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Teachers' perspectives on quality in secondary education in Tanzania:

policy & reality

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Policy & reality

Master's Thesis

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Declaration

I, Anna Nigicser, declare that this thesis is the result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

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S.D.G.

Abstract

Education can be a catalyst of both economic and social development. In recent years, great progress has been achieved in broadening access to primary education in developing countries, such as Tanzania. However, less attention has been payed to the secondary level of education and increased enrolment have had a negative impact on the quality of education. Thus, Tanzanian education policies set out to improve the quality of education where investing in teachers, as key facilitators of quality education, is among the priorities. Therefore, in the light of quality defined in educational policies, this study investigated teachers' own perceptions and practices about providing quality education in secondary schools in Tanzania as well as how teachers' perceptions are formed the teacher training they have received. The study applied a range of qualitative research methods in a case study design to investigate the issue of quality. Interviews and observations were carried out in a government, a private day and a private boarding secondary school in Tanga City to examine reveal the constrains and potentials of providing quality in different physical and economic environment.

Findings of this study revealed that teachers' perceptions of quality are rather diverse. More difference was found in perceptions based on teachers' age rather than between private and government schools. Findings of this study also indicate the implications of putting the objectives of education policies into practice considering the under-resourced school environment and poor working conditions for teachers especially in government school. In addition, internalizing the way of thinking behind methods and ideals taught at teacher training colleges proved to be rather challenging due to the cultural embeddedness of quality in education. If teachers as key facilitators of quality education cannot with identifying themselves with the complex and often changing priorities and ideals of education policies, it is questionable to what extent the policy objectives are met in practice and whether learners can in real sense benefit from the knowledge and skills acquired in schools to achieve their valued goals in life. In order to improve the quality of education, Tanzania needs to define a clear vision and values for education that guides priorities in resource allocation was well as teacher training.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BRN	Big Results Now
CBC	Competence Based Curriculum
CBT	Competence Based Teaching
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary State Party)
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations
EFA	Education for All
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
HAMA	Hatua na Maendeleo (Steps of Development)
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
MA	Master of Arts
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKUKUTA	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NECTA	National Examinations Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMBU	Norwegian University of Life Sciences

NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examinations
PTA	Parents-Teachers' Association
Q&A	Question and Answer
RQ	Research Question
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TDMS	Teacher Education Development and Management Strategy
TCC	Tanga City Council
TICC	Tanga International Competence Centre
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
TR	Teacher
TTC	Teacher Training College
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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1 Introduction

In recent years, education has been one of the key issues on the global development agenda. Education has the potential to be a catalyst for both social and economic development (UNESCO, 2014a). It equips individuals with the necessary knowledge and skills to become productive parts of society, it contributes to improved health and livelihoods and enables people to realise their potential to live a life they value. Furthermore, education promotes gender equality, fosters peace and democracy and contributes to reducing poverty in low-income countries (UNESCO, 2014b).

The importance of education on the global development agenda has been reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), succeeding the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) targets, whose deadlines expired in 2015. Great efforts have been made to fulfil children's basic right to go to school and most developing countries, such as Tanzania, have made significant progress in achieving universal primary education when the country's progress was evaluated by the MDG target year in 2015 (UNESCO, 2015b). However, access to primary education is a necessary but not sufficient condition for education to fulfil its potential as a catalyst of development (UNESCO, 2014b, p. 5). Broadening access to secondary education and ensuring quality in education are prerequisites for further growth (WorldBank, 2015). Nonetheless, several studies have shown that the growing enrolment rates in both primary and secondary schools have had a negative impact on the quality of education and 250 million children around the world are not learning the "basics" (Hoogeveen & Rossi, 2013; UNESCO, 2014a). This is also the case in Tanzania (Uwezo, 2011). The declining quality of education has implications on its impact on reducing poverty and fostering social and economic development (UNESCO, 2014b; Wedgwood, 2007). In addition, until now the focus on the primary level meant less attention and resources for secondary schools. In order for education to fulfil its potential in development, it is essential to improve the quality of education at all levels and to provide continuous learning opportunities on the secondary level for all.

After assessing the achievements and challenges of the MDG and EFA targets, improving quality in education and expanding access to secondary schools are among the priorities of the SDGs. When improving quality of education, the SDGs recognise teachers' key role in providing quality education and aims at improving their working conditions and professional

environment. This is also a highly relevant issue in Tanzania, considering teachers' poor working conditions, training opportunities and often low motivation and professionalism (Tao, 2013). Therefore, in line with the SDGs, Tanzanian policies reflect more focused attention on improving the quality of education and investing in teachers' professional environment and process of teaching.

However, quality defined on the policy level may differ from teachers' own perspectives of quality in practice and often their views on quality are not taken into consideration. Furthermore, there is a gap in literature in assessing how teachers' perceptions of quality are formed by the teacher training they receive and to what extent they are able to teach accordingly. Improving the quality of education set in national policies can be a challenge if teachers identify themselves with a different concept of quality. Since teachers are the most important agents in facilitating high quality education, it is necessary to explore their perception of quality and to involve them in discussions as to how quality can be improved in practice.

Therefore, in the light of quality defined in educational policies, this study investigated teachers' own perceptions and practices about providing quality education in secondary schools in Tanzania. The study aimed at examining teachers' professional environment and the process of teaching, the challenges teachers face in providing the valued quality education and the possible solutions they see to improve it in practice. The study also compared two private and one public secondary school(s) in Tanga City to examine teachers' perceptions and practices in different physical and economic environments.

The objectives of the study were as follows:

Objective 1: To examine teachers' perceptions of quality education in light of the policy definition.

- Research question (RQ)1a: How do teachers perceive quality in education? How are teachers' perceptions of quality shaped by the teacher training they have received?
- RQ1b: What are the valued outcomes and processes of education according to the teachers? To what extent and in what ways are teachers able to provide quality education they value?

Objective 2: To examine teachers' professional environment and the process of teaching with regard to improving education quality.

- RQ2a: To what extent and in what way do teachers' professional environments, such as working conditions and professional training opportunities, enable them to provide quality teaching they value? What are the potentials and constraints?
- RQ2b: How are their teaching practices and pedagogical methods shaped by their training and their own perceptions of quality?

Objective 3: To examine challenges and solutions from teachers' perspectives as to how to improve quality in practice.

- RQ3a: What are the challenges that teachers face in providing quality education and, in their view, how can these challenges be solved to improve quality in practice?

2 Thematic background

In this chapter, I present background information to this study and argue for the relevance of investigating teachers' perception about quality in secondary education. First, I outline the importance of quality education on the international development agenda. Second, I introduce Tanzania, the country chosen for this study, and provide historical context to understanding education quality in Tanzania. Lastly, I outline the current state of education in Tanzania with special attention to challenges in providing quality education before reviewing the role and the challenging situation of teachers with regard to quality.

2.1 Education on the international agenda

"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world"

Nelson Mandela[1]

Education plays a key role in both economic and social development. It contributes to improved living standards and reduced poverty "directly and indirectly through its impact on health gains, productivity and social integration" (WorldBank, 2015, p. 19). One additional year of schooling can lead to a 10% rise in individual income on average (UNESCO, 2014a). Moreover, education has the potential to empower individuals and transform societies through promoting knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that foster peace, stability and democracy. Education is a fundamental human right and the basis for the realisation of other rights and achieving sustainable development. Furthermore, education contributes to improved health and nutrition and it promotes gender equality (UNESCO, 2015c).

The importance of education on the global development agenda has been reflected in the MDGs created by the United Nations (UN) in 2000 and the EFA movement under the coordination of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Ever since the World Declaration on Education for All was signed in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, there has been considerable global effort to expand educational opportunities for all and reach universal primary education. When seeing the insufficient progress towards reaching these goals at the turn of the millennium, the international community met again in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000 to reaffirm their collective commitment to improving and expanding education for all. Based on the Universal Declaration of Human

[1] Source: The Washington Post online. By Valerie Strauss, 2013. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2013/12/05/nelson-mandelas-famous-quote-on-education/?utm_term=.ef47271e5e97 Retrieved: 08.05.2017.

Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, six goals and further associated targets were created in the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000). These six goals, where ensuring quality in education was one of the goals, were intended to support MDG No. 2, which set out to "ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling" (UN, 2014, p. 16).

Up to 2015, the target year of the MDGs and the EFA goals, considerable progress has been made since 2000. For example, 34 million more children have gone to school globally and 12 million more teachers have been recruited and deployed in primary and secondary schools thanks to intensive national and international efforts (UNESCO, 2015b). Despite this progress, only a third of the countries have achieved all measurable EFA goals and about 52% of the countries achieved Universal Primary Education as defined in the MDGs. In 2012, 121 million school-aged children still did not have access to education. Furthermore, while several countries have made progress in broadening the access to primary education, ensuring high quality at all levels is still problematic. High pupil/teacher ratios, recruiting and retaining qualified and motivated teachers and providing sufficient textbooks and learning materials remain a severe challenge in several middle- and low-income countries (UNESCO, 2015a). Thus, continued efforts are needed to ensure that children are not merely attending school but are actually learning and benefiting from education later on.

In the Incheon Declaration, created at the World Education Forum in May 2015, the international community confirmed its commitments to ensuring quality education and improving learning outcomes. Following the MDGs, UN SDGs, which make up the Agenda 2030 for sustainable development, were formed. Education plays a key role in achieving these 17 ambitious goals. SDG No. 4 sets out to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all" (UNESCO, 2015c).

Apart from the greater attention on improving quality at all levels of education, broadening access to secondary education has also been recognised as a priority in maximising education's impact on long-term development. The educational target of the SDGs set out to "ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes" (UNESCO, 2016). Thus, these SDG educational targets reflect a more holistic vision of education with an increased attention on both ensuring continuous learning opportunities after primary education and ensuring

quality and relevant learning outcomes as a prerequisite for education to reach the desired development outcomes.

When it comes to ways of improving quality, investing in teachers is among the educational targets. Teachers play a key role in improving learning and achievements in schools; they are the most crucial agents who can influence education quality in practice (Hattie, 2009). The Incheon Declaration recognises teachers' role in improving the quality of education and aims at ensuring that "teachers and educators are empowered, adequately recruited, well-trained, professionally qualified, motivated and supported" (UNESCO, 2015c). Setting these goals is especially relevant considering the challenging realities of teachers in the Global South, as also highlighted in the 2015 EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) (UNESCO, 2015b). Teacher-pupil ratios are still too high, which makes teaching more difficult. Moreover, there is a lack of trained teachers and training opportunities for teachers and teachers struggle with unsatisfactory working conditions, which can lead to absenteeism, low motivation and low professionalism (Tao, 2013). To achieve the SDGs, countries have a great responsibility in prioritising these goals in national policy and resource allocation. Addressing the issue of teachers is central for any country to improve the quality of education, including Tanzania, where education has been a recognised priority in fostering development.

2.2 Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania is located in East Africa, neighbouring Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique (Figure 2.2.1). The United Republic of Tanzania is a union between the mainland (Tanganyika) and the Zanzibar Isles (Unguja and Pemba) that was formed in 1964 (UNDP, 2017). Tanzania is a unitary presidential democratic republic with a multi-party system. The current president, John P. J. Magufuli from the Revolutionary State Party (CCM – *Chama Cha Mapinduzi*) was elected in 2015. The total population of Tanzania is 53.47 million, with an annual population growth of 3.13% (UNDP, 2017). Official languages are English and Swahili. The country's Human Development Index (HDI) value for 2015 was 0.531, which puts Tanzania in the low human development category. With this HDI value, Tanzania ranks 151 out of 188 countries and territories (UNDP, 2016). The 2016 Human Development Report accounts for an improvement in life expectancy at birth, from 50 years in 1990 to 65.5 years in 2015. Furthermore, the expected years of schooling have also increased from 5.5 to

8.9 years and the mean years of school increased by 2.2 years in the same period (UNDP, 2016).

Figure 2.2.1: Map of the United Republic of Tanzania

Source: World Travels Online[2]

According to the Tanzania Poverty Assessment issued by the World Bank, despite an average 6.3% annual growth in gross domestic product (GDP) from 2008 to 2013, 28% of Tanzanians still could not meet their daily basic consumption needs (WorldBank, 2015, p. 12). Using the international poverty line ($1.25 per person per day), 43.5% of the population lived in poverty in 2011/12 (p. 19). Moreover, over 80% of the poor and the extremely poor live in rural areas, where around half of them depend on subsistence agriculture for their livelihoods (p. 19). According to the World Bank, agriculture accounted for approximately one third of the Tanzanian GDP in 2015 (WorldBank, no date). Currently, the unemployment rate is 11.7% (UNDP, 2017) and it is a challenge especially among the youth that represent about 18% of the Tanzanian population (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). A survey by Restless Development found that only 14% of youths between 15 to 24 years of age reported to have formal wage-earning jobs (Kusher, 2013). Furthermore, Tanzania's economy heavily relies on financial aid from international donors.

The formal education system in Tanzania consists of two years of pre-primary, seven years of primary education and at the secondary level four years of ordinary-level education (Form 1–4, ages 14–17) and two years of advanced-level education (Form 5–6, ages 18–19). Higher

[2] Retrieved from: http://www.wordtravels.com/Travelguide/Countries/Tanzania/Map (09.05.2017)

education is provided at both college and university levels (UNESCO, 2010). At all level of education, both government and non-government actors provide educational opportunities. Seven years of primary education is compulsory for all children. The official language of instruction is Swahili at the primary level and English from secondary level upwards. In the private sector, though, mainly English is used as the language of instruction even at pre-primary and primary levels. In the final year of primary school (Standard 7), pupils have to pass the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) to qualify to continue studying at a public secondary school. Similarly, at the end of ordinary secondary education, Form 4 students sit for their national examination to receive their Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (CSEE). Those who pass can continue schooling at the advanced level and later at university. Public primary education has been fee-free since 2002 and the new Magufuli government expanded free education (*elimu bure*) to the ordinary cycle of secondary level education in January 2016 (HakiElimu, 2017a, 2017b). A fuller presentation and analysis of Tanzanian education policies is presented in Chapter 3.

2.2.1 Historical context

After a long colonial period, Tanganyika gained independence in 1961. A few years later, Tanganyika united with the Zanzibar Isles and the United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 (Shillington, 1995). Julius K. Nyerere became Tanzania's first president. Nyerere was a visionary leader who soon realised education's value and potential in nation building. After independence, Nyerere's goal was to create unity in Tanzania and investing in education was considered key in social and economic development as well as in creating a sense of nationhood among a diverse population with different racial, religious and socio-economic backgrounds (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Instead of following the European model of capitalist industrialisation, Nyerere chose an African socialistic development path after independence (Shillington, 1995). In 1967, the policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance was announced in the Arusha Declaration. The purpose of education, as a key instrument in development, was to promote universal knowledge and to prepare students for work in the *Ujamaa* villages (Ahmad, Krogh, & Gjøtterud, 2014). The idea behind the policy of *ujamaa*, meaning "brotherhood" or "self-reliance", was to organise the rural society in communal units based on mutual cooperation and the tradition of communal labour for the benefit of the society (Shillington, 1995). Thus, apart from learning to read, write and calculate, primary

schools focused on developing practical skills such as agricultural skills that were appropriate to the needs of the rural society (Ahmad et al., 2014).

In line with the policy, the education system was centralised, Swahili was introduced as a common language in primary schools to promote unity and a common curriculum was created reflecting the united national identity at all levels of education. Primary school fees were abolished in 1963 and access to both the primary and secondary levels of education was expanded (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Furthermore, education became an instrument of social change carrying ideal values such as cooperation, respect, equality and love (Ahmad et al., 2014). Nyerere summarised the meaning of education as follows:

> Education provided must encourage development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt to their own needs; and a basic confidence in their own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains. (Nyerere, 1968, p. 274)

In summary, education was intended to be meaningful and useful in the context of a developing rural society while also developing self-confidence and promoting the spirit of cooperation and self-reliance (Ahmad et al., 2014; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009). Emphasis was also placed on communicating these values and ideals to the general public through speeches and the media and, consequently, the purpose of education became familiar to all (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014).

However, in the mid-1980s, political and economic changes and external shocks caused stagnation and Tanzania experienced an economic crisis (Shillington, 1995). Even though enrolment rates at both the primary and secondary level of education were increasing, the government did not have the means to keep up the standard and the quality of education (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). When facing these challenges, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank provided loans and financial support to Tanzania with the condition of implementing Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and adopting liberal market policies (Shillington, 1995). Education was no longer fully subsidised by the government, cost-sharing was introduced and students had to pay school fees again, which led to a decrease in enrolment. This also marks a shift in thinking about education, where economic efficiency became a priority and the socialist ideals were abandoned (Ahmad et al., 2014). In the beginning of the 1990s, however, responding to the international appeal of the

Dakar Framework for Action and the EFA movement, Tanzania revised its education policy in 1995 and again declared an enhanced focus on education.

2.2.2 Quality education in Tanzania: achievements and challenges

At the turn of the millennium, the United Republic of Tanzania was one of the low-income counties that acted quickly upon the challenge of the MDGs and EFA initiative and put great efforts into improving its education system. Primary tuition fees were abolished in 2002 in order to achieve universal primary education for all (MDG No. 2) (Mrutu, 2007), which led to a significant improvement in primary net enrolment rates: By 2013, around 98% of school-age children were enrolled in primary schools, providing an opportunity for nearly all children to benefit from education (UNESCO, 2013). This meant 8.2 million Tanzanian children in school in 2011 compared to only 4.1 million in 1999. Furthermore, a total of 29,922 new classrooms were built in the period between 2002 and 2004 (Bown, 2009, p. 114).

However, similar to the global trends, prioritising quantity in education had a negative impact on the quality of education in Tanzania (Hoogeveen & Rossi, 2013). Despite the achievements in broadening the access to primary education, the PSLE pass rates have been alarmingly low. In 2013, only 50.6% of Standard 7 pupils passed their PSLEs. Moreover, a study conducted by Uwezo found that 19 out of 100 children were illiterate when they finished primary school (Uwezo, 2011). When measuring numeracy, only 65% of Standard 7 pupils were able to solve Standard 2 level mathematics exercises. Considering primary school pupils' English reading skills, only 50% of Standard 7 pupils could read a Standard 2 level English text (Uwezo, 2011). Thus, even though pupils might pass their PSLEs, which are based on multiple-choice questions, they enter the secondary level of education with a weak foundation. Consequently, this has had a negative effect on learning outcomes at the secondary level.

Furthermore, the focus on primary-level education left limited attention and resources to investing in the secondary level. As a result, the gross enrolment rate for secondary schools is still low; 35% of pupils can continue studying on the secondary level, out of which only 10% are enrolled in upper secondary school (UNESCO, 2013). Secondary education in Tanzania also suffers from an inadequate number of schools and teachers (Hartwig, 2013; NBS, 2008). In addition, secondary Form 4 examination (CSEE) pass rates have fallen drastically in the past 10 years. In 2013, only 57% of Form 4 students passed their CSEE compared to 88% in

2003. This could be "due to too rapid expansion of enrolment without matching it with adequate supply of essential teaching and learning facilities" (PMO, 2014, p. 49). According to Sumra and Katabaro (2014), another important factor behind the low CSEE pass rates is the quick establishment of community schools (*shule za kata*) in 2004 in response to the expansion of the secondary level of education. In each ward[3], a community secondary school was established, which often lacked the facilities, teaching and learning materials and human resources to provide high quality education to secondary students joining these schools. Thus, the rapid expansion and poor facilities and learning environments affected the education quality at the secondary level as well. Since research about the quality of education has until now mostly focused on the primary level of education (Barrett, 2007; Hoogeveen & Rossi, 2013; Tao, 2013), there is a need to further examine the secondary level, as it has significance for both personal and social development. This study was therefore limited to investigating the secondary level of education in Tanzania.

In addition, there is a growing difference between government and private secondary schools, where private schools with more resources offer better educational opportunities for students who can afford to pay school fees (Hartwig, 2013). For instance, pupil-teacher ratios differ substantially in public and private schools (1:34 and 1:15 respectively) according to data from 2006 in Tanga region, where the study was conducted (NBS, 2008). This division between government and private schools creates further inequalities and limits education's potential to reduce poverty in Tanzania (Wedgwood, 2007). This study therefore also investigated the similarities and differences in teachers' perception of quality and their ability to provide valued quality education in two private and one government secondary school(s).

2.2.3 Teachers and teaching

Teachers are key facilitators of quality education, which is also recognised in the SDGs (Hattie, 2009; UNESCO, 2015c). In under-resourced schools, such as those in Tanzania, considering the lack of textbooks and other learning materials, teachers play an even more important role in providing quality education. Due to the expansion of both primary and secondary level of education, attracting and training a sufficient number of teachers has been defined as a priority in Tanzanian education policies as is shown in Chapter 3. In primary schools, teachers can teach with a Certificate in Education, whereas at the secondary level, teachers are required to have either a diploma (2 years) or BA degree in education (3 years).

[3] Administrative units of Tanzania are from largest to smallest: regions, disctricts, divisions and wards.

Tanzanian basic education statistics show that the number of qualified teachers in primary schools increased by about 81,492 from 2001 to 2013 (URT, 2014b). Similarly, improvement has been achieved on the secondary level, where the number of qualified teachers was 65,513 in 2013 compared to only 14,352 in 2001. In 2014, the qualified teacher-pupil ratio in primary schools was 1:44 and 1:28 in secondary schools. However, there are still large differences between regions, where the numbers are much worse in rural areas (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). On the secondary level, shortages of teachers, especially in science and mathematics, have a negative impact on the quality of education. Now, because of the introduction of free secondary education in 2016 and the further expansion of the secondary level of education, attracting, training and retaining teachers will be vital in the coming years to ensure quality education in secondary schools.

However, the greatest challenge is that teachers in Tanzania often lack the necessary content knowledge and acceptable professional environments to perform quality teaching (Mrutu, 2007; Tao, 2013). Large class sizes, lack of teaching and learning materials, low salaries and challenging working conditions influence teachers' professionalism and motivation in teaching activities, which further limit the quality of pupils' learning (Bennell & Mukyanuzi, 2005; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Tao (2013) found that even if teachers have ambitions to teach well, they often experience severe personal constraints, for instance poor living conditions or lack of respect from their community, that limits their performance at school. Furthermore, the social status of the teaching profession in Tanzanian society has also changed over the past two to three decades. In 1990, the teaching profession had a higher status and teachers chose this profession with the goal of helping to build the nation (Cooksey, Ishumi, Malekela, & Galabawa, 1991). Now, on the other hand, teachers often choose the teaching profession as a "plan B or C" when their "plan A" failed; many of them look at teaching as a way to earn a living while they are looking for alternatives (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Thus, students with lower performance and low motivation join teacher training colleges (TTCs), which also impacts the quality of their work as teachers later.

Considering the current situation, investing in improving teachers' professionalism and working conditions are recognised as a priority in Tanzanian education policy documents, as is shown later. Furthermore, in order to reach the policy objectives regarding improving quality, teacher training plays an important role in transmitting the values and objectives of these policies. The success of implementation will also depend on the extent to which teachers

have managed not only to learn subject content and teaching methods but also to internalise the way of thinking about the purpose of education.

Relevance of the study

Quality in education is mostly defined at the policy level and teachers as the actual participants of the education system are hardly involved in discussing and designing quality education (Tikly & Barrett, 2013). Furthermore, there is a gap in literature in assessing how teachers' perceptions of quality are formed by the teacher training they receive and whether they can identify themselves with the quality perceptions they have been taught. Providing quality education might be a great challenge if there are discrepancies between the perception of quality education on the policy level and teachers' everyday educational practices, thus making it hard to improve quality set in national policies. Furthermore, recognising the importance of investing in teachers as per the SDGs (UNESCO, 2014b, 2015b), it is highly relevant to carry out research about how teachers perceive quality and how quality can be improved by empowering them to discuss quality in practice. Therefore, in the light of quality defined at the policy level, this study intends to investigate teachers' own perspectives of quality and teaching practices in reality. Without aiming at producing generalizable findings, the study may provide a valuable contribution to the field of study by shedding light on the impact of teacher training and exploring teachers' own perspectives of quality since they have the most influence on improving the quality of education in practice.

Furthermore, teachers' professional environment and the process of teaching were examined in addition to teachers' perception of quality education. This aimed to look at how perceptions of teachers' valued quality education are translated into action and to what extent their professional environment, such as working conditions, and professional training opportunities enable them to provide quality teaching, how their teaching practices and pedagogical methods are formed by the training they received and their own perceptions of quality. In addition, this study investigated the challenges that teachers face with regard to providing the quality education they value and the possible solutions they see in practice. Finally, investigating the question of quality both in a government school and two private schools shed light on different aspects of teachers' quality perception and practices given the different physical and working conditions. Teachers' values and perceptions were analysed in light of the theoretical and policy frameworks outlined in the next chapter.

