages. The village is spread out over a larger hilly area and, together with village C, is much greener in its surroundings. When entering the village you see large fields of various crops and further up the road tree plantations are found.

Village C is a remote mountain village without electricity, water or services. Notably, during the second period of fieldwork in 2014, poles for electricity lines were being set up. While services are generally lacking each village has a primary school, although the walking time for some children is as much as one and a half hours one way as the catchment area for villages are large and the landscape is hilly. The distance between village B and C is about half an hour's drive and three hours walk according to the residents. Both village B and C are included in a public transport network, however the buses only run once a day in each direction and sometimes they are already overcrowded when arriving making it impossible for additional passengers to enter. Even to an outsider, the poverty in village C stands out. This is noted in terms of housing standards, clothing as well as food availability.

Several village and hamlet leaders as well as respondents in village B and C address the problem of local alcohol as a consequence of poverty as well as the cold climate in the higher located areas.

Qualitative Data Collection

The qualitative data included in this thesis are household interviews with parents and caregivers, village/community leaders, interviews with primary school teachers, focus group discussions with parents and caregivers as well as interviews with key informants. All in all, 100 interviews and focus group discussions were carried out, see Table 1 and 2 for an overview.

Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Through individual household interviews, teachers' interviews and focus groups I have been able to discuss and learn about families' and teachers' perceptions and values of education, as well as the current primary school status in Iringa Region. Households and teachers, in urban and rural Iringa contributed to the rich data presented in the three articles.

Household Interviews

The focus of this thesis is the consequences of the 2001 education reform (especially the abolishment of school fees) at the ground level, that is the household and to some extent the individual levels. To meet with individual households to learn about their perceptions of education and their livelihoods was therefore most important to me. Without their perceptions of education and understandings of value I would not have learnt why education is still being invested in. Individual interviews at the household level were done during the first fieldwork, in 2013, and included interviews with mothers, fathers and other caregivers of primary aged children. A complete list of interviews is found in Appendix 1 and Table 1 presents the spatial overview of conducted interviews. The individual household interviews were carried out in both rural and urban settings. Data collection based on household unit may be problematic and ignore the influence of structural forces or power relations existing within and outside the unit (Udry, 1996; Chant, 1997). Nevertheless, as this thesis focuses on parental perceptions and consequences at the household level, the unit serves as a useful starting point. The household unit in this thesis is defined by residence, including seasonal migrants. Interviews and the survey have therefore been carried out with the household head or the spouse of the household head.

The interviews have been semi-structured in their character. Using this method, the researcher has a prepared list of questions, or an interview guide, but instead

of asking the questions in a certain order the researcher tries to follow the flow of the conversation. The questions are open ended and allows for the respondents to explore and elaborate, but unlike unstructured interviews the interviewer is still to some extent directing the conversation (Longhurst, 2009). In Appendix 2 the various interview guides used during this research are presented. Even though the questions are guiding the conversation, the respondent may bring up completely new issues not at all covered by the guide and this is usually encouraged by the researcher (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2013). The strengths of semi-structured interviews are several; first of all, it is recognized as useful in understanding behaviours, experiences and opinions. Furthermore, the method is flexible and allows the respondents to explore and address a topic from various perspectives and thus the researcher may collect a range of opinions (Longhurst, 2009) and it is this great flexibility of the semi-structured interview that is highlighted to be its attractiveness (Bryman, 2012).

The weakness of the method, apart from being time consuming, Longhurst (2009) argues, is that it relies on human relationships, and, unfortunately, the method may leave respondents with a feeling of having been manipulated or betrayed (Longhurst, 2009). On sensitive research topics, I would argue, the interviewer might do even more harm. However, the topic of education has not been of a sensitive character.

Sampling of household interviews

As I am interested in perceptions and values of primary education from a household level perspective, parents, and other caregivers, have been one of the main groups of respondents. In Iringa Region, due to AIDS, the rate of orphans is high, 14.4%, almost double the national level of 7.7%. In fact, Iringa Region has the highest regional level of orphans, followed by its neighbouring regions of Njombe and Mbeya (NBS, 2014b). As noted in literature (see Isaksen *et al.*, 2002 and Kalipeni *et al.*, 2004), as well as during fieldwork these children are usually cared for by relatives, thus during sampling I have included families with children in primary school or primary school aged children, not necessarily the biological parents only.

The aim was to include a random sample of individual interviews and not to depend on a gate keeper such as the village leader for selection. The wish was to have unbiased data not favouring certain households for any reasons and that all household purposively selected had the same chance to be selected for an interview. A purposive sample is described by Creswell (2013) as an intentionally sampled group of people that can best provide information on the researcher's

question (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, in the villages, where a list of all households was available, or was constructed, this formed the base in the selection process. All households with primary aged children were highlighted and numbered. Thereafter, a random list of numbers was extracted using Excel, and in this way households were selected.

This process was time consuming, especially in finalizing the first original household list, the list comprising all households. Village A and B did not have a complete household list to begin with. Either it was not updated or the responsibility was divided among different hamlet leaders within the village. The response I got from the village and hamlet leaders to this method was rather sceptical in the beginning. Too much time was requested, it was argued. It would be much easier just to select a few households nearby; I could easily be shown who to visit. Still, when I opened the Excel spreadsheet and showed the random list of numbers the reactions somehow changed, not only from the leaders, but also from my assistants, all currently or previously within academia. The sample technique was instead treated with curiosity and fascination. Not to depend on a person but a computer for selection appeared new to all of them. In total, 22 individual interviews were carried out across the three rural study sites.

While the rural individual household interviews have been randomly sampled; the sample procedure for urban individual households' interviews proved much more difficult. As no lists of residents per area or street were available I initially tried the sample technique of choosing every fifth house. This turned out to be inefficient, though, as it often happened that nobody was at home in this particular house or that it was a household with no primary school children. Instead I found myself forced to visit each house along a street and selection was only based on whether a caregiver of a primary aged child was present. To allow for a wider range of participants, I visited the houses on working days and weekends, as well as different times of the day. The situation was especially difficult in the upper income area. As both parents were usually formally employed, interviews were limited to weekends. Additionally, this area is characterized by gated and locked gardens making access even more difficult. A total of 15 interviews were carried out with parents and caregivers in urban areas.

Interviews with Primary School Teachers

Primary school teachers have been the second main group of respondents. To deepen my understanding of the primary school situation as well as understand the schools' roles and interactions within a certain context or space, primary

school teachers were included in the study. Teachers here play a central role in knowing the ongoing activities and challenges in schools, and additionally, they are familiar with the local contexts surrounding the children and interacting with parents and caregivers. Interviews with primary school teachers were done during both periods of fieldwork in Iringa, both in urban and rural schools. 18 interviews were carried out with rural teachers, and 24 interviews with teachers in urban areas, see Table 1 and Appendix 1 for an overview of respondents.

Sampling of primary school teachers

The sampling of the teachers has been done very differently from the individual household interviews. The first interview at each school was with the head teacher, or acting head teacher of that particular day. This was done not only to introduce myself, the assistant and the project but also to familiarize myself with the particular school and its challenges and conditions, such as the main obstacles facing the school. After interviewing the head teacher, I asked for permission to interview two to three more teachers. As several schools face problems with a lack of teachers, and I did not want to interrupt ongoing classes, I asked the head teachers for interviews with those teachers who currently were doing administrative tasks. Thus, selection was done by the head teacher, but on a somewhat random basis as we never informed the schools prior to the visits and it was the teachers that happened to be out of class obligations who could be selected. Furthermore, the head teacher was asked to consider gender and age balance when possible, in order to compile a richer and more nuanced data.

Unlike the individual household interviews, these interviews were not recorded as I feared this would have a negative impact on the atmosphere and inhibit the discussion. These teachers, after all, have entered the formal employment market and perhaps they would fear that some arguments or reflections on their side would be used against them. Even though my intentions of the study were clearly stated and I also ensured them that their names would not be revealed I did not want to jeopardize their trust in this and I wanted to create a rapport (Cloke *et al.*, 2004; DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006) with the participating teachers. Instead of recording the interviews, detailed notes were taken. While the need of a translator may be frustrating at times, at this time it allowed me to take very detailed notes while the field assistant was translating.

Selection of schools

The rural primary schools were easily selected as there was just one primary school in each village. The selection of urban schools was more complex though as there

are 49 urban schools in Iringa town. I decided to ask the respondents from the three selected areas where they send their children to school and then visit two public and two private schools. To visit two private schools was not proportional to my small upper income area sample of individual interviews. Nevertheless, to be dependent just on one school seemed precarious at the time and as it appeared, the two private schools turned out to be very different from one another. I have learned enormously from these visits although the differences do not come through in this research as they mainly relate to management and organizational challenges.

Interviews with Village Leaders and Urban Community Leaders

In addition to the above mentioned interviews I initially met with the leaders of each village or the community leader for the urban area/street. This initial meeting at the local level was done partly in order for me to introduce myself, the research and upcoming data collection which meant I and the group of research assistants would be spending considerable time in the area. This was also an opportunity for me to familiarize myself with the local context and get an overview of the specific location, any recent changes or specific problems in the area.

Focus Group Discussion

Fifteen focus group discussions have been held; seven in 2013 and eight in 2014. While the themes for discussion in 2013 focused on the perceptions and values of education and problems in primary schools, the second fieldwork had a strong focus on the current quality in primary schools, its definitions and possibilities for improvements, for more details see interview guides in Appendix 2.

Focus group discussion as a method is credited for understanding group view points and perceptions (Lloyd-Evans, 2006) and for being time efficient (Cloke *et al.*, 2004). Bryman (2012) is of a different opinion, however. Instead, focus group discussions are described as time consuming to arrange and transcribe and criticized since the method gives the researcher less control over the discussion than during an individual interview (Bryman, 2012). The aim of the focus group is to address a particular topic and encourage an informal group discussion among a small group of individuals (Silverman, 2013). These discussions offer, or have the potential to offer, views expressed in a different way than through individual interviews; participants may be questioned and challenged by each other, participants may argue and change their answers as they hear the arguments of

others. Participants' interactions and discussions on a certain phenomenon allow the researcher to study how values and meanings are collectively being constructed (Bryman, 2012). Usually the participants share some characteristics (Silverman, 2013). In my case they were all primary school children's parents or caregivers. Recruitment can be problematic and for the participants to feel comfortable and encourage them to talk the researcher needs to consider issues of power and social status (Lloyd-Evans, 2006).

A schedule of questions is usually used to initiate and guide the conversation (Silverman, 2013). Despite using such a schedule, the focus group discussions were not as easy to monitor as I had wished for. I tried to keep a low profile with limited interactions with the group (Bryman, 2012) to allow the participants to discuss freely after introducing the study, the questions and "rules of discussion". These included allowing everybody to speak up and have their own opinions, not to interrupt, that no answer is right or wrong and that I was interested in everyone's perceptions. In retrospect, I wish I would have used two field assistants on these occasions; one to keep the focus of the ongoing discussion and one to simultaneously translate to me as these tasks proved to be a bit too much to handle at the same time. During focus group discussions, Creswell (2013) stresses that the researcher needs to monitor the balance of participation in order to encourage all participants to talk and not to have one dominating the discussion (Creswell, 2013). The aim has been not to intervene in the discussion but throughout the fieldwork the assistants and I have discussed how to best encourage these discussions and I have encouraged the assistants to step in whenever necessary and ask "could you elaborate on this", "could you explain a bit more" or "could you give some examples" when discussions have turned silent.

