

School Improvement in Tanzania: School Culture and the Management of Change

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

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ABSTRACT

From a critical humanist perspective I explore why and how under adverse material and social conditions some Tanzanian state primary schools manage to improve their educational provision. I focus specifically on the influence of staff attitudes and behaviours on the change management process, as school culture is thought to affect school improvement success, and change is prerequisite to improvement. Fieldwork took place in Dodoma from August 2003 to May 2005 in two urban primary schools, considered locally to be improving. I combined two methodological approaches: action research in the context of case study. Collection of mainly qualitative data focussed on the societal and systemic influences that shaped the schools' organisational cultures, and on the reciprocal relationship between these cultures and the way staff managed self-instigated and externally imposed improvement initiatives. Action research enabled my involvement in the change processes, contributing to concrete improvements, generating process knowledge, and supporting staff.

Achievable school improvement depended crucially on limited available space for change, the core of which was insufficient staff motivation and capabilities. Under hierarchical conditions and in accordance with local perceptions of relevance, successful management of change required a combination of dependable leadership, cooperation, communication and close staff supervision. However, the improvements remained limited to incidents of enhanced effectiveness, compatible with, if not consolidating, the existing school cultures. No space was created for more comprehensive transformations, requiring fundamental organisational and attitudinal change. The quality of school management and pedagogy therefore remained severely under-developed. Even though systemic endorsement of school autonomy and enrichment of school conditions are unlikely to happen soon, committed school managers can expand existing space for change through concentrating on their school's cultures. They can challenge existing pedagogical and managerial values and practices, and entrust collaborating staff with genuine freedom and responsibility to enhance the school's quality.

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Word count (exclusive of appendices and list of reference): 99,412 words.

Permission for extension of the word count up to 100,000 words was given by the Dean of the Doctoral School.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Niek van der Steen', with a long, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

Niek van der Steen

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to Anna (Mwanamisi) John Oba.

She had little choice, chose without knowing, and lost who she could be.

Motto

There are no problems, only people.

(Anon)

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to the staff of the two study schools in Dodoma Urban, Tanzania, for their cooperation in this study and the hospitality they have shown me as their 'resident guest'. I also thank the education officers and school inspectors of Dodoma Municipality, as well as many others for their contributions during the fieldwork.

I greatly appreciate all the professional and personal support from my supervisor, Dr. Marianne Coleman. As a teacher she understood my learning style. I also thank my field supervisor, Dr. Willy Komba, for his assistance and my 'critical friend' Clare for all her helpful 'nattering'.

I am in more ways than one indebted to my parents Bob and Ger for their moral support and financial assistance to this study. It saddens me they both passed away before seeing its completion. I also owe much gratitude to my aunt Co for her patience.

I give much loving thanks to Junko, Fiona and Pien, who each in their own way were essential companions during this journey.

Deep love and gratitude goes to Tjen and Paul, without whom I would never have started.

And I am happy with myself for having come this far.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

DEO	District Education Officer
DSI	Dodoma School Inspectorate
E&TP	Education and Training Policy
Eng.	English
GoT	Government of Tanzania
Kisw.	Kiswahili
MAC	Municipal Academic Committee
MAO	Municipal Academic Officer
MEMKWA	<i>Mpango kwa Elimu Maalum kwa Watoto Waliokosa</i> (Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania; COBET)
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
mwI.	<i>mwilimu</i> (teacher)
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PSLE	Primary School Leaver's Examination
REO	Region Education Officer
REPOA	Research on Poverty Alleviation
SDP	School Development Plan
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Plan
TCCIA	Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture
Tsh.	Tanzanian Shilling
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US\$	United States Dollar
VSO	Volunteer Service Overseas

List of Page and Data Referencing Codes

(Examples)

Page referencing

(p.111) = Page 111; referencing quotes from cited literature
[pg.222] = Page 222; forward and backward referencing to pages within this thesis

Data Collection Tools

Int/HT2/A = Interview, Second Headteacher, School A
Obs/T12/S5/B = Observation, Teacher 12, Standard V, School B
Quest/A = Questionnaire, School A
Train/B = Teacher training sessions, School B
Field/B = Fieldnotes, School B

Respondents

T24/A = Teacher 24, School A
T36/S5/B = Teacher 36, Standard V, School B
HT/B = Headteacher, School B
HT2/A = Second Headteacher, School A
DH2/B = Second Deputy Headteacher, School B
AT/A = Academic Teacher, School A
SI3 = School Inspector 3
MAO = Municipal Academic Officer
DEO = District Education Officer
REO = Region Education Officer

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Irrespective of the current condition of its formal state primary education, every country in the world develops policies, and instigates and invests in nation-wide projects and programs, to improve its quality. Within individual schools, management and teaching staff willingly or reluctantly implement these system-wide changes to achieve the envisioned improvements in their school. Parallel to these obligatory initiatives, staff may also voluntarily instigate school-specific changes which are relevant to their school's unique conditions. Both sets of changes are meant to benefit the management of the school as an educational organisation and the pedagogical quality of its teaching staff, aiming ultimately for the enhancement of pupils' learning motivation, capabilities and attainment.

However, not all improvement initiatives succeed. In particular in less affluent countries like Tanzania, improving primary education has for decades proved mostly unsuccessful, despite many national and local attempts at all levels of the education system (Dachi *et al*, 2010; Makombe *et al*, 2010; Polat and Kisanji, 2009; GoT 2008, 2006, 2003a; Mbelle, 2008; Sifuna, 2007; Sinyolo, 2007; Yu, 2007; Sumra, 2006, 2001; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004a; Makongo, 2003; Makongo and Mbelinyi, 2003; Galabawa *et al*, 2000; Therkildsen, 2000; Kuleana, 1999; Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997; Mosha, 1995; Malekela, 1994; Samoff, 1990; Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1982). For general overviews of and statistical information on the history, structure and size of the Tanzanian education system, I refer to others (e.g. www.moe.go.tz and Claussen and Assad, 2010; Omari, 2002; Buchert, 1994). However, in various places in this thesis I highlight those details that in my view impact directly on the school improvement processes within individual schools.

Within schools, obstructing conditions have been identified as ranging from enduring material poverty and insufficient expertise in school management and pedagogy, to issues related to school culture, including lack of motivation and deviant values and practices among staff, such as coercion, resistance, subversion, corruption or various forms of abuse (Wedin, 2010; Bosu *et al*, 2009; Vavrus, 2009; Davidson, 2006, 2004b; REPOA, 2006; Nguni *et al*, 2006; Barrett, 2005; Sumra, 2004; Haki Elimu, 2004a; Anderson, S., 2002; Mmbaga, 2002; Baxter *et al*, 2001; Ligembe, 2001; Hallak and Poisson, 2001; UNICEF, 2001; Komba, D. *et al*, 2000; Bendera *et*

al, 1998; Kuleana, 1998; Postlethwaite, 1998; Colclough *et al*, 1997; Mbunda, 1996; Omari and Moshi, 1995; Harber, 1993). Yet, despite these seemingly paralysing conditions, some schools do seem to manage to improve significantly and relatively sustainably in comparison to neighbouring ones (Samoff *et al*, 2003; Harber and Davies, 1998).

In order to understand what makes school improvement successful under local, in particular cultural, conditions, and what implications this has for individual schools operating under similar conditions, I focus in this thesis on the management of change in two urban state primary schools in Dodoma, Tanzania. I explore three inter-related areas: 1) the scope of school improvement, as it occurred in the form of various improvement initiatives, 2) the management of the changes that these initiatives required, and 3) the influence of the schools' cultures on change management and the achievability of school improvement.

Two personal circumstances inspired me to investigate what makes school improvement 'work' under severely constrained conditions. First, I have built up eighteen years of professional experience as a teacher with management responsibilities, mostly in primary schools in socio-economically disadvantaged urban areas in the Netherlands and England. Second, I have lived and worked in Tanzania for ten years during various periods between 1980 and 2005. As a volunteer teacher, I exchanged professional knowledge and skills with local staff and taught English to primary and secondary school students. Over the quarter century, I have witnessed significant changes within Tanzanian society, but these do as yet not seem to have led to substantial quality improvements in the majority of its primary schools.

Outline of the Thesis

In the Theory chapter I develop my theoretical framework, which consists of three sub-frameworks. I start by delineating the concept of school culture. Rather than formulating a definition, I provide a multi-layered description of societal and organisational culture. In order to illustrate the complementary inter-relationship between organisational structure, culture and power-relationships, I propose an explanatory model, distinguishing formal from informal features of schools. Using Prosser's (1999) categorisation of school cultures, I then further describe this complex organisational phenomenon, highlighting the central role of staff values, practices, attitudes and behaviours. I also use the categorisation to illustrate the complexity of school culture in Tanzanian state primary schools.

The second section of the Theory chapter deals with the relevance, focus and process of school improvement. In order to illustrate the holistic nature of this concept, I propose a second model, linking school management and pedagogy to the inter-connectedness of the school's physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal conditions. I highlight that professional and personal changes among staff are central to improving the school as an educational organisation. I end with a brief overview of the scope of school improvement in Tanzanian state primary schools over the past decades.

In the third section I discuss the various elements of a third model, which depicts and explains the cyclical process of change management. Among its eleven inter-related elements (e.g. rationale, leadership, decision-making, teamwork), I introduce the concept of 'space for change'. I describe this as the particular combination of school conditions, which determines the achievability of specific improvement initiatives. Central to 'space for change' are staff motivation and capability. I also discuss the reciprocal influence between 'space for change' and subsequent 'change of space', which is necessary for ongoing school improvement.

In designing the three models, I draw mainly on Western theory on school improvement, school management and school culture published since the 1970s. I use the term 'Western' to indicate that this theory was developed under school conditions significantly different from those in less affluent countries, such as in Tanzania. However, in particular the earlier literature describing shifts in approaches to management and pedagogy (see for example Bennett, 1997; Hargreaves, D., 1995), resonates better with the relatively recent democratisation in less affluent countries than some of the latest thinking in the West. Although relatively little has been published lately on school improvement research in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Dachi *et al*, 2010; Ngcobo and Tikly, 2010; Wadessango, 2010; Vavrus, 2009; Pansiri, 2008), I refer to available local academic literature in order to reason the models' applicability in the context of Tanzanian state primary schools. I end the Theory chapter with explaining the inter-relationship between the three proposed models. The resulting cyclical meta-model explains how space can be created for organisational and personal change. All models inform the data analysis.

In the Method chapter I explain how my critical humanist stance determines this study's methodological approaches (i.e. a combination of case study and action research) and the criteria by which to judge this study's quality. I state the research questions and objectives, and

discuss the choice of data collection methods and the approach to data analysis. I consider the study's suitability for researching school improvement in the Tanzanian context and explain the selection of the two study schools. I end with an overview of the fieldwork activities.

In the Fieldwork Setting chapter I start with providing a profile of the two schools, describing their most salient structural and power-related features. This is followed by an extensive description of their respective school cultures from an organisational and (within it) a staff perspective. Together, the schools' structures, power-relationships and cultures are integral rather than contextual to the part generic, part school-specific conditions that determine the management of change and the achievability of school improvement.

The Findings chapter consists of four sections, which together answer the research questions. From an organisational perspective, I start with discussing the nature and breadth of nearly fifty school improvement initiatives that were being implemented in the two schools during the academic year 2004. Within that context, I discuss in the second section those elements of the Management of Change model that enabled staff to implement certain initiatives successfully. Conversely, in the third section I discuss those elements that were obstructing change, either through blocking it, or because they were absent. In the last section, I discuss not only which conditions were improving in both schools (in accordance with local criteria), but also how as a result of the various initiatives space for further change was being affected. I illustrate this through providing a force field analysis of six initiatives. These show differences in achievability, depending on their purpose and the available 'space for change' within each school. Throughout the four sections, I identify the influence of school culture on school improvement and its management, most notably how the 'will and skill' of management and teaching staff affects school-specific achievability of organisational and pedagogical change.

In the Conclusion chapter I first summarise my answers to the research questions and elaborate on the mutual influence between school culture and the scope and management of school improvement. I draw one overarching theoretical and practical conclusion with respect to creating appropriate quality and quantity of space for more transformational change. For schools that operate under comparable conditions as those in the two study schools, I suggest three practical ways to acknowledge and move gradually and intentionally away from their current state, rather than trying to copy an ideal situation. In line with current educational policies in Tanzania, this includes working in a three-way partnership involving staff, parents

and local education officers. I discuss several preconditions for and knock-on effects of my suggestions for school management and pedagogy, and some of the implications when taking the suggestions to scale across the education system. I end with reflecting on meeting this study's objectives, on the suitability of its combined methodological approach for research in the two schools, and on the credibility of its theoretical framework to explain and inform school improvement practice when applied within a wide variety of school cultures.

Due to the complex inter-relationships between the topics under study, throughout the thesis I regularly refer forwards and backwards to associated characteristics or additional information, in order to support my arguments and clarify my analyses. This is indicated through page numbers between square brackets [pg.14].

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY

Introduction

In three sections, this chapter builds a theoretical framework, explaining how school culture and school improvement form the contexts in which to understand the management of change. As a metaphor for the values, practices, attitudes and behaviours of staff and pupils, 'culture' is generally accepted as an organisational feature of schools. In order to understand its influence on improvement and change, I begin with a brief examination of the essence and functions of culture generally. Next, I present a model explaining the relationship between culture and two other key features of organisations: structure and power. Combined, they influence the approach of staff to the managerial and pedagogical functioning of schools. Throughout the thesis I use the word 'managerial' strictly as the adjective form of 'management', without the connotations of a narrow functionalist approach to leadership (Coleman, 2005a). Concentrating on school culture in particular, I then use Prosser's (1999) categorisation to discuss primary school culture in Tanzania.

In the second section of this chapter, I start with delineating the concept of school improvement in relation to school quality and narrow and broad perspectives on the purpose of primary education. When describing its scope, I distinguish between relevance, focus and process of school improvement, discussing the complexity of each and suggesting a comprehensive school improvement model, which includes cultural-attitudinal school conditions. I end this section with briefly reviewing recent school improvement in Tanzania.

In section three, I first delineate the concept of change management. In the remainder of the chapter, I develop a change management model, discussing its facets and elements, and relating each to the conditions in Tanzanian state primary schools. I end with discussing how the three models concerning school culture, school improvement and change management inter-relate. The resulting meta-model informed the data collection and analysis.

SCHOOL CULTURE

Delineating Culture

The term 'culture' is problematic. Leaving aside specific artistic connotations (e.g. literature, architecture, music or fashion), sociological and anthropological meanings defy easy definition, depending on narrower or broader interpretations. For example, a general dictionary description of 'culture' reads: '...the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2010). In relation to society Eriksen (2001:4) states that: 'Culture refers to the acquired, cognitive and symbolic aspects of existence, whereas society refers to the social organisation of human life, patterns of interaction and power relationships'. As a feature of society, and distinct from its structures and power relationships, he sees 'culture' therefore as: '...those abilities, notions and forms of behaviour persons have acquired as members of society' (Eriksen, 2001:3). Hofstede (1994:4) describes culture as: '...patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting which were learned throughout their lifetime.' This expresses itself as a set of 'practices' (such as rituals, heroes, symbols), centred around and given meaning by 'core values'. Although these patterns are learned and not inherited genetically, Hofstede argues that once established, they are difficult to 'unlearn'. Culture is therefore a fundamental social phenomenon as:

...it is at least partly shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. It is *the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category or people from another.* (*ibid*.p.5; original italics).

Yet, Hofstede (1994:7) also argues that the *value* of culture itself is relative as: '...there are not scientific standards for considering one group as intrinsically superior or inferior to another'.

Although slightly different, these descriptions focus mainly on the *similarities* between people belonging to one specific group as opposed to the *differences* with regard to other groups, as established over time. Eriksen (2001:3) warns however that cultures are ambiguous phenomena, referring to both: '...basic similarities and to systematic differences between humans', resulting in variations within and similarities between cultures and societies. Cohen (1994:50, original italics) takes this idea of diversity further, arguing that:

The tendency now is to treat culture much more loosely — as that which aggregates people and processes rather than integrates them. It is an important distinction for it implies *difference* rather than similarity among people. Thus, to talk about 'a culture', is not to postulate a large number of people, all of whom are merely clones of each other and of some organising principle.

Furthermore, he argues that culture, as a conglomerate of sub-cultures, is the outcome and product of people's interactions. Rather than as a mechanical or organic process, he sees the formation of culture as voluntary, because people are:

...active in the *creation* of culture, rather than passive in receiving it. If we are – in the contemporary jargon – the *agents* of culture's creation, then it follows that we can shape it to our will, depending on how ingenious and powerful we may be. (Cohen, 1994:50, original italics)

Culture is therefore not a 'fixed' or 'given' feature of communities and society. As people shape and reshape it according to their intentions, it is inherently fluid. The level of individual autonomy to change one's culture is arguably one of its most important features (Ackroyd and Pilkington, 1999).

Seemingly paradoxically, despite its fluidity and dynamism, culture *also* has consistency. This consistency is derived from the various interrelated functions of culture over time. According to Eriksen (2001) culture provides identity (a personal sense of 'self'; a communal sense of 'us'), security (a physical and psychological sense of belonging and inter-dependency) and ability (learned ways of survival and adaptation to change). Cohen (1994) points to a fourth function: the legitimization of the distribution and balance of power. This links power to identity in terms of *who* decides on dominance of values and distribution of resources. Regarding culture-as-identity he states:

...identity [is] the way(s) in which a person is, or wishes to be known by certain others. 'Culture as identity' thus refers to the attempt to represent the person or group in terms of a reified and/or emblematised culture. It is a political exercise, manifest in those processes which we frequently describe as 'ethnic', the components of which are referred to as 'symbols'. (*ibid.*p.49)

Loss of (ethnic) identity, for example due to globalisation, has been linked to the rise of ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism (Ackroyd and Pilkington, 1999), underscoring the importance of group identity for individuals. Finally, Sen (2000) notes that individuals also have plural identities (e.g. being Dutch, mature, male, academic), that identity is a matter of choice

(other than 'personality' which is formed during childhood; see Ackroyd and Pilkington, 1999), and that our identities are not necessarily superior to the identities of 'other people'.

This brief review highlights some of the problematic aspects of societal culture, such as the emphasis on both differences and similarities between people within and between groups, the enduring as well as learned, created and voluntary nature of people's values, practices, attitudes and behaviours, and the importance of identity, security, problem-solving ability and legitimation of power-distribution. When schools are seen as formally organised groups of people, then they are not only influenced by the societies they serve (Alexander, 2000; Dimmock and Walker, 2000), but also have their own organisational culture (Van Houtte, 2005, Bush and Anderson, 2003; Prosser, 1999; Owens, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996). In order to understand how culture influences the purpose and functioning of schools, I first look at how it relates to two other organisational features: structure and power.

Organisational Features of Schools

According to Owens (1998: xvii; emphasis added): 'A school is a world in which people live *and* work'. Firstly, this means that schools are social constructs, created and maintained by people to fulfil two specific sets of purposes. Arguably, primary school curricula world-wide distinguish between 1) offering learning opportunities to pupils, preparing them for the world of study and work, and 2) guiding pupils in their social development, preparing them for citizenship as well as personal independence and responsibilities (see for example: Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Graham-Jolly, 2003; Aggarwal, 2000; DfEE, 1999; Broadfoot, 1996; Hofstede, 1994). Some see this dual purpose as problematic, as the first set is often underpinned by competitive values and practices, whereas the second one is underpinned by collaborative ones (Welch, 2000; Davies, 1994).

Secondly, as formal organisations, schools have various inter-related features such as structures, cultures and power-relationships, to enable people to fulfil those purposes. An organisational perspective on schools and their improvement is therefore holistic, in that it incorporates the effects of *all* its features on the pedagogical and managerial processes within them. Being created or re-created, adhered to or rejected, maintained or transformed by people, organisational features are not only rational constructs, but are also constituted of emotional, cultural and political elements (see for example: Crawford, 2010; Busher, 2001,

Weare, 2000; Hargreaves, A., 1998; Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996; Morrison, K., 1998; Inman *et al*; 1998). Conversely, organisational features reciprocally influence people. Owens (1998: xvii) asserts that:

Like any other social organisation the world of the school has power, structure, logic, and values, which combine to exert strong influence on the ways in which individuals perceive the world, interpret it, and respond to it. In short, the behaviour of people at work in an educational organisation - individually as well as a group - is not merely a reflection of their idiosyncratic personalities but is influenced, if not defined, by the social norms and expectations of the culture that prevails in the organisation.

The inter-relationship between organisational features depends on how they are understood. Organisational 'structure', briefly, is a metaphor referring to relatively enduring arrangements, procedures, regulations and positions that determine authority, autonomy, accountability and quality of cooperation among staff, coordinate the execution of their tasks and duties, and target the allocation of physical and financial resources in schools (Bush, 2003a; Bennett, 2001; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Robinson, 1994; Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994). Organisational 'culture', on the other hand, is a metaphor for the values, practices, attitudes and behaviours of staff (Bush and Anderson, 2003; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Prosser, 1999; Firestone and Louis, 1999; Angus, 1996; Hofstede, 1994) and can be seen as:

...the characteristic spirit and belief of an organisation, demonstrated, for example, in the norms and values that are generally held about how people should treat each other, the nature of the working relationships that should be developed and attitudes to change. These norms are deep, taken-for-granted assumptions that are not always expressed, and often known without being understood. (Torrington and Weightman, 1989:18)

The relationship between structure and culture is often understood as being oppositional, in which structure is rational, singular, formal, solid and unproblematic and culture irrational, complex, informal, fluid and problematic. At best, structure forms the skeleton or framework, regulating and enabling cultural growth and individual freedom. (Bush, 2003a; Hopkins, 2001; Bennett, 2001; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Hellriegel *et al*, 1998). However, this perspective does not satisfactorily explain the existence of parallel formal and informal structures, cultures and power-relationships within a single school, that either support or compete with each other.

Others hold organisational structure and culture as complementary, in which all structural arrangements and regulations reflect people's underpinning values and practices (Lumby, 1999a; Miller, 1998; Anderson, G., 1996; Angus, 1996; Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994; Aktouf,

1992). However, when seeing structure and culture as singular, then this perspective does not explain how multiple structures in a school reflect multiple cultures, some of which converge whereas others diverge in the pursuit of formal and informal agendas.

The relationship between structure and culture is further determined by the organisational feature of power (Coleman, 2005b; Busher, 2001; Lumby, 1999a; Anderson, G., 1996; Ball, 1987). Power refers to distribution and balance of formal and informal authority and influence that people can bring to bear on negotiations and decision-making (Bush and Coleman, 2000). In organisational processes, such as school improvement, Bennett (2001) sees ongoing exchange, balancing and re-distribution of power between the individuals and groups as the driving force behind re-structuring and re-culturing. He therefore concludes that in developing organisations, structures, cultures and power-distribution are relatively fluid.

In non-Western contexts, where societal structures, cultures and power-distribution are more likely to be at odds with the organisational ones in state schools (Ngcobobo and Tikly, 2010; Bush, 2003a; Shaw, 2001; Palme, 1999; Harber and Davies, 1998; Leach, 1994; Harber and Dadey, 1993), both oppositional and complementary perspectives need to be applied with even greater caution to explain how organisational features interact during intentional processes of change.

Structure-Power-Culture (S-P-C) Complex

In analysing change in the two Tanzanian study schools, I adopt the perspective of seeing structures and cultures as complementary, with power exchange as the dynamic link between the two (Bennett, 2001). Their complex inter-relationship I name the 'S-P-C complex', which I illustrate in model 2.1.1. The content in each of its fields is drawn from the cited literature, and serves as example only.

Rather than seeing structure as formal and culture as informal features of the school, I argue that within both there are formal and informal elements that can converge or diverge with regard to the school's statutory purposes. For example, each sub-group among staff has its own S-P-C complex, but these can obstruct or support the formally established and endorsed arrangements, positions, values, practices and power-distributions. This means that within one and the same school, parallel to its formal S-P-C complex, there can be one or more informal

ones. The functioning of the school as an organisation depends therefore on the *convergence* and *divergence* of these parallel complexes. Fullan's (1992:109) assertion that: 'Educational change is technically simple and socially complex' may therefore need qualifying, as the first may not be so 'simple' and the second not necessarily 'complex'. The complexity of school improvement may not lie in an oppositional relationship of structure and culture, but in the existence of conflicting informal S-P-C complexes, and their divergence from the school's formal one.

Model 2.1.1: Formal vs. informal S-P-C complex

	STRUCTURE (positions, regulations, procedures, arrangements)	← POWER → (power exchange, redistribution, balance)	CULTURE (values & practices, identity, security, ability, intentionality)
FORMAL = overt, legal, organised, specific, explicit	administration, operational design, departments, accountability protocols, strategy, task orientation, operational methods, routines, rights	<u>authority</u> & <u>influence</u> (physical, material, financial, knowledge, skill, reverence)	Leadership, heroes, principles, vision, mission, ceremonies, rituals, artefacts, symbols, belonging, pride, responsibilities, professional relationships, legitimization of power
INFORMAL = organised / spontaneous, overt/covert, legal/illegal, explicit/taken-for-granted	<i>as above; also:</i> 'old boy' networks, cliques patronage, obligations hidden agendas nepotism, privileges customs	<u>authority</u> & <u>influence</u>	<i>as above; also:</i> sympathies, antipathies, personal relationships, dependency, liberties, habits, beliefs

Although nation-wide state primary schools are basically similar as educational organisations, two areas in which divergence among staff may cause differences between schools are management and pedagogy.

Approach to Management and Pedagogy

Despite differences in management styles (Coleman, 2005a; Bush, 2003b; Busher, 2001; Ball, 1987), there has been a general shift in management approach in the West (Dalin, 1998; Sergiovanni, 1997; Anderson, G., 1996; Aktouf, 1992). Hargreaves, D. (1995:36) argues that this shift explains differences between schools, but also hybrid forms of management within each school. He states:

Over the last hundred years or so, the general shift seems to be from the traditional towards the collegial, spawning many mutant forms on the way. This evolution reflects many of the wider changes in society and other social institutions, especially between 1960 and 1980. Most schools, perhaps, are in some aspects traditional and in others collegial.

Traditionally, management was predominantly bureaucratic-hierarchical, which arguably over-emphasised a vertical rational structure, in which power-relationships and culture were assumed to be unproblematic. Hierarchical and technicist-functionalist values and practices were taken-for-granted. Organisational change required leaders and followers. Disagreement by subordinate staff could be seen as deviance or resistance (Bush, 2003b; Eade, 1997; Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996; Hargreaves, D, 1995; Davies, 1993). In more collegially organised schools, flatter management structures enable more egalitarian-democratic allocation of resources, negotiated division of tasks and responsibilities, greater individual autonomy, reciprocal accountability, based on 1) appreciation of diversity of values and practices among individuals and groups, and 2) equitable sharing of authority and influence. In processes of change, staff distribute leadership responsibilities amongst themselves and rely on collaborative teamwork (Harris and Muijs, 2005; Harris, 2002; Fullan, 1999; Evans, 1999; Lumby, 1999b; Aktouf, 1992).

The shift from narrow bureaucratic-hierarchical towards more broadly collegial-collaborative approaches of management coincided with similar shifts towards more participatory pedagogy and child-rearing in Western schools and wider society (Fontana, 1997; Darling, 1994; Levine and White, 1991). According to Bennett (1997:131):

Through the late 1970s and the early 1980s there was a developing shift in perception of children as learners from behaviourist to constructivist perspectives - that is, from viewing children as passive recipients of knowledge, to active interpreters and constructors of knowledge.

I return to the pedagogy in more detail in section two of this chapter. Regarding changing values and practices in child-rearing Liljestrom (2004:134) states:

In the West, during the decades after the Second World War, the disciplinary and authoritarian style of socialisation was widely substituted by new ideals of free upbringing, by parents who themselves were largely moulded in the old ways. [...] Many parents adopted new methods of listening to their children and became more sensitive to their children's thoughts and feelings.

This societal change arguably affected the culture in primary schools.

School Culture

In order to conceptualise organisational culture within individual Western schools, definitions have been formulated (Van Houtte, 2005; Firestone and Louis, 1999; Owens, 1998; Alvesson, 1993; Torrington and Weightman, 1989; Deal, 1988) and characteristics described (Bush, 2003b; Bush and Anderson, 2003; Busher, 2001; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Middlewood, 1999a; Hargreaves, D., 1995; O'Neill, 1994). Furthermore, typologies have been proposed to compare between types of cultures and to identify those most amenable to school improvement (Stoll and Fink, 1996; Hargreaves, D., 1995).

Bearing in mind traditional-hierarchical or more collegial-participatory perspectives, school 'culture' commonly refers to values, principles, beliefs and assumptions among individual and collective staff that govern their managerial and pedagogical attitudes and behaviours, are relatively consistent over time, are expressed in practices, rituals, customs and visual in artefacts, symbols and heroes, and are experienced as the school's ethos, milieu, climate or atmosphere. In terms of function, school culture prescribes specific solutions to specific problems, provides a sense of identity and belonging, and legitimises distribution of power among staff. It can be the trigger, focus or consequence of organisational change.

As culture concerns both similarities and differences among staff, school culture is more often heterogeneous than uniform. Some staff values and practices are officially sanctioned or condoned, forming part of the school's formal culture, while others are informally held and carried out, leading to the existence of sub-cultures. These can be supportive of or at odds with the formal culture. Next, I discuss how school cultures can be seen as multi-faceted.

Prosser's Cultural Categories

In researching school culture in relationship to the functioning of individual schools, Prosser (1999:5) warns that the conceptualisation of the term remains often 'vague'. He complains that: 'To rest on the assumptions that climate (or culture) is something 'felt', as many did, is a wilful lack of precision that limits our understanding and neglects its full constituency' (p.5). School culture has therefore been seen either as a singular homogenous phenomenon, or as a

complex of subcultures. In both cases it was assumed to be the school's 'dark underworld' (Prosser, 1999:4, 14) or the: '...unseen and unobservable force behind school activities' (Hargreaves, D., 1999:48). Prosser (1999:9) urges researchers to properly describe school culture, given the importance of context in which it is studied. He asserts that: 'Future studies of school culture would be better served by avoiding reliance on definitions and by placing greater emphases on clarifying its meaning within the context of use'. He therefore proposes a differentiation of the concept 'culture' into four interrelated categories:

- Wider culture – As schools do not operate in a vacuum, school culture is shaped by the national and societal cultures surrounding the school
- Generic culture – Culture is also shaped by the school's generic purpose as a formal institution for learning, more or less recognisable in schools world-wide
- Unique culture – Complementing the former two, each school has its own unique school-specific culture, distinguishing one school from another. The school's values, practices, relationships and power-balances are distinctly identifiable.
- Perceived culture – Prosser distinguishes 'on-site' and 'off-site' perceived culture. The former is the individual school's culture as subjectively perceived by those who live and work within it (the staff and pupils, and visiting researchers), while the latter is the culture the school projects to 'outsiders', such as parents, education officers and school inspectors (i.e. its 'united front').

The four categories can be seen as complementary aspects of the school's organisational culture and are either dominant, equal or subsidiary in relation to the others. Despite studying the influence of staff attitudes and behaviours on school improvement management in a non-Western context, I accept Prosser's categories as suitably universal to discuss school culture in Tanzanian state primary schools.

School Culture in Tanzania

Very little documented evidence is available specifically on organisational culture in Tanzanian state primary schools. Its characteristics have to be inferred from research, evaluation reports, policy documents and newspaper articles and other publications dealing with related educational and school-specific issues, in particular when referring to staff attitudes and behaviours.

Wider School Culture

The wider aspects of school culture are influenced by the societal and systemic cultures in which the schools are embedded (Woods, 2005; Alexander, 2000; Dimmock and Walker, 2000). Furthermore, these contexts themselves are changing, which may trigger organisational changes (i.e. structural, cultural and power-related) in individual schools.

Societal Change

Similar to societal change in the West, Tanzania has undergone drastic changes over the last half century. Most notably since the end of the 1980s its population has more than doubled to around 40 million, leading to increased urbanisation (World Bank, 2009; Ngawre and Kironde, 2000). Its economy shifted from a socialist to a liberal model, supported by a vibrant informal economy (Ngaley, 2005; Komba, W., 1998; Tripp, 1997; Lugalla, 1995) and a small but growing middle class. As a result, the wealth gap between rich elites and the poor majority has been widening (OECD, 2008). Politically, slow progress has been made towards democracy and decentralisation of governance (Lawson and Rakner, 2005; Therkildsen, 2000; Galabawa; 1997). Although the first multi-party elections were held in 1995, the ruling socialist party CCM has been in power since independence in 1961 (Mørck, 2006). Ethnically, the country has always been very diverse, without one obviously dominant group (Ndembwike, 2006). Despite being officially a secular society, most Tanzanians are either Muslim or Christian, between whom some have noticed a growing polarisation (Magesa, 2007; Bondarenko, 2004; Sumra, 2001). Meanwhile, traditional religions (including commercialised 'witchcraft') remain widely popular (Cimpric, 2010; BBC, 2008; Sumra, 2001). Growing access to internet, satellite television and mobile telephony have increased communication opportunities, the influence of international world views and the benefits of knowledge banks for average Tanzanians.

Parallel to these profound societal changes, the arguably most enduring feature of Tanzanian society is poverty (OECD, 2008), affecting generation upon generation of the vast majority of people. Lister (2004:8) describes poverty holistically as 'relational-symbolic aspects' centred around a 'material core of unacceptable hardship'. This means that the concept of 'poverty' includes the cultural effects that continuous material scarcity has on the mindset and behaviour of people, leading to what could be called a 'culture of poverty'. Such a culture arguably

provides fertile ground for and consolidates patronage systems of resource distribution, corruption and the informalisation of governance, as well as traditionalisation and fundamentalisation of society (REPOA, 2006; Transparency International, 2005, 2004, 2003; Lister, 2004; Ligembe, 2001; Mwamila, 2001; Sumra, 2001; Komba, D. *et al*, 2000; Tripp, 1997; TTCIA, 1995). Informalisation means here that unofficial ways of doing business are more significant than the official one (Chabal and Daloz, 1999).

Both the changes and enduring elements of Tanzanian society affect school culture. Two issues that are affected by wider culture and play a role in school improvement are: the school's socialisation role and teacher status.

Socialisation Role of Schools

With regard to child development through formal primary education, recent societal changes have caused confusion among parents and teachers, affecting how pupils are being prepared for civil and economic participation (GoT, 2007; 1999a, 1999b; 1996; Barrett, 2005; Ngaley, 2005; Eneza, 2004a, 2004b; Mziray, 2004; Koda, 2000; Creighton and Omari, 2000; Bendera, 1997; Chonjo, 1996). According to Bamurange (2004:18):

The social scenery in Africa, as in the West, has changed dramatically. Old rules have lost their validity and it is argued that parents of today are unable to foster their children because the societies are no longer what they were when the parental generations grew up. Some parents stick to the past, some look for new options by asking what can be done.

State schools are not providing a satisfactory answer. According to Mziray (2004:41): 'Schools did little or nothing to replace tribal instruction on growing-up and maturing that parents had formerly given their children'. She focuses specifically on teachers failing as role models through not acting 'in loco parentis' (Sumra, 2003; Malekela, 1994; Cooksey *et al*, 1993). However, according to Komba, W. (1998:203), schools tend to remain traditional in their approach to socialisation. He argues that: '...collectivist and authoritarian values are still prevalent in the society. This is reflected in the values of curriculum decision-makers and of teachers concerning the outcome of teaching and learning of civics, namely unconditional obedience/loyalty to authority'. A survey by Sumra (2004) found that approximately 80% of staff regularly resort to physical punishments to maintain discipline and to 'promote' learning. Especially less able children are thought to bear the brunt as: 'The dull and slow learning

children are always being whipped [*i.e. caned*] instead of being instructed and prepared for their learning process through love and support' (Omari and Mbilinyi, 1997:48).

Teacher Status

The societal changes have also diminished the coveted societal status of Tanzanian teachers.

