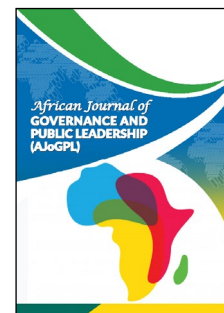# Understanding the strategies street-level bureaucrats develop to deal with inclusive secondary education restraints in selected schools in Tanzania

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Abstract

Currently there are voluminous public administration readings suggesting that a robust service delivery is the result of myriads of actors' concerns, including policymakers, service recipients, and street-level bureaucrats (SLBs). However, this notion is likely to be contested because service delivery, particularly inclusive secondary education in Tanzania is still at a snail's pace due to lack of mutual interface between aforementioned actors as the central government dominates decisions regarding service delivery. Normally such restraints have resulted in new means for street-level bureaucrats to execute their own de-facto policies. This stance is covered in street-level bureaucracy theory, which supposes that at the end of the policy chain, SLBs develop practices to deal with the status quo. Arguably, since the way SLBs respond to diverse contexts when faced with some hardships in executing service is diverse, unpacking the manner inclusive secondary education delivery restraints are dealt with is imperative to contribute to existing Tanzanian literature. In trying to close this gap, the paper analyzed inclusive secondary education delivery in selected schools in order to unveil the techniques SLBs create to unearth restraints and unveil whether such techniques comply with public policy implementation or not regarding the delivery of inclusive secondary education. To get relevant insights, this paper used an interpretative case study methodology covering in-depth interviews, documentary reviews and observation and analyzed data using content analysis. The findings revealed that, SLBs face limitations in service delivery due to various reasons including a lack of cooperation between policy makers and implementers, SLBs use pre-teaching, creaming, additional hours, simplifications, routinizing and referral as coping strategies, SLBs have little discretion and authority over inclusive educational service delivery. Therefore, policy makers and SLBs need to work jointly for a successful delivery of inclusive secondary education services in Tanzania.

Key words: Street-Level Bureaucrats, Inclusive Education, Policy Implementation, Coping Strategies

Introduction

The efforts towards the implementation of Education for All (EFA) owe their origin to the Universal Declaration for Human Rights in 1948 and the Joemtien World Conference in Thailand in 1990 which focused on increasing access to education services for all citizens across the globe. Due to its importance, both developing and developed countries adopted the EFA policy by modifying and formulating the

country's educational policies. The aim was to promote quality and equality in accessing education services without judging people's backgrounds, sex, race, economic status, religion, disability and ethnicity (URT, 1995). In enhancing effective implementation of the policy, the government and non-governmental organizations devoted a lot of work to special needs education for impaired children in order to ensure effective accessibility and participation in education. Special needs education is focused on students with disabilities, in consideration of their individual educational needs, which aims at full development of their capabilities and at their independence and social participation. This type of education could be carried out in various forms, like special classes, resource rooms, and in special schools, let say 'Schools for Special Needs Education'. Among other things, this type of education aimed to enhance the motivational patterns of the handicapped so that they would achieve the goals of the school, develop realistic self-concepts, achieve the highest level of efficacy in academic subjects, and pursue curricular topics that strategically determine effective living for articular types of handicapped children. Its goals were to make handicapped schoolchildren's mental and physical wellbeing better and to encourage the handicapped to engage in activities with people who are not handicapped (Barik, 2011). In the due course of implementing this agenda, numerous scholars such as lquraini (2010) noted that the implementation stage of special education was discriminatory in nature because students with disabilities were frequently educated in segregated settings where they were unable to interact with their peers who were typically developing in inclusive settings, which could have improved their social, communication, and academic skills. In both industrialized and developing nations, removing these barriers to education for students with disabilities resulted in the adoption of inclusive education around the 1990s. Regardless of their varied backgrounds and skills, inclusive education enables all children, teenagers and adults to enroll in, actively engage in, and succeed in conventional schools and other educational programs (URT, 2017). Although inclusive secondary education seemed as a panacea of integrating people with disability together in accessing education as opposed to special needs education as a response to international protocols which Worldwide focused on Education for All (EFA) put emphasis on inclusive secondary education programs as a means of giving students with special needs access to high-quality instruction.

Additionally, other scholars indicated that inclusive education is the right of human beings to get quality and equitable basic education despite their physical, intellectual, emotional, social and linguistic disabilities (Kayagula, 2019; Macmbinji, 2017; Kirschner, 2015; Moyi, 2012; Mafuru 2011). By emphasizing development-related issues, inclusive education has compelled nations to make adjustments in response to the problems of the economic, social, and environmental elements based on current global regulations and standards. The fourth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of the 2030 agenda focused on inclusive education to ensure opportunities for lifelong learning for all children. In enhancing the ratified protocols are thoroughly executed, the Government of Tanzania tried its best to create a conducive learning environment covering renovating educational facilities that are considerate of children with disabilities and offer a secure, nonviolent, inclusive and productive learning environment for everyone in order to achieve aforesaid quest or objective (Simon, 2020).