Sampling of focus group participants

The sampling is based on a stratified purposively sampling (Bryman, 2012) and includes either parents or caregivers with primary school aged children. The groups have been divided based on gender and age, in the sense that the groups have been divided into groups of parents of primary school aged children and groups of SGHs caring for primary school aged grandchildren. It is common for researcher to divide focus groups by socio-demographic factors like gender and age as it is believed these kinds of factors influence the individual's views (Bryman, 2012).

The focus groups consisted of three to six participants. Initially, I asked to arrange for four participants, this proved to be a mistake though. In one group a participant did not show up, and another did not have children in primary school

or primary school aged children, thus only two participants remained. One of these participants acted very quickly and found another father nearby to join at least to make three participants in the group. During the second fieldwork, I instead asked for five to six participants, and fortunately never faced the same problem again. Another situation in village C was that a group turned out to be mixed in ages. Two mothers joined a SGH group of grandmothers as I did not want to send these mothers home again, and we already had a second focus group arranged for the same day, meaning I could not ask them to wait and create a new group. The transcript of this mixed group has been marked to indicate who is a mother and who is a grandmother. During the first fieldwork period, when individual household interviews were carried out, the selection of focus group participants was done by someone who had participated in a household interview. He or she assisted in collecting a group of parents or caregivers. The second time individual household interviews were not carried out and I had to change the approach of organizing discussions. Therefore, contacts from the fieldwork periods of 2013 and 2014 were used to arrange the focus groups. In total 62 individuals participated in the focus groups; 25 in 2013 and 37 in 2014. However, some focus group participants (nine) did also take part in individual household interviews in 2013 and one participant was part of the household questionnaire in 2014, thus, to a minor extent the data overlaps.

Even though there was an aspiration to have a gender balance in the focus groups, in the end female participants outweigh male participants. During the 2014 fieldwork, four female groups and four male groups were organized, however the male focus groups had fewer participants. In 2013 there was a discrepancy already of the groups organized leading to an imbalance.

The table below summarizes the locations of the qualitative data collection used in the thesis. A more detailed description of the participants is presented in Appendix 1.

Table 1:
Location of data collection 2013 and 2014, by type of interview

Location	Village leader/ community leader	Individual household interviews	Focus group discussions		Teacher interviews	
	2013	2013	2013	2014	2013	2014
Urban low	1	8	2	1	-	-
Urban middle	1	2	1	1	-	-
Urban upper	1	5	-	-	-	-
Village A	1	5	2	2	3	3
Village B	1	8	-	2	3	3
Village C	1	9	2	2	3	3
Urban private school 1	-	-	-	-	3	3
Urban private school 2	-	-	-	-	4	2
Urban public school 1	-	-	-	-	3	2
Urban public school 2	-	-	-	-	3	4
Total	6	37	7	8	22	20

Supplementary Interviews

To complement the teachers' and the household level perspectives a final round of interviews was conducted in June 2015. Five key informant interviews in Dar es Salaam were carried out. These interviews represent various actors in the education system, see presentation in Table 2 below, and we discussed the implementation of the 2001 policy. This visit also allowed me to find some key documents, mainly historical documents, which are difficult, or even impossible to access outside Tanzania.

Table 2:
Key informants, 2015

Name	Title	Organization	Date of interview
Galabawa J.C.J.	Professor of Economics of Education	University of Dar es Salaam	June 12, 2015
Lyelu, F.	Programme Officer, Research and Policy Analysis	HakiElimu	June 15, 2015
Mmari, T.	Programme Specialist Education Sector	UNESCO	June 16, 2015
Mzungu, Y.C.	Education Officer, Primary Education Unit	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training	June 16, 2015
Shuli, N.J. ²¹	Director – Communication and Advocacy	President's Office	June 8, 2015

These actors included I) Professor J.C.J. Galabawa, professor of Economics of Education at the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam who has been involved in advising both the Tanzanian government as well as international actors, II) Mr. F. Lyelu, Programme Officer, Research and Policy Analysis, working at the local NGO HakiElimu (meaning Right to Education). The NGO was launched in 2002 and works with education at all levels. Its vision is to make sure Tanzanian people receive quality education by research and policy analysis, civic engagement and by promoting public debates on education. III) Mr. T. Mmari, Programme Specialist in Education Sector at UNESCO local office in Dar es Salaam, IV) Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer, Primary Education Unit at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and V) Mr. N.J. Shuli, representing the President's office Planning Commission, an agency that was responsible for monitoring and analysing development trends and to advise the government. In 2015, the agency was focusing on six main development issues, education being one of them.

The aim of these interviews was to gain a broader picture of the Tanzanian education system, the policy and its implementation and to verify the results from Iringa Region with these experts providing an understanding of consequences for the household on a more general national level. Unfortunately, these interviews were carried out rather late in the process and are therefore mainly discussed in

²¹ This was not a scheduled interview, instead upon request of the latest publications in the President's Office I was offered to meet a representative from the organization. Therefore, there is no interview guide attached in the Appendix 2 for this interview. As education was one of the organization's development targets, the interview focused on the organization's work in relation to education.

the introductory “kappa”²². The five interviews were very different in their character; while four of the interviews were with representatives from the Ministry, an NGO or other organizations and rather formal in regards to what the respondents represented, Professor Galabawa was indeed very personal and outspoken and he shared his personal opinions on the government’s educational strategies and system.

Quantitative Data Collection

Household Survey

In parallel with the qualitative fieldwork in 2014, a household survey was conducted in the three villages. A questionnaire of socio-economic indicators was completed and 209 respondents participated. In total, about 200 variables related to family structure, income, housing standard and education was included in the survey (see Appendix 3 for more details). Household surveys on livelihoods in developing countries have the potential of bridging micro-economics with the political economy of development as they may capture the behaviour and strategies of low-income people as well as sub-groups of the population. Moreover, the household itself has been considered a convenient unit for data collection (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005).

The questionnaire for this study was set up at Lund University, inspired by the Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey 2007-08 (TACAIDS, 2008) and the Afrint survey carried out across six African countries (Djurfeldt *et al.*, 2005; Djurfeldt *et al.*, 2011; Andersson Djurfeldt, 2018). Before returning to the field the questionnaire was sent to local residents for comments and feedback. Without doubt, the household survey benefitted from me being previously in the field as I had gained a clearer picture of what to include in the survey and possible answering alternatives. Thereafter it was pre-tested by three field assistants in three different villages outside Iringa Region. At this initial phase 18 households participated. This pilot study was done in order to test both questions and answering options to avoid misunderstandings, to clarify and to make corrections where it was needed before the research was ongoing.

²² The Swedish word for coat, but commonly described for the introductory parts of a compilation thesis.

During the 2014 fieldwork period, four field assistants participated. Three of them were devoted full time to the household survey while the fourth assistant engaged in both qualitative and quantitative data collection. The field assistants had all seen the questionnaire before entering the field and they all took part in a training day to practice the enumeration work. We ran through the questions one by one and thereafter a role play was arranged whereby they interviewed each other and they were given notes of a character to play so we could easily control if the information given matched the completed questionnaire.

Even though the household survey was conducted at the same time as ongoing interviews and group discussions in the area, I managed to accompany the assistants several times during their work. Sometimes logistical constraints resulted in me joining the data collection of the survey. As we only had access to one car, and travelling to the remoter villages of B and C required a full day's travel, myself and the fourth assistant usually joined the others after a few interviews or group discussions. The teachers' interviews were limited to working days, and working hours, so thereafter we had the opportunity to follow and participate in the survey data collection. Likewise, we tried to organize the focus group discussions for the weekends but more than two group discussions per day were difficult to handle, instead we remained in the field doing the household survey. Each evening the team of assistants and I met to discuss each day's work and address possible obstacles and to check the data quality and correct any mistakes.

Sampling of household survey participants

The household survey was conducted in the rural areas and it was sampled using a purposive random sample. From a village list, households were purposively selected including only households with children aged 7-18 and a random sampling of numbers using Excel decided which households to include in the survey. This time, however households with secondary school aged children were included with the ambition of making use of this broader set of data in future work. This extra page of questions did not really affect the time needed for each questionnaire in the field. Nevertheless, primary school is the focus in this thesis, therefore I will not return to this data within this thesis.

Each assistant was then given a list of households to visit for each village. However, early in the process it became obvious that the logistics did not work efficiently and that this procedure could not carry on. The assistants were walking in between the selected households, sometimes meaning long distance and as they were unfamiliar with both the area and family names of the households too much time

was lost in finding the specific households. Therefore, a local guide in each village was hired to support the field assistants. This guide was given a list of *all* selected households in that particular village and for him or her it was easy to coordinate the three assistants and to organize the survey in such a way that one part of the village was completed before moving on to the next part. The respondent was the head of household or spouse, depending on who was at home.

In total 209 households were surveyed across the three villages. Table 3 lists the number of respondents by sex and age of head of household in each village.

Table 3:
Household survey respondents, 2014

Location	No of respondents	Sex of HoH	Age of HoH (mean)
Village A	67 (371) ²³	F: 18 (26.9%) M: 49 (73.1%)	F: 53 M: 45
Village B	69 (312)	F: 16 (23.2%) M: 53 (76.8%)	F: 53 M: 48
Village C	73 (342)	F: 19 (26.0%) M: 54 (74.0%)	F: 52 M: 46
Total	209		

Place of Interviewing, Discussions and Survey

All individual interviews with parents and caregivers in 2013 were held in the homes of the respondents, usually outdoors but occasionally in case of bad weather indoors. Interviews with teachers during both fieldworks have been conducted in the school where he or she was employed, sometimes in the head teacher’s office, or otherwise in another available office or classroom. Throughout, it has been respected that the interviews are held individually.

Nearly all focus group discussions have been held in the place of the facilitating respondent. However, two discussions were held elsewhere. In village A, a focus group discussion was arranged in a newly built community house and another group discussion, in the poor urban area, was held in the place of the community leader, but without her being present.

As with the individual household interviews in 2013, the households participating in the household survey in 2014 were interviewed in their place of residence. The

²³ Total number of households with children aged 7-18 within the village within brackets.

five key informants' interviews in 2015, all took place in the respondents' offices in Dar es Salaam.

Informed Consent and other Ethical Concerns

Throughout the study, participants have been informed about the research and asked if they want to participate. They have been informed that they may skip a question or terminate the interview at any time. Individual household respondents, focus group participants and key informants were asked if the discussion may be recorded. One participant in 2013 did not allow recording, instead detailed notes were taken and the interview was transcribed directly after the interview. Another respondent terminated the interview, also in 2013, but no specific reasons were given, she simply said she was too old and tired to carry on. One interview I decided to end earlier as the interviewee did not *at all* respond to any of my questions. I tried to rephrase them in a different way but without success. Upon our departure, the respondent asked us if we belonged to a special religious group that had been visiting other households nearby. This explains the respondent's hesitation to participate but despite our negative response to her question and yet a new explanation of the study it was too late to repeat the interview.

The key informants have additionally been asked whether they prefer to have their names included in the thesis whereby they all agreed. For other participants in the study, measures have been taken not to reveal their identities.

Participants in this research have not been reimbursed in any way. During the focus group discussions, soft drinks and cookies were offered as these meetings were much more time demanding than the individual interviews. In one village, I was informed that previous researchers had paid participants in cash to accept being interviewed, however during data collection I never heard about this again and I am not really sure it had actually happened. I am not sure whether not being reimbursed for participating in an interview was perceived as problematic by the respondents, however and I was never asked to compensate for respondents' participation.

