Fighting Corruption In Education: A Case Study Of Interventions In Low- Income Countries

Shibani Arushi Rao[1] , Thomas Georgas[2] ,
[1]Institute of Education, UCL, UK
Email: shibaniarushirao@gmail.com,
[2]Institute of Education, UCL, UK
tgeorgas@ioe.ac.uk ,

Abstract
Improving accountability in Tanzania is an important way in which the government and bilateral donors are looking to fight corruption in the education sector. This paper will present a snapshot of the issue of corruption in education in Tanzania, and an evaluation of the Chukua Hatua grassroots accountability programme through a Theory of Change (TOC) perspective.

Chukua Hatua (CH) literally means 'Take Action' in Kiswahili. CH pioneered a series of pilot programs in Phase 1 of their intervention. This paper will look at the learnings about one of the educational pilot programs, where a Student Council was elected democratically, by their peers. These students were then trained to question their teachers and administrators in school about issues related to school quality, to bring about change and improvement. While they had some small success in improving teacher absenteeism and procuring more desks for their classroom, the pilot did not succeed because the students were considered too young for their opinions to be taken seriously. Also, teachers felt threatened by the students and saw it as disrespectful.

As the Chukua Hatua project follows an accelerated evolution model of venture capitalist theory of change, their projects have a variation – selection - amplification cycle. This means that CH set off a variety of pilots, select the ones that work and amplify them in the next cycle. As the Student Council pilot did not work, it was removed from the Oxfam project. However,we would like to propose an alternate project, using the learnings from the Phase 1 review of CH.

While this is not a proposal document, it is a recommendation with a logic model of change presented. The new project proposed will have women of the community collaborating with the students to support them in their questioning of educators. This will have a two-fold benefit: it will provide an adult voice to the students, allowing their views to be taken seriously by their teachers. It will also help empower women, who might feel that they are contributing to the improvement of school quality not only for their children, but the entire community. This takes into account the learnings from Phase 1 of CH, where spaces were needed for people to meet and mingle, and collaboration between various class groups acted as drivers of change to bring about sustainable success.

Keywords: Accountability, Tanzania,Chukua Hatua

Introduction

This paper will aim to critically analyse an intervention in Tanzania called Chukua Hatua. This literally means "Take Action" in Kiswahili. CH is a program that was started under the banner of AcT or Accountability Tanzania, with funding from DFID and in collaboration with the Government of Tanzania. This is a program that aims to create a citizen voice to bring about accountability of government officials. The main focus of the programme is eliminating corruption though grassroots levels citizen leadership. Act and Chukua Hatua use several ground breaking methods and ideas in creating innovative programs that seem to be successful.

Tanzania - Context

This section gives a short historical and educational context of Tanzania, from how it came to be formed as an independent country to its educational history.

Background

Schools 2000 - 2013

| Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
NER Male	58.6	65.8	82.1	90.4	91.4	95.6	96.8	97.6	97.5	95.8	95.2	93.7	91.4	89.1
NER Female	59.1	65.2	79.3	88.7	89.7	93.9	95.4	97.0	97.0	96.0	95.6	94.2	92.5	90.4
NER Total	58.6	65.5	80.7	88.5	90.5	94.8	96.1	97.2	97.2	95.9	95.4	94.0	92.0	89.7

Source: BEST, 2000-2013

The modern country of Tanzania was established in 1964, as a result of the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Julius Nyrere, its first president, had a strong socialist vision, and he believed in an agrarian society with practical education and widespread government ownership of industries and services. On his retirement in 1985, Tanzania was one of the poorest, least developed countries in the world, heavily dependent on foreign aid. Though education services had seen progress under Nyrere, the World Bank imposed a free-market structural readjustment programme, resulting in user-fees for public education.

In 1985, after the end of Nyrere's presidency and Tanzanian Socialism, Tanzania ranked 34th out of 144 countries on the UN Human Development Index (measured on life expectancy, adult literacy, Gross Enrollment Ratio and GDP per capita), yet by 2009, despite an influx of billions of dollars in aid, Tanzania had fallen to 151of 182 countries on the UN HDI (Matthews, Lecture 1, 2011). 43.5% of the population lived on less than 1.25 USD/day in 2012 and 73% lived on less than $2/day(World Bank, 2015)

Chart 1 : Net Enrollment Rate in Primary in Tanzania
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAININGEDUCATION FOR ALL (EFA) REPORT FOR TANZANIA MAINLAND , 2014, p27
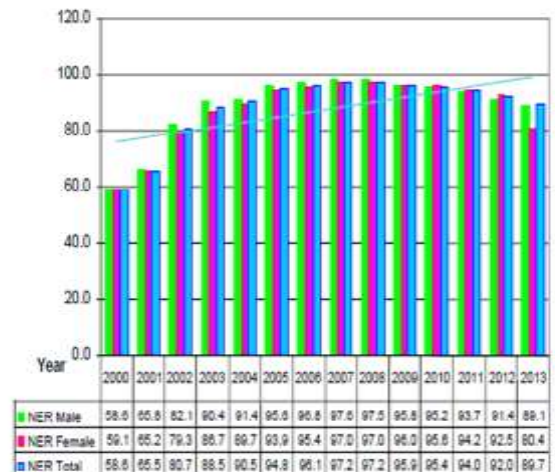
Education in Tanzania