3 Conceptual framework

In this chapter, I outline the underpinnings of the three theoretical approaches in examining the issue of quality in secondary education in Tanzania, namely the human capital, human rights and social justice approaches. Subsequently, I present the education policy context in Tanzania that provided a framework for the analysis and discussion of the findings in this study.

3.1 Theoretical framework

Quality in education is a complex and debated concept. Perceptions and definitions of quality have mostly been influenced by the current political and theoretical trends on both the national and international level (Barrett, Chawla-Duggan, Lowe, Nikel, & Ukpo, 2006). When developing countries set out to invest in improving the quality of education, it is necessary to examine the content of quality definitions and valued quality educational outcomes.

According to Tikly and Barrett (2011, 2013), in the past years there have been two dominant approaches to understanding education quality in low-income countries, namely the human capital and human rights approaches. The human capital approach reflects the neo-liberal thinking emphasising the economic rationale of education saying that investing in human capital through quality education is essential to create economic growth (Barrett et al., 2006; Hanushek & Woessmann, 2007; Walker, 2012). The desired outcome of economic growth is then measured by GDP, reduced poverty and improved social welfare. The purpose of quality education is to equip people with "skills for participation in the global knowledge economy" (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, p. 4).

However, for education to successfully contribute to growth, Hanushek and Woessmann (2007) found that the quality of education matters more than quantity. These authors claimed that increased student academic performance has a greater positive effect on individual earnings and economic growth than merely student enrolment rates or the number of years spent in school (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). As quality is mainly measured by student achievement in the human capital thinking, development efforts should focus on improving effectiveness and cognitive learning outcomes to maximise education's impact on growth. Thus, Hanushek and Woessmann (2007) suggested three measures intended to improve education quality: (1) greater accountability systems to measure student performance through

external examinations and the publication of school performance data; (2) greater school autonomy and local decision making; and (3) creating greater choice and competition among schools as an incentive to produce effective systems and improved learning outcomes. In order to improve efficiency and learning outcomes in schools, teachers play an important role in facilitating education. For the purpose of improving teachers' professionalism within the human capital thinking, emphasis is placed on systems of monitoring and incentives to ensure greater accountability of teachers (Tikly & Barrett, 2011).

However, Hanushek and Woessmann (2007) also highlighted that enhancing growth through quality education is a complex issue and they called attention to the importance of a strong macroeconomic environment and labour market, which is a great challenge on the African continent, especially south of the Sahara. Furthermore, they found that inequalities, such as gender, differences between town and rural environments and socio-economic background, have a negative impact on growth. The 2009 EFA GMR (UNESCO, 2008) also questioned to what extent greater local accountability, financial decentralisation and greater competition and choice leads to improved outcomes, particularly for disadvantaged groups (Tikly & Barrett, 2013). As a critique of the human capital approach, Tikly and Barrett (2011, p. 4) note that attention mainly focused on improving academic performance on standardised tests is problematic, since the outcome is overly emphasised compared to the complexity of the process leading to the outcome. Human capital thinking further neglects the social and emotional aspects of the education system, directing less focus on the individuals learning experience and disadvantaged groups.

The other influential approach views development more broadly than just economic growth. The human rights approach is interested in involving broader political and cultural dimensions and focuses on the realisation of fundamental human rights as well as peace, security and environmental sustainability as the purpose and meaning of development (Piron & O'Neil, 2005; Tikly & Barrett, 2013, p. 12).

This view on development has been promoted by UN agencies and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) rooted in human rights legislation, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989). When it comes to education, the rights-based approach focuses on education's role in "securing rights to education, rights in education and rights through education" (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, p. 5). It focuses substantial attention on the inclusion of all learners regardless of their socio-economic background,

ethnicity, gender or disadvantages to ensure that no one is left behind. Apart from only focusing on quality learning outcomes, the rights-based approach is also concerned with the process of education and the quality of children's learning environments that ensures healthy and safe learning and development opportunities for all. This entails securing both negative rights such as environments free from discrimination or abuse and positive rights such as child-friendly learning environments, student democratic participation and the use of local languages. The learner is therefore in the centre of quality education, where the goal is to meet the learner's needs through learner-centred teaching approaches (UNICEF, 2009). Learner-centred teaching methods, also called participatory methods, are grounded in social constructivism that acknowledge the learner's previous knowledge and experience and provide opportunities for participation and developing competences (Hardman, Abd-Kadir, & Tibuhinda, 2012; Schweisfurth, 2015; Vavrus, 2009). It promotes a broader set of skills than a narrow focus on literacy, numeracy, vocational or practical skills for economic productivity and focuses on developing broader life skills, social- and health-related skills. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the foremost promoter of the human rights approach within education defines life skills as "psychosocial abilities for adaptive and positive behaviour that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges or everyday life" (UNICEF, no date). Such skills entail analytical and problem-solving skills, critical thinking, communication and social skills, HIV/AIDS awareness and awareness of human rights (UNICEF, 2009). Teachers, as key facilitators of quality education, need to be supported both in terms of creating adequate working conditions and providing professional development opportunities in order to improve their motivation and professionalism.

Although the rights-based approach provides a more diverse and multi-faceted understanding of quality education than only focusing on the economic dimension, it has been critiqued for mainly being concerned with the individual's rights and welfare instead of including broader historical and socio-cultural contexts that form individual backgrounds and lived realities in local communities (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Furthermore, Tikly and Barret also argue that neither of the two previous approaches manages to fully embrace the political dimension of quality education. Thus, even though both the human capital and human rights approaches carry essential values towards defining quality in education, Tikly and Barrett go on to suggest an alternative approach to understanding quality, namely the social justice approach.

The social justice approach is based on Nancy Fraser's global social justice theory (Fraser, 2008) and Amartya Sen's capability approach (Sen, 1993, 1999). Fraser defines social justice as parity of participation, meaning that members of society can equally participate in social life without being restricted by institutional or socio-cultural arrangements (Fraser, 2008). Achieving social justice includes diminishing barriers, such as political arrangements or authoritarian cultural structures, that limit access to resources, services or participating in decision making. When it comes to education, from a global social justice perspective, all should be able to participate in defining the desired educational goals as well as the process and outcomes of quality teaching and learning. On the one hand, it refers to having political structures in place allowing for equal participation in decision making regarding education on the national level. On the other hand, having the freedom and opportunity to identify educational priorities locally in a globalised world and not being restricted by international agendas when defining the content and form of education that is relevant in the given country (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, pp. 6-7).

Linked to Fraser's (2008) global social justice theory, the other approach that inspired Tikly and Barret's perspective is Sen's capability approach. Capabilities refer to alternatives or opportunities that people have to achieve desired *functioning*, that is, "various things that they may value doing or being" (Sen, 1999, p. 75). In this sense, education can be both the means and the end of development: means in the sense that individuals can expand their capability set, which they can convert into achievements or outcomes, and ends by achieving functionings such as being well-educated. Thus, instead of restricting development to merely economic growth, Sen views development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy", referring to expanding people's opportunities to lead a life they find meaningful (Sen, 1999, p. 3).

The purpose of quality education should be developing and expanding capability sets of individuals through the process of teaching and learning (Vaughan & Walker, 2012; Walker, 2003). This refers to not only creating the conditions of being well-educated, but also ensuring that education in a real sense contributes to achieving what individuals or groups of people have reason to value (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Furthermore, Tikly and Barrett argued that, from a capability perspective, the purpose of education should include promoting the development of autonomy and the ability of making choices in life, thus further expanding the set of skills and capabilities learners should acquire (p. 7). The measurement of the outcomes of quality education should not only rely on performance on standardised tests, as they

exclude valuable learning goals that cannot be measured through pen and paper (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, p. 10). However, Tikly and Barrett also called attention to the fact that capabilities are relative and their definition is never irrespective of the historical and socio-cultural context of a given society. Conflicting capabilities and valued functioning exist in each society and hierarchical social norms or other political or economic factors may limit individuals' or groups' abilities to convert their resources and capabilities into a broader set of functioning that they have reason to value.

In short, the social justice approach focuses on education's potential to promote the capabilities that individuals, communities and the society have reason to value. Its point of departure is thus the notion that education quality is a political issue and both the valued outcomes and the process of education should be a matter of debate (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, p. 6). Developing countries have to choose educational priorities locally and decide the content and form of quality education they have reason to value.

In the social justice framework, the three key dimensions to assessing education quality are inclusion, relevance and democracy (Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2013). Inclusion refers to both ensuring the access to good quality education and the opportunity to achieve the valued outcomes. Based on Fraser's (2008) perspective, the inclusion dimension should concern the different needs and socio-cultural identities of groups of learners, including disadvantaged groups, based on ethnicity, gender, disability or socio-economic background. In this sense, it is also important to consider how resources within the education sector are distributed in order to satisfy the learning needs of the different groups of learners. For instance, Tickly and Barrett refer to the sanitary needs of girls that require special inputs from a certain age to ensure continued schooling (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, p. 9). Furthermore, the inclusion dimension also refers to the impact of social norms and values that may hinder individuals or groups of learners to convert their resources and capabilities into valued functionings. The content and form of education may reproduce inequalities, for example, between learners of different genders or ethnicities by reflecting the notion that one is more valuable than the other; this may even be the cause of conflict in the society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Therefore, such underlying norms may limit learners opportunities to achieve the outcome they have reason to value.

This point is closely linked to relevance, the second dimension within the social justice framework. Relevance refers to "the extent to which learning outcomes are meaningful for all

learners, valued by their communities and consistent with national development priorities in a changing global context" (Tikly & Barrett, 2011, p. 10). Thus, high quality education should promote developing capabilities that individuals and communities, not excluding disadvantaged or underrepresented groups, have reason to value. Choosing a relevant curriculum and language of instructions are key in this aspect, as it also has an impact on how learners of different groups can convert the knowledge and skills into valued outcomes(Brock-Utne, 2006). These aspects should also be matter of debate where all stakeholders can have their voices heard.

The third dimension of the social justice approach is democracy, referring to the participatory aspect of defining the desired content, process and outcomes of quality education as well as the value base of education that individuals and the broader society have reason to value (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). This should, first of all, be applied on the national level by promoting public debate about education, where all stakeholders, including students, parents, teachers and communities are invited to contribute. Here, civil society organisations such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), grass-roots organisations and advocacy groups play an important role in increasing the voice of all groups. Furthermore, apart from promoting life skills in line with the human rights approach, quality education should also include citizenship education where students can become empowered to challenge undemocratic processes within the education system and in the broader society as they become adults. Moreover, the democratic dimension should promote participatory social justice on the international level when defining educational priorities. This is meant to challenge the top-down approach in formulating educational policy and limiting international influence on local education agendas. Quality should therefore be defined locally, recognising real needs and promoting capabilities and functioning that different members or groups in the society have reason to value.

However, Tikly and Barrett (2013) also argue that valued capabilities are contextual and education is embedded in specific social and geographical contexts that cannot be disregarded. With reference to these contexts, there are three levels of environment that determine quality in practice: the policy environment, the school environment and home and community environment. The policy environment is crucial in formulating the vision for education at the national level and it plays a key role in setting the curriculum, training teachers and monitoring quality (Tikly & Barrett, 2013, p. 15). The policy environment, however, can reflect contradicting interests considering, firstly, the economic rationale of

education, focusing on the funding and the economic outcomes of investment in education, secondly, the political nature of post-colonial states and the influence of donor-driven development agendas and, thirdly, the ideological nature of competing interests, such as the African socialist, neo-liberal or human-rights approaches trying to influence education policy. The education agenda therefore needs to be analysed at all three levels in order to gain an understanding of the concept of quality influenced by the previously mentioned interests.

The second environment that determines quality in practice is the school environment that mediates the implementation of the education policy. Here, it is crucial to examine the way in which the curriculum is taught, the type of pedagogical methods used and how perspectives and values are transmitted within and outside of the classroom. This is especially critical knowing that schools can be places of discrimination and excluding practices that limit individuals' or groups' opportunities to convert their resources into desired functionings (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). On the continent of Africa, it is important to mention the impact of traditional authoritarian cultural structures and practices of corporal punishment that can have a negative impact on the development of students' capabilities. From a social justice perspective, schools need to be not only safe places for learners, but also need to provide an environment where learners' "voices are listened to and where members of staff strive to enhance their capabilities" (Tikly & Barrett, 2013, p. 18; Unterhalter, 2017).

The third environment is the home and community environments that also determine the quality of education. It is both concerned with the socio-economic environment in the home that has an impact on students' learning opportunities and the community's role in participating in decision making about issues of quality in education. However, when exploring perceptions about the quality of education, this study mainly focused on the first two aspects, namely the policy environment and the school environment.

In summary, the previously presented three approaches identified by Tikly and Barret (2011, 2013), namely the human capital, human rights and social justice approaches were used in this study to gain a better understanding of the vision and values behind both the Tanzanian policy documents and teachers' perceptions of quality in the chosen cases in practice. It is important to note, however, that these approaches are not necessarily clear-cut and it is possible to mix and merge different elements of these approaches. Nevertheless, this classification was helpful in analysing the findings of this study.

3.2 Tanzanian education policy framework

Government policies are crucial cornerstones and roadmaps for each nation. Policies are a set of ideas, principles and plans that guide the nation in achieving the goals set for future development in all sectors, including education. The Tanzanian education policy is guided by key policy documents on the national level such as the Tanzania Development Vision 2025, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA), the National Five Year Development Plan (2016/17–2020/21), the Education and Training Policy of 2014 and the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) as well as the 2030 SDGs and the African Agenda 2063 on the international level.

At the turn of the millennium, Tanzania created the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 that sets out the ambitious goal of eliminating poverty and becoming a middle-income country by 2025 (URT, 1999). The Vision 2025, as well as all other policy documents, recognise education as a key sector in bringing about social and economic transformation in Tanzania:

> Education should be treated as a strategic agent for mind-set transformation and for the creation of a well-educated nation, sufficiently equipped with the knowledge needed to competently and competitively solve the development challenges which face the nation. (URT, 1999)

Vision 2025 also emphasises investing in teachers and creating conducive teaching and learning environment in order for education to fulfil its role in development as a strategic change agent.

Educational priorities were further defined in government policies such as the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 2014 and the ESDP for 2008–2017. The 2014 ETP follows the ETP from 1995 that mostly focused on the economic rationale of education by emphasising education's role in developing human resources needed for national value creation (MoEC, 1995). The 2014 ETP's vision, in line with Vision 2025, is to equip Tanzanians with knowledge, skills, competences and positive attitudes so that they can contribute to the development of the nation (MoEVT, 2014). However, while the ETP from 1995 mainly reflected the neo-liberal thinking about education, the 2014 ETP embraces a more diverse perception of education and quality in education, including developing cultural and moral values and building skills to maintain peace, tolerance and resolve conflicts in society. Furthermore, cross-cutting issues such as environmental conservation and HIV/AIDS

education is also included in the policy that reflect more of a human rights approach to education.

The ESDP reflects a similar way of thinking about education quality as the ETP by first of all emphasising investing in human capital as a key for the nation's growth and including the promotion of broader capabilities and values promoting human development (MoEVT, 2008). The focus areas in improving quality are improving teacher training, monitoring and rewarding teachers' progress, creating a conducive, friendly environment for teaching and learning and promoting participatory methods, thus reflecting both the human capital and human rights ways of thinking.

Since the primary objective of this study was to examine the secondary level of education and teachers' perception of quality and exploring the impact of teacher training on perceptions, the sub-sector development programmes for secondary school and teacher education provided a crucial starting point of analysis in this thesis.

Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP II, 2010–2015)

Sub-sector strategies for the secondary level of education are specified in the SEDP II. This programme highlights secondary education's role in development and poverty reduction as an important stage after the primary level of education and the base for further education on the tertiary level. In line with the ETP, the policy states that good quality secondary education is "a prerequisite for good quality human life, labour skills and economic productivity" (MoEVT, 2010c, p. 6).

During the first phase of SEDP (2004–2009), development efforts led to improved access and equity in secondary education (MoEVT, 2004). However, the expansion of the secondary level of education led to diminishing quality in schools. Thus, investing in improving the quality of secondary education is central to the second phase of the SEDP. Building on the experience of the previous programme, the SEDP II defines five priority areas: (1) improvement of quality and relevance, (2) enhancement of access and equity, (3) improvement of teaching force and teaching process, (4) improving management efficiency and good governance and (5) institutionalisation of cross-cutting issues (MoEVT, 2010c).

Priority No. 1 sets out to improve quality and relevance and focuses on the promotion of independent learning, critical thinking and analytical skills as well as improving the teaching

and learning environment. This priority is also in line with the previously introduced curriculum reforms promoting the acquisition of skills, competences and attitude instead of focusing on factual knowledge. In 2005, the government introduced the competence-based curriculum (CBC) in secondary education that was intended to replace the content-based curriculum that was emphasised previously. The 2005 curriculum promotes general competences for secondary school, including critical and creative thinking, communication, numeracy, independent learning, personal and social values and technological literacy (MoEVT, 2005). In concrete terms, when improving the quality, SEDP II set out to improve quality by providing adequate teaching and learning materials; ensuring that active learning takes place by monitoring teachers' class attendance and teaching progress; promoting independent learning, critical thinking and analytical skills among students by, among others, project works; improving academic performance, especially in mathematics and science; and using technology in teaching for improved results.

Apart from quality, the further enhancement of access and equity in the education system has also been identified as a priority in secondary education. Much attention has been focused on improving A-level enrolment, improving girls' participation, improving access to secondary education of nomads, disabled learners and marginalised groups and improving school facilities to accommodate the growing number of learners. Thus, further inclusion and the diversity of learners is receiving more attention than in the past.

Priority No. 3 sets out to improve the teaching force and process and emphasises attracting and training an adequate number of high-quality teachers through incentive systems, improving pupil-teacher interaction in classrooms, continuous assessment and student-centred pedagogy in classrooms. In the pursuit of building competences in secondary education, the 2005 curriculum change marks a paradigm shift in the teaching methodologies used to implement competence-based instead of content-based education. Thus, to promote the development of competences, it is stated in the secondary level curriculum that the learner-centred teaching approach should be emphasised (MoEVT, 2005, p. 29):

> The learner shall be placed at the focus of all the decisions that are made about the curriculum and how it will be delivered. This approach shall promote learning-through-doing where both the teacher and the student are active participants in the process. The teacher shall become a facilitator, motivator and a promoter of learning during the classroom interactions. Therefore, learning shall be rooted in the conception of constructivism where the student gets opportunities to interact with environment through well-organized tasks, dialogue and reflections on learners' conceptions and eventually

> arriving at agreed solutions through use of various senses and in built multiple-intelligences. Teachers shall be required to plan and design relevant tasks that will let students question; critically think; form new ideas; create artefacts and therefore bring sense in the learning process. This is the type of learning that makes sense in the life of the students. This methodology automatically promotes the acquisition of intended skills and competences stipulated by the ordinary secondary education curriculum. Teachers shall therefore use the teaching techniques which enhance the learner-centred approach. (MoEVT, 2005, p. 29)

When using learner-centred methods in practice, the curriculum encourages using learning techniques such as classroom-based problem-solving and enquiry, demonstrations, practice of theoretical or laboratory skills, debates and group discussions and case studies (MoEVT, 2005, p. 30). When assessing competences of students, the curriculum suggests a wide range of preferred assessment methods that aim at measuring "students' understanding, reasoning and critical thinking rather than their ability to return memorized facts" (p.32). Thus, continuous assessment methods may include project work, oral presentations, demonstrations, written reports and national examinations. The curriculum also promotes extra-curricular activities that advance practical and life skills in the form of clubs, projects and guiding and counselling. In summary, the priority regarding teachers is thus concerned with improving teachers' professional skills, the teaching and learning environment and the process of teaching.

Furthermore, special attention is paid to improving management efficiency and good governance as well as addressing cross-cutting issues such as gender, sanitation, environmental issues, patriotism and human rights in the mainstream curriculum and school management (MoEVT, 2010c). Awareness of HIV/AIDS, child abuse and gender-based violence as well as guidance and counselling programmes are set to be integrated in the curriculum.

Teacher Education Development and Management Strategy (TDMS)

Most of these key priorities also appear in the TDMS (MoEVT, 2007) (Figure 3.2.1). The TDMS acknowledges teachers' central role in facilitating meaningful education and states that improving the quality of teachers and teacher education is the cornerstone of any success in education (p. 6). The TDMS associates quality educational outcomes, among others, with "successful learners in life, and not just passing examinations; successful teachers in life, and not just teaching but happy people" (p. 11). This also reflects the value behind the priorities

and the increasing focus on not just academic achievement but also on capabilities and realising the potential of both learners and teachers.

Figure 3.2.1: Desired outcomes of good teaching as set out in the Teacher Education Development and Management Strategy

(i)	Successful learners in life, not just passing examinations
(ii)	Successful teachers in life, not just teaching but happy people
(iii)	Dependable individuals in classrooms and in the community
(iv)	Academic achievement in several and diverse subjects
(v)	Good social skills for intra- and interpersonal relationships
(vi)	Economic success for teachers and pupils in their lives
(vii)	Employability for graduates in appropriate tasks
(viii)	Good image of the school and its products

Source: (MoEVT, 2007, p. 11)

Furthermore, in striving to provide quality education, the TDMS points out the importance of an adequate number of high-quality teachers who have mastered the subject matter as well as obtained, through teaching practice, mastery of a diversity of teaching methods. The policy also describes an ideal teacher as the one that can both live and demonstrate behaviours as summarised in Table 3.2.1.

Table 3.2.1. Ideal teaching behaviour as set out in the Teacher Education Development and Management Strategy

Reflection	Reflecting on what to teach, when, why and how to teach it, how one taught it and how one would teach it again in the future.
Patience	Showing patience for the diverse abilities and speed of learners.
Fairness	Demonstrating fairness to all students and honesty in delivery.
Attentiveness	Focusing attention on the individual curiosities in the class and the total class.
Language	Using clear and simple language to be understood by all.
Empathy	Showing empathy, love, care and willingness to help learners; trying to be in their own shoes.
Tolerance	Demonstrating tolerance to the diverse views and mannerisms.
Ambience	Creating good ambience in all learning situations.
Emphasis	Stressing important points in learning.
Variety	Demonstrating mastery of different teaching skills, since students themselves differ greatly in interest and ability.
Relevance	Remaining focused on the goals of the lesson.
Clarity	Giving unambiguous messages on what matters and why.
Problem solver	Demonstrating ability for problem-solving behaviours such as investigating, probing, sequencing and understanding.
Mastery	Showing evidence of great mastery and internalisation of the subject matter.
Humility	Doing things in a sober way, with little pride and with modesty, without exaggerations and self-elevation.
Interaction	Keeping constantly in touch with students, peers, the community and promoting a positive image of teachers and schooling as a profession and an institution.
Use of time	Using classroom time on task for effective learning efficiently and effectively.
Good role model	Demonstrating good behaviours that can be emulated by students.
Adaptability	Showing the ability to adapt teaching to new situations and needs, including improvisation.

Source: (MoEVT, 2007, pp. 10-11).

According to the TDMS, the valued behaviours shown in Table 3.2.1 should reflect teachers' teaching practices and professional attitudes both in class and outside of class. These described behaviours of an ideal teacher go beyond the traditional perception of the teacher as the transmitter of knowledge and embrace qualities such as empathy, fairness and humility, reflecting the importance of transmitting these values as a guideline for the students as well. This also indicates a shift away from a teacher-centred way of thinking to a more learner-centred way of thinking in teacher education.

The policy is also concerned with improving teachers' working conditions and the environment of teaching in order to provide more motivation and obtain an adequate number of high-quality teachers at all levels of education, including secondary education. The TDMS states that there is a need to improve the status of the teaching profession to attract better performing students to TTCs. Standardisation of teacher education, more cooperation between different training institutions and improved frequency and quality of in-service teacher training are among the strategic actions planned to improve the quality of education at all levels.

Finally, in line with the SEDP II, the TDMS sets out the inclusion of cross-cutting issues in the teacher teaching curriculum, such as gender issues, HIV/AIDS, the use of information and communication technology (ICT), environmental issues and rights of the child. It states that teachers are the instruments of realisation of children's rights and through the teacher education curriculum they should be taught to promote children's rights, such as "getting reasonably decent education, protection from hazards and violence, life itself, being valued and appreciated, participation, and free from harassment" (MoEVT, 2007, p. 34). The policy also promotes the creation of a safe and child-friendly learning environment in schools for both girls and boys.

All things considered, perceptions of quality education through quality teacher training described in the TDMS can be summarised by the following quotation from the policy document:

> One needs to develop competences – knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and dispositions such as pride, self-esteem, team spirit, commitment, drive, adventure, creativity and vision. Thus capacity development has to go beyond training. It requires cultural transformation in order to acquire a working and production culture that inspires people to work hard, be serious, and show commitment. (MoEVT, 2007, p. 29)

Thus, the TDMS demonstrates a more diverse and holistic view on quality education, including human rights and developing values and competences both for teachers as facilitators of quality education and for learners as centres of quality education.