The power dimension between researcher and respondent is usually mentioned when ethical considerations are discussed in qualitative data (see Desai and Potter, 2006 and Corbin and Morse, 2003). Of course, I have reflected on different aspects that contribute to increasing or decreasing the power balance in either direction. These aspects include nationality, age, marital status, gender and

education. While it is usually argued that the researcher has a dominant position during an interview (see Rapley, 2004; Creswell, 2013), I am not sure I agree. To some extent yes; I am well-educated, I am in charge of the directions of the interview and make the overall decisions regarding the research, on what to include and how to use it. On the other hand, being a young (?) female in this context has not always been easy. By tradition, male and elderly are treated with more respect.

Moreover, throughout the final fieldwork in Dar es Salaam I clearly felt I was the least favoured one in the interview situation. To start with, just being able to arrange interviews was at times incredibly frustrating and time consuming since questions had to be prepared and approved beforehand. Appointments proved difficult to arrange and were sometime cancelled at short notice. Furthermore, these key informants had a much tighter time schedule meaning we had to be extremely flexible in terms of when to conduct the interviews and not to take up more than one hour of their time. Additionally, the interviews were much more formal as all respondents, except for Professor Galabawa, was bound to the organization they represented. As described in Silverman (2013) I can relate to the difficulties in making these elite members open up during interviews, which I interpret was due to their representative roles. Formality was also visible through use of language and dress code.

According to Creswell (2013:173) “the interview is “ruled” by the interviewer”; a one-way dialogue based on the researcher’s agenda leading to the researcher’s interpretations. Nevertheless, the data collection would be nothing without the respondents’ active participating and sharing of their values, perceptions and everyday life. Therefore, I see myself in a sense more dependent on them than the other way around. Others may disagree. Be that as it may, I am deeply grateful to all participants and respect their time devoted.

Field Assistants

Throughout my fieldworks I have worked closely with field assistants. In total I have worked with five different assistants during my fieldwork. The assistants were found through help from professional staff at the Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA) and they were all linked to the University of Dar es Salaam, either as master students, as PhD-Candidates or through previous cooperation as field assistants to IRA personnel. The close cooperation with several field assistants has been challenging, not only due to the intensive actual time in field, usually ending up

in long working hours seven days a week, but also due to my lacking knowledge of Kiswahili. This has made me completely dependent on a translator.

Three of the assistants did have extensive experience from doing fieldwork in remote areas, however, their previous experience neither involved translation nor survey enumeration so these experiences were new also for them. Of course, the time in the field was challenging for all of us but through constant communication we tried to sort out and clear any mistakes, weaknesses and uncertainties along the way and to make the most out of the time in field.

As noted in literature qualitative research is usually not only interested in *what* people are saying but also *how* they express their values and opinions. The 'embodiment' of the dialogue may include nuances and variations of expressions through the voice and languages, hands, gestures and eyes (Andrews *et al.*, 2013; Bryman, 2012). Unfortunately, due to my lack of understanding of Kiswahili as well as limited experience of the context, I feel this part has been partly lost; I am not able to hear nuances in the way certain statements are expressed which would possibly have enriched the data.

Data Analysis

Individual household interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews have been recorded while during the teachers' interviews I took detailed notes. As mentioned, one household interview was not recorded. Additionally, one focus group discussion was not recorded; we were sitting indoors due to heavy rainfall and it was impossible to use a recorder because of the noise. The field assistant as an alternative had to take notes on the discussion. The teachers' interviews have not been recorded for the reason that I feared it would discourage the conversation and that they would not openly speak about their current situation within school or possible issues related to quality.

The data from the fieldwork period in 2013 was entered in Dedoose, software used to analyse mixed method data as well as primary interview data. Several different ways of coding are referred to in Bryman, 2012. The way of coding in this research comes closest to the one named as "focused coding". This approach uses a few selected codes to sort out the data for analysis (Bryman, 2012). During the coding process new codes will be generated, combined or removed and the data then needs to be re-evaluated. By using codes, the data is categorized into groups and sub-groups.

For this study, a code tree was constructed in Dedoose and the material was coded into nine main codes, of which several had sub-codes. This helped me to get an overview that could be used to start structuring the data. All in all, including interviews with village and urban community leaders, the transcripts of 72 interviews and focus group discussions were entered into the database in 2013. Considering the number of interviews at that time, Dedoose served as a tool to structure, search and extract excerpts. However, as a beginner to the programme I did not find it as smooth as I had hoped for with respect to the coding process, therefore subsequent interviews in 2014 and in 2015 were coded manually without using software. Throughout coding, a content-based thematic approach has been used and the themes for coding have been strongly related to the interview guides. However, the initial coding process incorporated theory based codes on the value of education. While some categories, or codes, were self-evident (Andrews *et al.*, 2013) others were identified through the process of analysis. The codes have not been used for counting purposes, that is to find out the frequency of a certain code (Creswell, 2013). Instead, the coding process has served to thematically structure the data.

Data from the household survey was processed in IBM SPSS Statistics 22. Unfortunately, the limited number of participants, 209, made it difficult to establish statistically significant results showing differences among sub-groups, like Female Headed Households (FHH) and SGHs, within each village. In terms of statistical analysis, primarily, cross tabulations and analysis of variances (anova) and comparisons of means for key variables, such as income, housing standard and educational expenditures, between villages and groups have been used.

Observations

The intention was to use observations and a field diary to a much larger extent. I thought I could observe, just by being present whether children were attending school, and if not what they were doing instead. However, I realized early during my first period of fieldwork that this thought had been naive. Despite being described as a “key tool” for data collection within qualitative research (Creswell, 2013:166) I found it rather difficult to interpret my observations. During October-November, when I was doing fieldwork, standard VII does not attend school at all. Instead these pupils are waiting for their national exam results and are usually at home helping their families with both farming and domestic work, work that does not interfere with school work. Furthermore, some schools, or classes operate in shifts, thus you might find children not attending school in the

morning because these particular classes have not yet started. Finally, to judge a child's age is anything but easy and I would most likely have made numerous mistakes.

Additionally, I am an outsider to this context and I want to be very careful in interpreting the observations. Nevertheless, it is hard *not* to observe while spending long working hours seven days a week in the field but I have been careful using these observations other than the most obvious ones that are not really in need of deeper interpretation.

The school visits affected me far more than expected. Both urban and rural schools, both private and public. Prior to my visits I would have thought that the school is a place that gives all attending children the chance to develop and increase their cognitive capabilities. However, the culture clash at once became obvious; the child is not the centre of the learning atmosphere, instead the teachers are. The monotone sound from children repeating single words in overcrowded classrooms, the obvious lack of both facilities and supplies and teachers complaining of recognition in salary and services were repeating itself over and over again throughout the visits.

Unfortunately, two visits particularly stand out. The first one was a visit to village C primary school in 2014. Upon our arrival it was very quiet. Usually, when a non-African visitor comes all children rush to the open unglazed windows and shout, this did not happen this particular day. I even asked the field assistant if we had forgot about a public holiday. However, we found the head teacher and carried out the interview as planned, but towards the end of the interview I could not hold back my curiosity regarding the empty silent school any longer. The answer was shocking, even though, by this time I perhaps ought to have known better. Standard III – VI²⁴ were helping constructing a teacher's house about 300 meters behind the school. The construction had been ongoing for the past three months, divided in two phases. The initial phase demanded two to three hours work a day from the pupils while the second phase was even more work intensive requiring the children to work 30 hours per week.

The second incident, which occurred during one of the visits to primary school in village B, I will be able to recall for the rest of my life. About 30-40 children are lined up in the school yard and one by one the first one in line takes a step closer to the teacher in front. There, each child can choose if he or she wants to be beaten on the hands or on the behind. The female teacher uses a wooden stick

²⁴ Standard I and II were considered too young to participate and standard VII was released from school obligations as these pupils were waiting for their national exam results.

and strike. Then the next in line takes a step forward and the procedure repeats itself. As a mother, to see this is heart breaking.

These two incidents cannot simply be seen as culture clash only. They impose something more. This is not in line with the Tanzanian ambition of “good quality education” (URT, 2001:v) nor the aspect of equity and improved learning outcomes (URT, 2012). And certainly, it is not in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which the right to education is included, or the Convention on the Rights of the Child, both declarations signed by Tanzania.

To Work in Rural versus Urban Areas

It proved much easier to work in rural areas than in the urban context. Although extensive travelling time contributed to long working days starting from Iringa town around 6 am, returning usually at 10 pm, the data collection in the villages worked more smoothly than in Iringa town. It was easier to find time for interviews and focus group discussions and if household members were not at home at one point, usually they were found later the same day or upon returning the next day. A few times we arranged for a specific time to meet, this was especially important for families with land plots far away from their homes as they otherwise would have left before our arrival in the morning. In the urban areas though, household members were busy and hard to reach and not as accommodating in arranging a time to meet. In all three urban areas, different working hours were tested as well as both working days and weekends. In the upper income area weekends proved to be somewhat easier to reach the households, in the other two areas it was hard to find a certain time or day that meant easier access to interviews. I just had to keep on returning time after time.

Valuation of Data Quality and Potential Biases

A mixed-methods approach was carried out to triangulate data. By using different methods a rich set of data was collected. The data is coherent and complementing each other and never had I reason to doubt the respondents’ trustworthiness. Respondents openly shared their opinions and education is not, I believe, a sensitive topic. Nevertheless, to recall data for annual income might be difficult for the respondents but limited time constrained me from doing differently.

Although recalling exact numbers is difficult, these figures still indicate clear variations among the three villages.

As mentioned earlier a general bias with respect to the view of education may have arisen from selecting a region with high enrolment rates, but this nonetheless also enables focus on quality which may have been harder to come by in other regions. With respect to the quality of data, however one specific bias can be mentioned.

Through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida, Sweden has established long-lasting relations with the country lasting more than 50 years. In 2008, Sida's development work was reorganized and the number of countries where Sweden remained cooperation was restricted. Tanzania, however, was not phased out at this stage (Sida, 2017a) but the objective of Sida is to reduce the country's dependency on aid. Children and young people are one of the main target groups, together with women and entrepreneurs. Sida acknowledges the poor quality of education in primary school and addresses it as a target area as well as includes improved quality in primary education as expected results (Sida, 2013; Sida, 2017b). This long-lasting support from Sweden might have simplified the access to some of the key informants in Dar es Salaam, such as the MOEVT and the President's Office but it is unlikely to have affected the participation of teachers, parents and other caregivers.

If I Would Have Done Things Differently

I would first of all have stayed longer in the field before selecting the study sites. Regarding the urban area, the upper income area as well as the lower income area were easy to identify as they were mentioned by everyone, but the middle income area was somehow the remainder of Iringa town. For practical reasons a quick decision was needed on which middle income areas to include. The rural areas were chosen due to their differences in access to urban area and their differences in services and I *do* believe they represent differences in these aspects, even though, looking back, I think the decision was done somewhat hastily.

Another mistake was the number of questions on the individual household interviews during the first fieldwork period. They were far too many to be addressed within 1-1,5 hours and I wish I would have realized this already while being in the field and not through the transcribing process when I realized there were issues raised by the respondents that I had not followed up on. Listening to the material I can sense myself being somewhat stressed to complete all the

questions not to stretch the interview time, instead of giving time to the respondent to expand on the answer.

