

# Can *Validated Participation* Boost Efficacy and Active Citizenship to Improve Educational Outcomes? Research Design for a Pilot Experiment in Tanzania with Twaweza

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## Abstract

Particularly in poor countries, poor people often lack self-efficacy, the perception that they can be influential agents of change. Such perceptions may be important pre-requisites for active citizen participation in critical areas, such as public education. Prior scholarship has demonstrated that merely informing parents about the quality of their children's education and their rights to take action has, at best, only mixed effects on parental efforts. Thus, through a series of meetings we provide parents not only with (1) information about how to become more involved in their child's learning; but also (2) opportunities to become aware of their own abilities to affect change through a novel intervention we call *Validated Participation*. The goal of this intervention is to boost parents' efficacy in encouraging their children's learning at home and at school. Ultimately, it seeks to change local power structures largely through perceptions, without any alterations to institutional rules or material resources. This paper details a research design for piloting the effects of this intervention in rural Tanzania.

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# 1 Motivation

Is it possible to positively influence the beliefs of poor and generally poorly educated citizens, specifically parents, with respect to their own efficacy without major structural changes to institutions? If so, could such an intervention, when delivered alongside information about relevant rights, responsibilities, and local needs, help motivate parents to take actions towards strengthening learning conditions and improving learning outcomes for their children? In this proposal for a pilot experiment, we develop a novel intervention consisting of a series of meetings that we hypothesize will lead parents to feel a heightened sense of efficacy, and in turn actively promote the education of their children at home and at school.

For some time, scholars and policy analysts alike have been persuaded by the idea that “information asymmetries” about government performance and process are the main bottleneck preventing citizens from holding governments to account, particularly in poor settings. In turn, various empirical studies have investigated whether providing information to citizens might lead to better development outcomes (e.g. Olken, 2007; Banerjee et al., 2010; Keefer and Khemani, 2011; Joshi, 2013). The causal reasoning underlying the launch of information campaigns and associated impact evaluations is that with better access to information, such as student and school performance, parents would become aware of service gaps that they did not know existed. They would then be better equipped to monitor providers and participate more in their children’s education (Bruns, Filmer and Patrinos, 2011). If parents had better information about the benefits of school, how to get involved, and the relevant facts, they would be more likely to actively exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens, including monitoring teachers, schools, and their own children, leading to commensurate gains in educational attainment.

And yet, results from numerous studies testing this theory have been decidedly mixed. In

Uganda, Reinikka and Svensson (2004, 2005) and Bjorkman (2007) find that publishing information on educational budgets and public spending in national and local newspapers led to better government monitoring and higher test scores. Using a natural experiment in Benin, Keefer and Khemani (2011) find that children whose families have access to radio programming on education and literacy earned higher test scores. In Malawi, Dizon-Ross (2014) also finds some positive results of the effect of providing parents with information about children learning on monetary investments. In Pakistan, Andrabi, Das and Khwaja (2014) provided parents, teachers, and school administrators with detailed student and school report cards which led to learning improvements in public schools and fee reductions in private schools.

On the other hand, in India, Banerjee et al. (2010) find that providing information to citizens about local village education committees and the problems in local schools had no impact on parental involvement in schools. Mizala and Urquiola (2013) examine Chile's liberal school market and publication of the top 25 schools. Using a regression discontinuity design to examine heterogeneity between schools just above and below the cutoff, they find that outcomes such as school enrollment, school fees, and student population showed little response to the information. Lieberman, Posner and Tsai (2014) partnered with the Uwezo Initiative to provide household student assessments and instructional materials to parents in rural Kenya. They also find no impact on parents' private and public behavior regarding education.

The results of research to date suggest that the old adage – knowledge is power – is hardly axiomatic. In resource-poor settings, where parents lack substantial education and socio-economic clout, they may feel they lack the position or capacity to affect change, even when fully informed and in a context where they are guaranteed a constitutional right to participate in decision-making. *De jure* allocation of citizenship rights may not readily translate into *de facto* engage-

ment, even when relevant information about citizen entitlements is made readily available.

Results from studies that bundle information provision with other interventions appear promising, suggesting that information is a necessary but perhaps not sufficient condition for active citizenship engagement. For example, in Indonesia, an experiment by Pradhan et al. (2011) had parents deliberate and directly elect members to school committees. While these schools committees showed little impact on learning, increased parent participation such as helping their children with schoolwork at home led to sizable increases in learning outcomes. Additionally, an experiment by Avvisati et al. (2013) invited parents to a series of meetings in disadvantaged schools in France. These meetings not only gave parents information on how they can improve their children's learning at home and at school, but also encouraged discussion. While test scores did not improve, student absenteeism decreased and behavior improved likely as a result of increased parental involvement.

In response, we contend that a potentially crucial obstacle preventing parents from taking an active role in their children's education – even when they are fully informed – is parents' low feelings of self-efficacy from lack of successful previous efforts in affecting the school system. We use “efficacy” to describe a person's sense that she has an integral role to play and is capable of affecting change; efficacy encompasses both “internal efficacy,” the perception that the self has the abilities and competence to participate, as well as “external efficacy,” the belief that institutions and authorities are responsive to the person's attempts at influence (Abramson and Aldrich, 1982; Craig and Maggiotto, 1982).

Education and child development research on parental involvement support this claim. In this literature, the major constructs integral to parent engagement in their children's education are 1) parents feel a sense of responsibility and understand their role in education, 2) they have a

sense of efficacy that they can exert positive influence on their children's learning outcomes, and 3) they are given opportunities by the school and teachers to be more involved (Bandura et al., 1996; Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1997).

We thus propose a series of meetings with parents at their schools that provides a potentially efficient, experiential route to help them realize a sense of self-confidence and efficacy, even in the absence of high socio-economic status. Our intervention seeks to change local power structures largely through perceptions, and without any alterations to institutional rules or material resources.

We are carrying out this research in partnership with Twaweza<sup>1</sup>, a local NGO working in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania to (among other things) encourage citizen agency and better education outcomes. Largely owing to existing relationships and infrastructure, we are proposing to carry out the research in Tanzania, a country where parental engagement is particularly poor. According to the Tanzania Ministry of Education, parent/community support of schools and of students is often extremely low:

There is generally low support of schools in the community due to poor relationship between schools and the community. Community members do not assist schools to ensure students' school attendance. Most parents have little time to spend with their children in their learning. Lack of parents' involvement negatively affects students' performance because students do not get correlated activities as regarding lessons while at home or away from school (Tanzania Ministry of Education. School Improvement Toolkit: Practical Guide for Head Teachers, p. 8).

Additionally, the U.S. Department of Labor's 2013 statistics on child labor finds that 25.1% of children ages 5-14 work largely in farming and mining, showing that parent prioritization of education, from sending their children to school to ensuring that their children have time for homework, also needs to improve.

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.twaweza.org/>

In the next section, we develop our theory connecting information, efficacy, and education outcomes. Section 3 details the proposed intervention arms, and section 4 outlines the outcomes of interest and their measurement. Finally, section 5 discusses our initial pre-pilot implementation and analysis from July/August 2015, which – although conducted at a very small scale and in the absence of a control group – provides some source of promise for the intervention.