Tanzania returned to a free basic education school system in 2001, and made significant gains towards achieving Universal Primary Education, in line with the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 and Education For All (EFA) goals. However, this increase in educational enrollment, from a Net Enrollment Rate (NER) of 59% in 2000, peaking at 97.2% by 2007, had slipped to 89.7% in 2013, as depicted by the chart above. The chart shows that though there has been steady increase for many years, recently the enrollment rates have begun to fall. This shows that the initial 'enthusiasm' of the EFA and MDG goals is waning and there is need for analysis and action.
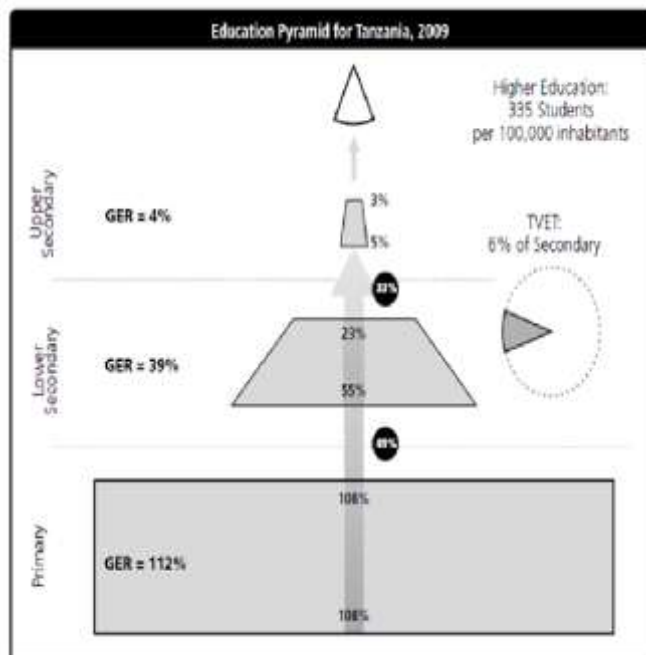
Tanzania now has a mainly Western model of education in place, following the British system of O- and A- levels. It also has an impressive array of post-secondary education choices that seek to provide options to achieve Education For All.

The component parts of Tanzania's education sector include:

(i) Pre-Primary Education;

(ii) Primary Education;

(iii) Secondary Education;

(iv)Teacher Education;

(v) Adult Education and Non-Formal Education

(vi)Folk Education;

(vii) Technical and Vocational Education and Training

(viii) Higher Education

(Education Sector Analysis Report, UNESCO, 2011, p34).

Education Pyramid for Tanzania, 2009

Higher Education: 335 Students per 100,000 inhabitants

Upper Secondary GER = 4%

3%
5%

TVET: 6% of Secondary

Lower Secondary GER = 39%

23%
55%

Primary GER = 112%

108%

108%

Source: Tables 2.8 and 2.11 and Figure 2.7.
Note: TVET refers to technical non-higher education and VET courses (both VETA and NACTE-registered)

As the table above shows, the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) is over-compensated for in the Primary level, showing that students are in a class that is above or below their age-appropriate one. This GER steadily declines as one moves higher up the grade ladder, falling to 4% at Upper Secondary, out of which 6% attend technical and vocational courses. Retention and completion are therefore a clear problem (UNESCO, 2011).

The report further states that educational management, both administratively and pedagogically, needs to be improved. More explicitly, education quality and improved learning outcomes are areas that need serious attention (UNESCO, 2011).

Policies
Tanzania has a number of educational policies across the entire sector, several of which are aided by international donors and assisted by INGOs. The main overarching policy is the Tanzania Development Vision 2025. Tanzania established various education sub-sector plans aimed at putting into action the Dakar commitment on Education for All (EFA). The Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) 2001 – 2006, Adult and Non Formal Education Strategy 2002/03 – 2007/08, Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) 2004 –2009 and Higher Education Development Plan (HEDP) were among the key

plans. The key policies which guide the provision of education exist within the framework of the Tanzania Development Vision (2025). Sector-wide policies include the Education and Training Policy (1995) which is the overall policy on education, Technical Education and Training Policy (1996); Primary Education Development Plan(PEDP) Phase one (2002 -2006) phase two (2007-2011); Phase III (2012-2016), Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) (2004-2009); and Educational Sector Development Programme (ESDP) (1997) (UNESCO, 2014, p12).

While there are several policies with a wide scope and potential for growth and improvement, it is the quality of implementation on the ground that needs attention. Several bilateral agencies such as DFID and INGOs such as Oxfam are helping the Tanzanian government build capacity in implementation and monitoring and evaluation. A major issue that affects all of these areas is that of corruption.