Perceptions of quality on the policy level

In summary, based on the theoretical framework for this thesis, changes in perceptions of quality in education in the history of Tanzania are clearly identifiable in policy documents. After independence in 1961, Tanzania was one of the few countries that realised the potential of education under the leadership of President Nyerere and the Arusha Declaration placed emphasis on developing people's capabilities to achieve economic growth as well as personal well-being (Hartwig, 2013; Mbilinyi, 2003; Mrutu, 2007). Later on, due to the neo-liberal influence in the 1980s and 1990s, the human capital perspective dominated the perception of quality education, focusing on the economic outcome. It was also in this manner that the first ETP was formulated in 1995. In 2008, however, the ESDP (2008–2017) was created, which reflects a change in the underlying thinking about the purpose of and quality in education. It seemed to move away from the narrower human capital perception to embracing human capabilities and values. In the ESDP, the government commits to "invest in education as a strategic action for addressing human capability and well-being" (MoEVT, 2008). These values and priorities concerning quality are further developed and described in detail in the SEDP II and TDMS documents, which are to a greater extent identifiable with the human rights approach and elements of the social justice approach (Hartwig, 2013). The human rights way of thinking promotes access to and equity in education, creating a child-friendly environment for learners, using a competence-based approach and participatory methods and including cross-cutting issues such as gender and children's rights in both teacher training and school curricula. Likewise, the social justice approach can be identified by acknowledging children's and teachers' value and potential, addressing the issue of relevance, supporting the inclusion of a diversity of learners and disadvantaged groups and promoting the transmission of values and building capabilities that the nation has reason to value.

Nevertheless, the Tanzanian education policy framework still seems to be mixed, where all three approaches –human capital, human rights and social justice approaches – to education appear in coexisting policy documents. A good example is the latest ETP 2014 and the Big Results Now (BRN) programme that were created in the same year.

In 2014, the government launched the BRN programme (2014–2018) in cooperation with the World Bank, which focuses on academic results and improving learning outcomes as a way to address the poor quality of education in Tanzania (WorldBank, 2014). The results-based approach aims at fast-tracking human capital development by improving teachers' working conditions and motivation, rewarding academic progress and achievements and establishing a results-oriented culture in Tanzanian education. Thus, BRN clearly reflects the neo-liberal way of thinking about education, whereas the ETP issued during the same year testifies of a more diverse way of thinking about education quality. The TDMS, created seven years earlier than the 2014 ETP and BRN, points out the same issue.

The TDMS is clear in that the country lacks "a well-articulated philosophy and vision to guide education sector policy formulation and planning in Tanzania" and calls for a vision along the lines of self-reliance that would "determine the kind of capabilities learners would develop through their education career" (MoEVT, 2007, p. 10). Moreover, it states that a country also needs to have a clear idea about the ideal teacher, who can educate the next generation in line with the vision of the country. An ideal teacher should also be a good role model and demonstrate the desired behaviour and way of thinking. Similarly, quality curricula should follow the vision and philosophy of the country that will guide both teaching practices and determine the intended learning outcomes.

Thus, arguably, even after 10 years since the formation of the TDMS, a clear vision and definition of quality education is still missing in Tanzania. The overarching policies tend to focus more on the economic rationale of education, while the sub-sector-specific policies reflect a more diverse way of thinking about education, including elements of both the human rights and social justice approaches to education. What most policies leave out, however, is the democratic element of the social justice approach that encourages inviting communities and the broader society to participate in the process of defining quality and the meaning of a relevant education for the next generation of Tanzanians.

However, values and quality priorities defined on the policy level can only be realised if teachers can associate themselves with these values and are committed to teach accordingly. Therefore, the three key approaches – the human capital, human rights and social justice approaches –provided a useful framework to analyse teachers' perceptions of quality in practice and how it differs from the valued education quality reflected in official policy documents. These approaches served as analytical tools to identify and classify teachers'

values and perceptions, which subsequently enabled comparison with the values behind the policy documents. Providing quality education set in national policies can only be achieved if teachers and, in broader terms, schools have the same approach to and perception about quality as defined in the policy documents.

4 Methods

In this chapter, the methods used in this study are introduced. First, I outline the overall research strategy and the research design, then I present the methods of data collection and analysis carried out during this study. Finally, I discuss the limitations of this study and reflect on the trustworthiness of the research and ethical considerations.

4.1 Research strategy

The overall objective of this study was (1) to explore teachers' perceptions of the quality of education in Tanzania in the context of the policy environment, (2) to investigate their professional environments and processes of teaching in practice and (3) to examine challenges and solutions from teachers' perspectives on how to improve the quality of education in practice. It was thus important to choose the research strategy, meaning "a general orientation of the conduct of social research" fitting to the objectives set for the study (Bryman, 2012, p. 35). In order to investigate teachers' points of view and lived realities, the study applied a range of qualitative research methods. Qualitative research methods allow a deeper understanding of values, attitudes, perceptions and underlying thinking that quantitative methods, by using numbers and statistics, would not capture (Bryman, 2012). By applying qualitative methods, the researcher could place herself in the shoes of the people she was studying and develop insight into the meaning behind their social world. Thus, gathering qualitative data was central to the interest of the study, as it intended to explore the richness and the complexity of teachers' perceptions of quality, which would have been difficult to quantify.

4.2 Research design

Research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data and guides choices regarding the execution of research that suits the interest of the study (Bryman, 2012, p. 45). The main focus of this study was to gather empirical data about teachers' perspectives and their everyday practices at school as well as to develop a deeper understanding of factors influencing perceptions of quality in practice. For this reason, this study applied a case study design, which facilitates the in-depth study of one or few illustrative cases for the purpose of exploring the nature and complexities of the phenomena studied (Berg & Lune, 2011, p. 325). In other words, rather than producing generalizable findings, case study design involves the "detailed and intensive analysis of one or few cases" as a whole (Bryman, 2012, p. 66). The

case study set up was a relevant research design for this study, because it intended to explore the realities of Tanzanian secondary schools in depth.

As the aim was to obtain insight into the life of schools both in the private and government sectors, a multiple-case study was carried out, investigating typical or representative cases. Typical cases refer to cases that can stand as an example of a broader category through which the researcher can capture the different circumstances and conditions that are more or less representative for that category (Bryman, 2012, p. 71; Yin, 2009). Nevertheless, it is also important to note that the choice of cases had a convenience element in addition to the purposive element, which is elaborated in Section 4.5. The selection criteria and reasons behind choosing three schools, namely a government school, a private day school and a private boarding school, as cases are also explained later.

Using a comparative design, the study intended to understand the perception of quality in education by looking at different schools under different social and financial circumstances. According to Bryman (2012, p. 74), "the main argument in favour of the multiple-case study is that it improves theory building". By comparing two or more cases, the researcher can develop a deeper understanding of social reality in different contexts and the comparison may contribute to richer theoretical reflections. Furthermore, in order to allow for a deeper understanding of the social phenomena, the present study incorporated elements of longitudinal design as well. Longitudinal case-study design involves the researcher participating in the everyday life of an organisation or community, in this case schools, for a longer period of time (Bryman, 2012, p. 71). The chosen cases were continuously studied for a period of six months within the framework of fieldwork in Tanzania between September 2015 and March 2016. Fieldwork entails visiting the place of interest for the study, getting to know the environment and the culture and interacting with members of the given society in order to gain awareness and first-hand experience of the cases studied (Scheyvens, 2014). The main purpose was to explore teachers' views and lived realities at work in different circumstances in the three cases. Obtaining insight into the lives of three different schools for a longer period of time has provided good grounds for understanding of the issue of quality in the chosen secondary schools in Tanzania.

4.3 Data collection

Data collection refers to the process of gathering information that is relevant for the study (Bryman, 2012). Within the framework of qualitative research, there are several methods of

collecting data. Case study approaches, like the present study, require "multiple methods and/or sources of data through which we create a full and deep examination of the case" (Berg & Lune, 2011, p. 325). The methods used in this study included qualitative in-depth interviews, participant observation, which is also called ethnographic research bearing in mind the length of active engagement in the field. To be able to compare the cases, they were examined for the same period of time using the same methods. Data were collected during a six-month period from September 2015 to March 2016.

Answering the research questions linked to the three main objectives required, first of all, qualitative interviews. Interviews are used to explore people's own viewpoints and "it gives insight into what the interviewee sees as relevant and important" (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). During the fieldwork in Tanzania, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were carried out with key informants to investigate their own perspectives of quality in education. Semi-structured interviews were guided by an interview guide, which referred to "a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered" (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). The interview guide for key informants such as teachers was more detailed, while the interview guide for school leaders, students and parents contained a limited number of topics that were relevant to the research (Appendix 1). However, as semi-structured interviews are flexible, interviewees had the freedom to express themselves in issues that they thought were relevant to the topic of quality of education. Thus, interviews often resembled more of an informal discussion than a formal interview, which was also partly the result of the relationships and trust built between me as the researcher and the informants during the course of time spent together. Persistent engagement in the field also allowed the informants to be interviewed several times during the course of the fieldwork, reflecting on different current and relevant issues that were happening in and outside of school.

Most of the interviews with teachers, heads of schools, education officials and parents were conducted individually when only I, as the researcher, and the interviewee were present. Students in different schools, however, were interviewed in groups using the focus group technique, which, according to Bryman, is also interested in "how people respond to each other's views and build up an view out of the interaction that takes place within the group (2012, p. 501). The reason for using focus group interviews with students was to gather information about how students as a group, and not particularly as individuals, think about quality-related topics. In addition, the group setting seemingly reduced students' fears of expressing themselves freely to a "foreign adult and teacher" whom they were supposed to

respect based on the hierarchical socio-cultural relationships in the society. When students were interviewed together with their friends, they were more comfortable contributing their honest opinions.

In addition to interviews, participant observation was an important data collection method in this study to examine teachers' teaching practices and lived realities in school in the context of education quality. Participant observation, also called ethnographic research, intends to go beyond words and gain a better understanding of behaviour within the local cultural and social context (Bryman, 2012). By becoming involved in the social life of those studied, by building relationships, listening to and engaging in conversations, the researcher develops a better insight into the motivations and values behind words and actions. Often the message conveyed during the interviews gains another meaning and falls into place as the researcher gains awareness of the physical and social world. The primary aim of carrying out participant observation in this study was to better understand the reasons behind how teachers think and to compare their actions to the values and perceptions expressed in interviews. This was to understand the possibilities and limitations of providing quality education in reality and how teaching practices are adjusted to one's own values and the actual environment. For this reason, systematic observations were carried out to observe teachers' behaviour and interactions. For the teachers selected for deeper inquiry, their lessons and teaching practices were also observed systematically. During classroom observations, an observation guide was followed (Appendix 2). Furthermore, field notes were created during fieldwork, where observed situations, conversations listened to and my thoughts and reflections (as the researcher) were recorded. These notes were helpful in keeping track of the developments of the research, both in terms of tasks, events and happenings and progression of data collection and analysis.

Furthermore, in order to enrich my understanding of the issue of education quality in Tanzanian secondary schools and to deepen my insight into the selected cases, I became actively involved in the schools' life as much as it was possible during the six months of fieldwork. I was engaged in teaching English at two of the schools and at the third school I spent much time with the teachers and students both during and outside of class activities. During the first five months of fieldwork, I spent two days per week at each of the schools, including Saturdays at the private boarding school where they had lessons on Saturdays as well. During the last month of fieldwork, I spent an entire week at each school respectively with active engagement and observations, in addition to visiting control schools.

Undertaking teaching responsibilities has contributed to a better understanding of the potential and limitations of educating students in practice and placing myself in teachers' shoes helped me as the researcher to relate much more to what teachers thought, felt and valued. Apart from that, I attended staff meetings, teacher-parent meetings, graduation ceremonies and other school activities, such as sports days and study trips with the students. Taking part in the everyday activities of a school, listening to and engaging in discussions in the staff room or during lunch allowed me to build relationships and gain the trust of both teachers and students. Through these relationships, interviewees developed greater confidence in revealing their opinions about the research topic and they felt more comfortable sharing their deeper thoughts.

Another important aspect of building trust in the local community was staying with a local host family. Through connections I had gained at my home university, I had the opportunity to live as part of a Tanzanian family for the entire fieldwork period and to learn to understand the culture, traditions and way of thinking of the local people. The fact that I stayed with a local family has also proved my willingness to learn from the people and it strengthened my relationships in the three schools. Another advantage I gained through staying with a local family was developing a good understanding of the local language, Swahili. To prepare for the fieldwork, I had been taking Swahili lessons for a year prior to the fieldwork and during my stay in Tanzania I gained further language skills that enabled me to become involved in activities at the schools and the community, which required knowledge of Swahili. For example, several meetings at the schools were held in Swahili and it was an advantage that I understood a good deal of what was said without needing an interpreter and thus not interrupting the natural flow of happenings. Knowing the local language has not only allowed me to understand much more of the context and cultural meanings behind words, but it has also contributed to my gaining more trust and acceptance among the locals. For the participants, it was a sign of goodwill that I made efforts to learn their language even though I could have conducted my research without knowing Swahili, as many speak English in the secondary education sector.

Most of the fieldwork would not have been possible without the practical assistance of a local coordinator, who was also my host father in the family with whom I stayed. He is a medical doctor who has been working with a local NGO in Tanga City for the past 10 years coordinating HIV/AIDS preventive and other health-related community-based projects in cooperation with international partners such as the United States Agency for International

Development (USAID). He has much experience with both conducting development projects locally and assisting researchers from Western countries. He also served as my interpreter when conducting an interview with an informant who did not speak English. Otherwise, all interviews were conducted in English and only a few partially in English and Swahili, where understanding without an interpreter did not prove to be a problem.

Interviews with key informants were mostly carried out in the second half of the fieldwork when good relationships and trust had already been established in order to ensure that the informants were free to share their opinion about more sensitive parts of the issue of quality, for example regarding political changes or how they see their own working conditions at the given school. This principle was also kept in mind when conducting interviews with students due to the hierarchical nature of the society and more distant teacher-student relations in Tanzania. Students needed time to get to know me before they felt comfortable expressing their opinions about how they experienced everyday life at school and how they viewed education quality at their own school. In order to make them more comfortable when conducting the interviews, students were interviewed in a group, where all could contribute in the discussion about quality.

Interviews with key informants were audio recorded to ensure that valuable information was not lost. Before conducting each interview, permission from the interviewee was obtained orally. In the beginning, some of the informants seemed to feel uneasy knowing that their voices were recorded, but as the interview went on and they became excited about the topic, they easily forgot about the voice recorder. Therefore, I do not feel that information was lost or that the interviewees were not completely honest due to the fact that the interviews were recorded. When the interview touched upon sensitive topics, I was able to observe their body language and facial expressions and their voices often signalled what they really felt and meant behind the words. In such cases, these moments and observations were written down in the field notes either during or after the interview. When there was a chance, I tried to touch upon some of these topics later during more impersonal discussions when the conversation was not recorded, where informants often shared more of their opinion. This was also an advantage of developing relationships and being engaged in the field for a prolonged period of time rather than only conducting single interviews.

4.4 Study area

The geographical focus of the study was Tanga City and Region, Tanzania. Tanga Region is a rapidly developing area, which is located in the north-east of Tanzania along the coast. The region has around 2.1 million inhabitants. Tanga City is the largest city in the region and the seventh largest city in Tanzania, with a population of around 275,000 in 2012 (National Bureaus of Statistics)[4]. When it comes to education sector statistics, Tanga Region is in many aspects around or above the national average. The region has experienced significant development in recent years and the secondary education sector has expanded rapidly. According to statistics from 2013, there were 273 secondary schools in Tanga Region compared to only 83 in 2004 (URT, 2014b). Teachers have high qualifications in Tanga Region: Almost half of secondary school teachers (46%) have a degree and 48% have diploma level of qualification. This trend is similar in other regions with similarly populated cities, for example, Arusha, Mbeya, Morogoro and Dodoma. Within Tanga Region, Tanga City Council (TCC) had highest enrolment among 11 councils in Tanga Region with 21,722 secondary pupils, which is around 22% of the total enrolment in the whole of Tanga Region. In summary, Tanga Region is among the more developed regions in Tanzania with not outstanding but above average educational opportunities and facilities that are similar to those regions with the most populated cities. Thus, carrying out research in Tanga Region, more specifically in Tanga City, provided an opportunity to investigate the issue of quality in an urban environment that is similar to other bigger cities in Tanzania. Furthermore, due to the rapid expansion of the secondary education sector in Tanga Region, most of the teachers acquired their degree or diploma within the past five to ten years. Thus, it provided the chance to find newly educated teachers to examine the influence of teacher education on their perception of the quality of education.

In addition, the difference between government and non-government schools is also visible in Tanga Region. According to statistical data from 2008, the pupil-teacher ratio in government schools was significantly higher than that in non-government schools, namely 41 and 24, respectively (MoEVT, 2010a). Furthermore, statistics show that on average teachers are better qualified in non-government schools than in government schools. In 2008, only 71 teachers had university degrees in government schools compared to 117 in private schools in Tanga

[4] Source: National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania (web). http://www.citypopulation.de/php/tanzania-admin.php?adm1id=04. Accessed: 28.06.2015.

Region. Thus, this region provided a suitable area for the study to assess the differences in teachers' perceptions of quality in schools with different conditions.

Furthermore, several NGOs are operating in Tanga Region. The Norwegian-founded organisation Hatua Na Maendeleo (HAMA – Steps of Development) operates in Tanga City[5]. HAMA's work is linked to the MDGs and SDGs and these organisations have been involved in projects in areas such as education, health, social care, entrepreneurship, democracy and infrastructure. Taking into consideration HAMA's extended network in the local community, these organisations provided the necessary assistance for getting in touch with schools and starting fieldwork in Tanga City.

4.5 Sampling

According to Bryman, sampling refers to the units selected for inquiry in a study (2012, p. 416). He also argues that the most commonly used sampling method in qualitative research is purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling approach where the type of units selected is closely related to the nature of the research questions in a study. The research questions often point out both levels of sampling: the context, or the cases, and the participants. In this research, the issue of quality education was investigated in the context of secondary schools in Tanga City, where the main participants of the study were teachers. Thus, purposive sampling was conducted along these guidelines, deriving from the research questions. However, it is important to note that this having been a non-probability sampling approach, it did not allow me, as the researcher, to produce generalizable findings regarding the whole population (Bryman, 2012). Nevertheless, it fit the purpose of the research and proved to be a good method for deepening the understanding of the social phenomena as a whole.

Following the multiple-case study design, the original intention was to select two urban secondary schools in Tanga City for deeper inquiry: one private and one public school to shed light on different aspects of teachers' perception and experiences under different physical and economic conditions. However, as is explained later, in the early phase of the fieldwork another private school was added to the sample as the third case for this study.

When selecting the schools for inquiry, the originally planned sampling criteria were mainly to select two typical schools. These samples were intended to be typical cases that "exemplify the dimensions of interest" (Bryman, 2012, p. 419), in this case a typical private and a typical

[5] More information about HAMA at https://steps4development.wordpress.com/hama/ (retrieved 12.05.2017)

or average government secondary school. The two schools had to be similar in size and academic performance for comparability. Furthermore, in order to examine how teachers' training had formed teachers' perception of quality, there had to be teachers at each school who finished their teacher training recently in addition to teachers who have many years of experience.

Upon arrival in the study area, selecting the schools was done with the assistance of the Tanga City Secondary Education Officer at the TCC and an educational expert from HAMA. With the previously planned sampling criteria in mind, seven schools that could be appropriate for the purpose of the research were identified and proposed by the educational expert from HAMA, which was then approved by the Education Officer. Out of seven listed schools, four were government schools and three were private schools. Subsequently, a letter of introduction was sent by the Education Officer to all the seven secondary schools at which I was granted permission to do research. I then had the opportunity to visit each of the listed schools personally with my local coordinator and select two of these for deeper inquiry based on the previous sampling criteria.

However, the sampling criteria were slightly revised once all schools have been visited. First of all, the private schools had much fewer enrolled students than the government schools. The three selected private schools had approximately 250 students each, whereas the four government schools had about 900–1,250 students each. Thus, it became clear that it was not possible to choose two schools with similar sizes.

Secondly, when it came to performance, it proved to be difficult to choose two schools with similar performance from the private and the government sectors. When visiting all seven schools, it turned out that both private and government schools could be divided into two sub-categories. The sub-categories among public schools were (1) better performing government schools that are selecting the better performing students from all districts and (2) average or lower performing government schools that are taking the rest of the students mostly from the given ward (*shule za kata*). The sub-categories among private schools were (1) well-performing and expensive private boarding schools that only select the best students and (2) lower performing and cheaper private schools that enrol students who were not admitted to other better-performing private or government schools but did not wish to go to the lower performing secondary schools. Thus, it became clear that whichever schools were selected,

there would be limited possibilities for comparison, since all schools in these categories were different.

Thirdly, in order to examine the impact of teachers' training on the perception of quality education, it was an important criterion to choose schools where they employ younger teachers as well those who have recently finished their teacher education. Thus, those schools that did not employ newly educated teachers had to be excluded from the list, like one of the private schools out of the three visited.

In addition to the previously planned three sampling criteria and due to practical reasons, I added two more selection criteria upon starting fieldwork. Since the design of the research included a great deal of participant observation and elements of ethnographic research, it was essential for me to select two schools where the leadership of the school seemed positive and supportive of my research and the methodologies chosen, including giving me the chance to become engaged in teaching activities as part of the intended data collection methods. This was also the reason why visiting all seven schools personally and meeting the heads of schools at the beginning played an important role in selecting the right schools for the purpose of the research. The other practical reason behind the selection of samples was linked to the location of the schools and personal safety. I needed to choose two schools where there were good transport opportunities to reach the schools alone safely during the six months of the fieldwork, which was an important aspect for me being a young female researcher from Europe.

After evaluating the seven listed schools according to the previously mentioned criteria, I chose a private school and a government school for deeper inquiry. The selected schools were similar in performance, both having low performance compared to other secondary schools in Tanga City. These schools were closer to each other in size, meaning that the private school was among the bigger ones with around 250 students and the government school was among the smaller ones with about 870 students. Both schools employed young teachers who had finished their teacher training recently. The two selected schools also fit the two practical criteria having a cooperative leadership and being easily approachable by both public and private means of transport.

However, once starting fieldwork and getting to know these schools, it became clear that the private secondary school chosen, being only a day-school, could hardly represent a typical

private school as most of the private schools were boarding schools where the teaching and learning environment is different. Thus, another private school, a well-performing boarding school was added to the sample as the third case for this study in order to obtain insight into the other sub-category of private schools, hence enriching the understanding of quality in education. When it comes to government schools, the difference in the teaching and learning environments between the better and the poorer performing schools were less substantial. Therefore, a well-performing government school was not added as a forth case, also due to the limitations of this study. However, a triangulation strategy was set up to obtain a better picture of that sub-category as well.

The main interest of this study was to explore teachers' views on quality education, thus the key participants of the research were teachers. The key sample size was 15 units, as five teachers were interviewed and observed in all three schools. Teachers were chosen according to their qualification (whether they had a diploma or degree (BA or MA) level of education) and how long it has been since they completed their teacher training. The key aspect was to select at least two teachers at each school who had graduated from either TTC or university within the past three years. At each school, both diploma- and degree-level teachers were selected in the sample with a good balance, at least two of each category out of the five units. Furthermore, both male and female teachers were selected at all schools, except from the private boarding school, where all teachers employed in the school were male.

Participant observation and systematic classroom observations were carried out by following the five key informants at each school. My participant role during observations was both passive, when observing lessons, and active, when engaging in discussion during different activities in school. Observations were generally also extended to other teachers and students and the school as a whole.

In addition to teachers, students were also interviewed at each school to assess their reflections about quality education in their own schools. At each school, focus group interviews were carried out with a group of 4–8 students in order to explore their views on quality and their teachers' teaching practices. The students were selected according to academic performance, gender, availability and English proficiency.

In addition to the five selected teachers as key informants, the academic master, director or head of each school was interviewed. Interviews with 1–3 parents at each school were also

carried out in order to triangulate the data. Originally, the sample size was two units at each school and the selection criteria regarding parents were planned to be according to their children's academic performance. However, due to lack of availability, I was only able to interview one, two and three parents in the three schools respectively, namely those who were available and interested in participating in the study.

Furthermore, visits to two other well-performing government secondary schools in Tanga City were made to obtain insight into the other sub-category of government schools and to explore the wider context of the three selected cases. Here, two teachers were interviewed, a younger one who finished his or her teacher training within the past three years and a more experienced teacher. In addition, the head of the school or the academic master and a group of students were also interviewed for triangulation purposes, with a sample unit of three adults and a group of students at each of the two control schools altogether. Examining the issue of quality from different perspectives in different contexts was aimed at enhancing the trustworthiness of the research. Finally, the Tanga City Secondary Education Officer was also interviewed on issues of quality education.