Traditionally:

In Tanzania, 'teacher' is much more than a job in a school, it is a role and position in society and as such is associated both with honour and responsibility. In a cultural context where age is related to status, the relationship with the pupils is the hub about which the teachers' work is defined but needs to be complemented by a sense of being valued by adults. For Tanzanian primary school teachers, honour and society are not abstract concepts. (Barrett, 2005:56)

As a profession, 'being a teacher' has however lost much of its original respect in the community, largely due to growing poverty and diminishing professionalism. Because of strong devaluation of the Tanzanian currency over the past 25 years, many teachers are now living on or below local subsistence level (Ngaley, 2005; Sumra, 2004, 2001; Levine 1996). Many are involved in *miradi* (small informal economic activities) to top up their income (Sumra, 2006; Tripp, 1997). Although exact figures are not available, many urban primary teachers are married women, who are likely to supplement their husbands' income and are therefore relatively better off economically than their rural colleagues (see Claussen and Assad, 2010; Sumra, 2006).

Mainly as a result of a mass recruitment drive in the 1970s and 80s, a significant proportion of current staff is poorly trained and under-qualified, both academically and in terms of guiding pupils' personal-social development (Kruijer, 2010; Sumra, 2004, Kironde, 2001; Van der Steen, 2001). As these teachers have not reached retirement age yet, and given a national shortage of primary staff, current staff composition still undermines the quality of primary education (Sifuna, 2007; Sinyolo, 2007; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004a). The combination of low pay, insufficient training, low societal status, lack of systemic support and other difficult working conditions negatively affects teachers' motivation and work ethic (Davidson, 2006; Barrett, 2005; Sumra, 2004; Mosha, 2000; Kuleana, 1998), which in turn contributes to a vicious cycle. An ever decreasing number of suitable students are willing to become teachers (Levira and Mahenge, 1996).

As state schools are also embedded in the education system, its purpose and its approach to management affect how individual schools operate and are experienced.

System Culture

In terms of purpose, the system officially advocates a comprehensive education (i.e. encompassing an academic, instrumental and personal-social curriculum) (GoT, 1995) [pg.40ff] but in practice enforces only a narrow academically focussed curriculum and provision, aimed at selecting around 10% of the nation's children for further secondary and higher education in the years prior to the fieldwork of this study (Ngaleya, 2005; UNICEF, 2001; Kuleana, 1999; Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997; Chonjo, 1996; Buchert, 1994). Although official figures claim a rise in transition rates to over 30% by the end of 2005, and more than a doubling of pass rates for the Primary School Leaver's exam to around 65% between 2002 and 2006 (GoT 2006a, 2003b), drop-out rates remain high (between 10 to 20%) and virtually no vocational skills are offered to the majority of children for whom primary schooling is still the only formal education they experience.

In terms of management, the system is still highly centralised and strongly bureaucratic-hierarchical, despite many years of decentralisation and democratisation rhetoric (Haki Elimu, 2004b; Makongo and Mbilinyi, 2003; Omari, 2002; Ligembe, 2001; GoT, 2001; Babyegeya, 2000; Sumra, 2000; Therkildsen, 2000; Cremin, 1999; Komba, W., 1998; Galabawa, 1997; Kiwia, 1995). Its enduring difficulty with ensuring quality primary education lies partly in endemic under-funding at every level of the system, partly in lack of managerial expertise of education officials, and partly in narrow perspectives on the purpose and improvement of schooling (Haki Elimu, 2007; Davidson, 2004a; Magubira and Swedi, 2004; Makongo, 2003; Anderson, S., 2002; Kironde, 2001; Sumra, 2001; Babyegeya, 2000; Komba, D. *et al*, 2000; Otieno, 2000; Galabawa, 1994).

However, some argue that ineffectiveness can also be seen as beneficial for certain powerful groups within and beyond the system (Fjeldstad *et al*; 2008; *The Guardian*, 18/04/2008; REPOA, 2006; Haki Elimu, 2004a; Baxter *et al*, 2001; Mwamila, 2001; Komba *et al*, 2000; see also: Hallak and Poisson, 2001; Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Davies, 1994; Leach, 1994; Bennett, 1993). Regular occurrences of abuse of power, nepotism and corruption point to informal S-P-C complexes within the system, i.e. informal structures, cultures and power-relationships

running parallel to the official one [pg.26]. A pilot Public Expenditure Tracking Survey, focusing on primary school funding, reported to the World Bank a worrying trend of what it called 'leakage', in which between 15 and 80% of funds allocated to individual schools appeared to disappear within the system. Most leakage occurred at district level (Björkman and Madestam, 2003). A larger scale survey found that in 2008 millions of USdollars were still being mismanaged or embezzled (Claussen and Assad, 2010).

Parallel to societal and systemic influences, in-school culture is also determined by how staff generically approach and carry out school management and learning and teaching processes.

Generic School Culture

For Tanzanian state schools, lack of funds can be seen as a generic material condition affecting all schools. Not only does this affect the availability and adequacy of facilities, resources and teacher salaries, it also hinders staff recruitment and development, and undermines staff morale (Sifuna, 2007; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004b; Rajani and Sumra, 2003; Posthletwaite, 1998). As such it limits the achievability of pedagogical and managerial change.

In terms of management, state primary schools are hierarchically organised, with headteachers as the highest authority as well as personally accountable with regard to running the school as required by ward and district education officers. Although their approach to in-school management is not officially prescribed (GoT, 1997; MANTEP, 1995), effectively they are low-ranking middle managers within the system. They can therefore hardly diverge from the 'top-down' directives, guidelines and values imposed by education officers and school inspectors (Barrett, 2005; Davidson, 2004a; Omari, 2002; TEN/MET, 2002; Babyegeya, 2000; Therkildsen, 2000; Galabawa, 1997; Kiwia, 1995; see also: Carasco *et al*, 2001; Harber and Davies, 1998; Harber and Dadey, 1993).

The extent to which corruption is endemic within Tanzanian primary schools and how it plagues the quality of schooling or hinders the process of improvement is not well researched or documented (Komba *et al*, 2000). Despite assertions that both grand and petty corruption are widespread in primary and secondary schools, including serious forms of moral corruption (e.g. sexual and physical violence against pupils), most cases are arguably 'petty' in nature (e.g.

subversion of regulations, soliciting gifts or money, lack of transparency, favouritism) and not easily distinguished from 'unprofessional' behaviour (Barrett, 2005; Haki Elimu, 2004a; Bakilana, 2001; Mwamila, 2001; *The Express*, 23/03/2001; Hallak and Poisson, 2001). As civil servants, teaching staff are generally perceived by the public as least corrupt (REPOA, 2006).

The staff approach to the teaching and learning process has been described generally as one-directional, based largely on rote learning, aimed at knowledge replication in written exams. This approach serves the equally narrow purpose of education [pg.40ff]. Similarly, the general approach to pupil discipline is arguably authoritarian, focused on submission (Wedin, 2010; Vavrus, 2009; Benson, 2006; Sumra, 2004; Mosha, 2000; Komba, W., 1998; Kuleana, 1998; Omari and Mbilinyi, 1997; Bendera, 1997; Mbonde, 1996; MANTEP, 1995).

Complementing the wider and generic aspects of school culture are those that are specific to the individual school. These idiosyncratic aspects arguably determine how the more general ones are being interpreted and expressed (Prosser, 1999).

Unique and Perceived School Culture

The existence of unique differences between individual Tanzanian primary schools can only be inferred from school-located studies that focus on specific managerial or pedagogical issues (e.g. Wedin, 2010, Bosu *et al*, 2009; Davidson, 2004b; Mmbaga, 2002; Chande, 1999; Temu, 1995). It has been suggested that differences in staff composition, individual managerial capability, parental and official support and geographic location may explain why some schools are more successfully improving than others. (Dachi *et al*, 2010; Claussen and Assad, 2010; Barrett, 2005; Samoff *et al*, 2003; Harber and Davies, 1998). Similarly, to my knowledge no publications exist on how individual schools are perceived both on and off site (see also Sumra, 2000). Generally however, Tanzanian primary schools have been perceived by staff as demotivating places to work in (Davidson; 2006; Sumra, 2004; *The Guardian*, 24/09/2002, 24/11/2002), and by parents as inadequate in preparing pupils for both work and life (Sumra, 2006; Chonjo, 1996; Cooksey *et al*, 1993).

From an organisational perspective, Bush (2003a:70) suggests that each school may have a dominant culture, as: '...the typical simple primary school structure is more likely to lead to a single dominant culture'. Furthermore, given Tanzania's centralised education system, the

dominant culture in state schools may not be as unique as in Western primary schools, as they may not be allowed: '...to develop and nurture a unique cultural identity in a situation where most of the major decisions are made by external bodies' (Bush and Anderson, 2003:88). Set against cultural dimensions as suggested by Hofstede (1994) and Dimmock and Walker (2000), then the dominant culture in most state schools could be typified as strongly 'power-concentrated', 'status-orientated', 'competitive', 'fatalistic', 'replicative', 'nepotistic' and gender discriminating (Dimmock, 2002), as opposed to valuing power-sharing, professional merit, collegiality, pro-activeness, inventiveness, commitment to professional principles and gender parity.

I end this section on Tanzanian school culture with three important caveats. Although I use Western theory to contrast with the situation in Tanzanian society and schools, I wish to stress categorically that this does not mean Tanzanian teachers are 'others' (Sen, 2000), in some fundamental way different from teachers elsewhere. As people, they are not 'typical' Tanzanians, as Tanzania has a diverse multi-cultural society, and its people do not have vastly different values, practices, attitudes and behaviours than people globally. Finally, Tanzania is not a 'poor' country with a 'poor' culture. However, due to the effects of pervasive poverty on people's mindset, the dominant mix of values and practices in its society tends maintain a 'culture of poverty', which is arguably reflected in the culture of schools.

Having described school culture as an organisational feature, and as a context in which staff operate, I now turn to the process of school improvement.

SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

Introduction

This section deals with school improvement as an organisational phenomenon. I start with delineating the concept by listing descriptive statements, based mainly on Anglo-American literature. However, as Western theory is not readily applicable in Tanzanian schools, I use the remainder of this section to provide a comprehensive description of school improvement, that may be appropriate for different cultural contexts. First, I delineate school improvement in terms of relevance, which means improving school quality in accordance with narrower or broader perspectives on the purpose of education. Second, regarding focus, I present a model for comprehensive school improvement, encapsulating all school conditions relating to pedagogical and organisational change. Third, concerning process, I return to the S-P-C complex [pg.26], arguing for complementary re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment as underpinning intentional change. I end this section with reviewing recent school improvement initiatives in Tanzania.

I reiterate my central argument that the interplay of structures, cultures and power-relationships in state primary schools world-wide form the organisational context that determines formal schooling and its improvement. In studying school improvement as an organisational phenomenon, I focus in this thesis specifically on how values, practices, attitudes and behaviours of staff affect the management of intentional change.

Delineating School Improvement

From a Western perspective, a number of authors have attempted to define the concept (Hopkins *et al*, 1997; Hopkins, 1996; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Miles and Ekholm, 1985 and/or provided lists of characteristics (MacGilchrist, 2003; Fullan, 2003, 2001a, 1999; Harris, 2002; Fidler; 2001; Hopkins, 2001, 1996; Frost *et al*, 2000; Morrison, K., 1998; Hopkins *et al*, 1996) However, similar to Prosser's (1999:9) assertion with respect to defining school culture [pg.30], some argue that in light of different ideological perspectives on schooling and vastly different school contexts world-wide:

...it is simply not possible to agree on a definition of school improvement without sharing a common view of organisations – which in turn is based on ones' views of humanity, society and learning. In the deepest sense of the term, school improvement is a question of *values*' (Dalin, 1998:97; original italics)

Furthermore, Fertig (2000:393) warns that a uniformist approach to school improvement

...often translates itself at the school level into a prominence being given to securing high test and examination results, with a consequent backwash impact upon both the curriculum and pedagogical practice, and a de-emphasising of the potential social and cultural impact of the school.

He therefore proposes a contextual approach to school improvement, i.e.: '...one which takes account of the internal processes within the school, the socio-economic, political and cultural contexts in which the organisation operates, and the perspective which different stakeholder groups bring to bear on the activities of the school' (*ibid.*p.395). Specifically with regard to pedagogy (and thus its improvement), Alexander (2008:19) stresses that: 'It reflects and manifests values, [which] are not merely the personal predilections of individual teachers, but the shared and/or disputed values of the wider culture'. Nevertheless, he also assumes a deeper universality within education, suggesting that: '...the observable practice of pedagogy may vary, but much of its psychological and developmental grounding could well be constant' (*ibid.*p.23).

Therefore, in as much as culture expresses both similarities *and* differences within groups of people, I assume the position that there are both universal *and* context-specific norms for what constitutes a 'school', and for what makes a school 'better'. Using a metaphor, this means that even within the mass education system of one country, determining similarities/differences between individual schools may be like comparing apples of the same variety, a great many variety of apples, or apples with other kinds of fruit. Mindful of contextual differences and organisational commonalities between state primary schools world-wide, I opt here for a generic description of school improvement. Drawing on the authors mentioned above, I formulate a series of provisional statements, on which I elaborate below and in the third section of this chapter.

As put into practice by staff, successful context-specific school-wide improvement:

- Is unique to each school, even in response to imposed or unexpected change

- Requires reflection on relevance and commitment to realistic directions of school development
- Aims to simultaneously improve the quality of pupils' learning and of school management
- Requires staff to comprehensively change existing inter-related school-wide conditions
- Consists of many distinct parallel and subsequent improvement initiatives
- Is an ongoing complex cyclical developmental process, with inherent 'ups and downs'
- Aims for intermediate results to create momentum and a critical mass of proponents
- Requires staff to challenge and develop their professional values and practices
- Combines qualitative and quantitative evaluative indicators of success
- Draws on combined staff expertise and grounded academic enquiry
- Develops staff knowledge, skills and attitudes with regard to the relevance, foci and process of change
- Requires collegial decision-making, collaboration and distributed leadership and administration
- Needs reliable pre-conditions and consistent systemic endorsement to be feasible
- Transforms the school's organisational structures, cultures and power-relationships

These statements informed the construction of the three core models presented in this thesis (Appendices 1, 2 and 3), which are central to of the theoretical framework. Largely drawn from Western school improvement literature, the statements serve as a template to understand differences and commonalities within intentional changes and their management in the two Tanzanian study schools.

Next, I elaborate on the depth and breadth of comprehensive school improvement, in which I distinguish focus (what) and process (how), both depending on relevance (why). I start with relevance, discussing narrow and broad perspectives on the quality and purpose of schooling.

Relevance: Quality and Purpose

If from an organisational perspective school improvement is understood as improving the quality of schooling, this immediately begs the question of how to understand a school's 'quality'. Hawes and Stephens (1990:12-17) describe school quality as the combination of 1) efficiency and effectiveness of operation, 2) relevance for pupils' present and future lives, and

3) 'something more', which they explain as the attitude of pursuing 'excellence and human betterment'. Welch (2000:5) however denies a universally applicable definition of educational quality, linking it squarely to the local culture in which schools are embedded, as:

...notions of quality are inextricable from the dominant set of values and form of culture in a society - which means that constructions of quality are socially indexed - they change over time, and vary according to political and cultural context.

This in turn affects the quality indicators chosen to determine the success of school improvement initiatives. The central issue here is that educational quality cannot be seen as 'value-free' and thus reflects the purpose of (state) schooling, as expressed in curricula and teaching and learning processes and underpinned by educational ideologies.

Morrison and Ridley (1989) identified in their analysis of school curricula three categories of educational ideologies: i.e. being either academic, society or person-orientated (*fig. 2.2.1*).

Fig. 2.2.1: Categories of educational ideologies; based on Morrison and Ridley (1989:42)

	Person-orientated	Society-orientated	Academic-orientated
Exclusive – narrow	Romantic progressivism Child-centredness	Instrumentalism Revisionism Economic renewal	Classical humanism Conservatism Traditionalism Academicism
Inclusive - broad	Critical progressivism Learner-centredness	Democratic socialism Reconstructionism	Liberal humanism Learning-centredness

In practice, they found nearly all curricula to be ideological hybrids as 'Different ideologies can coexist with a degree of harmony; different elements of the curriculum being built on different ideological foundations' (*ibid.p.41*). Yet, they also warn that whatever the hybrid form, its underpinning ideologies should be seen as '...a set of values issuing from the dominant powers in society' (*ibid.p.41*). These values are not only passed on formally, but also through what Alexander (2000:551) calls the 'not-so-hidden' curriculum, i.e. through extra-curricular activities and the school's cultural practices.

Traditionally in the West, the purpose of formal mass schooling has been mostly academic-orientated, to a lesser extent society-orientated and least person-orientated (Broadfoot, 1996; Darling, 1994). Similarly, acquisition of knowledge has trumped the development of pupils' skills and attitudes. Here I distinguish only between narrower and broader content and intentions

(Graham-Jolly, 2003). In fig. 2.2.2 the darkest areas depict the narrowest orientation. Quality of education is arguably best served with a broadly balanced curriculum.

Fig. 2.2.2: Narrow vs. broad curriculum orientation.

PUPIL	CURRICULUM ORIENTATION		
	Person-orientated	Society-orientated	Academic-orientated
Attitudes	Emotional development Self-discipline Critical thinking	Collaboration Loyalty Democracy Tolerance	Diligence Competitiveness
Skills	Self-reflection Anger management Physical competencies	Negotiation Decision making Conflict prevention/ management Practical science Arts and Crafts	Learning strategies and techniques
Knowledge	Personal hygiene Religious education/instruction	History/Geography Civics	Core subjects (Mathematics, Language, Theoretical Science)

Effectiveness and Transformation

In terms of narrow or broad perspectives on schooling and its improvement, I see a parallel with the school effectiveness versus school improvement debates which have divided Western academics for over 40 years (Beare, 2007). Due to limitations of this thesis, I refer to others for extensive overviews (Yu, 2007; Thrupp, 2002; Harris and Bennett, 2001; Teddlie and Reynolds, 2000; Slee *et al*, 1998; Gray *et al*, 1996) on the different arguments. I concur with Stoll (1996:51), that where academics and researchers remain divided, practitioners: '...can see and make links' to improve pupils' education. As a practitioner, I use the term 'improvement' as the overarching concept, within which enhancing 'effectiveness' complements 'transformation' in striving for optimum relevance for pupils, staff and society. According to Beare (2007), to be 'effective' simply means to produce 'desired' outcomes, in accordance with whatever ideology of schooling staff adhere to. 'Transformation' goes deeper when in the improvement process, established pedagogical and managerial approaches and methods, and most importantly the ideological choices that underpin them, are challenged and further advanced.

With curriculum orientation, school quality and school improvement being value-laden, school improvement cannot be seen narrowly as a technical exercise, in which staff attitudes and school culture are merely peripheral 'contextual variables' for which to compensate (Scheerens,

2001; Lauder *et al*, 1998). Even if underpinning values remain largely unchanged, this is not a 'taken-for-granted' fact, but an ideological choice. I therefore regard school culture and staff attitudes as *conditional* and *integral* to organisational school improvement.

Changes in ideological priority or shifts towards a more comprehensive education affect the values and practices of teachers in the classrooms and of school managers running the school.

Focus: Pedagogy and Management

If enhancing the quality of the teaching and learning process is core to school improvement, then educators cannot avoid reflecting critically on their views on pedagogy. From a narrow perspective, Ireson *et al* (1999:3) have defined pedagogy as: 'Any conscious activity designed by one person to bring about learning in another'; i.e. the technical capability of teachers to enable pupils to learn in equally narrow ways. I prefer to call this technical side of pedagogy 'didactics'. In continental Western-Europe a broader understanding of pedagogy refers to child and teenage development; i.e. their social, emotional, physical *and* intellectual-academic maturation. In school, the role of teacher is therefore more 'parental' than in narrower functionalist-technicist perspectives (Alexander, 2000; Weare, 2000; Inman *et al*; 1998; Wardekker, 1997; Darling, 1994).

Alexander (2000) argues that views on pedagogy are strongly influenced by the cultures in which the schools are embedded. This means that the teaching and learning process is laden with often taken-for-granted values and assumptions on schooling, children, society and life. Improving the breadth and depth of pedagogy therefore means for example that:

It is time for educational change strategies and reform efforts and definitions of teaching and learning standards to come to terms with and embrace [the] emotional dimensions of teaching and learning. For without attention to the emotions, educational reform efforts may ignore and even damage some of the most fundamental aspects of what teachers do (Hargreaves, A., 1998:574).

It also means that the approach to pedagogy needs to be flexible to make it relevant to the learner. Regarding schools in less affluent countries, Harber and Davies (1998:140) argue that:

A flexible pedagogy is not one that is arbitrary and swings from brutality to client counselling. [It] is one that is consistent in the principles of valuation and respect for the student, but is able to differentiate in terms of needs. [It] does not always come

naturally, and requires rethinking of relationships and support among teachers as well as towards children.

When whole-person development of children – of which *academic* attainment is an *integral* part – is seen as part and parcel of the school's curricular focus, then teachers do not centre work around themselves, their teaching and the delivery of a narrow curriculum. Rather than being concerned about whether the children understand what they try to teach, and whether they can control their learning and behaviour, teachers instead focus on whether they understand what the children are able to learn, and whether they learn to master their own learning and behaviour (Rowland, 1987; Cameron, 1998; Clark, 1998). Broader perspectives on pedagogy tend to be learner-orientated, participatory, constructivist and activity-based, rather than teacher- or syllabus-centred in which pupils are mostly recipients and reproducers of knowledge (Alexander, 2008; Carnell and Lodge, 2005; Fontana, 1995; Pollard, 1995; Darling, 1994; Wood, 1988).

From a whole-school perspective, a broadening of curriculum and pedagogy changes the school's teaching and learning culture. Coleman (2003a:144; emphasis added) argues that a school as a:

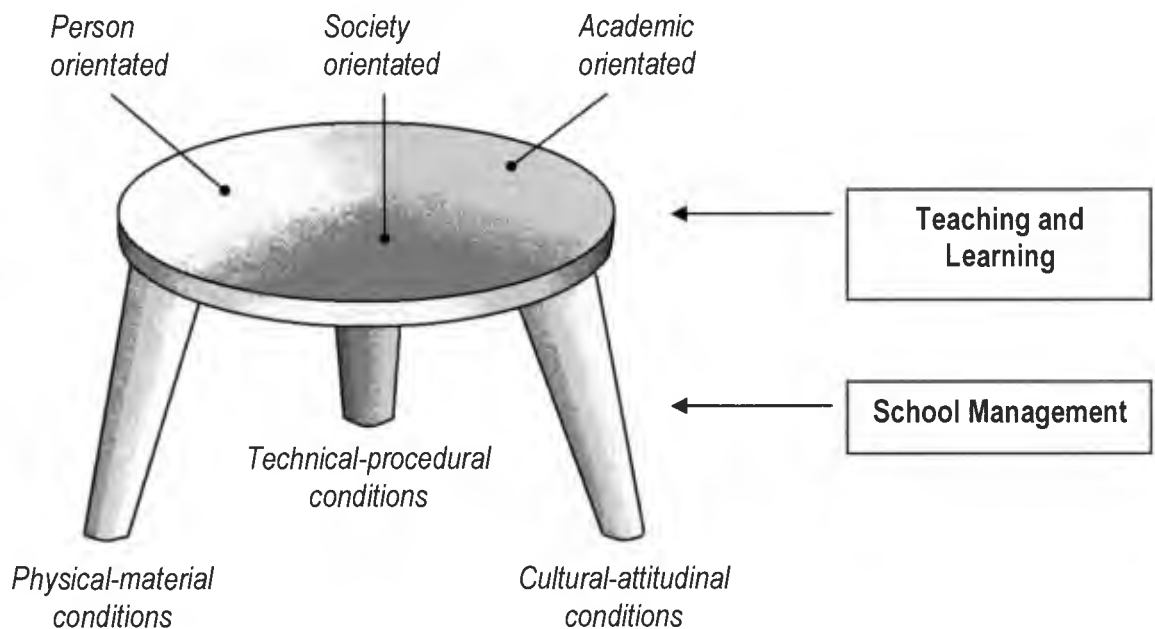
...learning organisation is one in which the teachers as well as the learners are involved, and where teachers as well as their students have an open and enquiring *attitude* and see themselves as engaged in the same continuous learning process.

Furthermore, a broader understanding of pedagogy requires an equally broader perspective on school management, making it the second key focus of school improvement. Busher (2001:78) asserts that: 'The curriculum [...] and the pedagogies used to deliver or create it are the outcomes of political processes that have been negotiated between a variety of social groups inside and outside school'. Changing approaches to school management is therefore not simply a matter of structural reform, but *also* involves cultural-attitudinal change and re-negotiation of power-relationships within and beyond the school. I already discussed the managerial shift towards a broader collegial-collaborative management in Western schools [pg.28], which occurred parallel to the pedagogical shift described by Bennett (1997) and the societal change described by Liljestrom (2004). Next, I show how the improvement foci of pedagogy and management inter-relate within the school.

Kigoda Model

In order to improve pedagogical and managerial quality, staff intentionally change associated school conditions (Hopkins, 2001). I distinguish between three sets of conditions: 1) physical-material, 2) technical-procedural, and 3) cultural-attitudinal. For the purpose of staff training on a comprehensive approach to school improvement, I developed two models (fig. 2.2.3 and 2.2.4) named after the *kigoda*, the three-legged stool used in many Tanzanian kitchens. The pictorial version illustrates the inter-relationship between broadening pedagogy and curriculum-orientation (Morrison and Ridley, 1989) [pg.40ff], and managing the underpinning conditions. Whichever part of the *kigoda* is changed, it immediately affects the whole.

Fig. 2.2.3: *Kigoda model of comprehensive school improvement (pictorial version)*



In combining the two key areas of schooling (i.e. pedagogy and management) with the three sets of conditions that underpin them, the table version (Fig. 2.2.4) consists of six inter-related segments, providing examples of possible improvement foci. If school improvement is to have a comprehensive and lasting effect on the whole school, then whatever the initial focus of any given improvement initiative within one of its segments, its changes cannot be regarded as isolated from related foci in all other segments. For example, the implementation of participatory teaching methods requires management staff to allocate funds, provide staff

training and leadership, and show commitment. Simultaneously, staff may need to alter pupils' seating arrangements in class, engage in training to master the methods and agree to apply them. Similarly, simply procuring new textbooks does not constitute school improvement, when this material change is not embedded in changes in capability and willingness to use and look after them properly, both within the classrooms and within the school as a whole.

Fig. 2.2.4: Kigoda model of comprehensive school improvement (table model)

	SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT CONDITIONS		
	←	→	
	CULTURAL – ATTITUDINAL	TECHNICAL – PROCEDURAL	PHYSICAL – MATERIAL
SCHOOL MANAGEMENT PROCESS - Daily running of the organisation - School development and improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management approach / leadership style • School culture • Team building • Communication • Negotiation • Human resource management • Morale / motivation • Staff and pupil discipline • Traditions and transformations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management skills / administration procedures • Organisational structure • Decision-making, delegation of responsibilities • Planning (long term, short term) • Personnel management • Staff development / training • Home – school contact • Rules and regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget / school funds • School environment / gardens / fence • Buildings / facilities • Teacher housing • Water, electricity, telephone
TEACHING AND LEARNING PROCESS - Academic and personal-social development of pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pedagogy (<i>approach to learning through teaching</i>) • Purpose / aims of education • Teacher – pupil relationship / interaction • Guidance and counselling • Personal – social attitudes and values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Didactics (<i>learning through teaching methods, techniques and skills</i>) • Assessment procedures / testing, examinations • Curriculum development / academic syllabus design • Personal – social skills and knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching and learning resources and materials • Classrooms, furniture • Additional facilities (toilets, playgrounds) • Miscellaneous materials (school band)
	<i>approaches, styles values, will, motivation</i>	<i>capability, expertise skills, techniques</i>	<i>material conditions / funds</i>

Conditions enable or restrict pedagogical or managerial improvements, and reciprocally can themselves be cause, topic or result of school improvement (see for example Hargreaves, D., 1995, on school culture). Apart from internal (classroom and whole-school) conditions, the success of school improvement also depends on external (local, regional and national) ones (Thrupp *et al*, 2007; Harris *et al*, 2006; Woods, 2005; Bush, 2003b; Hopkins *et al*, 1997). These can be categorised similarly to the internal ones.

Next, I describe school improvement as a process, focusing in particular on re-culturing.

Process: Re-Structuring, Re-Culturing, Re-Empowerment

Whereas the Kigoda models comprehensively depict areas, conditions and foci of school improvement, I draw on the organisational S-P-C model [pg.26] to describe salient features of its process. One specific process characteristic, the management of change, I discuss in detail in section three of this chapter. If it is accepted that structure and culture are complementary organisational features (Miller, 1998), with power exchanges as the driving force for change (Bennett, 2001), then comprehensive school improvement requires at least some re-culturing, in combination with re-structuring and re-empowerment. Re-culturing is understood here as the ongoing process of intentionally challenging and developing pedagogical and managerial values, practices, attitudes and behaviours of its staff. Re-structuring is the ongoing process of modifying organisational arrangements, procedures, positions and regulations within the school, while re-empowerment means recurrently redressing the quantity and quality of formal and informal authority and influence of staff.

Relationship between Re-Culturing and Re-Structuring

A complementary view on school culture vis-à-vis structure means that re-culturing and re-structuring are interlocking, ongoing processes, rather than the former being only 'contextual' to the latter (Scheerens, 2001; Lauder *et al*, 1998). According to Lumby (1999b:64) 'Modifications in structure may [...] in themselves shift the norms and values of the organisation. Changes in structure may therefore both follow and foreshadow cultural changes'. The reciprocal influence not only affects school management, but also approaches to pedagogy. Hopkins (1996:44) states: 'Changes in teaching behaviour cannot [...] be acquired or sustained without, in some cases dramatic and in every case some, modification to the culture of the school'. Specifically regarding externally imposed school improvement initiatives, he suggests that the required changes must meet with the intentions of staff. He concludes that:

School development then is the process through which schools adapt external changes to internal purposes. When successful, this leads to enhanced outcomes for teachers and students, and ultimately affects the culture of the school, as well as its internal organisational structures. (*ibid*.p.33).

Hopkins' notion of 'adaptation', resonates with Bennett's (2001:115) assertion that re-culturing requires ongoing reflection on and re-creation of professional and personal values and practices, as: 'Cultures have to be continuously re-enacted and restated and the act of restatement gives room for the statement to be changed'.

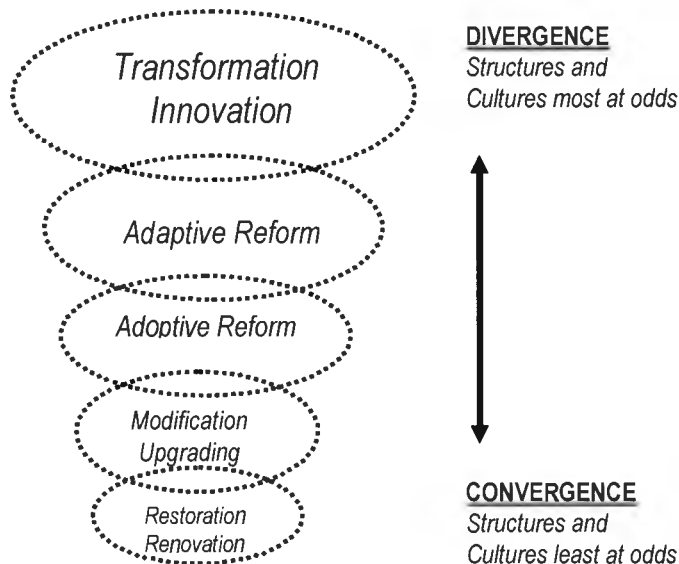
However, the reciprocal influence between cultural and structural changes is not a straightforward linear one. Depending on the purpose of change, structural changes may consolidate existing cultures in the school, while cultural changes may improve the functioning of existing structures. In both cases there is *convergence*. There is *divergence* however, when technical-procedural changes upset existing cultures, whereas cultural change can make existing structures untenable. Convergence provides a sense of stability and harmony, whereas divergence may result in discord and resistance.

Also the breadth and depth of change affect the complementary relationship. Physical-material changes (e.g. renovating buildings, procuring books) are less likely to cause divergence between re-structuring and re-culturing, than technical-procedural changes (e.g. modifying in-school inspections, developing in-school staff training) or cultural-attitudinal ones (e.g. implementing participatory teaching methods, democratising school governance). The more whole-school and complex an improvement initiative, the more staff motivation and capability will be required to maintain convergence between the two inter-related processes (see fig. 2.2.5).

In particular concerning the transformational shift from traditional to more democratic approaches to schooling, staff need the conviction that through their 'will and skill' the school: '... can be *recultured* to build stronger professional cultures of collaboration, trust, risk-taking and shared learning...' (Stoll and Fink, 1996:x; original italics). However, as: 'A school which has a bureaucratic hierarchical structure may be less conducive to change than one which has more flexible and democratic structures' (Coleman, 2003b:128), the pace of such fundamental change may be initially slow and incremental (Bennett and Harris, 2001; Lewin, 1991).

Key to this shift is re-empowerment.

Fig. 2.2.5: Likelihood of divergence and convergence between organisational structures and cultures during different kinds and magnitudes of change



Re-Empowerment

Many school improvement authors imply that empowerment means increasing the professional authority and/or influence of previously less powerful staff (Coleman, 2005b; Harris and Muijs, 2005; Fullan, 2001a; Weare, 2000; Owens, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Hargreaves, A., 1994; Hopkins *et al*, 1997). Empowerment is even seen as necessary as: 'It has become increasingly apparent that for organisations to survive in an increasingly turbulent and changing environment, issues of strategy can no longer simply be seen as the exclusive preserve of senior staff' (Earley, 1998:150). This is usually to be achieved through staff development training and formal negotiation on and distribution of selected managerial responsibilities to teaching staff (Earley, 2005; Harris, 2002; Anderson, S., 2002b; McMahan, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998). However, despite the arguably global shift towards more democratically run schools, even in most Western schools formal authority remains reserved for management staff and officials 'higher up' in the education system (Coleman, 2005b; Busher, 2001). Under conditions where staff may only partly influence improvement strategy – but are held fully accountable for its realisation – calls for empowerment are always somewhat disingenuous. In particular for externally imposed change to happen 'successfully', it is arguably *necessary* to keep the

majority of subordinate staff sufficiently *disempowered* (Lumby, 1998; Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996).

Despite warnings on the corrupting effects of powerlessness (Lumby, 2003b; Morrison, K., 1998; Davies, 1992), most authors calling for empowerment seem to disregard the formidable *informal* power subordinate staff can bring to bear against formal authority in the form of resistance, subversion or deviance (Levin, 2006; Thrupp, 2005; Angus, 1996; Leach, 1994). Re-empowerment here is therefore conceptualised as redressing the existing distribution of power, which includes formally acknowledging informal staff power. By making the informal transparent, genuine concerns and constructive forces among staff are separated from corrupt and destructive influences (Fullan, 1999). This redress does not mean that formally appointed management staff lose control over the school, but that its *quality* changes. Their role shifts to inspiring fellow staff to assume their own professional responsibilities, coordinating their actions in a collaborative way, and stimulating reciprocal accountability. This qualitative re-empowerment is deeply ethical as well as seemingly paradoxical, demanding willingness to share power in order as a team to be stronger in the process of whole-school improvement (Levin, 2006; Busher, 2001; Dalin, 1998; Newman and Pollard, 1994).

The approach to school improvement management is further determined by how change is understood as a process.

Models, Phases and Complexity

Models depicting the school improvement process show its progress as linear, cyclical, holistic or hybrids thereof, each with their own degree of complexity. From narrow technicist perspectives, elaborate input-throughput-output models have been proposed on the basis of Lewin's (1958) assertion that change means 'unfreezing', 'changing', and 're-freezing' of organisational conditions (e.g. Leighwood *et al*, 2006; Heneveld and Craig, 1996; see Appendix 4). Rather than a series of insular events, Fullan (2003, 2001a, 1999) proposes that school improvement is an ongoing process, characterised by overlapping phases (see fig. 2.2.6), akin to the cyclical nature of action research [pg.80]. He distinguishes an initiation, implementation, institutionalisation and evaluation phase.

Fig. 2.2.6: Basic cyclical school improvement model



Furthermore, a coherent, overall direction is important when a school works on various improvement initiatives concurrently (Fullan, 1999). In response to comprehensive views on school improvement, some have proposed holistic models (e.g. Hopkins, 2001; Anderson, S., 2002; see Appendix 5), in which the relationship between process elements are not narrowly defined. Arguably, their multi-interpretable nature makes them applicable in more diverse school contexts. As a tool to understand and inform school improvement each model has consequences for its management. Ongoing comprehensive school improvement arguably requires a cyclical-holistic process model, which I discuss in detail in part three of this chapter.