The Problem of Corruption

"Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately – by diverting funds intended for development, undermining a government's ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice, and discouraging foreign investment and aid"

*(*Kofi Annan, Foreword, United Nations Convention against Corruption, NY, November 2003)

One of the major problems that Tanzania faces in its development is the issue of corruption. This section will give an overview of corruption in Tanzania in general, and in the education sector in particular. Corruption is an insidious issue that does not lend itself easily to clear and full disclosure, so perceptions are easier to come by than actual figures. "Like an elephant, while it may be difficult to describe, corruption is generally not difficult to recognize when observed" (Tanzi, 1998, p564)

Corruption in Tanzania
Transparency International's corruption perceptions survey gave Tanzania a ranking of 3.1 or 31/100 on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), where 100 would indicate no corruption. It ranked 119 out of 175 countries, showing that corruption is perceived as a serious issue. (Transparency International, 2015)

When President Benjamin William Mkapa was elected in 1995, he was committed to battling corruption. Under his auspices, the Warioba Commission of Inquiry Against Corruption in 1996 was set up, followed by the National

Framework on Good Governance and the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) (Afrobarometer, 2006).However, this has made little or no headway, mainly because it is seen as a one-man show, with no collaboration or accountability, let alone citizen 'voice' or awareness (Kpundeh, 1998).

Corruption in Education in Tanzania

There are a number of ways in which corruption in education disturbs the smooth functioning of the teaching and learning process, as well as the implementation of projects. The IIEP lists some of these possible behaviours: embezzlement of education finance, demands for unauthorised fees, absenteeism, exam information leakage, etc. (Hallak & Poisson, 2005).
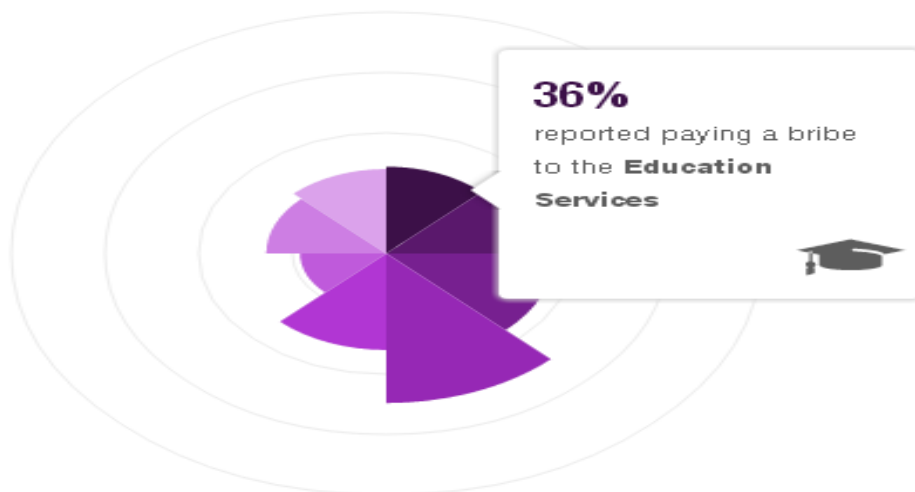
Tanzanian education is seen as a corrupt sector by its citizens, as shown in the figure taken below, taken from the Transparency International perceptions of corruption survey, where 74% of respondents felt that education systems were corrupt or extremely corrupt.

http://www.transparency.org/country/#TZA

Table 1. Typology of opportunities of corruption in education

Areas	Corrupt practices	Impact on education
School building, rehabilitation	• Fraud in public tendering • Embezzlement • School mapping	Access Quality *Example*: bad location of schools; too high or too low use; demand for places unattended
Equipment, Textbooks, Food	• Fraud in public tendering • Embezzlement • Bypass of criteria	Equity Quality *Example:* school meals free to the rich and not available for the poor; lack of consistency between textbooks and curricula
Teacher appointment/manage-ment	• Favouritism • Nepotism • Bribes	Quality *Example:* less qualified teachers appointed
Teacher behaviour	• "Ghost teachers" • Bribes (for school entrance, exams, assessment, private tutoring, etc.)	Equity Ethics *Example:* disparity in staffing by schools; discrimination against the poor
Examinations and diplomas	• Selling of information • Favouritism • Nepotism • Bribes • Academic fraud	Equity Ethics *Example:* unjustified credentials available to students who can afford to pay bribes
Information systems	• Manipulating data • Selecting/suppressing information	Equity Ethics Policy priorities *Example:* omitting data on repetition/dropout; less priority on quality improvement

The following table shows some of the ways in which corruption in education can manifest.

Specific allowances (fellowships, subsidies, etc.)	• Favouritism • Nepotism • Bribes • Bypass of criteria	Access Equity *Example:* inflating enrolment figures to increase financial transfers
Finance	• Transgressing rules/procedures • Inflation of costs and activities • Opacity of flow • Leakage of funds	Access Quality Equity Policy priorities *Example:* less resources for quality improvement: textbooks, materials, etc.

Source: Adapted from Hallak & Poisson, 2002.

Journal of Education for International Development pp 5-6

The figures and charts above show the different ways in which corruption in education settings occurs, and how it is perceived as a problem by the people of Tanzania. Education directly impacts lives and livelihoods, and the lack of education caused by corruption is negatively affecting development at a grassroots level (Matthews, Personal Communication, 2011). One of the reasons that Tanzania's education system is producing poorly educated and unqualified students is because teachers can be bribed to make a student pass an exam. This has a long-term deleterious effect on the economy, as an unqualified work force can only make their way into the employment industry by further bribing employers(McDonnell, 2011).This effectively destroys any meritocracy that could improve quality and enhance progress.

Challenges towards a solution

Tanzania has political, social, economic and geographic challenges to the issue of better governance and less corruption. Pastoral communities are sparsely distributed, there is a political monopoly of the CCM party and there is fear of reprisals.