Showing its commitment, the Tanzanian government, as a member of the United Nations, has been responding to these international calls by investing in several education strategies and policy reforms to ensure that all people receive education equally despite their disparities. One of the programs that have been introduced was as a response to this call is the National Strategies for Inclusive Education (NSIE) of 2009-2017 and 2018-2021 which focused on improving infrastructure and facilities, employing qualified teachers, supplying teaching and learning materials and modification of curriculum to tape and address

learners needs (Tungaraza, 1994). The essential idea of inclusion is promoted by the NSIE as a crucial tactic for obtaining high-quality and equal access to education. The NSIE's overarching objective was to ensure that all citizens, youth and adults in Tanzania have equitable access to high-quality instruction by making sure educational policies and programs embrace inclusive values and practices which accommodate various students' requirements in teaching and learning environments. Despite all strategies put forward by the Tanzanian government toward delivery of inclusive secondary education, some scholars found restraints in the implementation of inclusive education by showing that instructors face deficiencies in teaching and learning leading them to adjust goals (Macmbinji, 2017; Moyi, 2012; Mafuru 2011). This poses various questions, how inclusive secondary education is accorded in selected schools? How street -level bureaucrats develop strategies to deal with the state of the affair or incapacity in the due course of providing inclusive secondary education in selected schools in Tanzania mainland.

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

The provision of inclusive secondary education is guided by Street Level Bureaucracy theory, which was developed by Michael Lipsky in 1980. Michael Lipsky (1969) had proposed the SLBs theory which analyzed the manner how street-level bureaucrats make de-facto policy decisions (Gilson, 2015). According to Lipsky (1980), street-level administrators like doctors, police, nurses, teachers, and judges who are usually on frontline regarding policy implementation are public servants who communicate directly with service beneficiaries who in this context can be viewed as people with disabilities or their parents or guardians. In this context, street-level bureaucrats are educational officers and secondary teachers who normally interact with service recipients. Lipsky (1980) advanced this notion further to say street-level bureaucrats are policymakers, not implementers until public servants deliver the services to clients, and that enacted policy improvements are only a paper. Apart from that, public officials can execute policy as it is (de jure) or modify it (de facto) to suit the status quo (Lipsky, 1980). It is imperative to comprehend that street-level bureaucracy theory sheds some light on the circumstances and the limitations public servants face when serving the public, something that affects public policy implementation. Standing on the shoulders of Lipsky (1980), street-level bureaucrats who engage in inclusive secondary education delivery face limited resources like qualified teachers, appropriate infrastructures to support delivery of inclusive education but also to support the beneficiaries, particularly the students with various types of disabilities, a lack of knowledge, a heavy workload, continual pressure to make decisions fast, and a lack of field experience.

Furthermore Lipsky (1980), asserts that quality services cannot be increased with limited resources and a heavy workload. Even if street-level administrators have resources, they have to operate as if there are none so that they can allocate scarce resources adequately and address the challenges. Concerning how the theory helps street-level officials function under restrictions, street-level officials create procedures that streamline their work. Street-level bureaucrats determine policy and routine matters as well. These routines are put up to handle work responsibilities, but in actuality, they represent the agency and build up to policy (Lipsky, 1980). The idea describes four routines: service rationing, client control, resource conservation and regular practice management (Lipsky 1980). This helps them offer services in any supportive or turbulent environment.

Teachers as street-level administrators have the potentiality of establishing and administering routines to streamline their duties. These routines have to represent the organizations (Ministry of Education and schools) that make up the education policy. These routines organize education services, govern customers and manage the implications of normal activities in service delivery. Street-level bureaucracy theory guides the study because it explains how street-level bureaucrats as policy implementers may cope with contextual or dynamic problems (May and Winter, 2007). In this regard, due to increased demand for people with disabilities to access quality education, the delivery of inclusive secondary education led to an increased teacher workload, demand for a good number of qualified teachers, teaching and learning materials (Haki Elimu, 2017). Despite several attempts done by the government to address the matter, problems of incapacity regarding delivery of inclusive education persisted to a great deal compelling street-level officials to devise strategies of coping with inclusive secondary education delivery restrictions.

Policy Implementation

Generally this means a series of activities undertaken by the government and others to achieve the goals and objectives articulated in policy statements (Birkland, 2016). Implementation can be viewed primarily in terms of the type and extent of control applied to how a project, programme, or policy is carried out. It may as well entail a process of creating goals and directing actions toward reaching those goals (Mbelu, 2011). In this view, those who are in authority (principal) are the ones who are setting goals and their instruction goes down with a chain of command to their subordinates (agents) in this context street-level bureaucrats mainly referring to secondary teachers. At the implementation stage is where teachers as street-level bureaucrats face restraints resulting from shortage of resources, inadequate skills and lack of mutual interaction among key actors such as policymakers (principals), service providers (agents) and service recipients (clients) in delivering inclusive secondary education that enforces SLBs to develop strategies to cope with the state of affairs. This goes to show that either developed strategies may comply or not with policy intentions; if the developed strategies do not comply with the policy intentions it may result in slowing down the policy goal. Therefore, for the inclusive education policy to be implemented thoroughly as intended, every key actor particularly the central and local governments in the Principal-Agent relationship need to be committed. Mutual interface is needed for previously mentioned key actors to address the quandaries taking place at the local level and thus limit robust interaction. The experience shows that the central government usually hijacks local government substantial autonomy. Cementing a mutual interface between actors, there must be a set of rules and regulations and clear enforcement mechanisms to guide the operations of service providers so that they can deliver services with great zeal. Additionally the delivery of inclusive education can be enhanced by providing; incentives schemes such as good salaries to teachers, teachers' houses and any other kind of conducive working environment that can raise workers' morale and increase citizens demand for accountability as supported by Ringold in 2012