When seeing school improvement as a long term process in a specific developmental direction, executed through a series of parallel and subsequent improvement initiatives, then its effects must be discernible over time. Although the success of distinct (shorter term) initiatives may be determined (or even measured) through the use of qualitative and quantitative success indicators [pg.81], school improvement over time requires noticeable and desirable change of school culture.

Shifts in Cultural Features and Functions

Re-culturing means that over time desirable shifts take place in Prosser's (1999) inter-related wider, generic, unique and perceived aspects of school culture [pg.29], as well as in Hofstede's (1994) and Dimmock and Walker's (2000) cultural dimensions [pg.37]. Also the cultural functions of identity, problem-solving and security (Eriksen, 2001) [pg.23] undergo favourable transformation. Re-empowerment (Cohen, 1994) I already discussed above.

Identity

From an organisational perspective, re-culturing means re-defining the school's 'reality' (Hargreaves, D., 1995). This renders identity seemingly paradoxical, especially when change for improvement is seen as ongoing. When changing 'the way we do business around here' (Miller, 1998:530), then how do 'we' change, but without losing our sense of 'us'? Within the dual management task of school maintenance and school development [pg.57], a similar dual cultural process takes place. In their leadership role [pg.84ff], the school's change managers motivate people to change and develop, while simultaneously re-confirming the school's altering identity. Too much change may cause anxiety about losing identity, while too little development may lead to rigidity.

From a personal perspective, re-culturing the school means that its people not only change the organisation, but also themselves (Fullan, 2001a; Stoll and Fink, 1996). Regarding the professional and personal identity of individual staff, many have stressed the importance of meanings and emotions that they bring into their work (Crawford, 2010; Bennett and Harris, 2001; Fullan, 2001b, 1999; Hargreaves, A., 1998; Dalin, 1998, 1993). Furthermore, willingness to change has to come from the individuals themselves, as this cannot be mandated or enforced (Morrison, K., 1998).

Problem-solving

Whether seen from a narrow or broad perspective on schooling, during re-culturing pedagogical and managerial approaches and methods are changing. Accepted solutions to problems are abandoned or modified and new ones need to be learned. Once established, they become 'our' new way of working and behaving until they too are challenged and changed. When seeing school improvement as ongoing change, then both staff and pupils also need to learn the meta-skills of learning-how-to-learn and learning-how-to-change. Developing change capability is arguably an essential characteristic of school improvement (Fullan, 2001b, 1999; Hopkins, 2001). Similar to the managerial shift from bureaucratic-hierarchical to more collegial-collaborative schools (Hargreaves, D., 1995; Aktouf, 1992), Miller (1998:530-532) argues that during re-culturing staff make fundamental shifts in the way they work and live in the school. These shifts are from:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Individualism to professional community | 4. Control to accountability |
| 2. Teaching at the centre to learning at the centre | 5. Managed work to leadership |
| 3. Technical work to inquiry | 6. Classroom to whole-school focus |

Change managers need to realise that changing teachers' approach to their profession may take (many) years, as: '... there are no short-cuts, no 'magic bullets', no substitutes for hard and continuous work' (Miller, 1998:543).

Security

The cultural function of security refers to people's sense of belonging to and inter-dependency within communities (Eriksen, 2001). If primary schools are places where staff and pupils 'live and work' (Hofstede, 1994; Owens; 1998), then teachers have 'in loco parentis' responsibility for the pupils in their care. Similarly, school managers have a duty of care towards the teaching staff. For sub-Saharan African countries, Harber (2002, 2001; 1993), with others (Harber and Muthukrishna, 2000; Harber and Davies, 1998), has argued strongly for incorporating ethnic tolerance and democratic values in school curricula, if their schools are to be called 'effective' or 'improving'. Despite local context leaving some leeway in interpretation, this includes safeguarding pupils and staff against physical and psychological violence, currently perpetuated by pedagogical and management practices within the schools. With regard to re-culturing Tanzanian schools, improving the position for girls has been argued prominently (Mziray, 2004; Bendera, 1999; Bendera and Mboya, 1998). However, democratic values and tolerant attitudes cannot be imposed, nor do they develop automatically. Hence the need to sensitise staff and pupils through experiencing democracy and tolerance in their schools and so internalise its principles (Wadessango, 2010; Davies, 2008; Harber and Muthukrishna, 2000; Weare, 2000; Maiteny and Wade, 1999).

So far I have provided a succinct description of the relevance, focus and process of comprehensive school improvement. Despite my intention to make this description conceptually generic, I acknowledge that it is mostly based on Western theory and practice. With this in mind I briefly review recent research, national policies and programmes, and local projects and initiatives in Tanzania.

School Improvement in Tanzania

Research

Since independence, Tanzanian and foreign academics have carried out qualitative and quantitative research into the feasibility and successes of improving the quality of Tanzanian state primary education, both systemic and within schools. As these academics represent both narrower and broader perspectives on school improvement, findings and conclusions need to be read with caution, because their positions are not always stated clearly. Some research therefore serves to enhance effectiveness of the existing education system, whereas other studies point to the need for structural, cultural and power-related transformations.

Research within schools, with a distinct school culture angle, cover a wide range of pedagogical and managerial issues such as characteristics of successful schools (Temu, 1995), the position of girls in primary education (Peasgood *et al*, 1997), contextualising teaching and learning (Mulhall and Taylor, 1997), motivations behind parental contribution (Chande, 1999), inclusion of children with learning difficulties (Mmbaga, 2002), working conditions of teachers (Sumra, 2004), quality of primary schooling (Davidson, 2004b), teacher accountability and pedagogical capability (Barrett, 2005, 2007), primary school effectiveness (Swai and Ndidde, 2006), transformational leadership (Nguni *et al*, 2006), headteacher leadership and committed staff supervision (Heneveld, 2007), school leadership and social justice (Bosu *et al*, 2009), use of constructivist pedagogy (Vavrus, 2009), and classroom interaction (Wedin, 2010). Despite assertions that educational research in less affluent countries increasingly highlights the centrality of cultural context (Fleisch, 2007; Crossley and Watson, 2003), their findings hardly seem to affect nation-wide educational policies and practices (Samoff *et al*, 2003; Farrell, 2002). Furthermore, the prevalence of school improvement research which is done from a narrower effectiveness perspective (EdQual, 2010; Yu, 2007; Riddell, 1997; Heneveld and Craig, 1996; Scheerens, 2001) means Fuller and Clarke's (1994:144) warning is still relevant:

Researchers may be simply raising the efficiency with which governments push an excessively narrow form of learning and socialisation - especially in newly democratic societies that are struggling with how to broaden their conception of school achievement.

Policy

At the time of data collection, two policy documents guided the quality and improvement of Tanzanian primary education: the *Education and Training Policy* (E&TP) (GoT, 1995) and the *Primary Education Development Plan 2002 – 2006* (PEDP-I) (GoT, 2001). The E&TP states the government's intent regarding pre-primary up to university education and its purposes. It reflects elements of the three sets of educational ideologies [pg.40ff], but arguably lacks a coherent overarching philosophy concerning the development of the nation and its people. Regardless of real limitations to provision, due to shortage of funds and insufficient organisational capabilities, the government has been seriously critiqued for wilfully failing the vast majority of the nation's school age children. Primary education has for decades acted as a 'gatekeeper', geared towards preparing pupils academically for scarcely available further education, rather than preparing them competently for work (Omari, 2002; Mosha, 2000; Kironde, 2001; Osaki, 2000; Komba, W., 1998; Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997; Buchert, 1994; Chonjo, 1996).

Although more a policy than a concrete plan, the PEDP-I (as well as its successor PEDP-II, 2007 – 2011; GoT, 2006b) does provide some direction for ongoing improvement of primary schooling. It specifically focuses on enrolment expansion, improving pedagogical and managerial quality, capacity building, and optimising human, material and financial resource utilisation. Despite some quantitative successes in enrolment and expansion of provision, its impact over the 5-year period on comprehensively improving the quality of primary schooling has remained minimal according to its critics (Mbelle, 2008; Sifuna, 2007; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004a; Magubira and Swedi, 2004; Makongo, 2003). Further concerns at the time were that as PEDP-I and II are almost entirely donor-funded and promoted, their impetus and values may not express strong political conviction and will from the Tanzanian government. Rather than prioritising the extension of PEDP-I to fundamentally improve state primary schooling, the government pressed ahead with the *Secondary Education Development Plan, 2004 – 2009* (SEDP) (GoT, 2004a). Despite adding three more areas of focus to PEDP-II, its funding has been cut to 14% of what was allocated under PEDP-I (Claussen and Assad, 2010).

Practice

Independently, or sometimes conjoined with the Ministry of Education, over 200 larger and smaller local and foreign NGOs run formal and non-formal primary school improvement

projects (see http://tenmet.org/public_html/index.php). Other documented initiatives, which involve more or less fundamental re-culturing, focus for example on child-centred schooling and abolition of corporal punishments (*Primary Education Programme*; Kamwela, 2000), community responsibility for school development (*Community Education Fund Project*; Babyegeya, 2000), school management and whole-school improvement (*Dar es Salaam Primary School Project*; Mosha and Welford, 2000), teacher and resource development (*Aga Khan Mzizima Secondary School Program*; Anderson and Sumra, 2002), and school leadership and social justice (*EdQual research project*; Bosu et al, 2009). Parallel to documented programs and research, many schools instigate their own small-scale initiatives to improve pedagogical and managerial quality, although most remain undocumented and their success anecdotal. Although not all initiatives are successful, most of their potential lessons or achievements are not taken up within the state-run system (Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Farrell, 2002).

While initiatives to improve primary education are being undertaken in Tanzania, the pace of school improvement within the state system remains slow. In order to gain deeper understanding of why, I focus in the last section of this chapter on how intentional change is managed in schools.

MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE

Introduction

If it is accepted that improvement initiatives in schools are intentional processes of change, aimed at enhancing the quality of pedagogy and school management, then it follows that these processes need effective management if they are to contribute to successful school improvement. I start with delineating change management, comparing hierarchical with more collegial approaches and characteristics within the contexts of school culture and school improvement. Next, based on characteristics identified in relevant literature on change management, I build up a cyclical-holistic model of the change management process, describing each of its conditional, operational and transformational elements separately, as well as their mutual influence. At every stage I relate the theory I discussed to the situation in Tanzanian schools. I end with a general summary, discussing how the three core models, which explain school culture, school improvement and change management respectively, inter-relate.

Delineating Change Management

School managers have the seemingly paradoxical responsibilities of 1) consolidating what is 'good' in their school, and 2) improving pedagogy and management through ongoing change. To avoid possible conflict, both tasks need: '...complementary structures for both maintenance and development, each with their own purpose, budget and ways of working' (Hopkins *et al*, 1997:265). According to Hopkins (2001:66):

Maintenance refers to the school carrying out its day-to-day activities, the fulfilling of its statutory obligations, and to supporting teaching and learning, all to the best of its ability. Development on the other hand refers to that amount of resource, time and energy the school reserves from the total it has available, for carrying forward those aims, aspirations and activities that 'add value' to what it already does. The distinction between development and maintenance allows the school to make more coherent decisions about the focus of its developmental energy, irrespective to some extent of the external reform agenda.

He also argues that: 'Obviously the majority of a school's time and resources will go on maintenance; but unless there is also an element dedicated to development then the school is

unlikely to progress in times of change' (Hopkins, 1996:38). Hargreaves, D. (1995) takes a less oppositional view, arguing that both maintenance and development can be seen as forms of school improvement. The *ongoing* process of maintaining the school's optimal functioning thus complements the *ongoing* process of innovation and transformation. Although maintenance and development may require different managerial techniques and procedures, it is unlikely that managers use fundamentally different approaches to both.

From a narrower, more hierarchical-bureaucratic perspective, change management can be approached 'top-down', in which structural, cultural and power-related changes are centrally determined (within or beyond the school) and enforced by management staff. Teaching and auxiliary staff may or may not be consulted about the direction and execution of the changes. These changes tend to concern mainly organisational and pedagogical procedures and the enhancing related staff capabilities, while cultural and power-related issues tend to be regarded as 'contextual' and/or 'unproblematic'. The process of change management tends to be predominantly linear and mechanical. Subordinate staff have few formal ways to resist unwanted change. Informal resistance may be seen as subversive and undermining. From the narrower perspective, practices may change drastically, but fundamentally there is no transformation of underlying principles.

From a broader, more collegial-collaborative perspective, staff are seen as a team in which individuals carry more formal and informal responsibility for the identification, planning and execution of changes for improvement. There is less distinction between management and teaching staff. Cultural and power-related issues are seen as integral to the change processes and therefore as potentially 'problematic'. Ongoing critical reflection on underpinning values and intentions serves to keep to mutually agreed direction of change and to ensure that differences between staff are acknowledged and utilised as constructively as possible.

The key difference between the two approaches is that in the first perspective the majority of people tend 'to be managed' during the changes, whereas in the second they collaboratively manage the changes themselves. Development of staff capability to self-manage is therefore a central characteristic of and core condition for change management in more collegial-collaborative schools. Change of practice in both perspectives can be incremental or drastic, depending on what is most effective for intended change. Yet, change in the broader view is

always 'radical' in that staff consistently and critically question motives for and approaches to change.

In Tanzania, both approaches to (change) management are documented and recommended. The semi-autonomous Institute of Management Training for Education Personnel (MANTEP) published the *Educational Management Handbook for Primary School Headteachers* (MANTEP, 1995). Its approach is clearly functionalist-bureaucratic, stating that: 'Today, managing schools just like any other business organisation is a fact of life' (p.xii). Much of its contents is on administration and the maintenance task of management, with virtually no reference to school development, the need for transformational leadership or collegial self-management. In contrast, the donor-supported *Whole School Development Planning* manual (GoT, 1997:iv, 2) expresses a broader collegial-collaborative view on the future of schooling, as it: '...emphasises the importance of planning as an aspect of whole school development...', '...directly involving staff in formulating the priorities for their particular school...', '...allowing staff to control and manage the tasks of development and the process of change'. Within change management it stresses the importance of elements such as leadership, staff development, staff motivation, context-specific planning and evaluation, communication, vision, team spirit and sensitivity for societal issues (e.g. gender and ethnicity). The changes for improvement concern the teaching and learning process, less so school management.

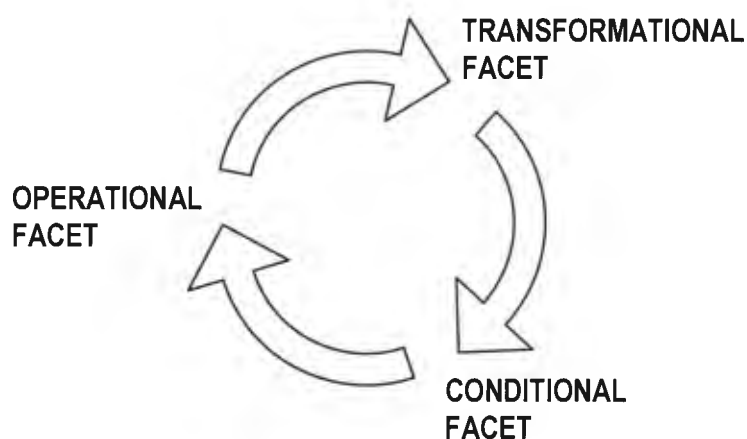
Next, I propose and discuss a model explaining the process of change management. Its effects on school improvement is likely to depend greatly on the narrow or broad approach with which it is applied by management and teaching staff.

Management of Change Model

In the second section of this chapter I described school improvement as both a holistic and cyclical process of intentional change. The process is holistic in terms of being comprehensive (see the Kigoda model) [pg.45] and involves simultaneous re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment (see the S-P-C model) [pg.26]. It is cyclical as it has different phases and various indicators of change, most crucially ongoing shifts in people's attitudes and behaviours. The management of this process therefore follows this cyclical process and reflects its holistic nature.

In developing a my third model, depicting the change management process, I therefore address three concerns. First, the model has to be relevantly applicable in different school contexts, explaining and informing practices within them. It needs to go beyond merely explaining 'how' the management of change occurs. Practical explanations quickly run the risk of becoming 'mechanical', in which the underpinning values and intentions become taken-for-granted. Consequently, the model also needs to continually reflect 'why' change happens. Second, the model needs to be applicable to different kinds of change initiatives; i.e. from simple modifications to fundamental transformations [pg.49], such as the shift from hierarchical to participatory approaches to pedagogy and management. Also, it needs to explain the management of both distinct initiatives and long-term ongoing school improvement. As there is no distinct end to improvement, the model is concerned with process rather than with outcome. Intermediate outcomes are seen as temporary markers of the quality and direction of the ongoing change process. Third, it needs to incorporate key characteristics identified in management-related literature and show their inter-relationships.

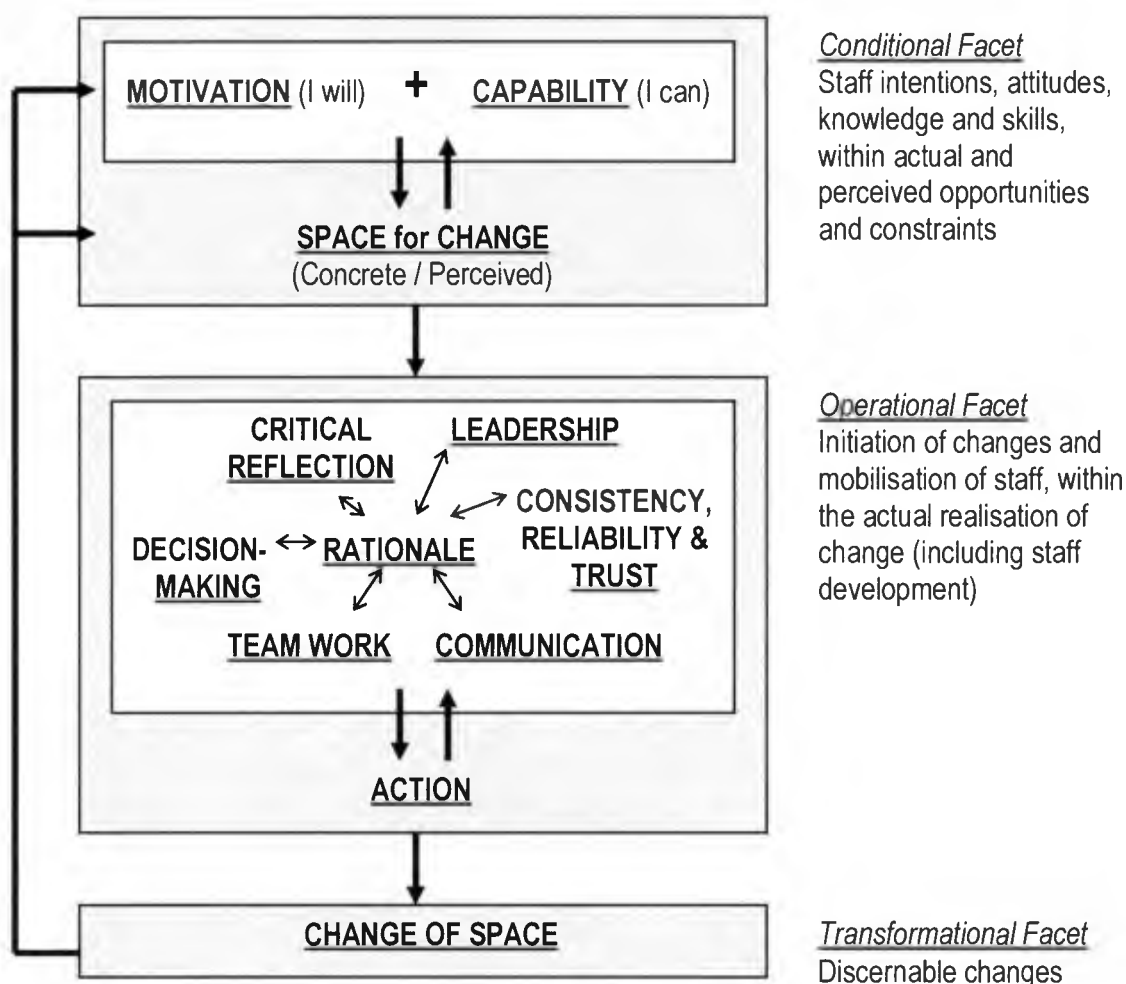
Fig. 2.3.1: Three facets of ongoing change management



As I see the different parts of the change process and its management as occurring both sequentially and simultaneously, I prefer to call them 'facets' (instead of phases or stages) to indicate their immediacy and to avoid assumptions of linearity. In its simplest form the process can be depicted through a cycle with three facets (see fig. 2.3.1). The conditional facet incorporates the totality of relevant school conditions that allow intentional change and its management. The operational facet refers to the actions undertaken by staff to instigate and execute changes to realise improvement. The transformational facet indicates the incremental shifts in staff attitudes and behaviours, and changes in other school conditions which over time

become perceived as 'improvement'. The importance of the shifts and changes lies not so much in that they are the 'outcomes' of action, but that they continuously re-set the conditions for *ongoing* improvement. In the remainder of this chapter I describe each facet in detail and discuss their constituent elements. Fig. 2.3.2 shows the Management of Change model in full.

Fig. 2.3.2: Cyclical-holistic Management of Change model



My choice for three facets, as well as for their constituent elements, is based on lists of management of change characteristics as described in mainly Anglo-American school management and school improvement literature (Lines *et al*, 2005; Fullan, 2003, 2001a, 1999, 1997; Hallinger, 2003; Harris, 2002; Busher, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998; Day *et al*, 2000; Evans, 1999; Hopkins *et al*, 1997; Southworth, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Beare *et al*, 1992; Bennett *et al*, 1992; Glatter, 1988). I cross-referenced these against similar lists from literature focusing specifically on Tanzanian and sub-Saharan African primary education (Dachi *et al*, 2010; Ngcobo and Tikly, 2010; EdQual, 2007; Nguni *et al*, 2006; Swai and Ndidde, 2006; Lumby,

2003b; Anderson, S., 2002; Christie and Potterton, 1997; Temu, 1995). The choices are further informed by my teaching and managerial experience in the Netherlands, England and Tanzania.

In developing this model, I am very aware that within school improvement there are multiple strategies and solutions to solving problems. Fullan (1999:28) urges those involved to: '...craft their own theories and actions by being critical customers', because 'The change process is too intricate and organic, organisation by organisation, to be captured in a single model'. In my reading, with 'single model' he means a 'one-size-fits-all' blueprint (Harris, 2002). The model I propose, is therefore not a rigid step-by-step technical prescription, but reflects a consistent *attitudinal* approach. For this reason, it is non-deterministic. The arrows between its elements and facets only indicate the direction of their *influence* on each other. I aim for the model to be generic in essence, but applicable within very diverse school contexts.

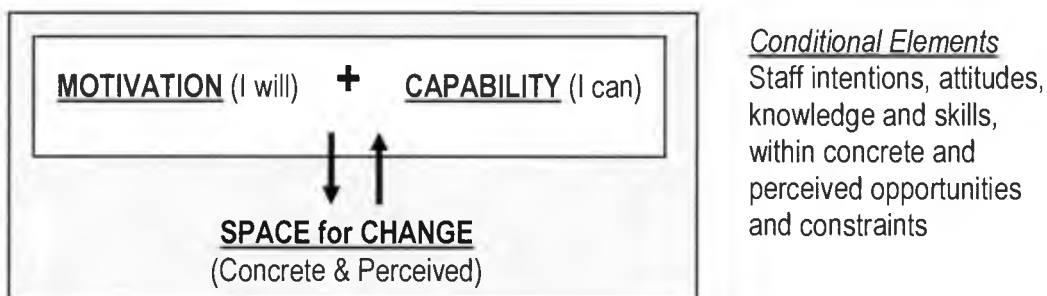
The model's intended essence and purpose also informed the selection and significance of its constituent elements. Most authors use terms like 'conditions' (Stoll and Fink, 1996; Hopkins *et al*, 1997), 'variables' (Nguni *et al*, 2006; Scheerens, 2001; Riddell, 1997) or 'factors' (Heneveld, 2007; Evans, 1999; Reynolds, 1996; Dalin, 1994) when describing the various elements that directly or indirectly impact on the change process. However, within narrow perspectives on school improvement these terms tend to have taken-for-granted and positivist connotations, so I prefer in this thesis to use the term 'elements'. Although all elements identified in the literature are represented in the model, differences in their prominence express my broad holistic critical-humanist perspective [pg.122]. Given my focus on school culture, prominence is given to those elements that represent a human value, attitude or intention, rather than a technical capability or physical school condition. For example, pressure and support, professional development, vision, planning and evaluation may be flagged up by others as central to school improvement, but are seen here as contributory to the elements of motivation, capability, decision-making, rationale and critical reflection respectively. Not all authors elaborate on the inter-relationships between the various elements. On the one hand, these cannot be too prescriptive and inflexible, in order to allow locally relevant application. On the other, their reciprocal influences need to be described to support the models' explanatory power.

Having described the management of change process as cyclical involving three facets, and some general criteria for selecting its elements, I now turn to the conditional facet and discuss in detail its elements: motivation, capability and 'space for change'.

Conditional Facet

The achievability and manageability of a particular change initiative always depends on a combination of material-physical, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions [pg.45]. This combination forms the space in which staff can instigate and execute organisational change. As organisational change depends on personal change (Fullan, 2001a; Hopkins, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998), staff motivation and capability are arguably the core elements within the space for change (fig. 2.3.3).

Fig. 2.3.3: The conditional facet of the management of change process



Motivation

It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss general motivation theory, so I limit myself to selected issues on motivation in education and in processes of change. I briefly discuss intrinsic and extrinsic motivators in relation to the willingness to work, the difference between pressure and urgency as impetus to change, and the meaning of resistance.

Drawing on work by Herzberg *et al* (1959), Evans (1999:7) defines: '...motivation [as] a condition, or the creation of a condition, that encompasses all of those factors that determine the degree of inclination toward engagement in an activity.' These factors are both rational and emotional in nature and are not necessarily linked, i.e. the reduction of demotivation towards an activity does not automatically increase motivation towards it. For example, with regard to job satisfaction of teachers in England, she found that low salaries, although demotivating in a

general sense, were not intrinsic to the fulfilment found in teaching. Her research revealed: ‘. . . *school-specific factors* to be much more influential on levels of job satisfaction, morale and motivation than were externally-instigated and centrally-imposed factors’, in particular genuine communication and collective decision-making (Evans, 1999:13, emphasis added). She also argues that genuine recognition for and feedback on people’s efforts increases motivation and reduces resistance to change. Her analysis indicates that motivation is determined by the interplay of a great number of motivators, some intrinsic, others extrinsic, some perceived as positive, others aimed at avoiding negative consequences. Whether job-related motivators are material, professional or principled in nature, for my purpose here I see motivation first and foremost as the *willingness* of staff to put time and energy into their formal work (see Rigsby, 1992; in: Leo and Galloway, 1996).

As school improvement involves change of values and practices by *individual* staff, maintaining motivation during this process of relative insecurity is crucial, especially during the ‘low’ moments of the process (Hopkins, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998). Fullan (2001a:40) coined the phrase ‘implementation dip’, which: ‘. . . is literally a dip in performance and confidence as one encounters an innovation that requires new skills and new understandings’. But even when staff are excited about the prospects of change and invigorated by positive results, maintaining a sense of positive realism may prevent innovation overload by maintaining a manageable pace of change (see Fullan, 2001b; Bryk *et al*, 1998; Riffel and Levin, 1997).

Two issues specifically affecting school improvement that bear on motivation are the drive towards and resistance against change.

Pressure vs. Urgency

The general approach to school management determines the ways in which staff motivation is addressed. In narrower, more hierarchical perspectives, staff tend ‘to be motivated’ by senior management through a mixture of ‘pressure and support’, in particular during times when staff start to experience negative consequences of the change in pedagogical and managerial practices, or when managers expect subordinates to resist proposed change. Harris (2002:43; original italics) argues that:

During the implementation phase there will be a need for a combination of *pressure* on and *support* for teachers. There has to be enough pressure to ensure that the

momentum of change continues and that action takes place. Conversely, there needs to be technical, emotional and professional support to ensure that team members feel equipped to take on the tasks related to the change.

However, to be motivated through punitive forms of pressure and ceremonial congratulations can be seen by staff as highly condescending (Slee *et al*; 1998; Robinson, 1994). Similarly, externally determined 'support' may serve managerial agendas, but not necessarily the intentions and needs of staff (Hopkins, 2001; Linguard *et al*, 1998).

Fullan (2001b, 1999) therefore argues for a reconceptualisation of the terms pressure and support, in which the first needs to be seen as a form of 'urgency', based on rationale, to be felt by staff themselves in relation to the need for change. Rather than being steamrolled into accepting change, staff need to be convinced of its relevance. In broader, more collaborative perspectives on schooling, rather than 'being motivated', staff self-motivate through mutual support and a substantial amount of ownership of the change (Thrupp, 2005; Hallinger, 2003; Lumby, 2003b; Middlewood, 2003, 1999b; Anderson, G., 1996). With ownership I mean here the official and ethical rights staff may claim regarding the legitimacy of their decision-making power [pg.101ff]. With regard to 'support', Fullan (2001b, 1999) similarly suggests a more egalitarian 'inside-out, outside-in' relationship between individual schools and the education system, rather than the traditional 'top-down, bottom-up' one.

Resistance

The importance of motivation is regularly mentioned in relation to staff resistance or deviant behaviour (Thrupp, 2005; Lumby, 2003a, 2003b; Fullan, 1999; Morrison, K., 1998; Davies, 1993). In particular in more functionalist hierarchical perspectives on schooling, subordinate staff are seen as 'naturally inclined' to resist change, in particular if this is imposed by senior management (Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996). Yet, as Harris (2002:36; original italics) states: 'Very rarely do those proposing change or introducing change think about what it means to others at a *personal* level'. Staff may: '...feel uninvolved or not consulted...', with as result that their: 'Negative responses to change may be misinterpreted by those leading change as recalcitrance or resistance to the additional work that will be involved' (Harris, 2002:37). Morrison, K. (1998) goes a step further, arguing that not only feelings of loss, anxiety, stress or disruption may cause resistance among staff, at a deeper level it reflects feelings of powerlessness, due to lack of ownership of the change processes and its effects on their personal and professional lives. Leaving aside a small percentage of hardened resisters, Fullan

(2001a, 2001b) argues that resistance more likely results from staff disagreeing with the rationale underpinning the changes. Such rationale may have political undertones, express a particular educational ideology, or may be based on limited or questionable research (Levin, 2006; Thrupp and Wilmott, 2003; Slee *et al*, 1998).

Motivation in Tanzanian Schools

In Tanzanian primary schools staff motivation has been identified as an extremely serious problem, resulting from a combination of conditions within and beyond the schools that are seen as detrimental to staff commitment, professionalism and job satisfaction (Nguni *et al*, 2006; Davidson, 2006; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Sumra, 2004; GoT, 2003a). General poverty, loss of teacher status, lack of teaching and learning resources, poor staff qualification and class size are often mentioned, leading to a general sense of powerlessness. Powerlessness of this magnitude is likely to be a major cause of demotivation, resistance and deviant if not unethical behaviour among management and teaching staff (Sumra, 2006; Barrett, 2005; Davidson, 2004b).

Calls to improve staff motivation focus most commonly on the more 'neutral' material or technical motivators; e.g. increased income, supplying resources, additional staff training in pedagogy and management (Dachi *et al*, 2010; Haki Elimu, 2007; Nguni *et al*, 2006; Sumra, 2006; GoT, 2006b, 2001; Anderson, S., 2002). However, also the need for more cultural-attitudinal motivators has been stressed, such as formal recognition and appreciation of the importance of the teaching profession, raising the status of teachers, as well as strengthening among staff the ethics and principles of democratic education (Barrett, 2007, 2005; Bennell and Akyeampong, 2007; Davidson, 2006; Nguni *et al*, 2006; Omari, 2002; VSO, 2002). Furthermore, some studies indicate that enhanced staff capability and school success may positively affect staff motivation (Anderson, S., 2002; Temu, 1995).

Although the importance of enhancing staff motivation is starting to be recognised, there seems to be a general misunderstanding about the work involved in school improvement as one of quantity, not quality. For example, Nguni *et al* (2006:173) argue that: 'Satisfied teachers will be more enthusiastic about investing more time and energy in teaching students'. This assumes that intentional change involves additional and more intensive work, whereas it is unlikely that teachers will increase the number of hours they work every week, or be able to consistently

maintain high levels of input and pace. Rather than working 'more' or 'harder', in school improvement the emphasis lies on working 'differently', in particular when improvement involves fundamental changes to educational values and practices.

The capability to work 'differently' I discuss next. I begin with stressing the attitudinal side of capability and then relate it to staff development.

Capability

If motivation is seen as expressing the willingness of staff to principally and practically commit to change for improvement, then their professional capability is the level to which they can. In development literature, the concept of capability (or capacity) is defined by Nussbaum (2000:5) as: '...what people are actually able to do and to be – in a way informed by an intuitive idea of a life that is worthy of the dignity of the human being.' Similarly, Eade (1997:23) argues that: '...strengthening people's capacity to determine their own values and priorities, and to organise themselves to act on these, is the basis of development'. For both, the concept links people's practical abilities to how they value it.

With regard to teachers' capability, Evans (1999:39) distinguishes between professionalism and professionalism, the former being the practical knowledge and skill of a profession, and the latter: '...an ideologically-, attitudinally-, intellectually- and epistemologically-based stance, on the part of an individual, in relation to the practice of the profession to which s/he belongs, and which influences her/his professional practice'. Although I agree with Evans' distinction, I prefer to speak about the practical and attitudinal aspects of professionalism, rather than adopt her terminology.

In understanding 'capability' as both practical and attitudinal, I therefore conceptualise it as the abilities of individual staff to engage successfully in change-for-improvement, based on their professional and personal values. These abilities are not purely technical, but equally include social skills, such as staff ability to collaborate with others, to critically reflect on their own values and practices, to self-motivate and maintain self-discipline, to participate in school management and provide leadership and to engage pupils in their own learning. As a team, combined capability is a strong determinant for staff motivation to collaboratively engage in the

process of change, which according to Evans (1999) depends on matching attitudinal rather than matching practical professionalism.

Enhancement of staff capability in the course of school improvement therefore does not only limit itself to knowledge and skills, but also to reflection on and changes to values, intentions and attitudes. For example, Fullan (2001b) points to the importance of knowledge sharing and creation within teams, in which tacit knowledge held by individual staff, is made explicit through deliberate exchange between team members. Thus schools tap into the often unused wealth of knowledge and expertise already present in the school, as well as opening up exchange of views on education, leading to matching professional attitudes. The way of enhancing capability in school is mostly through various forms of staff development activities, within and outside the school.

Staff Development

Many agree that school improvement and staff development are inextricably linked (Earley, 2005; Middlewood, 2003; McMahon, 2001; Smyth, 1998; Dalin, 1998, 1994; Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1993). For example, joint staff experience with the change processes underpinning improvement initiatives is thought to contribute to the 'change capacity' of the school as an organisation (Hopkins *et al*, 1997). This involves team training and requires a culture that fosters on-going learning to keep improvement processes 'unstuck' and 'ongoing' (Coleman, 2003a). The nature of school improvement has been described as fostering the attitude of 'being innovative', rather than being effective in the implementation of series of discreet innovations (Samoff, *et al*, 2003; Fullan, 2003; Morrison, K., 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996; West-Burnham, 1994). In practice however staff development remains often limited to acquiring skills for minimal adjustments (Dalin, 1998), or is ineffective as: '...an incorrectly devised solution to a poorly (or even mis)understood problem' (Smyth, 1998:1254). Regarding the sustainability of educational innovations, Hoppers (1994:185) stresses the need: '...to be realistic in terms of the capacities of average and below average teachers to cope with changes'. Similarly, for effective staff training, not only do its aims need to be clearly understood by staff, but also its processes need to be appropriate given their learning capability (Bentall, 2003).