Corruption also continues to thrive because most Tanzanians are uneducated about their rights.

"Interestingly, the word "rights" as constructed by Western idealism does not exist in any Bantu language, of which Kiswahili is one. The term "rights" is a relatively new concept for Tanzanians, defined in 1949 by the UN Declaration on Human Rights. Many of the rights that Westerners hold as inalienable as defined by our governments are not known by most Tanzanians and therefore easily taken away through corruption." (McDonnell, 2011, p21)

To exacerbate matters, there is a dearth of information transfer to the general public on policies, laws, people's rights, and news of what is happening in the country. In rural areas, most information comes from the radio, which is becoming more affordable, but reception is sometimes poor and women in particular do not have time to listen. Print media does not work well as it is sporadic and in any case, many people cannot read. In addition, media suppression is a serious issue (McDonnell, 2011).

Accountability and citizen voice

.

According to Johnston(1998a), democratic rights or processes themselves do not significantly contribute to anti-corruption efforts. These only succeed when citizens organize themselves effectively, and their voice complements institutional reforms, giving them the proper social foundation, which is crucial to their success (Kpundeh, 2000).

On the same note, Daniel Kaufman from the World Bank does not believe that increased income and salaries, or internal enforcement of rules, does not necessarily combat corruption. He believes that external factors such as citizen voice, public participation, scrutiny and transparency should be given much more attention (Kaufmann, 1998).

The figure below by Transparency International shows that about 60% of Tanzanians believe that citizens can make a difference in combating corruption.
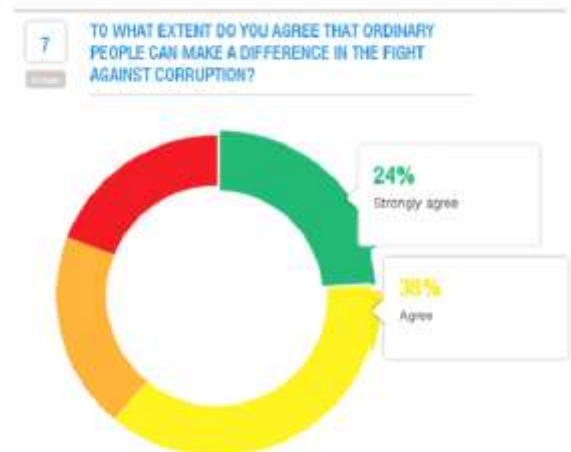
AcT and Chukua Hatua

This solution of accountability and citizen voice as a possible sustainable answer to corruption brings us to an initiative that has gained worldwide recognition in its cutting-edge fight against corruption and towards accountability through citizen voice.

AcT is Accountabilty Tanzania, a £31m programme funded by the UK Government, in collaboration with the Government of Tanzania. It claims it is an "*innovative and exciting programme whose purpose is to increase the responsiveness and accountability of Government in Tanzania, through a strengthened civil society. The AcT Programme aims to strengthen and support the principles of democracy by ensuring that Tanzanians are increasingly able to claim and exercise their rights as citizens. It does this by providing funding to CSO's that have the capacity and potential to innovate, scale-up and implement activities which increase the accountability of government around key national development priorities*" (Annual Review AcT, 2013, p1). The programme started in 2009 and ran until March 2015 in three Phases.

Theory of Change

What is a Theory of Change? TOC can be seen as a planning tool that takes the process to a new evolutionary level from a log-frame. While a log-frame looks at what needs to happen and how, a TOC looks at what needs to happen *before* change happens, what are the causal and related factors and outcomes that bring about changes in behaviour that we want to see.

"A Theory of Change [ToC] is simply an explanation of how and why a set of activities will bring about the changes the

peace building programme seeks to achieve. A ToC describes the links between inputs, the implementation strategy and the intended outputs and outcomes. It describes the assumed or hoped causal relationship between an intervention and its (intended result or impact" UNICEF (2012, June). Conflict-sensitivity and peace building. Technical Note, p. 17

The brief Theory of Change (TOC) of AcT was: *'Supporting civil society partners to implement context-specific strategic interventions will enable them to influence positive change in the attitudes and behaviour of citizens, civil society and government, making government as a whole more responsive and accountable.' (AcT TOC,*

The Theory of Change can sometimes be expressed as a diagram or a flowchart, called a logic model, like the one below.
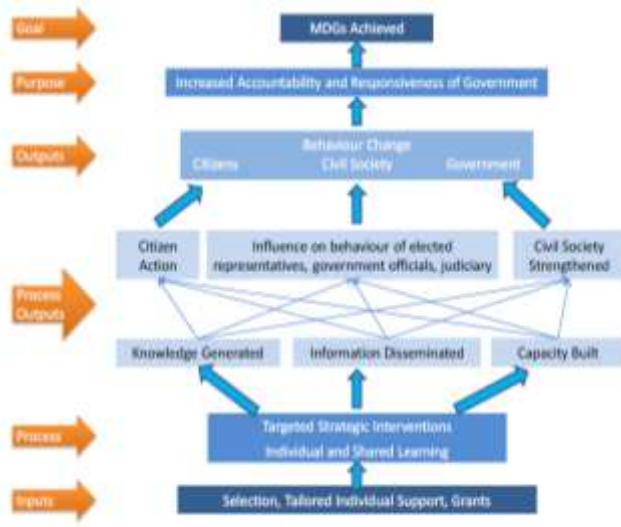
AcT Logic model