4.6 Data analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of managing the raw data, reducing the large amount of information in order to make sense of it and identifying the relevant themes for the purpose of the study (Bryman, 2012, p. 13). To analyse the collected data, the recorded interviews were either fully transcribed or key information was noted. Coding was subsequently used to organise the data and label the significant themes for analysis (Bryman, 2012). In the first round, reading through the transcribed interviews and observation notes, the informants' perspectives and opinions were colour coded and grouped according to themes such as "students' future orientation", "relational aspect" and "professional conduct and rules". These themes helped in analysing teachers' perspectives on quality education and their values and attitudes towards education in general. Then, based on key information from each interviewee, a table of comparison was created for each school separately, where information was highlighted with the colour of the theme to allow for a better overview of the data and findings. Based on the tables of comparison, key trends within each school and among schools were analysed, which provided the background for further coding according to topics within the specific research questions. These coded themes were then compared and contrasted with the theory, which provided a base for writing up the findings. Field notes from

participant observations provided a further contribution in understanding the complexity of quality education in practice. Information from the two control schools and other education stakeholders were compared with findings from the three cases and additional perspectives were included to triangulate the findings.

4.7 Limitations, ethical considerations and trustworthiness

The purpose of fieldwork for a master's thesis provides limited opportunities for carrying out research. The six-month timeframe of the fieldwork allowed the qualitative inquiry of only three secondary schools in Tanga City. The reason behind choosing only three cases for deeper inquiry was to be able to invest in building relationships during fieldwork with both teachers and students in order to gain a deeper understanding of culture, perceptions and attitudes. Active engagement in each school required considerable time and effort. Similarly, the timeframe and the fact that I was the only researcher set a limit to how many informants were chosen for deeper inquiry and how many interviews and observations were conducted.

Also, in some cases, the lack of full comprehension of the local Swahili language posed limitations to carrying out interviews with informants alone who did not speak English. Therefore, my local coordinator acted as an interpreter during an interview with a parent. Here, the interpreter translated and explained my questions to the interviewee in Swahili and then translated the interviewee's answers back to English. In this case, my interpreter was aware of my research topic and objectives and was fully prepared to translate my questions as precisely as possible. In all, I feel that information was not lost in translation, especially because I could understand much of what was said.

Regarding ethical considerations, the most important principle of research ethics is to do no harm (Bryman, 2012; Stringer, 2008). It is important to ensure that the research does not put the participants at risk. This principle was kept in mind during the whole process of this research. School principals were informed of the nature of the study and their written consent was asked upon starting fieldwork, which was also extended to all staff members at each school. Heads of schools also gave written permission on behalf of parents to interview students during school time. Teachers and students gave their oral consent to participate in the research. Anonymity of teachers and other participants was protected; their names are therefore not mentioned in this study and pseudonyms were used instead. Even names of the schools are not revealed to make sure that no harm is done to them even after finishing writing up the findings. Lastly, all sensitive information was kept fully confidential.

Another important issue to be addressed here is the trustworthiness of the research. This is an important criterion when assessing the quality of qualitative research, like the present study (Bryman, 2012, p. 389). The quality and trustworthiness of a study is enhanced through procedures establishing credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Stringer, 2008). According to Stringer, these procedures include prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, detailed description of research context and process. The fieldwork was designed to last six months in total, which proved to be a sufficiently long time to establish relationships of trust and understand the local context for the purpose of this thesis. Here, knowledge of the Swahili language greatly improved the understanding of both culture and context. Active engagement in school teaching and other school activities also allowed for persistent observations. As part of a triangulation strategy, two other urban government secondary schools were visited in Tanga City to enhance the trustworthiness of the study. In these two control schools, students were also interviewed about their perceptions of quality in education and on how they see teachers' role and teaching practices with regard to quality teaching.

There were also limitations to what extent each case represented a typical school. Thus, this study is rather meant to provide an in-depth picture of teachers' perception of quality education and the diversity of their views, values and lived realities in these chosen contexts.

Furthermore, active engagement with research participants brings up the issue of the researcher's role as an insider and/or outsider during research. On the one hand, I was an insider being involved in the everyday life of the schools and I had the benefit of gaining a deeper understanding of the context. On the other hand, however, I was an outsider in some respects, since I was not in exactly the same situation as the participants; my race, age and gender might have set a limit to the extent of involvement and understanding. The fact that I am not a native Tanzanian placed limitations to how far I managed to develop a deeper understanding of the social context, culture and language during the period of the fieldwork. In both cases, according to Dwyer and Buckle (2009), it is of utmost importance that the researcher is aware of his or her own limitations, biases, assumptions and previous personal experiences in order to reduce its effect on the research. This principle was kept in mind when engaging in research activities and critical reflections were made both during fieldwork and when writing up the findings.

Regarding research clearance, permission to conduct research was acquired in advance from the local authorities in Tanzania. In addition, the research was registered at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Furthermore, I paid special attention to safeguarding the research data. Directly identifiable personal data were stored separately from other data. Personal computer and other data collection devices were password protected and stored in a locked room. No other person had access to personal data.

5 Findings and analysis

In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented and analysed. Firstly, I provide contextual background for the three schools as cases. Secondly, I present teachers' perceptions of quality education and valued process of teaching and professional environment. Then I outline teachers' actual professional environment, teaching practices and analyse the constraints and potentials of providing quality education in the three schools. Finally, I provide additional context to the three cases by describing general observations and students' and parents' views before I outline the key challenges and solutions in secondary education based on teachers' views.

5.1 Introduction of the three cases

Within the framework of the study, three secondary schools were chosen in Tanga City for deeper inquiry as cases: a government secondary school, a private day school and a private boarding school. In this section, the tree cases are presented.

Government secondary school

This government school is a mixed secondary school providing ordinary level education for both girls and boys. The school is located in Tanga City, farther from the city centre but still reachable by public transport. The school is a ward school that was established in 2004 as a response to the rapid expansion of the secondary education system and mostly enrols students from the local neighbourhood. In 2015, there were about 880 students enrolled from Form 1 to Form 4 and the school has a teaching staff of 50 teachers. At the time of the research there were four or five classes in each form, each class with a number of students ranging from 45 to 65. School facilities include offices, staff rooms, toilets, a small library and a football pitch behind the school. There are three laboratory rooms, one recently built by a Korean NGO, which is well equipped and in use, and two laboratory buildings built by the government, but not equipped yet and thus not in use. There is no fence around the school and it is built close to surrounding homes. The learning environment is peaceful, but sometimes disturbed by traffic, animal herds or other noises and activities from the neighbourhood.

In this government school, five teachers were interviewed. The profiles of the interviewed teachers were as follows:

- TR1: A young[6] male teacher with a BA degree in education, specialising in English and geography; he graduated three years ago and had three years' teaching experience
- TR2: A young female teacher with a BA degree in education, specialising in English; originally educated to be a teacher at a TTC, but the government needed more teachers in secondary schools and she had consequently been employed in secondary schools. She has three years' teaching experience and started teaching at this school in November 2015.
- TR3: A middle-aged[7] female teacher with both a diploma and BA degree in education, specialising in geography and English. She has 10 years of teaching experience.
- TR4: A middle-aged male teacher with a diploma in education, specialising in mathematics and science. He took a crushing course for a month after finishing his Form 6 studies to become a teacher since the government urgently needed science teachers. He then started teaching mathematics in a rural secondary school and later he attended a diploma course. He has 11 years of teaching experience and has been teaching at this school for about one year.
- TR5: A middle-aged male teacher with a diploma and BA degree in education, specialising in geography and civics. He is currently pursuing his MA degree in education. He has 13 years of teaching experience.

In addition, interviews were carried out with the head mistress, the academic master, a parent of a Form 3 student and a group of Form 3 students. I also observed teachers' lessons and took part in staff meetings at the school. In order to obtain a better understanding of teachers' realities at work, I was engaged in teaching English in one of the Form 3 classes.

Private day school

This school is a mixed private secondary school providing both ordinary (Forms 1–4) and advanced level (Forms 5–6) education, enrolling both girls and boys. The school was established in 1968 and was one of the first private secondary schools in Tanzania officially opened by President Nyerere. In 2015, there were 250 students enrolled in the school from Form 1 to 6; on the secondary ordinary level there was one class in Forms 1–3, respectively, and two classes in Form 4. In 2015, enrolment declined and there was only one class in each Form with 25–40 students in each class. The number of full-time teachers varied between 11

[6] Young age category between 25 and 30 years.
[7] Middle aged category between 35 and 45 years.

and 15 during the time of research and many part-time teachers were employed to address the need, especially in advanced level (Forms 5–6). The school is located close to the city centre, but due to its good location and substantial land area, it offers a peaceful learning environment for students. School facilities include an administration block with offices and teacher staff rooms, a separate U-shaped block for classrooms, a library, three equipped laboratories, toilets and outside sports facilities such as two green football pitches, a volleyball court and a basketball pitch. The school has hostel facilities for students, which is mainly used by advanced level students. The number of boarding students were 35, but the majority of students were day-scholars.

The secondary school is owned by the Tanga Secondary Education Society in addition to a pre-primary, primary school and a teachers college under the same management and it is led by the Asian community in Tanga. This private school used to be among the best performing schools in Tanzania in the 1970–1990s and had a tradition of enrolling students of Indian and Arabic origin. In its heyday, the school had over 1,000 students and a staff of 50–70 teachers. However, the school's performance has dropped dramatically over the past 10–15 years. The decline was caused by diverse economic and social factors, among others, and there were changes to the school administration around 2002–2004; since then the number of students and staff has been reduced dramatically. Now the school is enrolling students from both Asian and African origin from mostly Tanga City. It enrols mainly students with poorer performance after leaving primary school, who did not qualify for better performing government or private schools and who prefer not attending the lower performing government schools. The study fees of the school are also lower than better performing private schools and thus serves as an alternative for parents who have limited financial abilities but still wish to send their children to a private school.

In this school, five teachers were chosen for in-depth interviews. The teachers' profiles were as follows:

- TR6: A young male teacher with a BA degree in education, specialising in science; he graduated three years ago and has three years' teaching experience. He started teaching at this school in January 2016.
- TR7: A young male teacher with a diploma in education; he graduated a year ago. He has five years' teaching experience and has taught at this school for two years until February 2016.

- TR8: A middle-aged female teacher who has finished her diploma in education recently. She has several years of teaching experience and has served as a deputy head mistress (one year) and as a headmistress (one year) at another school before she came to teach at this private school.
- TR9: A middle-aged male teacher who is originally from Uganda, but has been living in Tanzania for the past 10 years. He has a BA degree in education from Uganda and is currently taking another BA in education at a Tanzanian university. He has 15 years of teaching experience and has been teaching in this school for the past 6 years.
- TR10: An older[8] male teacher with a BA degree in education. He retired from the government sector a number of years ago where he taught for 40 years. He has served as the headmaster of a government school in Tanga for approximately 10 years and he is now teaching as a part-time teacher at this private school.

In addition to teachers, the head master, the academic master, parents of three students and two student groups were interviewed. I carried out class observations and took part in staff meetings and was also engaged in teaching English to a Form 1 class.

Private boarding school

This school is a private boarding secondary school for boys. The school was established in 2010 as a family business and is still owned and led by the same family. In 2015, 286 students were enrolled from Form 1 to 4; there are two classes in each form with about 30–38 students in each class. The school has a teaching staff of 14 teachers, all of whom are male. The school is located in a peaceful and quiet environment outside of Tanga City, where the area is not densely populated. Students come from lower-middle or middle class families from across the country and, being a boarding school, all students are accommodated in dormitories on the school compound. School facilities include offices, a staff room, classrooms, dormitories, toilets, a small but well-equipped laboratory, a dining hall, kitchen and sport facilities such as a football pitch and a volleyball court, as well as green areas for leisure. In the past years, the school has been developing dynamically, improved its facilities and increased the number of students enrolled each year since its start in 2010.

Here too, I interviewed five teachers; their profiles were as follows:

[8] Older age category between 55 and 70 years.

- TR11: A young male teacher with a BA degree in education, with specialisation in Swahili and history. He has two years of experience and he has been teaching at this school for the past 1.5 years. He is accommodated in the boarding section at the school.
- TR12: A young male teacher with a BA degree in education, with specialisation in English and geography. He has been working at the school for a year since graduation.
- TR13: An older male teacher with a diploma in education, with specialisation in biology and agriculture. He has over 25 years of experience and has been teaching at this school for the past three years.
- TR14: An older male teacher with a diploma and a BA degree in education, with specialisation in civics and English. He has over 25 years of teaching experience and has been working at this school for two years. Previously, he taught at the same government school where the research was carried out; his son attended that government school from Form 1 to 3, but in January 2016 he brought his son to this private boarding school.
- TR15: An older male teacher who had already retired from the government sector. He has a diploma in education and a MA degree in agricultural engineering. After a career as an agricultural engineer, he returned to teaching science and taught for 10 years before retirement. He served as the headmaster of a government secondary school before retirement and worked as the headmaster of this school for a year after retirement and is now only teaching physics at this school.

Academic performance

The three schools' academic performance on the national secondary school leaving examinations (CSEE) for the past three years are presented in Tables 5.1.1–5.1.3. Students take the CSEEs in the last year of their ordinary secondary studies in Form 4. The grading system consists of pass grades, from "distinction" being the best to "pass" being the lowest pass grade.

Table 5.1.1: Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations results of the three schools in 2014

2014	Government school	Private day	Private boarding
Distinction	0	1	3
Merit	1	4	8
Credit	4	8	18
Pass	42	22	6
Fail	101	29	0
Number of students	148	64	35

Source: (URT, 2014a)

In 2014, 68% of Form 4 students in the government school failed their national secondary school leaving examinations, where in the private boarding school, all 35 students passed with an average result of "credit". Based on the national Form 4 examination results in 2014, out of 4407 Tanzanian schools in total, the private boarding school was positioned at no. 72 in the national school ranking, the private day school at no. 1677 and the government school at no. 2243, where several schools got the same positions and a total of 2320 positions were ranked.

Table 5.1.2: Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations results of the three schools in 2015[9]

2015	Government school	Private day	Private boarding
Division I	0	0	5
Division II	1	0	14
Division III	6	10	12
Division IV	60	42	4
Division 0	102	28	0
Number of students	169	80	35

Source: (NECTA, 2015)

Similar to the results in the previous year, all students in the private boarding school passed their CSEEs in 2015, where 35% of students in the private day school and 60% of students in

[9] Note that the assessment system has changed from Distinction, Merit etc. to Divisions in January 2016 when results for 2015 examinations were released. Now, certificates are graded from Divisions I to IV and Division 0 indicates failed results.

the government school failed. In 2015, out of a total of 5599 secondary schools in Tanzania, the government school was ranked at no. 4989.

Table 5.1.3: Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations results of the three schools in 2016

2016	Government school	Private day	Private boarding
Division I.	0	0	6
Division II.	3	3	24
Division III.	9	5	34
Division IV.	87	16	4
Division 0	152	7	0
Number of students	251	31	68

Source: (NECTA, 2016)

In 2016, the number of students taking their Form 4 examinations increased in both the government and private boarding school, with 82 and 33 students respectively, while there were less than half of the number of students leaving Form 4 in the private day school than the year before. While the percentage of students who failed their CSEEs remained about 60% in the government school, the private day school reduced its failing rate to 22% compared to 35% in 2015. With these results, the private government school was ranked at no. 6 in the regional rankings, while the government school was ranked at no. 151 out of 172 secondary schools in Tanga Region.

In summary, the academic performance in the government school was the lowest compared to the other two private schools in this study. The private boarding school, on the other hand, was among the best schools in the region, while the private day school's performance was in the middle.

5.2 Analysis of findings

In this section, teachers' perceptions of quality education are presented based on data collected during the interviews and observations.

5.2.1 Quality education and the purpose of education

Teachers' perceptions of quality education in Tanzania are complex and the different views and ideas were not easily categorised. Teachers described quality from different angles; some had a specific view on quality, while others did not express a clear definition for quality and rather gave practical examples of what they thought characterised quality education.

When describing quality education, teachers' first reaction was often that quality education "helps students in the future life" (TR13). All 15 teachers interviewed shared the notion that quality education is supposed to be beneficial for the students in their future, thus focusing on the desired outcome of quality education. A teacher at the private day school described quality as follows:

> The aim is to help students to be aware of their future life, quality education can help the learners to know what they are going to be in the future… (TR7)

Within this context, however, the aspects of students' future lives that teachers focused on varied. In my opinion, based on the interviews with key informants, teachers' views about the outcome of quality education could be divided into two main types of way of thinking: (1) an individualistic view, mainly focusing on students' individual future careers and personal lives and (2) a more general view, lifting education up to the nation's level and focusing on how society can benefit from individuals receiving quality education. Interestingly, based on the findings, I argue that the first view was mostly represented by the younger teachers across all three schools, while teachers with many years of experience, especially teachers close to the age of retirement, tended to talk about education from the perspective of the nation. It is important to note that the main themes within both perspectives are somewhat similar; nevertheless they differ in how they approach each of these themes – either from the individual's or from the nation's perspective. These themes are the following: (1) employment, (2) being able to cope with the challenging socio-economic environment and (3) personal development.

Individualistic perspective

When describing quality education from the individualistic perspective, mostly younger teachers emphasised education's role in preparing students for life through gaining the necessary skills and knowledge. These skills and knowledge are important for students in all three areas previously mentioned.

Firstly, teachers expressed the view that good quality education is linked to finding employment in the future. When it comes to employment, most of the younger teachers referred to being employed to secure sustainable livelihoods. A younger teacher in the government school expressed the following:

> Especially for us Tanzanians, we go to school to get employment … without employment you won't run your life. So, to move from one stage to another.... (TR2)

Two out of six younger teachers interviewed in the three schools mentioned the possibility of self-employment through entrepreneurship and innovation. One of them, from the private boarding school, described a "good teacher" as one that "prepares students for jobs that don't exist, for example entrepreneurship, starting business" (TR11). When discussing this with younger teachers, though, they seemed to focus more on white collar jobs rather than blue collar jobs. There was no major difference between younger teachers' views in the three schools.

The second most commonly mentioned theme amongst teachers was developing the ability to cope with the challenging socio-economic environment, poverty and poor living conditions and learning to live well and peacefully in the society. Several teachers mentioned that students needed to gain skills and knowledge to solve the challenges in society connected to health, cultural, political and social issues. In my opinion, the teachers seemed to perceive that it is challenging to live in this society and environment, thus quality education is supposed to prepare students for the future life in this challenging environment.

The third commonly mentioned theme was education's role in the personal development of students. Several teachers mentioned that education should change students' attitudes and behaviour from negative to positive and that education is supposed to develop their minds. Some also expressed that students should learn and develop a broader set of life-skills such as problem-solving, self-awareness, leadership skills, language and communication skills that

will be important for them in the future. The following was a typical answer from one of the younger teachers that summarises the individualistic view well:

> Quality education is that one that prepares students to become good in their future life, to develop different qualities in all aspects of life, for example in social aspects like to know how to solve the problems which are facing them in the society, also the issue of employment, to get employment…to be aware of their government. The aim of education is to develop the basic skills of life, for example problem solving, self-awareness, to be conscious, to be aware of himself… to know how to solve the problems…. attitude change from negative to positive. (TR12)

In summary, younger teachers seemed to focus more on education's beneficial role in individual well-being and securing sustainable livelihoods and development, thus having a more individualistic view on quality education regarding the desired end results. Among the views of the younger teachers, I argue that there seems to be no clear ideology or overall way of thinking that was identifiable behind their view and during the interviews none of them referred to any ideology or philosophy themselves.

Education from the nation's perspective

On the other hand, more experienced teachers, often older teachers, seemed to represent a broader view on education, seeing education from the perspective of the nation as a whole. In their case, a more straightforward reference to Nyerere's ideology of "education for self-reliance" (ESR) was made throughout all their answers.

Firstly, an important aspect within this view, which was mainly mentioned by more experienced teachers, was linking the provision of quality education more directly to the purpose of education. Some of the older teachers in the various schools expressed that "quality is reaching the aim of education" (TR4), thus reaching the objectives set for the education system by the nation. One of the oldest teachers at the private boarding further illustrated this the following way:

> … people set a goal how they can bring up the young ones, they have to set what are the things that need to be taught to reach that goal. Quality depends on the one who is giving the education, the environment, and the one who is receiving. … the aim of education is building people who will develop the country, that is our major aim. So if it is quality education, the country has to have its goals and they

> should be met through education. … for example educate people to manage the country. (TR15)

Consequently, this broader set of views represented by the more experienced and older generation of teachers sets education in a bigger perspective than only the individual's life and development. Many teachers themselves linked this view to the ideology of President Nyerere's ESR:

> Quality education helps somebody to get something after school… I mean self-reliance…. And good education has to liberate the individual and the nation. (TR3)

Within this view, common themes like (1) employment, (2) being able to cope with the challenging socio-economic environment and (3) personal development gained another meaning by seeing all these from the nation's perspective. Firstly, the ideology of self-reliance was often linked to gaining practical skills for self-employment to set people to work for the nation instead of waiting for employment. An older teacher in the private boarding school explained it this way:

> Quality education is education that helps students in the future life, gaining knowledge and skills, the capability of using knowledge to do something, and it should be practiced in action. For example, the ability of getting skills that will help students to be self-reliant, for example agricultural skills… (TR13)

Agricultural and vocational skills were emphasised by most of the older teachers, which was also a focus Nyerere's self-reliance (Ahmad et al., 2014). The older the teachers, the more they linked quality education with the ideology of self-reliance among all three schools.

Secondly, apart from employment issues, living peacefully in the challenging environment was also mentioned by several teachers from the older generation. A teacher from the private boarding school explained:

> Quality education is that when somebody leaves the school can live harmoniously and peacefully with the society, to be able to control the environment… the goal is to prepare students to survive in any environment in the future. TR14

Preparing students to live harmoniously in the society is closely linked to the third theme: students' personal development. From the nations' perspective, experienced teachers expressed that it was important to produce good citizens through education. Experienced teachers also touched upon the personal level and referred to Nyerere's vision about

education. In their views, education contributes to creating an inquisitive mind that also has a positive impact on the society as a whole. When comparing teachers' ideas between the three schools, there were more similarities among teachers from the same age than those from the same schools.

In summary, the view of the younger teachers focusing mainly on the individual's benefit from quality education and the older teachers' view of education from the nation's perspective bring up similar themes but looks at them in slightly different ways. The main difference was the ideology or the lack thereof when explaining their standpoints regarding these themes.

The reason behind these differences could be traced back to their own teacher education. For the older teachers who grow up under President Nyerere, it was more straightforward to talk about the ideology of ESR that they learnt by the time when they went to college. The majority of the older teachers mentioned that during their own teacher education, there was a strong focus on learning and teaching practical skills to students that they could use for self-employment (e.g. agriculture and carpentry).

All of the older teachers felt that it was a negative trend that leaders today did not value practical education any more and that the "old system" prepared students for life and employment much more than the current system. One of the older teachers at the private boarding school expressed the opinion that even though "self-reliance" is not the country's ideology any more, the ideology is still present in society, but now the perception has changed and there is a need to adjust it to the modern context.

For the younger teachers, however, it was hard to define a clear ideology or way of thinking about what they learnt during their own teacher training. Younger teachers focused rather on the professional code of conduct and teaching methods that they have learnt, as is discussed later. Arguably, this could be due to the complexity of the definition of quality today and the ideology or way of thinking behind it might be less clear-cut and precisely articulated compared to the "old days".

Transversal themes

In addition to the themes discussed previously, other themes also emerged during most of the interviews regardless of school, teachers' age and education level. These themes were

transversal themes that were interwoven into several other themes mentioned before. The main transversal themes were development and relevance.

The first main transversal theme was achieving development through quality education. As it was illustrated earlier, teachers across all three schools shared the notion that education is beneficial for promoting individual development in different areas of life. Several teachers expressed that with education one can "move from one stage to another" (TR2), both in terms of economic and social development. By getting education, members of the society can also gain status, thus referring to social mobility:

> Quality is learning skills and values to cope with life so they can achieve development… They need to be a role model in the society, to show a good example in the society by being educated, get new ideas from what they learn and use it to train others later, they need to show the way to others. Those who are educated are more valued in the society, they also gain status, the society is proud of them. (TR11)

When discussing the goal of secondary education, some teachers also mentioned that completing secondary education helps students to move on to the next stage, first to high school and then later to college and university studies. Thus, teachers interviewed at all three schools valued education both as a means and end of development.

Linked to the idea of development, the second main transversal theme was relevance.

> … Education needs to be relevant for the context people are living in. Developing the ability to cope with the environment, ability to apply knowledge they learnt in school in life. (TR1)

Other teachers pointed to the importance of keeping up with the changes in the society and making education relevant to address these changes. However, nearly all teachers across all schools expressed that the education they currently have is more theoretical than practical, which teachers from all generations saw as a major challenge and hindrance for both individual and national development. An older teacher from the private boarding school explained:

> Students should gain practical skills and not depend on employment of the government, but use the skills to employ themselves. … The syllabus now doesn't insist much on practicals which can impart the skills needed for the student to use these subjects to employ themselves after school. (TR13)

Here, many of the older and more experienced teachers compared today's education to the education in President Nyerere's time and nearly all of them preferred the "old system", which prepared them for practical work.