Capability in Tanzanian Schools

Capability among the majority of Tanzanian teachers is major concern within school improvement, both technically and attitudinally. Not only are many teaching and management staff under-qualified and poorly trained (Claussen and Assad, 2010; GoT, 2008, 2003a; Sumra, 2006; Kruijer, 2005; Kironde, 2001), also their professional attitudes are under-developed, if not negatively inclined, for example towards participatory teaching, collegial management, transparency, trust, integrity and pupil discipline (EdQual, 2007; Sinyolo, 2007; Benson, 2006; Davison, 2004b; Sumra, 2004; Mwamila, 2001). The development of staff capabilities is often limited and not always appropriate for the realities in the schools. Not only does lack of funding and insufficient capability of teacher trainers pose limitations, the focus of training is usually narrowly functionalist. Commenting on staff development in six school improvement case studies in East Africa, Anderson, S. (2002) asserts that its prime aim should not be to increase subject knowledge or skills, but to foster general teaching expertise and the attitudinal aspects of professionalism; i.e. 'being' a teacher. Similarly, Harber and Dadey (1993:147) argue that management training for headteachers: '...should be based on an awareness of the context in which African schools operate and grounded on research into the realities of school life'.

Staff capability and motivation are reciprocally related to available space for change. I explain the concept of 'space for change' and the role of taken-for-granted assumptions within it.

Space for Change

The notion of 'space' in relation to individuals and their development, as well as to schools and their quality, is used in the literature in different ways. In a study by Lloyd, Mensch and Clark (2000) space is conceptualised as the physical and operational room pupils have to learn, i.e. their work space (facilities, resources, etc.) and learning opportunities (participation, freedom, etc.). Nussbaum (2000:5) talks about 'capability space' as the extent of what individuals can achieve within their capability as a measurement of quality of life. Similarly, Unterhalter (2000) uses the notion of space to describe schools as both a specific physical and socially constructed entity, different from other spaces in society. Breidlid and Stephens (2001:8) in their research on community values and their role in educational change in less affluent countries apply a multi-faceted concept of space: '...distinguishing between physical space, political-economic space, ideological-intellectual space and psycho-social space', and use it:

'...as an explanatory model to understand both the nature of and potentialities of African communities'. Finally, in discussing the formation of teacher identity, Parkison (2008:52) sees their 'social space' as: '...the larger social and political structures in which they function'. In these examples 'space' means literal as well as figurative 'room to manoeuvre', consisting of concrete and practical as well as perceived and interpreted elements.

Within school improvement, I propose the use of the concept 'space for change'. For each school improvement initiative this concerns the specific combination of material-physical, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions, that enable requisite changes to be successfully and sustainably implemented. This means that not all initiatives need the same 'space for change', as simple restorations and modifications of pedagogical and managerial practices arguably need less space than large-scale innovations and fundamental structural and cultural transformations of the school as an organisation. However, in determining appropriate space for specific initiatives, awareness is always needed of the rationale of school improvement to prevent initiatives from clashing and to maintain the intended direction of ongoing change. 'Space for change' therefore not only determines the achievability of distinct improvement initiatives, it also determines to what extent *ongoing* school improvement is possible. This in turn means that school improvement is not only concerned with raising the school's pedagogical and organisational quality, but also with creating better quality space for further change. From a staff perspective, 'space for change' forms their 'room to manoeuvre', which combines their power, will, skill and means to effect and establish the necessary changes to improve the schools' pedagogical and managerial quality.

As space partially depends on interpretation by staff, it may not always be perceived realistically. Changing school conditions – as pre-conditional to school improvement – therefore includes addressing people's perceptions (Fullan, 2001a; Hopkins, 2001; Bennett and Harris, 2001).

Scripts and Biographies

Unrealistically perceived space as a school condition resonates with what Harber and Davies (1998:108ff) call 'scripts' and 'biographies'. These are essentially taken-for-granted views of staff on schooling and their own role within it, which can be extremely obstructive during change processes, simply because staff do not 'see' or accept other ways of doing things.

Cultural and power-related in origin, they are made up of people's values, beliefs and assumptions, providing: '...a language which serves to define educational problems in a particular way and to support an implicit political stance towards their resolution' (Carr and Harnett, 1995, in: Harber and Davies, 1998:110). In countries similar to Tanzania, pedagogical and managerial scripts and biographies arguably reflect and reinforce a school culture characterised by relatively high levels of power-concentration, competition, aggression, violence, gender inequality, discrimination as well as fear, conformity, avoidance, resignation and fatalism (Wedin, 2010; Vavrus, 2009; Davies, 2008; Dimmock, 2002; Harber, 2001; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Hofstede, 1994). As a result, strong social and systemic control is played out through the school's hierarchical structure, culture and power-distribution (Wadessango, 2010; Makongo and Mbilinyi, 2003; Komba *et al*; 2000; Kuleana, 1998; Harber, 1993; see also: Busher, 2001; Carasco *et al*, 2001; Harber and Dadey, 1993). This in turn contributes to organisational rigidity and limited space for staff to instigate, manage and realise change for improvement.

The taken-for-granted use of scripts and biographies also raises the more fundamental question as to why Sub-Saharan African schools are generally such hostile, rigid and authoritarian institutions, while Africans are often perceived, both by themselves and by non-Africans, as being more collectivist and communal than for instance Europeans, who are supposedly more individualistic and competitive in their outlook on life (Bendera, 1998; Omari and Mbilinyi, 1997; Omari, 1982; see also: Barth, 1997; Tedla, 1995; Njoroge and Bennaars, 1986). Yet, according to Western school improvement literature, successful change predominantly occurs in diverse, community-like school environments, where staff are willing to work collegially and collaboratively (Lumby, 2003; Fullan, 1999; Hopkins *et al*, 1997; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Hargreaves, D., 1995). An answer to this paradox is provided by Sen's (1999:18ff) assertion that development depends on personal freedom. This means not only freedom *from* obstructing factors, such as poverty, dependency, inequality and abuse, but also freedom *to* participate, decide and act according to one's own capabilities and will. Key to this assertion is that an individual's freedom is based on having choice. On the one hand, choice is determined by what Sen calls 'opportunities', e.g. the actual availability of jobs, schooling and health care, and the absence of oppression, discrimination and political exclusion. On the other hand, he stresses the 'agency aspect' of freedom, allowing people to effectively help themselves through finding their own solutions for their problems and aspirations. Within the school as an organisation, staff (as a team) also need choice, in order to maintain and develop their school

relevantly and effectively. In other words, not only do staff need the means, but also the autonomy to responsibly decide on, instigate and execute school improvement initiatives [pg.101ff]

Space for Change in Tanzanian Schools

Management and teaching staff in Tanzanian state primary schools arguably have very few opportunities as *well* as limited agency to bring about changes for improvement in their schools. This affects both instigating distinct initiatives, and choosing a relevant school-specific direction of school development. Apart from the effects of endemic material scarcity, the strongly hierarchical education system means that in schools the concrete and perceived space for change is severely restricted. Insufficient management capabilities of education officials and corrupt practices further limit 'room to manoeuvre' for staff in school (Omari, 2002; Sumra, 2000; see also: Middlewood, 2003).

When attempting school improvement in such a restricted space, Harber and Davies (1998:123) argue not to underestimate the power of existing scripts when promoting pedagogical and managerial approaches based on radically different values, because: '...to move from a discourse of conscious or unconscious resignation towards one of active change requires both an acknowledgement of the centrality to participants of [...] tried-and-tested scripts, yet finding a way to broaden the repertoire.' Farrell (2002) suggests drawing on alternative forms of schooling, which are already successful in various Western and less affluent countries. At system level many valuable lessons can be learned on both technical and fundamental change, when taking them to scale in state education. However, he observes that: 'The international record of educational reform attempts over the past several decades shows quite clearly that change at this fundamental level rarely, if ever, occurs as a result of centrally driven, 'top down', 'decree-and-regulation-driven' change models' (p.252). He argues that while allowing space for change in individual schools needs to be integral to the education system, it is up to the staff to create and make use of it in their own schools:

Central governments can provide space for change at this level; for example, by providing resources for teachers who want to experiment with new ways of doing their work, or by loosening control and regulations and examination system that often tie teachers to traditional practices, but they cannot effectively *command* it (p.252; original italics).

Apart from challenges, engaging in school improvement initiatives poses also risks for staff, even under the best of circumstances (Dachi *et al*, 2010; Vavrus, 2009; Davidson, 2004b; Fullan, 2001a; McMahon, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998; Hopkins *et al*, 1997). Already in the 1960s Nyerere (1968) argued that improvement of education not only needed material or technical inputs, but also a 'moral purpose'. Education, in his view, is not a means to escape poverty, but to combat it. However, changing pedagogical and managerial practices can result in loss of preferred way of working, status, authority, influence, privileges and even salary. Especially under current poverty conditions, the moral choice of making sacrifices on behalf of the school and the pupils over personal survival may be too high a price to pay for some staff, and may need to be financially compensated.

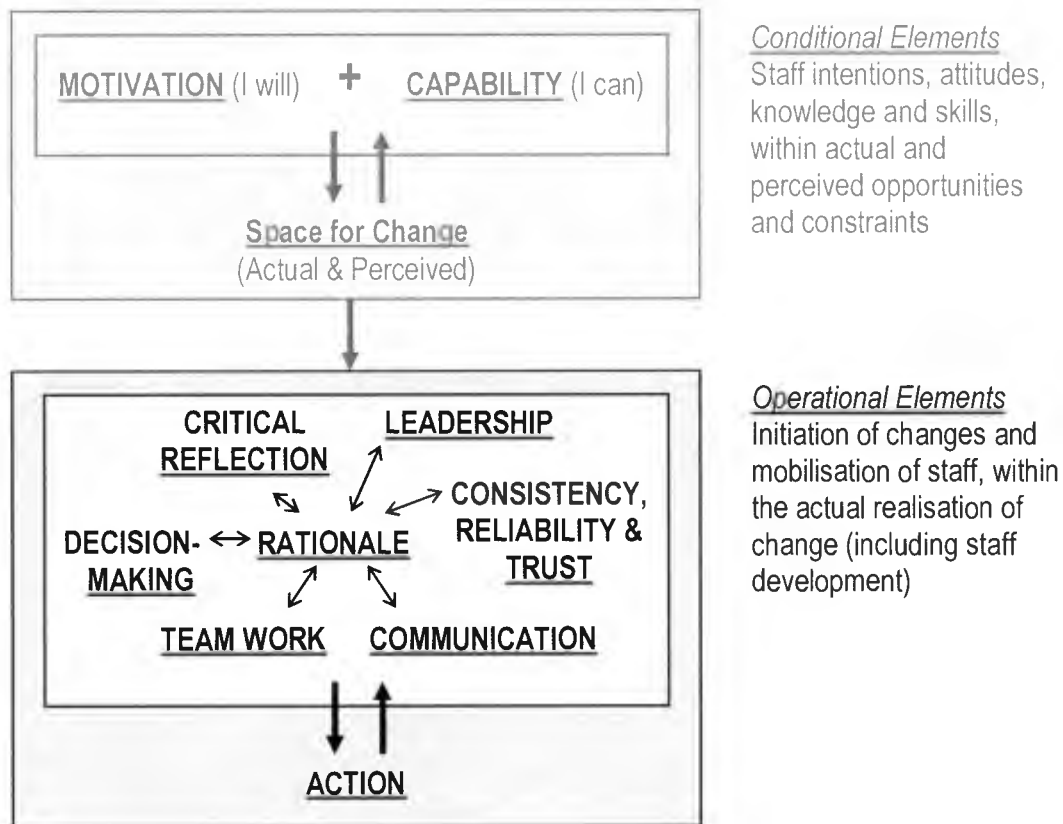
Summary

Concerning the process of school improvement, I see staff 'will and skill' (Harlinger, 2003) as central to the concrete and perceived school conditions that determine the achievability of improvement initiatives. The influence of staff motivation and capability on 'space for change' will vary with how the school is organised. In comparison with bureaucratically-hierarchically organised schools, in collegial-collaborative ones staff are more likely to self-motivate, given greater agency towards and ownership of the improvement initiatives. Also the use and development of their capability is likely to be more realistic and ongoing in response to the school's specific possibilities and constraints. In Tanzanian state primary schools, space for change is arguably very restricted, as staff motivation and capability are limited, as well as their freedom to instigate and execute school-specific improvements. This is compounded by endemic material scarcity. Yet, in some schools staff attitudes and actions do make a difference for the better, when engaging in intentional actions to bring about change. The management of this process involves of several operational elements, which make up the second facet of the proposed model.

Operational Facet

As school improvement is intentional, within the school's conditions, staff come together to identify areas of improvement and decide on and execute adequate changes within an agreed general direction of development. This is the operational part of the management of change, which is depicted as 'management in action' (see fig. 2.3.4).

Fig. 2.3.4: The operational facet of management of change



Even though I discuss each element separately and sequentially, I stress that they cannot be compartmentalised and treated in isolation. Also the order in which they are discussed does not indicate priority of importance. The central position of the element 'rationale' only indicates the central importance of the awareness of *why* school improvement happens. The various elements of management are set together, without specifying too precisely the nature of their relationship. As in more collegial-collaborative schools management is *by* people rather than *of* people, the nature of and interactions between the various elements need to be seen in this light. Conversely, in more hierarchical schools the role of leadership may be more formally taken on by the school's senior manager(s). In the decision-making process the voice of senior staff will weigh heavier than that of subordinate staff. Communication may therefore take the form of consultation rather than negotiation.

The first element I discuss is rationale.

Rationale

Many school improvement authors, from both narrow and broad perspectives on schooling, stress the importance of some kind of mission statement or vision as the inspiring farsightedness behind educational improvement (Bush and Coleman, 2000; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Bell and Harrison, 1995). However, the use of the first has been ridiculed by Fullan (2003) as hollow and simplistic (comparing it to the dinosaur's daily motto of: 'Kill something and eat it'), while he describes the second as necessarily vague and idealistic. Too clear an improvement vision tends to demotivate staff, especially when the school's aspired state is far from the current one. The concept of 'rationale' that I use here is more pragmatic and humanistic. Apart from explaining the purpose and direction of, as well as approaches to change, rationale goes beyond mere policy in that in its broadest sense it is also *felt* by staff. It expresses and operationalises their pedagogical and managerial values. Even if the rationale for change initiatives or their longer-term direction are not self-generated but externally provided, it needs staff's acceptance in order to become their own.

For rationale to be a practical tool within the whole-school change process, there needs to be a certain level of compatibility of values and practices among staff. Various authors speak of the need to create a 'shared vision' (Campbell and Southworth, 1992:77), although establishing 'compatible understanding' of the change, as well as willingness to collaborate is probably more realistic and workable (see Bentall, 2003; Hargreaves, A., 1992). Such understanding and willingness cannot be imposed, and thus require staff to develop their own change rationale. Given its emotive aspects, reaching and *maintaining* a joint rationale can not be achieved through simply a 'clear' formulation. As Harris (2002:53) argues: 'While the rationale of change may be clear, its manifestation within a school may create difficulties because of the social processes involved'. Ongoing negotiation about and fine-tuning of people's compatible understandings and subsequent practices may be difficult, but are arguably as natural to the process of change as the implementation dip.

Two issues are important in realising a joint rationale: an agreed overall strategy for school improvement, and clarifying the links between improvement approaches and practices. Although it is tempting for staff to spring to action, to 'do' something, on the basis of a vague general idea, clarifying the long-term general direction of and approaches to school

improvement is thought to prevent change initiatives from becoming haphazard and insulated. Morrison, K. (1998:35) states that: 'Whether one discusses it in terms of vision, aims, objectives, mission statements, policies or operationalised practices the message is clear that strategy development and strategising is a significant, if not critical, component of managing successful change'. In particular when change is fundamental, such as the shift from bureaucratic-hierarchical to more collegial-participatory schooling, an over-arching strategy also helps prevent falling back on 'old' understanding and methods, which used to be 'valid' and 'successful'. Similarly, simply implementing 'new' practices does not constitute change, when underlying values are not deeply understood. Although applicable to all staff, with the leaders of fundamental pedagogical and managerial change specifically in mind, Fullan (2001b:131) says:

...techniques are important, but they work only when leaders understand the deep cultural values that underpin them. [...] Techniques per se, in other words, are examples of explicit knowledge and are only the tip of the iceberg. It is much harder, and more essential, to get at the first principles: the feel and understanding that comes with tacit knowledge. It is those first principles that constitute the value of the technique, not the mere use of the technique for its own sake.

He therefore argues that critical reflection is vital on how old understanding can still be relevant, and to what extent known practices may still be appropriate for the intended changes.

Rationale in Tanzanian Schools

In Tanzania, the formal rationale for state primary schooling and its improvement are centrally determined by the Tanzanian government and implemented by the Ministry of Education. I discussed its two key national policies earlier [pg.55]; one could be seen as ideologically inconsistent, the other as donor driven (see Claussen and Assad, 2010; *The Citizen*, 16/06/2010; Haki Elimu, 2007; Fleisch, 2007; Kironde, 2001). Change initiatives are relayed through regional and district education offices and imposed on school by directive (Omari, 2002; Ligembe, 2001; Sumra, 2000; Galabawa, 1997). Whether a rationale is being provided with the directives in order to motivate staff has to my knowledge not been documented.

Rationale and its perceived importance for schooling and its improvement do however appear in some official and academic writing. Although not widely used in schools, the *Whole School Development Plan* manual (GoT, 1997) dedicates a brief chapter to vision, mission, school motto and ethos, aims and objectives, explaining how they express the purpose of change and the general approaches with which staff intends to realise them. Stressing the need for a

school-based focus for educational improvement, Sumra (2000:92) argues for effective school leaders putting their *own* vision into action, because improvement policies at national level have been disappointing. In a advocacy document, calling on Tanzanian educators to rethink the concept of quality in education, Haki Elimu (2007:3) states that: 'Without clarity in vision and direction, efforts may not take us where we need to go, and resources may not be allocated to aspects that are the most important for impact'. It argues that: 'Strong, inspirational leadership and a compelling articulation of the vision would need to be communicated by the President and other leaders, and create room for the active engagement of citizens – including pupils, students and teachers – at the community level' (p.10). In a hierarchical society and education system, when a 'clear rationale' is thought to be lacking at the top, it is likely that different rationales govern the actions in school.

Davies (1994) in this respect warns about 'goal displacement', in which staff give priority to executing directives to the letter, rather than realising the underlying purposes of intended changes through reflection on their relevance. Furthermore, she points to the danger of 'maximisation', which means that staff, in situations that have become educationally meaningless, will chose to give their job a meaning of their own, which is more often than not non-educational. Concerning the use of 'scripts' in schools in countries arguably similar to Tanzania, she acknowledges the obstructive power of societal culture on school improvement, by stating:

Cultures of schools have [...] a whole history of their wider society to fall back on; the most infuriating script for an interventionist wanting change, whether with regard to gender relation or nepotism, it is the sad but firm 'It is our culture'. (Davies, 1992:134)

Conversely, rationale can sometimes provide a driving force for achieving success against poor odds. In their study on 32 'resilient' South African schools, Christie and Potterton (1997) identified among successful staff what they call 'a sense of responsibility' and a 'culture of concern'. They state that the most significant manifestation of this: '...was *willingness* and *ability* to take initiative. Put generally, resilient schools are able to recognise what sort of things they are able to do for themselves, to muster necessary resources, and to act...', in which staff move: '...from passivity and victimhood to active agency'. (*ibid.*p.11; emphasis added). They argue that school improvement policies need to foster this self-felt responsibility and concern, stating that:

If a sense of responsibility is a key characteristic of resilient schools, it follows that policies for school improvement need to foster this sense of responsibility, for example in working towards moving appropriate decision-making to school level. Forms of assistance that 'help' schools by doing things for them are more likely to bind them into passivity than to help them to restore their operations.' (Christie and Potterton, 1997:12)

Rationale affects how staff approach the improvement of pedagogy and school management. Reflection on rationale and on one's practices is more than a listing exercise to see whether all the 'right' values and behaviours can be 'ticked off'. Reflection needs to be critical, thorough and ongoing.

Critical Reflection

I first describe critical reflection as an attitude and a skill of staff. From an organisational perspective I then describe it as the diagnosis and evaluation processes within school improvement and highlight power-related control issues.

Closely related to rationale is the personal and professional attitude of school staff to reflect critically on principles and practices *throughout* the school improvement process, as if regularly checking a compass during a journey to re-confirm its direction. According to Watson (1996:1) reflection is first of all: '...the mental activity that consists of transforming given information in order to reach conclusions'. Furthermore, it is important that staff are aware of the process of reflection itself. She states that: 'Reflection includes reasoning, the creative production of ideas, problem solving, and the awareness of all these mental activities in meta-cognition' (p.1). Secondly, reflection needs to be critical. Critical here does not mean 'being negative' or disrespectful, but that all issues relevant to change are open for discussion, including what is considered 'relevant' and what is open for negotiation. But although the purpose of school improvement, its direction, approaches and practices may all be negotiable, the imperative *that* improvement has to take place as part of development is not. What else is or isn't negotiable will vary with school context. Under restricted conditions, to be critical then still means opening necessary issues up for discussion, if only to find better ways to work within the given space.

Within a school team, critical reflection first and foremost means being self-critical, i.e. being genuinely honest and open about one's professional attitudes and actions towards colleagues. Furthermore, when reflecting on the views and performance of others within the process of

change, being critical requires being positive, caring and constructive. However, such 'critical friendships' only work effectively in a school culture characterised by trust and realism, both towards others and oneself (Lines *et al*, 2005) [pg.91ff].

As with learning, critical reflection is both an attitude and a skill. As such it needs to be learned by staff in order to be applied relevantly to change initiatives. Moreover, learning to be critical needs space in which it is allowed to be learned. However, being critical, even in its positive constructive sense, is arguably less accepted in hierarchical schools and societies than in more democratic ones, as it threatens the unequal and privileged positions of those in power. Still, if the global democratisation trend persists, then with growing equity in power distribution, critical reflection is likely to become a more accepted element of change management.

Finally, as school improvement is seen as an ongoing process, and not a series of isolated events (Fullan, 1999), reflecting on direction, action and reflection itself is therefore also ongoing. In practical terms this translates into ongoing diagnosis of school conditions as they change, as well as ongoing evaluation of the process of change.

Diagnosis as Critical Reflection

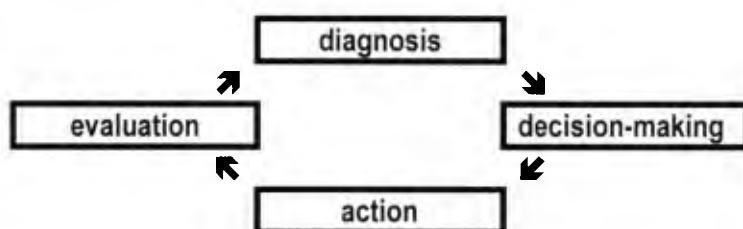
Reflecting critically on which actions to undertake requires first of all realistic diagnosis of the space for change. The Kigoda model for comprehensive school improvement [pg.45] can serve as a diagnostic tool to assess the possibilities and constraints within the school's conditions. It also raises awareness of what other changes are ongoing with which a particular initiative needs to streamline, if its effects are to contribute to the overall direction of ongoing school improvement.

Also school-based research by practitioners (with or without cooperation of outsiders) can provide a reliable data source for diagnosis, on the basis of which realistic decisions can be taken. Through systematic collection of relevant quantitative and qualitative data, school-specific information is accumulated, which provides explicit knowledge about change (Fullan, 2001b; Frost *et al*, 2000; Coleman and Lumby, 1999; Hopkins, 1993; Elliott, 1991). This in turn contributes to development of practical staff capability and thus to the school's 'change capacity' (Hopkins *et al*, 1997). Increased knowledge and capability is also likely to contribute to teacher motivation and rationale, as Harris (2002:104; original italics) observes that:

'...teacher research is linked to strengthening *teacher judgement* and consequently to self-directed improvement of practice'.

In ongoing school improvement, diagnosis is not an isolated or one-off event. With action research often being the preferred approach to practitioner research, its procedural cycle (see fig. 2.3.5) links diagnosis to decision-making, action and evaluation, which feeds back into diagnosis (McNiff, 2002; Carr and Kemmis, 1986).

Fig. 2.3.5: Action research cycle



Discussing decision-making and action later [pg.101 and 109], I turn to evaluation next.

Evaluation as Critical Reflection

In as much as diagnosis leads to decision-making and implementation, so does evaluation of actions and their results lead to further diagnosis. Here I do not go into educational evaluation procedures, techniques and tools of school, staff and pupil performance (for examples, see: Coleman, 2005c; Earley, 2005; Headington, 2003; Black and Wiliam, 1998; Russell and Reid, 1997; Broadfoot, 1996), but limit myself to two features that relate to the underpinning attitude of critical reflection: the meaning of evaluation and some of its fundamental problems. In a general sense, Coleman (2005a:152-153) distinguishes evaluation from review and monitoring:

Evaluation is a process which involves looking back systematically at what has been accomplished and measuring the present position again the original aims. It usually involves some sort of judgement on success in meeting aims and/or feedback which can be used for improvement. Review [*read: diagnosis*] is the action following the evaluation which usually involves making a decision about whether we wish to continue with an activity, reject it, or modify it in the light of it being evaluated. [...] Another word that is associated with evaluation is 'monitoring'. We take this to mean checking on an activity whilst it is going on. So monitoring could be complementary to evaluation and provide data for the evaluation leading to the review.

Evaluation is seen as centrally important in determining success during ongoing school improvement (Coleman, 2005c; Russell and Reid, 1997; Hopkins *et al*, 1997; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1993; Newton and Tarrant, 1992). However, when school improvement is more than functionalist modification of existing practices, then evaluation cannot be simply monitoring the mechanics of change or whether technical procedures have been followed to the letter. It also means reflecting critically on the values underpinning change (Coleman, 2005c; Stoll and Fink, 1996). Evaluation therefore expresses not only what is considered as 'success' in change initiatives, but also the importance of certain (educational) values relative to others (see Dalin, 1998).

This is why Russell and Reid (1997:180-181) point to the link between evaluation and school culture. They argue that: 'A school's culture both determines the means by which evaluation is conducted, and is itself influenced and altered by the outcomes of evaluation, in essence a truly reciprocal and significant relationship'. For example, in a competitive school culture, high performance in examinations may become a key success criterion for improvement initiatives that solely aim to enhance academic learning. However, when attributing equal importance to personal-social pupil development or collegiality among staff within a more collaborative culture, then success criteria for school improvement initiatives are likely to be diverse, attributing equitable importance to quantitative measures and qualitative evidence. The latter may be more complex and time-consuming, but as Taylor (1998:16) argues: 'We should learn how to evaluate what we value rather than value only what we can more easily measure'.

Evaluation and Control

The success of improvement initiatives is usually determined through the use of success criteria (or indicators), which are derived from the rationale behind the intentional changes. In imposed change, external authorities set the standards, whereas self-generated change more likely reflects the values of staff. Although meant primarily as indicators *for* change, leading to ongoing adjustments of the change process, success criteria can for the purpose of accountability also be used as indicators *of* change (see Rea and Weiner, 1998; Robinson, 1994). The selection of what are considered appropriate success criteria concerns not only a difference in focus of evaluation (process or outcomes), but also how the findings of evaluation are being used (for improvement or for accountability).

In comprehensive evaluation, outcome and process indicators are arguably complementary. Using only outcome criteria (e.g. examination results) to determine the success of a process is problematic, as in ongoing change outcomes have only temporary value. Furthermore, as change processes seldom occur predictably or in linear fashion, only a combination of quantitative and qualitative criteria can lead to a relevant determination of success.

Apart from informing the process of ongoing improvement, evaluation can also be used for the purpose of accountability towards authorities and colleagues. Awareness of this dual purpose is important when evaluation results are to serve as impetus for further change (Hopkins, 2001; Dalin, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996). In particular in centralised education systems, such as in England and in Tanzania, where improvement initiatives tend to be more externally imposed and controlled rather than self-instigated and self-evaluated, staff run the risk of falling into what could be called the 'evaluation trap'. School staff, evaluated on externally set evaluation criteria (for example by school inspectors), are left with limited or no autonomy over the approaches towards and practices within school improvement initiatives. When staff are subsequently obliged to collect data on progress and success which can be used in 'evidence' against them, many are likely to feel pressured to perform to external demands rather than according to their own professional judgement or preference. Furthermore, Dudley (1999) warns that, in particular, numerical evaluation data can be abused to support a specific educational ideology, as it appears to be 'objective' and therefore 'neutral'. However, what the data often do not show is why a certain collection method was chosen, why certain data were collected and not others, what the explanatory limitations are of the data analysis, or with what agenda evaluators or researcher draw their conclusions.

According to Russell and Reid (1997:184) the reciprocal relationship between evaluation and culture means that evaluation can also contribute to the fundamental shift from bureaucratic-hierarchical towards more collegial-participatory schooling. They argue that: 'The climate for evaluation should attempt to promote the qualities of interdependence, respect, trust, consistency and fairness', to permeate both the: '...formal and informal strata of the school organisation'. When done with a capability rather than a deficit focus, then staff are more likely to appreciate critical evaluation without fear of 'failure' or of its evidence being used to control them.

Critical Reflection in Tanzanian Schools

Little has been written about the role of critical reflection, diagnosis or evaluation within Tanzanian state primary schools. From a traditional bureaucratic perspective, the *Educational Management Handbook for Primary School Headteachers* (MANTEP, 1995) urges school managers to perform regular formal staff appraisals. Evidence of these are then to inform in-service staff development programs. However, according to Otieno (2000:51) headteachers tend to monitor rather than evaluate staff performance, as: 'To a large extent, the so-called education managers perform administrative rather than managerial roles'. Nevertheless, a study instigated by Heneveld (2007) found that regular monitoring by primary headteachers positively affected staff capability and pupil motivation. Similarly, in their research on school effectiveness, Swai and Ndidde (2006) indicate that effective teachers carry out timely assessments and evaluations of pupils, although they do not jointly evaluate their own performance. Within six East-African school improvement project evaluations, a key finding was that school staff experienced difficulties in implementing child-centred approaches, as they focussed on its practices rather than on understanding its principles (Anderson, S., 2002). Farrell (2002) made a similar observation, stressing the need for staff in countries like Tanzania to re-conceptualise the meaning of 'school' when adopting a whole-school improvement model. He argues that: 'Most of what a 'whole school' is, is not included in the model and most of it is set (culturally and historically) outside the control of the well-meaning 'managers of school change' (p.269; original italics). In her study on teacher accountability, Barrett (2005) also found that school management as a rule limited itself to routine administration and interventions, without systematic evaluation. Although much information about Tanzanian primary schooling and its improvement can be found in evaluation studies and reports, critical reflection as a core attitude among staff and policy-makers is often a major absence.

To my knowledge, specific critical reflection programs have not been tried in Tanzanian state primary schools. If educational conditions in Namibia are considered comparable, then three parallel programs on *Practicing Critical Reflection in Teacher Education in Namibia* (ADEA, 2005) may provide useful lessons. Similar to the objectives of Tanzania's PEDP (GoT, 2006b, 2001), Namibia envisages the establishment of learner-centred, activity-based education. Based on action research, using a 'practice-based inquiry cycle', teachers engaged in: '...a process of critical analysis of their practice, [and] reflect on and try out different ways of solving

problems and as such invent theory that works in their particular context' (ADEA, 2005:9). This was intended to create a: '...constant, and with time, automatic cycle of improvement'. Yet, despite initial encouraging results: '...the findings illustrate the complexities of starting with innovative, learner-centred approaches in a milieu where the whole system is not altogether ready for these innovations' (ADEA, 2005:9). For example, local teachers and teacher trainers initially had 'a shallow understanding' of critical reflection and tended to operate on a 'technical rather than critical level'. Staff tended to have a deficiency perspective of themselves and of their pupils, focusing on what was lacking in material, technical and attitudinal sense, rather than on motivation, capabilities and available space. Furthermore, staff scripts on capability indicate they:

...are not generally encouraged to achieve new understandings which result from making changes in their teaching, as the belief still exists that new and improved knowledge is gained from external sources and from "experts", rather than from personal experience, and by listening rather than by acting' (*ibid*.p.61).

Rather than concluding that critical reflection as an operational element in school improvement management is unsuitable for African teachers, the Namibian case suggests that if approaches to school management and pedagogy are to become more collegial and participatory, then this attitude and skill is among the least developed among staff. In as much as ongoing critical reflection (through practices such as diagnosis and evaluation) is meant to prevent school improvement from becoming meaningless, to debunk scripts and to contribute to fundamental culture change, then keeping staff aware of the direction and meaning of change initiatives is a key responsibility for whoever assumes leadership in the process.

Leadership

After explaining a specific cultural understanding of the concept, I briefly review leadership from a hierarchical and collegial perspective and focus on teacher leadership.

In particular over the last two decades much has been written about the role of leadership in schools and in the process of its improvement (e.g. Coleman and Glover, 2010; Coleman and Earley, 2005; Harris and Muijs, 2005; Bush, 2003b; Hallinger, 2003; Fullan, 2003, 2001b; Harris and Chapman, 2002; Busher and Barker, 2001; Anderson, G., 1996; Beare *et al*, 1993). Here I limit myself to its meaning and function within the management of change. As leadership means different things to different people in different cultures (Shaw, 2005), I delineate its

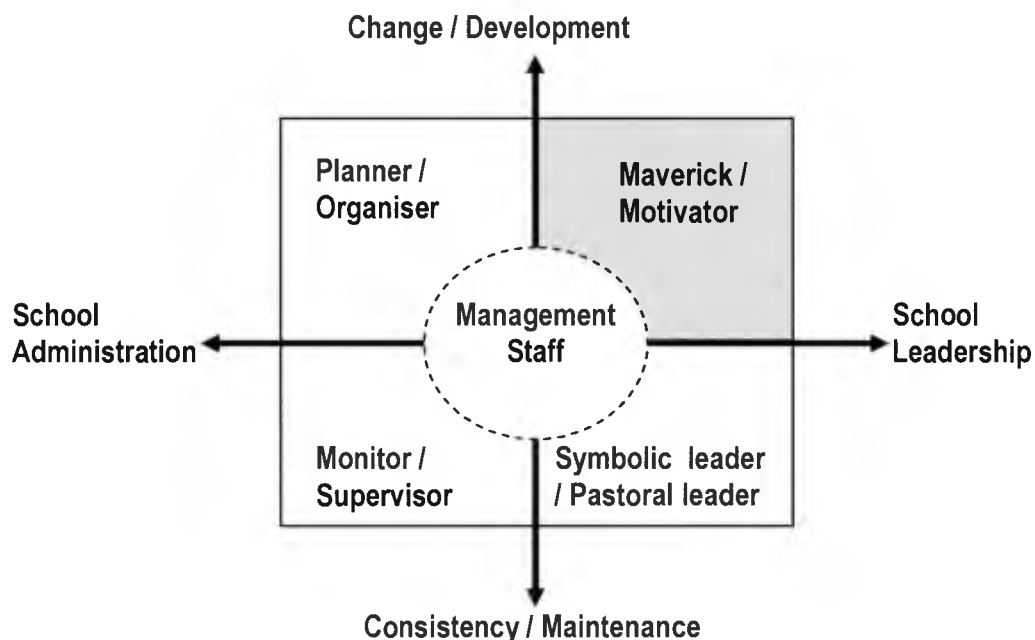
concept within school management, contrasting hierarchical with collegial forms of leadership, and relate this to the Tanzanian context.

Although the concepts management, administration and leadership are often used interchangeably, I choose here to see management as the overarching term, incorporating the other two. In the same ways as the metaphors of 'structure' and 'culture' describe certain features of schools as organisations, so do I use the terms 'administration' and 'leadership' to indicate different characteristics of management. I see administration as the *structural* function of management: i.e. all responsibilities and actions of school managers that are coordinating, executive, regulatory and procedural in nature. Leadership then is the *cultural* function of management, i.e. all responsibilities and actions of school managers that are social, pastoral, motivational and creative in nature. I take these conceptualisations to be applicable to both bureaucratic-hierarchical and collegial-collaborative approaches to the school's organisational management. Consequently, the distinction between administration and leadership also applies to the management of the school's educational function. Pedagogical leadership then refers to motivating staff to collaboratively innovate and consolidate approaches to and methods of the teaching and learning process (Carnell and Lodge, 2005; Hopkins, 2002), whereas its administration refers to procedural arrangements, such as planning, monitoring, examination, assessment, evaluation, recording and reporting (Headington, 2003; Black, 1998).