Empirical Review

Many studies, which used street -level bureaucracy theory did not wholeheartedly cover inclusive secondary education services. Eriksson and Johansson (2021) evaluated strategies taken by street-level bureaucrats' in the introduction of programme-client centered and authority-centered strategies to handle challenging work conditions among employers in Sweden. The study used mixed methods and it found that street-level bureaucrats labor in tough settings, which affects service delivery. Further, it was indicated that SLBs tackle challenges by adopting coping mechanisms within two patterns of practice; under the client-centered pattern, SLBs exercise discretion to help clients according to their needs by doing more than the official assignment requirements. Within the authority-centered pattern, SLBs used a formal

and rule-oriented understanding of their assignment, focusing on maintaining programme functionality, delimiting caseload by referring clients to other organizations and denying discretion, emotional and psychological detachment from the client, differentiating clients and routinizing work by assigning all clients to the same activities.

Diarra and Oussein (2014) explored Nigerian doctors' coping strategies. A poll found that street-level officials have trouble delivering health services. Frontline workers eased the situation. Some dealt with management tools, drug stock out, free exemption, cost recovery, supply management (ordering from private companies, and issuing makeshift prescriptions) clientelism, regulation circumvention, and resource exploitation by street-level officials. The nature of coping strategies reflected the nature of the services and context. The study by Sunyehzi (2019) posed a concrete methodological stance. Sunyehzi (ibid) used a qualitative approach and case study design to explore street-level bureaucrats' coping methods and public service delivery in Ghana. The study revealed that workload, working circumstances and organizational culture affected healthcare street-level officials. According to Sunyehzi, street-level bureaucrats provide new coping methods in public and commercial institutions. Organizational behavior, interests, resources, and culture affect social service clients' street-level coping mechanisms. As Sunyehzi observes, private street-level bureaucrats are client-focused, that is, they prioritize clients' interests.

Mengsitu *et al*. (2014) on inclusive Ethiopian education revealed that most street-level administrators in inclusive secondary education in Ethiopia confront obstacles, such as limited resource rooms for special needs pupils. The study also found that although the surveyed schools possessed abacus, slate, and stylus, tape recorders and textbooks are not suitable for such youngsters, street-level administrators urge students with special needs to enroll in private schools. SLBs recommend students use the resource room as a library due to a paucity of braille reference resources. Further, Mutereko (2009) conducted a study on the application of South Africa school policy, as well as the discretion, independence, and coping mechanisms of street-level administrators. The poll found that administrators on the ground struggled to provide educational services. They used creaming, setting personal goals, and rubber stamping as coping mechanisms.

According to Oosero's (2015) study, street-level officials in Nyamila, Kenya, encountered difficulties in implementing inclusive education. The study found that Kenya's schools faced tremendous workload, financial constraints, lack of facilities and bad attitudes from instructors. SLBs introduced remedial lessons, group discussions with normal and impaired students, pair work, and other activities to change the status quo. According to the study, teachers occasionally slowed down when teaching to assist pupils to grasp the concepts. Further Mumbi (2021) researched inclusive education in Nyeri in Kenya. According to research, a lack of training and expertise affects special education implementation and insufficiency of SLBs' training to teach special needs pupils were cited as limitations. Further Macmbinji (2017) contrasted Kenya and Tanzania's inclusive education and found that many street-level administrators in inclusive schools lack inclusive education skills and must administer the policy under tough conditions. Untrained instructors cooperate alongside trained special education teachers to provide inclusive education in a regular atmosphere.

Kayagula (2019) revealed that for quality education in inclusive settings, schools have to accommodate learning styles which meet the needs of the students, the ratio of learners within the classrooms, appropriate curricula, organizational arrangement, teaching and learning strategies and resources used. Macmbinji

(2017) observes, students with disabilities are faced with some challenges in accessing education, there are no ramps for disabled children, a lack of learning resources, and unfriendly doors for disabled children. According to Moyi (2012), it is challenging to achieve the goal of inclusive education in inclusive schools since there are few classrooms for students with special needs, the environment is not adjusted, and the learning resources are insufficient. According to Gaede (2016), low-level bureaucrats are likely to lack the necessary skills or expertise for the positions they are hired to perform because of a lack of resources. Additionally, frontline workers report having insufficient personal resources, which is blamed on the nature of the work rather than a personal failing (Lipsky, 1980:31).