Altogether, the transversal themes highlighted two important criteria connected to the perception of quality education by the majority of teachers across all schools. In addition, academic excellence was also emphasised by several teachers as one of the signs that characterises the desired result or outcome of education. Furthermore, stated by 60% of teachers in the private boarding school and the government school, good academic performance goes hand-in-hand with good discipline among students:

> First of all, academic excellence. A good school must have good performance, students must perform well, that is a good school. And also discipline, students' discipline to both teachers and other staff members. (TR12)

In the private day school, however, teachers seemed to be less occupied with the importance of discipline when describing a good school. This could be due to the fact that they had to deal with fewer discipline issues than the two other schools.

All things considered, based on the interviews with key informants in the three school, I argue that there are no major differences in teachers' views between the threes schools, but that it was age, individual background and experience that determined the major differences in thinking about education. The reason behind this could be, as previously discussed, due to educational background and the impact of the general way of thinking about education at the time of their teacher training. In addition, the high mobility of teachers could also explain some of the similarities among schools as teachers often change their working stations during their careers and the type of school has less impact on their perception than age and their own teacher education.

5.2.2 Valued environment and process of quality education

After identifying the valued purpose and the desired outcomes of quality education from teachers' perspectives and outlining *what we want*, it was also important to examine *how to do it*, that is, how to achieve these goals. In this section, findings are presented on what the valued process of education is and what the ideal environment for teachers is that would enable them to teach according to their values to achieve the purpose of quality education.

Physical conditions

When discussing *how* to achieve quality education in practice, the majority of teachers recognised that "for a teacher to teach supportive environment plays a very big role…the environment that enables a teacher to perform his duties" (TR5). In this respect, teachers across the three schools highlighted the importance of both the physical environment of the school and having satisfactory working conditions providing a base for quality education.

Firstly, all 15 teachers emphasised having conducive teaching and learning environments with the necessary infrastructure and learning materials in place and having sufficient resources to support the running of the school. This aspect was especially emphasised among teachers in the private day school and the government school.

> A quality school is the one with facilities, infrastructures, the rational number of teachers and materials. To me, that is a quality school. (TR5)

Moreover, teachers argued that conducive teaching and learning environments refer to low student-teacher ratios as well as having motivated and active students in order for meaningful learning to take place.

Working conditions

Secondly, having the physical conditions in place, satisfactory working conditions are necessary for teachers to provide the quality education they value. An experienced teacher in the private day school pointed to two important aspects that directly influence the quality of teachers' work: (1) physical conditions referring to salary, housing and transport facilities and (2) psychological conditions including appreciation, good relationships and cooperation at school. He argued that teachers need to be physically and psychologically content in order to be able to provide high quality education.

Teachers in the three schools described the ideal working conditions similarly both in terms of physical and psychological environments at the work place. Most teachers placed a significant focus on salary and having their own and their families' daily needs met. In connection to providing quality education, several teachers mentioned the importance of having a settled mind, so that teachers can concentrate on teaching and not worry about home affairs, and in this matter having a good salary is essential. Having satisfactory housing conditions and transport facilities to work allows teachers to be content in the same way as having a good

salary. An experienced teacher from the government school expressed that this affects teachers' motivation.

In addition, motivation and appreciation was one of the issues that all teachers in all three schools mentioned. Teachers expressed their need to be appreciated and motivated at their workplace as essential ingredients of ideal working conditions that enable them to provide quality education. This can be, according to the teachers, either in the form of material motivation according to students' performance, participation in study tours or trips for leisure, getting certificates of appreciation or simply oral appreciation in front of others:

> Motivation to teachers can be money, gifts, even appreciation in the morning tea talk. For example, "Madam X stand up, I want to appreciate what you did with Form 4 class." If teachers are motivated, they could perform better. (TR2)

In addition to being appreciated and motivated, good school management, cooperation with leaders and staff members were key factors that influence the provision of quality education they value for most teachers:

> When there is good relationship between staff, management and students, we can work well. It is impossible to make students perform unless there is good cooperation. (TR6)

Thus, appreciation and cooperation from the management has a direct impact on teachers' motivation and commitment to work, which ultimately influences the quality of teaching they deliver. Consequently, both the physical environment and good relationships matter to the majority of teachers across all three schools.

From the data it seemed that perceptions of ideal working conditions were similar for all teachers regardless of which school they were employed at. However, when describing ideal working conditions, teachers emphasised various aspects of working conditions that they have been missing in their own schools. For instance, the provision of food at school was mentioned as an important factor in the government and private day schools, where students and teachers are not provided with food at school. Food, however, was not mentioned in the private boarding school where both students and teachers receive breakfast and lunch at school. Furthermore, job security was mentioned by a teacher who has not yet received a contract from the private day school. Teachers' actual working conditions in the three schools are discussed in the chapter below.

Valued process of education

After describing the ideal teaching and learning environment and teachers' working conditions as a background for good teaching, it is necessary to examine the valued process of teaching in class in the pursuit of providing quality education.

When it comes to describing a good lesson, teachers paid attention to two main aspects: (1) academic professionalism, referring to how they are supposed to plan and conduct the lesson, and (2) relational aspects, referring to how they related to the students in class and outside of class.

Professional conduct

Firstly, the majority of teachers mentioned that commitment and professional conduct play important roles in achieving quality education. An experienced teacher from the government school described explained as follows:

> A good teacher is a person who knows what he's supposed to do; having a good working morale, self-motivation… it has to come from within. Also, good preparation is needed before going to class; lesson plans, teaching aids, plan ahead to make sure they actually learn what you teach them. (TR5)

Several teachers mentioned that the measurement of how successful the class was lies in whether the objectives of the class were met; this is also why assessment at the end of class plays an important role.

Conducting a good lesson, however, requires a good teacher. When describing a professional teacher, with the exception of two teachers from the private boarding school, all teachers mentioned that for a teacher to provide quality education, he or she has to be qualified, has to have good content knowledge, follow the syllabus, know and use a variety of teaching methods and is able to produce good results. Furthermore, a good teacher has to act responsibly, has to be disciplined and pay attention to professional appearance at work. A teacher from the government school illustrated the importance of this point by describing a non-professional teacher in contrast:

> … non-professional teachers don't have discipline, they are coming late and also going outside without permission in working hours. Also, they are not wearing or behaving like teachers, like in dressing and also in language use. So the opposite of a good teacher. (TR3)

The importance of professional appearance was often linked to the teacher being a role model for the students and the broader society. These descriptions, referring to academic professionalism and commitment in performing teaching activities, were mostly emphasised in the government school, while in the two private schools where the number of students were lower, teachers talked more about the relational aspect of being a good teacher.

Relational aspect

The second highlighted aspect was the relational aspect. According to the majority teachers, good relationships as a condition to providing quality education, however, need to include teacher-student relationships in addition to having good cooperation among staff members. When describing the ideal relationship between teachers and students, 13 out of 15 teachers recognised the importance of a positive and friendly relationship between them. However, the level and depth of ideal teacher-student relationships varied both between teachers and schools. Teachers' descriptions varied on a scale from being friendly to students to taking responsibility for their personal development and wellbeing.

On the one hand, most teachers in this respect talked about a good teacher being one that acts friendly to students, is not harsh with them and students feel free with him/her in and outside of class:

> A positive relationship is needed with the students in order to understand them, then you understand them, you are free to identify students with problems … if the teacher is close to the students, he or she knows what disturbs the student in academics or in social life… (TR3)

Some teachers, on the other hand, described teachers' role as not merely a passive role, allowing students to come to them with their problems, but actively moulding students' behaviour, character and future orientation. Several teachers, especially in the private boarding school, expressed that a good teacher-student relationship is more than just being friendly. At the boarding school, students live far away from their parents and in this situation teachers have to take on the role of a parent in addition to that of a teacher to a greater extent than in day schools:

> A good teacher cannot be harsh, he has to motivate students in class. Teachers should exercise teaching profession like a father… like a counsellor to students directing them, helping them to avoid bad things. (TR13)

Furthermore, a teacher from the private day school drew attention to the stability of the teacher's presence and the trust that must be built over time between the teacher and the students, which affects quality teaching directly. Therefore, teachers, with their attitude and relationship to students, can have a substantial impact on the development of students' character and future life.

In summary, the relational aspect of being a good teacher was emphasised more in the two private schools, where the schools are smaller and the numbers of students and teachers are lower than those in government schools. In the government school, only two experienced teachers recognised the importance of a deeper relationship between teachers and students. There were no major differences in the perceptions among teachers of different genders or educational backgrounds. However, it is important to note that such perceptions are closely linked to teachers' personality, faith and attitude to the teaching profession.

Pedagogy and teaching methods

When it came to teaching methods, nearly all teachers expressed that they preferred to use participatory methods, where students are active in the learning process, which they also referred to as learner-centred methods:

> A good lesson is when students participate. Learner-centred method involves students to interact during studies by asking questions, discussing in groups. (TR6)

Furthermore, the learner-centred method and way of thinking also says that students possess previous knowledge and experience, so teaching ought to be based on what they already know. Therefore, the students and teachers are "exploring" a topic together and taking part in the learning process. The teacher is more in the role of a facilitator than that of a lecturer:

> The role of the teacher should be a guide, guiding students through competences where the teacher is also learning, it's not that the teacher knows everything. The old, teacher-centred system there is a one-way traffic from the teacher to the student, but the student-centred is better, there is a two-way traffic… (TR10)

Some teachers, especially at the private boarding school, also noted that for the participatory method to work, good relations are needed between teachers and students so that the students are free and not afraid of the teacher. This was especially emphasised in the private boarding school:

> A good teacher has to make sure students are free to ask questions through good cooperation and good relation… the teacher shouldn't go to class with the stick all the time… (TR11)

This quotation also shows that the types of disciplinary methods, such as using corporal punishment, have an effect on teacher-student relationships and consequently influences the quality of education.

Furthermore, several teachers across all three schools expressed that according to the given environment they also mix methods and use both the lecture and participatory methods, even though they consider participatory methods the best:

> It's better if used both methods: first lecture then discuss, get students involved, get them to present their points while the teacher assists. And students are learning. That's what the syllabus encourages too. (TR12)

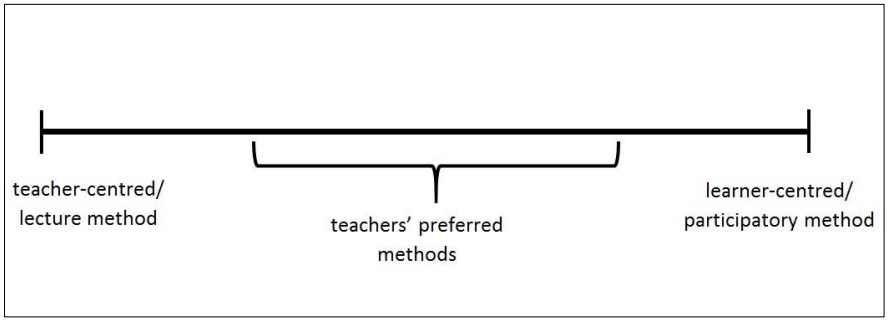
Some teachers also expressed that the teacher needs to adjust the methods to the level and the interest of the students:

> Using student-centred or teacher-centred methods depends on what kind of class you have. If they are interested, you can use participatory methods, if not, you lecture. (TR1)

The majority of teachers in the government and private day schools only referred to the two main types of teaching methods previously mentioned. When asked what they remember most about their teacher training either at college or university, the majority of younger teachers emphasised that they are supposed to use learner-centred methods. Older and more experienced teachers also recognised the benefits of using participatory methods. However, talking from experience, several of them acknowledged that due to the challenging classroom environment one should use mixed methods.

In summary, findings of this research showed that teachers' perceptions about good teaching methods and the valued process of teaching are diverse. Even though the majority of them talked about either using teacher-centred or learner-centred teaching methods, they also explain that in practice they often mix these methods with respect to the realities of the classroom environment. Thus, in my opinion, their valued teaching methods could be illustrated with a scale shown in Figure 5.2.2.1.

Figure 5.2.2.1: Teachers' preferred teaching methods based on interviews.



Source: author's own.

Teachers' preferred teaching methods that are adjusted to the environment are thus located in the middle of the scale, which can of course accommodate individual differences between teachers' opinions. Although there are also exceptions, it will nevertheless provide a useful tool when analysing class observations and matching teachers' perceptions to lessons taught in reality.

Competence-based teaching (CBT)

In addition to this, there was one type of teaching approach that appeared several times during the interviews that turned out to be one of the "hot issues" that also confused several teachers, namely CBT. CBT refers to a teaching approach focusing on developing skills, competences, ways of thinking and analytical skills instead of content-based learning by simply memorising or "cramming" dry knowledge. The Ministry of Education introduced CBC in 2005, but according to several teachers they did not provide enough information and training to teachers about it. Thus, the challenge is that, due to lack of training, teachers do not know how they are supposed to teach with this new method:

> …that seminar was only two hours with one hour discussion, too short time, you cannot learn competence based teaching in two hours. (TR10)

> Teachers don't know how to prepare competence based lesson plans, scheme of work and teach accordingly …. teachers need to prepare lesson plans according to highlighting competences, it has to be reflected in his tests and final examinations. … The problem is with examinations, the syllabus changed but teachers are not equipped. Exams are based on competences but teachers don't prepare students for that… (TR10)

Many teachers knew about CBT and claimed that they used it in practice. However, a number of teachers either had never heard about CBT or seemed confused about what it was. Even

some young teachers, who graduated in the past 1–3 years, admitted that they have not learnt about CBT at college or university. The private boarding school, however, has taken CBT seriously and has taken the initiative to provide extra training to their teachers themselves. In the private day school, management emphasised using CBT, but not all teachers could describe clearly what it entails. Implications of this are further explained later in the thesis.

In summary, when describing the ideal teaching and learning environment, the majority of teachers highlighted the importance of both a satisfactory physical environment for teaching and a good psychological environment by being appreciated and having positive relationships at school, which would enable them to provide the quality education they value. According to the teachers interviewed, a supportive environment has a significant impact on teachers' motivation, professionalism and quality of daily work. Regarding the desired process of teaching, teachers emphasised the importance of professional conduct and learner-centred methods as well as having positive relationships with the students to facilitate meaningful learning.

5.3 Teachers' professional environment and the process of teaching

One of the objectives of this present study was to investigate how teachers' professional environment, such as working conditions and professional training opportunities, enable them to provide quality teaching they value. In this section, teachers' lived reality in the three schools are compared to the ideals that teachers expressed in the previous section.

5.3.1 Own working conditions

When it comes to describing teachers' own working conditions, there were more significant differences between teachers' opinions. Teachers seemed least satisfied at the government school and most satisfied at the private boarding school with their own working conditions.

The immediate reaction of all five teachers at the private boarding school was that they liked their workplace, they felt that this school was a positive and appreciative environment for them and that there was a good and cooperative relationship between teachers. An older teacher, who has also served as a headmaster for a year at this private boarding school, shared the following view:

> There is a friendly atmosphere here, which is the most important … atmosphere contributes to job quality. (TR15)

The teachers also acknowledged that the management is committed and interested in the school and the teachers; they appreciated the good relationship between teachers and the management:

> I feel appreciated, yes. It is very important to motivate teachers; even with words…They feel my presence here. (TR1)

What most of the teachers struggled with and wished to improve was the transport facilities to school since the school was located far from the main road and teachers had to walk half an hour each way to go to school on foot.

In contrast, teachers both at the government and the private day school admitted that they were dissatisfied with their working conditions and this had a negative impact on their work when it came to providing quality education that they value. Teachers at the government school struggled with both the physical and the psychological working environment. This meant, for example, insufficient chairs and desks for teachers, teaching and learning materials and lab equipment as well as lack of motivation and commitment from the staff, which affected them negatively. To the question of whether he feels motivated in this school, one of the teachers replied:

> *No, I haven't heard of any appreciation, not even one letter of appreciation. No one cares! (TR5)*

Teachers also complained that the number of students in one class is too high, their workload is too big and that most of the students are not motivated and disciplined to study hard. This demotivates them:

> It is difficult to teach students with low performance whom they get from primary schools. They know nothing, they don't even know how to write… I'm wondering how they pass their exams. (TR3)

At the private day school, some of the biggest challenges for the teachers was the lack of a good teaching environment, insufficient planning from the management's side, lack of good cooperation between teachers and the management and lack of appreciation and motivation. Two teachers explained it this way:

> [There is] a harsh treatment of teachers, they don't listen to teachers' problems. (TR7)

> … there is no motivation here, I have never seen it…there is no quality education without motivation. (TR8)

When it comes to support from parents' side, teachers at the private boarding school were satisfied with the cooperation between teachers and parents through the Parents-Teachers' Association. In the two other schools this was missing and cooperating with parents was described as a struggle especially by teachers from the government school. Sufficient support from parents was also highlighted by teachers as an important factor in the success of education.

In summary, a good physical working environment is essential to provide high quality education according to all teachers. Apart from the physical working environment, teachers in all schools expressed the need for an appreciative and cooperative environment. The example of the private boarding school shows that having a satisfactory, positive psychological environment shifts the focus away from the material and physical shortcomings of the workplace. In the private day school, facilities and the physical working environment were similar and, in some respects, even better than in the private boarding school, but teachers were much less satisfied with their working conditions due to a lack of cooperation with the management and a lack of motivation and appreciation in their work. In the government school, there were significant shortcomings on both aspects, which makes teachers' work even more difficult when it comes to providing quality education teachers value.

Private-government differences

Furthermore, the reason behind the variations between teachers' working conditions in the three schools can be linked to the fact that working in the public and private sectors often differs substantially. When teachers were asked to describe the typical working conditions in both sectors, their explanations were similar. The following table of comparison (Table 5.3.1.1) was created based on teachers' descriptions and their opinions about the advantages and disadvantages of working in each sector.

Table 5.3.1.1: Comparing working conditions in government and private schools in general based on teacher interviews

	Government schools	Private schools
Advantages	• Stable salary scheme (based on level of education and time spent in service) • Stability of work (difficult to dismiss teachers) • Social security, health, pension • Easy to get loans from government	• Strict working conditions, higher accountability • Students: taking only the best (e.g. performing over 40% out of 100%), more influence on who gets in, students have better academic performance • Good discipline of students, fewer disciplinary cases • Enough resources and good environment • Competition, will to perform well • Motivation to teachers (money, other goods) • Better working conditions
Disadvantages	• Low accountability of teachers, cannot be held responsible given the generally poor working conditions and teaching and learning environment • Not enough science teachers • Difficult to dismiss teachers who are not doing a good job • Poor working environment (especially in the rural areas)	• Strict working conditions, less freedom for the teachers, big workload • No job security and stability (staff can be fired any time), no social security (health insurance) • No direct promotion scheme (salary and position)

Source: Author's own.

Based on teachers' descriptions, it is clear that the teachers interviewed generally describe working conditions in the government sector as stable but challenging due to the poor teaching and learning environment. On the other hand, working in the private sector can mean better opportunities but also more risk. There is much less stability and job security in the private sector, but there is much more competition and higher expectations both in terms of outcomes and benefits for teachers. However, it is important to note that teachers often compared the two extremes: the poor government environment and the better primary school environment. When describing the private sector, they mostly think about better performing and well-resourced private schools, even though the description is not a total fit; the private boarding school in this study was closer to their descriptions, whereas the private day school fit this description to a very limited extent. In the private day school, salaries were on a similar level as those in the government school, but for some teachers it was even lower, as there was no official salary scheme in the private sector as there is in the government sector. Some teachers preferred the more stable working environment in the government sector, but other teachers valued being able to teach in a better and more stimulating teaching and learning environment more than stability.

All in all, as teachers expressed it, working conditions have a large impact on how teachers see quality and to what extent they feel they can provide the quality education they value. Quality education, however, is also closely linked to teachers' professional training opportunities.

Additional training opportunities

All 15 teachers interviewed agreed that having access to additional training opportunities contributed to better quality in secondary schools. However, most of them admitted that they lacked sufficient access to workshops and they all expressed the need for it. Additional training opportunities can range from academic and subject matters, such as courses for subject teachers, to other more general topics that are current and important issues within the education system, such as HIV awareness and conflict management.

According to the majority of teachers, in the government sector there are many such opportunities, but few can access them. Teachers explained that these seminars are mainly for science teachers. A teacher in the government school teaching geography and English explained:

> ...that is a big problem in our school, there are not enough seminars for teachers, they only pick some based on teaching science subjects, but I have never been on a seminar. (TR1)

Tanzania lacks a sufficient number of science teachers and the students generally have problems in science subjects in Tanzania. Consequently, the government places significant focus on improving science subjects. This could be one of the reasons why science seminars are promoted. However, some teachers in the government school complained that taking part in some seminars can be biased and there could be corruption involved.

Others, who have already been taking part in some seminars, say that these seminars are too short and often not well organised. A science teacher in the government school, who attended several seminars explains:

> *Interviewer*: Do these seminars improve the quality, you think?
>
> *TR4*: If it would have been organised well, yes, but the problem is that they organise a seminar but they are rushing things, you don't get the time to ask for difficult matters, there is little time to understand it …. if you have no prior

> knowledge, it is difficult, you know a bit, it's good, but the new teachers don't get anything out of it rather than being confused.

In the private sector, however, it is rare that teachers can take part in seminars or workshops related to the teaching profession; it is not supported by the government. In some cases, workshops are organised by private actors or organisations. A teacher in the private day school summarised it in the following way: (1) availability of opportunities, that there are workshops organised where teachers can take part or being motivated to go for further studies, (2) facilitation, enablement, that their workplace enables them and supports them to utilise these opportunities, to make the teacher go for further studies. He expressed:

> Opportunities could have been there, but the facilitation is lacking …. the structure is there, a message is sent to you, but you can't go because the money is not there, or the bureaucracy is not there, sometimes you don't get a message either, you weren't told. (TR9)

Out of ten teachers teaching in the private sector, only one of the older teachers had the chance to regularly take part in a four-week government-paid seminar every year about how to improve students' performance in biology. Some of the other teachers in the private sector have also taken part in seminars or workshops when they were working in government schools.

In summary, teachers interviewed in the private schools had fewer additional training opportunities than those in the government school. Nevertheless, even in the government school, according to teachers, opportunities are restricted. All teachers expressed the need for more access to workshops.

5.3.2 Teaching practices

In the following section, class observations are described and discussed to reveal connections between teachers' perceptions and values, teaching practices and the environmental and social context in the three schools examined.

Over the course of fieldwork, class observations were carried out to examine the process of teaching in class and to assess to what extent teachers' teaching practices were in line with their values and perceptions about quality classroom practice expressed during interviews. Lessons of the five key informants in each school were observed following an observation guide (see Appendix 2). Leading themes in the observation guide entail pedagogical methods

used, class management, teaching aids and creative ideas used as well as teachers' relations to students manifested in voice, engagement and action. These themes were selected based on the key aspects of what teachers in general described as a good lesson during interviews as previously discussed. The lessons were also evaluated with regard to whether the objectives of the class were met and to what extent students have understood the lesson and developed the skills and competences they were intended to according to the syllabus. Furthermore, the impact of the external environment on teachers' ability to conduct lessons that they value were also observed and further discussed with teachers when reflecting on their own teaching practices. Altogether, observations were analysed and compared to perceptions and values that teachers expressed during the interviews. The limitation of this thesis does not allow a detailed analysis of teaching methods and classroom practices and thus only key findings are discussed to answer the objectives set for this study.

In the following section, two selected class observations are described in detail as examples to shed light on the potential and constraints of conducting lessons according to teachers' perceptions of quality education. Class observations of Madam Rehema, a teacher at the government school, and Mr. Nakasi, a teacher at the private boarding school were chosen for this purpose (both names are pseudonyms). Both lessons were observed in January and February 2016, when good relationships with participants had already been established after five months of fieldwork and teachers felt comfortable about my observing their lessons as the researcher. The researcher's role during observations was passive and the goal was not to disturb the natural flow of the lessons.

Each class observed was unique, but some common patterns could be identified and compared to each other. The two chosen class observations that are described here are not meant to display typical classes, but rather chosen purposefully to demonstrate specific issues regarding the quality of the process of education. Later on, the two described lessons are analysed and discussed in relation to the whole sample of lessons observed and to what extent teachers managed to carry out lessons according to principles they value.

The first lesson was carried out by Madam Rehema, a middle-aged female teacher who has acquired both a diploma and a Bachelor's degree in teaching, specialising in geography and English. She is now teaching in the government school and has 10 years of teaching experience. The class observed was a geography class for Form 4 discussing the stages of

conducting research. The duration of class was about 80 minutes and there were 50 students present in class.