As administration and leadership cut across the dual purpose of management, i.e. school maintenance and development [pg.57], those individuals who manage the school therefore combine or share different managerial roles. Drawing on Burrell and Morgan's (1979:18) model for categorising sociological paradigms, I devised a similar model, juxtaposing administration and leadership with change vs. consistency (see fig. 2.3.6). Of the various roles school managers assume, some relate more directly to school improvement than others. As this thesis looks at the relationship between school culture and change management, I am specifically interested in those management roles important for leading school improvement.

With the overarching concept of management in mind, I now look at differences in change leadership in bureaucratic-hierarchical and collegial-collaborative school settings.

Fig. 2.3.6: The roles of school management staff



Hierarchical vs. Collegial and Collective Leadership

Whereas all hierarchical forms of schooling are premised on the assumption that staff need 'to be managed', schools that are predominantly collegial-collaborative tend to be more self-managing, characterised by distribution of management roles and power among staff. According to Morrison, K. (1998:213): 'In a hierarchical organisation the locus of power is clear and fixed, whereas in a flatter structure power is much more fluid and constantly being negotiated'. Regarding organisational decision-making, Tannenbaum and Smidt (1973) have proposed a continuum, ranging from boss-centred to subordinate-centred leadership. Although still essentially hierarchal in outlook, their model shows shifts in the extent to which a boss uses her/his authority in decision-making, and the freedom that is allowed to subordinates to make their own decisions within limits set by the boss.

However, as globally societies and organisations are arguably becoming more democratically managed, (Dalin, 1998; Hargreaves, D., 1995; Aktouf, 1992), a truly collegial school can be envisaged, in which decision-making power is equitably distributed, despite staff having different managerial and pedagogical tasks. Leadership is either collegial or collective, as no

member of staff is a 'boss' or 'subordinate', and the headteacher, if that position would still exist, is at most 'primus inter pares'.

In such a school organisation I also see a continuum, albeit not related to power, but to differences in the quality of staff collaboration [pg.98]. In Appendix 6 this cooperative/collaborative continuum can be compared with the hierarchical one proposed by Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1973). Whether the collegial school ever becomes reality in Tanzania (or the norm in England) is not important here. What does matter is that the global trend towards democracy and decentralisation requires leadership, rather than leaders, dealing relevantly and effectively with local change (Harris and Muijs, 2005; Harris and Chapman, 2002). Earley and Coleman (2005:252) assert that: 'Today's leadership is therefore seen to be decentralised and distributed in every part of the organisation, so those on the periphery who are first to spot challenges, can act on them instantly'.

In particular within more hierarchically run schools, a discrepancy exists between on the one hand the traditional assumption that managers (and thus leaders) need more decision-making power than their subordinates (Angus, 1996), and on the other the necessity of power-sharing, both for the benefit of *whole-school* improvement and for developing the underpinning collaborative-collegial structures and cultures within the school organisation (Bennett, 2001; Hargreaves, D., 1995). Several embedded problems have been described as arising from this discrepancy, such as contrived collegiality (Hargreaves, A., 1994), over-reliance on the capabilities of leaders (Fullan, 2003) and assumed superiority of their vision (Harlinger, 2003; Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996), the simultaneous need for and distrust of leaders in times of change (Stoll and Fink, 1996), the ethics of delegating management responsibility to subordinates (Dalin, 1998), and the difficulty of developing capable future leaders (Fullan, 2001b). The perceived importance of leadership of school improvement has also led to a myriad of leadership models and styles, such as transactional, transformational, cultural, symbolic, pedagogical, instructional, strategic, invitational, authentic or contingent leadership (Coleman, 2005a; Bush, 2003b; Hallinger, 2003; Hopkins, 2001; Day *et al*, 2000; Anderson, G., 1996; Stoll and Fink, 1996). It is not possible here to review each of them in relation to school improvement, other than to say that each relates to a specific approach to or qualification of leadership. One of these however, teacher leadership, deserves further review, as its recent ascent to greater prominence in school improvement literature points to

recognition of a kind of leadership that has arguably always existed in Western primary schools.

Parallel to their pedagogical responsibilities, primary teachers have always formally or informally assumed managerial tasks, such as subject coordinator, lead and specialist teacher, or pastoral and cultural leader. Specifically regarding school development, Harris and Muijs (2005:32) observe that: '...the school improvement field is replete with examples of distributed forms of leadership in a very practical sense, with responsibility for organisational development and change being channelled through the many rather than the few'. Rather than following a leader, staff share leadership responsibilities in a form of 'collective leadership', which is seen as '...a collaborative effort, a 'banding together' with other teachers to promote professional development and growth and the improvement of educational services' (*ibid* p.17, 23). Acting as a team, staff make rationale and commitment explicit, engage in critical reflection and decision-making, stimulate communication and teamwork, motivate and support each other, and create a culture of trust and innovation.

The danger however exists that in an essentially hierarchical school culture, promoting teacher leadership may be used by management as a participatory ploy to further a non-democratic managerialist agenda (Anderson, G., 1996; Angus; 1996). Furthermore, when becoming formally 'standardised', it may lose its flexibility and local relevance (Thrupp and Wilmott, 2003). Therefore: 'This model of leadership implies a redistribution of power and a realignment of authority within the organisation', as part of: '...a democratic process where individuals' ideas and actions can be freely expressed' (Harris, 2002:78).

Having discussed the concept of leadership from a predominantly Western perspective, I now turn to leadership in Tanzanian state primary schools.

Leadership in Tanzanian Schools

Also in Tanzanian educational writing the concepts of school management, administration and leadership are used interchangeably and are not always clearly defined (see Dachi et al, 2010; Oduro *et al*, 2008; Nguni *et al*, 2006; Otieno, 2000; GoT, 1997; Kiwia, 1995; MANTEP, 1995; Harber, 1993). According to Mosha (2000) and Kiwia (1995) lack of clarity on concepts and direction results from unclear delineation of power and responsibilities and lack of effectiveness

at government level. Regarding school-based leadership, Sumra (2000) stresses its cultural quality, arguing that improvement needs effective leaders who create a sense of belonging to the school as a social entity. However, Kiwira (1995) argues that due to the general inflexible nature of Tanzanian school administration, any material, technical or cultural innovation becomes problematic per se. Also Ligembe (2001) points to an obstructive cultural feature of school management, asserting that appointments are based on loyalty rather than merit. Galabawa (1997:74) states:

The role of education area and school managers has always been institutionally structured within the framework of the sector or within ministerial bodies, directives and controls. To some degree, appointments have also been based on loyalty and ability to work within boundary limits as determined by central officers, rather than management skills.

Research into school-based organisational leadership highlights the social, motivational and creative side of school managers, in particular the headteachers. In his study on parental perceptions of 'successful' schools, which go beyond narrow academic effectiveness and respond to community values and needs, Temu (1995:244) found a 'humanistic, participatory and democratic' leadership style among the strongest determinants for success. On approaches to change leadership within Tanzania's traditionally hierarchal school setting, Nguni *et al* (2006) describe transformational leaders as treating their followers as individuals, appealing to their values and emotions in order to motivate and inspire them to greater performance. They found that transformational leadership had more positive effects on teacher job satisfaction and commitment, and thus on change for improvement, than a transactional approach, and conclude that: '...finding ways to increase teachers' job satisfaction seems to be a very important policy strategy in the Tanzanian context that will make teachers exert the needed extra effort to the success of educational reforms' (*ibid.* p.173). Bosu *et al* (2009) report that through action research a small number of primary school headteachers successfully improved some of the social conditions in their schools. Centrality of motivational school leadership was also reported in successful schools in South Africa (Ngcobo and Tikly, 2010; Christie and Potterton, 1997).

More specifically concerning the teaching and learning process, improvement programs in East-African schools highlighted the necessity of developing pedagogical or instructional leadership (Anderson, S., 2002). Farrell (2002) mentions pedagogical leadership as one of the

important lessons learned from successful non-formal education programs in less affluent countries. Herriot *et al* (2000) provide a Kenyan example of headteacher support groups within small networks of schools, offering mutual support in developing pedagogical and organisational management capability. In Botswana, Pansiri (2008) found that particularly staff with senior management responsibilities lacked the necessary transformational and pedagogical principles as well as the professional expertise to lead their colleagues in improving the teaching and learning process. Hopkins (2002) finally suggests that given the centrality of teaching and learning, instructional leadership may be more effective for school improvement in less affluent countries than transformational leadership.

Based on the descriptions of leadership in Tanzanian state primary schools, and set against current themes and developments in Western school improvement and leadership, change management is likely to remain limited in terms of its purpose and hierarchical in its approach. In general, successful school managers are supposed to be first and foremost good administrators, effectively dealing with the daily running of the school rather than determining its development. This includes effective execution of managerial and pedagogical changes per directive (Mbelle, 2008; Swai and Ndidde, 2006; Barrett, 2005; Ligembe, 2001; Therkildsen, 2000, Komba, W., 1998; Galabawa, 1997). Although individual headteachers may adopt relatively more consultative leadership styles, within the existing centralised formal and informal structures, cultures and power-relationships of the education system, distributed forms of collegial management, such as teacher leadership, are unlikely to be adopted soon within the process of school improvement.

Whereas for Western schools, Day *et al* (2000) propose a values-led contingency model of school leadership for when they have successfully gone through whole-school change, Tanzanian schools are arguably still at the beginning of such a fundamental structural, cultural and power-related transformation. Rather than adopting Western approaches and methods, developing locally relevant forms of more subordinate-centred school leadership, parallel to developing locally relevant learner-orientated approaches to pedagogy, may provide a realistic general direction underpinning upcoming improvement initiatives (Vavrus, 2009; Samoff *et al*, 2003). Using Dalin's (1998:237) terminology, school management thus shifts from 'management by rule' to 'management by objective'. In the latter, principles rather than procedures determine how to improve schools. Among these principles are consistency, reliability and trust, each of which I discuss next.

Consistency, Reliability and Trust

Both in Western and non-Western schools a frequent complaint is the lack of consistency within the process of school improvement. It is not always clear how concurrent initiatives inter-relate within national or school-specific priorities for improvement, or how both sets of priorities match (Alexander, 2008; Anderson, S., Fleisch, 2007; 2002; Omari, 2002; Bennett and Harris, 2001; Babygeya, 2000; Fullan, 1999; Bryk et al, 1998; Samoff, 1999; Dalin, 1998; Slee *et al*, 1998; Sammons *et al*, 1996). Some argue that relentless pressure on schools to comply with government demands and standards, negates the idea that schools can use externally imposed initiatives for their own ends, as schools cannot control the criteria with which they are inspected and evaluated (Thrupp, 2005; Hopkins, 2001; Slee *et al*, 1998; Robinson; 1994).

In as much as schools do have space to instigate their own initiatives within a self-determined direction, Fullan (2003, 2001b, 1999) argues for coherence in relation to the purpose of, approach to and realisation of the changes. As the process of school improvement is complex, fluid and problematic, he warns that change processes cannot be controlled through rigid procedures, but can be guided on the basis of principles. He therefore suggests diverse and flexible approaches to and methods of improvement, based on a consistent, clearly understood, 'moral purpose' (i.e. rationale and direction) with regard to intended changes. Furthermore, he sees coherence in 'social connectedness' between staff, resulting from: '...having worked through the ambiguities and complexities of hard-to-solve problems' (Fullan, 2001b:116). As coherence is not a static condition: 'Coherence-making is thus a never ending dynamic balancing act' (Fullan, 1999:40) for which staff need to develop coherence-making capability. He identifies three ways in which staff can develop and maintain coherence during change: 1) lateral accountability (i.e. towards colleagues), 2) knowledge sharing (on what 'works' towards success), and 3) shared commitment (i.e. mutual motivation to contribute and inspiration for innovation) (Fullan, 2001b:118ff). Specifically concerning the approach to (change) management by school leaders, Earley and Fletcher-Campbell (1992:198) argue that: 'Whatever style is used, it should be open and clear and, perhaps above all, be consistent'. Paradoxically, this may mean that temporarily, under certain extreme conditions, even authoritarian management approaches can be used within school improvement, provided they are contextually appropriate, transparent, fair and consistent (Harris and Chapman, 2002; Newman and Pollard, 1994).

Coherence, described above as essentially attitudinal, should not be confused with 'uniformity' in school conditions and operational approaches and procedures within and between schools. Although often seen as important within narrower functionalist perspectives on schooling (Kyriakides, 2007; Hopkins, 2001; Scheerens, 2001; Teddlie and Reynolds, 2000; Sammons *et al*, 1996; Tymms, 1996), Bennett and Harris (2001:181) warn that imposing uniformity on schools: '...in the pursuit of imposed goals or outcomes may be difficult to achieve and may not be a sound aim for school improvement consultants'. The diversity of school contexts in Western and non-Western societies make a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to school improvement both impossible and undesirable, as it creates an equality that is inequitable (Alexander, 2008; Fleisch, 2007; Crossley and Watson, 2003; Samoff *et al*, 2003).

Closely linked to consistency is reliability of the material and social school conditions. Life and work conditions in Western schools are considerably more predictable and dependable than in many less affluent countries. The availability of clean running water, sanitation, electricity, telephone connections, up-to-date teaching and learning resources, as well as timely deposits of sufficient school funds, payment of salaries, effectiveness of medical services, safe access to school, protection of personal welfare, deployment and retainment of staff, and so on, are taken so much for granted, that staff can focus on more comprehensive improvement initiatives that depend directly or indirectly on these reliable conditions.

With the arguably ongoing shift from hierarchical towards more collegial forms of schooling, in which motivation and capability to work collaboratively gain importance over following orders and procedures, trust among staff has become increasingly recognised as a key ingredient in management of change (Lines *et al*, 2005; Middlewood, 2003; Fullan, 2003; Harris, 2002; Day *et al*, 2000; Dalin, 1993). Trust concerns the self-confidence of staff to depend on each other professionally and personally. This dependability is not the same as dependence, which is one-sided and based on a power-difference.

Consistency, Reliability and Trust in Tanzanian Schools

Managerial and pedagogical processes in schools in less affluent countries like Tanzania, have often been described as rigid, and characterised by 'one-size-fits-all' approaches and enforced conformity to centrally determined norms and goals (Wedin, 2010; Oduro, *et al*, 2008; Pansiri,

2008; Benson, 2006; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Omari, 2002; Kironde, 2001; Ligembe, 2001; Sumra, 2001; Mbande, 1996). Although uniformity and rigidity may appear to be forms of consistency and predictability, I would argue that these forms compensate for what is missing in essence. Fundamentally, there is a lack of enriching diversity (e.g. team roles, expertise) among staff, as expressed through professional values and practices (Fullan, 1999; Belbin, 1993), and lack of flexibility in problem-solving, as expressed replicative and resigned attitudes and behaviours (ADEA, 2005; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Christie and Potterton, 1997). Similar to Fullan's (2001b, 1999) earlier argument on coherence through underpinning principles, rather than through prescribed sets of practices, Harber and Davies (1998:2) argue that enhancing school effectiveness in less affluent countries does not require: '...a particular management design in the sense of a more refined contingency theory, but rather a set of operating principles which allow for effective decision-making: flexibility, transparency, innovation, informed choice and localised consultation'. Within schools, these coherence-making operating principles do not require a fully fledged collegial organisation or Western-style conditions to work effectively. They can be applied in any hierarchical settings, provided a more subordinate-centred approach to management is permitted and developed. This in turn means embedding them in the school's (formal *and* informal) structures, cultures and power-relationships. In order to achieve this, it is important especially for school leaders to be trusted, if they choose to encourage more subordinate-centred leadership and do not want to implement change through coercion. Some studies in less affluent countries relate trust in headteachers to higher levels of school effectiveness (Ngcobo and Tikly, 2010; Wadessango, 2010; Pansiri, 2008; Christie and Potterton, 1997; Temu, 1995; Harber, 1993).

Under the unpredictable and changeable conditions in which Tanzanian schools operate and which are largely beyond the control of staff, developing and maintaining consistency, reliability and trust are seen here as *active* operational elements in the management of change process, rather than as static preconditions. They allow relative stability in which some change can be managed in two ways. On the one hand, they allow maintenance of existing functioning of the school, as it gives staff space to respond to frequent imposed or unintended changes (Hargreaves, D, 1995). On the other, they help to create space to feasibly instigate, implement and institutionalise self-generated changes (Fullan, 2001a).

As whole-school improvement requires qualitatively good teamwork, relevant and effective communication between its members is vital.

Communication

The quality of communication is seen as a crucial element of the process of school improvement (Leighwood *et al*, 2006; Morrison, K., 1998). It is often closely linked to other operational elements in the change management process, such as leadership (Coleman and Glover, 2010; Fullan, 2001b; Southworth, 1998; Beare *et al*, 1993); motivation (Evans, 1999), teamwork (Morrison, K., 1998; Earley and Fletcher-Campbell, 1992), decision-making (Anderson, G., 1996) and staff development (Bentall, 2003; Fullan, 1999). Here I focus on the cultural-attitudinal aspects of communication.

Riches (1997) argues that despite many possible technical and practical barriers, the key to communication is the will and capability to listen. This is more than simply receiving information from others. He states that: 'We have to realise that it takes two *willing* communicators to make full communication possible' (*ibid*.p.170; original italics). Similarly, communication is also more than simply passing on information to others. Fox (1999: 136-7) states that: 'An authentic communicative situation is an honourable kind of conversation based on mutual trust and a respectful sharing of intended meanings'. Good communication is the basis for effective functioning of the school as an organisation. Harris (2002:55) asserts that: 'It is the nature of communication between those working together on a daily basis that offers the best indicator of organisational health'. Implicit in her words is the notion that genuine communication reflects the quality of the school's S-P-C complexes [pg.26], which in turn determines available space for change.

In hierarchical schools communication is essentially 'vertical' in nature. Its purpose during change is predominantly to keep managers informed about progress and problems, and subordinates about the visions, intentions and decisions of management. However, as Riches (1997:165, original italics) states:

Mistakes are often made because communication is not seen as a two-way exchange, but as a directive from above, without any consideration of those for whom the communication is intended, or of *their* views. Negotiation in communication is often vital if the message is to be fully received, accepted by the parties concerned and acted upon.

Evans (1999:74) therefore suggests that if school leaders want to avoid demotivation, they need to communicate genuinely with their staff. She qualifies this by stating: 'Giving teachers a voice is not about granting their every wish. But neither is it about simply going through the motions of consultation'. This directly links communication to decision-making [pg.101ff]. In more subordinate-centred and collegial settings, 'horizontal' communication serves within change processes to negotiate decisions, to reach consensus or mutually acceptable compromises among staff, and to keep each other informed about and evaluate progress. It arguably also serves to keep each other motivationally 'on board' during the 'internal turbulences' of change (Hopkins *et al*, 1997).

Communication in Tanzanian Schools

To my knowledge very little has been written about the nature and quality of communication in Tanzanian primary schools; neither as a tool, nor as an attitude. Practitioner researchers in Singida region identified poor communication by local administrators with and across schools to be a cause of school ineffectiveness (Heneveld, 2007). Conversely, Swai and Ndidde (2006) describe regular horizontal and vertical communication as a characteristic of effective school management, but do not specify details. Similar general statements are made by Temu (1995) on successful schools, and by Galabawa (1997) who states that educational managers need to master communication as one of their 'human skills'.

In less affluent countries similar to Tanzania, 'horizontal' forms of communication have been described as a vital element within school improvement and school effectiveness. Within democratic approaches to schooling as a way to disarm and eradicate violent tendencies in schools, Harber (1993; with Dadey, 1993; with Davies, 1997; with Muthukrishna, 2000) has consistently argued for more open and honest communication by school management with staff and pupils. Similarly, Ngobo and Tikly (2010), Pansiri (2008) and Christie and Potterton (1997) link dialogue and communication to the managerial and pedagogical leadership of successfully improving schools. A specific practical barrier to communication in Tanzanian schools is language proficiency. Although Kiswahili is formally the national language, it is the mother tongue of only between 1 and 5% of the Tanzanian population (Ethnologue, 2010; Legère, 2002). Furthermore, from secondary school upwards staff and students are expected to master English as language of instruction and formal communication (Kironde, 2001; Qorro, 1997). A second likely barrier is communication capability of staff (GoT, 2009). Many acting teachers

have very low teaching qualifications (Sumra, 2004). If this means limited understanding of the teaching profession, a large proportion of staff is unlikely to sufficiently master the professional language or jargon to communicate effectively. Finally, given the general hierarchical attitudes within the wider society, there are possible social barriers within communication, in which listening may mean 'to obey' rather than 'to understand'.

If it is accepted that, in accordance with the global democratic trend, staff in successful schools in Western and less affluent countries work more and more collegially, and that as an approach to whole-school improvement this is more effective than traditional bureaucratic executive approaches, then the way in which staff can and want to work together as a team becomes another key operational element in the management of change.

Teamwork

After a brief general description, I qualify the concept of teamwork through differentiating between collegiality, collaboration and cooperation.

Referring to the inter-relationship between rationale, motivation, capability and coherence, Morrison, K. (1998:182) describes a team as:

... a group of people with a common objective, whose members possess different areas of expertise, skills, personalities and abilities that complement one another, and who are committed to working together cooperatively on a common, shared task and a common purpose.

Furthermore, not only do team members work together on shared tasks, they are also willing to contribute to the team's quality, as: 'A team is aware that it is a team and individuals work towards team cohesiveness and positive interpersonal relations...' (*ibid.*p.182). Rather than going into the practicalities of teamwork in the process of school improvement, I focus here on underpinning attitudes of staff to work as a team rather than *in* a team, such as collegiality, collaboration, consensus and cooperation. I ignore situations in which school staff operate: '...in individualistic and balkanised cultures, [where] teachers either leave each other alone or are at loggerheads – disagreeing without any inclination or process to solve differences' (Fullan, 1999:33).

Collegiality and Collaboration

According to Hargreaves, D. (1995), the concepts of collegiality and collaboration cannot be used interchangeably. He describes collegiality in schools as structural, in which staff are formally organised to work together as colleagues, rather than as bosses and subordinates. In contrast, he arguably regards collaboration as a cultural attitude, which: '...does not necessarily involve an institutional base to its structure, but refers to a disposition towards, or the enactment of, a style of relationship which can take place in a very wide range of structural conditions' (p.31-32). This means that collaboration also occurs in bureaucratic-hierarchical schools, visible within 'brief and transient encounters' between members of staff.

Despite growing democratisation in organisational management, promoting collegiality within traditionally hierarchically organised schools is fraught with practical and ethical problems (Bush, 2003b; Fullan, 1999; Hargreaves, A., 1998, 1994; Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996; Bottery, 1992). Specifically regarding Western school improvement research, Hargreaves, A. (1992:80) comments that, on the one hand, '...aspects of collegiality in terms of shared decision-making and staff consultation are among those process factors that are repeatedly identified with positive school outcomes in studies of school effectiveness'. Although organisational re-structuring towards greater formal collegiality does not usually form part of national initiatives, he furthermore argues that centrally imposed whole-school improvement *necessitates* the development of collegiality in schools. He states that: 'With trends in many systems towards school-based management or local management of schools, the collective responsibility of teachers to implement centrally defined curriculum mandates places even greater reliance on the development of collegiality at school level' (*ibid.*p.81).

He therefore warns against contrived forms of collegiality, which are: '...administratively regulated, geared towards implementation of mandates, limited to a specified length of time or area of work and designed to have predictable outcomes' (Hargreaves, A.,1994:208). Headteachers in such cases may during school improvement be rhetorically committed to collegiality, presenting it as a form of teacher empowerment, but in practice: '...delegate to teachers and indeed hold them accountable for the collective, shared responsibility for implementation, while allocating to themselves increasingly centralised responsibility for the development and imposition of purposes through curriculum and assessment mandates'

(*ibid.*p.208). Such token collegiality among staff may then well become a façade of unity, but likely hides a complex mix of genuine resistance, deviance, resentment, divisions, conflict, corruption and struggles for survival.

Despite these problems with collegiality, Hargreaves, A. (1992:80) stresses its importance, stating that: '...the confidence that comes with collegial sharing and support leads to greater readiness to experiment and take risks, and with it a commitment to continuous improvement among teachers as a recognised part of their professional obligation'. He does however qualify this statement by arguing that:

There is no such thing as 'real' or 'true' collaboration or collegiality. There are only different forms of collegiality that have different consequences and serve different purposes. Moreover, those forms that are most compatible with the widely declared benefits of teacher empowerment and reflective practice are also the forms that are the least common' (*ibid.*p.82).

This means that collegiality and collaboration, and related attitudinal concepts such as consensus and cooperation, need to be understood contextually. In other words, within and between schools there are different grades of collegiality, depending on the quality of underpinning collaborative values as integral to their cultures. To indicate this qualitative difference I propose a distinction between collaboration and cooperation.

Collaboration vs. Cooperation

A comprehensive view on collaboration has been put forward by Nias *et al* (1989), identifying five sets of beliefs based on observations of collaborative primary school cultures:

1. The individual as people: celebrating personal differences; not just professional roles
2. The individual's contribution to others: focusing on strengths
3. Interdependence: belonging to a group
4. Interdependence: working as a team; sharing successes and concerns; communication
5. Security and openness: learning from difference

Their view has however been critiqued by Newman and Pollard (1994) as showing signs of 'idealisation' and 'unrealistic sentimentality'. They wondered whether the observations reflected the reality of school cultures in English primary schools in the 1990s. Not only traditional school managers, but also teaching staff may resist collaborative teamwork, for a range of reasons, such as being used to balkanised forms of working, remaining committed to individual values and professional expectations that were held for many years, being uncertain and untrained on

how to collaborate, being unfamiliar and uncomfortable with management responsibility, or for fear of increased accountability and work pressure. Some staff may simply not *want* to be empowered. A power struggle between subordinate-orientated managers and more traditional staff is then not about keeping power centralised, but about sharing it.

Collaboration, as integral to school culture, cannot simply be an imposed approach to school management or improvement, as it requires each team member to ascribe to it. In other words, collaboration only happens when people *want* and are *capable* of working together. Therefore, if collegiality is seen as a formally organised way of working together as colleagues (Hargreaves, D., 1995), then at least some collaborative attitude among team members is necessary if this 'working together' is to be genuinely felt and voluntarily ascribed to. The quality of collaboration as the disposition underpinning collegiality, determines whether staff work as a team or *in* a team.

When staff work 'as a team', the quality of collaboration is such that team members appear to work together 'as one'. Such a collaborative team is socially highly cohesive, with strong professional and/or personal relationships based on trust. Professional values and interests are highly attuned and team members have strong personal commitment towards a highly consensual agenda (see Appendix 6). I see consensus here not as enforced uniformity or conformity, but as the *chosen* coming together of and negotiated agreement within a *diverse* group of colleagues. Also Fullan (1999:36) stresses the importance of diversity within highly collaborative teams. He argues that: '...contrary to myth, effective collaborative cultures are not based on like-minded consensus'. On the contrary, he argues for celebrating diversity among staff as a source of inspiration, challenge and creativity, rather than as a cause of disagreement, competitiveness or conflict. Especially during problem-solving, experimentation and innovation in the context of school improvement, staff can draw on a variety of perspectives and ideas on management and pedagogy to address the complexity of change. Furthermore, through embracing rather than avoiding diversity: '...inequity is far less likely to go unnoticed or to be tolerated. At the same time, conflict is brought out into the open' (*ibid.*p36-37). The resulting transparency means that informalisation and corruption (Chabal and Daloz, 1999) [pg.32, 34ff] have less opportunity to remain hidden behind a façade of unity.

As not every team operates highly collaboratively, I use the term 'cooperation' for when staff do work together as colleagues, but more loosely; i.e. not as, but *'in* a team'. Although formally

working together on achieving organisational goals, their professional and/or personal agendas may compete rather than correspond with the formal one and with those of others. Relationships and levels of trust between members are weak, as is staff commitment to team goals. In terms of consensus, the success of these cooperative teams then depends on the quality of staff adherence to compromises, and on their dependability to work practically together despite principle differences in values. This involves a certain amount of 'distributive bargaining' (i.e. give and take) at professional and personal level, as opposed to 'integrative bargaining' (i.e. reaching consensual agreement), which is more collaborative (Owens and Webster, 2004; Sergiovanni, 1997). Still, despite competition, compromises and low quality consensus and cohesion, people still ascribe to their membership of the team, to its objectives and tasks, and to putting in effort to achieve them. Busher (2001:77) argues in this respect that it is staff motivation that keeps also cooperative teams practically together, stating that:

'... although people work more or less willingly in certain groups such as classes or departments for much of the time, their continuing membership is based on each person's willingness to remain part of those groups, even when the opportunities for leaving it physically are limited'.

In terms of collegiality as form of teamwork, collaboration and cooperation can thus be seen as ends of a continuum, in which the first is more consensual and holistic, and the latter more competitive or functionalist in nature.

Teamwork in Tanzanian Schools

Concepts of teamwork, collegiality or staff collaboration are described in Tanzanian school management literature from either a human resource or personnel management perspective (GoT, 1997; MANTEP, 1995). However, as operational elements in change management, they seldom feature prominently in school improvement programs or policy documents. The importance attributed to collegiality and collaboration in Tanzanian primary schools can however be inferred from some texts. In his plea for a school-based approach to primary school improvement, Sumra (2000:96) describes the need for a change in school climate, which lacks high expectations of teachers, positive teacher attitudes and collaboration, order and discipline, a well-organised curriculum, and rewards and incentives. In the government program PEDP-I (GoT, 2001), changes to school governance and management is one of its four key areas. On teacher involvement it reads: 'All staff and stakeholders with direct responsibility for PEDP management will be given training to ensure that they have skills for participatory planning,

implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and contribution to policy analysis and formulation' (§ 3.3.2.). Although the intention is to enhance staff participation in decision-making, it does not specify how subordinate-centred or collegial this participation is supposed to be, nor how collaborative staff are expected to work together as a team. Problems with staff cohesion also stem from the system of staff deployment and transfer. Posting of teachers in schools anywhere in Tanzania is done through the Ministry of Education. Staff can also be transferred instantly from one school to the next, often far from their home area. As a result, there is regular non-compliance in assuming posts and teacher drop-out (Claussen and Assad, 2010; Sinyolo, 2007; Omari, 2002; Levine, 1996; Levira and Mahenge, 1996).

Also in countries arguably comparable to Tanzania, the need for collaboration among staff is regularly mentioned in relation to school improvement, but only in a consultative rather than a strongly subordinate-centred or collegial way (Wadessango, 2010; Carasco *et al*, 2001; Ligembe, 2001). For example, Christie and Potterton (1997) describe 'resilient' South African schools in which leadership has a sense of accountability to staff, allows some degree of consultation and participation, and invites a management team to work alongside the headteacher. Ngcobo and Tikly (2010) describe South African headteachers who in the management of change combined transactional and transformational leadership approaches and leadership distribution to ensure cooperation from staff. Their effectiveness rested on the central role of human relationships in achieving congruence of values between staff, parents, pupils and community members.

However, for management and teaching staff to work together successfully in a cooperative – let alone collaborative – way, they need the motivation, mastery and space to do so. The willingness and capability to engage in teamwork during school improvement depends on how decisions are made, who has the power to influence or enforce them, and who benefits most.

Decision-making

I first relate the concept of decision-making to power distribution and staff motivation within hierarchical and collegially organised schools. I then describe the process of planning as integral to ongoing school improvement decision-making.

School-based decision-making in the context of whole-school improvement involves more than having occasional staff meetings, in which staff are informed about and instructed which pedagogical or organisational changes to implement. First of all, as school improvement is ongoing, then the necessary decision-making is also a process, not an event (Fullan, 2001a). As explained earlier [pg.80], decision-making forms part of an ongoing cycle which links it with action, evaluation and diagnosis. This means practically that in the ongoing process of change, decision-making consists of an immeasurable amount of bigger and smaller decisions, made formally in meetings and more informally in the corridors and classrooms. When explained as a metaphor, I liken decision-making to the actual process of steering a vehicle, continuously making bigger and smaller adjustments to stay on course and occasionally making more drastic changes of direction. This also means that the process of decision-making itself is seemingly paradoxical. On the one hand, decisions cannot be 'set in stone', as flexibility is needed to quickly adjust to external influences and consequences of own actions. Yet, on the other hand, decisions need to be trustworthy and consistent within an overall rationale, so both management and teaching staff can be confident of the relevance of their actions and of the direction this is taking them in. The strength of the 'steering' metaphor increases when more fundamental school improvement requires innovation and experimentation, which is like a journey into partially unknown territory. Fundamental school improvement can therefore not solely be done through the 'mechanical' execution of step-by-step blueprints, nor 'organically' through merely following where 'evolution' leads the way. Over and above some mechanic and organic features, from a humanist perspective decision-making is voluntarist and critical (Halliwell and Mousley, 2003; Frost *et al*, 2000; Aktouf, 1992).

As both management and teaching staff are involved in and directly bear the consequences of the changes they make, decisions have to be sufficiently relevant to staff themselves. This requires genuine co-ownership by all staff over improvement initiatives they implement in their school, irrespective of whether these are school-specific, concern a cluster of schools, or are instigated system-wide [pg.65]. Within the education system this also means acknowledging ethical legitimacy and establishing official rights of school staff to co-decide on the direction and execution of change, within democratic negotiations about goals and interests with pupils, parents, politicians, education officers and school inspectors. Especially within hierarchically organised systems and schools, empowering staff through genuinely sharing ownership of school improvement not only implies fundamental re-distribution of power, but also

complementary organisational re-structuring and re-culturing [pg.47ff]. However, staff do not always critically reflect on existing unequal decision-making power, as according to Angus (1996:981): '...we may not recognise the power relations we are immersed in because, through our socialisation and familiarity with the organisation and its structure, we have come to regard certain organisational arrangements as normal and natural'. Furthermore, taken-for-granted power-related expectations are often: '...manifested in benign notions of 'organisational culture''(ibid.p.981). He further warns that due to these 'entrenched expectation and hegemonic understandings', staff *give* power to managers and leaders. This power is not always used to promote change but to consolidate existing arrangements and meanings. In the shift towards more collegial-collaborative decision-making, staff empowerment may therefore include overcoming ingrained dependency on leaders and unwillingness among some staff towards taking responsibility (Newman and Pollard, 1994).

On the relationship between involvement in decision-making and staff motivation, Earley and Fletcher-Campbell (1992:184) refer to studies indicating that: '...it is perception of involvement, rather than the actual degree of involvement (although, clearly, the two maybe concomitant) that determines satisfaction levels'. This suggests that most teachers would appreciate a sense of ownership rather than authentic ownership. This is possibly related to the reluctance of staff to accept the consequences of taking responsibility within a strong accountability culture (Anderson, L., 2005; Rea and Weiner, 1998; Robinson, 1994; Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994). However, although still from a hierarchical perspective, others argue for a genuine shift towards more subordinate-centred decision-making, in particular in relation to school improvement (Hopkins, 2001; Frost *et al*, 2000; Dalin, 1998; Riches, 1997; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996). Evans (1999:74) links sharing of decision-making with attitudinal change of school leaders, arguing that: 'Effective consultation and sharing of decision-making requires the right attitude in leaders - even if this means a change of attitude'. She qualifies this by concluding:

The right attitude involves acceptance - genuine acceptance, not nominal acceptance - that other people's views may be as valid as yours, and their ideas may be as good as - or better than - yours. The effective leader motivates by acknowledging this, and by manifesting open-mindedness and receptivity to alternative perspectives. It is this that constitutes giving teachers a voice. (ibid.p.75)

As change of leadership attitude also requires attitudinal change in subordinate staff, this amounts to re-culturing the school. To achieve this she suggests a more horizontal organisational re-structuring, as:

Retaining the head's ultimate authoritative role, but reducing the risk of this authority developing into autocracy, by flattening out the hierarchy, dispensing with the deputy headship role, and putting into place in schools a committee structure for decision-making is one idea which could be pursued. (*ibid*.p.69)

Similarly, she suggests re-structuring teachers' roles, making them 'teacher-managers' and 'teacher-administrators', effectively writing managerial and administrative tasks into their job description and allocating sufficient non-teaching time to fulfil their managerial responsibilities. One step further lies collegial decision-making.