Methods

This paper used the data from a study conducted in Tanga region, specifically Tanga City and Muheza District Councils in Tanzania. The region covers an area of 26,667 km2, it is located in Northeast Tanzania, and the region is bordered by Kenya and Kilimanjaro region to the North; Manyara region to the west; and Morogoro and Pwani regions to the South. According to 2022 census data the region has a population of 2,615,597, additionally the region depends on agriculture, livestock keeping and fishing. Tanga Technical secondary school and Mlingano secondary school were used as case studies for this study. Qualitative research approaches with a case study design were employed. The rationale of using this approach and design was to gather in depth information from participants' interpretation on how street-level bureaucrats employ different strategies to cope with the restraints of inclusive secondary education delivery. The two councils varied in terms of location, income, socio-economic activities and population size, whereas Tanga City has a population of 393,429, Muheza population is approximately 238,260. The income of Muheza District Council is relatively lower compared to that of Tanga City (CAG Report, 2019). It is imperative to note that based on the available data the selected educational institutions are the first inclusive secondary schools in Tanga City and Muheza District Councils (URT, 2012).

In line with that the education system of Tanzania consists of 02 years of pre-primary education, 7 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary education, 2 years of advanced secondary education and 3 or more years of tertiary education. The language used in teaching is bilingual which means students can be taught in both Kiswahili and English. However, kiswahili is more used in primary education while English is more used in secondary schools onwards. Different methods of data collection were employed, whereas an in-depth interview with 24 respondents, documentary review and physical observation were employed as well. Non-probability sampling techniques were used which involved purposive and snowball sampling techniques. This technique was employed because there was a need of gathering information from participants who have more experiences, background and skills of inclusive secondary education. During interview data were recorded using tape recorder and note taking, informants were requested their consent to give their willing on giving relevant information related to the phenomenon under study without any force, other issues adhered during data collection process were maintaining dignity, privacy and keeping confidentiality of data provided by participants, being honest as well as transparency.

Data were analyzed using content thematic analysis and coded for simplifying the analysis. Data recorded in tape recorders were transcribed through writing notes, followed by organizing them into themes and interpretation supported with quotations. Finally, multiple reviews of the transcriptions were cross-checked for accuracy and completeness of the data.

Results and Discussion

There are numerous aspects the paper intended to unearth one of the areas was social demographic characteristics of study participants. The aim was to unveil the manner local administrators devise tactics for dealing with obstacles in order to deliver inclusive secondary covered education, and work experience in selected schools. Some aspects of social demographic characteristics interrogated were the quality of staff employed to deliver inclusive education. Using documents available, the results showed that the majority of teachers serving as street-level bureaucrats in this situation are well qualified and have expertise in implementing inclusive education policies as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Education level of participants in selected schools.

School	Educational level	n(%)
Mlingano secondary school	Diploma	3(13)
	Degree	7(29)
	Master	1(4)
Tanga Technical School	Diploma	2(8)
	Degree	9(38)
	Master	2(8)

Source: Field data 2022

The data above shows that the majority of teachers, street - level bureaucrats have sufficient education, where 67% have bachelor degree, 21% diploma and 12% master degree meaning that have the needed skills. This tallies with what Mbunda (2017) asserted that workers who have a high educational level have more skills in arranging internal environments to overcome challenges related to their work. Focused on this assertion, street level bureaucrats with master and bachelor degrees may have high knowledge in making their arrangement well with service recipients when they encounter difficulties in delivering inclusive secondary education.

Regarding working or teaching experience, it was imperative to unveil the number of staff with adequate teaching experience, which involves culmination of skills, exposure or training acquired over time that enables one to perform an existing job better or prepare learners performing certain assignments better as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Working experiences of participants in delivering inclusive education.

School	Educational level	n(%)
Mlingano secondary school	0 – 4 years	1(4)
	5 – 9 years	6(25)
	10 and above	4(17)
Tanga Technical School	0 – 4 years	1(4)
	5 - 9 years	6(25)
	10 and above	6(25)

Source: Field data, 2022

Table 2 shows that the majority of the teachers in Mlingano secondary school and Tanga technical secondary school have adequate experiences in inclusive education delivery, where 50% of them have working experience which ranges from 5 to 9 years, 42% have working experience ranging from 10 years

and above. and 8% of the teachers have working experience ranging from 0 to 4 years. This observation indicates that street-level bureaucrats who deliver inclusive education have adequate experience which entails that they have a large amount of knowledge to enhance effective learning and due to their expertise, have the potentiality of developing appropriate strategies to address the restraints such as inadequate physical, human, and financial resources. Moreover, this observation was supported by experience explored from one teacher at Mlingano Secondary school during interview who had this to say;

> I have been working here for thirteen years, this made me have enough experience in teaching as well as being able to manage some difficulties because they are same each year, during working epoch have gathered enough materials of almost all subjects. So during staff shortage I can teach many classes because I have all the necessary materials (One teacher from Mlingano Secondary School, 4th April 2022).