Lesson No. 1: Madam Rehema's class

After entering the class, Madam Rehema starts the lesson by writing the topic on the black board. During the previous lesson she just listed the stages of conducting research for the students and their homework was to read about these stages at home. Madam Rehema starts reviewing the topic by asking questions of the students: "What are the stages of conducting research?" It takes some time before the students start replying to the question, but slowly they start contributing. The teacher writes their contribution on the black board, one by one. Her tone is soft and nice, but also quite tired, and her voice shows little passion about the topic. She asks more questions about each stage of research, but students are mostly passive and only a few answer her questions. Madam Rehema continues explaining the topic, reading it out loud from a book, only giving additional comments using her own words. She often switches to Swahili when explaining. Students are not so much engaged; they listen quietly most of the time, some look at their exercise books and take notes. In the middle of the lesson, another teacher enters the class and starts reading out loud some of the students' names and delivers a message to them. After about 10 minutes of disruption, the class continues. It takes time for students to slowly regain their concentration. As Madam Rehema continues to explain the topic, there is quite a loud noise coming from the neighbouring classroom that makes it difficult for students to concentrate. Some of them fall asleep during the lesson even though it is only around 11:00 in the morning. When Madam Rehema notices that some are sleeping, she tells them to stand up and then she continues her lesson. As time gets closer to the end of the lesson, she finishes explaining the topic and before leaving she asks students if they have understood the topic. Few reply "yes" with indifferent voices. Then Madam Rehema leaves the class as the lesson is over.

The second observed lesson was carried out by Mr. Nakasi, an older male teacher working at the private boarding school. He possesses a diploma and a Bachelor's degree in education with specialisation in civics and English. He has over 25 years of teaching experience and has been working at this school for two years. Previously, he taught at the same government school where Madam Rehema was working. Mr. Nakasi's son attended the same government school from Form 1 to 3, but in January 2016 he brought his son to this private boarding school, where he is currently teaching. The class observed was an English class for Form 1 students that lasted about 80 minutes. As in Madam Rehema's class, the number of students present in this lesson was also 50.

Lesson No. 2: Mr. Nakasi's class

First of all, Mr. Nakasi takes the class outside to a grassy area under a big tree, students sit on the grass under the shade of the tree. Mr. Nakasi tells the students to stand up and he starts the class with a game called "Do this, do that" (better known as "Simon says", where students have to follow the leader's instructions to make physical moves; those who get it wrong have to sit down and are out of the game). Mr. Nakasi is energetic and smiles when talking to the students. After the first round, he calls a student by name to come and take over his role giving instructions in the game. Students seem to enjoy the game; they are engaged and laughing. After about five minutes, Mr. Nakasi tells them to sit down again. He takes out a book and he starts reading the first chapter out loud in English. He speaks with a nice, confident and passionate voice and students listen attentively. After each paragraph, he stops to discuss the story with the students. He asks questions ranging from very simple questions such as "Who is this story about?" to more difficult questions targeting comprehension of the story. He also makes sure to explain each word that the students might not understand in English. First he asks the students whether they know what it means, then he completes the students' answers and, where possible, shows the meaning with his body language. For example, when explaining what it means "to wink", he winks, then he tells all students to repeat the word and the movement themselves. He even asks a student to come forward and show the others what it means to wink. To his questions students answer in chorus by repeating the answer several times (rote reply):

Mr. Nakasi: "What did Hawa say to the man?"
Students: "Go away!"
Mr. Nakasi: "She said what?"
Students: "She said: go away!"

After finishing the first chapter, Mr. Nakasi appoints a student to come forward and continue reading the story by the next chapter. While the student is reading the story out loud, Mr. Nakasi corrects his pronunciation mistakes gently. In the meantime, he sometimes stops the reader to engage the students in the story by asking some questions of comprehension. Several times during the course of the class he asks students "Are we together?", where he expects a reply from the whole class in chorus. He points out students whose concentration has been falling to answer the questions. He calls each of them by name and jokes with them in a nice tone. The class often laughs together. Students seem to enjoy the class and are interested in the story. After several paragraphs into the chapter, Mr. Nakasi asks who wants to read next. Half of the class put up their hands. Then he calls one student to continue. After each chapter read, he thanks the reader and tells the class to clap for the reader. Then Mr. Nakasi asks the students who can summarise the chapter. He tries to engage as many of the students as possible with his questions. Then he appoints the next student to continue reading the book. The class goes on until they read all five chapters of the story book. Mr. Nakasi then asks the students who can summarise the story of the book. The question-and-answer (Q&A) session continues until they finish the class with a short game ("Simon says"). Mr. Nakasi finishes his lesson by appreciating students' participation and telling them that they will write

a summary of the book the next time they have an English lesson. Then Mr. Nakasi tells the students to follow him back to the classroom and the lesson is over.

Observed lessons of teachers from the three schools showed certain similarities and differences in terms of pedagogical approaches demonstrated and the form and quality of student-teacher interaction. Taking Madam Rehema's and Mr. Nakasi's lesson experiences as a starting point, lesson observations are discussed along these lines by comparing perceptions to the reality.

Teaching methods

Firstly, when it comes to pedagogy and teaching methods, most of the teachers expressed that they considered participatory teaching methods as good practice, where students are active in the learning process and get the chance to discuss their opinion in groups during the lesson. Compared to the valued perceptions, the majority of classes observed could, however, be characterised as a teacher-lead lesson with limited opportunities for students' active engagement. Often lessons started with the teacher asking repetition questions about the previous lesson, then starting to lecture about the new topic by providing notes on the black board. As in Madam Rehema's lesson, teachers often tried to engage students by using a Q&A method, which did not always yield the intended results. Students, especially in the government school and the private day school, were often passive and even though the teacher put effort into asking for their contribution, it was limited to the extent to which individual students and the class as a whole were actually engaged in the learning process.

There were, however, some exceptions. Some teachers managed to present the topic in a way that students could relate to and used stories and jokes to attain students' attention and make them active. Mr. Nakasi, for example, seemingly managed to engage the majority of the students in the learning process by first of all starting the lesson with a game requiring physical motion as well as the rhythmic way of the Q&A session, which required students to pay attention and be constantly prepared to provide answers and to take over reading the book. Even though Mr. Nakasi remained the leader of the class and his form of leading the Q&A session with repeated questions and choral answers reminded of "rote-teaching" mostly associated with teacher-centred teaching, the result of the method was engaged learners seemingly enjoying the class. When Mr. Nakasi was asked to reflect upon the lesson, he expressed that he managed to conduct his lesson according to his perceptions of best practice:

> The class went well, I used participatory method. Students contributed a lot, so my objectives were met and even more. I planned to read two chapters but we finished the book. I was very happy, the boys understood the story and when I asked "Are we together?", they said "Yes". Boys feel that we are part of this together in the lesson, we were learning together.

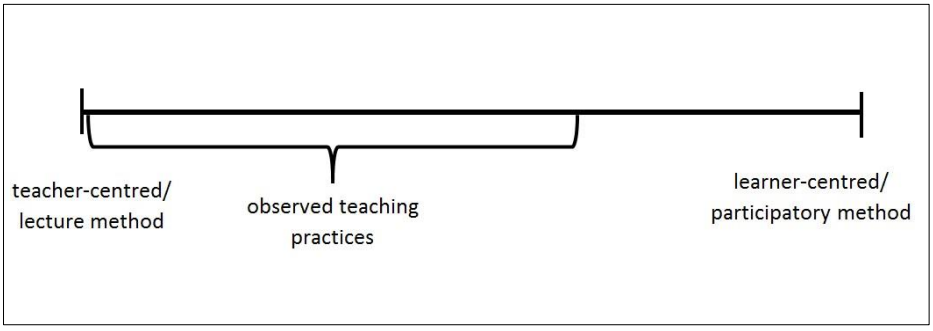
When I asked Madam Rehema for her reflections of the observed class, she described the lesson as "good", but she quickly added that she was tired and that she felt it was boring to teach the same topic to several parallel classes in a row, being the geography teacher for three Form 4 classes in school. She also explained the difficulty of using learner-centred methods in the context of the government school she was teaching at:

> We are teaching by using the [participatory] method, but for the issue of the kind of students we are having, most of them are slow learners, so if you apply completely this methods of student-centred, you are not going to finish the syllabus. Because they are going to spend a lot of time on nothing, they are going to discuss nothing…

Thus, she pointed out the importance of an enabling environment and students' abilities and motivation when trying to teach according to the learnt methods and her own perceptions of good quality teaching. These aspects are further discussed in the next section.

In summary, in light of the lessons observed and the interviews with the teachers, it can be concluded that teachers use a variety of teaching methods that carry characteristics of both teacher-centred and learner-centred approaches. However, teachers' teaching practices during the classes observed could rarely match up with the description of participatory methods in the national curriculum and policy documents. For instance, the Q&A mode still entailed mostly closed-ended questions that require limited creative thinking and analytical reflections. Even though lessons contained participatory elements where students could contribute, the majority of lessons remained teacher-centred in the way they were conducted, as is shown in Figure 5.3.2.1.

Figure 5.3.2.1: Teaching methods: observed teaching practices.



Source: Author's own.

As was true for both Madam Rehema's and Mr. Nakasi's lessons, the learning process was still mainly led by the teacher, even though the level of student engagement differed between the two classes. Thus, it can be concluded that the way the majority of teachers perceived learner-centred teaching was different from both their own practice and the definition in the policy document. External factors hindering teachers from teaching according to their valued best practices are further discussed in the next section.

Relational aspect

The second aspect that the majority of teachers emphasised when describing a good lesson was the importance of having good relationships with students both in and outside of class to ensure that students feel comfortable with teachers and feel free to contribute during class. As teachers' ideal relationship with students moved on a scale from passive-friendly to active-caring, the same scale could be useful when analysing the nature of teacher-student relationships in class. Madam Rehema, on the one hand, had a friendly but passive approach to students in school generally, which was also demonstrated in class. She used a nice voice when teaching, but she represented a more distant or formal attitude to students than, for example, Mr. Nakasi. He, on the other hand, had closer contact with students. He knew each student by name and their personal family history even though it was a Form 1 class that only joined the private boarding school two month before the described lesson took place.

There were also visible differences between the three schools in this matter. Generally, in the government school individual care was rare and few teachers had close and caring relationships with their students, even though several of them emphasised its importance. When asking how well she knew students in her class, Madam Rehema explained that:

> I'm trying, but it is difficult to manage all of them. I'm teaching in three classes and I'm a class teacher of another class. It is difficult to know about everyone in each class.

The lower number of students was not the only reason why, for example, in the private boarding school teachers had a much closer relationship with the students both in and outside of class. The difference was also the amount of time spent with students in school and the teachers' extended role as caretakers of all boarding students.

Another important factor influencing student-teacher relationships was discipline. Teachers in all three schools often used corporal punishment as a way of disciplining students in and outside of class. In a class observed, a young teacher at the government school entered the class with a stick and caned students for incorrect answers or for their inability to reply to her questions. It showed a visible negative impact on students' engagement and willingness to work in class even though the class entailed participatory elements such as group discussions. The class environment seemed stressful to the students, as they did not dare contribute, in contrast to, for example, Mr. Nakasi's class, where he explicitly told the students not to be afraid to make mistakes.

These differences, however, also point out the importance of acknowledging individual differences in personality, background, values and years of teaching experience. Older teachers and teachers with many years of experience seemed more comfortable to regard themselves as "guardians" of students than younger teachers who sometimes seemed insecure when interacting with students and therefore often kept more formal relationships with them. Furthermore, it should also be noted that teachers' perceptions of a "good" relationship between teachers and students is deeply rooted in cultural norms and hierarchical social constructions that have formed their way of thinking since childhood. For instance, the concept of acting as a "guardian" or "parent" for students entails a more distant relationship than what Westerners would perceive, as general observations during the fieldwork also confirmed. Thus, teacher-student interaction should be examined with respect to the cultural embeddedness of social relationships in school, in families and in the society in general.

Finally, when analysing lessons observed, it was essential to examine the extent to which the objectives of the lessons were met and how far students developed the competences set in the syllabus and national curriculum. Taking Madam Rehema's lesson as an example, there is little evidence to suggest that students understood the topic of conducting research and

developed the competence to utilise research output and assess its importance in daily life, let alone carrying out research themselves as specified in the syllabus (MoEVT, 2010b). For students, this lesson is likely to become "head-knowledge" that they might forget after the examinations, because it was also presented in a theoretical way, not much linked to their realities. Students in Mr. Nakasi's class, on the contrary, developed their English language skills both in speaking, reading and understanding as they had more room for participation.

Ideas from teacher training in practice

However, as Madam Rehema also pointed out, she experienced several constraints from external factors that limited her ability to carry out her lessons in the way she intended to, following the guidelines learnt at TTC and university. Other teachers also admitted that much of it depended on the individual's will and the extent to which they do things according to what they learnt:

> Sometimes teachers do different from what he is supposed to do. Holding a diploma, but doing different things. The attitude is different. The same course, same components, but it depends on the person how they live it out… (TR8)

> Some teachers study at the college for two years, and they come here and they are doing nonsense. Those are not interested, those who are born to be teachers don't depend on the time they spent on training, it depends on motivation. (TR4)

Another challenge some teachers expressed was that even though newly graduated teachers had good and different ideas from college, when they started working, they had to adjust themselves to the existing systems:

> But at the working stations, they are not supportive to some of the ideas you have, so you have to switch from an idea to another that will work according to the environment we have. … when you come from the college, you see that it doesn't work here, so you have to fit it to the working environment. (TR4)

Analysing the similarities and differences between the three chosen schools revealed important potential and constraints in providing quality education in practice. These external factors are further discussed below.

5.3.3 Constraints and potential

By studying these three cases, one of the objectives of the research was to examine how different school environments influence teachers' perceptions and ability to provide high

quality education according to their values. Class and general school observations as well as interviews at the three schools revealed several factors that influence quality education in and outside of class. In this section, the constraints and potential of the three different school environments are presented.

External factors deriving from the type of school and class environment have a direct impact on the quality of teaching and learning as was observed in all three schools. The following table of comparison (Table 5.3.3.1) shows some of the key factors influencing teachers' performance and teaching practice in class.

Table 5.3.3.1: External factors influencing teachers' performance in the three schools.

Factors/Schools	Government school	Private day school	Private boarding school
Physical environment in class	Poor	Quite good	Quite good
Language	Very poor	Divided (very poor or very good)	Middle/good
Student motivation/engagement	Poor	Poor	Quite good
Academic environment	Very poor, not motivating at all	Quite poor, a little motivating	Good, encouraging, demanding
Psychological working environment	A little appreciative	Not appreciative	Quite appreciative
Management cooperation/follow up	Supportive, but little follow up, a little demanding	Not supportive, a little cooperative, a little follow up	Supportive, good cooperation between teachers and management, quite good follow up

Source: Author's own.

Physical environment in class

Firstly, one of the major differences among the three schools that influenced teachers' teaching practices was the physical environment in class. The high number of students in class, poor furniture and equipment in classrooms, no or few books and teaching materials available and the high level of noise and disturbance are factors that teachers from the government school had to deal with every day. While teaching English in a Form 3 class in the government school, I also experienced that keeping 50–60 students' attention in a noisy environment during an 80-minute class was challenging. An experienced teacher from the

government school expressed that this is also one of the reasons why participatory teaching methods are, in spite of being valued, often neglected:

> The working environment is not good, that's why we have to change the approach to lecture method instead, because you cannot teach sometimes 60-80 students in a room, you lecture. But that doesn't satisfy all students, you'll only get some. The professional environment is not suitable, but teachers are striving to change the methods to suit the situation. (TR5)

In comparison to that, the physical class environment in the private day and the private boarding school were much better. At both private schools, the number of students in one class never exceeded 35–40 minutes, thus the environment was more supportive for teaching as observations and personal teaching experiences also confirmed. Furthermore, both private schools had a library where students could borrow books in case they did not own them themselves. The environment was peaceful around these two schools and noises from outside rarely disturbed the flow of the lessons.

Language

Secondly, the level of students' English language proficiency was an important factor in determining the quality of teaching and learning in all three schools observed. In the government school, where nearly all students come from Swahili-speaking primary schools, the lack of proper English knowledge proved to be a substantial hindrance in making students understand the lesson and take part in learning activities during class. As Madam Rehema's experience also demonstrated, teachers often had to use Swahili to explain the topic to the students so that they could understand it. Translating everything takes a lot of effort and time of teachers that further results in their not being able to finish the syllabus at the end of the year.

At the private day school, the situation was not easier, where students were mainly divided into two groups: students of mainly Asian origin who speak good English as they came from English-medium private primary schools and students of mainly Tanzanian origin that come from Swahili-medium government primary schools. An experienced teacher explained it this way:

> When you enter class, you try your level best to teach those students … but the language is very difficult for Swahili students. When I teach in English in Form 2, students come to me and say: "Madam, please use Swahili because we can't

> understand." So sometimes I have to use Swahili… this creates a very difficult situation to teachers. (TR8)

As I was teaching English to a Form 2 class in the private day school and was faced with the same challenging situation, I asked students how other teachers usually solve this problem. Students told me that some teachers speak Swahili and some only English and do not care if all in class understands it or not, since the examination will be in English as well. Thus, the different level of language proficiency in this private day school created a situation where half of the class could be left behind in learning. In the private boarding school, however, the situation was slightly better, since the use of English was insisted upon both in and outside of class. Even though nearly half of the students come from Swahili-medium primary schools, they also picked up English more quickly due to the school being a boarding school where all students are staying on school campus.

Student motivation

Thirdly, students' motivation, interest and level of engagement also had a substantial positive or negative impact on the quality of teaching and learning as seen from examples at the three schools. In the government school, for instance, Madam Rehema struggled to get responses from students during class even though she made efforts to engage them. Quite upset, she admitted that "students are not ready, we are just forcing them". Students' indifference and low level of motivation was also observed during other lessons at the government school. Several teachers confirmed that this goes at the expense of teachers' motivation as well. In the private day school, students often seemed passive and demotivated, whereas in the private boarding school the majority of students were more active and engaged during the lessons. However, it is also important to note that students' engagement in class also depended on their language proficiency, to what extent they understood what the lesson was about and to what extent they felt comfortable contributing to the lesson in a foreign language.

Academic environment

The fourth factor influencing quality in practice is what I call the academic environment. The academic environment has to do with the school's academic performance and teachers', students' and the management's willingness to achieve good academic results. In the private day school, for example, the academic environment was demanding and encouraging for both teachers and students; it proved to be a factor motivating teachers to give their best in and

outside of class to achieve excellence. On the other hand, in both the private day school and the government school, as teachers whom I interviewed also complained about, this encouraging academic environment was absent. This was closely linked to the lack of sense of achievement for teachers when trying to teach a class of which at least half usually completely fail their examinations. The lack of a "winning culture" and competition to become the best due to the given circumstances seemingly had a negative impact on teachers' willingness and motivation in carrying out their everyday teaching activities. In the private day school, there were at least some students who performed well, which made the academic environment slightly better for teachers there.

Psychological working environment and management

The fifth factor affecting teachers' motivation and performance is the psychological working environment in the three schools. As shown earlier, motivation and appreciation from the management and fellow staff members play a key role in how teachers perform their daily teaching activities. This was especially visible when comparing the private day school and the private boarding school where the physical environments were similar. Even though the private boarding school was located further outside town and had simpler facilities, teachers enjoyed teaching there because they felt appreciated.

Having a good psychological working environment is also linked to the last factor in this discussion, namely cooperation with management. One of the reasons why the majority of teachers found it difficult to work at the private day school was the lack of good cooperation with the management. The board of directors, the headmaster of the school and the teachers seemed to have different interests and priorities regarding school and teaching matters and the lack of communication caused conflict among them. As several teachers expressed, this had a negative impact on their motivation to perform well, as they felt that they were not listened to. To the contrary, teachers in the private boarding school enjoyed good cooperation with the management. One of the possible reasons for the differences in the management's attitude and cooperation could be the issue of ownership. As the private boarding school is owned and managed by a family, they seemed to take ownership in the school's development and they showed interest in creating a good environment for both teachers and students. In comparison, at the government school, personal ownership could not be counted as a positive drive in school management.

In summary, the previously described external factors had a direct impact on teachers' well-being, which also influenced their performance and teaching practices in class. As seen from the case of the three school, these factors created different constraints and potential for achieving quality teaching and learning in the different environments.

5.4 Cases revisited – the broader context

In this section, key lessons from general observations at the three schools are presented. In addition, key points from students', school leaders' and parents' opinions from the three schools are added to provide a broader context for understanding quality education in the cases chosen for this study.

Government secondary school

Out of the three secondary schools chosen for this study, the government school was the largest school where the atmosphere was the most relaxed compared to the two other schools. Teachers enjoyed chatting with each other in the staff room, often instead of going to class on time. In breaks between classes, several teachers engaged in buying snacks or soft drinks from one another that they brought to school to sell. This practice seemed to be an important part of social interaction at school. As teachers explained during personal conversations, this little income meant a supplement to their otherwise low salaries. When teachers were having a free period, they often marked students' work or prepared lesson plans, which they were usually behind on. Teachers also had a relaxed attitude to working hours; when they had other business to do, they found ways to leave school earlier without the leaders noticing it. With more than 50 employees at school, large school facilities and without any fence around the school, it was not difficult to disappear without being noticed.

However, when inspectors came to school one day, teachers' attitude changed immediately and all seemed more serious and stressed and were busy with finishing their lesson plans in a rush. It happened both in this government school and the two control government schools that official inspectors arrived unannounced, causing distress. Inspectors talked with the headmistress of the school and looked at some teachers' lesson plans. Nevertheless, once they were gone, all went back to the "business as usual" routine. Lack of teachers' commitment was one of the issues the headmistress named as a specific challenge in this school.

Staff and academic meetings were held both at the end of the school year in December and at the beginning of the new year in January to assess the progress of the school. Poor academic performance and discipline were mainly the key issues discussed at such meetings. Due to the poor Form 4 examination results in 2015, where 60% of students had failed, an increased number of staff meetings were held, even with the participation of the Tanga City mayor and the Regional Education Officer. Furthermore, parents were also invited to a teacher-parent meeting to discuss these issues.

The mother of one of the Form 3 students I interviewed was satisfied with the cooperation between the school and the parents. However, she pointed out that many parents do not show up at teacher-parent meetings, thus the cooperation between the school and parents can be a challenge. Many things were discussed at these meetings, but change did not often happen according to her.

Some of the Form 4 students whom I interviewed claimed that the school was "good", but they mentioned several challenges they experienced in practice. One of the main issues the majority of them mentioned was "over-punishment", as they called it. Teachers often caned students for both academic and disciplinary reasons. One of the students explained that when he was beaten in class for not knowing the answer to a question, the pain distracted his focus from the subject and he started hating both the teacher and the subject. Another student added that corporal punishment destroys good teacher-student relationships, which she thought were important in a good school. When I asked them to describe their favourite lesson, most of them agreed that they liked lessons where they get to participate, for example by doing group work. However, students also mentioned that language was a challenge for them even in Form 4; even during the interviews they sometimes had difficulty expressing themselves in English.

Private day secondary school

Compared to the government school, the private day school was a much smaller school where it was easier to get an overview of teachers and teaching activities. The school had better facilities than the government school and teachers had enough space and desks in the staff room to work. However, the lack of good cooperation between the management of the school and the staff had a negative impact on most aspects of teaching and learning and decreased teachers' motivation as shown earlier. The academic master of the school pointed out that "the school had no team" and that "people have given up on this school". Furthermore, due the

lack of proper planning and follow up from the management's side, the beginning and the end of school terms were poorly organised and students were floating around at school while several teachers were absent. Many days and weeks went by before everything settled.

Staff meetings were rare at the private day school. For instance, the national examination results were never evaluated by the staff together. During the few staff meetings that were held, mainly the headmaster talked and the teachers listened, after which everything went on in the same way as before. Teachers also expressed that they rarely had the opportunity to contribute with ideas on how to improve learning outcomes at school, which no one was really satisfied with.

Students whom I taught in Form 1 often complained about teachers not attending classes properly or just sending notes for the class monitor to write on the black board. Furthermore, the instability of teachers decreased their motivation as they were never sure how long that teacher was going to stay at school. During the school term, several teachers whom students liked left due to poor working conditions and lack of good cooperation with the management. This left students increasingly disappointed in the management of the school. One girl explained to me that since this was the only private secondary day school in Tanga, it was her only choice as her parents did not want to take her to a boarding school. Even though she was one of most motivated students in class, she seemed hopeless and upset after these events.

The three parents I interviewed complained about the lack of good communication and cooperation between the school and the parents. All of them identified the lack of good management as the biggest challenge. During the time of my fieldwork, no teacher-parent meetings were held and parents also confirmed that it has been years since they had such a meeting. One of the parents, whose son has attended the school for several years, expressed that in his view teachers were not valued at this school, which could also be the reason for the poor performance. He was considering moving his son to another school.