Fig 3: Logic Model based on the AcT Programme's revised Theory of Change

ACT'S THEORY OF CHANGE
www.accountability@or.tz

A very popular component of the AcT initiative was the Chukua Hatua, literally meaning "Take Action" in Kiswahili, programme. It was a ground breaking programme, spearheaded by Oxfam, as a five-year governance and accountability initiative in Tanzania (2010–15). *"The goal of CH is to achieve increased accountability and responsiveness of government to its citizens. The programme aims to achieve this by creating active citizenship; that is, citizens who know their rights and responsibilities, and are able and willing to demand them."* (Green, 2015, p1)

Chukua Hatua

The Chukua Hatua (CH) Project started a number of pilot projects in Phase 1, to see which ones would be successful under their accelerated, non-linear evolution approach of variation-selection-amplification (Green, 2015). They would then amplify the ones that worked, and discard the ones that didn't.

The main TOC document was an internal memo, and there have been several papers written about the CH TOC at various times. All the following information on CH in this paper has been collated by us from a number of sources, in order to compile our own visual TOC logic model that is evaluative of phase 1.

The sources are:

- THE CHUKUA HATUA ACCOUNTABILITY PROGRAMME, TANZANIA By Duncan Green
- The newsletter of Intrac, www.intrac.org, Ontrac No. 51 May 2012
- Building Accountability in Tanzania: Applying an Evolutionary/Venture Capitalist Theory of Change, by Duncan Green , 2012
- CH Effectiveness review, Oxfam, 2013
- *What is a theory of change and how do we use it?* Duncan Green 2013
- Citizens Wake Up, The Chukua Hatua (Take Action) programme in Tanzania by Jane Lonsdale, 2012

Analysis of Chukua Hatua

Evaluative Theory Of Change
The Theory of Change of the Chukua Hatua program used a number of Meta-Theories of Change, during the planning phase. While there were reviews and revisions to the TOC in subsequent phases, there was no one evaluative TOC created to view the learnings and M&E outcomes of Phase 1 in one diagram. Therefore, drawing from the original TOC and adding the information garnered over the review phase, I have compiled a Logic Model that lists all the information in one figure.

Evaluatory Theory of Change Model for Chukua Hatua Phase 1 – Created by Shibani Rao, compiled from the sources listed
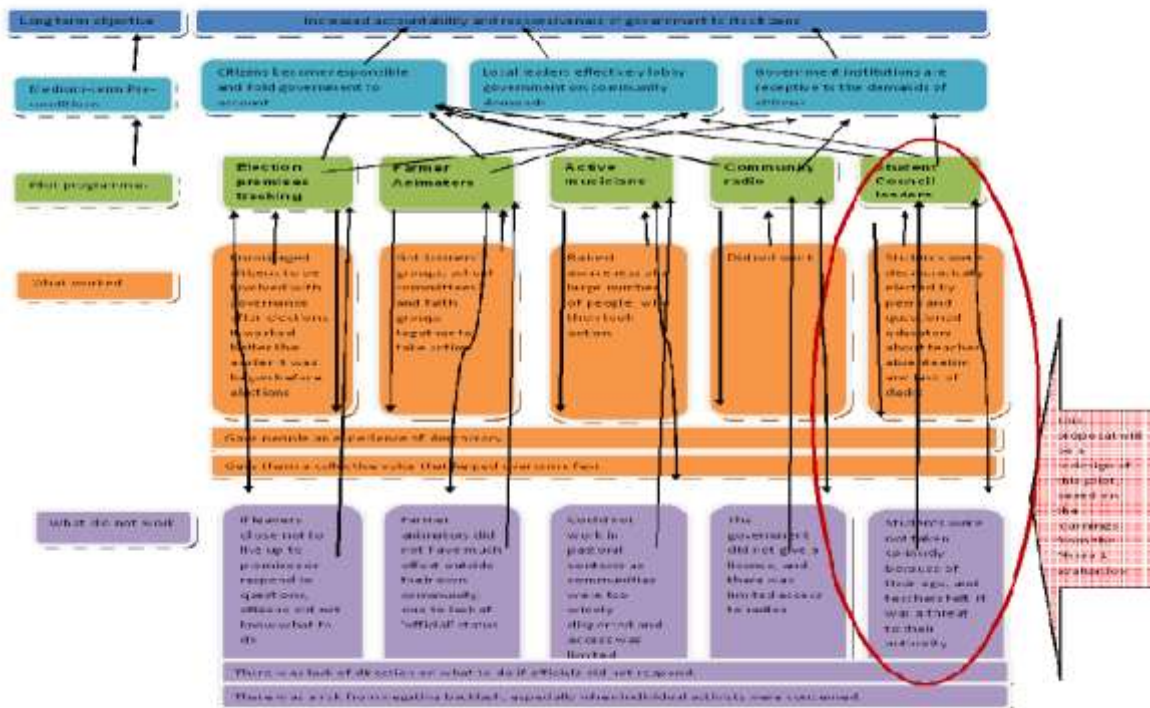
| Underlying assumptions of Phase 1 | Increased pressure from citizens for better delivery of public services will lead to local institutions being increasingly compelled to respond |
| | If we build citizens' awareness and capacity, assist them in overcoming their fears and if the action is in the interest of and not in detriment to their livelihood, then they will take |