Apart from this, another participant demonstrated that working for quite long time made him/her accumulated great knowledge that helps him/her handle number of difficulties, by commenting that;

> …now I have nine years of working experience in teaching in inclusive schools though in this school I have been here for three years. Being in this field for more than eight years made me have a high ability in handling difficulties when teaching students in inclusive classes (One teacher from Tanga Technical School, April 2022).

The above excerpts imply that long-term experience helps teachers give inclusive instruction. As required and also, street-level officials with many years of teaching in inclusive schools can use earlier experiences to construct their internal working environment, as opposed to those with few years in the sector.

Inclusive Education Restraints.
The reviewed documents revealed that services delivery at Local Government Authorities (LGAs) is still at low pace, particularly inclusive education which is accorded under limited resources, inadequate facilities, lack of adequate teachers and adequate trained human resources (Mbunda, 2017: Mmbaga, 2002: MoEVT, 2009: Nydal, 2008). Moreover, the interview conducted to the City secondary Educational Officer/District Secondary Educational Officer, heads of schools and other teachers show that infrastructures such as classrooms are not enough compared to the number of students enrolled every now and then as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Student Classroom Ratio of Mlingano and Tanga Secondary School.

School	Required teachers	Available teachers	Students required	Students available
Mlingano Secondary School	06 (1:35)	03 (1:65)	105	193
Tanga Technical Secondary School	08 (1:35)	04 (1:70)	140	279

Source: Field data 2022

Table 3 reveals that classrooms are overcrowded, according to inclusive education policies and strategies one classroom is supposed to carry 35 students (1:35) comprising 5 disabled students and 30 abled ones, but the classrooms had 193 and 279 students in Mlingano Secondary School and Tanga Technical Secondary School respectively beyond the required threshold. Apart from that, the study findings observed shortage of human resources (teachers) and lack of trained teachers about inclusive education. Report from Tanga Technical Secondary school shows that there were 131 special needs students while there were only two (02) special needs teachers, which makes the ratio (TSR) 1:66 which is contrary to the inclusive policy of teacher-student ratio (TSR) 1:35 or (1:40). Furthermore, the majority of teachers who were available in

the selected schools had insufficient knowledge of special education, particularly in 'sign language'. Table 4 shows the number of street-level bureaucrats in this context teachers required and available in sciences, arts and Technical subjects in chosen secondary schools.

Table 4: Teacher Status Number in Mlingano and Tanga Technical Secondary School.

School	Subject	Required teachers	Available teachers	Variation
Mlingano secondary school	Science	16	12	04
	Arts	24	21	03
Tanga Technical Secondary School	Science	23	17	06
	Arts	16	14	02
	Technician	36	23	13

Source: Field data 2022

Teaching and learning materials (Textbooks) in the selected secondary schools were not enough compared to the number of students. URT, 2014 book-student ratio (BSR) supposed to be 1:1, while the data from Tanga Technical secondary school shows that BSR 1:9 in arts subjects and 1:5 in science subjects while in Mlingano Secondary School BSR 1:6 in arts subjects and 1:10 in science subjects. Again, in Arts and Science subjects the shortage was 03 and 04 respectively at Mlingano secondary school. The same shortage was noted at Tanga Technical Secondary School with the variation of 06, 02, and 13 for Science, Arts and Technical subjects respectively. This implies that street-level bureaucrats in this context, teachers, deliver inclusive secondary education in a very difficult environment with incapacity in terms of resources. Since there is no immediate action to take to resolve the problem, they try to develop some strategies to cope with the status quo.

Coping with Inclusive Secondary Education Delivery Restraints.
The findings from selected schools shown that these street-level bureaucrats used their discretion to construct different strategies to cope with the restraints in deliver inclusive education, this study unpacks some of these strategies based on Tanzanian selected context like pre-teaching, creaming, working for extra hours, simplifications and routinizing and referral. It was noted that, some of the strategies SLBs use to address restraints regarding the delivery of inclusive education contradict public policy and other protocols like the Education and Training Policy of 2014; the National Strategy for Inclusive Education (2009-2017 and 2018-2021); the Disability Act of 2010; the Educational Sector Development Programme (2008-2017 & 2016/17-2020/21); Secondary Education Development Plan (2004-2009 & 2010-2014); Ordinary Secondary Education Curriculum (2013); and Education Act of 1978 as accorded in details below.

Pre-teaching
It was found through interviews that SLBs used pre-teaching to make up for a shortage of instructional materials in inclusive secondary school delivery. Teachers at Mlingano Secondary School use pre-teach and give students notes because there are no enough textbooks, teachers, or other teaching and learning resources as one of the interviewee commented that:

> When a teacher has a session, let's say tomorrow morning, s/he uses the extra time to sit with students with hearing impairment and teach them to enable them to be aware of the normal session lessons. Teachers normally give notes after pre-teaching to the hearing impairment students to internalize the lessons before the normal session (Teacher, Mlingano secondary school, 4th April 2022).