Private boarding school

This was the school that students, parents and teachers were most satisfied with compared to the two other schools examined. One of the major differences that characterised this school was a dedicated management, as this was a family business established and driven by the same family. The manager was present at school most of the time and he was engaged in both planning and evaluating events and teaching activates. His engagement had a seemingly

positive impact on the teachers and most of them showed more commitment than the majority of teachers at the two other schools. Staff meetings were organised nearly every two weeks, where the manager was always present. Examination results were evaluated and discussed immediately after they were available and during these meetings teachers had the chance to share their thoughts on the issue. Teachers were also appreciated by the management and the headmaster during these meetings and they were motivated by receiving additional payment for achieving good results. As the manager explained to me, academic performance was important for the school as good results attracted more students for the school.

Apart from academic performance, students' well-being was often discussed during staff meetings and among teachers. Teachers had more diverse responsibilities, as this was a boarding school where students stayed at during school time. Moreover, in the private boarding school, sports activities and field trips were organised for academic and leisure purposes, unlike at the two other schools. For example, students visited the water treatment plant near Tanga, which students enjoyed a lot.

Students were generally satisfied with this school and recognised the value of the good and peaceful learning environment they had. Lessons they most enjoyed entailed stories and teachers sharing their personal experiences with them, which they preferred more than only learning things in theory. Most of them felt that there was a good cooperation between teachers and students and they had at least one teacher they could trust as a parent in the absence of their own. However, corporal punishment and strict rules in school were some of the things they complained about the most. One of the boys told me that caning makes him afraid of teachers and that is why he does not like to ask questions during class. However, he also expressed that he had many friends in school and that made him enjoy staying in school.

Parents whom I interviewed and talked to at the teacher-parents meeting expressed their satisfaction about the school. Parents' meetings were organised once a year and, in addition to that. parents visited the school for the event of Form 4 graduations. During the parents' meetings, improving academic performance was one of the major topics discussed. The school was held accountable by the parents and teachers communicated how parents could contribute to improving performance. For efficient cooperation, a teacher-parent association (PTA) was set up to support and motivate teachers financially. In addition, the PTA contributed to buying enough textbooks for all students at the school. One mother, who is also on the board of the school, especially liked the committed management, the good environment

and the good academic results of the school. Another father explained to me that he appreciated his son's academic and personal development during the years he spent at this boarding school. In summary, this was the most liked school among the three examined.

5.5 Key overall challenges and possible solutions

Teachers might strive to provide the quality education they value, but in practice they meet several challenges that limit their potential to act and teach according to their values. In the following section, general challenges in the education system are presented according to how teachers view each of these issues, how it influences the provision of quality education in practice and the solutions they could think of to improve quality in secondary education in Tanzania. The following discussion is limited to the key challenges that the majority of teachers mentioned in all three schools in relation to the first two objectives of the study.

When exploring the challenges teachers face in the education system apart from the external environmental factors previously discussed, there was an agreement about the main "burning" issues. Teachers highlighted four key issues: (1) relevance, (2) the influence of politics and the lack of democratic involvement, (3) the inconsistency of the education system and (4) students' lack awareness about education. According to the teachers, all of these challenges had a negative impact on not only the quality of education but also on students' future development as well as the development of society on the whole. Parallel to each of the described challenges, teachers' own suggestions and possible solutions are included in the discussion.

<u>Relevance</u>

Firstly, one of the main challenges that was mentioned by nearly all of the teachers in all three schools was the fact that education is more theoretical than practical. Teachers explained that the curriculum and the form of education system is not relevant to the environment in Tanzania and it limits the extent to which students gain the skills and knowledge that they would need in the future. Thus, the objectives of education are not met. An experienced teacher from the government school explained:

> The system is not preparing the students to get what we want them to get at the end. Now they just sit in school and cram so much material, but no application. We need to let them study something in application. We have quality education if

> at the end we get what we aim for, but now the aim is sending students to school… (TR4)

Another older teacher from the private day school linked the issue of relevance to ESR that, according to him, by then was more relevant than the education system now.

> [The curriculum] is too theoretical, only cramming, it needs to be more linked to real life, but it is not designed like that unfortunately. … even if you are not employed, the curriculum must help you rather than being prepare to be employed … but now [students] are waiting to be employed. (TR10)

Altogether, teachers are crying out for a more relevant and more practical education that meets the real needs of the society in which they live. Teachers suggested changing the curriculum to one that would facilitate practical learning opportunities, including, for example, study trips, more time to include practicals in each subject and focusing more on developing practical skills for self-employment as it was under the system of ESR.

Democracy

The second biggest challenge that teachers highlighted is connected to the issue of politics and the lack of democratic participation in decision making about the content and the form of education the society values. The majority of teachers expressed that education is subjected to constant changes according to current political interests, which has a negative impact on the quality of education. Teachers further expressed that they feel left out in the process of these changes. This also refers to the current introduction of free secondary education in Tanzania that teachers experienced while the fieldwork was conducted. A younger teacher from the government school explained:

> Every year they come with different political agendas and plans, lot of slogans in education …. always changing things, and they don't involve us like teachers, there is no participation among teachers and the management of education. (TR2)

Thus, the teachers recognised that education is a political issue, but there was a general plea among teachers to leave education out of politics. Seemingly, the general trust in the government and the political system in Tanzania is low due to, among others, the high level of corruption and the authoritarian way of leadership in the name of democracy. Solutions from teachers, therefore, came in two ways: on the one hand, leaving education out of politics. An experienced teacher from the government school suggested putting educational priorities in the constitution to avoid it being changed all the time by shifting governments and political

ideologies. On the other hand, though, teachers wished to be more engaged in defining the valued content and form of education to ensure that it is relevant to the real needs of the society. This could also be done locally, as one of the teachers at the private boarding school suggested, by conducting experience-sharing meetings at school to try to improve the quality of education adjusted to local needs and possibilities.

Inconsistency of the system

The third issue is closely connected to the previous two. Teachers in all three schools complained about the inconsistency of the education system that places a substantial limit to achieving quality learning outcomes at all levels, also at the secondary level. The first issue is challenges connected to the language of instruction that derive from an inconsistent system, as in the primary level of education Swahili is used, while there is a quick shift in secondary school to English. As discussed earlier, the majority of Tanzanian students who attended government primary schools are rarely prepared to receive education in a foreign language, which makes it extremely difficult to teach and achieve the desired outcomes of secondary education.

Thus, teachers wish to have a consistent system instead. Either changing completely to Swahili, which most of them think would be difficult since the language is not developed enough in each subject, or changing to English for primary up to tertiary education, as is done in neighbouring countries. When discussing language issues with the teachers, the majority preferred English, as it is considered the world language, and Tanzanians are behind other nations in East Africa, where English proficiency is high as a result of using English as the language of instruction through all levels of education.

Another important issue that shows the inconsistency of the education system, negatively affecting quality, is the system of examination in primary and secondary schools that results in poor foundations for secondary education. A teacher from the government school explained:

> The system of multiple choice examination is primary will not help us what we want, we get a student who is having good marks, but when it comes to explanations, you find that it is very difficult. Students go to school for 7 years, but they can't write, explain things, count. We are cheating ourselves, we think that students can perform, but it's not the reality… when students are used to multiple choice from primary, it's difficult to change them in secondary, they

> focus on picking instead of learning to calculate …the low qualifications of the Form 1s have a serious impact on the quality of secondary education, so we have to change the system. (TR4)

Students enter secondary with poor foundations that affect both teaching in secondary school and the outcome. Supporting this argument, an experienced teacher from the private boarding school pointed out that "quality starts with a strong foundation".

Furthermore, teachers also found discrepancies between the form of examinations in secondary school and the overall objectives set in the policy documents. An experienced teacher from the government school viewed it as follows:

> The paper and pencil method of examination doesn't show the reality of these students. The examination system doesn't reflect what we need in the future, it is not a good way of measuring knowledge as it doesn't show the reality…We should at least examine according to what we have documented… but all other activities are left behind in reality. … practical skills are not measured at the end. Students are taught many practical skills, for example how to make charcoal, but at the end they fail to use those skills as long as we name them failures. The problem is categorising them into divisions, but a person cannot be called zero. To me, a zero could be a headgirl or leader of the school team. The teacher sees it, but the public calls her zero because she failed, and it'll affect her. But these skills are not measured. The exam doesn't measure all skills, so the policy is somehow successful, somehow it failed because of the perception of the general public. The documented policy and the reality are different. (TR5)

As long as the examinations are not measuring the real desired outcomes of the education system, it is affecting teachers, students and the community itself, where the relevant skills and competences are not valued. Thus, teachers call for a more consistent education system that is more in line with the objectives set and the realities of communities in general. The previously mentioned three key challenges have a direct impact on students' motivation and aspirations that are part of the cause of the fourth biggest challenge expressed by teachers.

<u>Students lack awareness</u>

The fourth challenge that the majority of teachers pointed out is that students often lack awareness about the importance of education and only a small number really see the meaning of education. General observations confirmed this in all three schools. Teachers expressed that the goal of education should be to help students develop skills and competencies for life, but due to the previously mentioned reasons, in reality they experience hopelessness, poverty

and unemployment. Teaching demotivated and indifferent student is a serious challenge under the given circumstances, especially in the government sector. Low student motivation also influenced teacher's motivation negatively:

> Those who are demotivated, they have no goal in life, they are in school because they have to be, he's not in school because he knows what he's going to get out with… (TR9)

As one of the older teachers explained in the private boarding school, the only things students care about is passing examinations, as it will allow them to continue their education as well as avoid being called failures by the community. However, few are actually interested in learning for life:

> Students are not studying for learning, but to pass exams. Students don't know that they'll apply the [knowledge] in the future. …. they don't understand the importance of education. (TR14)

As a solution, the majority of teachers suggested placing more emphasis on raising awareness about the importance of education, both among students and the community in general. Furthermore, as a teacher in the private day school explained, students need more practical guidance from teachers regarding their future career opportunities, which are more systematically embedded in the education system in the form of career guidance and counselling. The majority of teachers across all three schools called for a clearer link between formal education and the world of work, which also relates to the point about relevance.

In summary, when considering the impact of these four previously mentioned challenges on the society, teachers realised that these challenges do not only restrict the provision of quality education, but also have a negative impact on individuals and the nation's social and economic development. As a teacher from the private day school argued, the current system is more obsessed with quantity than quality:

> We are not building quality education, sadly to say we are building quantity. We are talking about numbers, we are boasting about how many we have in our classes, how many students sat the national exams, how many have passed or failed, but we are not boasting in the practical results of the education system, people who have made it, for example a doctor who discovered a medicine … We don't give them the opportunity to expand their thinking, we only give them the opportunity to stay in class, go through the system and go away. We don't have quality because we are not providing the students with the tools they need in life

> … they only look at the teacher in class, but only see him as if it's a movie. So, sad to say that the way we teach students today in our society, we prepare the students for the exam, but we don't prepare the student for the life after exams. … the education we are giving is actually not changing the child, the child is just being a puppet doing what the teacher say, but does not apply it. (TR9)

As a result, there is limited evidence to suggest that the system is fulfilling the objective of education as set out in the policy documents. In order to improve, the participating teachers in the three schools advocated first of all for a more relevant education reflecting the real needs of the society; secondly, for more active engagement in formulating the desired content and form of education to ensure relevance in practice; thirdly, for more consistency in education planning regarding language and the form of examinations that are in line with the objectives of the education system; and finally for more attention on raising the awareness of students with the help of career guidance and strengthening the link between studies, work and life in general.

6 Discussion

In this chapter, the previously presented and analysed findings are discussed in light of theory and the Tanzanian policy context. The discussion is extended to include findings from broader literature connected to the objectives of the study.

6.1 Perception of quality: policy and reality

Teachers' perceptions of quality in practice are diverse. Findings of this study have shown that there were no significant differences between teachers' views in the three schools explored as cases. Rather, the study found more differences between individuals' viewpoints. Age and years of experience also proved to be some of the reasons why teachers had dissimilar notions about quality education. This was closely linked to when they had received their teacher training and how it formed their perceptions of high quality education. Among teachers' views, characteristics of the three previously introduced theoretical approaches, namely the human capital, human rights and social justice approaches, could be identified; none of the interviewed teachers' opinion could fit only one approach. Instead, their opinions can be described as mixed, which is also true for the Tanzanian education policy framework as discussed earlier. In the following section, signs and the underlying notion of the three theoretical approaches identified in teachers' perceptions are discussed in relation to both the Tanzanian policy framework and teachers' lived realities in the three schools that were chosen for deeper inquiry. Furthermore, the findings are discussed in light of broader literature concerning these issues.

Human capital approach

Based on the findings of this study, I argue that teachers' perception of quality in education can be notably associated with the ideas behind the human capital approach. Signs that reveal the human capital way of thinking are highlighted in education's role in preparing students for employment as well as focusing on the outcome of education measured by academic performance as a way of reaching this valued outcome.

Firstly, the majority of the teachers, both young and old, from all three schools pointed to the economic rationale of education by describing education's role in building skills and knowledge to enter the world of work after finishing education. One of the most treasured outcomes of education was finding employment and ensuring sustainable livelihood through work. The difference between the younger and more experienced teachers interviewed in this

study was in their way of perceiving employment: either focusing on the individual's pursuit and benefit or looking at the issue of employment in relation to the nation's goals and needs. In connection with this, young and newly educated teachers talked primarily about cognitive skills, entrepreneurial skills and other job-related skills that are mostly needed in white collar jobs. On the other hand, older and more experienced teachers tended to focus on developing practical skills for participation in agricultural activities and other manual work as has been accentuated under the era of ESR (Ahmad et al., 2014). The overall purpose of education, according to both young and more experienced teachers was to improve the quality of life through education and employment and to achieve personal and national development through work. Secondary education, in this sense, is an important stage preceding higher education that was associated with higher chances of getting the desired employment. This notion also appears in Tanzanian education policy documents such as the ESDP and the SEDP as shown earlier (MoEVT, 2008, 2010c).

However, in order to move to the next level of education and thereby later on increase the chances of finding a job, students have to achieve good academic results to pass the access requirements for high school and college. Ahmad et al. (2014) as well as a report published by HakiElimu (2014) pointed out that there is substantial emphasis on passing examinations in Tanzanian schools, which have also been confirmed by the findings of this study. The process of education in the three schools examined thus mainly focuses on improving cognitive learning outcomes and preparing students to achieve good academic results. The quality and success of education are then measured by performance on standardised tests. This view has also percolated to students interviewed in this study and observations further confirm that for the majority of students passing examinations is of high importance.

Measuring the success of education with academic performance is also connected to the human capital way of thinking within education (Ahmad et al., 2014; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). For all three schools examined, teaching activities were mostly organised around achieving good academic results as general observations also confirmed. As shown earlier, the majority of staff meetings in the private boarding and government schools evolved around improving academic performance. Hartwig (2013) found a similar trend when examining secondary schools in Tanzania. The majority of head teachers in both the private and government sectors named academic performance as either the greatest achievement or the greatest challenge of the school. Heads of schools also admitted that improving the academic performance was the main topic discussed at the annual teacher-parent meetings, which is

also in accordance with observations from the private boarding and government schools. The majority of the parents interviewed mentioned academic performance as a sign of high quality education in Tanzanian schools, which is an important factor for them when considering which schools to choose for their children. In addition, the findings of this research show that for the private schools especially, good academic results meant a better reputation, which would attract more and better performing students, as the manager of the private boarding school expressed.

Furthermore, teachers' evaluation and motivation according to the production of good academic results is another sign reflecting the human capital way of thinking (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). The majority of teachers interviewed claimed that receiving incentives for good results was a good way of motivating and appreciating them, which they also preferred. On the policy level, focusing on the measurable outcome of education was also emphasised in the BRN programme supported by the World Bank (WorldBank, 2014). The BRN programme also supports the closer monitoring of schools and enhancing the frequency of school inspections as a way of ensuring quality teaching and learning outcomes for students.

However, there is little evidence to suggest that frequent monitoring and inspections lead to better results in practice as Tikly and Barrett (2013) and the 2009 EFA GMR (UNESCO, 2008) pointed out. Observations at the government school showed that even though inspectors came to school to check teachers' attendance and lessons plans, the common practice at schools continued without any major change after the inspectors had left. Rather, teachers expressed the need for more useful help with improving their pedagogy in class instead of only looking at their lesson plans and schemes of work, which often did not match the lessons taught in class.

Apart from external inspections, the role of the head of school and management proved to be an important factor in ensuring the follow up of teachers and the teaching and learning process in practice. The case of the three schools showed that where the management was active and engaged in following up and encouraging teachers, like at the private boarding school, teachers felt more supported in performing their daily teaching activities than in the two other schools, where there was a lack of close cooperation and follow up from the management.

All things considered, the interviews and observations in the three schools examined showed that teachers' way of thinking is closely linked to the human capital approach to education by focusing on employment as the desired outcome of quality education as well as achieving good academic results in order to reach the desired outcome. The human capital way of thinking could also be identified in school leaders', parents' and students' viewpoints as shown earlier. However, teachers' views are not limited to the economic rationale of quality education, but can also include aspects that can be associated with the human rights approach.

Human rights approach

Apart from the human capital way of thinking, findings of this research suggest that teachers' perceptions of quality in education can also be connected to the human rights approach. This could be seen by including a broader set of skills as well as preferring participatory teaching methods to promote the development of these skills.

Firstly, apart from focusing on skills for employability according to the human capital perspective, several teachers emphasised the importance of acquiring a broader set of skills, such as life skills, creativity, social skills, problem-solving skills and developing awareness about HIV/AIDS and other health-related issues that are usually promoted by the human rights approach. The development of these skills are also emphasised by the Tanzanian policy framework (MoEVT, 2005, 2010c). Both young and more experienced teachers referred to education's role in preparing students to cope with the challenging social and economic environments in the country as well as learning to live peacefully and harmoniously in the community. This reflected a broader way of thinking about education by also considering what students need to be equipped with to survive in the future under the given circumstances apart from the economic gain by finding employment. In order to promote the development of these valued skills, the process of education should be learner-centred according to the majority of teachers interviewed.

Thus, as the second point, teachers' valued process of teaching and pedagogy could also be identified with the human rights approach. As previously shown, teachers expressed that, ideally, they preferred student-centred or participatory methods in contrast to the teacher-centred or lecture method. Such methods are also considered favourable in the both the SEDS and the TDMS policy documents. Furthermore, the 2005 curriculum reforms introduced CBT, which aims at developing a broader set of competencies instead of only focusing on cognitive learning outcomes (MoEVT, 2005). Teachers who recently received their teacher education

expressed that the participatory teaching method was taught as the "good one" in both TTCs and at university in recent years.

However, as interviews and class observations indicated, it is challenging for teachers to teach fully according to these valued methods. Firstly, it is due to the lack of a supporting environment, both in class and in the school generally. As the broader literature on implementing learner-centred methods in under-resourced countries suggests, it is also an issue in other schools in Tanzania and other developing countries (Barrett, 2007; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Makunja, 2016; Paulo & Tilya, 2014; Vavrus, 2009). The different environments in the three schools showed the potential and constrains of conducting lessons in the way teachers learnt it at college or university and as the policy documents and the CBC require. Teachers are faced with insufficient teaching and learning materials, overcrowded classes and demotivated students who struggle in understanding education in a foreign language. Hence, due to the challenging environments, teachers admitted that they have to adjust their teaching methods to adapt to the realities in schools. Rather than choosing between student-centred or teacher-centred pedagogies, teachers' valued methods could rather be depicted on a scale as shown previously.

However, as class observations showed, teaching in practice often remained teacher-led, where students had few opportunities to construct their own opinions and learn by doing (Barrett, 2007). Thus, as shown earlier, the reality is still closer to the teacher-centred end of the scale than the learner centred-end. Even though participatory methods were stressed in the TTCs, based on observations, I argue that teachers' teaching practices were more formed by the school and class environment than their own education. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that even though most of these lessons could scarcely be called fully learner-centred in the sense in which the policy documents describe it, teachers use their own methods, such as story-telling, short games or Q&A sessions, to engage students in the learning process to the extent to which the environment allows it. Several authors, such as Barrett (2007) and Vavrus (2009) also argued that the oversimplification and categorisation of pedagogies should be avoided when describing the realities in Tanzanian schools. As seen from the class observations, the majority of teachers' lessons contained characteristics of both lecture and participatory methods. Hence, the reality is more colourful than what policies suggest.

The second challenge when carrying out lessons in the way in which teachers' value it and how it is described in the policy documents is connected to teachers' own preparedness,

confidence in using learner-centred teaching methods and their own understanding of the values and objectives behind using these methods. Teachers often lack the skills, practice and professional support to conduct lessons in the way in which policies suggest (Makunja, 2016; Paulo, 2014; Paulo & Tilya, 2014; Vavrus, 2009). Komba and Mwandanji (2015) found that even in the TTCs CBT and participatory methods are often taught theoretically, limiting the extent to which teacher students can learn to use these methods in practice in a challenging environment as discussed previously. Furthermore, there is little evidence to suggest that teachers have understood and internalised the way of thinking behind CBT and are using participatory methods (Avalos & Barrett, 2013; Barrett, 2007; Makunja, 2016; Paulo & Tilya, 2014). Interviews with teachers confirmed that there was a confusion among teachers about the meaning of CBT. Findings of Komba and Mwandanji's (2015) research imply that 86% of the Tanzanian secondary school teachers they interviewed were not fully aware of the objectives of the CBC. It is therefore not surprising that this proved to be a major challenge for teachers to implement lessons according to the curriculum guidelines.

In addition, arguably, the general behaviour and conduct of teachers in the three schools examined implied that the majority of teachers still lacked the learner-centred way of thinking in education that lies behind the human rights approach. Clear evidence of this is the frequent practices of corporal punishment and harsh treatment of students that still prevail in schools (HakiElimu, 2017c). The hierarchical social relationships and the traditional cultural way of thinking are still present in Tanzanian schools and this also limits the success of CBT implementation and learner-centred methods. As several authors have highlighted, the issue of quality in education is not irrespective of the local cultural context, which needs to be considered when enforcing student-centred pedagogy in Tanzanian schools (Barrett, 2007; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Hardman et al., 2012; Schweisfurth, 2011; Tabulawa, 2003; Vavrus, 2009). The questions therefore remain as to what extent it can be expected of teachers to internalise a more learner-centred way of thinking during two or three short years of teacher education compared to growing up with a different socio-cultural reality carrying a different model of social interaction (Hofstede, 2011; Maranz, 2015). Thus, it is not difficult to understand why teachers have been slow to change their perceptions, attitudes and teaching methods, as this matter is much more deeply rooted in their cultural realities and it touches upon fundamental cultural values in their own context and identity (Avalos & Barrett, 2013). For example, observations showed that a more distant and formal teacher-student relationship was kept by many teachers in practice for fear of losing respect if done otherwise (Maranz,

2015). Thus, requiring teachers to both think and teach according to the Western example might be problematic (Barrett, 2007).

Therefore, findings of this research indicate that there was a contradiction between the ideas and methods suggested in the TTCs and teachers' perceptions and cultural realities in secondary schools. In order to transform the pedagogical practices in Tanzania from teacher-centred to learner-centred, Barrett (2007) suggested that there is a need for critical reflection of teachers' own cultural perceptions and traditions at the colleges instead of only focusing on acquiring the preferred methods. For this to happen, sufficient time, high quality teacher training and motivated teacher students are needed, which is a difficult issue in itself (Vavrus, 2009). Teacher recruitment and education is also a great challenge in Tanzania. Many students joining the teaching profession lack commitment for teaching and choose to become teachers as their last resort (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Since the teaching profession has a low reputation, this profession does not attract talented students, but instead those with low performance. On top of this, the length and quality of teacher training can also be questioned, as teachers finishing their education lack the necessary knowledge and skills to perform teaching activities in practice (HakiElimu, 2015). Thus, when teachers are not sufficiently prepared to implement the education policy, it has a negative impact on the quality of secondary education in practice.

As a consequence of both the lack of teachers' preparedness and understanding of the values behind the learner-centred education and the challenging environment facing them in schools, there is limited evidence to suggest that students actually develop a broader set of skills and competencies described in the national curriculum (Hartwig, 2013). The majority of teachers also expressed their doubts in this regard. In addition, the strong focus on measurable results leave little room and time for developing skills that are more difficult to measure with pen and paper (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Moreover, the system itself allows few opportunities for practical studies where students can put their theoretical knowledge into practice, which is also linked to the resource scarcity in the public education sector. In the private sector, as seen from the example of the private boarding school, there are slightly better opportunities for practical learning. Nevertheless, students both in the private and the government sectors need to pass the same examinations, which also reflects the inequalities of quality learning opportunities in the Tanzanian society (Ahmad et al., 2014).