Personal Reflections on Data Collection

Although the specific setting of Iringa Region was new to me, doing individual interviews with people of different background and culture and in cooperation with a translator was not new to me and I was quite comfortable doing the fieldwork. The process was slow but it also served as an introduction to the area, to be out in the field and meet with the villagers and urban residents and to learn about their everyday lives and how they value education. Nevertheless, during the course of my Ph.D. studies I have become a mother, and to work in a poor remote area and meet other parents and caregivers have at times been rather tough. To see parents struggle to support their children and discuss their young children's future and possibilities have from time to time affected me emotionally. For sure, some life stories get under your skin and remain with you permanently. Being far away from my own family, of course, did not release my emotional side. Still, previous work has taught me to be professional at work not showing or sharing my own concerns and emotions with respondents.

To conduct and analyse a household survey, on the other hand, was completely new to me. Of course, it is easy to retrospectively gauge the need for more data, but I wish this part of the fieldwork would have been extended to enable a larger sample. Despite having three assistants working full time it proved to be more time demanding than expected and the total sample size was concluded at 209 respondents. Consequently, issues of statistical significance among sub-groups appeared later during the process. Additionally, had the household survey been done earlier it would have allowed me to incorporate it more throughout the thesis work.

Nevertheless, I have truly enjoyed this learning process, both during fieldwork itself as well as analysing the data. It was all so different and new to me; putting together the survey, arranging for feedback and testing of the survey from home, training assistants and working with and managing a team of researchers. Moreover, the compiled data was different to my previous collected data in the sense that it was straightforward and quantifiable. I certainly hope this is just the beginning of my experience of quantitative methods and I hope to learn and explore much more about its possibilities in the near future.

6. Summary of Articles

Before moving on to the final chapter of conclusion, let me shortly summarize the three articles in the thesis.

Article I explores parents' and caregivers' value of education from a rural-urban perspective. Why do they send their children (and grandchildren) to school and what are they aiming for by supporting their children's primary education?

Despite the abolishment of the primary school fee in 2001, the numerous contributions imposed on the individual households by the local schools are raised as a main concern. Contributions are paid in cash and in kind and contribute to desks, electricity, meals, administration and other costs. In addition to these contributions, school uniforms and school materials are direct costs of schooling.

Research from developed countries has indicated a positive correlation between parental perception of the value of education and children's learning outcomes. In this context, though, it is hard to see how the high parental valuation of education can influence the learning outcome in a positive direction. The exception might be the urban private schools, which due to high fees are limited to the urban elite. Primary schools struggle with poor conditions: overcrowded classrooms, lack of school supplies, lack of water and electricity and lack of competent teachers and from a rural-urban perspective the rural schools fall behind. In addition, the widespread poverty and lack of basic needs severely affect children's time devoted to school work and the possibility to receive education.

The article concludes that regardless of geographical context or socio-economic status, primary education is highly valued among both parents and caregivers. Education is needed to become independent, to modernize farming or, even better, become formally employed and change livelihoods. Expectations of future financial support for parents and caregivers are also highlighted. Within the urban upper income area, on the other hand, a child is expected to study hard through all levels of education in order to remain within the class.

Article II focuses on the conditions for obtaining quality in primary education and explores the term quality from a local perspective. Since 2015, inclusive and

equitable quality education for all is one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

Regardless of geographical context there is a coherent understanding among teachers and caregivers that the term quality primarily is defined by measurable indicators. First and foremost the standard VII national exam results are highlighted. Other ratios of textbook-pupil, student-teacher and student-classroom also serve as indicators of quality. At times, non-measurable indicators are, however, emphasized as well. These relates to the child's personal development for instance self-confidence, creativity and the ability to apply knowledge outside the school. The non-measurable indicators may also relate to community development or development at the national level, for instance an improved learning environment and the share of pupils selected to secondary education.

The article demonstrates strong rural-urban discrepancies regarding primary schools' ability to give education and children's possibilities to receive education. Poor infrastructure and widespread poverty are two main obstacles especially influencing rural areas and teachers' willingness to work in remote areas negatively affect the school days of both teachers and children. The children's school day is limited by the need to collect water and firewood both in school and at home, other household duties, long distances to school and the lack of food and basic school supplies. The teachers' working day is hampered by low salaries and the need to be involved in other income generating activities.

The regional NER suggests Iringa is about to reach UPE. Nevertheless, regarding SDG4 the article argues that extensive improvements are needed to avoid the creation of a spatial academic gap where the rural youth are left behind.

Finally, in **article III** I move on to discuss the links between rural livelihoods and education. In 2001, the Tanzanian government introduced a fee free primary education in its aim towards universal and inclusive basic education. At the same time, a capitation grant was introduced by the government to cover the local school expenditure when the school fee was abolished. Against this background, this article explores the financial outcome of a fee free primary education in rural Iringa. The government's capitation grant, based on number of enrolled pupils within a school, only partial reaches the schools. Therefore, in order to manage the daily school activities and handle the increased enrolment of students since 2001, parents and caregivers have been requested to contribute in cash and in kind. Contributions are needed for example to pay for examination fees, desks, electricity and lunch. In addition to these contributions, parents need to pay for school uniforms and necessary school supplies. These contributions are according

to Ministry of Education and Vocational Training not obligatory. Parents disagree, though, as children are suspended or beaten if contributions are not paid on time.

Data from three villages in Iringa Region suggest that education today, despite being fee free, is the main expenditure for a majority of rural families. In order to secure a better future for their children and give them a chance to move out of poverty and possibly change livelihoods, parents and caregivers struggle to manage the frequent contributions requested.

Following the abolishment of the fee primary NER has increased and Tanzania primary education has in some respect become more inclusive, at least in terms of enrolment rates. Nonetheless, this comes at a substantial cost to parents and caregivers. The article concludes that the aim of a free primary education is not yet achieved in Tanzania as parental contributions have replaced the previous fee.

7. Concluding Discussion

The primary education NER rate in Tanzania rose sharply following the 2001 reform suggesting access to primary education has indeed increased as a result of the reform. The sharp rise in access to education must be viewed as a success in itself; parents and caregivers are acknowledging the importance of formal education as a practice of learning and children are sent to schools rather than required to work by their families. This in itself is a step in the right direction. With improvements in schools as well as surrounding environments the potential of changes are extensive – no other official institution reaches such a large proportion of the young generation. Before I continue, let me repeat the aim and research questions of this thesis.

The overall aim of this thesis is to understand how the 2001 PEDP reform and its focus on the abolition of school fee influences parents' and caregivers' support for primary education and impacts on children's inclusion and possibilities to receive education. To this end the thesis explores the importance of the valuation of education, the perceptions of quality, children's possibilities to participate in education, the linkages to rural livelihoods and the broader geographical implications of the reform in the context of Iringa Region.

Valuation of Education

Despite issues related to quality, parental perceptions towards primary education are positive throughout the study sites. The value itself, though, might be spatially diversified affected by its local relevance and needs – or the needs for relocation. Education is perceived by Mrs Mkwawa and other caregivers as a necessity in order to change the opportunities of future generations to improve their livelihoods, become independent, stay within a certain social class or move out of poverty. There is a strong rural hope for a change in livelihoods leading to less dependence on agriculture. Education is what parents can and ought to give their children and they are expecting a positive financial return, at least for the children and at times also for themselves. Similar ideas are found in the urban context; the goal of

education is formal employment and improved living standards. Households within the upper income area choose the best primary schools guided by the standard VII national exam results and the children are expected to work hard as to remain within this social upper class (Lindsjö, 2016). The very strong value attached to education by households is found elsewhere as well. Research in Zambia suggests households rather pay educational expenditures for their children than medical costs (Hadley, 2010). And, the idea of entering school in order to be able to leave the traditional life of agriculture is not new and found already in early research (Foster, 1965).

As the valuation of education is immensely positive, regardless of location or socio-economic status, parents and caregivers do struggle to keep their children in school and expect them even to complete secondary education. This unquestioned faith in education is, for an outsider, almost hard to grasp. It is as if education is perceived to be the panacea for any positive change, and the primary solution to increase livelihood opportunities and decrease poverty. Where does this faith come from? The role and influence of NGOs are unlikely. According to school personnel and village leaders the presence of these organizations is limited at the study sites. A possible influencing factor is the legacy of the country's first president, late J. K. Nyerere, also referred to as the father of the nation. Even though Nyerere passed away nearly two decades ago his legacy is still highly present in peoples' home, where posters of him are commonly found, as well as in conversations. As mentioned earlier, Nyerere had a strong focus on inclusive education. Another possible influence is the Big Results Now (BRN) campaign launched in 2012. The BRN posters are highly visible in public space such as municipal buildings and schools reminding visitors of the national priorities and visions. Still, while the campaign was well-known among some respondents it was certainly not something everyone was familiar with.

Perhaps, one would have expected the issues related to the poor quality in schooling (see article II) to affect parental valuation negatively, but the valuation and perceptions of education do not question the overall positive outcome of receiving an education.

Quality of Education

Empirical data from Iringa Region (presented in article II) suggest a strong unified perception among teachers and parents/caregivers that quality in primary education is possible to quantify. Quality is measurable. The term quality in this

research context, therefore, is partly focusing on various ratios, and as a consequence of the massive enrolment expansion these ratios have not yet reached satisfactory levels among government, teachers, or parents. The issues of quality include great variation among primary schools with respect to such metrics with only a limited number of schools being able to reach the recommended standard. As a result, the outcome of education has been questioned (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 2011). Apart from various school ratios, a strong indicator of educational quality within a certain school, possibly the most widely used among teachers and parents, are the standard VII's national exam results. Yearly, the official exam results are published and urban parents use it for selecting schools for their children. In the villages, parents are limited to the village school, anything else is impossible at primary level.

While teachers and parents see the importance of measuring quality these ratios and school performance results do not give a complete picture of the term quality. Quality is a multi-facetted term and this thesis contributes to the contextual aspects of it. Aspects of e.g. medium of instruction, curriculum and teachers' competence are addressed elsewhere (Senkoro, 2004; Foster, 1965; Lauglo, 2010; Hardman *et al.*, 2012; Early and Norton, 2014). Two dominant contextual premises, presented in article II, closely linked to educational quality are infrastructure (or lack of) and poverty. The lack of infrastructure and services severely limit the numbers of qualified teachers²⁵ willing to settle in a remote area and it furthermore negatively affects the school day as described in detail in article II. The widespread poverty is detrimental to children's ability to receive education and the households' ability to support education as schooling still imposes both direct and indirect costs on the households.

Differences in quality of education are clearly manifested in a public-private dimension and a rural-urban dichotomy. Relative to private schools, the challenges in public schools include, among others the lack of sufficient school supplies, the lack of teachers and inclusion of pupils from poor home environments. In a similar way a clear division can be outlined between rural and

²⁵ Without entering a discussion on what constitutes a qualified teacher (related to curricula in teachers' education, pedagogic skills, skills in language of instruction etc.) I hereby mean the simplest form: a person who has graduated and received a teacher's diploma, a formally educated person according to the national requirements. Consequently, the person has been attending a college or university for a certain number of years and is used to a certain kind of standard of living and unlikely wants to settle in a remote village without basic services. An unqualified teacher is, for example, a person who has finished Form IV. As secondary schools are available in rural areas a person who has remained within rural areas his or her whole life and who is offered a teacher's position is probably more likely to accept this way of living.

urban schools favouring the urban youth. The rural pupils' school day is affected by teachers' absenteeism, by lack of water and electricity and lower availability of school supplies. With these challenges in mind, it is hard to understand how the rural youth will compete with their urban counterparts and reach their parents' aspirations of moving out of rural livelihoods and poverty when the conditions for giving and receiving education are so different already in the early phase of education.

The Next Policy Already?