During the interview, it was learned that instructors as street-level bureaucrats teach and talk with pupils before the classes to make them aware of what they would be taught. They believe that through pre-teaching, students can be in a good position in understanding the subject matter, and when they are in the classroom, the teacher teaches them the lesson to all students, those with hearing impairment understand the lesson taught from pre-teaching, and after class, the teacher uses post-teaching to remind the students about the lesson taught in the classroom to have a wide understanding of the subject matter. Mlingano Secondary School attendee said,

> In my Kiswahili lesson, I often tell students when they are free, please come and see me to have ample and extra time to teach them to internalize the lessons taught in the class (Teacher, Mlingano secondary school 4th April 2022).

Creaming

This is a form of rationing, which is viewed as decreasing service availability, attractiveness, or expectations. It is directly related with scantiness of resources and this relationship may be moderated by breadth of parental involvement in their children's education. During the interview, the study found that instructors use creaming to cope with the lack of human resources in delivering inclusive secondary education in selected schools to ease the burden of 'sign language teachers'. The study found that many teachers complained about the workload as one participant from Mlingano said that;

> When it comes to providing one-on-one assistance to students, teachers select those who are intelligent and assist them; those students come to me. It is hence by self-selection. Everyone cannot be treated equally (Teacher, Mlingano Secondary School 5th April 2022).

These findings are similar to what was presented by Lipsky (1980) who revealed that when street-level bureaucrats have more clients than they can handle, they frequently select (or skim off the top) those who appear to have the best chance of succeeding according to their standards. Despite the formal obligation of the policy to treat all students equally, such an environment occurs, where not everyone can be treated the same, Lipsky (1980) refers to this situation as 'creaming'. Further, teachers practice creaming by paying additional care to slow learners with unique needs. During the interview, the participant said that the school provides a unique program for learners with 'sign language' challenges to guarantee all kids communicate using sign language.

Another attendee said that they also conduct school clubs for sign language for teachers and kids. Despite the dearth of sign language teachers, students are taught under one roof. One participant from Mlingano Secondary School said that;

> In our school, we have clubs which deal with imparting skills on using sign language for both teachers and students. We have introduced this to overcome the challenges of the inadequacy of qualified sign language teachers in our school (Teacher, Mlingano secondary school, 4th April 2022).

Working for Extra Hours

Street-level bureaucrat's use this technique to offer inclusive education. Through interviews at Mlingano Secondary School, teachers confirmed that since there are few of them and the number of students is high, teachers have to teach and wait for the interpretation of the subject matter using sign language to ensure that all students understand the lessons. They do this to ensure services provided as required. This was vindicated by one participant during the interview who reported by commenting that;

In our school, teachers can work from morning to evening, we sometimes work extra hours and delay going back home to ensure all students are taught and understand the subject matter (Teacher, Mlingano Secondary school 4th April 2022).

Simplifications and Routinizing

Due to a lack of resources, SLBs find a way of easily performing work. For instance, due to lack of physical resources like furniture in inclusive schools' resource rooms, instructors utilize classroom chairs and tables as a coping method while making pupils use the same room. This goes to show that teachers adapt to their constraints. Through interviews, documentaries, and school inspections, most participants reported using classroom chairs and tables in the resource room. One participant from Tanga Technical schools during an interview confirmed this by saying that;

Due to the lack of furniture in the resource room we normally use other classes' chairs and tables when we need students in the resource room to address the challenge (Teacher, Tanga Technical secondary school, April 2022).

Talking about this issue an interviewee from Mlingano Secondary School said that 'in our school, we don't have a resource room, we use classes as an alternative' (Teacher, Mlingano Secondary School 5th April 2022). Further the findings revealed that disabled students are regularly supported by able-bodied students. Students with physical disabilities are routinely carried out to their classrooms, and those with severe physical impairments are assisted to use their wheelchairs, and arrive on time. Their classmates carry them to classes from ground floor to upstairs classes. This view was echoed by another teacher from Tanga Technical school by saying that;

Last year there was a student who could not walk properly and seemed always to delay her classmates to attend or arrive in class punctually so in order to address the concern, the students decided to carry their colleague to class (Teacher, Tanga Technical Secondary school, 7th April 2022).

The study also indicated that when instructors had limited resources such as textbooks, they may make copies of required materials to meet the demand. During the interview, one participant from Tanga Technical School reported that incident by saying that;

My subject has few textbooks compared to the numbers of students as you know one book for one student is recommend in an inclusive classroom but in this school one book is share to 21 students, however, due to critical shortage I decided to produce more copies to alleviate the situation (Teacher, Tanga Technical school 7th April 2022).

In line with that, it was also found that teachers in selected schools solicit learning materials from online sites. This ensures excellent teaching and learning, despite the limited resources. One participant from Tanga commented on this by saying that;

We go online and download materials, which are relevant to our learners and print them and distribute them to students with special needs. They read the materials before the normal lessons period to understand the materials beforehand (Teacher, Tanga Technical secondary school 7th April 2022).

Additionally, teachers apply co-teaching when there is a shortage of materials, as one of the participants during the interview commented that;

Due to the current shortage of materials, we use co-teaching. This helps to reach many students despite the shortage of the materials (One of the educational officers, Tanga City Council, 8th April 2022).