Change Meta Theories	Four powers model – Citizens gain power within, with, to and over
	Venture accountability – Variation – Selection - Amplification
	Drivers of Change – importance of cross class alliances and collaboration across groups
	Grassroots leadership- democracy working from the bottom-up through active citizenship
	Accelerated, non-linear evolution – tipping points and breakthroughs through mimicking and
	Political economy of change – factors that bring about long-term shifts in accountability of leaders

Assumptions

The original TOC of CH made the following assumptions regarding change and accountability:

1. Increased pressure from citizens for better delivery of public services will lead to local institutions being increasingly compelled to respond
2. If we build citizens' awareness and capacity, assist them in overcoming their fears and if the action is in the interest of and not in detriment to their livelihood, then they will take action.

Power Meta- theories

They based the pilots on the following Power Meta- theories that analysed and predicted power relationships between stakeholders. I have brought some of them together to form combined theories, as different documents on CH by Oxfam list different theories. These seem to be the main ones.

1. Four Powers Theory: That citizens move from power within, where they realise that they have rights, to power with, where they get together and voice their questions, to power to, where they mobilise and take action, to power over officials and companies.
2. Venture Accountability: Where a model of Variation- Selection- Amplification of various pilots would create viable programs that brought about accountability by the 'thickening of civil society' (from the titular work by Jonathan Fox, 1996).
3. Drivers of Change: DFID found that the best ways forward in a project came from unexpected collaborations between groups, such as Faith Based Organisations (FBO) and teachers, for example. CH tried to do the same, by bringing about a forum for various groups and classes of people to meet and talk.
4. Grassroots leadership: Shows people that democracy works, and that if they come together in an organised fashion and demand answers and change, they are more likely to be heard and avoid negative repercussions.
5. Accelerated, non-linear evolution: This understands that change happens differently in different places and times. Sometimes it is not possible to see a clear line of cause and effect, as several forces intermingle to cause slightly chaotic change.
6. Political economy of change: This looks at why and how change happens with government officials. Why do some things work and other don't? This theory allows the causal factors to be identified and analysed and hopefully duplicated.

Budget

As of December 2013, the total budget for Chukua Hatua stood at £2.05m. It has been difficult to find breakdowns of expenditure, as these have not been made public. However, the effectiveness review document (Oxfam, 2013) shows that the overall project has been termed very effective and that the goals have been realised in full, making the budget a probable success as well.

Pilots

The pilots for the CH program included several ways of reaching people at the grassroots, through innovative and people-friendly ways such as music and radio. The pilots of Phase 1 were:

Election Promises Tracking

Citizens were trained as 'trackers' to attend politician's rallies, record their election promises and convey them back to their communities. This was during the run-up to the October 2010 elections. While this worked the earlier from elections it began, the trackers did not know what to do when elected officials declined to take action or answer questions. There was no plan for this in the initial TOC.

Farmer Animators

Farmer animators were created as people who would go out into the community and raise awareness and create action through group work. Some of the animators were successful in getting money promised a while back by a private industry, for example, but they were only able to work in a limited way within their community, not outside it. This could have been because of their lack of official status.

Active musicians

Active musicians were trained to travel around the countryside and promote action through awareness. They used music and songs to bring people information about rights and spur them to collective action. However, in certain pastoralist areas, the communities were too widespread to allow them to work.

Community radio

This was meant to be a way to bring information on a wide scale to people, in far flung or remote areas, but it never took off because the government did not give a licence.

Student council

Students were democratically elected as leaders by peers, where before teachers had elected student council members. Surprisingly, a high number of girls were elected, around 70%.

This was the only pilot programme that focused on education and involved a student council leadership pilot where democratically elected student council questioned teachers and administrators (collectively known as educators hereafter) regarding school quality issues such as teacher absenteeism and school desks. However, while the council representatives tried to hold educators accountable, they were not taken seriously by the adults, due to their age. The educators also saw their questioning of their 'superiors' as threatening. Also, there was no accountability follow-up structure in place, when educators refused to acknowledge that changes were needed. Students did not know what to do next.

Reviewed Theory of Change for Phase 2
After the Chukua Hatua Oxfam review of Phase 1, the Phase 2 logic model was created.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into this document closely. However, it must be said that while this reviewed TOC model took into account a lot of learnings from Phase 1 M& E, it did not continue with the student council pilot. Due to the accelerated evolution model of venture capitalist TOC, the pilot was dropped from the variation – selection – amplification assembly line. It seems a sad loss to the educational sphere that a program with such potential was discontinued, when with a few tweaks it should work better in a new iteration.

The following recommendation seeks to review this decision and propose a change to the TOC by introducing a new version of the Student Council Pilot in Phase 2.