Regardless of the unsolved problems following Tanzania's strive towards UPE, one of the key informants, Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, representing MOEVT, confirmed that the country was about to launch the next step of educational investment: fee free obligatory secondary school (personal communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). This new policy was launched later the same year thus making both primary and lower secondary education, i.e. O-level, free of charge (HRW, 2017; BBC, 2015).

Despite the ambition of providing primary education free of charge aiming for universal access, a heavy financial burden for primary education still falls on households, especially rural households. Another challenge concerns how to improve the currently low quality of primary education. With these kinds of challenges remaining, it is both surprising and questionable that a new policy focused on the next level of education has already been launched.

Obligatory lower secondary education will presumably increase secondary NER, most likely with negative effect on quality and most likely the schools will not be able to function without contributions from caregivers. This will, again, place a heavy burden on households, while the most vulnerable children, those not enrolled in primary school will be excluded also from secondary education.

Rural Livelihoods and Education

In the rural areas, education is, together with food, one of the two largest expenditure items. Sixteen years after launching the PEDP I, education is still far from being free, instead it places a heavy burdens on the livelihoods of rural households. The household survey indicates that the educational expenditures are

equivalent to 1.3-2.3 monthly incomes per year, or equivalent to 11.2% of the households' total annual expenditures for village A and B, and 18.6% of households' total annual expenditures for village C. Despite the high figures, the result is comparable to similar situations elsewhere. A study in Ghana by Akaguri (2014) indicates that the poor rural households spend more than 10.0% of their income on educational costs, despite no official primary school fee.

The household survey data also confirms that the individual rate of return is improved by primary education as households in which the head of household had primary education have a higher monthly mean incomes than households where the head of household had no education.

Children and their labour contributions have historically played a large role in households' livelihoods in Tanzania (Eresund and Tesha, 1979; Närman, 2004). My research suggests a change in children's participation in rural livelihood activities and the change has come rather rapidly. Nowadays, during schooldays children are at school in the study sites. Due to large catchment areas, they might not be there the full day, and they might not be in a condition to fully receive education, but they are at school. During weekdays children still contribute to the household by fetching water, firewood or looking after siblings, and while children still do help out with farming it is limited to the weekends. This is of course significant progress and a step towards the aim of UPE and inclusive education.

Looking ahead, UPE might enforce extensive changes on rural livelihoods. Parents value education highly and emphasize that they want a better future for their children, this first and foremost implies formal employment. At the household level, education is perceived as the panacea to all problems related to rural livelihoods. Current literature implies that changing livelihoods also reflect aspirations of the youth (Leavy and Hossain, 2014; Juma, 2007). The nearly universal primary education in Iringa Region (a NER of 90.7%) in combination with deteriorating quality of education and widespread poverty raises concerns related to rural livelihoods. Nowadays, rural children's involvement in farming is limited to weekends and the children do no longer learn how to cultivate the land to the same extent as previously. Parents wish for and support a different kind of livelihood for their children, leading to a question of whether farming in the future will be affected by children's withdrawal from farming today? Secondly, where are all these educated children going to work? Is society prepared for this share of educated youth entering the labour market? In Iringa upper income area I met with a community development officer during the individual household interviews and she raised serious concerns predicting a future massive

unemployment rate among youth as a direct consequence of UPE. And yet, as possibilities to give and receive education have been questioned, the question may be asked to what extent youth are prepared for formal employment? Thus, investing in education partially in the hope for future financial support might instead lead to the opposite, a potential future financial burden and a double loss at the household level.

Theoretical Implications

Despite the immense critique towards the human capital approach for being too narrowly focused on economic development and the financial rate of returns to investments in education based on the rational choices of individuals (Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Radja *et al.*, 2003; Bonal, 2016) the term investment is repeatedly mentioned in interviews. As such it is useful to understanding both national and household level perceptions of education. While the other approaches to some extent have been visible in the collected data, they do not appear as strong and do not permeate the material in the same way.

At the household level, a more nuanced picture of why children are sent to school was expected. Explanations for why young children attend primary school do include perspectives of education as a basic right, the capability to become independent and make their own decisions and improve yields. Still, the discussions are dominated by, and almost always return to, education being perceived as an investment that is made for multiple reasons centred on the wish to move the household or individual out of poverty, to have a better future than previous generations, to start a more modernized agriculture or, even more preferably, move out of the agricultural sector altogether and enter formal employment. Outlined above are the actors' perspectives on their own decisions and actions. Clearly, the arguments for education as an investment for a better future of the children themselves as well as for the investors (parents and caregivers) strongly draw on arguments of the human capital theory.

To answer the research questions, though, the Social justice and capability approach offers several fruitful aspects. First and foremost, it stresses the importance of contextual variances and especially the role of communities to produce and reinforce structural inequalities which negatively affect parents' support for their children's schooling. It recognizes the historical legacy and from an SSA perspective related to education this implies the colonial inheritance of a foreign formal education system partly in a foreign language. Related to the

contextual emphasis is the recognition of poverty outside the school system and how it negatively hampers learning.

Primary education is yet to become inclusive for all children. The local UNESCO office raises attention to the fact that the current school system still cannot be seen as inclusive for disabled children, who are continuously being left out (personal communication with Mr. T. Mmari, Programme Specialist Education Sector, UNESCO, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015), a statement also confirmed by Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, at the MOEVT, who explains that currently primary schools lack a conducive learning environment and are not user friendly for disabled children (personal communication with Mr. Y.C. Mzungu, Education Officer Primary Education Unit, MOEVT, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). This is not only a national concern; there is a strong need for SSA countries to turn the focus from increasing enrolment rates in general to start focusing on particular excluded groups e.g. poor and disadvantaged children (World Bank, 2009). For example, children within nomadic societies are hard to reach as their way of life conflicts with the school structure. Therefore, UNESCO is now trying a different approach to reach these children by establishing a “mobile” education platform with the help of modern technology. Children of nomadic societies have been given laptops, and teaching, home work and communication is handled on-line (personal communication with Mr. T. Mmari, Programme Specialist Education Sector, UNESCO, Dar es Salaam, June 16, 2015). If this initiative is to have a positive outcome, a stronger net-work will be needed as large rural areas are without internet access, however.

The discussion of the principle of inclusion may be widened, though, and not simplified into a matter of which groups of children are enrolled and which are not represented in the school system. This is, in my opinion, a strong misinterpretation of the term inclusive. A high proportion of the Tanzanian children are enrolled in primary school today, indeed an indication of an increase in access and inclusiveness. However, only being present in school is not enough. Far from all children enrolled and present in school are active and included in the ongoing learning activities. As article II suggests learning is hampered by several barriers within both the school environment as well as the home and community environments. A broader understanding of the term inclusive ought to go beyond attendance to incorporate the opportunities to actively participate in schooling as well as the possibilities to reach the prescribed learning outcomes. In my opinion, a broader understanding of the term would increase its usefulness and relate it more to the global debate on the needs of education while providing a more accurate situation of the educational status on the ground.

Where is the Geography?

In order to fully grasp the challenges on a local level the interacting environments (policy, school and home/community) for educational quality presented within the social justice perspective would benefit from a consideration of a geographical and physical environment. This thesis suggests the three environments of (I) policy, (II) school and (III) home and community all depend on their physical surrounding. How does a new curriculum reach the local schools in time? How are teachers posted and what consequences does the posting system have on the efficiency of the individual schools? How is the availability and accessibility of school books and other school supplies? How is the provision of food ensured and what are the levels of food security? What are the weather conditions and their consequences for the transportation network and local food security? Is there availability of supplementary income sources for teachers? Availability of service which attract teachers to rural areas as well as minimize time demanded when teachers need certain services, thus being absent from work. Walking distance to school. To fetch water. To fetch firewood. Electricity. The list can go on. Based on fieldwork presented in the three articles, it is concluded that spatial inequalities matter for the provision and reception of education and a clearer geographical component within the approach would grasp the spatial inequalities linked to educational opportunities and inclusivity. Indeed, schools are special *places* associated with certain rules, expectations and power hierarchies, but schools are not independent units; they are embedded in their contextual surroundings and the environments in which the schools are located have a strong influence on the schools' possibilities to function. In a similar way, households are not independent units with equal opportunities.

A Geographical Perspective

The categories of rural versus urban appear too limited and narrow in explaining the spatial inequalities explored in this thesis. The low income urban area has more in common with rural areas in terms of poverty, lack of access to electricity and water. Urban public schools, despite their obvious closeness to urban supplies and services, still face problems with overcrowded classrooms and lack of school supplies. Thus, availability of school supplies does not automatically follow accessibility.

On the other hand, the 'rural' category is too broad. The non-urban areas are far from homogenous. The differences between villages A and C is a clear example of

how diversified the rural context can be: village A has access to several boreholes, electricity lines run through the community and as it is located along the highway it is possible for people to commute easily on a daily basis to either Iringa town or Mafinga. Village C, on the other hand, has no wells, no access to electricity, and poor infrastructure which at times isolate the village. Furthermore, the housing standard and ownership of items in village C are significantly poorer than in the other two villages. The conditions for infrastructure, services and mobility differ immensely between a rural area located along the highway compared to an off (tarmac) road village.

Infrastructure, or lack of infrastructure and services, has a strong impact on education. The gap between urban and remote rural areas is still immense considering infrastructure. Remote rural areas are struggling with poor roads, limited public transport, lack of electricity and water as well as limited, if any, services like health care and financial administration. This infrastructural gap is reflected in education already at the primary level. Teachers claim they do not want to work in rural schools as it means living in a village due to the impossibility of commuting on a daily basis. This is confirmed by the literature (see e.g. Benavot and Gad, 2004; Sherman, 2008). Apart from difficulties in attracting teachers, school supplies are more difficult to access in these areas, schools have larger catchment areas leading to children sometimes being delayed for the school day, not returning after lunch (or not having lunch at all as they cannot manage to walk forth and back) or being home late from school. Lack of water and electricity also affect children's education as they assist with fetching water and as school work is impossible after the sun sets. Furthermore, the most remote areas might be inaccessible during the rainy season meaning no official controls are possible. This fact is well-known among the teaching staff leading to longer periods of absence among teachers who know that they will not face consequences as a result. Wedgwood (2007:393) also addresses the lack of infrastructure in rural areas and even claims: "In rural areas, current investment in education is unlikely to reap substantial returns unless there is concurrent development of infrastructure and services". Now, ten years after her statement I can only agree; there is an urgent need for development of infrastructure in order to improve primary education.

The Paradoxes of Expensive Fee Free Education

To summarize, three paradoxes permeate this thesis: 1) Primary education is by the Tanzanian government declared to be fee free and free of charge. In practice it is not, however and contributions have replaced the earlier fees. Contributions

which, by households, are perceived as obligatory. II) The strong narrative on education, among households, as the panacea for positive change and the key solution related to livelihoods characterised by poverty. Unconditionally, households keep on paying for the fee free education despite the obvious issues related to poor quality. And finally III) Considering national statistics, primary education appears to be relatively inclusive. In practice though, the inclusivity may be questioned and the figures mask a reality of children unable to receive education and schools unable to provide education despite households' struggle and strive towards universal primary education. These three paradoxes indicate a gap between policy implementation and practice where the actual aim of UPE is about to be reached in parts of Tanzania but where the consequences in terms of educational quality and household level expenditures have long been neglected.

I return now to Mrs Mkwawa, the grandmother quoted in the opening pages of this thesis, who herself was not allowed to attend primary school but who is determined to keep her two grandchildren in school. Looking back at our meeting, to me she symbolizes the peoples' strive towards universal primary education in Tanzania and the changes in perceptions and values of education that have come rather rapidly, within one or two generations. I recall leaving Mrs Mkwawa with a sense of mixed feelings; concerned for her future possible disappointments if the expected returns do not materialize but hopeful in knowing that she finds formal education important and is certain of her capabilities to keep her grandchildren enrolled.