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Relying on fellow teachers was another strategy, as one of the participants reported that due to a lack of sign language dictionaries, teachers rely on fellow teachers who know sign language to help them translate. This incident was verified by one participant from Mlingano Secondary School when s/he reported that;

> I am a Mathematician teacher but I do not know sign language so I have to go with another teacher who knows sign language. By doing so, we thoroughly deliver and complete lessons on time (Teacher, Mlingano Secondary school, 5th April 2022).

Co-teaching method was also reported by numerous teachers, for instance one participant during an interview presented that;

> When the class is large and has a large number of students, we use co-teaching methods to complete the session on time and to achieve the goals significantly because the method helps to provide additional information if another teacher fails to provide explanations (One of the educational officer, Tanga Technical Secondary School; 8th April 2022).

The sign language was several time reported by numerous participants from Mlingano Secondary School where one during an interview arguably commented that;

> Due to a shortage of sign language, all students having difficulty in hearing are placed in one stream for each form. For example, form one A is the one that has the combination of all students, students having difficulty in hearing are in the same class with those without any disabilities. Those students having difficult in hearing tend to sit in front of the classroom to make it easier for them to see when the teacher is interpreting the lesson in sign language, so they are not seated at the back of the classroom because they need to see the teacher interpreting the subject using sign language closely but other students with special needs apart from hearing difficult tend to mix themselves with others with no special needs and even in classes with other streams (Teacher, Mlingano Secondary school 5th April 2022).

Referral

During the interview, it was observed that when instructors meet situations requiring particular attention, notably, children with disabilities, refer the problem or difficulty to other teachers with special needs education to address the limitations they experience. For instance, one participant during the interview said;

> We are very cooperative in our school. I didn't attend any course related to special education but I am teaching the class with disabled students. When it comes to difficult cases related to students with disabilities, I used to refer the cases to our coordinator, she knows how to settle their problem because she has specialized in inclusive education (Teacher, Tanga Technical secondary school 7th April 2022).

According to Lipsky (1980), this happens when naïve managers ask experienced personnel to handle difficult consumers. This coping method occurs not because situations contradict a teacher's competence to handle them, but because they disrupt class routines. This paper shows that teachers as SLBs use diverse techniques to achieve policy goals. This is also mirrored in Street-Level Bureaucracy theory, which states that SLBs use their discretionary clout as a coping strategy to guarantee good service delivery. Designed coping mechanisms may sometimes conflict with public policy.

Coping Mechanisms with the Implementation of Inclusive Education Policy

The study examined how street-level bureaucrats implement the policy of inclusive education. Previous sections illustrate the worsening situation in inclusive school service delivery. According to the findings,

teachers adopt various techniques to address the challenges. The study found that street-level bureaucrats sometimes devise methods that comply with governmental policies. These tactics become institutionalized rules, norms, and values using parent or staff meetings. During interviews, the study indicated that SLBs employed bright students to educate other students. One participant had this to say,

> …so a school does not have a hired interpreter but we use students who have studied sign language for three years to translate the lesson…(Teacher, Tanga Technical secondary school 7th April 2022).

Using brilliant students to teach others sign language when shortage is really as one of the participant from Mlingano Secondary School put it as follows;

> I am teaching science subjects in this school but I did not attend any training concerning special education. I don't even know how to communicate with the students in class by using sign language, and here we don't have a sign language teacher for basic Mathematics. We have a few for Kiswahili and other Arts subjects, therefore, I use students who score high marks in the class to translate what I am teaching by using sign language". (Teacher, Mlingano Secondary school 5th April 2022).

These techniques conflict with government laws, legislation, and regulations. According to Tanzanian Education and Training Policy (1995:2014), professional instructors for secondary schools must have attended a two-years diploma or three-years degree education courses. The inability to follow government orders and directives weaken goals.

The study also revealed that street-level officials, who are secondary instructors, employed other teachers to interpret the course, which is not their specialist. Kiswahili professionals may translate Biology, Chemistry and Physics lessons. This practice was observed in Mlingano Secondary School as one participant clearly said that;

> …I am specialized to teach the English language, but here I am also translating science content in sign language which is not my specialization, sometimes it is difficult to know the appropriate and correct sign in some content because it is not my specialization…(Teacher, Mlingano Secondary School 5th April 2022).

This strategy was agreed upon at staff meetings and became an institutional rule. The practice seems to contradict the National Strategy for Inclusive Education and government policies, especially the Education and Training Policy (1995:2014), but the policies and National Strategy for Inclusive Education (2009-2017: 2018-2021) reveals that teaching is facilitated by professional teachers according to their subject of specialization. The government also increased the number of specialized teachers through Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDEP) I and II of 2004-2009 and 2010-2014 respectively to promote secondary school education. Non-specialized instructors compromise inclusive education since they fail to teach students with specialized teachers to meet policy objectives.

The study indicated that teachers' overtime teaching affects policy implementation. Teachers teach during weekends and nights. This technique violates educational circulars, rules, and the Ordinary Secondary Education Curriculum (OSED) (2013). The OSED (2013) recommends teaching from Monday to Friday. This caused most students to miss weekend lessons (Saturday and Sunday). Those who do not attend weekends and night classes perform poorly. The study also found that teachers employ remedial programs to teach low-performing students. This implies that street-level bureaucrats, in this case, secondary teachers, might discriminate or favor students when exercising discretion, which is unethical

to the Inclusive Education Policy's purpose of eradicating student discrimination. This can undermine public trust, hence affecting policy implementation.