Furthermore, even though the policy reflecting the human rights approach places significant emphasis on providing adequate working conditions and teaching environment for teachers, the reality still seems different in the government sector (Vavrus, 2009). The case of the three schools examined showed the differences between teachers' working environment and how the lack of infrastructure and teaching and learning materials as well as the high number of students in class impact the process of teaching under different circumstances. The findings further showed that it is not only about the physical working conditions but the psychological environment at school, collegial relationships and cooperation with the management can also make a significant difference in how teachers perform their duties. Maranz (2015), in his ethnographic study about African culture, points out the role of good relationships and being accepted by the community that often enjoys a higher priority in people's lives than the physical environment or carrying out certain tasks. Thus, when teachers feel they are appreciated and supported by the management and the broader community, they are more likely to perform well, even under challenging physical conditions (Avalos & Barrett, 2013). Besides all this, however, if the basic conditions of quality teaching and learning are not satisfactory, the extent to which the objectives of the education policies can be met is limited, if at all possible.

In summary, based on the findings of this study, teachers' perceptions of quality education can also be associated with the notion behind the human rights approach, but in a much more limited sense than the human capital approach. As the broader literature also suggests, the conditions for implementing a CBC are somewhat limited. As a result, there is a significant difference between the ideal process of teaching described on the policy level, teachers' own valued methods and the process of teaching and learning in reality. Hence, teachers are calling for a more relevant education that is more in line with the realities in Tanzanian schools, the cultural environment and the real needs of the society.

Social justice approach

Several aspects of teachers' perceptions of quality may be linked to the social justice perspective in education. The two key aspects teachers emphasised are related to relevance and democracy.

Relevance

Firstly, creating a more practical and relevant education is one of the top priorities that the participating teachers would implement to improve the quality of secondary education in Tanzania. Several authors, such as Sumra and Katabaro (2014) and Ahmad et al. (2014), pointed out the issue of having a secondary curriculum that is poorly responsive to the actual needs of individuals and the society as a whole. Ahmad et al. (2014) argued that formal education prepares students for the formal labour market, but it is very limited in the extent to which the curriculum and the form of education address the needs of the approximately 80% of the population who gain their livelihood from agricultural activities in Tanzania. This also contributes to high levels of unemployment (HakiElimu, 2017c; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Ahmad et al. (2014), thus highlighting the importance of linking education more to the everyday lives of communities, where non-formal education can also play a role in improving relevance with respect to the cultural context of Tanzania (Reagan, 2005). Furthermore, older and more experienced teachers suggested including practical subjects in the secondary education curriculum that would help students to become self-reliant as was the objective of the education system in Nyerere's time.

However, when desiring a more relevant education, several teachers also looked ahead and emphasised that ESR should be put in a modern context, as Tanzania is part of a changing globalised world that requires new types of knowledge and skills. Several interviewed students also highlighted that building competencies to use ICT should be a part of secondary education to catch up with the global technological development. Nevertheless, the Tanzanian education policy framework does not seem responsive to these needs. HakiElimu (2015) in its position paper on the 2014 ETP also criticised the policy for not properly addressing the issues of technological development of the 21st century and how education can play a role in preparing students for the reality of the coming years.

Apart from the curriculum, HakiElimu (2015) reported and several other authors argue that students are not receiving education in a language that they understand and that is relevant for their lived realities in Tanzania (Brock-Utne, 2006; Desai, Qorro, & Brock-Utne, 2010). The findings of this study also indicated that teaching and learning in a foreign language place severe limitations on achieving quality learning outcomes (Qorro, Desai, & Brock-Utne, 2008). Teachers would prefer an education system that is consistent: either English or Swahili as the language of teaching and learning from primary school to university. However, the

government avoids making a clear decision about the language of instruction (HakiElimu, 2015; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014).

Democracy

Furthermore, participating teachers did not only wish to have a more relevant education system, but they also expressed their desire to take part in formulating both the content and the form of a more relevant education. As the social justice approach suggests, teachers, parents and the broader community should also be engaged in defining quality in education that is meaningful for them in democratic processes (Tikly & Barrett, 2013). However, policies are created and changed without properly involving all stakeholders. For instance, Komba and Sigala (2015, p. 183) found that 95.9% of teachers in their study were not involved in the plans to implement the BRN initiative, which also resulted in a confusion about the objective and the methods of implementation of the programme. As a conclusion, Komba and Sigala pointed out that when teachers, as key facilitators of quality education, are not involved in the process of planning, it has serious implications for the success of implementing such initiatives, which also applies to the 2005 curriculum change to CBT (Komba & Mwandanji, 2015; Makunja, 2016).

Teachers in all three schools realised the political nature of education, but they regarded it as something negative and disturbing, seeing the limited opportunities for them to have their voices heard. Rather, they suggested improving the quality of education locally by organising "experience sharing meetings" in schools and communities, where all stakeholders have the chance to contribute. This idea is similar to what Tikly and Barrett (2011) suggested to improve people's sense of agency through action research. For instance, Bosu, Dare, Dachi, and Fertig (2011) reported having positive experiences in involving head teachers in Ghana and Tanzania in action research to empower them to come up with creative solutions to improve the quality of education in their schools. In this study, during interviews and personal conversations with teachers, students and the school management it became clear that all these stakeholders have practical and feasible ideas as to how to improve the quality of education in their own context, which could be implemented given the chance.

Hence, democratic participation is an important aspect within the social justice perspective that teachers in this study seemed to value. However, there are still institutional and socio-cultural structures in place in Tanzania that limit people's participation (Fraser, 2008; Tikly &

Barrett, 2011). In addition to the political barriers, authoritarian socio-cultural structures limit teachers' opportunities to contribute to decision making in schools for instance. Leaders are not used to consult their employees when making decisions due to the hierarchical nature of their work relationship, which also reflects the cultural embeddedness of the issue of social justice and parity of participation (Maranz, 2015). Thus, as the findings of this study highlighted, when pursuing social justice and promoting democratic participation, the broader historical and socio-cultural context of the country also need to be considered.

Inclusion

The third dimension of the social justice approach is inclusion, which was the least mentioned among teachers when talking about quality. There was only one teacher from one of the control schools who also took special needs education and who mentioned the importance of expanding educational opportunities to disadvantaged groups. It does not mean, however, that inclusion is not important to the other teachers; they just did not address this issue during the interviews about quality. The education policy promotes the inclusion of all learners, but resources are often not enough to cater for their different needs (Hartwig, 2013). The private sector has also often been accused for only selecting the well-performing and "talented" students, which produces inequalities in the society (HakiElimu, 2014). In the case of the private schools this study examined, both schools examined accepted students regardless of their academic performance as long as they paid the school fees. Even the better performing private boarding school in this study was not in a situation economically where they could send students away based on their poor performance. However, it is true that those who have the financial means may study under better conditions than those who cannot afford to go to private schools.

The inclusion dimension also places significant focus on girls' education (Tikly & Barrett, 2013). When it comes to the inclusion of girls in education, both girls and boys were accepted to all schools examined, except for the private boarding school, which was a single-sex school for boys. The management of the private boarding school wished to admit girls in their school, but due to the lack of sufficient boarding facilities for girls and the insufficient number of boarding teachers, the leaders decided to wait with including girls as long as they are improving their school facilities. Insufficient facilities such as a shortage of latrines, however, were a challenge in the government school examined as well as the two control schools. Furthermore, due to the poor teaching and learning environment in the government

schools, little focus was left for identifying and meeting the special learning needs of slow learners or learners from disadvantaged families (HakiElimu, 2017c).

Capabilities

Lastly, looking at the quality of education from a social justice perspective, it is crucial to examine the extent to which the current education leads to expanding students' freedom to live a life they find meaningful. Several authors expressed their doubts about whether the Tanzanian education system contributes to the expansion of students' capability sets and if, in a real sense, students are able to convert their resources and capabilities into a broader functioning that they have reason to value (Hartwig, 2013; Tikly & Barrett, 2011; Unterhalter, 2017; Walker, 2012). Ahmad et al. (2014) argues that the nearly exclusive focus on passing examination limits the development of crucial competencies and capabilities that students will need to succeed in life (Goldstein, 2004). Moreover, resource scarcity both in terms of physical and infrastructural resources and sufficient qualified human resources in Tanzanian secondary schools presents a substantial challenge to reaching the objectives that are set in the policy documents (Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Findings of this study also pointed out that due to poor working environment and living conditions, teachers experience capability constraints that affect their performance and motivation negatively (Tao, 2013). Thus, instead of reaching the desired outcome of education described in the policy and producing students who have developed analytical skills, reflection, empathy and self-esteem and who have acquired values and a vision for life, there are demotivated students in schools who do not really see the meaning of education and how it will help them to reach their goals in life as findings of this study showed. In this sense, it makes little difference how much "head-knowledge" students ultimately have if they find it difficult to convert the knowledge and resources they have acquired into functionings they value.

In conclusion, the findings of this study imply that achieving quality education based on the notion and values behind both the human rights and social justice approaches is a challenge in Tanzania. Since both approaches represent fundamentally different ideas about economic, social and cultural development as well as norms of social interaction than are traditional in several countries, it is important to examine the existing political and socio-cultural structures in the given society (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008) argued that changing educational practices through top-down policy approaches have had little success in sub-Saharan Africa so far. Taking the example of establishing a more learner-centred

approach to education in Tanzanian secondary schools, experience shows that introduction of CBT and the promotion of participatory teaching methods had limited impact on transforming classroom practices (Hardman et al., 2012; Komba & Mwandanji, 2015; Schweisfurth, 2011; Tikly & Barrett, 2013). Teaching methods and professional conduct can be learnt at TTCs, but adopting a new way of thinking about education that challenges traditional values and practices cannot be expected to happen overnight (Avalos & Barrett, 2013; Maranz, 2015). Thus, I argue that apart from resource scarcity and lack of preparedness of teachers, the cultural embeddedness of these desired changes pose a substantial challenge in this process. Adopting a different approach and attitude in education takes time and these values and objectives need to be communicated properly (Komba & Mwandanji, 2015). Furthermore, due to the contested nature of the new ideals, the transformation of fundamental cultural values and practices can only be sustainable if it happens through processes of reflection and discussion in the TTCs, schools and communities as well as at the policy level (Avalos & Barrett, 2013; Tikly & Barrett, 2013; Vavrus, 2009).

Furthermore, it is questionable to what extent these educational priorities set by the government are reflecting the goals and objectives of Tanzanians. Several authors also point out the influence of international and global agendas over local policy making that do not fully acknowledge the local historical and cultural context of developing countries, including Tanzania (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Hardman et al., 2012; Vavrus, 2009). Limited local ownership of national education policy has implications on achieving quality educational outcomes that are relevant in the context of the country. In Tanzania's case, even seemingly conflicting interests of international actors may limit the nation's possibility to create a clear vision in education. Arguably, while the Wold Bank is mainly promoting the human capital approach to education development through initiatives such as the BRN programme, other international organisations and UN agencies, such as UNICEF or UNESCO, mainly promote the human rights approach and elements of the social justice approach. Thus, when striving to achieve social justice, developing countries such as Tanzania should be able to decide on the form and content of quality education that is useful and meaningful to both individuals and the society as a whole in order to achieve the development goals of the nation (Tikly & Barrett, 2013).

In summary, in the present study, the human capital, human rights and social justice approaches provided a useful framework for analysing both teachers' perspectives on education quality and the education policy context in Tanzania. Even though in reality these

three approaches are not necessarily clear-cut, looking through the lenses of these theoretical approaches revealed some of the key priorities and values behind both policy and perceptions. Findings of this study showed the mixed nature of values and perceptions about quality in education, both at the policy level and among teachers included in this study. On the one hand, teachers' perceptions in this study could be associated with all three approaches, but the relevance and democracy dimensions of the social justice perspective that were not properly addressed in the policy were more emphasised. The Tanzanian education policies, on the other hand, strongly rely on the human capital and human rights approaches while also including elements of the social justice approach. Arguably, some of the coexisting policy documents, however, carry seemingly conflicting priorities, such as the BRN and 2014 ETP. Thus, in accordance with the TDMS, HakiElimu (2017c) and Sumra and Katabaro (2014) pointed to one of the greatest challenges in the pursuit of achieving quality education in Tanzania, namely the lack of a clearly articulated purpose and vision in education.

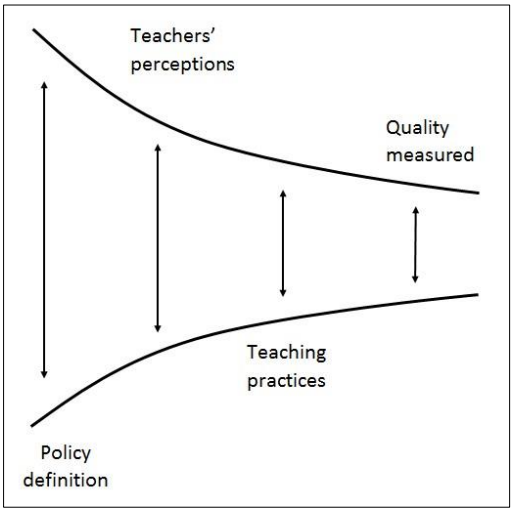
6.2 Need for clearly defined vision and values

In President Nyerere's time, after independence, Tanzania had a clear vision for its future development as well as for the role of the education system in achieving the valued development goals. The ideology of ESR gave a clear and meaningful direction to education, guiding practice in accordance with the policy framework (Ahmad et al., 2014; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). Today, however, it is more difficult to find a clear pattern behind perceptions of quality education as findings of this study show. While the majority of older and more experienced teachers still found meaning in the ideas behind ESR, younger teachers, did not refer to a common objective or vision of education and their opinions were characterised by more individual preferences.

The lack of a clear direction and purpose behind the Tanzanian policy documents is also revealing (HakiElimu, 2017c; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). As teachers pointed out in this study, there is a great deal of inconsistency and contradiction in the education system that has a negative impact on quality in practice. While policy documents such as the SEDP, TDMS and 2014 ETP reflect a broad way of thinking about quality in education and ambitious ideals and objectives are set, only part of these ideas are percolated to teachers through teacher training and there is a lack of proper communication of these ideas (Komba & Mwandanji, 2015). Teachers' perceptions about quality are then also adjusted by the challenging realities of teaching in schools, which further limit what they are able to implement of those policy

objectives in practice. Finally, the measurement of the achievements of these objectives in practice is even more limited to academic performance and cognitive learning outcomes. Figure 6.2.1 illustrates this trend.

Figure 6.2.1: Quality in education – comparing policy and reality in Tanzania



Source: Author's own.

Hence, arguably, there seems to be a discrepancy between *what we want* and *how we measure success* (Ahmad et al., 2014; HakiElimu, 2014). As the findings of this study showed, due to the under-resourced teaching and learning environment, poor working conditions, lack of proper support and professional training opportunities for teachers as well as the impact of the traditional socio-cultural environment, the education system does not produce the results depicted by the policy. Under the current circumstances, it is limited to the extent to which the education is relevant and meaningful to learners and whether it equips them to face the challenges of the globalised world awaiting them (HakiElimu, 2017c). Reflecting on this issue, Sumra and Katabaro (2014, p. 32) argued that "if examinations is what 'counts', examinations should count what matter", thus suggesting that the measurement of quality educational outcomes should be more in line with the ambitions of the policy documents.

In conclusion, Tanzania needs to define a clear purpose and vision for the country and for education's role in achieving that purpose as it has been under Nyerere's time (Ahmad et al., 2014; HakiElimu, 2017c; Sumra & Katabaro, 2014). This vision should rely on clearly defined values that also define the kind of development Tanzania desires, which should consider the realities of the country. Once the values are in place and the direction is set, resource allocation, teacher education and the mode of evaluation should all derive from this

vision in order to achieve sustainable development that is in line with the national objectives as well as international commitments.

7 Conclusion

The objective of this study was to explore teachers' perceptions of quality in secondary education in light of the policy definition of quality in Tanzania. Tanzanian education policies define ambitious goals and priorities reflecting a broad way of thinking about quality education. Policies emphasise the economic rationale of education and include elements reflecting ideas behind the human rights and the social justice way of thinking about education. In comparison, findings from the three chosen cases showed that teachers' perceptions of quality are complex and diverse, including elements of all three approaches, but with slightly more emphasis on relevance and democracy. Moreover, instead of a greater variation between teachers' perspectives in the government and two private schools, the study found more differences in opinion based on age and years of experience. While younger teachers looked at education from a more individualistic perspective on valued outcomes, older and more experienced teachers viewed education more from the nation's perspective, linking perception to ideals behind ESR in Nyerere's time. Differences between teachers' ways of thinking can also be linked to their teacher training.

The study further intended to shed light on how teacher training influences teachers' perceptions about quality, which is relevant with regard to implementing education policy in practice. While it was possible for teachers to learn the methods promoted in the policy, the findings of this study showed the implications of putting the objectives of education policies into practice considering the under-resourced school environment and poor physical and psychological working conditions for teachers, especially in government schools. In addition, internalising the way of thinking behind methods and ideals taught at TTCs can be challenging due to the cultural embeddedness of the issue that policies fail to fully embrace. Furthermore, teachers' perceptions and practices are influenced by the inconsistency of policies and the focus on examination results as a way of measuring success. If teachers as key facilitators of quality education face challenges in identifying themselves with the complex and often changing priorities and ideals of education policies, the extent to which the policy objectives are met in practice and whether learners can, in a real sense, benefit from the knowledge and skills acquired in schools and achieve their valued goals in life is questionable. In order to improve the quality of education, teachers called for a more practical and relevant education where they are also part of defining priorities.

Recommendations

In order to improve the quality of education in Tanzania, more resources need to be allocated to improving teachers' working conditions and professional environment to eliminate the barriers to teaching according to their own values and the priorities in education policies. This is especially relevant in the coming years as enrolment rates are likely to increase due to the introduction of free secondary education. Furthermore, in order to improve students' motivation and to ensure that students see the value of education, more focus should be placed on and resources allocated to career guidance and counselling in secondary education. Teachers need to be prepared, trained and enabled to support students' future career and life choices. Finally, Tanzanian policy should reflect a more clearly defined and articulated vision for education's role in development based on the common national values and locally defined priorities. To ensure sustainable development, these values and vision should be communicated more clearly, measurement criteria should be adjusted accordingly and resources within education should be allocated in line with the vision to support its implementation.

Recommendations for further research

In order to better understand the potential impacts of teacher training on teachers' perceptions of quality, it would be highly relevant to carry out a longitudinal study to examine teachers' perceptions of quality both before and after teacher training and through their later career stages. This would provide more insight into how teacher training forms teachers' perceptions by limiting the impact of personal, social or other external factors. Furthermore, there is also a need for in-depth research about how teachers, students and communities define relevant education with respect to students' present and future. This would also be relevant for national policy making. Finally, there is unexplored potential in involving teachers in action research to explore their ideas about improving the quality in practice in their own schools. This could also give them the sense of agency, which may have a positive impact on their motivation and performance in practice.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Teacher interview:

Objective 1: Examine teachers' perceptions of quality education in the light of the policy definition.

RQ1a: How do teachers perceive quality in education? How is teachers' perception of quality formed by the teacher training they have received?

- What do you think describes good (quality) education? How would you describe a good school, a good teacher, a good lesson? What are the things that are important to provide good quality education? How would you describe a bad school, a bad teacher, a bad lesson? Why are these things bad in a school?
- Let's say you are choosing a school for your child to go to, what are the aspects you look for in a good school? How about teachers, what qualities do you think your child's teacher should have?
- During your teacher training, what did you learn about how to become a good teacher? What is the responsibility/ role of the teacher in making sure that pupils receive good education? How was a good school described in your teacher training?
- Regarding quality education, how far do you agree with what you have learnt during training? Has your opinion about what characterises a good school, teacher and lesson changed during/after your training? If so, in what way, and why? Which principles learnt at teacher training do you apply in your own teaching, and why? Which are the ones that you do not apply, and why?

RQ1b: What are the valued outcomes and process of education?

- What do you think is the goal of (secondary) education? What are the learning outcomes you think secondary education is supposed to aim at? When your child finishes secondary schools, what are the qualities, knowledge and skills you want him or her to have?

- What is the best way to teach? How would you describe good and bad teaching methods? Why do you think these methods are good or bad?

Objective 2: Examine teachers' professional environment and the process of teaching with regard to improving education quality.

RQ2a: To what extent does teachers' professional environment, such as working conditions and professional training opportunities enable them to provide quality teaching they value?

- To what extent do you feel you are able to teach the way you want, and why? What are the barriers you experience with regard to that?
- How do you see your own working conditions? Are you satisfied with working as a teacher in this school, and why? To what extent do you think teachers' working conditions have an impact on education quality, and why? What is it that you would change in your working conditions in order to provide better education, and why?
- To what extent do you think teachers' education has an impact on education quality? Do you have access to additional training opportunities? If so, what kind? If not, why? If you had no barriers to take additional training, would you take part in such a training course? In what way do you think additional training could contribute to improving education quality? What are the skills and knowledge teachers need to acquire in order to become better teachers, and why?

RQ2b: How are their teaching practices and pedagogical methods formed by their training, and their own perceptions of quality?

- How do you usually conduct your lessons? Think of one of your lessons that you consider really good, what did you teach and how? How did the students like the lesson? Why do you think it was a good lesson? Think of a really bad lesson you had recently, what happened then? Why do you think it was bad? What is it you could have done differently and why?
- When you received teacher training, what kind of teaching methods were considered good, and why? Do you think teachers generally teach according to that example? How do you see your teaching practices in this regard? To what extent do you think you are following the example that you learnt at your teacher training? Is there anything you do differently on purpose? If so, why?

Objective 3: Examine challenges and solutions from teachers' perspectives as to how to improve quality in practice.

RQ3a: What are the challenges teachers face in providing quality education and how these challenges could be solved to improve quality in practice?

- What kind of challenges do you experience in your work as a teacher? How is that connected to the issue of quality? Why would that be important to solve these challenges with regard to quality?
- How do you think these challenges could be solved in practice? Whose responsibility would it be to contribute to change? How do you see the role of teachers in this? What do you think you could do in this respect? What is hindering you from acting accordingly?

Student interview:

- What do you think describes good education? How would you describe a good school, a good teacher, a good lesson? What are the things that are important to provide good quality education? How would you describe a bad school, a bad teacher, a bad lesson? Why are these things bad in a school?
- How do you see your school compared to other schools that you attended before? In what way is this school better or worse, and why?
- How do you see your teachers? Who is your favourite teacher and why? Who is your least favourite and why? When your best teacher has a lesson with you, how does he or she conduct the lesson? Which parts of the lesson do you enjoy the most / the least? To what extent do you think that your teachers are motivated and devoted to teach you the best way? To what extent do you think they are concerned about how you as a student experience his or her lessons, and why? How do you see teachers' relation to students apart from during lessons?
- Let's imagine that you are a teacher. How would you conduct a lesson? What is it that you would do differently than your teachers, and why?
- What do you think is the purpose of (secondary) education? What do you think are the learning outcomes (skills, knowledge, competences) that you as a student want to

achieve upon finishing your studies at the secondary school? To what extent do you think this schools supports you in achieving these goals?

- What kind of challenges do you see in your own school with regard to being a very good school? Is there anything you would like to change about it? Is there anything you could do to contribute to change in your school?

Parent/next of kin interview:

- What do you think describes good education? How would you describe a good school, a good teacher, a good lesson? What are the things that are important to provide good quality education? How would you describe a bad school, a bad teacher, a bad lesson? Why are these things bad in a school?
- How do you see the school of your child? Are you generally satisfied with the school? What are the good and bad things about the school? If you were the director of the school, what is it that you would change in order to improve the school, and why? What is it that parents and families of the students could do in order to improve the school, and why? How would you contribute to this?
- What do you think about the teachers in this school? What are the good and bad qualities they have? To what extent do you think they do their best to teach your child? What is it that you would want them to do differently?

Directors, principals and other stakeholders:

- What do you think describes good education? How would you describe a good school, a good teacher, a good lesson? What are the things that are important to provide good quality education? How would you describe a bad school, a bad teacher, a bad lesson? Why are these things bad in a school?
- How do you see your own school? What are the things that are good and bad in the school? To what extent do you think this school provides quality education to the students? What do you think is the purpose of (secondary) education? What are the learning outcomes that secondary education is supposed to aim at?
- How do you see the teachers in this school? What are their good and bad qualities? What is it that you think they should do differently, and why?
- How do you think the quality of the school could be improved? What are the challenges in this respect? How do you think these challenges could be solved?

Appendix 2: Lesson observation guide

1. **Teacher`s relation to students**
    a. voice, action, engagement
    b. how teacher interacts with students
    c. Are students paying attention? Is the class engaging? Are they enjoying it?
2. **Pedagogy**
    a. methods (teacher centred – student centred)
    b. class management
    c. creative ideas, teaching aids
3. **Content: how is the content delivered?**
    a. Do the students understand it?
    b. language, way of content delivery
4. **Compare observations to perceptions of quality in the interview**
    a. Does the teacher do what he/she thinks is best (methods, ideas, relations etc.)
    b. If not, why not? Any restrictions?
    c. Ask how teacher felt about the lesson

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