*Nobody advices me, cause everybody knows
every child should be educated*

Grandmother in village C, November 14, 2013

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Maps

- Map 1: Map of Tanzania, UNESCO, 2014b:1. *Education for All (EFA) 2015 National Review Report: United Republic of Tanzania – Mainland*, Dar es Salaam.
- Map 2: Map of Iringa Region, University of Iringa, Fahari yetu, available at: <https://fahariyetu.net/region/> on 2017-08-17. Modified by author.

Appendix 1 – List of Interviews

Household Interviews 2013

Village A:

Female (HOH), 20 years old, extended family, November 14, 2013.

Female (HOH), 32 years old, Female Headed Household (husband migrated to work),
November 14, 2013.

Female (HOH), 45 years old, extended family, November 14, 2013.

Female (HOH), 50 years old, extended family, November 14, 2013.

Male (HOH), 30 years old, nuclear family, November 14, 2013.

Village B:

Male (HOH), 45 years old, nuclear family, November 6, 2013.

Male (HOH), 42 years old, nuclear family, November 7, 2013.

Male (HOH), 47 years old, nuclear family, November 7, 2013.

Female (spouse to HOH), 25 years old, extended family, November 7, 2013.

Male (HOH), 37 years old, nuclear family, November 7, 2013.

Female (HOH), 40 years old, Female Headed Household (husband migrated to work),
November 19, 2013.

Female (spouse to HOH), 30 years old, nuclear family, November 19, 2013.

Female (spouse to HOH), 39 years old, nuclear family, November 19, 2013.

Village C:

Female (HOH), 27 years old, Female Headed Household/Single parent, November 1,
2013.

Female (HOH), 28 years old, Female Headed Household (husband migrated to work)
November 1, 2013.

Male (HOH), 39 years old, nuclear family, November 1, 2013.

Female (spouse to HOH), 30 years old, nuclear family, November 6, 2013.

Male (HOH), 38 years old, nuclear family, October 31, 2013.
Male (HOH), 75 years old, extended family, October 31, 2013.
Male (HOH), 59 years old, extended family, October 31, 2013.
Female (spouse to HOH), 23 years old, nuclear family, October 31, 2013.
Female (spouse to HOH), 56 years old, extended family, October 31, 2013.

Iringa Upper Income Area:

Male (HOH), 58 years old, extended family, October 26, 2013.
Male (HOH), 59 years old, extended family, October 26, 2013.
Female (spouse to HOH), 33 years old, extended family, October 27, 2013.
Male (HOH), 51 years old, extended family, October 27, 2013.
Male (HOH), 48 years old, nuclear family, October 27, 2013.

Iringa Middle Income Area:

Female (HOH), 70 years old, extended family, November 17, 2013.
Male (HOH), 48 years old, nuclear family, November 21, 2013.

Iringa Low Income Area:

Female (spouse to HOH), 30 years old, nuclear family, October 28, 2013.
Male (HOH), 37 years old, extended family, October 28, 2013.
Male (HOH), 45 years old, divorced, October 29, 2013.
Female (spouse to HOH), 33 years old, nuclear family, October 29, 2013.
Female (HOH), 45 years old, extended family, October 29, 2013.
Male (nephew to HOH), 21 years old, extended family, November 5, 2013.
Female (daughter of HOH), 47 years old, extended family, November 5, 2013.
Female (spouse of HOH), 30 years old, nuclear family, November 13, 2013.

Primary School Teachers 2013

Village A:

Head teacher, male, November 18, 2013.
Male teacher, November 18, 2013.
Female teacher, November 18, 2013.

Village B:

Head teacher, female, November 6, 2013.

Female teacher, November 6, 2013.

Female teacher, November 6, 2013.

Village C:

Head teacher, male, November 1, 2013.

Male teacher, November 1, 2013.

Female teacher, November 1, 2013.

Urban Private School 1:

Head teacher, male, November 8, 2013.

Male teacher, November 8, 2013.

Male teacher, November 8, 2013.

Urban Private School 2:

Head teacher, female, November 4, 2013.

Male teacher, November 4, 2013.

Male teacher, November 4, 2013.

Female teacher, November 4, 2013.

Urban Public School 1:

Head teacher, male, November 21, 2013.

Female teacher, November 21, 2013.

Female teacher, November 21, 2013.

Urban Public School 2:

Head teacher, male, November 8, 2013.

Female teacher, November 8, 2013.

Female teacher, November 8, 2013.

Primary School Teachers 2014

Village A:

Acting head teacher, male, October 23, 2014.

Male teacher, October 23, 2014.
Female teacher, October 23, 2014.

Village B:

Acting head teacher, female, October 15, 2014.
Male teacher, October 15, 2014.
Female teacher, October 15, 2014.

Village C:

Acting head teacher, male, October 16, 2014.
Male teacher, October 16, 2014.
Female teacher, October 21, 2014.

Urban Private School 1:

Acting head teacher, male, October 23, 2014.
Male teacher, October 23, 2014.
Male teacher, October 23, 2014.

Urban Private School 2:

Male teacher, October 24, 2014.
Male teacher, October 24, 2014.

Urban Public School 1:

Acting head teacher, male, October 24, 2014.
Female teacher, October 24, 2014.

Urban Public School 2:

Head teacher, male, October 22, 2014.
Female teacher, October 22, 2014.
Female teacher, October 22, 2014.
Female teacher, October 22, 2014.

Focus Groups 2013

Village A:

- Four grandfathers from extended families, on November 24, 2013.
- Four grandmothers from female headed households/extended families, on November 24, 2013.

Village B:

-

Village C:

- Four mothers from female headed households/nuclear families, on November 10, 2013.
- Three fathers from nuclear families, on November 10, 2013.

Iringa Upper Income Area:

-

Iringa Middle Income Area:

- Three mothers from nuclear families, on November 26, 2013.

Iringa Low Income Area:

- Three grandmothers from female headed households/extended families, on November 25, 2013.
- Four mothers from nuclear families, on November 21, 2013.

Focus Groups 2014

Village A:

- Four grandmothers and two mothers from nuclear families/extended families/female headed households, on October 25, 2014.
- Two grandfathers and one father from nuclear families/extended families, on October 25, 2014.

Village B:

- Six fathers from nuclear families, on October 18, 2014.
- Five mothers from nuclear families, on October 18, 2014.

Village C:

- Four mothers from nuclear families, on October 19, 2014.
- Four fathers from nuclear families, on October 19, 2014.

Iringa Upper Income Area:

-

Iringa Middle Income Area:

- Three fathers from nuclear families, on October 24, 2014.

Iringa Lower Income Area:

- Five mothers from nuclear families, on October 24, 2014.

Supplementary Interviews 2015

Galabawa, J.C.J., Professor of Economics of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, interview held in Thomas More Machrina High School, Dar es Salaam, on June 12, 2015.

Lyelu, F., Program Officer, Research and Policy Analysis, HakiElimu, interview held in HakiElimu's office, Dar es Salaam, on June 15, 2015.

Mmari, T., Programme Specialist Education Sector, UNESCO, interview held in UNESCO's office, Dar es Salaam, on June 16, 2015.

Mzungu, Y.C., Education Officer Primary Education Unit, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, interview held in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT), Dar es Salaam, on June 16, 2015.

Shuli, N.J., Director – Communication and Advocacy, President's Office, interview held in the President's Office, Dar es Salaam, on June 8, 2015.

Appendix 2 – Interview Guides

Interview Guide – Head Teachers/Teachers, 2013

What does the obligatory school attendance mean for the school system?

The school fee has been abolished – what does it mean for the school?

What do you do if children are not attending? Are there any consequences?

Does seasonal work affect the obligatory school attendance?

Do you have any kind of scholarships? If yes, how are these targeted?

Do you have any cooperation and/or support by any NGO? If yes, in what way?

Interview Guide – Village Chief/Urban Community Leader, 2013

What are the living conditions in this village/community? Primary income?

Any changes/development for the village/community?

What are the consequences of these changes/development?

What kind of problems is the village/community facing?

What is your opinion on the obligatory primary school?

Has the obligatory school attendance resulted in any consequences in society/village/community/household – level?

Are you working in any kind of project regarding school?

Interview Guide – Focus Group, 2013

Why are you sending your children to school/ what are the benefits of school?

What are the main problems in primary school? Why?

How can these problems be solved?

Who should solve these problems?

Interview Guide – Individual Households, 2013

Date: _____

Village/town: _____

Household: _____

Household character

Geographic area:

Rural

Semi-urban

Urban

Head of household

No	Age	Sex	Relation to head of household	Education (completed or current grade)	Occupation
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

Migrated family members: _____

Domestic workers Yes

No

Electricity

Yes

No

Flooring material:

Earth/sand/dung

Ceramic tiles

Concrete

Carpet

Other

Rooms used for sleeping

1

2

3+

Cooking fuel	Lighting energy
Electricity, bottled gas, biogas	Electricity, solar, gas
Paraffin, kerosene	Paraffin lamp
Charcoal	Firewood
Firewood	Candles
Straw, shrubs, grass, agricultural crop	Lantern, battery lamp
Other	Other
No food cooked in household	

Total acres of land: _____

Total acres of cultivated land: _____

Cattle: _____

Distance to: source of drinking water: _____

school: _____

health facility: _____

town/market: _____

Interview Guide – Individual Households, 2013, continued

Target group:

Parents and caregivers with school aged children

Family	Education	Socio-economic status	Informal education	Looking ahead
Head of household Size 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd born Age/Sex Extended family members Migrated family members Nr of adult family members (+18y.) Domestic helpers	Educational level of adults Children attending school -age/class Decision behind education Benefits of education Disadvantages with schooling Direct cost spent on education (uniform, books, material) Who makes the decision? (father/mother/other adult/children) Distance to school Girls/Boys School feeding Security regarding travelling Is there any situation that would take your children out of school Dropouts? Why?	Who is working/farming What are the children doing regarding domestic work? Are there times when the children need to stay at home and help (daily/seasonal) Total acres of land Cattle Distance to source of drinking water	Knowledge transfer within family: agriculture, cooking, hygiene, nutrition, health, life – what is important and why? Who does this transfer of knowledge How does the transfer look like? (oral, practical) How dealt with if you/your spouse were unable Alternative ways?	Plans for children Expectations of next generation Future benefits of education

Interview Guide – Head Teachers/Teachers, 2014

What do you think of quality in primary education in Tanzania today? Has it shifted somehow lately?

When you think of quality in primary school education, what do you think of? What does quality mean to you?

You have talked about x and x – are there other factors which could be included in the term “quality”?

How is your ranking at national exams? What makes your school at this position?

How can results in this school be improved?

Can quality be measured? How?

Does quality differentiate depending on rural/urban context?

Does quality differentiate depending on public/private school?

Do you know if the children have eaten breakfast before they come here in the morning?

Does this school provide lunch? On a regular basis? If not, why not?

Who is responsible for the quality?

What are the main obstacles for quality?

Interview Guide – Focus Group, 2014

How is the situation in this village? What do you do for a living, what are men doing/what are women doing/what are children doing?

Are there many SGH? FHH? CHH? How are their situation?

Poverty?

What are children doing in relation to agriculture? When?

What do you think about Universal Primary Education? Is it important? Why?

Are there some families who do not like UPE? e.g. SGH? CHH? Poor?