## 2 Promoting Active Citizenship

Scholars have long acknowledged the importance of political efficacy, or an individual’s belief that she can influence the political system; this concept has figured in most explanations of political participation over the past four decades, due to the basic intuition that an individual is more likely to participate in politics when she believes she can make an impact (Valentino et al., 2008). Political efficacy, however, is just one in a family of self-efficacy beliefs. As Caprara et al. (2009) explain, people “infer their sense of efficacy from dealing successfully with challenging situations” and observing others like them doing the same. Conversely, they avoid activities that they perceive are beyond their influence.

Thus, we theorize that a crucial obstacle preventing parents from taking an active role in monitoring and promoting the quality of public education is their belief that such engagement is beyond their abilities and influence. If there is a strong correlation between socio-economic status (SES) and efficacy beliefs, this could reinforce a poverty-power trap: if the power to affect change is itself a function of wealth and social status, and if welfare improvements are less likely for politically demobilized citizens, we should predict the persistence of status quo conditions. Insofar as parents feel incapable of influencing their child’s education, ill-equipped to take on the problem, or discouraged by previous attempts that have failed, they may even avoid trying to

do so. That is, parents may 1) think that all things related to education – including children’s studying at home and behavior at school – fall under the purview of the school and teachers, and 2) not feel empowered to monitor or to question school policies or practices, or even to take responsibility for monitoring their children’s participation in school. Without confidence in these two areas, parents are not likely to take actions to improve learning conditions at home or in schools. Some of those who hold these beliefs may opt to invest scarce household resources in private school education.

Lieberman, Posner and Tsai (2014) argue that in the absence of several “pre-conditions,” informational interventions are not likely to lead to new efforts at active citizenship. We build on that framework and hypothesize that a key pathway for change is the development of the following beliefs on the part of parents: 1) their children’s learning is not simply the responsibility of teachers and school administrators, and that there is a vital place for parents’ participation; 2) they possess the skills to discuss evidence, deliberate, and to have their voices heard and respected; and 3) when parents participate, substantive changes can happen.

The correlation between SES and political efficacy, at least in the United States, is at least partially driven by the participation opportunities afforded by being born into a high-SES family, Brady, Verba and Schlozman (1995) note. Thus, a key challenge for poor parents, particularly in poor countries, is that their personal economic and employment histories generally imply that, beyond voting, they have had very few *opportunities* to participate in meaningful decision-making processes and/or to serve in oversight roles that lead to visible change. By contrast, wealthier and more educated parents, through the circumstances of their jobs and networks, typically have more opportunities to experience the rewards of making efforts at influencing change through reason and persuasion. In turn, lifetimes of such varied experiences likely reinforce self-efficacy

beliefs, limiting active citizenship among the poor.

Responses regarding efficacy from Round 6 of the Afrobarometer in Tanzania lend support to this story. For instance, when public services are of poor quality 65.4% believe that a good citizen in a democracy should always complain to government officials (Question 26c), yet only 19.8% actually have done so in the past year (Question 27c). With regards to education, 14% of parents report contacting the head teacher or teachers “very difficult,” and approximately 50% have no contact with the school at all; these figures are slightly higher for low SES respondent.<sup>2</sup>

Echoing the literature on efficacy and based on our own observations, we propose that low efficacy on the part of poor parents, particularly in poor countries likely stems from limited opportunities to *practice* and to *observe* their own skills and impact in public settings, a deficit that could be corrected through experience. While still motivated by the core notion that parents in resource poor settings can play an important role in the production of education in partnership with schools, we seek to focus attention more prominently on the problem of asymmetries of *power* and potential impediments to involvement. We hypothesize it may be possible to “short-circuit” the otherwise long path to beliefs of efficacy via the attainment of parental education, wealth accumulation, and associated experiences. Specifically, we propose an intervention called *Validated Participation*, which is a series of meetings in which parents are not only given opportunities to discuss and make decisions for the school, but we structure positive feedback from a teacher-facilitator who consistently “validates” their views and opinions in a collective setting in order to boost parental efficacy.

While understanding the roots of efficacy is an important question in its own right, the substantive motivation for increasing efficacy is that more active citizenship might lead to better

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<sup>2</sup>Low SES respondents are those who responded “several times,” “many times,” or “always” to how often in the past year they have gone without at least one of the following items: food, clean water, medicines, cooking fuel, and cash income (Question 8).



education through public and private channels. Specifically, we assume that if parents feel a greater sense of efficacy, when also being provided with information about potentially fixable deficits at schools and at home, they will engage as more active principals in their children's education through self-motivated actions, leading to better teacher accountability, spillovers to other students, and improved learning outcomes.

We intend to measure changes in parental efficacy and behavior through surveys, teacher interviews, and behavioral outcomes designed to assess whether parents help with their children's schoolwork. Finally, we measure learning outcomes through a series of assessments taken by students.

### **3 Intervention Design**

We hope to implement an experimental pilot from May-August 2016 in rural Tanzanian schools with a treatment group receiving both the Information + Validated Participation interventions described below, which will be delivered by a trained facilitator, who has a teaching background, over four approximately 90-minute meetings, spaced about a week apart. In comparison, the control group will receive placebo meetings. If promising, the future full randomized control trial will also separately test Information, and Information + Validated Participation interventions. We do not intend to register a pre-analysis plan until after the pilot, when we will have some sense of effect sizes and learn more about what does and does not work. But our core hypothesis is that only Information + Validated Participation will have substantive effects.

Our pilot sample will consist of 20 school communities in the same region, all performing under the national average, to be identified in partnership with Twaweza. These schools are then pair-matched based on class sizes, number of teachers, and national rankings. Within each pair,

one is randomly assigned the intervention while the other will be given the placebo. Within each school, we use a public lottery to invite 25 parents of children within the same class in Standard 3. For the placebo group, in lieu of meetings presenting information and education or designed to boost efficacy, we will present a video about family health. We will choose a video deemed to be relevant and with useful content, but also with no link to the outcomes we seek to influence through our intervention.

Next, we describe each treatment arm in detail.

### **3.1 Information on School quality, Rights and Responsibilities**

While the heart of our design focuses on providing opportunities for participation and validation to increase parental efficacy, we also test an intervention that ensures parents are provided with information on the progress and needs of their school, what they should come to expect from teachers and school administrators, and what they can do to support their children’s education at school and at home. Even if this information is not “new,” we suspect that its provision is necessary to prompt action. Moreover, it strikes us as a necessary context for the central intervention of this study.

As discussed above, information provision has generated mixed results in this sector. Similar to our information treatment, Avvisati et al. (2013) examine an intervention of three meetings involving parents drawn from largely poor and recent immigrant neighborhoods in France; parents were informed about how schools function and what role they might play in their children’s education, which had measurable impacts on student behavior and attendance. Nevertheless, we note that this was a discussion-based intervention, so the treatment delivered was more than merely information. Thus, we will seek to distinguish more sharply between the effects of information

and a potentially empowering non-information intervention which includes discussion.