The current study shows that the coping mechanisms used by SLBs affect public policy intention. SLBs employ some coping mechanisms when they face difficulties in delivering services, but the employed mechanisms sometimes comply or do otherwise with the public policy objectives. This reflects the limitation of Street-Level Bureaucracy theory on coping mechanisms that not in all situations street-level bureaucrats can apply their discretion well.

Conclusion

Since there are limited insights on how street-level bureaucrats cope with restraints regarding inclusive secondary education delivery in Tanzania, it was imperative to unveil insights from Tanzania particularly on selected cases. Insights from selected cases were linked with street- level bureaucracy theory in order to shed some light on the theoretical tenets. The key tenet of the theory is that street level bureaucrats' work under an unconducive environment which compel them to come up with de-facto policies to address the status quo particularly that is associated with incapacity in various aspects. De-facto policies in difficult encounters may mean strategies street-level bureaucrats (SLBs) develop to address quandaries they face in the due course of implementing inclusive secondary education services. The findings from studied schools reveal that street-level bureaucrats have the opportunity of developing strategies to cope with service delivery disincentives particularly those related with inclusive secondary education delivery in the context of Tanzania. Usually strategies SLBs put in place hamper effective execution of public policies in a semi-autonomous social field the reason being that rules and norms are socially critical in shaping mankind actions. The bottom line of the theory in question is that, the way street-level bureaucrats use their own discretion (de facto) to address people's concerns in a difficult environment may either comply with or deviate from public policy intentions. This can be shown by how SLBs manage substantial inclusive secondary education workloads, rationing inclusive education material resources, modifying inclusive education work to achieve envisioned objectives.

The fact that insights from the field reveal that when SLBs encounter some quandaries related to incapacity in terms of limited resources come up with some mechanism to arrest the situation revealing that the theory in question works in Tanzanian context. In selected cases we have learned that SLBs develop ways to deal with service delivery challenges such as a lack of special education teachers, insufficient teaching and learning resources, and outdated classroom facilities for children with disabilities and that the developed coping methods also become the institutional social rules, norms and values. This goes to vindicate that street-level bureaucrats' behaviors in a semi-autonomous social field are more shaped by their desires to deliver services than meeting their own interests (Kamugisha and Eliza, 2023). In this regard, the government is urged to motivate SLBs and address resource constraint issues to raise SLBs working morale without conditions. Even though SLBs experience scarcity of resources in due course of rendering essential services, they can still deliver quality services and meet their responsibilities or duties.

Policy Implication

The experience from studied areas acknowledges the application of the street-level bureaucracy theory in the delivery of inclusive secondary education. The study area shows that service delivery is hampered by inadequate resources such as qualified teachers, financial resources to buy essential equipment, and

limited infrastructures to support the delivery of inclusive secondary education delivery. Due to staff shortage teachers use pre-teach and give students notes as a result of inadequate textbooks, teachers, or other teaching and learning resources; creaming has been used to cope with shortage by teachers selecting student who are intelligent to assist slow learners; working for extra hours and delay going back home to ensure all students are taught and understand the subject matters due to limited time as staff are not enough with growing number of students; simplification and rationing are used to address limited resources. For instance, due to limited physical resources like furniture in the resource room, teachers normally use other classes' chairs and tables when students need to attend the resource room. Other aspects include use of co-teaching, referral.by referring an issue to a coordinator who can assist them to solve cases and students as interpreters because schools do not hire interpreters but use students who have studied sign language for three years to translate the lessons.

These practice seems to contradict the National Strategy for Inclusive Education and government policies, especially the Education and Training Policy (1995:2014), but the policies and National Strategy for Inclusive Education (2009-2017: 2018-2021) reveals that teaching is facilitated by professional teachers according to their subject of specialization. This goes to show that using students who are not professional is not acceptable. To address this problem the government has to increase the number of specialized teachers through Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDEP) I and II of 2004-2009 and 2010-2014 respectively to promote secondary school education. This is done in an understanding that the use of non-specialized instructors compromise inclusive education because they fail to teach students and not meet policy objectives.

Recommendations

Based on the results of this research, inclusive secondary education is not being effectively delivered at Mlingano and Tanga Technical Secondary Schools. The research recommend that the government should take action to heighten the delivery of inclusive secondary schools by allocating sufficient funds to buy essential equipment's needed in teaching inclusive classes for ensuring efficient and effective provision of inclusive education. Teachers, as frontline bureaucrats, should have a voice in policymaking from the start. This is because they are the people who ultimately are implementing the plan. Possible benefits include improved communication and a more collaborative atmosphere among all parties involved. Finally, the study recommends delegating decision-making authority to local bureaucrats to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of providing inclusive services. This includes the power to hire and train staff members who lack certain skills and to raise funds when they encounter inadequacy.

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