Collegial Decision-making

When viewing schools as essentially collegial organisations with collaborative teams, then *ideally* authority and influence are equitably dispersed among its members through negotiation. Such negotiation takes place on the basis of critically reasoned arguments and rationale, to which all agree to hold themselves. There is no room for forcing decisions through show of power or being coerced into submitting to agendas of the most powerful. Rather than being expected to conform to traditional taken-for-granted organisational structures and cultures, staff remain jointly and critically aware of the possibilities and constraints of *collegial* organisational structures, of their professional freedoms within and responsibilities towards maintaining and challenging its cultures, and of safe-guarding equitable power-relationships. This resonates with Bennett's (2001) view on power as the dynamic link between school structure and culture, which he sees as a negotiated exchange rather than a competitive conflict [pg.26]. Collaborative negotiation arguably avoids the creation of few winners and many losers, and leads at best to win-win situations in which power is used to support each other collegially. Despite unavoidable differences in formal authority and in more informal influence in terms of expertise or qualification, staff – essentially as a collegium – still regard each other as 'equals', negotiating and making decisions democratically, and carrying them out cooperatively or collaboratively [pg.87]. In terms of school maintenance and development, staff share teaching and management responsibilities and assume full ownership of management of change. This way, each team member, in accordance with their motivation and capability, is as fully as

possible empowered as a *right* rather than as bestowed favour. Staff do not simply 'have' a voice in the running and development of the school, they *are* the voice of the school.

However, concerning decision-making in school-based change, Fullan (1999) warns that collaborative teams should not be idealised. Even though potentially powerful (in the sense of unity), they are not per definition more successful than other kinds of teams, as they can be powerfully 'wrong' when not respecting diversity or not being critically reflective. This means collaborative decision-making not only depends on mere willingness of staff, but also on the extent to which they master the necessary skills related to the underpinning attitudes. Moreover, although individual schools may become increasingly more collegial and collaborative in the pursuit of school improvement, they remain part of a wider, possibly more hierarchical, education system. This may cause a potential clash between school autonomy in the school improvement process, and external accountability regarding its achievements [pg.81]. Regarding differences in the use of evaluations, Robinson (1994:71) sees this clash stemming from:

... the locus of control over the educational and managerial decisions that are contingent upon them. Those who stress the importance of accountability are interested in more than just making judgements about teachers; they also seek to exercise some control over the way teachers practise.

Conversely, autonomy and accountability can be reconcilable when external *and* internal evaluations are based on the same (agreed) rationale for school improvement and its process. This in turn arguably depends on fundamental re-structuring and re-culturing of, and re-empowerment within, the system, so negotiations between individual schools and representatives of the system are conducted from a more democratic 'inside-out, outside-in', than traditional 'top-down/bottom-up' perspective (Fullan, 2001b, 1999).

In the same way diagnosis and evaluation can be seen as practical expressions of critical reflection [pg.79ff], so is planning part of decision-making.

Planning as Decision-making

As part of the ongoing decision-making process, long-term planning is the equally ongoing process of determining and adjusting fundamental directions for intentional pedagogical and managerial changes. Short-term planning maps more concretely the realistically foreseeable

cycles and steps of realising improvement initiatives, stipulating necessary conditions and ways to secure them, agreeing on responsibilities and tasks, and setting criteria against which to monitor and evaluate progress and success (Harris, 2002; Hopkins, 2001; Bush and Coleman, 2000; MacGilchrist *et al*, 1995). As whole-school improvement is a complex and partially unpredictable process, particularly when it involves multiple parallel initiatives, then its planning needs to be flexible. Wallace (1992:154) commented on findings in four British schools that this flexibility involves: '...a process of more or less continual creation, monitoring and adjusting of plans for the short and the medium term, consistent with the head's long-term vision...'. MacGilchrist and Mortimore (1997) identified four ways in which planning is done in English primary schools: 1) rhetorically (little sense of ownership and purpose), 2) singularly (by the headteacher), 3) cooperatively (with partial ownership of staff) and 4) corporately (through collaborative learning). Only in the corporate way staff may be committed to collegiality *and* have developed sufficient capability to engage in planning as a process of decision-making *and* have been allowed the necessary space to do so.

Development planning is most often associated with school improvement, of which Hargreaves and Hopkins (1994:1) state that it is: '...a response to the management of multiple innovation and change and the perceived need for a systematic and whole-school approach to planning, especially where schools are expected to be more self-managing'. Staff involvement in planning is linked to collaborative school culture by Stoll and Fink (1996:xiii) who assert that: 'Structures such as school development planning only succeed within rich cultures which build collaboration among teachers to promote school improvement'. Sensible development planning complements the intentions of staff with regard to the maintenance tasks of management [pg.57].

Development planning is more than simply the process of writing a 'school development plan' (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994). The plan's purpose is not to provide a blueprint which is then slavishly followed. It is at best a tool to create space for changing school conditions and staff practices. For example, regarding improving pupil achievement, Hargreaves and Hopkins (1994:17; original italics) assert that: 'Development plans can and do create conditions favourable to student achievement but by themselves have little *direct* impact on pupil progress. [...] development planning creates the 'space' for teachers to collaborate on acquiring a new range of teaching strategies'. Furthermore, the plan cannot be used as a 'quick-fix'

solution to identified problems. By necessity any plan involving fundamental change only has limited temporary value, because as conditions change, further planning is needed.

The school development plan also contains the criteria with which staff can evaluate the success of improvement initiatives [pg.81]. However, in education systems where external accountability overrules school autonomy, the process of development planning ‘...could lose all its potential as a means of school improvement’ (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994:3). Rather than focussing on the process of planning, school inspectors and other auditing officials could in such system demand of schools to:

‘...construct a development plan – which the headteacher knows will then explicitly be used as a basis for accountability – and to do so in a managerial, bureaucratic and unduly rigid way. This may subvert the more collegial, participative and pragmatic approach which we are convinced is necessary if development planning is to be empowering’ (*ibid*.p.3).

Decision-making in Tanzanian Schools

The subordinate position staff in schools and of schools in the system means that in general, and therefore also in the process of school improvement, there is very little school-based autonomy, ownership and decision-making. When discussing the consequences of decentralisation of Tanzanian education, Galabawa (1997) argues that greater school-based decision-making power is likely to increase teacher and community involvement in schools and make education more locally relevant. However, he warns that within the existing administrative hierarchy the allocation of decision-making powers can lead to conflicts between central and local governments and schools, as for example teachers are deployed and paid by the central government, employed by the local authority, and are accountable to the headteacher. He pleads for greater freedom for schools to determine effective and locally relevant implementation of central guidelines and objectives. Although within the hierarchically organised education system headteachers automatically hold a central position in their school, according to Temu (1995) the combination of their attitudes, competence and consistent actions towards involving staff and parents in decision-making contributes to the schools' success. With respect to improving educational quality, Otieno (2000:51) suggests four attitudes for teaching staff with which to support school management:

1. Close follow-up of pupils' presence and assignments
2. To be innovative enough to prepare learning materials according to resources found in their environment
3. To be loyal to the teaching profession and ethics so that they perform their duties properly
4. To assist in general school management

Although suggesting more subordinate-centred involvement of teachers, his recommendations still reflect the traditional division of roles between management and teaching staff. Decision-making in school can also be negatively influenced through corrupt practices. Komba D. *et al* (2000) assert that formal top-down decisions can sometimes be used as punishment for not complying with demands for informal favours.

In relation to sub-Saharan African schools, in as much as this is applicable to the Tanzanian situation, Harber and Davies (1998:61) describe the majority of schools as 'autocracies', in which authoritarian headteachers as 'benevolent despots' go through the 'ritual of participation', at best consulting but not including staff in decision-making. The centralised bureaucratic education systems in which they work often prevent even well-meaning heads from being more democratic, powerless as they themselves are vis-à-vis higher authorities (Oduro *et al*, 2008; Middlewood, 2003; Davies, 1992). Still, schools that manage to operate more democratically improve the quality of security for students, which in turn is thought to benefit student achievement (Ncgobo and Tikly, 2010; Harber and Muthukrishna, 2000). Participatory decision-making has also been linked to a greater sense of responsibility among staff towards schooling and its improvement (Wadessango, 2010; Christie and Potterton, 1997). Concerning Zambian primary education, Serpell (1998) argues that for the development of a democratic society, pupils need to practice decision-making in schools, not merely be told about it. Hawes and Stephens (1990) argue that educational quality is served through greater local decision-making freedom and power, while Heneveld and Craig (1996) assert that locally relevant school effectiveness increases when decisions are made as close to the classroom as possible.

Regarding planning for school improvement, Hargreaves and Hopkins (1994:17) assert that: 'In many countries there is clear evidence of a move to a more holistic approach to school improvement that uses the development plan as a means of linking together a series of strategies that focus on student achievement'. However, within Tanzania's strongly centralised and controlling education system, motivation and capability of staff, as well as the space to plan for, write up and execute whole-school improvement initiatives are likely to be minimal. Even if

management and teaching staff have the necessary planning skills, the unpredictability of life in Tanzania compounds the inherent unpredictability of change processes. Development planning needs sufficient levels of consistency within at least some material, technical and attitudinal school conditions for staff to reliably embark on changing other conditions. Although in name a plan, the national initiatives PEDP-I and II (GoT, 2006b, 2001) are therefore possibly suitably vague on their concrete realisation, expressing only aims and general outcomes, rather than specifying pre-conditions and flexible approaches and methods to achieve them. To my knowledge there are no reports on the use, effectiveness and local relevance of the *Whole School Development Planning* manual (GoT, 1997), which is based predominantly on Western school development theory. There are some reports indicating that teacher attitude towards lesson planning is already poor, which does not bode well for collaborative whole-school development planning. For example, within the *Dar es Salaam Primary School Project* (Welford and Masha, 2002), many teachers in the involved schools were found not to plan their lesson, while those who did seldom referred to it while teaching. Finally, having a written school development document is potentially risky. Apart from being used as an accountability tool, corrupt officials may see it as a means to extort favours or meet out punishments.

The seven operational elements of the management of change process discussed so far (rationale, critical reflection, leadership, consistency, reliability and trust, communication, teamwork and decision-making) impact on each other 'in action', when smaller and – over time – more fundamental changes are being realised in the school's conditions [pg.45] and S-P-C complexes [pg.26]. The meaning of school improvement 'in action' I discuss next.

Action

With regard to the relationship between reculturing and school improvement, Hargreaves and Hopkins (1994:18) assert:

Everybody talks about the importance of school culture in sustaining innovation and change, yet there are real difficulties in defining school culture and even more in knowing how to change it. Certainly culture is not changed simply by talking about it: some action is needed.

Action here means the ongoing practical realisation of intentional changes, in such a way that this is both concretely and perceptually experienced and judged as 'improvement' by all involved. It is through actions that all people involved directly experience and perceive change,

and change themselves. It is in actions that the *consequences* and thus the *meaning* of the changes are felt and become deeply understood. These are the times of 'disturbance' in which staff may feel threatened or liberated or both (Hopkins, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998), and need to achieve small successes early in the process to keep motivation high (Harris, 2002; Fullan, 2001a; Evans, 1999).

Improvement action involves to some extent a break with familiar ways of working and behaving, and redefining one's roles and responsibilities in both the management of the organisation and the teaching and learning process. However, although having routines is important for consistency in working and learning, simply replacing one set of routines by another set does not provide the flexibility of method that more comprehensive and diverse approaches to pedagogy and management require (Fullan, 1999; Harber and Davies, 1998). Parallel to the process of becoming familiar with new skills and procedures, ongoing critical reflection on the actions that are being undertaken, ensures their relevance in accordance with the overall rationale for school development.

From a non-linear perspective, staff experiences with and perceptions of change do not only happen in a distinct 'implementation stage', '...where planning stops and where action commences' (Harris, 2002:42). Instead, I see implementation as 'management in action' in which all three facets of the change process are both sequentially and simultaneously involved and affected. The planning process is then not the stage before, but part of action.

Action In Tanzanian Schools

The impetus for school improvement action in state primary schools tends to come from top-down directives [pg.76]. As staff are not expected to take their own initiatives in direction and implementation of school relevant change, execution of the directives are likely to be incidental and 'mechanical' events, rather than ongoing innovative processes (Fullan, 2001a). As a result, staff may hardly distinguish between action for school maintenance and school development. In her study on teacher accountability in Tanzania, Barrett (2005:54) states that: 'From the perspective of teachers in the target schools, the distinction between routine administration and intervention, let alone implementation and evaluation, held little significance'.

Several Tanzanian authors therefore urge the government to give schools space to take control over their own improvement, and urge headteachers to act more proactively (Omari, 2002; Ligembe, 2001). Agu *et al* (2000) propose a Framework for Action, suggesting three areas of practical improvements: 1) widen assessment practices and standards (not just exam results), 2) diversify programs of instruction, and 3) focus on teaching quality. On headteacher actions for motivating teaching staff, they suggest praising, rewarding, expressing high performance expectations and increased teacher participation in decision-making. However, although in principle each school can define its own curriculum, in practice they are held to delivering nationally set subject syllabi (Oduro *et al*, 2008). Sumra (2000:92) argues for 'school-based quality improvement', suggesting the need for strong leadership characterised by 'vision-in-action', which means that headteachers need the capability and space to realise their own ideas for, or adapt national initiatives to the specific conditions of, their schools.

Some change management 'in action' has been reported in sub-Saharan African schools, in which staff had sufficient will, skill and room to manoeuvre, in order to try and realise imposed and self-instigated school improvement initiatives. Christie and Potterton (1997) highlight a sense of responsibility that underpins a willingness to act [pg.77]. Anderson and Sumra (2000:11) in their report on the Aga Khan funded Mzizima secondary school improvement project suggest that ongoing school improvement – and thus the will to keep acting – requires a 'truly collaborative culture'. Concerning the capability to act, they describe difficulties with action research as method of realising school improvement and its required staff involvement and input:

Teachers explained the delays in terms of lack of research skills, heavy teaching loads and limited time, and low motivation. [...] They viewed the action research requirement as a one-shot expectation, not as the beginning of a cyclical process of professional inquiry and growth. (*ibid*.p.65-66)

Two key lessons learnt were: 1) the need for short-term foci within a broader more long-term direction of school and teacher development, and 2) anticipating the headteacher's pivotal role in creating and sustaining a positive improvement context (*ibid*.p.82). On this and similar projects, Hopkins (2002) commented on problems with sustainability in both primary and secondary schools. The projects did not sufficiently take into account the 'implementation dip', leading to disappointment among staff due to unrealistic expectations as the process of school improvement was not always well understood. Because school improvement requires a real break with existing practices, simply making existing practices more effective is not enough.

Educational policies for school improvement need to recognise this and especially support staff in *innovative* change (Hopkins, 2002).

Regarding the space to act, Ngcobo and Tikly (2010) describe how in 13 South African schools, headteachers had created or exploited enabling school conditions (i.e. space for change) in which more effective pedagogy and management could occur. Through a combination of inter-personal communication, valuing and trusting staff, creative ways of solving problems and informal links with the community, they ensured cooperation towards their improvement initiatives. In Tanzania, supported by DfID-funded school effectiveness researchers using action research, twelve primary school headteachers made transformational changes to their school's culture, aimed primarily at including disadvantaged pupils (EdQual, 2010; Bosu et al, 2009). Three USAID supported programs in Namibia developing critical reflection among teachers arguably created some perceptual space for school improvement, as staff were challenged to think differently about their practice, rather than simply applying 'new' solutions to 'old' problems (ADEA, 2005).

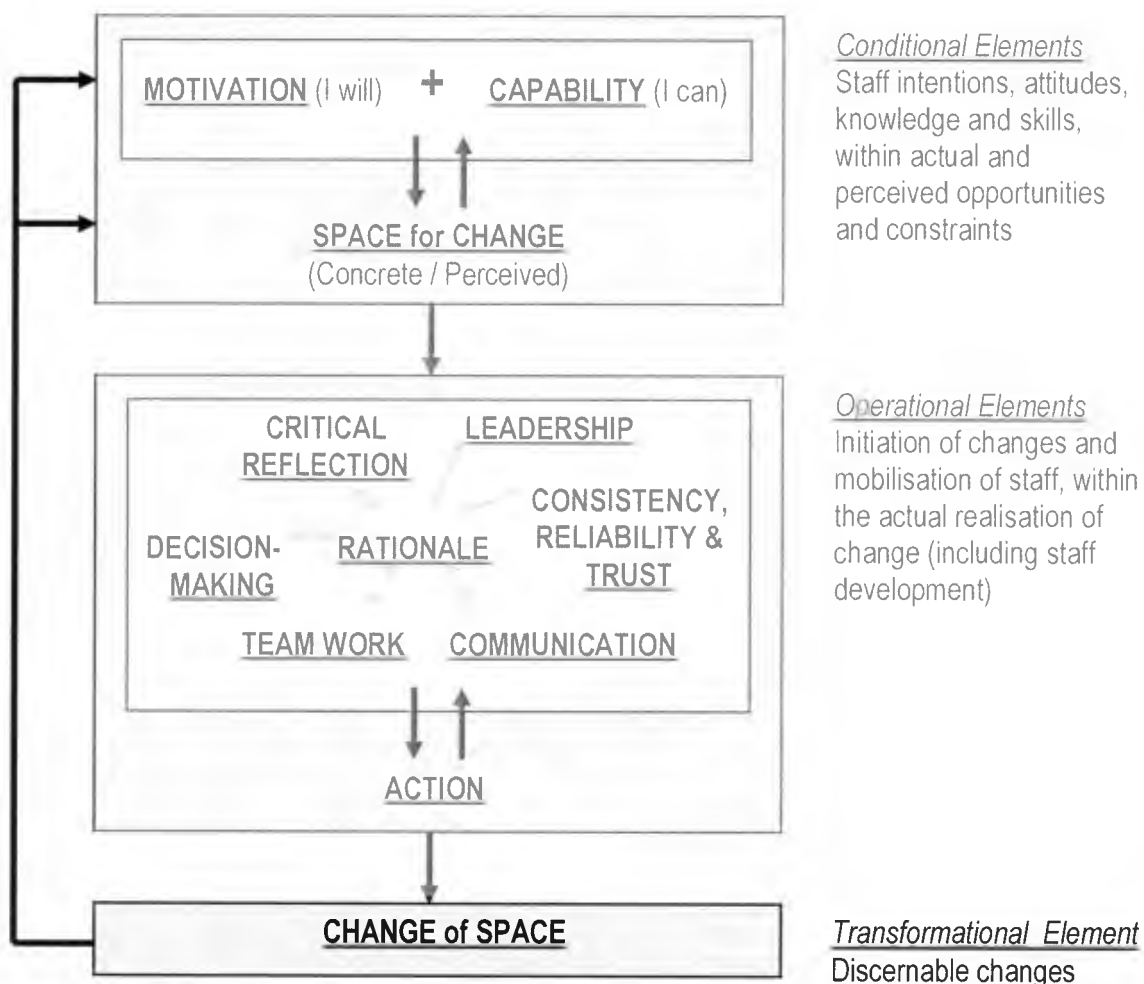
Summary

The operational facet of the Management of Change model combines seven elements which interact in action, and are influenced by its conditional facet [pg.61]. The inter-relationship between the various elements and their concrete and perceived significance during the process depends not only on the kinds of improvement initiatives that are being managed, but more importantly on the underpinning pedagogical and managerial perspectives of staff on primary schooling. In particular in fundamental organisational re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment towards more democratic and participatory school organisation and functioning, the emphasis moves towards more collegial-collaborative forms of leadership, communication, teamwork and decision-making. Simultaneously, this brings to the fore the central importance of rational, critical reflection, consistency, reliability and trust. These are not simply static preconditions, but play an *active* role in the management of change. This shift also changes the meaning and importance of procedural forms of these elements, such as evaluation, diagnosis and planning.

In Tanzania, management of change in the context of whole-school improvement is arguably still strongly bureaucratic-hierarchical in approach and execution, despite participatory rhetoric

in policy documents and improvement plans. Due to centralised decision-making and power-concentration, management and teaching staff in school only have a subordinate and largely executive role. The already marginal role of rationale, critical reflection, consistency, reliability and trust, is likely further undermined through occurrences of incompetence, mismanagement and corruption all through the education system. Nevertheless, with time fundamental changes are inevitable within Tanzanian schools, irrespective of whether these are triggered through societal change or through imposed or self-instigated initiatives. As schools are transforming, so does their 'space for change'. It is to the third facet of the management of change process that I now turn.

Fig. 2.3.7: The third facet of the Management of Change model



Transformational Facet

Within the cyclical process of school improvement, 'change of space' indicates discernible transformation that in turn affects the conditional facet of the Management of Change model. It is this feedback loop that completes the model (see fig. 2.3.7).

Change of Space

As a result of intentional changes, improved physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions enable enhanced pedagogical and managerial quality. The changes also mean that the concrete and perceived 'space' in which intentional changes can be effected successfully, has undergone change itself. Ideally, creating more and better 'room to manoeuvre' for staff is therefore integral to *ongoing* school improvement. This resonates with the assertion by Hopkins *et al* (1997) that school improvement not only leads to changed school conditions, but also to development of staff capability and the school's 'change capacity'. In the process of changing 'space', several issues may be problematic, such as: ensuring a manageable balance between quantity and quality of change, keeping an appropriate pace, safeguarding its cyclical-holistic nature, creating and maintaining momentum and a critical mass of proponents, keeping perceptions of success realistic, and creating 'openings' for change and preventing the change process from getting 'stuck' through challenging what colleagues deem appropriate and doable. Each of these issues I briefly elaborate on.

In ongoing school improvement, a balance exists between the quantity and quality of change. Practically, there is a school-specific maximum to the number of improvement initiatives that staff can handle realistically within a school year. Not only does this depend on the kind of initiatives (simple modifications or complex experimental adaptations), but also on the desired or required quality of each initiative itself. Staff (and pupils) may be unduly pressured when enhancing quality is measured quantitatively through a limited outcome focus (Slee *et al*; 1998). Furthermore, the space for change cannot increase infinitely, nor can staff be indefinitely speeded up. Just as the precise course of longer-term fundamental transformation is unpredictable, so does there need to be a realistically manageable pace of change.

However, pace of change is paradoxical. On the one hand, fundamental change tends to happen incrementally and slowly (Lewin, 1991), involving many larger and smaller, distinct but inter-related improvement initiatives. In particular re-culturing takes time, as staff change the values that underpin their attitudes and practices (Stoll and Fink, 1996). Similarly, informal structures and power-relationships, occurring parallel to the formal S-P-C complex, are arguably difficult to change (Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996; Dalin, 1993; Bennett *et al*, 1992). On the other hand, the effects between the three facets of the change management model are immediate and cyclical, as the process involves a feedback loop in which the facets interact both sequentially and simultaneously. As the conditions that make up space for change improve or deteriorate (with staff motivation and capability centrally within them), this immediately shifts the approach to and effectiveness of the operational elements, which in turn means positive or negative transformation. Over time this feedback loop can turn into a virtuous or vicious cycle.

In the ongoing cyclical process of school improvement, continuous interaction between conditions, operations and transformations is thought to be important for various reasons. As longer-term fundamental change involves many larger and smaller initiatives, running more or less in parallel, maintaining coherence between them is necessary, as well as keeping balance between change and consolidation (Fullan, 2001a; Hargreaves, D., 1995). The cyclical relationship also plays a part in establishing a momentum of change over time and a 'critical mass' of staff supporting the improvement initiatives involved. As there is no end to the process, staff continuously evaluate progress and quality, while asking themselves: do we still want this, and can we still do this?

As space for change and its transformation are partly concrete and partly perceived by staff, determining the success of initiatives and the quality of improvement is not straightforward. Fullan (2003) warns that although every improvement involves change, not every change is an improvement. Even in the most collaborative of teams, staff may disagree on the extent to which a change is deemed an improvement. Similarly, over time a change may become more structurally suitable or culturally acceptable. Only under the 'right' conditions will a change be deemed an improvement. The notion of 'improvement' therefore goes further than the necessary but limited procedural evaluation process, which 'measures' a change against specific pre-set success criteria. Although subjective, 'feeling good' about a change is an

essential requirement for its acceptance, which is not achieved through purely rational assessment. This 'feeling good' fuels staff motivation.

Fig. 2.3.8: Variations in judging change of space

CHANCE OF SPACE	Perceived improvement	No perceived improvement
Concrete change	Appreciation of the extent and progress of change	Despite concrete changes, the outlook of staff remains unchanged
No concrete change	Different outlook on unchanged situation. The existing situation is no longer seen as problematic as a result of the changed perspective	The existing situation remained and is perceived as unchanged

This subjective requirement means that in the evaluation of 'change of space', concrete and perceived changes do not always match. Contentious judgements may occur when concrete changes are not deemed improvements, or when through a change of outlook unchanged conditions are no longer perceived by staff as problematic. In fig. 2.3.8. the contentious areas are shaded. The latter situation may however be of importance for schools in which the space for concrete improvements is limited. A change in outlook through critical reflection and deeper understanding can unblock situations that are considered beyond improvement and restart improvement processes that have become 'stuck' (Fullan, 2001; Stuart and Kunje, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996).

Change of Space in Tanzanian Schools

With regard to the extent that primary education has improved, mainly as a result of PEDP-I (GoT, 2001), various commentators report that some improvements have been made, especially within the physical-material conditions of schools. The number of schools and classrooms have increased, pupil enrolment has risen, most schools have received funds and textbooks for pupils. Also within the technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal conditions some changes have been noted, such as attempts to increase the school committee's role in more democratic school governance (Claussen and Assad, 2010; GoT, 2008, 2006a, 2006b; Mbelle, 2008; Sifuna, 2007; Benson, 2006; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004a; Makongo, 2003). However, during its five year duration, these improvements arguably contributed very little to the quality of pedagogy and school management. In some cases, the changes have created rather than solved problems, such as increased class size due to rising

enrolment (Sumra, 2004). Most importantly, the professional and personal conditions in which staff operate have hardly changed. As a result, motivation among the majority of staff is still low, and their pedagogical and managerial capabilities remain insufficient to raise educational quality (Sifuna, 2007; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004b; Rajani and Sumra, 2003; Makongo, 2003; *The Guardian*, 05/06/2008; *The Daily News*, 19/09/2003). Similarly, the changes over the course of PEDP-I did not amount to significant re-structuring and re-culturing of the system and schools, or the re-empowerment of school staff (Haki Elimu, 2007; Benson, 2006). Whether the space for *ongoing* school improvement has improved, is therefore doubtful, as opportunities for and agency of willing and capable staff to determine the improvement of their own school have remained very limited (Sen, 1999). As the conditional elements of change management (i.e. motivation, capability and space) have been insufficient for many years, a self-perpetuating vicious cycle may have established itself, which requires far more than a few material improvements to be transformed into a virtuous one. In other words, five years is far too short to achieve the kind of fundamental re-culturing that is required for necessary changes to values and practices within and beyond the schools.

Nevertheless, Babyegeya (2000:7) comments that a slow pace of change may actually benefit certain improvement initiatives, through providing time for the development of a long-term rationale. Regarding progress on decentralisation and democratisation in education, he claims that: 'In the Tanzanian context, steady but gradual reform seems more feasible than ambitious systemic devolution, because it provides room to develop a sense of direction of the decentralisation process'. Furthermore, the examples of local projects and research cited throughout this chapter indicate that although limited, space for change does exist and is being used to improve schools. It is however not clear how those improvements also enhanced the space for further change within schools. More generally, recent school improvement in Tanzania may have enhanced somewhat the effectiveness of the existing system, or led to minor transformations towards a more context-relevant form of effectiveness. However, the changes have not led as yet to fundamental shifts in managerial or pedagogical approaches, nor to embracing school improvement as an ongoing cyclical process.

Still, within existing limitations, additional room to manoeuvre may be created through challenging taken-for-granted perceptions and intentions, promoting more realistic ones, and focusing efforts where staff *can* change. For example, if learning resources are in short supply and not forthcoming due to lack of funds, then the script stating that 'good' teaching depends

on the availability of materials becomes an obstacle. Adopting and adapting alternative teaching approaches within the possibilities of the curriculum may then create space for those teachers who are willing to teach. Similarly, critical reflection on school leadership may be seen as insubordination within authoritarian perspectives of schooling, but can be welcomed as constructive in more collegial settings.

Chapter Summary

This chapter dealt with three interlocking themes: school culture, school improvement and the management of change. As an integral part of the school's structure-power-culture (S-P-C) complex, school culture determines the relevance, focus and process of school improvement. This in turn determines the conditional, operational and transformational elements of the management of change process. Each theme was explained through a theoretical model, developed from relevant Western and non-Western literature. Their inter-relationship is illustrated in a meta-model at the end of this summary.

From an organisational perspective, a primary school's formal S-P-C complex is to a greater or lesser extent bureaucratic-hierarchical or collegial-collaborative in outlook and operation. In most Western schools, it is arguably a subordinate-orientated hybrid (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973). Furthermore, parallel to its formal S-P-C complex every school arguably may have one or more informal ones, the outlook and operations of which may to a greater or lesser extent diverge from the formal one. As an organisational feature, school culture is complex, incorporating wider, generic, unique and perceived aspects (Prosser, 1999). From a personal perspective, values, practices, attitudes and behaviours of staff underpin the school's cultures. They determine the identity, problem-solving capability, quality of security and legitimation of power-distribution in the school, and as such affect the quality of its management and the teaching and learning process.

In terms of improving school quality, perspectives on the relevance of schooling can be seen as narrow or broad. Broad perspectives not only support a comprehensive curriculum and pedagogy, but arguably also a democratic-participatory approach to school management. Broad perspectives on school improvement include both enhancing school effectiveness as well as promoting fundamental transformation of organisational outlook and operation, and of staff values and practices. Comprehensive school improvement holistically combines

pedagogical and managerial change, by addressing all relevant inter-related physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions. As a process, comprehensive school improvement is an ongoing cyclical-holistic one, occurring through many parallel and subsequent school improvement initiatives, which require complementary organisational restructuring and re-culturing, and re-empowerment of all staff. Fundamental change takes time, as in re-culturing incremental but radical shifts take place in the school's identity, problem-solving capability, quality of security and legitimation of power-relationships. Over the last half century at least, the rationale for organisational power-distribution has in the West been shifting from bureaucratic-hierarchical towards more collegial-collaborative principles.

From a broad perspective, the approach to managing distinct change initiatives within the overall school improvement direction, involves keeping a realistic balance between school development and consolidating desirable values and practices. During the process, conditional, operational and transformational elements interrelate in a cyclical-holistic way. Staff motivation and capability are core to the conditional elements, which together form the available space for change, which in turn determines the initiatives' achievability. During the operational facet of the process, not only are conditions changed that determine the school's pedagogical and managerial functioning, but also the quality of space for further improvement is transformed.

According to available literature, school culture in most Tanzanian state primary schools is arguably to some extent determined by the combined effects of 1) endemic poverty, 2) strongly bureaucratic-hierarchical and divergent informal values and practices (e.g. informalisation and corruption) within the education system, and 3) societal changes within the local communities in which the schools are embedded. This combination negatively affects the status and motivation of teachers, approaches to pedagogy and management, the quality of security for staff and pupils, the autonomy of schools and the agency of staff. This means that management and teaching staff have very little ownership over the improvement initiatives they are required to implement in their school. In terms of relevance and focus, the initiatives tend to consolidate a narrowly functionalist and selective purpose of education, although some tentative moves have been made since 2002 under PEDP-I (GoT, 2001), towards democratic school governance and participatory pedagogy. Rather than being an ongoing cyclical-holistic process, school improvement is restricted to staff routinely executing incidental changes imposed by directive. These require little or no staff development and their management is

procedural and supervisory rather than innovative and inspirational. No space is intentionally created for fundamental transformational change.

Relationship between the Three Core Models

I end with a pictorial overview of how the three main models, with which I examine the three inter-related areas of scope of school improvement, management of change, and influence of school culture, and around which this chapter has been built, connect (see fig. 2.3.9).

The three core models are:

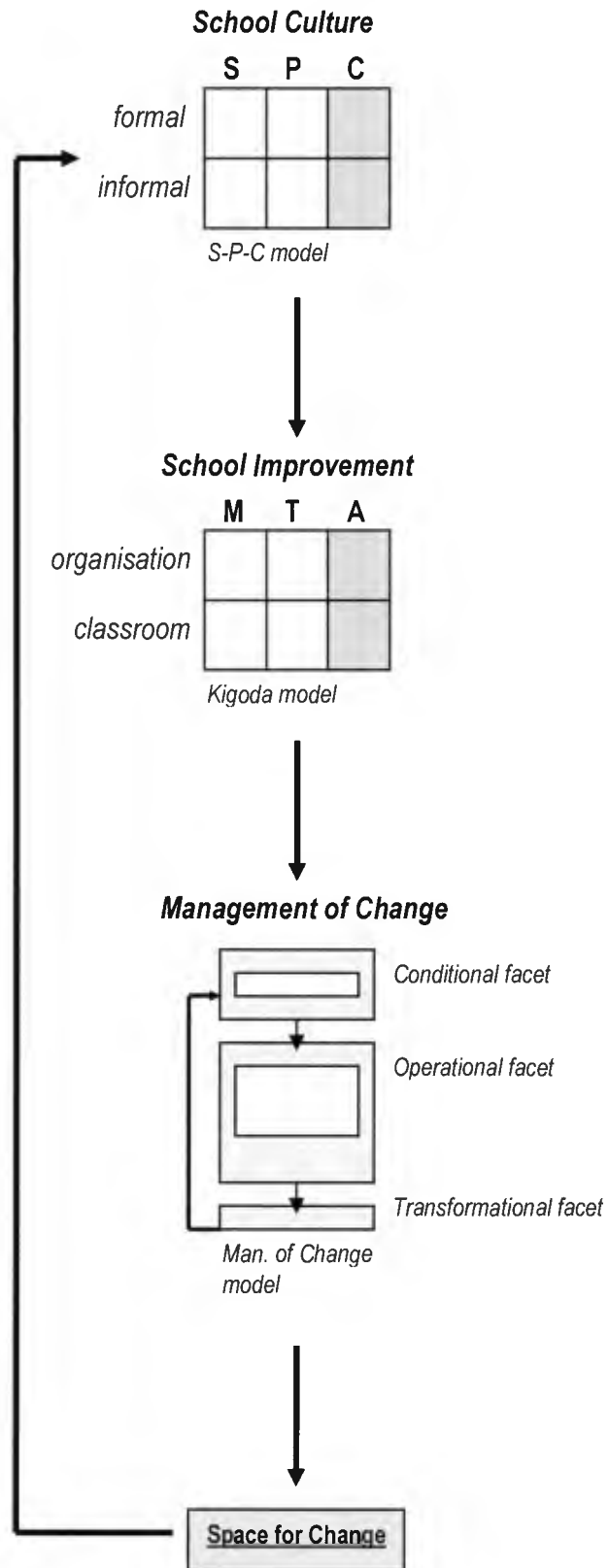
1) the S-P-C model [pg.26]. It shows from an organisational perspective how school culture and structure complement each other and occur formally and informally within the school. It shows power as the link between the two.

2) the Kigoda model [pg.45]. It shows the three sets of school conditions influencing pedagogical and managerial improvement in the school. In comprehensive improvement, changes in one segment require corresponding changes in all.

3) the Management of Change model [pg.61]. It shows the cyclical inter-relationships between the conditional, operational and transformational elements involved in the management of change. As this is not a mechanical-functionalist model, the effectiveness of its application depends on the narrow or broad perspectives of staff on primary schooling.

The arrows in the meta-model show two feedback loops. The smaller one within the third model indicates the more or less immediate influence of 'change of space' on 'space for change' [pg.62, 115]. The larger one indicates change over time, as between them the three core models show that changed space in the context of school improvement affects the school's organisational S-P-C complex, making some re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment necessary. This in turn affects the conditions for school improvement, and therefore its management.

Fig. 2.3.9: Relationship between the three core models



CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

Introduction

This chapter opens with my philosophical position on conducting social research. This position underpins my decision on the research questions and objectives of this study, my choice for its methodological approach, the methods used for collecting and analysing data, the presentation and discussion of findings, and my considerations related to ethics and relevance when working with and researching people, in particular in a cross-cultural setting. In the remainder of this chapter, I elaborate on these decisions, choices and considerations. I end with the selection of the two study schools, and give an overview of fieldwork activities, one of which was the choice by staff for a school-specific improvement target.