For the information arm, at meetings of selected parents the facilitator-teacher will:

- share information that their schools are performing below the national average (a criteria for inclusion into the study);
- have the head teacher describe the needs of the school;
- explain how parents can support the roles and responsibilities of teachers and head teachers;
- provide materials about how parents can also improve their children’s learning at home;
- explain that education quality is a strong predictor of future economic success.
- show photographs of the school and highlight specific school needs (e.g. lack of latrines).

This information will emphasize ways in which parents can contribute to their children’s education *without* necessitating either systemic change in schools or resources and skills that parents do not already possess. By providing parents with many types of practical information and the opportunity to obtain additional information, we hope to give the information intervention its best chance at making an impact. However, we hypothesize, in line with prior research, that such information, on its own, will be insufficient to elicit substantial impact.

## 3.2 Validated Participation

Validated Participation is a novel intervention that aims to provide successful, efficacy-boosting engagement experiences for targeted parents. Various components will be repeated across meetings, but updated with new content, with the hope that repetition will lead to reinforcement. In sum, the proposed set of four modules all aim to reinforce the same objective: to provide parents meaningful opportunities to view themselves as impactful agents of change, capable of collectively making decisions using evidence and being valued for both their ideas and their actions. Moreover, the intervention is conducted on school premises, which aims to increase parents’ comfort

level with active engagement with school officials and with their own children around matters pertaining to education.

We view the challenge of boosting parental efficacy as a substantial hurdle. We believe these four modules reinforce each other by following the same premise: 1) we give parents the opportunity to openly discuss and make decisions collectively, and then 2) receive validation on their ideas and actions by a figure of authority, the facilitator. This validation is also collectively viewed and recognized by fellow parents.

While this intervention makes use of discussion and deliberation, our theory is quite distinct from that found in the heart of the scholarly literature on the benefits of deliberation for democratic performance (e.g. Przeworski, 1998; Stokes, 1998), because our outcome of interest is changes in self-efficacy rather than changes in preferences for democracy or other institutions. Empirical research examining how deliberative decision-making and voting affect efficacy finds some impact on external efficacy but no changes to internal efficacy (Finkel, 1985; Morrell, 2005). Thus, Validated Participation not only provides opportunities for discussion and collective decision-making, but also the crucial validation that we believe will jump-start feelings of both internal and external efficacy.

## 1. Validated Participation using Visual Evidence

The first module involves a facilitated discussion among parents about pieces of art. The goal of the “Visual Evidence” module is to give all parents, not just the elite, opportunities to offer their ideas and receive validation. This strategy is inspired by and adapted from an existing curriculum called *Visual Thinking Strategies*<sup>3</sup>, which was designed in the U.S. primarily but not exclusively for school-aged children that aims to increase participation

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<sup>3</sup><http://www.vtshome.org/what-is-vts>

and critical thinking skills through guided discussion of art.<sup>4</sup> We modify this tool for use on adults in an East African setting, but with the common aim of providing an easy opportunity to solicit engagement of the type we believe necessary for boosting efficacy.

While recognizing that discussing art is an unconventional strategy for promoting efficacy, we believe that this component is an important first step for several reasons. First, this tool provides opportunities for parents to connect facts and to make inferences about new materials. Most importantly, it provides them an opportunity to see that their ideas are heard and respected by the facilitator. Next, another challenge to parental participation in education could be their discomfort of coming to schools. In Tanzania, school meetings are almost always associated with demands for fee payments. Thus, engaging in Visual Evidence can show parents that schools and learning more generally could be enjoyable, even for parents. Finally, because neither outside knowledge, formal schooling, nor literacy is necessary for participants to be successful in discussing art, this tool can serve as a leveler by encouraging participation by all parents not just elite, educated ones. This mitigates concerns of elite capture in which only a few parents, those already with high perceptions of efficacy, will set the agenda for the remaining components of the intervention.

Our Visual Evidence curriculum provides parents an opportunity to meaningfully discuss evidence by looking at and engaging with a series of artworks. These pieces have been pre-selected with the goal of having broadly relevant and interesting narrative potential so individuals can easily offer stories while many interpretations are possible. The subject matters center around family life and education, but will not provide any new information to parents.

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<sup>4</sup>We are grateful to Jasie Britton and Amy Lieberman for helping us to develop this portion of the intervention based on their work with the Visual Thinking Strategies curriculum.

A facilitator will work with the group of parents, in a series of meetings, and focus on getting individuals in that group to respond to three key questions for each work of art presented:

- What is going on in this picture?
- What do you seek that makes you say that?
- What more can you find?

Throughout the process, the facilitator repeats and emphasizes what each participant says (e.g. “no right or wrong answers”), *echoes back and validates their ideas*, and points out relevant details in the image, ultimately helping to broadcast and to reinforce what each person says. Additionally, the facilitator is instructed to encourage and choose a diverse set of participants, balancing on gender and age.

In short, efficacy in the political arena demands comfort with being able to express one’s opinions about evidence and Visual Evidence aims to start building that comfort.

## **2. Validated Participation in Resource Vote:**

After parents receive the Visual Evidence intervention, this next component seeks to make explicit connections between acquired discussion skills during the previous module and parents’ role in the educational sphere. Specifically, it demonstrates to parents who may have little experience with impactful decision-making – particularly in the educational sphere – that their ideas and actions can result in the generation of concrete outcomes. Inspired in part by Pradhan et al. (2011) in which parents’ election of school committee members sparked other forms of parent participation in education, Resource Vote would allow parents to directly “elect” how to spend grants for their schools. Ultimately, the idea of Resource Vote is to create opportunities for engagement that over time changes parents’ beliefs about their roles, responsibilities, and abilities to impact their children’s learning.

Parents will be informed that an outside NGO (Twaweza) would like to make a modest contribution to the school, but that the parents must decide how to spend the money. Presented with just two choices, parents will be given time to briefly deliberate on the options and then vote in a secret ballot. The option winning the majority of the votes will be implemented almost immediately as it will be physically presented by the facilitator.

Through three iterations of this module, the scale of resources as well as the time from voting to implementation will increase slightly. Following the first meeting's Resource Vote, parents will immediately be presented with the chosen resource by the facilitator. The second meeting's chosen resources will be presented during the school tour later in the session. And finally the third meeting's chosen resources will be presented in the fourth meeting. The aim of this scaling-up is to develop beliefs that impact will be realized even if not observed immediately.

Since the goal of this intervention is to prompt parental input and not to measure the impact of the resources themselves, all treatment and control (placebo) schools will receive the same resources for which the treatment group votes in similar time intervals. Parents in the placebo schools will not be informed of these new resources. Holding these resource inputs constant allows us to isolate the impact of the Information + Validated Participation interventions.<sup>5</sup>

### **3. Validated Participation on a School Tour:**

As a third step of the intervention, parents will be led by the head teacher and facilitator

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<sup>5</sup>The final resource options to be implemented would need to meet at least four criteria: i) they respond to longer-term local education needs, ii) they are selected with teacher input; iii) they are culturally appropriate, and iv) their implementation and continued use is feasible. Therefore, consultation with local education experts, parent focus groups, and other stakeholders will be required to construct the final list of resources. In this way, we hope to prevent the common perils of "bad aid."

on a tour of the school, in which they will have opportunities to ask about the needs of the school. Additionally, they will visit the classroom of their children to present the resource they chose in the previous module. The facilitator tells the classroom that this resource was chosen by the parents upon discussion to be most useful for the students' learning. For many parents in rural Tanzania, they have never seen their own child's classroom much less felt that they could contribute to it. Upon presenting the resource, parents see their children and the teacher cheer and thank them, which validates their actions and boosts confidence. We also hope that by having teachers see parents contributing to the classroom, their own perceptions of the lack of parent ability to improve learning outcomes will change. Thus, this intervention may help flatten the hierarchical power structure in the school community.