Student Council Pilot Review

Proposed Educational Intervention
The following is a recommendation to an improvement in the Student Council Pilot. It is not meant to be a proposal and will not go into the planning, logistical and budgetary details. However, it will look at a Model of Change of why

this new iteration of the intervention might work. This project will attempt to improve on the previous pilot by combining learnings from the Phase 1 evaluation, to provide students with an adult voice. By bringing the community's women into the equation, we also empower them, while creating a dialogue and process where educators can respond to issues or escalate them to higher-ups where needed. The issue of women's empowerment and its urgent requirement in Tanzania is again beyond the scope of this paper. However, DFID's Drivers of Change Theory does state that bringing different groups together to collaborate is what leads to sustainable success in interventions.
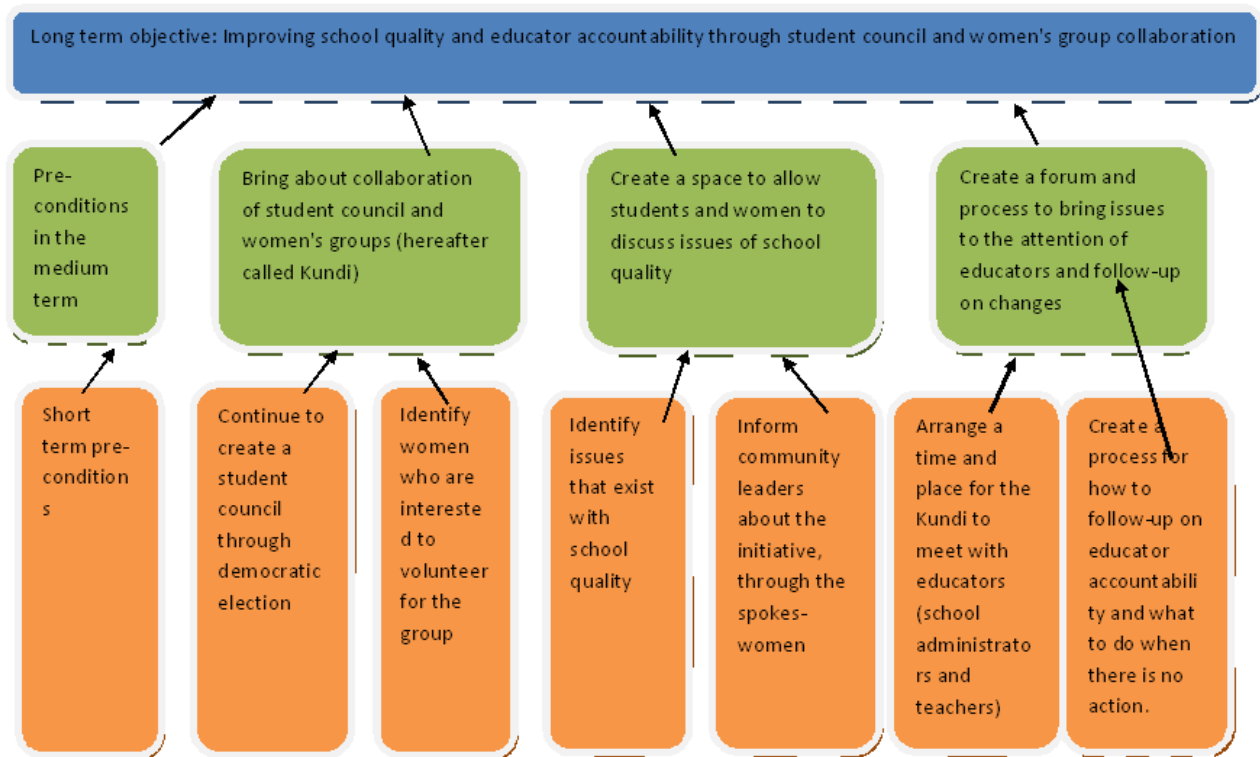
Priority needs
- Promote student agency and women's empowerment by creating collaboration between the two groups.
- Create a space/forum for students and women to question educators regarding school quality issues.
- Bring about improvement in school quality at the grassroots level, by promoting educator behavioural change
- Improving responsiveness from the side of the educators and provide a template for follow-up accountability.

The proposed approach (type of intervention)
Mainly a grassroots level organisation of people:

- Firstly, create a liaison between elected student councils and volunteer women's groups.
- Next, find them a space in which to meet and discuss issues.
- Then, create a forum where the students and women can questions educators about issues relating to school quality.
- Also, create a follow-up accountability framework, and a process on what to do when there is no action.

Model of Change/Logic Diagram

Long term objective: Improving school quality and educator accountability through student council and women's group collaboration

Pre-conditions in the medium term

Bring about collaboration of student council and women's groups (hereafter called Kundi)

Create a space to allow students and women to discuss issues of school quality

Create a forum and process to bring issues to the attention of educators and follow-up on changes

Short term pre-conditions

Continue to create a student council through democratic election

Identify women who are interested to volunteer for the group

Identify issues that exist with school quality

Inform community leaders about the initiative, through the spokes-women

Arrange a time and place for the Kundi to meet with educators (school administrators and teachers)

Create a process for how to follow-up on educator accountability and what to do when there is no action.

Risk management

Avoid single representatives or spokespersons to minimise backlash

Assign women as primary spokespeople to improve chances of getting the problem heard and acted upon

Get community leaders support before starting intervention

Change Hypotheses

If communities have increased access to spaces and forums, dialogue between citizens and with leaders will increase.