Do all children in this village attend primary school? If not, why? When? (all year or seasonal absenteeism?)

What does quality in primary school mean to you?

How can quality be measured?

Do you have quality in your school? If no, why not?

How can quality in school be improved?

Interview Guide – Professor Galabawa, 2015

What is the Tanzanian vision of primary school/education system?

What inspires the vision? Other countries (which)? Global agenda (which)?

What is your opinion about obligatory primary education?

What is your opinion about the abolishment of school fee?

Instead parents are contributing – how do you find this system?

Are there any other major reforms on education apart from abolishing fee and making primary school obligatory? Which?

Are there any other major reforms which have had impacts on a household level? Which?

What are the consequences of policies (obligatory + abolishment of fee) on a household level?

What are the consequences of policies (obligatory + abolishment of fee) on a school level?

Can you see that some children are more favored than others in the current school system? Rural/urban? Public/private schools?

Are there some groups more vulnerable?

How is quality in primary school valued? What is quality? What is the Tanzanian aim? How will it be reached?

Private/public school – consequences/effects/spill overs?

What are the main issues to be solved in primary school?

Who is responsible for what when it comes to the education system?

National/regional/municipal/local government/community level of responsibilities? Maintenance? Regional/municipal/local level of freedom to implement education?

What is your opinion of the BRN initiative?

Interview Guide – HakiElimu, 2015

Can you tell me about your organization?

- Structure
- Aim
- Achievements
- Priorities
- Research based
- Donors
- All sectors of education
- Advising role

Challenges in primary education?

- Any changes needed
- Any groups favored/falling behind
- Private – public schools
- Rural – urban schools

What major reforms have shaped the education system?

- Household level consequences
- Tanzanian vision

Interview Guide – UNESCO, 2015

What is the UNESCO's vision, mission and objectives regarding the primary education and Tanzanian education?

What are the on-going projects so far directed to primary education and education in general?

Any possible success/challenge stories you can share regarding UNESCO's operations in the country?

What is your opinion about obligatory primary education?

What is your opinion about the abolishment of school fee?

What are the consequences of policies (obligatory + abolishment of fee) on a household level?

What are the consequences of policies (obligatory + abolishment of fee) on a school level?

Can you see that some children are more favored than others in the current school system? Rural/urban? Public/private schools?

What is quality education in primary education?

What are the main challenges in primary education?

Interview Guide – Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2015

What is the Tanzanian vision of primary school/education system?

What inspires the vision? Other countries? Global agenda?

What is your opinion about obligatory primary education?

What is your opinion about the abolishment of school fee?

Instead parents are contributing – how do you find this system?

Are there any other major reforms on education apart from abolishing fee and making primary school obligatory?

Are there any other major reforms which have had impacts on a household level? Which?

What are the consequences of policies on a household level?

What are the consequences of policies (obligatory + abolishment of fee) on a school level?

Can you see that some children are more favored than others in the current school system?

Are there some groups more vulnerable?

How is quality in primary school valued? What is quality? What is the Tanzanian aim?
How will it be reached?

Long-term consequences of private primary schools

What are the main issues to be solved in primary school?

Who is responsible for what when it comes to the education system?

National/regional/municipal/local government/community level of
responsibilities?

Appendix 3 – Household Survey 2014

Household Survey Iringa Region, Tanzania

October 2014

Introduction and consent

Hello, my name is _____ and I am working together with Karin Lindsjö, a PhD candidate from Lund University in Sweden. We are conducting a household survey about household characteristic and education in Iringa region. Your household was selected for this survey. It will take approximately 30 minutes to answer the questions, your answer will be anonymous. You do not need to answer all questions and you may end the interview at any time but I hope you agree as your opinion is important to the survey.

Do you have any questions?

May I start the interview now?

Signature of
interviewer: _____ Date: _____

- Head of household or spouse should preferably be respondent to questionnaire. No children under 18 years of age should answer the questions, unless it is a child headed household.
- If no other information is given in variable values, throughout use:

Yes	1
No	0
Don't know, information missing	-88
Uncodeable information	-99

Variable number	Variable label	Variable values	Skip-rules, information etc.
	1. HOUSEHOLD CONDITION		Household is defined by co-residence, do not include temporary residents in the household.
i001	Full name of village: _____		
i002	Village number:_____		Leave this question.
i003	Household number:_____		Leave this question.
i004	Respondent: _____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Head of household 2=Spouse of head of household 3=Grown up child (18 years and above) 4=Child 5=Relative 6=Other	Do not interview children unless it is a child headed household. If the respondent is a grown up child and also the head of household, indicate number 1=head of household.
i005	Household type:_____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Nuclear (parents, their children and foster children) 2=Extended (grandparents, aunts, uncles or other relatives also live in the same household) 3=Polygamous (more than one wife/husband at the same time) 4=FHH 5=CHH 6=Other	CHH=Child Headed Household i.e. the main caretaker is a child or adolescent not older than 18 years. FHH=Female Headed Household (main caretaker is above 18 years old). For extended households headed by female they should be named FHH.
i006	Is this a Skipped Generation Household? _____	1=Yes, 0=No	SGH=Skipped Generation Household, i.e. grandparents live with grandchildren. If no, skip to i008.
i007	If SGH, why?_____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Parents live elsewhere 2=Parents ill/dead 3=Other	
i008	Sex of head of household: _____	1=Male, 0=Female	
i009	Age of head of household: _____		
	Total number of household members who regularly sleep here:		Consider only regularly residing household members, no visitors or short term stay. Males and females (number i011 and i012) should equal the total sum in number i010.
i010	0-6 years:_____		
i011	No. of males:_____		
i012	No. of females:_____		

	Total number of household members who regularly sleep here:		Consider only regularly residing household members, no visitors or short term stay. Males and females (number i014 and i015) should equal the total sum in number i013.
i013	7-14 years:_____		
i014	No. of males:_____		
i015	No. of females:_____		
	Total number of household members who regularly sleep here:		Consider only regularly residing household members, no visitors or short term stay. Males and females (number i017 and i018) should equal the total sum in number i016.
i016	15-19 years:_____		
i017	No. of males:_____		
i018	No. of females:_____		
	Total number of household members who regularly sleep here:		Consider only regularly residing household members, no visitors or short term stay. Males and females (number i020 and i021) should equal the total sum in number i019.
i019	20-60 years:_____		
i020	No. of males:_____		
i021	No. of females:_____		
	Total number of household members who regularly sleep here:		Consider only regularly residing household members, no visitors or short term stay. Males and females (number i023 and i024) should equal the total sum in number i022.
i022	61 years and above:_____		
i023	No. of males:_____		
i024	No. of females:_____		
i025	Are you taking care of any children not of your own? _____	1=Yes, 0=No	I.e. if the household is taking care of relatives children on a permanent basis. Do not consider short term visits.
i026	If yes, how many?_____		If no, skip to i027.
i027	Control of land Total land:_____ local units Total land:_____ acres		Express in local unit and then recalculate into acres.
	Ownership of livestock		Estimate number of animals within each category.
i028	Cattle, cows, bulls:_____		
i029	Goat:_____		
i030	Sheep:_____		
i031	Horses or donkeys:_____		
i032	Pigs:_____		
i033	Chicken or other poultry:___		
i034	Other:_____		
	If other, please specify: _____		
i035	Has anyone in your household received treatment in hospital during the past 12 months?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	

2. HOUSING CONDITION			
i036	Floor material:_____	1=Earth/Sand/Mud 2=Cement 3=Ceramic tiles 4=Other	For interviewer to ask or observe. If mixed, please indicate the material most used.
i037	Roof material:_____	1=Thatch/grass/mud 2=Iron sheets 3=Other	For interviewer to ask or observe.
i038	Electricity:_____	1=Yes, 0=No	For interviewer to ask or observe.
i039 i040	Piped water in the house:_ If no, for interviewer: Estimate distance to where household fetch water: _____ km	1=Yes, 0=No	
i041	Fuel used for cooking:_____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Firewood 2=Charcoal 3=Electricity 4=Paraffin/Kerosene 5=Gas 6=Other	If more than one material is applicable, write all numbers.
i042	Material used for lighting: _____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Paraffin/Kerosene 2=Electricity 3=Solar lamp 4=Batteries 5=Firewood 6=Candles 7=Other	If more than one material is applicable, write all numbers.
	Which of the following items does your household possess?		
i043 i044 i045 i046 i047 i048 i049 i050	Mobile phone:_____ Bicycle:_____ Motor bike:_____ TV-set:_____ Sewing machine:_____ Kerosene stove:_____ Gas cooker:_____ Sofa set:_____	1=Yes, 0=No	

3. EDUCATION			
i051	Educational level of head of household:_____	Highest attained educational level: 1=No education 2=Pre-primary 3=Primary 4=Post-primary training 5=Secondary O-level 6=Secondary A-level 7=Post-second training O-level 8=Post-second training A-level 9=University 10=Adult education 11=Other	
i052	Educational level of spouse:_____	Highest attained educational level: 1=No education 2=Pre-primary 3=Primary 4=Post-primary training 5=Secondary O-level 6=Secondary A-level 7=Post-second training O-level 8=Post-second training A-level 9=University 10=Adult education 11=Other NA=Not applicable	
i053	How many children of primary school age do you have in your household? _____		Enter number of children. If zero, skip to i059.
i054	How many boys of primary school age attend primary school?_____		
i055	How many girls of primary school age attend primary school?_____		
i056	If you have primary aged children who do not attend primary school, what is the main reason?_____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Financial constraints 2=Health of child(ren) 3=Child(ren) need(s) to work on farm 4=Child(ren) need(s) to do domestic work 5=Pregnancy 6=Other NA=Not applicable	

i057	Does your children attend the public primary school in the village?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	If only one or a few primary school children do not attend the public school in the village indicate "No". If yes, skip to i059.
i058	If no, where do they attend?_____	1=Public school in another village 2=Public school in urban area 3=Private school in the same village 4=Private school in another village 5=Private school in urban area 6=Other	
	If other please specify: _____		
i059	Do you know any children in the village who attend private primary school? _____	1=Yes, 0=No	If no, skip to i061.
i060	If yes, how many children do you know of within this village who attend private primary school? _____		
i061	Do your children in primary school stay away from school to help out with farm work?_____	1=Yes, 0=No, NA=Not applicable	I.e. preparing land or harvesting. Do not consider holidays when children do not attend school. If no, skip to i069.
i062	How many boys of primary school age stay away from school to help out with farm work?_____		Primary aged boys.
i063	How many girls of primary school age stay away from school to help out with farm work?_____		Primary aged girls.
	If yes, what tasks do they carry out?		
i064	Preparing land:_____	1=Yes, 0=No	Indicate all applicable.
i065	Harvesting:_____		
i066	Other:_____		
	If other, please specify: _____		
i067	If yes, which month(s): _____	1=January, 2=February, 3=March, 4=April, 5=May, 6=June, 7=July, 8=August, 9=September, 10=October, 11=November, 12=December	Indicate all applicable months.

i068	If yes, approximately how many days (excluding holiday) does each child stay at home from primary school to help with farm work? _ _ _ _ _		Enter number of days.
i069	Do your children in primary school stay away from school to help out in the home? _ _ _ _ _	1=Yes, 0=No, NA=Not applicable	For instance to look after siblings, take care of relatives who are ill, fetch firewood, cook, etc. If no, skip to i072.
i070	How many boys of primary school age stay away from school to help out in the home? _ _ _ _ _		Primary aged boys.
i071	How many girls of primary school age stay away from school to help out in the home? _ _ _ _ _		Primary aged girls.
i072	How many children of secondary school age do you have in your household? _ _ _ _ _		Enter number of children. If zero, skip to i087.
i073	How many boys of secondary school age attend secondary school? _ _ _ _ _		
i074	How many girls of secondary school age attend secondary school? _ _ _ _ _		
i075	If you have secondary aged children who do not attend secondary school, what is the main reason? _ _ _ _ _ If other, please specify: _ _ _ _ _	1=Financial constraints 2=Health of child(ren) 3=Attending primary school 4=Distance to school 5=Child(ren) need(s) to work on farm 6=Child(ren) need(s) to do domestic work 7=Employed 8=Not selected to join secondary school 9=Other NA=Not applicable	
i076	Do your children in secondary school stay away from school to help out with farm work? _ _ _ _ _	1=Yes, 0=No, NA=Not applicable	I.e. preparing land or harvesting. Do not consider holidays when children do not attend school.
i077	How many boys stay away from school to help out with farm work? _ _ _ _ _		Secondary aged boys.
i078	How many girls stay away from school to help out with farm work? _ _ _ _ _		Secondary aged girls.