#### **4. Validated Participation in a Social Contract:**

The final step of the intervention will take place at the last meeting, when the facilitator will ask the parents to identify what they can and should do to help their children's education. Recalling the steps of the previous modules, parents will discuss and generate a list of ways they can help, echoed and validated by the facilitator. This list will then be publicly displayed in the school, further providing public recognition.

The point of the exercise is to encourage parents to collectively resolve to engage in such actions and to provide some public assurances that each will actually implement such behaviors. This module contributes to boosting efficacy because the potential fear of being alone in taking action can be mitigated with public knowledge that others are committing to taking the same types of actions through a public resolution or social contract (Fiske, 2009).

Regarding implementation of these components through the four 90-minute meetings for the



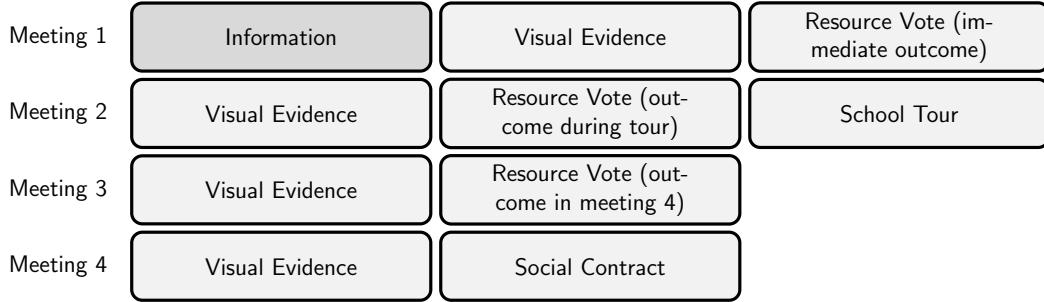


Figure 1: Proposed implementation of Information + Validated Participation interventions for treatment group in pilot experiment. For example, Meeting 1 consists of three modules: the Information intervention, the first Visual Evidence, and the first Resource Vote. Each meeting will be approximately 90 minutes.

pilot experiment, figure 1 shows the proposed scheduling.

We recognize that Validated Participation is a multi-component intervention. However, we view the components as being conceptually consistent: parents are given equal opportunities to participate in a variety of ways related to their children’s education, and their ideas and actions are validated. Since prior research has generated few treatment effects, we believe it is more important to establish whether a substantial treatment can have an impact, and leave for later research whether or not some components and not others are doing most of the work.

### 3.3 “Theory of Change” Summarized

Among low-efficacy, low-engaged parents, who value education, but have children who are not reaching their learning potential and are in below-median public schools, we hypothesize that our bundle of interventions, Information + Validated Participation will lead to the following:

1. Increase parents’ knowledge of the performance and needs of their school.
2. Increase parents’ knowledge about the roles and responsibilities of the school administration, teachers, their children, and themselves in improving education.
3. Increase parents’ efficacy about how they can have a positive impact.

4. Increase parents’ actions monitoring and engaging at home and at school.
5. These parental actions lead to increased student efforts: studying, attendance, motivation, and health.
6. These parental actions also lead to increased school performance: teacher attendance, motivation, and improved relationships between parents and teachers.
7. Taken together, learning outcomes improve.

## 4 Measuring Outcomes

As summarized in table 1, we measure outcomes in several complimentary ways, attempting to capture differences in parent attitudes, behaviors, and student learning outcomes at baseline and endline across the schools.

Table 1: Measurement strategies

MEASURE:	Parent survey	Student assessment	Family tree	School interviews	Attendance	Qualitative study
Child learning outcomes		x				
Child learning habits	x	x			x	x
Parents’ knowledge	x					x
Parents efficacy beliefs	x					x
Parent participation at school	x			x		x
Parent participation at home	x		x			
Teacher attendance	x			x		
Parent-teacher relationship	x			x		
Spillover to other students					x	
Child covariates	x	x				
Parent covariates	x					
School covariates				x		

We briefly describe each measurement strategy below:

1. **Parent Survey:** The parent survey aims to measure parents’ self-reported knowledge of the school (e.g. “How does your child’s school perform relative to most other public schools in Tanzania?”); knowledge of their child’s progress (e.g. “Did your child spend more than

1 hour doing homework last week?”); efforts and investment at school (e.g. “Are you a member of the School Committee?”); efforts at home (e.g. “Did you spend more than 10 minutes helping your child with his/her homework last week?”); and beliefs of internal and external efficacy (e.g. “Would you be able to contact your child’s teacher about an issue your child is having in school today?” and “Do you think he or she would remember what you talked about a week later?”). This survey will only be given at the baseline and endline to mitigate against social desirability bias by repeatedly asking about parental involvement (or lack of) in education. See Appendix for the full survey instrument.

2. **Student assessment:** Since we theorize that increased parental engagement (through increased beliefs of efficacy) leads to better education outcomes, we will conduct student learning assessments at baseline and endline. We will use an already established assessment on basic literacy, numeracy, and reading comprehension in both English and Swahili developed by our partner, Twaweza.
3. **Family tree project:** To behaviorally assess how parents are engaging in their children’s education at home, we have teachers give out a Family Tree assignment to their students without any special notification to parents. This assignment is designed to require the assistance of a parent to complete. We measure how many students turn in a completed assignment, whether they had the help of a parent, and how detailed these trees are. In addition to comparing between treatment and control schools, we can also compare between the grades within the treatment school since only Standard 3 parents participate in the intervention. (See Appendix figure 4 for examples of completed Family Tree assignments.)
4. **School interviews:** We will conduct structured interviews with teachers and head teachers at baseline and endline to assess their perceptions of parent participation, student effort

and performance, and teacher accountability. With regards to teacher attendance, we ask teachers to approximate the behavior of other teachers at their school to lessen social desirability bias of self-reporting behavior (e.g. “In the past week, how many teachers were present?” and “On average, how many days are teachers usually present?”).

5. **Attendance:** We ask the head and class teachers of the children in the study to provide weekly attendance for all the students in the class. We can measure changes in attendance not only for the students whose parents are in the study, but also for fellow students in the same class, thereby capturing spillover effects.
6. **Qualitative study:** We will have research assistants take detailed notes and make qualitative observations throughout the meetings for both treatment and placebo schools. We will take note of the frequency of parental queries at school meetings, diversity of participation, and the content of their engagement. These observations will be important for subsequent analysis of mechanisms and if necessary, project refinement.