If students collaborate with adults, their voices will be taken more seriously

If women are involved with accountability processes it will empower them

If there is a clear process of follow-up for accountability, citizens will know what to do and are more likely to take action when there is no response or change

Change Hypotheses/ Assumptions

We have chosen to create certain assumptions and hypotheses to bring about the changes required.

These are as a result of the learnings of the failure of the Student Council project in Phase 1.

Students were not given weightage for their views because of their age. Therefore I chose to assume that if there were adults present in the same group, asking the students' questions in the adults' voices, they might be taken more seriously.

The other side-effect that will hopefully take place is the empowerment of women.

The other learning from Phase 1 was that communities need spaces and forums to meet and collaborate. Finding a meeting time and place for the students and women (or Kundi), as well as the 'Kundi' and the educators would allow for a safe and official aspect to this undertaking.

One of the main stumbling blocks from the previous pilot was that students (and indeed other activists in other pilots) did not know how to proceed when an official took no notice or action. Therefore there is a requirement for a clear process to be created, that will outline escalation of complaint where necessary and where possible.

Risk Management

One of the surprising, or maybe in hindsight not so surprising, effects of the CH programme were the negative backlash against some activists. Also, there was sometimes no support from the community leaders as they would be directly affected or threatened by this increased accountability. Hoping that improvement of school quality is such as universal issue that everyone would be in favour of it, I have chosen to add that community leaders should be informed, not to say consulted, before undertaking this intervention.

Conclusion:

This paper attempted to analyse the Chukua Hatua initiative pilots in Phase 1, especially the education component of Student Councils. It would have been interesting if this evaluative and revisionist view of the Chukua Hatua education pilot could have been taken further, or even resulted in a viable project. However, this paper was more about the specific theory of change of the education problem of corruption in Tanzania and the steps taken by the CH program in achieving changes in behaviour and accountability. While the CH programme itself has ended, the path breaking innovative tools and methods used will continue to help planners use this as a template for future grassroots level initiatives.

Bibliography

AcT, AcT Theory of Change, Available at : http://www.accountability.or.tz/ Accessed on: 13 May 2013.
AFROBAROMETER (2006) Briefing Paper COMBATING CORRUPTION IN TANZANIA: PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE

Fox, J (1996) How does civil society thicken? The political construction of social capital in rural Mexico. World Development, Vol. 24, No. 6, pp. 1089-l 103, 1996

Green, D (2013) *What is a theory of change and how do we use it?* Available at: http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/what-is-a-theory-of-change-and-does-it-actually-help/ Accessed: 13 May 2015
Green, D. (2012) Building *accountability in Tanzania: applying an evolutionary/venture capitalist theory of change.* Available: http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/building-accountability-in-tanzania-applying-an-evolutionaryventure-capitalist-theory-of-change/. Accessed on: 13 May, 2015.
Green, D. (2015) THE CHUKUA HATUA ACCOUNTABILITY PROGRAMME, TANZANIA, Oxfam International London
Hallak, J., & Poisson, M. (2005). Ethics and corruption in education: an overview. Journal of Education for International Development, 1(1)

Hearn, S. and Mapunda, K (2012), *STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY IN TANZANIA*
IS OUTCOME MAPPING HELPING THE ACT PROGRAMME AND ITS PARTNERS INFLUENCE CHANGE?Oxfam
Johnston, M. (1998a), 'Fighting Systemic Corruption: Social Foundations for Institutional Reform' in Robinson (ed.), 1998
Journal of Education for International Development, *1*(1). *Fund*: 559-594.
Kaufmann, Daniel, 1998, 'Revisiting Anti-Corruption Strategies: Tilt Towards Incentive-Driven Approaches' in *Corruption and Integrity Improvement Initiatives in Developing Countries,* Sahr Kpundeh and Irene Hors (eds.), (UNDP/OECD).
Kelly L. McDonnell *SIT Study Abroad Public Perceptions of Corruption in Tanzania (2011)*
Klitgaard, R. E., Maclean-Abaroa, R., & Parris, H. L. (2000). *Corrupt cities: A practical guide to cure and prevention*. Oakland: ICS Press.

Kpundeh and Irene Hors (eds.), (UNDP/OECD).

Kpundeh, Sahr, 1998, 'Political Will in Fighting Corruption' in *Corruption and Integrity Improvement Initiatives in Developing Countries,* Sahr
Matthews, R. (2011). Lecture 1: SIT Tanzania.

Matthews, R. (2011). Personal Conversation: SIT Tanzania.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING EDUCATION FOR ALL (EFA) REPORT FOR TANZANIA MAINLAND November, 2014

Oxfam, 2012, Citizens Wake Up, The Chukua Hatua (Take Action) programme in Tanzania, Oxfam Programme Insights, Available at: www.oxfam.org.uk/policyandpractice, Accessed: 13 May 2015
Richard D. Smith and Dunstan Kishekya, 2013, RDS Consulting LTD, Chukua Hatua, Tanzania Effectiveness Review

Sahr J. Kpundeh 2000 CORRUPTION AND CORRUPTION CONTROL IN AFRICA http://groups.colgate.edu/cews/archives/2000_2001/resources/pdf/kpundeh.pdf.

Tanzi, V. (1998) Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and cures, *Staff Papers-International Monetary Fund,* 45 No. 4, 559-554.
UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION AGAINST CORRUPTION, UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME, UNITED NATIONS, New York, 2004