Philosophical Foundations of the Study

Declaring one's philosophical background in the process and presentation of social research is essential in the context of the ongoing debates with regard to objective and subjective understanding of the nature of reality, truth and knowledge (Denscombe, 2002; Lincoln and Guba, 2000; Scott and Usher, 1999) and on the relevance of research for social change (Crotty, 1998; Elliot, 1991). Doing so becomes even more pertinent when 1) social research is conducted in socio-cultural contexts other than the ones from which the researcher originates, 2) the study's topic is understanding processes involving personal and organisational change, and 3) in the course of the study the researcher plays an active part in these processes. Through declaring my position, I inform both participants and the academic community of my intentions and open up my analysis of the data to fundamental critique. It also allows readers to better judge the credibility of my findings and the relevance of my conclusions.

Ontological Considerations

My ontological and epistemological position draws on critical theory (Halliwell and Mousley, 2003; Crotty, 1998; Burrell and Morgan, 1979), which can be regarded as ontologically different from both positivist and interpretive research paradigms, in that it moves beyond the dichotomy of objective versus subjective understandings of 'reality' and 'truth' (Scott and Usher, 1999;

Cohen and Manion, 1994). From a critical theoretical perspective, reality and truth are seen as partly factual (i.e. mind-independent) and partly constructed through interpretation (i.e. mind-dependent). Ongoing critical dialectic determines how this combination can be explained and synthesised for the human world (Halliwell and Mousley, 2003). Furthermore, humans not only try to make sense of what they experience as 'real' or perceive as 'true', they also *intentionally create* realities and truths in order to serve their purposes (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000; Hinchley, 1998; Young, 1992). In effect, humans *decide* what is 'real' and what is 'true', when views are acted out and theories are intentionally turned into reality. In the two study schools, decisions on improvement were *intentional* choices for consolidation or transformation of existing pedagogical and managerial values and practices. For example, while experiencing concrete scarcity of resources and large classes, staff also created scripts on workload to justify their unwillingness to engage in school improvement [pg.70ff, 244].

The intentional creation of reality and truth also affects social research, as it can be seen as: '...a systematic inquiry that is both a distinctive way of thinking about [social] phenomena, that is, an *attitude*, and of investigating them, that is, an *action* or *activity*.' (Morrison, M., 2002a:3; original italics). Social research is thus a value-laden activity in which researchers play a powerful role (Denscombe, 2002; Christians, 2000; Scott and Usher, 1999). Therefore, as a critical researcher, I acknowledge my influence as integral to the process of doing research in both attitudinal and technical sense, and declared my purposes to the staff and other participants who were involved in this study. In critical research these purposes go beyond the mere accumulation of knowledge and enhancement of understanding. To be ethically justifiable, critical social research also needs to aim for improvement of human life (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000; Scott and Usher, 1999; Crotty, 1998). The improvement aims for this study are stated below, in addition to the study's research questions.

To complement my theoretical-philosophical critical humanist perspective, I also adhere to the more outspoken action-orientation of the participatory/cooperative research paradigm proposed by Heron and Reason (2001; 1997). Ontologically, this paradigm accepts a reality which consists of both given and mind-created phenomena and is equally non-foundational with regard to 'truth'. Pragmatic in nature and approach, and emphasising the effects of personal values in conducting research, the participatory/cooperative paradigm stresses the importance of ethics, in particular when participants are operating under disadvantaged conditions. Participants in participatory/cooperative research share with the researcher high levels of

control over the purposes, execution and analysis of the research, which is therefore seen as emancipatory and liberating (Lincoln and Guba, 2000).

When accepting that reality and truth in social research are partly factual and partly interpreted, then the knowledge generated is partly 'discovered' and partly 'created'. Next, I discuss some epistemological issues involved.

Epistemological Considerations

Epistemologically, 'knowledge' in critical theory is a holistic concept merging rational and subjective (including voluntarist) understandings of reality and truth. 'Knowing something' involves 'deep' understanding, which includes the limited but complex issues of human intentions, interpretations and willingness to understand (Habermas, 1972; see also: Halliwell and Mousley, 2003; Crotty 1998). Generating knowledge is a dialectical synthesising process rather than a exclusive reductionist one. The nature of knowledge in the participatory/cooperative paradigm also requires 'deep' understanding, but is approached from a more pragmatic perspective. It needs to be 'grounded' in social practice and serve as a tool for ethically justified action. This knowledge is generated *through* intentional action and is simultaneously practical and theoretical, as it needs both to explain and inform an ongoing process of change. It is conceived as experiential, practical and propositional, generated in cooperation with participants through interacting critically and reflectively with a reality which has both given and mind-created elements (Heron and Reason, 2001, 1997; Young, 1992). Knowledge in this study, both mine and that of participants, is therefore provisional rather than absolute, as it involves human interpretation of both concrete-material and socially-constructed realities. Similarly, contributions to new knowledge are partly 'discovered' through critical analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, and partly 'created' in building theory to explain and inform practice. Throughout the thesis I therefore present different points of view, in particular where participants disagree with my analysis of the process under study.

Cross-Cultural Understanding

Presenting different points of view may be problematic when understanding between participants and researcher has to bridge differences in cultural backgrounds. It is crucial therefore to identify existing compatible understandings on which to build theoretical

explanations, which in turn inform practice. From a critical humanist perspective, culture is a reality *created* and *recreated* by groups of people, in accordance with their understanding of and intentions towards the part factual and part constructed reality in which they live and work. With respect to this study, the existence of a formal state education system and of physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions that affect the education of children were examples of part factual, part constructed realities that exist in schools worldwide (Alexander, 2008). On the basis of existing compatible understanding of these 'universal' realities, further mutual understanding was developed between participants and myself with regard to experiences within their locally specific conditions. For example, 'being teachers' provided useful common ground to begin to explain cultural and professional differences and similarities between staff and myself.

Based on my philosophical understanding of reality and research, drawing on my theoretical understanding of school culture, school improvement and change management, and informed by my knowledge of Tanzania and my professional experience as a primary school teacher, I formulated my research questions and objectives, and decided on the methodological approach to answer them.

Research Questions and Objectives

This study has three inter-related research questions:

1. What is the scope of school improvement in two urban Tanzanian state primary schools?
2. What are the key characteristics of the underpinning change management process?
3. How does school culture influence the scope and management of change?

The reciprocal influence between the three core concepts determines the relationship between the three questions. In the theory chapter I explained how the process of change management is located within the context of school-located school improvement. This in turn is affected by the school's cultural contexts, which themselves are determined by wider systemic and societal contexts.

In accordance with the philosophical principles discussed above, the objectives of this study, discussed and agreed with the headteachers and teaching staff, were:

- To identify the issues involved in managing improvement initiatives that are realistically achievable within schools operating under severely limited conditions
- To generate locally relevant and transferable knowledge on the management of school improvement
- To generate understanding on the relationship between school culture and the management of school improvement
- To reflect on the applicability of existing school improvement and management theories in a context different from the ones in which they were formulated
- To contribute to the improvement of the school's organisational and pedagogical culture, centred around a specific negotiated aspect
- To contribute to the motivation and capabilities of staff in managing and learning from improvement processes
- To develop my own mastery of conducting social research

Methodological Approach

As I investigated and contributed to a process (management of change) within the context of a wider process (school improvement), both within the partly fluid, partly enduring context of school culture, I combined the research approaches of case study and action research. The latter enabled me to be actively involved in both processes as a researcher, whereas the former framed my actions in more conventional approaches to social research. Next, I discuss the suitability of each research approach separately.

Case Study

Yin (2003) argues that case study is appropriate for academic enquiry into (social) situations in which the area of interest is not easily distinguishable from its context(s). This study focused on personal and professional values and practices of management and teaching staff, and how these affected the successful management of school improvement in two primary schools. Bassey (2002:109; original italics) provides an extensive prescriptive definition of *educational case study*, being:

...an empirical enquiry which is conducted within a localised boundary of space and time (i.e. a singularity) into interesting aspects of an educational activity, or programme, or institution, or system, mainly in its natural context and within an ethic of respect for persons, in order to inform the judgements and decisions of practitioners and policy-makers, or of theoreticians who are working to these ends, and such that sufficient data are collected for the researcher to be able:

- to explore *significant* features of the case,
- to create *plausible* interpretations of what is found,
- to test for the trustworthiness of these interpretations,
- to construct a *worthwhile* argument or story,
- to relate the argument or story to any relevant research in the literature,
- to convey *convincingly* to an audience this argument or story, and
- to provide an audit trail by which other researchers may validate or challenge the findings, or construct alternative arguments.

With regard to scope, purpose and stipulations, my study can clearly be characterised as a case study. Two years of data collection through action research and more conventional methods enabled long-term in-depth exploration of intentional change happening over time in a specific educational context (Crossley and Watson, 2003). This involved identifying key features of the process of school improvement management and their relationship with the organisational cultures in two urban Tanzanian state primary schools. Close collaboration with the schools' staff in data collection, analysis and evaluation provided locally plausible and credible explanations for what did and did not 'work', and what changed. These led to a set of arguments which support the need for transformation of school culture to enable comprehensive school improvement (Stoll and Fink, 1996). Rigour in relating findings to existing understanding from both Tanzanian and non-Tanzanian literature provided a more universal plausibility in explanations (see also: Alexander, 2008), which may make them transferable to similar situations beyond the direct context of the two schools.

Bassey (2002:111ff) makes a distinction between possible end points of case studies, i.e. 1) to provide a narrative account, 2) to seek or test theory, or 3) to evaluate specific programmes or systems. This study is predominantly 'theory-seeking', leading to what he calls 'fuzzy general predictions'. He argues that the outcomes of theory-seeking case studies state 'what *may* work', rather than 'what works', and its conclusions are therefore always provisional. I regard the provisional nature of theory essential in complementing the predominantly practical focus of action research on 'what works'. In terms of transferability, what 'works' in one school does not automatically work in other schools, as the unique school-specific conditions that contribute to the success of improvement initiatives cannot be transferred (Fullan, 1999). Simple adoption of

'good practice' is therefore likely to fail. Instead, through understanding the underlying principles of what makes something work in relation to a school's conditions may help other schools *adapt* practice to suit their specific contexts and improvement intentions (Hopkins, 2001; Alexander, 2000).

Action Research

From the various approaches to action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000; Bryant, 1996), I opted for Carr and Kemmis' (1986) 'critical action research' as the most appropriate one for this study, because it combines three key principles: concrete improvement, generation of knowledge and empowerment of participants. These cover the objectives outlined above.

Concrete improvement is not only an ethical principle. It enables the practical generation of knowledge about change processes through intentional intervention. Such knowledge cannot be collected as if change were a static situation, nor can it be interpreted 'independently' from the context in which it takes place. It therefore needs both the researcher's input to facilitate change for improvement, and participants' reflection and feedback on the meaning of that input and on the changes themselves. The kind of knowledge generated is thus both practical and theoretical. Practical knowledge, which is generated in a specific situation and for a specific problem (Elliott, 1991), enhances theory when it is framed within a wider theoretical understanding. It can then be transferred and adapted to similar situations where it can be applied relevantly. Also empowerment is not just a noble ethical principle, but a necessary element as it enables participants to take an authoritative part in how the research is being conducted, interpreted and represented (Christians, 2000; Zeni, 1998). Control over the research process is ideally shared between participants and researchers. Furthermore, the participants' overt influence and support lends credibility to the findings.

Procedurally, action research is an ongoing cyclical process involving diagnosis, planning (or decision-making), action and evaluation (McNiff, 2002; Lomax, 2002; Kemmis and McTaggart, 2000). In this process, problematic situations are both theoretically and practically investigated with the explicit intention to understand and improve them (Elliott, 1991). The rigour with which this is done separates academic inquiry from good professional practice (Winter, 1987). Maintaining rigour was particularly important as one of the study's aims was identifying the determining elements of an intentional change process that took place under local conditions in

which unintentional change occurred unpredictably. Furthermore, action research is exploratory by its very nature, which further increased unpredictability. Rigour was therefore maintained in two areas: 1) in working with staff during the ongoing change processes, and 2) in collecting, processing, analysing and evaluating data in collaboration with staff.

In this study, in the action research component I focused on 'what worked' in the two schools. Through the case study component I tried to translate these location-specific findings to more generic theory, which may explain and inform practice in other schools.

Action Research within Case Study Context

Framing action research in the context of case study directly mirrored the investigation of the management of the school improvement process in its school culture context. More generally, it reflects Crossley and Watson's (2003:142) assertion that a combination of conventional and critical approaches contribute to:

...more holistic understanding of education in diverse contexts, [...] the role of increased reflexivity and critical reflection in the research process, and [...] the related and still rarely addressed need for increased attention to the new ethical dimensions necessitated by the advancement of cross-cultural research.

The action research element comprised of working with staff, individually and as a team, on negotiated improvement initiatives. Through staff development training, classroom observations and follow-up interviews the staff and I went through the cycles of diagnosis, decision-making, action and evaluation, which over time provided me with unique first hand data on staff attitudes with regard to their involvement in school improvement initiatives. Furthermore, it allowed me to experience the changes 'as they happened', rather than having to draw inferences from snapshot visits between two points in time. Although never comprehensively introduced in Dodoma schools, I used the government commissioned *Whole-School Development Planning* manual (GoT, 1997), as a locally available and authorised approach to frame my facilitation activities. This manual was based on the principles of action research and aimed to provide a model for school management and professional development.

The case study component involved collecting data through interviews, observations, document study and questionnaire, which provided a rich backdrop against which to analyse the action-generated data more comprehensively. Rather than concentrating on the material or procedural

changes involved in specific improvement initiatives, I focused on staff attitudes and behaviours towards changes in pedagogical and managerial values and practices. From the organisational perspective, that schools have both formal and informal S-P-C complexes [pg.26], I focussed in particular on convergence and divergence between formal and informal cultures. Over time I was able to collect valuable informal data, as my weekly presence in the schools over nearly two years allowed me to become a 'resident guest' (Prosser and Warburton, 1999), rather than an occasional visitor.

The combination of research approaches has implications for judging the quality of my research as academic study.

Quality Criteria

The highly interpretative nature of this study renders the traditionally positivist criteria of objectivity, validity, reliability and generalisability problematic (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997). I therefore opt for alternative criteria and terminology to judge and describe the quality of this study as academic inquiry. The criteria are adopted from Winter (1989; 1987), who argues for *rigour* in conducting action research, and complemented by those described by Lincoln (1995) who asserts that *ethics* is central to judging all qualitative and interpretative research.

The first of Winter's (1987) criteria is *reflexive critique*. Both participants and researchers need to reflect at every stage of the research on personal theories and practices, so that none become 'taken-for-granted'. These critical insights consequently inform subsequent action and analysis. Second is *dialectical critique*. The reflexive critique is dialectical, in that it focuses on the relationship between the processes under study and their context(s), on internal contradictions and oppositions within the processes and on the changeability of the situations in which these processes take place. Third is *collaborative resource*. In the processes under study, the participants' roles and views are of equal value to those of the researcher. Different understandings of and influences on the processes are therefore appreciated and critically analysed. Fourth is *risk*. Change for improvement through action research goes beyond mere 'technical' modification within an accepted way of working. It includes challenging taken-for-granted situations and processes with which the participants have been coping so far. As this can be perceived as a threat, both participants and researchers need to be willing to challenge their own values and practices. Fifth is *plural structure*. In the presentation of findings,

participants' viewpoints on the processes and its study need to be acknowledged, allowing the reader a better judgement of the findings' credibility. Sixth is *theory, structure and transformation*. Winter (1989:67) argues that when theory and practice are divorced from each other, they lead either to 'abstract speculation' or to 'self-perpetuating routine'. As knowledge from action research is both theoretical and practical, it contributes to existing theory and has the potential for actual transformation of practice in contexts beyond the one in which it was generated.

A complementary set of seven criteria to judge the quality of the design and findings of academic study is identified by Lincoln (1995). These reflect my philosophical position, as they put ethics and personal views and values at the centre of social research. The rationale for ethics as central to quality is Lincoln's assertion that 'valid' or authentic knowledge in social research is always interpersonal and that research serves human purposes. Some of her criteria overlap those of Winter (1989, 1987).

Lincoln's (1995) first criterion is *positionality*. Researchers need to be open about their views and judgements, as well as acknowledge those of the participants in the study. The second is *submission* of the study to specific discourse communities or research sites as arbiters of quality. Submission to a critical knowledgeable audience will lend trustworthiness to the findings and its methodological and ethical quality. Third is *voice*, i.e. the extent to which a text has the quality of 'polyvocality'. Researchers recognise the possibility of multiple interpretations, ensuring that participants' voices are heard. Fourth is *critical subjectivity*. All participants, including the researcher, need to give evidence of regular, rigorous self-reflection throughout the study, to identify and challenge hidden assumptions and taken-for-granted positions and routines. Fifth is *reciprocity*. Collaboration between participants and researcher needs to be mutually beneficial. Their relationship therefore needs to be democratic and non-hierarchical, while acknowledging inequalities in knowledge, expertise and influence. The sixth criterion Lincoln calls *sacredness* involving a profound regard for how science contributes to human flourishing. Seventh is *sharing* the perquisites and privileges of the researchers' academic position with the participants, including access to information, academic networks and education officials, and the use of facilities and materials.

Both sets of criteria complement each other, with Winter's criteria specific for the use of action research as a methodological approach, and Lincoln's criteria foregrounding ethics as central

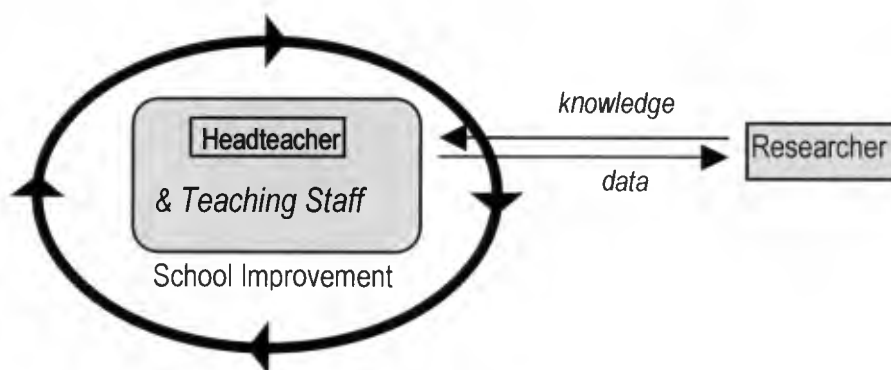
to social research. These criteria reflect the critical humanist's principled stand on social research, foregrounding individuals' values and attitudes, as well as the more pragmatic but ethical approach put forward in the participatory/cooperative paradigm.

The criteria informed my position, role and influence as researcher, the quality of collaboration with participants, the ethical issue of transparency vs. confidentiality in the presentation of the findings, and how I processed and analysed the data.

Position, Role and Influence as Researcher

Due to the action research element, my position, role and influence were integral to the process of inquiry and of change. I therefore had to negotiate my position in the schools and my role in the school improvement processes. After agreement with both headteachers my position was described to staff, the school committee, the parents and pupils as a 'resident guest' (see Prosser and Warburton, 1999). I was introduced as a mature doctoral student, who as a researcher would regularly visit the school to learn how primary schools improve in Tanzania.

Fig.3.1: My position as researcher/facilitator



At the same time, as an experienced 'fellow teacher' I would share my knowledge and expertise as a contribution to the schools' improvement. As such I could be seen as a catalyst, keeping the process of change 'unstuck', but without becoming part of the end result (Stuart and Kunje, 1998). Figure 3.1 depicts my position as an 'outsider' researcher/consultant who overtly extracts information and contributes knowledge (see also Shaw, 2001). All interactions with staff in the schools were initially arranged through the headteachers. Over time, when my relationships with staff had become established, I was expected to make my own arrangements

for interviews and classroom observations. However, to maintain transparency I kept the headteachers informed.

With regard to relevance, process and findings, I aimed to meet all quality criteria outlined above to ensure that my influence on this study remained ethically justifiable and procedurally rigorous. For example, concerning positionality (Lincoln, 1995) I declared my aims and purposes and was open about my views on issues related to the topic of this research. This was intended to avoid situations in which participants tried to second-guess my motives or position and respond accordingly, for instance during interviews or observations (Wragg, 2002; Scott and Usher, 1999). Furthermore, I regularly used different views from the literature, government documents and other participants (anonymously) as prompts to enable participants to voice their agreement or disagreement, or to reflect on their opinions and practices. From the start, I expressed my views on the use of corporal punishments vis-à-vis improving pupils' learning attitudes, which found agreement and disagreement, but in some teachers led to reflection on their attitudes and behaviours. This did not stop caning across the schools, but did prompt discussions and a change in behaviour among some staff.

With regard to reflexive critique (Winter, 1987) and critical subjectivity (Lincoln, 1995), I suspected that systematic critical (self-)reflection in the process of school improvement would not be a familiar attitude and practice among Tanzanian primary teachers (ADEA, 2005; Anderson, S., 2002), particularly given the hierarchical organisation of society and schools. Still, through my long-term involvement, trust was built to such an extent that some mutual constructive critical reflection was possible without fear of judgement. It enabled staff to address the common practice of labelling people through preconceived notions (or scripts; see Harber and Davies, 1998) such as 'lazy', 'hard-working', 'Muslim', 'Christian', 'harsh' or 'bad', perceptions of local culture and professional practices being 'communal', 'traditional' or 'African', and assumptions with regard to myself being 'white', 'male', 'Western' and 'educated'.

With regard to collaborative resource (Winter, 1987) and reciprocity (Lincoln, 1995), I held the principled position that staff themselves were responsible for and knowledgeable about their own situation and position in school, as they had to live with the consequences of the changes occurring during school improvement. Staff were always reminded to make conscious choices when engaging in school improvement initiatives for which they were formally accountable. My contributions therefore were always negotiated on the basis of relevance for the school and

individual staff. Similarly, contributions of staff to my research were negotiated on the same basis, meaning that as a team or individually staff only participated in accordance with their interests. With regard to capability, staff had limited experience with participation in research. It was therefore agreed with the headteachers and with staff that their participation in training activities would be a team decision, whereas contribution to data collection through classroom observation and interview, would be decided individually.

Collaboration and Trust

During the two main fieldwork activities, i.e. data collection and supporting staff through training, the level of collaboration between participants and myself varied and depended crucially on the cordial, formal and professional relationships I was able to build up and maintain. With most participants trust was established, which led to intensive collaboration with some, while most others cooperated according to what was mutually agreed. Apart from the headteachers, a small number of other staff in both schools (nine in total) went on their own accord beyond the agreed level of cooperation, alerting me to developments that might bear on the research, assisting me translating material from and into Kiswahili, and occasionally collecting data. A similarly small number of older staff avoided cooperation, unwilling to participate in staff training or to agree to interviews or classroom observations. One teacher simply disliked *wazungu* (Europeans), a second dismissed the research as pointless, while some expressed 'shame' with regard to their abilities as teachers despite assurances that my intentions were not to discredit or blame them. In the presentation of the findings I include their voices in as much as I am able to represent them. I also established working relationships with some individuals beyond the schools, such as in the municipal education office and school inspection office.

Presentation and Confidentiality vs. Transparency

In order to meet the criteria of plural structure (Winter, 1987) and voice (Lincoln, 1995), at the end of the fieldwork I produced an evaluation report which represented my views of the schools' cultures, the improvement processes and their management. The purpose of this report was 1) to elicit verification or contradiction of my findings and conclusions, and 2) to provide the schools with a document to inform further school improvement. It was first discussed with management and teaching staff representing both schools, and after their

approval, with education officers representing the municipal education office and school inspectorate. Subsequently in this thesis, I endeavour to represent the different views among staff and education officers, relate them to theory and other findings, supported by raw data, so a reader can judge their credibility. Aware that my presentation of participant views cannot be free of my own interpretation, I distinguish clearly between my voice and theirs.

A specific presentation issue involves the two ethical principles of transparency vs. confidentiality. In accordance with my philosophical position openness is desirable, as I view participants as professionals in their own right. Furthermore, the study's focus was on 'what works', not on 'who fails' in the management of school improvement. Given the overt nature of my presence and activities in the two schools, involving the management practices of only three headteachers and around a dozen other management and teaching staff and education officers, individuals could easily be identified. At the start of the fieldwork disclosure of identity was negotiated so participants could be given personal acknowledgement for their collaboration. However, as not all participants consented and as some data were presented to me in confidence, anonymity is observed in the presentation of this thesis.

Data Processing and Analysis

Ongoing data processing, analysis and evaluation formed an integral part of this study. First, it provided a direction to ever more focused data collection, homing in on the characteristics of successful school improvement management, while deepening the understanding of staff attitudes and behaviours that underpinned the schools' cultures. Second, in the context of staff training it supported the understanding of existing management and teaching practices, identification of space for possible improvements and informing staff on progress in various improvement initiatives.

The three core models (i.e. the S-P-C, Kigoda and MoC model) [pg.26, 45, 59] guided data collection, processing and analysis. I compared data from different sources, which either confirmed or conflicted with each; both demanding an explanation. Using an iterative process, going backwards and forwards between data and theory, I looked for specific data patterns and themes (Watling, 2002; Ryan and Bernard, 2000; Woodrow, 2000; Miles and Huberman, 1994). This involved, for example, patterns related to school leadership and organisational hierarchy, staff relationships and willingness to subscribe to common goals, resistance to change and the

existence of hidden agendas. Simultaneously, I allowed data 'to speak for itself' (Scott and Usher, 1999), allowing alternative patterns to emerge from the same data, leading to alternative explanations, for which further backing might be found in existing literature. For example, the link between hierarchical leadership and narrow perceptions of school improvement, between professional survival and the risks involved in collaborative learning, and between staff resistance and the need for space to improve emerged from this approach to data analysis. This sometimes meant reinterpretation of earlier data in the light of new information and developments. In accordance with Winter's (1987, 1989) criteria I conducted this iterative process in a dialectical and self-reflective way.

One specific approach to data analysis was the use of force fields to illustrate the available space for change within six improvement initiatives [pg.255]. Morrison, K. (1998:136) describes this method as a means to examine the impact of key 'facilitators' and 'inhibitors' on the management of change, such as leadership, collegial working, organisational health, development planning, external support, ideological commitment or motivation.

Data Collection Focus and Methods

In order to substantiate the credibility of my findings, I used a range of data collection methods: observation, interview, questionnaire, teacher training, document study, fieldnotes and photographs.

Observation

Observation: '...is a holistic approach concerning the observation of 'everyday' events and the description and construction of meaning, rather than reproduction of events' (Moyle, 2002:172) and is therefore a targeted activity. In this study I focussed on improvement management in the classroom and in the school as an organisation, and its relationship with school culture. Planned semi-structured 40 minutes classroom observations were made in conjunction with staff training. During these observations I focused on specific improvement issues, such as teacher-pupil interaction, classroom behaviour control or teacher feedback on pupils' work. Unplanned unstructured observations occurred each time I visited the schools and could last from a few minutes (when witnessing a chance event) to well over two hours (when observing meetings). For the planned observations I designed a general observation sheet

(see Appendix 7), whereas for the unplanned ones I kept notes in a notebook, if I could do so appropriately under the circumstances.

Interview

I held planned and unplanned interviews, both semi-structured and unstructured (Scott and Usher, 1999; Cohen and Mannion, 1994). These had two main purposes: 1) to evaluate in the context of teacher training the implementation of specific improvements in class, and 2) to explore management of school improvement in relation to its school culture context, focusing in particular on individual attitudes and behaviours. Initially, planned semi-structured interviews involved using interview protocols and tape-recordings, but I found that in response to this formal approach, participants, in particular the teaching staff, became very guarded and predictable in their answers, despite assurances of confidentiality. One teacher commented that she felt as if she was sitting for an examination, whereas another explained – long after the interview – that while she was eager to contribute to the research, she did not want her real views recorded on tape.

In hindsight, as levels of trust within Tanzanian society tend to be low [pg.92], building a more trusting relationship with participants might have been needed before inviting them to more formal and structured interviews. I soon changed my approach to a more informal and unstructured style, following locally conventional indirect ways of communication when discussing personal issues. These include: opening with an introduction, talking about related topics (approximately 5 to 10 min of 'small talk'), and the use of humour, dramatic expressions and anecdotes. I also used specific techniques, such as the 'guess who', the 'illustrative event' and the 'projective technique', when discussing 'difficult topics' in interviews (Wragg, 2002:157). These proved very useful when discussing issues such as the use of corporal punishments, deviant behaviour by teachers or religious and ethnic prejudices. I stopped tape recording interviews, but insisted on taking notes to keep track of what was said.

When interviewing teachers (predominantly women), I asked them to choose the location and to keep track of time, as time constraint was often given as reason why staff were not able or willing to participate. The majority lived very intensive lives, balancing a demanding job with income-supplementing activities, the care for husband, children and/or family members, and extensive societal responsibilities (such as attendance of religious, tribal or community events).

In school, most interviews were conducted in offices or classrooms, in full view but out of earshot of passing colleagues. Out of school, interviews were held in offices, restaurants or at people's homes. Over the course of the fieldwork I had many interesting and revealing dinner conversations.

Finally, I usually began an interview by stating my position on the topics discussed and then asked interviewees to respond to my position, to reflect on their own practice and the reasons behind it. Rather than trying to avoid 'interviewer bias' (Wragg, 2002:143) I used the obvious differences between myself and the interviewees to elicit meaning from their words and actions, for example, in relation to corporal punishment. Most interviews were conducted partly in Kiswahili, partly in English. As my command of Kiswahili is not fluent, I mostly interviewed people who had a sufficient command of English in order to reach compatible understanding. As a result I gained most of the interview data from education officers, more qualified staff, and educated parents. Because of technical (communication, use of interpreters) and ethical (gaining parental consent, confidentiality) difficulties, I talked with, but did not interview pupils. Their voice is therefore under-represented in this study. Respondent representation in interviews was further limited to those participants willing to contribute directly to the research. These limitations were to an extent compensated by the data collected through the other methods.

Questionnaire

During the course of data collection and the ongoing analysis I decided to find out specific information on changes over time in teachers' motives and attitudes towards their profession and their views on purpose of education in relation to relevant goals of school improvement. Through a questionnaire I could reach all teachers at once (Cohen and Manion, 1994). With the help of three teachers, the questionnaire was translated into Kiswahili (see Appendix 8). They also piloted the draft versions. Of the 35 staff in each school, 26 in school A (4 male, 22 female) and 23 in school B (1 male, 22 female) returned the questionnaire.

Teacher Training and Participant Accounts

Early in the research I tried to recruit ten staff of each school into keeping a diary in which to record weekly their thoughts on the progress of improvement of a specific agreed topic in their

school. However, teachers were reluctant to commit their views to paper, despite assurances of confidentiality. Changing tack, I decided to elicit participant accounts in the course of the training sessions. Over the academic year 2004, I designed and conducted two series of training sessions on the effects of school environment on pupil behaviour (school A) and on improving pupils' learning attitudes (school B).

In school A, team participation in the study and staff training was stopped due to the collapse of support for the initiative by management and teaching staff [pg.189ff]. With a small group of teachers I continued with fortnightly training sessions on English and teaching methodology for nearly a year [pg.262]. In school B, staff participated as a team in twenty training sessions, each lasting approximately 1½ hours. Sessions involved sharing knowledge, practical activities, discussions, evaluations and on occasion analysis of data, during which staff recorded their views on flip charts and work sheets, which I was allowed to use as part of data collection. These provided valuable information on teachers' values and attitudes towards their profession. I also supported initiatives instigated by individual teachers to improve their practice, and contributed to training on participatory teaching methods in both schools [pg.183].

Document Study

I collected a large number of reports (of government, donor agencies, non-governmental organisations and local academic institutes), school registers (of pupil and teacher attendance), minutes of meetings (of local education committees), local publications on education in Tanzania, as well as official letters, posters, leaflets, forms and exam papers. Their contents form a backdrop to the topic under study, as they reflect the cultural, political and educational positions of the authors and the intended effects on their respective audiences. Some texts were seeking to be accurate, others attempting to paint a particular picture (Cortazzi, 2002). The range of viewpoints served as useful counterpoints to my perspectives on school management, improvement and culture, and those expressed in academic literature and by participants.

Fieldnotes and Photographs

On many occasions where I could not make notes, I would do so as soon as possible afterwards in a journal. These fieldnotes provided over time many of the details and insights

that linked the information collected through the other methods described above. Over the course of the fieldwork, the journals further served as a means to reflect on and record my developing understanding (Morrison, M., 2002b).

With permission of the teachers involved, I took hundreds of pictures of daily proceedings in the classrooms, staff rooms, the school grounds and around the schools. Complementing the fieldnotes, these formed visual reminders of incidents and school conditions. The camera's digital display enabled the teacher to view the pictures immediately. On several occasions I was permitted to keep the pictures, but asked to keep them to myself for '*kumbukumbu*' (lit. memory) only, as they showed practices which teachers felt could 'get them into trouble'. I honour their trust. As acquiring permission from parents was impractical due to the large number of pupils, to protect their identity, pupil's faces have been made unrecognisable (Lodge, 2010). The photos used in this thesis serve as visual illustrations of several of the issues raised.

Having described the combination of data collection methods used, I now turn to the process of selecting the two study schools and describe the various activities which staff and I undertook.

Selection of Study Schools

The rationale for choosing two improving urban primary schools was fourfold. First, studying two schools allowed me to compare their cultures and to distinguish unique from more generic elements in the process of their change. Second, by the turn of the millennium over 30% of Tanzanians lived in urban areas and their numbers were rising (Mascarenhas, 2000). Third, I assumed that in Tanzania developments in education would happen sooner and faster in urban than in rural schools. Also the backgrounds of staff and pupils were likely to be more diverse. Fourth, based on my professional experience within urban primary education, I suspected a cultural contrast between improving schools in disadvantaged and in well-off areas of towns.

After having been granted permission to conduct educational research in Tanzania, access to the schools was negotiated with the Dodoma municipal education office during a pilot visit in December 2002. Prospective schools were visited and headteachers interviewed. On return in August 2003 I was presented with a list of eight which were deemed improving in accordance with local standards. The two main criteria used were 1) improvement of school performance in

national examinations, and/or 2) continued improvement in the schools' management in comparison to preceding years. After analysis of baseline data from all eight schools, I selected one with a low ranking in local performance league tables (school A) and one with a high ranking (school B). Other criteria were their demographic location within Dodoma Urban, cooperative attitude of the headteachers towards the purpose, foci and activities of the research, their eagerness to improve their schools, assured unrestricted access to staff, and the extent to which the schools' development plans incorporated cultural changes to either managerial or pedagogical practices. Also, according to available statistics both schools were average in terms of size, pupil intake, staff composition and resourcing compared to other urban state primary schools (GoT, 2003b; Sumra, 2004) A detailed profile of the two schools I present in the next chapter.

Overview Fieldwork Activities

Once I had selected the two schools, I made further arrangements with the headteachers on my role and position, and on the various procedures involved in this study. Fig. 3.2 shows a schedule of the various fieldwork activities between August 2003 and June 2005.

Fig. 3.2: Overview Fieldwork Activities

<i>Period</i>	<i>Activities</i>
August – December 2003	Selecting the two study schools Negotiating data collection and facilitation activities with headteachers and staff Selecting the topic for the self-generated school improvement initiative Preparing the implementation of the initiatives in both schools Identifying other improvement initiatives Data collection and analysis
Academic year 2004	Implementation of improvement initiatives Staff training sessions and ongoing evaluation Classroom observations and follow-up interviews Support to team and individual teachers Data collection and analysis
January – May 2004	Staff training sessions Support to team and individual teachers Evaluation of various school improvement initiatives and questionnaire Data collection and analysis

Personal circumstances prevented me from visiting the schools during 10 out of 65 available school weeks, giving me effectively 55 school weeks (= 85%) to conduct the various research activities (see Fig. 3.3).