## 5 Pre-Pilot Implementation and Analysis

As this research design document is intended for discussion, we provide here a description of an initial “pre-pilot” research project which was designed to test the plausible implementation and impact of our intervention, to gather some initial qualitative “ground truth” concerning feasibility and promise. We present this here to supplement the logical argument we make in favor of our proposed treatment. Overall, we concluded that the project was promising, but along the way, we also learned many valuable lessons relevant for implementation.

From July-August 2015, we conducted an initial “proof of concept” pre-pilot in the sense that we were primarily concerned with the development of a workable intervention, that could be

delivered smoothly and secondarily, to generate preliminary evidence of an effect in the predicted direction. Thus, we implemented only one intervention arm—Validated Participation, across three primary schools with three parent meetings each in the greater Dar es Salaam region of Mbweni.

## 5.1 Recruitment and participation

To recruit parent participants, a Twaweza liaison contacted the head teachers of the three target schools, to inform them that we were interested in testing out an intervention to encourage parents to become more involved in their children’s education. Specifically, we sought to meet with parents of children in Standard 3 (a somewhat arbitrary choice, but we restricted the intervention to a single grade-level in order to be consistent, and to limit the number of parents that would attend). In turn, each head teacher informed parents of the day and time of the proposed meeting through a letter sent out via children. We did not provide a detailed script for our liaison or head teachers, which we would do in future interventions, and we could also not monitor exactly what the head teacher communicated, but again in future interventions, we would likely send out a message template in order to manage expectations. In this case, we are quite certain that parents largely expected some type of financial compensation for participation, which is often the case when NGO’s work with parents and ordinary citizens. In fact, we did not provide any such compensation and we tried to clarify this during the meetings, but this is clearly an issue that merits more discussion, particularly as Twaweza has a policy of not compensating parents.

Based on our sense of likely discussion dynamics, we initially surmised that the ideal meeting audience size would be about 30-35 parents. However, we expected some attrition and we also lacked a strategy for controlling numbers. As such, we did not attempt to engineer turnout, and used the meetings as an opportunity to see what numbers we would generate. On day

1, we counted, 96, 22, and 70 parents at Boko, Mtambani, and Bunju A schools, respectively. Although we believe the intervention will work best within a classroom environment because of sound dynamics, because of the large numbers at Boko and lack of an available classroom, the day 1 intervention was conducted outside, with chairs, under a large tree, which provided shade. Because of our own time constraints, we conducted the intervention on three consecutive weekdays, a strategy which we would not repeat in future implementations, both because of the burden on parents and because we believe that the intervention would be more effective if parents are given time to reflect upon past meetings and feel energized for each new meeting. We would also consider an intervention of more than 3 meetings but no more than 5.

## 5.2 Meeting 1

As parents assembled, members of our research team gathered basic information from as many parents as possible through the pre-intervention survey using smart phones and tablets. Owing to numbers, it was only possible to speak with a relatively small share of all in attendance, and we had no systematic sampling plan (setting aside the non-random nature of which parents actually attended among those who were invited), so the information we gathered is merely illustrative and in no way should be considered a reliable estimate.

All in attendance were provided with a yellow card which contained a unique identifier to be used by our research team, reminded parents of the dates of the subsequent meetings, and provided Twaweza’s general phone number should they have questions. Unfortunately, these cards were generally misinterpreted to be “tickets” to some type of compensation. This will need to be addressed in future iterations of the research.

The day one meeting consisted of the following elements:

- Prepared introduction to the project, including an Information speech on the importance of parental involvement in schools and at home.
- Visual Evidence discussion of two images printed on large, color banners, the first of which was a painting that could be interpreted as a teacher and students. Parents had opportunity to discuss how they interpret and what they see in two large format images. Discussion was facilitated with encouragement and paraphrasing. The goal here was to get parents comfortable speaking, listening, using reasoned evidence, and being acknowledged by a teacher/facilitator. (See Appendix figure 5 for a photo of Visual Evidence with parents at Bunju A primary school.)
- First Resource Vote: Parents were asked to make choice of how to spend a very small “grant” either on 4 boxes of chalk or 4 dusters. Parents were informed that we recognize that the choice was a minor one. But the facilitator also emphasized that it was important for them to discuss and to make a joint decision. The facilitator promoted the use of discussion norms from Visual Evidence. At the conclusion of the discussion, a secret ballot was passed out, and counted, and in all schools, the overwhelming majority voted for chalk. The chalk was immediately presented and taken to the head teacher. The goal here was for parents to see that they could have a discussion, make a decision, and that their decision would have immediate results.
- Parents were reminded to please return the next day.
- No refreshments or any compensation were provided.

### 5.3 Meeting 2

- Parents assembled and research assistants were once again on hand, but on this day, simply to observe passively.
- Visual Evidence discussion of two images.
- Second Resource Vote on 3 large rulers versus a globe. In all three schools, an overwhelming majority voted for the globe.
- At the conclusion of the Resource Vote, the head teacher took the parents on a School Tour, which for most parents was the first time that they had seen many parts of the school, including the classroom of their children. Guided by the facilitator, a parent presented the chosen resource to the teacher of the Standard 3 classroom and the children cheered. The parents very much seemed to enjoy the tour.
- Bottled water was provided to all participants.

### 5.4 Meeting 3

- Parents assembled and research assistants were once again on hand, during the session to observe passively, but also to gather information from individuals at the conclusion of the meeting through the post-intervention survey.
- The facilitator made small speech discussing how the interventions link together.
- Visual Evidence discussion of two images, the last of which was an image of an African classroom.
- Parent Social Contract: Parents were asked to make a list, through discussion, and documented by facilitator on a white board of the things that parents can do at home to help their children's education. Parents were told that their list of 5-7 suggestions would be



printed and posted at the school (and we are following up on that promise the following week.)

- Parents were asked to provide some feedback on the intervention in a “focus group” format, to review what was done and what they learned, and to comment on the value of the intervention.
- Take-away sodas were provided to all participants.

## 5.5 Pre-pilot analysis

This pre-pilot provides no basis for establishing whether our Validated Participation intervention had any positive effect relative to any counter-factual (control) condition, including doing nothing. Notwithstanding, we planned for several measurement tools to be used for assessing the possible value of the intervention: meetings attendance, pre- and post-meetings survey data, qualitative observations from research assistants at the meetings, and follow up interviews with head teachers and teachers.

First, meeting attendance was both larger than anticipated and remained relatively consistent especially between the second and third meetings.

Table 2: Pre-pilot meetings attendance

	Meeting 1	Meeting 2	Meeting 3
Boko	96	69 (72% of previous day)	60 (87% of previous day)
Mtambani	22	17 (77% of previous day)	17 (100% of previous day)
Bunju A	70	26 (37% of previous day)	35 (135% of previous day)
(total)	188	112	112

Second, although we piloted two survey instruments we did not engage in systematic data collection (i.e. not all parents were interviewed and those who were interviewed were not chosen randomly from the meetings). Thus the statistical data reported here is highly limited. From the

pre-meetings survey (n=49 across all three schools) to the post-meetings survey (n=78 across all three schools), we were able to re-interview 22 parents.