	If yes in number i077, what tasks do they carry out?		
i079 i080 i081	Preparing land:_____ Harvesting:_____ Other:_____ If other, please specify: _____	1=Yes, 0=No	If no, skip to i084.
i082	If yes, which month(s):___	1=January, 2=February, 3=March, 4=April, 5=May, 6=June, 7=July, 8=August, 9=September, 10=October, 11=November, 12=December	Indicate all applicable months.
i083	If yes, approximately how many days (excluding holiday) does each child stay at home from secondary school?_____		Enter number of days.
i084	Do your children in secondary school stay away from school to help out in the home?___	1=Yes, 0=No, NA=Not applicable	For instance to look after siblings, take care of relatives who are ill, fetch firewood, cook, etc.
i085	How many boys stay away from school to help out in the home? _____		Secondary aged boys.
i086	How many girls stay away from school to help out in the home? _____		Secondary aged girls.
i087	Have any of your children started st. I-VII later than expected?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	I.e. a child has been older than recommended age for the class he/she started. If no, skip to i089.
i088	If yes, what was the main reason?___ If other, please specify: _____	1=Financial constraints 2=Migration, 3=Educational difficulties 4=Other	
i089	Have any of your children at any time dropped out of primary school?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	Do not consider shorter temporary health conditions. If no, skip to i091.
i090	If yes, what was the main reason?___ If other, please specify: _____	1=Financial constraints 2=Migration 3=Educational difficulties 4=Health of child(ren) 5=Child(ren) need(s) to work on the farm 6=Child(ren) need(s) to do domestic work 7=Other	

i091	Have any of your children at any time dropped out of secondary school? _ _ _ _	1=Yes, 0=No, NA=Not applicable	Do not consider shorter temporary health conditions. If no, skip to i093.
i092	If yes, what was the main reason? _ _ _ _ If other, please specify: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	1=Financial constraints 2=Migration 3=Educational difficulties 4=Health 5=Need to work on the farm 6=Need to do domestic work 7=Employment 8=Other	
i093	How much money does your household spend yearly on primary school? _ _ _ _ Tsh	NA=Not applicable	Contributions for desk/lunch/restoration/guard/electricity/water etc, uniform, school material Total amount for all primary school children.
i094	How much money does your household spend yearly on secondary school? _ _ _ _ Tsh	NA=Not applicable	Fee, contributions, uniform, school material Total amount for all secondary school children.
i095	Does anyone outside your household contribute financially to your children's education? _ _ _ _	1=Yes, 0=No	If no, skip to i99.
i096	How much do they contribute? _ _ _ _ Tsh		
i097	How much money do you receive for your sons' education? _ _ _ _ Tsh		
i098	How much money do you receive for your daughters' education? _ _ _ _ Tsh		
i099	How do(es) the child(ren) travel to secondary school? _ _ _ _ If other, please specify: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	1=Walk 2=Bicycle 3=Motorcycle 4=Car 5=Public transport 6=It is a boarding school 7=Other	Indicate the most common way of transport.

	What are the main problems in primary education?	1=Yes, 0=No	Indicate all applicable.
i100	Distance to school:_____		
i101	Work needed on the farm:___		
i102	Domestic work needed by children:___		
i103	Contributions:_____		
i104	Lack of teachers:_____		
i105	Syllabus:_____		
i106	Medium of instruction:_____		
i107	Lack of school material:___		
i108	Other:_____		
	If other, please specify: _____		
	What are the main problems in secondary education?	1=Yes, 0=No	Indicate all applicable.
i109	Distance to school:_____		
i110	Security:_____		
i111	Work needed at farm:_____		
i112	Domestic work needed by children:___		
i113	School fee:_____		
i114	Lack of teachers:_____		
i115	Lack of sanitation:_____		
i116	Syllabus:_____		
i117	Medium of instruction:_____		
i118	Lack of school material:_____		
i119	Other:_____		
	If other, please specify: _____		
	Rank the three biggest problems in primary school?	1=Biggest problem 2=Second biggest problem 3=Third biggest problem	Please, let the respondent answer freely and do not mention the alternatives.
i120	Distance to school:_____		
i121	Security:_____		
i122	Work needed on the farm:_____		
i123	Domestic work needed by children:___		
i124	School fee:_____		
i125	Lack of teachers:_____		
i126	Lack of sanitation:_____		
i127	Syllabus:_____		
i128	Medium of instruction:_____		
i129	Lack of school material:_____		
i130	Other:_____		
	If other please specify: _____		

	Rank the three biggest problems in secondary school?	1=Biggest problem 2=Second biggest problem 3=Third biggest problem	Please, let the respondent answer freely and do not mention the alternatives.
i131	Distance to school:_____		
i132	Work needed on the farm:_____		
i133	Domestic work needed by children:___		
i134	Contributions:_____		
i135	Lack of teachers:_____		
i136	Syllabus:_____		
i137	Medium of instruction:_____		
i138	Lack of school material:_____		
i139	Other:_____		
	If other please specify: _____		
i140	Who in your household has so far been given most education? _____	1=Head of household 2=Spouse of head of household 3=Female child 4=Male child 5=Relative 6=Other	If not number 3 or 4, skip to i142.
	If other, please specify: _____		
i141	If number 3 or 4, please indicate which (1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd etc.) born this is?_____		
i142	Given your economic condition, who in your household is most likely to gain most education in the future?_____	1=Head of household 2=Spouse of head of household 3=Female child 4=Male child 5=Relative 6=Other	If not number 3 or 4, skip to i144.
	If other, please specify: _____		
i143	If number 3 or 4, please indicate which (1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd etc.) born this is?_____		
	Who is mainly involved in decision-making regarding education of children?		
i144	Head of household:_____	1=Yes, 0=No	Number i144-i154 indicate relation to respondent.
i145	Spouse:_____		
i146	Father in law:_____		
i147	Mother in law:_____		
i148	Brother:_____		
i149	Sister:_____		
i150	Uncle:_____		
i151	Aunt:_____		
i152	Grandfather:_____		
i153	Grandmother:_____		
i154	Other:_____		
	If other, please specify: _____		

i155	Who makes the final decision on individual children's education? --- If other, please specify: -----	1=Head of household 2=Spouse 3=Father in law 4=Mother in law 5=Brother 6=Sister 7=Uncle 8=Aunt 9=Grandfather 10=Grandmother 11=Other	Number 1-11 indicate relation to respondent.
i156	For interviewer: Estimate distance from the household to the closest primary school: ____km		
i157	For interviewer: Estimate distance from the household to the closest secondary school: ____km		
4. FINANCIAL SITUATION			
i158	Main source of income:_____ If 2 or 3, please specify: ----- If other, please specify: -----	1=Agriculture 2=Formally employed 3=Informal employment 4=Other	
i159	Please estimate the total cash income per month of your household:_____		Ask for average.
i160	Does any household member have a bank account?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	
i161	Has your household received any assistance in cash or in kind from relatives during the last 12 months (excluding contributions for education)?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	
i162	Does your household receive assistance in cash or in kind from the government, local authority, NGOs or other organizations?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	
i163	For interviewer only, does the information on income seem reliable?_____	1=Yes, 0=No, -88=Don't know	Not to be asked. Was the respondent reluctant to discuss income and/or the figures seem incorrect.

	Please rank your expenses:	Rank 1-5 how the household use their money, 1=household spend most money and 5=household spend least money.	
i164	Transport:_____		
i165	Food:_____		
i166	Education:_____		
i167	Agricultural inputs:_____		
i168	Health related expenditures:____ Other:_____		
	If other, please specify: _____		
i169	During the past 12 months have you had to borrow money?____ If number 3, please specify: _____	1=Yes to cover expenditures 2=Yes to make new investments 3=Yes for other reason 0=No	
i170	Are you usually able to save some money yearly for future needs?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	
i171	How many times during last 7 days did your household eat meat or fish?_____	Enter number of times.	
i172	During the lean season, does your household reduce food quality?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	E.g. less meat, less vegetables.
	During the lean season, how many meals per day does your household generally eat?	1=Yes, 0=No	
i173	Breakfast:_____		
i174	Lunch:_____		
i175	Dinner:_____		
	During the rest of the year (lean season excluded) how many meals per day does your household generally eat?	1=Yes, 0=No	
i176	Breakfast:_____		
i177	Lunch:_____		
i178	Dinner:_____		
i179	During the lean season, does it happen that your children stay at home from school because they are too hungry?_____	1=Yes, 0=No	
i180	Do the children eat before they leave for school in the morning?_____	1=Yes, every day 2=Yes, 2-4 times a week 3=Less than two times a week 0=Never	

i181	Do the children eat lunch at home?_ _ _ _ _	1=Yes, every day 2=Yes, 2-4 times a week 3=Less than two times a week 0=Never	
i182	Do your children receive school meals?_ _ _ _ _	1=Yes, 0=No	
i183	In the past week, have your primary school aged children received school meals? _ _ _ _ _	1=Yes, every day 2=Yes, 2-4 times during the last week 3=Less than two times during the last week 0=Never	
i184	In the past month, have your children received school meals every day? _ _ _ _ _	1=Yes, 0=No	
	Rank the months according to work intensity for your household:	Rank from 1-12, 1=Most intensive month regarding work, 12=Least intensive month regarding work Each month should have a number.	
i185	January:_ _ _ _ _		
i186	February:_ _ _ _ _		
i187	March:_ _ _ _ _		
i188	April:_ _ _ _ _		
i189	May:_ _ _ _ _		
i190	June:_ _ _ _ _		
i191	July:_ _ _ _ _		
i192	August:_ _ _ _ _		
i193	September:_ _ _ _ _		
i194	October:_ _ _ _ _		
i195	November:_ _ _ _ _		
i196	December:_ _ _ _ _		
i197	Name of head of household: _ _ _ _ _		

INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATION

To be filled out after completing interview

Comments about respondent:

Comments related to certain questions:

Other comments:

Researcher's observations:

“Everybody knows every child should be educated”



In 2001, the first Primary Education Development Plan declared that the previous obligatory primary education fee was to be abolished in Tanzania. This was an attempt to increase the access to public primary education for all children. This thesis aims to understand how the reform and its focus on the abolition of school fee impacts on inclusion and children's possibilities to participate in education and parents' and caregivers' support for primary education in Tanzania. In rural and urban contexts parents and caregivers as well as teachers have shared their opinions on the obligatory primary education and this thesis explores the values of education, perceptions of quality as well as the links between education and livelihoods in Iringa Region, Tanzania.