In terms of demographics, the surveys tentatively suggest that,

- more women than men attended the meetings
- the average parent was in their early 30s
- more than half the parents were the heads of their households
- Christianity and Islam were the only reported religions, and they were split fairly evenly
- only Swahili was reported to be spoken at home
- most parents have completed primary school

The pre-survey revealed a general lack of parental knowledge of and engagement in the school and their child's education. Of the 49 surveyed parents,

- most (33) reported that their child attended 5 days of school for the previous week even though schools were only open for 3 days that week due to the holidays
- most (35) did not know the name of their child's head teacher
- most (30) did not know how many days the teacher was present the previous week
- about half (25) correctly estimated that there are more than 70 students in their child's class (the average class size for Standard 3 in these schools is about 300 students)
- less than half (21) spent more than 10 minutes the previous week helping their children with homework

This suggests that with regards to parental engagement in education, there are numerous gaps that this intervention could address.

Turning to outcomes, both the pre- and post-meetings surveys asked a set of eight questions aimed at measuring internal and external efficacy (e.g. “Would you be able to contact your child’s teacher about an issue your child is having in school today?” and “Do you think he or she would remember what you talked about a week later?”). We calculate a difference-in-means. Across all eight items, the reported feelings of efficacy were higher for post-meetings surveyed parents compared to pre-meetings surveyed parents, even when we subset the two surveys to only include the 22 panel parents (i.e., parents who were enumerated on both the baseline and endline surveys).

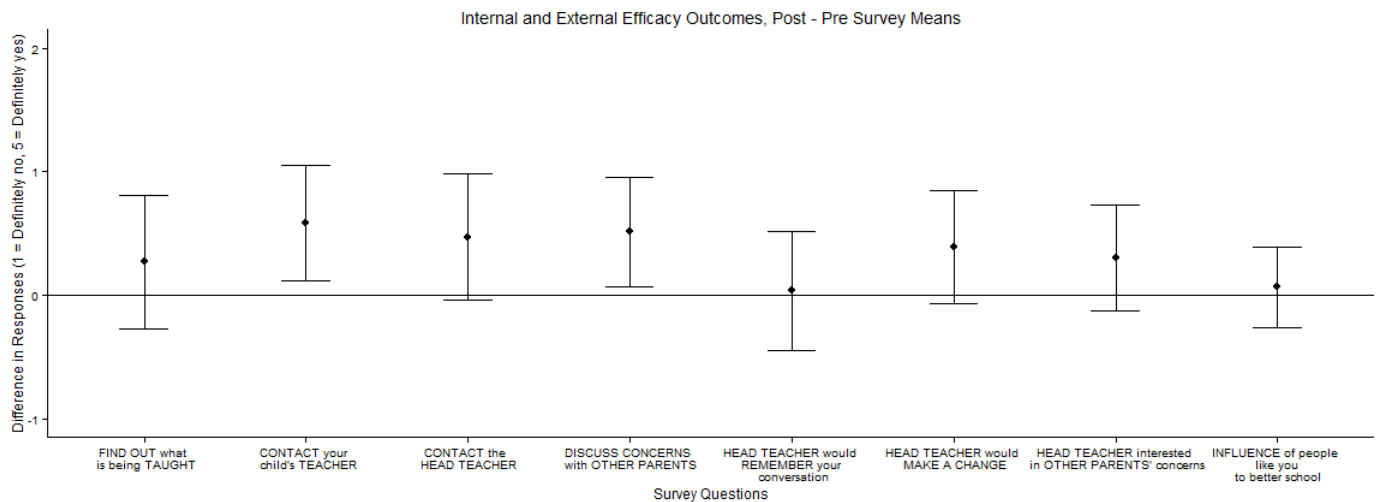


Figure 2: This figure shows the difference in means between pre-intervention and post-intervention survey responses on internal and external efficacy for all survey respondents, with 95% CIs. The post-pre difference in means are all positive, suggesting an increase in feelings of efficacy post-intervention.

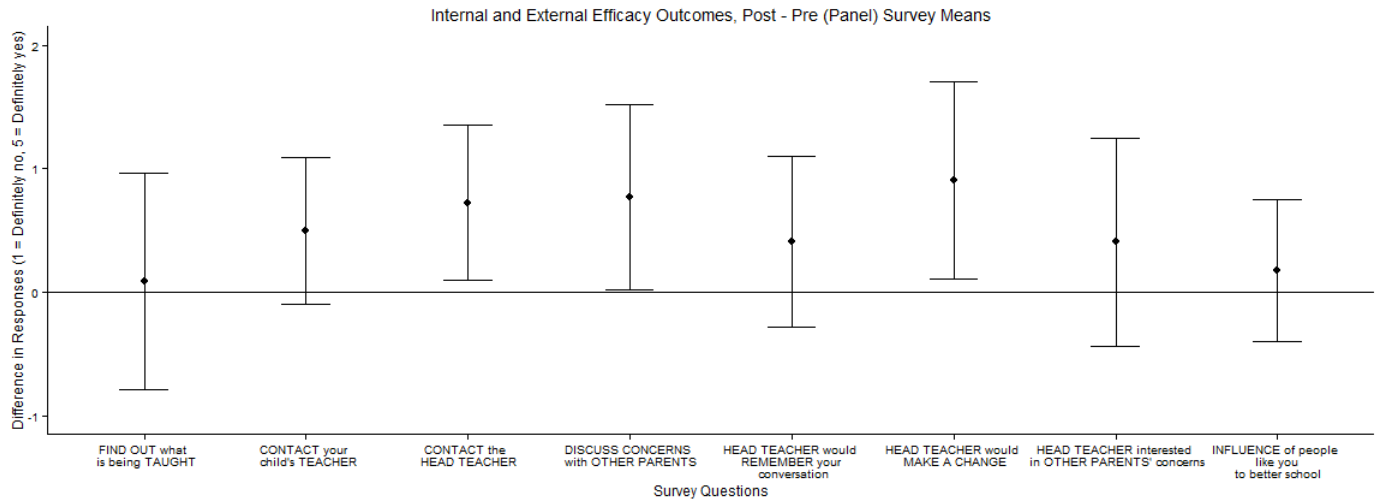


Figure 3: This figure shows the difference in means between pre-intervention and post-intervention survey responses on internal and external efficacy for the subset of respondents that were able to survey twice ( $n = 22$ ). The post-pre difference in means are all positive, suggesting an increase in feelings of efficacy post-intervention.

Third, these promising findings are reflected in the qualitative observations reported by our research assistants. As the meetings progressed, several parents said that they now realize they are responsible for their children’s learning, they learned about the needs of the school and collectively brainstormed ways they could improve learning at home, and more women began participating in the discussions. Even our research assistants, who had initially expressed skepticism at the University, became quite supportive of the intervention after the meetings, reporting that they planned to implement some of the discussion and earlier module techniques at home and in their own classrooms.

For example, one enumerated reported to us that at the first meeting, parents “wanted other items (for RV) they thought important such as books and classrooms rather than chalk and dusters,” and they “seemed tired and did not like to continue discussion.” However, by the end of the intervention, “the meeting has motivated the parents to be responsible to their children. Example, one parent admits that she has learned that she has a role to play to her child’s

learning.” One parent also said that through the meetings, “I am now aware that there other people who care about the pupils.”

The facilitated discussions, notably Visual Evidence, also instilled new norms of participation. At the first meeting, research assistants “noted that women are accustomed to keeping silent” and that they “did not contribute to the topic.” But in both the second and third meetings, the “number of women participating in the meeting outnumbered the men present. The meeting was so active with more women involved in discussing the Visual Evidence.” Parents also “appreciated that the arts depicted life realities,” saying that “the pictures were revealing the real life of people in their families and communities.”

One of the most encouraging aspects of the intervention was the School Tour. For most of these parents, this was the first time they toured the school: “Parents have been heard expressing their joy for giving the globe to Standard 3 pupils. Parents have also expressed that what they are doing is new to them.” And “pupils were very happy to see their parents in the class and the present (the chosen resource). After the resource chosen presented pupils clapped up and cheered for their parents.” Even at home, “children were curious to ask about parents visit to their school and their class in particular.”

At the last meeting, when asked to generate a list of five ways they could help improve learning at home, parents suggested many more ideas which were put up to a vote. For example, some ideas include giving more time at home for homework and leisure, inspecting exercise books, giving school materials, preventing diseases, and giving more nutritious food. We printed out these lists and publicly displayed them in the schools.

Fourth, we conducted follow-up interviews and focus groups with the head teachers and teachers at all three school a month after the meetings. At Boko, the school with the largest number

of parent participants, the Standard 3 teacher said he noticed some changes in parental behavior since the intervention such as more parents bringing their students to school in the morning, and about three to four more parents each week asking about their child's progress. At Bunju, the teachers said that they noticed more Standard 3 parents (about 40) buying porridge (200 shillings per day) for their children in the past few weeks which greatly improved class participation. These positive changes prompted teachers of other standards to also request meetings for their students' parents. We could not independently verify these outcomes, and it is, of course, very possible that these reports were colored by some desirability biases.

We also practiced administering a family tree assignment through the schools to test whether this might be a feasible measurement tool for parental engagement, as we expect that students with more engaged parents are more likely to be able to fill out more tree branches. In the absence of a true control group, we could not test the efficacy of the intervention, but we did find that students had no problem filling out our form in the manner expected, and the tool holds promise for subsequent research.

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# 6 Appendix

## 6.1 Survey Instrument

### Confidence Boost Pre-Intervention Survey Instrument

Q1.1 Enumerator code:

Q1.2 School name:

- Mtambani (1)
- Boko (2)
- Bunju A (3)

Q2.1 Good morning/afternoon. Thank you for coming to our meeting today. My name is (SAY YOUR NAME) and I am working with researchers from Princeton University and MIT in the United States on a study of education in Tanzania. Right now, we want to learn your opinions and views about this topic. In a little while, you will meet with the other parents as a group; there, we will talk about education together. Right now, I'm going to ask you some questions, some of which will be related to what will be discussed later in the meeting, but some are more general. In the final results of this survey, we will not identify you or any family members by name and all of the information we collect will be held in confidence. Some of the questions may be a bit personal and we hope this will be OK with you. The interview should take about 10 minutes. If, however, you do not feel comfortable answering any of the questions, please feel free to say so. You may stop the interview at any time, or ask to take a break if you would like. Before I start, do you want to ask me anything about this survey? (Enumerator, pause for questions and try to answer them. When finished, click next)

Q2.2 Please, may I begin the survey?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q2.3 What is your family name?

Q2.4 What is your given name?

Q2.5 Gender of Respondent:

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q2.6 Do you have any children in Standard 3 who attend this school AND do you personally care for these children?

- Yes to both (1)
- No (0)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q2.7 Are you 18 years old or older?

Yes (1)

No (0)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q3.1 Thank you for your time. For these meetings and this survey, we are only interested in interviewing people who are 18 years old or older and take care of children who are in Standard 3 of this school. Good bye.

Q4.1 What is your relationship to the head of the household?

I am the head of household (1)

Spouse (2)

Son or daughter (3)

Son in law or daughter in law (4)

Grandchild (5)

Other relative (6)

Other non-relative (7)

Q4.2 How old are you?

My age is: (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Don't know/Refuse to answer (99)

Answer If How old are you? Don't know Is Selected

Q4.3 What year were you born?

I was born in: (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Don't know/Refuse to answer (99)

Q4.4 What is your religion?

Christianity (1)

Islam (2)

Hinduism (3)

Other: (4) \_\_\_\_\_

Refused to answer (99)

Q4.5 What language do you speak at home?

Swahili (1)

English (2)

Other: (3) \_\_\_\_\_

Q4.6 What is the highest level of education that you completed? (Enumerators, do not read the options aloud. Just pick the option that is closest to the response)

- No schooling (1)
- Some primary school (2)
- Completed primary school (3)
- Some secondary school (4)
- Completed secondary school (5)
- Some post-secondary school (6)
- Diploma course/certificate (7)
- Adult education only (8)
- University degree (9)

Q4.7 Can you write a letter?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Q4.8 Can you read a letter?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Q4.9 How many primary school children do you care for?

- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- 6 (6)
- 7 (7)
- 8 (8)
- 9 (9)
- 10 (10)
- 11 (11)
- 12 (12)
- 13 (13)
- 14 (14)
- 15 (15)

Q4.10 Do you have only one child in Standard 3 or more than one child in Standard 3?

- Only one, his/her name is: (1) \_\_\_\_\_
- More than one (2)

Answer If Do you have only one child in Standard 3 or more than one child in Standard 3? More than one Is Selected

Q4.11 What is the name of your oldest child in Standard 3?

Q4.12 For the rest of this interview, when I refer to YOUR CHILD, I will be referring to THIS CHILD. What is your relationship to this child?

- Parent (1)
- Aunt/Uncle (2)
- Sister/Brother (3)
- Grandmother/Grandfather (4)
- Cousin (5)
- Other: (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- I do NOT care directly for this child (7)

If I do NOT care directly for ... Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q4.13 What was your main occupation during the past 12 months? (Enumerator, do not read each option but choose the option closest to the response. If it makes sense, you are able to check multiple options)

- Unemployed (1)
- Farmer or fisherman (2)
- Own a business (3)
- Laborer (4)
- Office worker (5)
- Government worker (6)
- Teacher (7)
- Student (8)
- Home-maker/Housewife (9)
- Other: (10) \_\_\_\_\_
- Refuse to answer (99)

Q5.1 Please tell me, for each item, whether or not you have the item in working order in your home today.

	Yes (1)	No (0)	Don't Know (99)
Electricity (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Running water (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Radio (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Television (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Computer (desktop or laptop) (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mobile phone (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Internet access in your home on computer or mobile phone (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bicycle (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Motorcycle or motor scooter (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Car or truck (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q5.2 Do you read newspapers regularly?(Enumerators, if respondent says YES, ask if it is SOMETIMES or MOST DAYS)

- No, never (0)
- Yes, sometimes (1)
- Yes, most days (2)

Q6.1 How many days did your child attend school last week?

- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- Don't know (99)

Q6.2 Do you know the name of your child's class teacher?

- Yes, it is: (1) \_\_\_\_\_
- No (0)

Q6.3 How many minutes does it normally take your child to get to school, including waiting time?

- 0-15 minutes (1)
- 16-30 minutes (2)
- 31-45 minutes (3)
- 46 minutes to 1 hour (4)
- More than 1 hour (5)
- Don't know (99)

Q6.4 At school, how many children are in your child's class?

- Between 1 and 30 (1)
- Between 31 and 40 (2)
- Between 41 to 50 (3)
- Between 51 to 60 (4)
- Between 61 to 70 (5)
- More than 70 (6)
- Don't know (99)

Q6.5 How does YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL perform relative to MOST OTHER PUBLIC SCHOOLS in Tanzania?(Enumerator, please read the options aloud)

- Better (1)
- About the Same (2)
- Worse (3)
- Don't know (99)

Q6.6 How does YOUR CHILD perform relative to the OTHER STUDENTS in his/her class?(Enumerator, please read the options aloud)

- Better (1)
- About the Same (2)
- Worse (3)
- Don't know (99)

Q6.7 How many days was the class teacher present last week?

- 0 (0)
- 1 (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (5)
- Don't know (99)

Q7.1 (Enumerator, please take out the pointer sheet and show SIDE 1)For the next question, we would like you to use this diagram. Please point to the square that is closest to your

attitude.(Enumerator points to the squares) These squares go from "Very Dissatisfied" to "Very Satisfied."

Q7.2 How satisfied are you with the teaching quality of Standard 3 at this school?

- 1 (Very Dissatisfied) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Very Satisfied) (5)
- Don't know (99)

Q8.1 Did your child spend more than 1 hour doing homework last week?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

Q8.2 Did you spend more than 10 minutes helping your child with his/her homework last week?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

Q8.3 Did your child have a clean uniform last week?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

Q8.4 Did you ask your child about the presence of his/her teacher this past week? (Enumerator, if response is YES, ask whether it was ONCE or MORE THAN ONCE)

- Yes, more than once (2)
- Yes, just once (1)
- No, never (0)

Q8.5 What is the main problem affecting your child's school?(Enumerator, write down very briefly the problem.)

Q8.6 (Enumerator, please DO NOT read this question aloud. You decide, was the problem related to school contributions/monetary/resource demands that parents have to provide OR anything else?)

- Contributions/monetary/resource demands that parents have to provide (1)
- Anything else (2)

Q8.7 Have you ever talked to someone outside your household about this concern?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

Q9.1 Is there a School Committee for your child's school?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

If Yes Is Not Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q9.2 Are you a member of the School Committee?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

Q9.3 Have you attended any parent meetings in the past 12 months?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)

Answer If Are you a member of the School Committee? No Is Selected And Have you attended any parent meetings in the past 12 months? No Is Selected

Q9.4 Why have you not participated in the School Committee or in parent meetings?

- Too busy (1)
- Not interested (2)
- Didn't know about the meeting (3)
- Personal reasons (4)
- Someone else in my household participates (5)
- Wouldn't matter/doesn't make a difference (6)
- Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_

Answer If Have you attended any parent meetings in the past 12 months? Yes Is Selected

Q9.5 At the most recent school meeting that you did attend, did you give a speech or express your point of view?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Don't know (99)



Answer If At the most recent school meeting that you did attend, did you give a speech or express your point of view? No Is Selected

Q9.6 Why did you not give a speech or express your point of view? (Check all that apply)

- Had nothing to say (1)
- Other people expressed my views (2)
- Felt embarrassed to speak in public (3)
- Felt it was not my place to speak or question authority (4)
- No opportunity for parents to speak (5)
- Other (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- Don't know (99)

Q10.1 (Enumerator, please take out the pointer sheet and show SIDE 2) For the next set of questions, we would like you to use this diagram. Please point to the square that is closest to your attitude. (Enumerator points to the squares) These squares go from "Definitely NO" to "Definitely YES."

Q10.2 Would you be able to FIND OUT what is being TAUGHT in your child's classroom today?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.3 Would you be able to CONTACT your child's TEACHER about an ISSUE your child is having in school today?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.4 Would you be able to CONTACT the HEAD TEACHER at your child's school about any educational questions or concerns you have today?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.5 Would you be able to DISCUSS CONCERNS about your child's school with OTHER PARENTS today?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.6 Imagine you had a conversation with your child's head teacher today and that you discussed an issue about your child's education that is important to you. (Enumerator, still use SIDE 2 of the pointer sheet)

Q10.7 Do you think he or she would REMEMBER what you talked about a week later?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.8 Do you think he or she would MAKE A CHANGE to the school in response to your conversation?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.9 Do you think he or she would be interested in what OTHER PARENTS have to say about this issue?

- 1 (Definitely NO) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5 (Definitely YES) (5)

Q10.10 How much influence do you think people like yourself can have in making this school better?(Enumerator, please read the options aloud)

- No influence (1)
- Not very much influence (2)
- Some influence (3)
- A lot of influence (4)

Q11.1 Thank you for your time, this is the end of the survey. Your unique Parent ID is (Enumerator, take a PARENT IDENTIFICATION CARD from the pile. Show the parent the number and write in the Parent ID below). Parent ID:

Q11.2 (GIVE THE CARD TO THE PARENT) If you later have questions or concerns about this study you may call this phone number on the card to discuss your concerns. This card also reminds you to come back to the other meetings, and provides you with information on how to help your children with their education at home and in the school. Please bring this card back to every meeting. Good bye and see you tomorrow.

Q11.3 (Enumerator, please fill out this question based on your own assessment) Did this survey accurately capture the participant's responses?

- Yes (2)
- Somewhat (1)
- No (0)

Q11.4 Enumerator's comments:

## 6.2 Photos

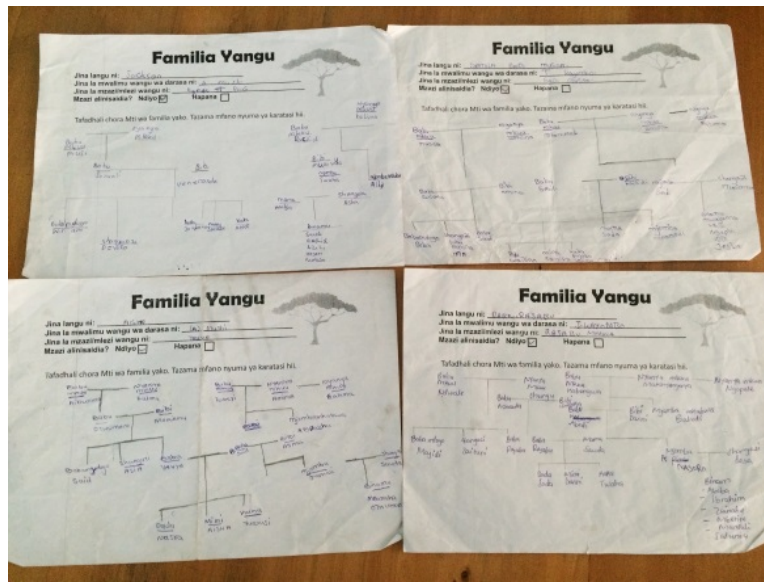


Figure 4: Examples of completed Family Tree assignments from pre-pilot schools.



Figure 5: Visual Evidence module during pre-pilot meeting with parents at Bunju A primary school.