Fig. 3.3: Totals of activities in the two schools

Activities	School A	School B	Total
School visits	128	114	242
Classroom Observations	26	23	49
Arranged Interviews	32	24	56
Training Sessions	32	20	52
Individual Consultations	4	2	6
Questionnaire Returns	26	23	49

NB. The totals do not include many unscheduled observations and interviews

Self-generated School Improvement Initiatives

In the context of the action research component, it was agreed with the headteachers that my contribution to their school's improvement would involve the following:

1. As a team, staff select a school-specific topic for school improvement which they deem realistically achievable within one academic year (see below).
2. Staff is responsible for the initiative's implementation and continuation, which should not interfere with performance requirements set by local education officers and school inspectors.
3. I provide knowledge and skills training on the chosen topic in support of staff. This includes team training sessions, classroom observations and follow-up interviews.
4. I do not provide any financial contribution, apart from supplying resources for the staff development training that I conduct.
5. On request by individual management and teaching staff, I can also be consulted as practitioner and researcher on other school improvement initiatives.

Given my interest in the effect of school culture (i.e. staff attitudes and behaviours) on school improvement and its management process, the selected topic had to involve changes to the physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions [pg.45].

Topic Selection

Using a priority selection grid (Appendix 9), staff in school A chose to focus on addressing the negative effects of the schools' environment on pupils' learning and behaviour, such as regular and long-term absenteeism, tiredness of pupils, lack of concentration in class, lack of motivation to study for national exams and to do homework, lack of care for school materials and school uniforms or uncaring behaviour towards other pupils. In school B, staff chose to focus on improving pupils' learning attitudes, which they identified as still wanting, despite being a locally successful school. These ranged from self-confidence, love for the subject, eagerness to learn, diligence to curiosity and creativity. In the Findings chapter, I elaborate on staff rationale for these two initiatives, improvement actions undertaken by them, and the perceived changes after one academic year.

The relevance of my philosophical stance on social research, and the applicability of the combination of action research and case study as research approaches, can be further judged in light of the extensive profiles of the two study schools, focusing in particular on their cultures. These form the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: FIELDWORK SETTING

Introduction

Although in this thesis I focus in particular on the influence of staff attitudes and behaviours towards school improvement and the management of change, I reiterate my argument that the schools' organisational cultures cannot be divorced from their structures and power-distribution [pg.26]. I begin therefore with a brief general profile of the two schools as educational organisations, highlighting some salient concrete, structural and power-related school conditions, including the procedural arrangements related to the teaching and learning process and school management. Then, using Prosser's (1999) categorisation of school cultures, I provide a 'thick description' (Denzin, 2001; Geertz, 1973) of some aspects of the cultures in both schools that influenced the management of school improvement. I concentrate on hierarchical, traditional and divergent cultures beyond the schools that influenced their 'wider' cultures, and on divisions among staff that marked their unique, generic and perceived ones. This description of the fieldwork setting forms the background which frames the discussion of the findings.

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School A: Buildings housing 4 to 6 classrooms

SCHOOL PROFILES

Profile School A

School A was situated close to the centre of Dodoma, an average Tanzanian town in size (approximately 90,000 inhabitants; NBS, 2000) and appearance, despite being regional capital and the country's official political capital. Immediately surrounding the school were large markets, various saw mills and other small-scale industries, shops, cafes, a busy through-road, a military parade ground and a football stadium.

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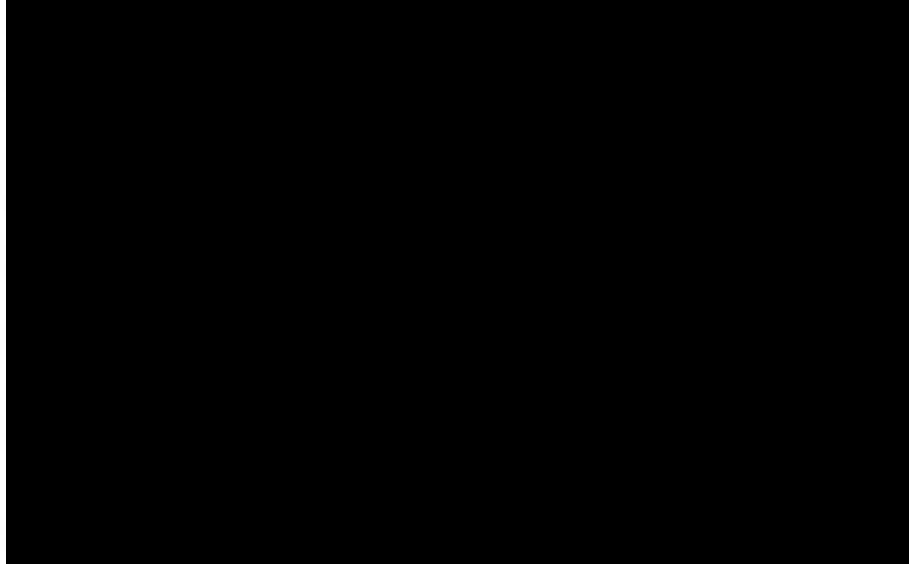


School A: A busy through-road runs next to the school boundary

The school had no school fence, which allowed local residents to pass through the school grounds unhindered, and children to leave the school compound unnoticed. Staff saw the school environment as unsuitable for learning, its distractions enticing the pupils to regularly spend time away from class.

Its buildings were in various states of disrepair, although with funds allocated in the context of PEDP-I, some repairs were undertaken and the blackboards were re-coated.

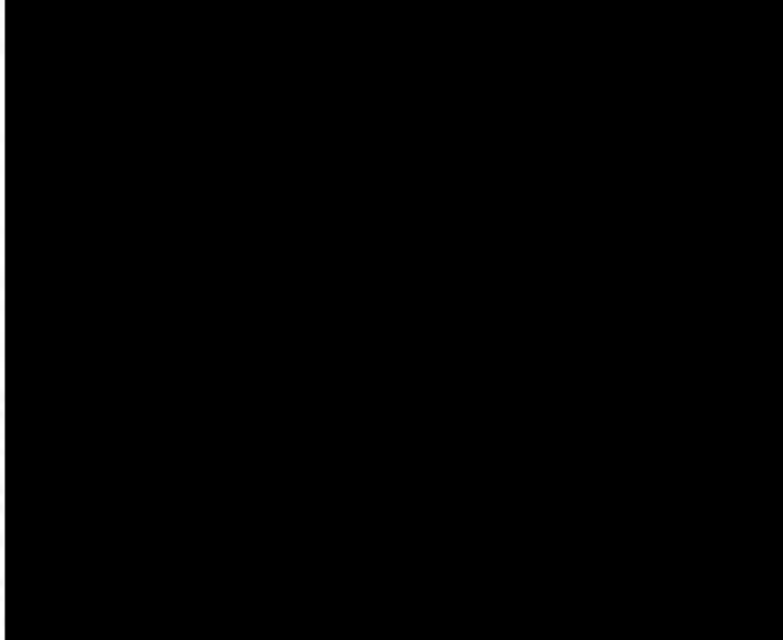
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School A: Store room annex office space

Over the course of 2004 the school received new textbooks for nearly all subjects, to be used by the pupils in a ratio of 1:3. Nearly all other teaching and learning resources, few as they were, were handmade (and often paid for) by the teachers. The classrooms were bare, as all resources were kept in a store room or taken home by teachers for safekeeping.

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School A: Demonstration during a Standard V Arts & Crafts lesson

The school officially enrolled around 900 pupils per year, the majority of whom lived near the school and socio-economically came from the most disadvantaged homes. Cooperation from and with parents was considered by staff as minimal. Many of the pupils were compelled to

assist in raising income for the family, resulting in intermittent and long-term absenteeism. Records were not reliably kept, but staff estimated that 10 to 50% of pupils regularly stayed away from school.

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School A: Staffroom with tea on the boil

As in many urban primary schools, the majority of staff were female (Claussen and Assad, 2010; Sumra, 2004). Of the 37 staff, five classroom teachers were male. Three staff members were on permanent leave for reasons of sickness or otherwise.

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School A: Some parents cannot afford a new uniform

The school had a sketchy history in terms of quality of management and educational performance and had a reputation of being a 'difficult' school. Over the previous 4 years only around 30% of pupils managed to pass the Primary School Leaver's exam (PSLE).

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School improvement in school A: a security grill has been installed on the door of the headteachers' office

In order to improve its managerial and educational quality several experienced staff had been transferred to the school. However, among them were a number of demoted headteachers and other senior staff, some of whom considered working in this school as a 'punishment' [Int/T34/A:24/12/2003; Field/B:24/04/2004; Int/MEO:16/12/2003].

Since 1998 several headteachers had followed each other in quick succession. The headteacher present at the start of the fieldwork in 2003 had been appointed in May 2002 to improve the school academically. However, unable to establish her managerial authority, in January 2005 she was replaced.

Profile School B

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School B: One of the two entrances in the school fence

Less than 3km away, school B was located in one of the better-situated residential areas of the town. Despite overdue maintenance resulting from lack of adequate funds, the buildings, grounds and gardens were well-kept. Outside the school fence was a large, safe play area for the pupils.

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School B: Pupils on their way to class

As in school A, the school was being supplied with new textbooks and some repairs to the buildings were in progress. Also here resource levels were low and classrooms were bare.

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School B: Nursery class

The school yearly enrolled around 1300 pupils from all over Dodoma Urban. The majority of the pupils were from socio-economically relatively secure home backgrounds, in which at least one parent had a regular income above the local minimum living standard (approximately US\$ 75/month in 2004). Furthermore, many parents had achieved some level of education themselves and were said to compel their children to put effort into their school work. Cooperation from and with parents was considered by staff to be relatively good.

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School B: Buildings with 10-pit toilet block, serving 1300 pupils

Of the 37 staff, only one teacher was male and three were on permanent leave.

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School B: Staffroom with teacher marking work

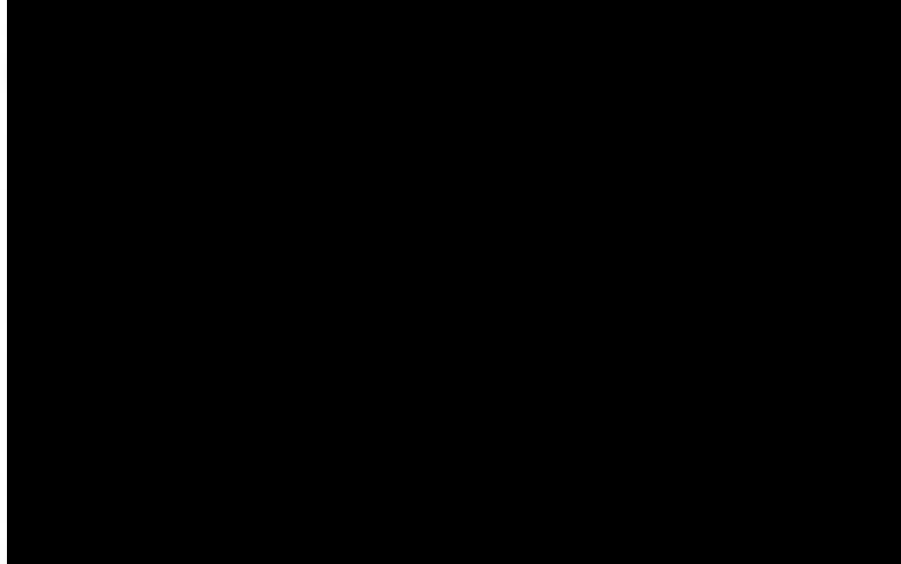
School B had a reputation of being among the best schools in the district. This reputation did not only concern the performance in national examinations and the percentage of pupils selected for state secondary education, but also the school's general atmosphere and its efforts to improve year on year.

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School B: Storeroom annex office space, with damaged ceiling due to rain

School improvement in this school was seen as improving on a situation which was already relatively good. This was partly due to the relative consistency of its management staff. The headteacher had been in office since 1998.



School improvement in school B: a school shop selling drinks, sweets, pens, notebooks and mobile phone top-up cards

Pedagogical and Managerial Organisation

As comprehensive changes to school conditions, aimed at enhancing the school's educational and organisational quality, are central to school improvement (Hopkins, 2001), I now briefly mention some existing pedagogical and managerial arrangements, on which I elaborate in the Findings chapter when discussing management of change. Given the strongly hierarchical nature of the Tanzanian education system, this description includes arrangements up to district level.

Pedagogical Arrangements

Regarding pedagogical arrangements I limit myself here to the compulsory curriculum, daily timetable, methods of instruction, use of resources and school rules.

Curriculum

The schools' curriculum consisted of subject syllabi. Examination subjects were Kiswahili, English, Mathematics and Science. Additional subjects were Civic studies (including History and Geography), Arts & Crafts (including speciality topics such as Agriculture, Carpentry, Drama and Sports) and Religion (separate for Christians and Muslims). In previous national education reforms several subjects had been lumped together (Babyegeya, 2000; Osaki,

2000), requiring staff who had specialised in only one of its constituents to be able to teach all. Staff circumvented this as much as possible by swapping periods with more knowledgeable colleagues. Where skills and resources were unavailable, compulsory topics such as agriculture were taught as pen-and-paper exercises. Both schools also had a nursery and a MEMKWA class (a fast-track class for pupils starting Standard I when ten years or older). Formally, pupils attended seven years of primary school, enrolling in Standard I at the age of seven.

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School A: Standard VI pupils listening to explanation and taking notes

Timetable and Class Size

The teaching and learning process was formally organised according to how secondary schools operate in Western countries. Only the teachers of Standard I and II had their 'own' class to whom they taught all subjects (e.g. reading, writing, arithmetic). From Standard III, teachers taught in different classes during the day. National examinations were held at the end of Standard IV and VII. Due to the large number of pupils in both schools and the limited number of available classrooms (15 in school B and 14 in school A), Standard I and II were taught in the afternoon from 14:00 till 17.30 in six 30 minute periods (i.e. 15 hours of contact time per week). Standard III to VII were taught between 07:00 and 13:00 during 8 periods of 40 minutes each (i.e. 26h40 per week). Some subjects were allocated double periods on one day, allowing teacher and pupils more time for instruction and application of knowledge and skills. Allocation of classes to teachers depended on their subject capability. Better qualified teachers were allocated the examination classes.

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School A: A science lesson on 'Healthy Foods': Available teaching resources were limited to the blackboard, homemade posters and demonstration material the teacher bought herself.

Each Standard had two or three streams, with on average 64 pupils in school A and 87 in school B in each stream. However, due to high levels of pupil absenteeism, the largest single classes I saw during classroom observations had 60 [Obs/T1/S2/A:01/03/2004] and 73 pupils [Obs/T14/S6/B:27/10/2003] in school A and B respectively. On occasion, younger teachers were compelled to cover for absent older colleagues while having to teach their own classes, which could double class size to well over 100 [Obs/T24/S3/A:20/02/2004; Obs/T4/S7/B:13/02/2004].

Teaching Approach

Due to the short time per period, as well as the prescribed approach to lesson planning, lessons were nearly always constructed and conducted in a similar fashion (see lesson planning sheet; Appendix 10). As most subject knowledge was transmitted in a theoretical way, the 'lecture', 'drill' and 'question-and-answer' methods of teaching were most commonly used, making listening, memorisation and reproduction of knowledge the most common learning

activities. Furthermore, these approaches arguably made it easier for the teachers to control their (large) classes.

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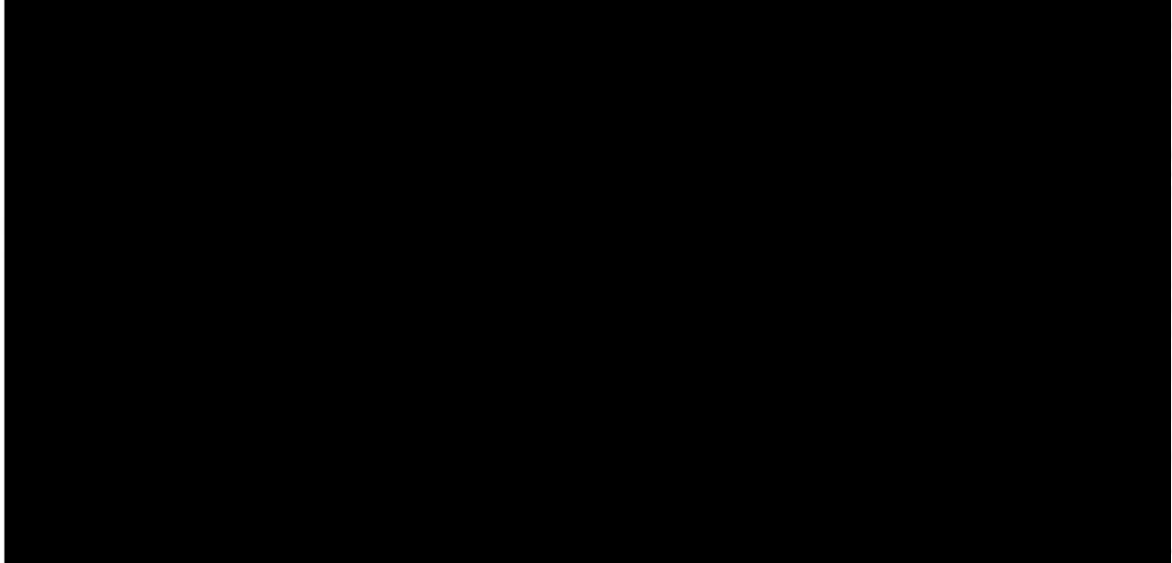
School A: Questions and answers during an English lesson

Some staff did occasionally use more participatory and activity-based forms of teaching, such as drama, project work, excursions and demonstrations. Time was often lacking to develop mental skills (e.g. mental maths, debate, logical reasoning, creativity); resources lacked to develop practical skills. I saw none of the staff intentionally developing pupils' learning skills, other than recall.

Socialisation and Pupil Discipline

Developing pupil attitudes and behaviour with regard to learning and life within and beyond school was not part of the schools' curriculum, with the exception of certain topics within Civics and Religion. They were mostly developed through the unplanned unpremeditated actions of the teaching staff; i.e. the schools' 'not-so-hidden curriculum' (Alexander, 2000). Pupil attitudes were only considered in terms of obedient and compliant behaviour, both socially and towards learning [pg.32]. This was expressed in the schools' rules (Appendix 11), enacted in teaching approaches, and in the formal and informal methods of maintaining submissiveness as interpretation of pupil discipline. For example, corporal punishment was used in a far wider variety and intensity [pg.200] than was legally authorised (Appendix 12).

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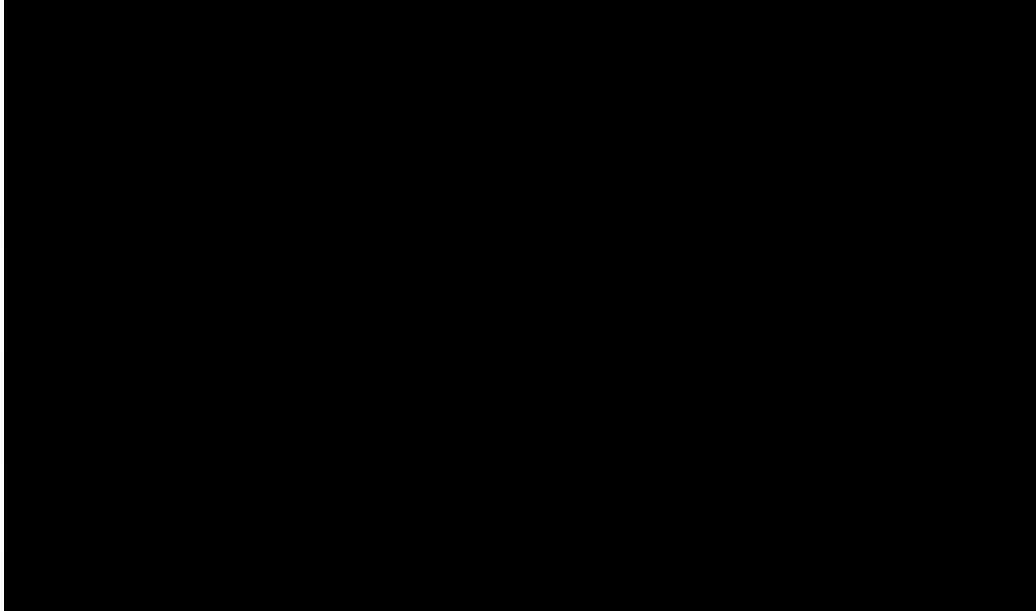


School B: Punishment for a noisy class during morning assembly

Managerial Arrangements

With regard to the daily running of the schools, I limit myself here to issues bearing on the findings. These concern the formal and informal distribution of power within and beyond the school, including how management tasks and accountability were distributed. I also mention staff composition, teacher-pupil ratio and staff discipline.

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School B: Headteacher addressing staff during training

Power Distribution

Within the local bureaucratic-hierarchical education system, authority and accountability in running the two schools were unequally distributed. Any major decision concerning the school was either made by or required sanction from education officers at district level, monitored by school inspectors. This meant that like all their urban and rural colleagues, the headteachers frequently had to spend hours at the municipal education office, waiting to see a superior. Despite some decentralisation of power under PEDP-I from the district offices to ward education officers and the school committees, their influence in the school was markedly small. School staff were held accountable for the prompt execution of district-level directives.

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School A: During celebrations the youngest female teacher serves her colleagues

As low-ranking line managers in this system, the headteachers were held accountable for running and developing their schools. Still, in some instances they distributed genuine management responsibility to senior management staff, such as the two deputy headteachers and the Academic Committee. This committee was responsible for the academic quality of education in accordance with requirements of the school inspectorate, consisted of six subject coordinators and was led by the school's Academic Teacher. Management tasks were distributed among the teaching staff in addition to their teaching responsibilities (see Appendix 13), for which they were fully accountable to the headteachers. On the Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1973) continuum of decision-making power (Appendix 6), school B could be positioned as relatively more subordinate-orientated than school A, due to the consultative management approach of its headteacher [pg.190ff].

Parallel to formal authority, which linked the schools' formal regulations and procedures to their formal values and practices, several staff in both schools wielded considerable informal influence among their colleagues. This influence was determined by age-related societal position, professional qualification and experience, ethnic affiliation, socio-economic status, political connectedness and in some instances the pursuit of non-educational purposes (see also part two of this chapter). With more convergence occurring between formal and informal use of power in school B, its functioning occurred more smoothly.

Staff Composition and Teacher-Pupil Ratio

Staff were not recruited and appointed by the school committee, but posted by the municipal education office. They were generally divided equally over the local schools in terms of age, qualification and experience. As a result staff composition in both schools was very similar (Appendix 13). Headteachers had little control over staff retention or building a collaborative team over time.

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School A: Standard IV pupils: three in a bench, copying work from the board

Despite large class sizes, the teacher-pupil ratio in both schools was well below the officially recommended maximum of 1:45 (i.e. 1:24 and 1:35 in school A and B respectively), which is a trend similar to urban schools nation-wide (Claussen and Assad, 2010; Sumra, 2004). As a result, individual staff taught on average 25 of the time-tabled 40 periods per week (see also Sumra, 2004). The remainder of their time was taken up predominantly with marking pupils' work.

Staff Discipline

In the existing hierarchical system, ensuring staff compliance and discipline relied on systematic monitoring of staff presence and performance. When necessary, coercive measures were applied, rather than appealing to staff's own sense of responsibility and professionalism. Every morning staff in both schools had to sign the staff presence record as well as the Class Book for each lesson taught. Management staff regularly checked that all classes were taught according to the time-table and by the designated teacher. The Academic Committee checked teachers' lesson plans weekly, and pupils' work four times per year. Progress through the subject syllabus was recorded to prevent staff not covering all required topics. Informally, hierarchical order among (the nearly all female) staff was to some extent also maintained through the communal adherence to societal rules and norms, such as reverence to age [pg.175].

These pedagogical and managerial arrangements formed part of the school conditions, which determined the achievability of school improvement. However, many school conditions could not easily be changed for two reasons: rigidity and unpredictability.

Rigid and Unpredictable School Conditions

Many physical-material and technical-procedural conditions [pg.45] on which school improvement depended were either firmly fixed or highly unstable. Some rigid conditions were: enduring lack of funds and resources, vicious cycles of under-performance caused by poor management and learning skills, prescribed and enforced procedures for teaching and school management, and formal and informal hierarchical power-relationships among staff. Unreliable conditions were: availability of water and electricity, health and attendance of staff and pupils, changes in subject syllabi and teacher guides, and directives and counter-directives related to

the school's daily running and improvement initiatives, as issued or retracted by local education authorities and school inspectors. Rigidity and unpredictability also occurred in the schools' cultural-attitudinal conditions, which I discuss below.

SCHOOL CULTURES

Due to the complexity of school culture and limitations to this thesis, I focus my description of the cultures of the two schools on those features that bear most significantly on scope of school improvement and the management of the changes involved. Based on Prosser's (1999) categorisation of school cultures, I distinguish between the external systemic and societal influences which strongly determined the 'wider' aspects of the schools' cultures, and the divisions among staff which influenced aspects of the schools' internal ones.

External Cultures

The cultures within the national and local education system formed formal and informal contexts which schools could not escape given their formally subordinate position as state-run educational organisations. The schools' 'wider' culture (Prosser, 1999) was also determined by at least three societal contexts: socio-economic, religious and ethnic.

National and Local System Cultures

The education system's formal and informal cultures could be gleaned from formally espoused values in national education policies and programs, and from more informal practices when school staff interacted with authority figures within the system.

National education policies and programs describe an intended shift in the education system's structures, cultures and power-distributions from strongly hierarchical-bureaucratic to more decentralised and participatory (GoT, 2006b, 2001, 1999a; 1997). However, during the execution of PEDP-I newspapers regularly reported on lack of progress, citing for example: not taking teachers' problems and professionalism seriously, and issuing empty promises (*The Guardian*; 24/09/2002; 24/11/2002; *The East African*, 28/05/2001), banning pupils from participating in school development committees (*The Business Times*; 12/12/2003), parents remaining unaware of the purposes of PEDP-I and the plan failing children with disabilities

(Magubira and Swedi; in; *The Daily News*, 16/01/2004), mismanagement of funds (*The Family Mirror*, 04/11/2003; *The Daily News*, 29/11/2003) and briefly banning a leading education NGO from criticising the government on its efforts to improve education (*The Sunday Observer*, 09/10/2005). These reports point to a divergence between espoused values and actual practices.

Also, personal observations indicate the existence of a covert culture (in conjunction with informal structures and power-relationships) within the education system at national level. During the fieldwork period several teachers of both schools made trips to Dar es Salaam, bypassing local education authorities, to persuade ministry officials to grant favours for themselves, their children or their families [Int/T31/B:27/07/2004] [Field/A:20/08/2004]. For reasons of confidentiality I cannot reveal details, however this suggests that the system is less consistent, incorruptible and policy-driven than it is purported to be.

At municipal and ward level, the system culture appeared even more unclear and inconsistent. Parallel to its formal S-P-C complex, an informal system existed that influenced or over-ruled formal regulations, procedures, decisions and authority. However, even after two years of fieldwork, as a foreign researcher I was unable to fully assess the extent of this informal S-P-C complex and its influence. I have therefore no strong evidence on whether the parallel system was well-organised or more the coincidental gross result of many day-to-day informal actions by individuals.

Still, its pervasiveness indicated something much larger and profound than simply a few 'bad apples' occasionally diverging from an otherwise formally correct functioning system. Due to a contrasting mix of attitudes, behaviours and actions, the way in which local education officers individually performed their duties arguably resulted in an inconsistent system. Irrespective of their position of authority, some staff could be authoritarian, controlling, arbitrary, corrupt, disrespectful, uncaring and penalising, while others were responsive, encouraging, proactive, cooperative, acknowledging, committed and principled. This mix of attitudes can be deduced from incidents during the fieldwork period. Again, for reasons of confidentiality not many details can be given. Examples of divergence between espoused formal and experienced informal culture were:

- A teacher being physically assaulted by an education officer at the municipal education office when complaining about a work-related issue [Field:15/04/2004].
- A teacher reportedly not being paid salary for five months as she refused to pay 'commission' to the accountant in charge [Int/T33/A:30/11/2004].
- Staff ordered to march during a national holiday rally where the country's president was due to attend [Field/A:09/12/2003].
- Pupils ordered to clear stones from a military parade ground where the rally was to take place (Allegedly the stone were to be used for the construction of a classroom, although no additional building material or labour was ever provided) [Field/A:17/11/2003].
- Teaching staff ordered to carry out demographic surveys in their neighbourhood on behalf of the municipal office without financial compensation [Field/A:13/11/2003, 08/11/2004, 08/12/2004].
- The monthly payment of teacher salaries seldom being on time [Field/A:01/06/2004, 31/08/2004; Field/B:26/10/2004; Int/T32/A:30/12/2004].
- A female teacher transferred to school A, using her influence in the municipal education office to be deployed elsewhere [Int/T34/A:24/12/2003; Int/MAO:01/03/2005].
- Reporting inaccurate information about the progress of PEDP-I, such as exaggerating the provision of education to disadvantaged children and the number of pupils enrolled in the schools (DMC, 2004).
- Punitive action against a headteacher who refused to use school funds to provide visiting officials with meals [Int/MEO/20/04/2004].
- Bribery in the allocation of secondary school places to primary school leavers [Field:10/11/2003, 22/11/2003].
- No full allocation of Capitation Grant funds to both study schools [Field/A:21/10/2003; Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005; Field/B:25/11/2004].
- The authoritarian and directive approach by school inspectors during inspections and teacher training days [Field/A:05/04/2005; Field/B:24/03/2004, 30/03/2004; Int/SI2:08/04/2004].
- Lack of action by the municipal education office on the basis of school inspection reports [Int/SI1:28/04/2004].
- The lack of freedom of the schools' headteachers to use school funds without personal approval of the district education officer (DEO) [Field/B:09/11/2004; Int/DEO:14/01/2005].
- Only sporadically consulting staff on municipal level decisions affecting teachers' lives or working conditions [Int/HT/B:03/12/2003; Int/MAO:01/03/2005].

Many of the divergent examples were not necessarily malicious or corrupt. Possibly they resulted from either lack of professional capability or from local understandings and interpretations of the formal structures, values, practices and power-relationships. Parallel to divergence, convergence also occurred between practices of system staff and values of the formal system culture. These were:

- Change in payment procedure of teacher salaries directly to teachers' bank accounts, rather than in person by the municipal accountants [Field:01/06/2004] [Int/Lucy:29/05/2004].
- Formation of a Municipal Academic Committee to identify issues for school improvement and advise municipal schools on adequate approaches [Field:23/03/2004].
- Ward level initiatives to encourage sharing of good practice between neighbouring schools [Field/B:24/04/2003].
- Ward level election and rewarding of 'best teachers' by colleagues [Field:01/05/2004; Int/HT/B:05/10/2004].
- Support by key personnel for more effective management and participatory pedagogy at the schools [Int/MAO:24/05/2005; Int/REO:27/04/2004].

The observed divergence between formal and informal values and practices reflected Chabal en Daloz's (1999) assertion on informalisation of formal government systems in African countries (see also: Baxter *et al*, 2001) and the notion of schools as 'bureaucratic façades' (Harber and Davies, 1998). However, several teachers and municipal education officers reported anecdotally that overt divergence from the official system occurred less in urban areas like Dodoma due to stronger public control [Int/DH2/B:22/04/2004, 08/02/2005; Int/MEO: 17/01/2005] .

The extent to which this divergence affected the quality of provision of state education within schools deserves further research. It may well explain much of the inertia and rigidity preventing their improvement. Conversely, the way in which formal and informal S-P-C complexes can operate in conjunction may equally provide insights into possible space for change. For example, school B improved successfully partly as a result from the support it received from the locally influential people whose children it educated.

The second set of influences on the schools' cultures came from the communities in which the schools were embedded.

Societal Cultures

The three most notable societal cultures affecting the two Dodoma schools stemmed from the local socio-economic, religious and ethnic background of pupils and staff. Although not meticulously kept and subject to possible fraudulent administration, the school registers provided rough indicators on all three contexts (see Appendix 14). Figure 4.1 shows intake details of the Standard VII pupils over the academic year 2003.

Fig. 4.1: Information on Standard VII Pupils' Home Background, 2003

Information on Pupils' Home Background	School A	School B
Number of pupils	93 pupils	212 pupils
Socio-economic status • Living area in Dodoma (<i>status determined according to house prices, rent and availability of housing</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poorest areas⁽¹⁾, 80%⁽²⁾ • 'Better off' areas, 0% • Other, 20% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poorest areas, 20% • 'Better off' areas, 40% • Other, 40%
Socio-economic status • Occupation of father or carer	(<i>data unavailable; headteachers' estimate</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High status position/employment⁽³⁾, 0% • Lower status position/employment, 50% • Lowest status / unemployed, 50% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High status position/employment, 40% • Lower status position/employment, 40% • Lowest status / unemployed, 20%
Religion • Christian • Muslim • Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30% • 70% • none reported 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 75% • 25% • none reported
Ethnic affiliation • Tribe of father	(<i>data unreliable; headteachers' estimate</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wagogo and Warangi: 50% • Other: 50% 	In total 52 different tribal origins, of which Wagogo and Warangi: 15% Wachagga and Wapare: 20% Other: 65%

1. Examples of 'better-off' areas were the suburbs called 'Area C' and 'Area D', with paved roads and houses of good standard. House rent was relatively high. Supply of water and electricity were rarely interrupted. Typical occupants: government officials, business people and expatriates. In contrast, in areas like Maili Mbili, most roads were unpaved, houses were small, mud and corrugated iron structures, with virtually no electricity supply and

water from communal taps. House or room rent were low. Typical occupants: people with low status or no employment, among which some of the teachers of school A and B. Many had large numbers of dependants.

2. *As the registers in both schools were not accurately kept, all percentages are approximate.*
3. *Examples of high status employment were leading government officials, leading business people and managers of companies, higher education colleges or parastatals. Examples of lower status employment were low ranking government and business workers, such as teachers, domestic workers, shop keepers, hotel and restaurant staff. Examples of lowest status employment are subsistent farmers, day labourers, hawkers and food sellers.*

Socio-Economic Backgrounds

Within both schools the differences between socio-economically disadvantaged and more advantaged pupils and staff were observable in various ways. Among pupils they were visible in the quality and repair of their school uniforms, the private supply of learning materials and school kit, and the means to buy meals during break times. The majority of children in school A were from disadvantaged homes (daily income below Tsh.1500 \approx US\$1.50), whereas in school B the majority came from homes where at least one parent earned a regular income at locally sustainable level (approximately Tsh.5000 \approx US\$5 per day) or above. According to teachers, around 20% (school B) and 50% (school A) of the pupils would repeatedly arrive without having had breakfast. In Lister's (2004) terms, more children in school A were in or close to 'unacceptable material hardship' than in school B. Teachers in both schools estimated that 10 to 20% of the children were orphans, living under the care of older siblings or grandparents, while a larger number lived in single parent households (usually with mother) [Int/HT1/A:03/11/2003; Int/DH2/B:05/11/2003].

Also health-wise there were differences among pupils in the two schools. A small-scale survey conducted by the Municipal Health Department, supported by the WHO, focusing on the occurrence of symptoms of Bilharzia, indicated that in school A between 60 and 100% of children were regularly suffering from headaches, fever, stomach aches, diarrhoea, and coughing (especially among the youngest ones), whereas this was between 30 and 50% in school B (see Appendix 15). I noticed how little the children drank in the hot, dusty conditions, despite both schools being connected to the town's allegedly safe water supply. As the survey indicated that many children complained about regular headaches (on average in school B:

60% and school A: 90%), while occurrence of diseases like malaria was relatively low, simple dehydration could be a factor affecting children's learning in class. In school B some children had the means to buy bottled water, ice lollies or fizzy drinks from the school shop or nearby food sellers [Kisw: *mama ntilie*]. No statistical information was available with regard to the effects of HIV/Aids on the school population. Two teachers in each school received training as HIV/Aids counsellors, but during the fieldwork period only one child in school A allegedly carried the virus. The child's grandmother preferred to take him out of school rather than having him tested. In general, carrying the virus was considered a great shame, and death by the disease was only rumoured [Field/A:08/03/2004; 16/03/2004].

Nearly all staff in both schools considered themselves 'poor' to some extent, even though there were marked differences in personal wealth. At least one female teacher came to school by car, while several others lived in good accommodation, wore expensive clothing and possessed luxury items, such as colour TVs or computers, despite the fact that average teacher salaries ranged between US\$90 and US\$180 per month gross [Field/A:05/03/2004; Field/B:25/10/2004, 14/10/2004; Int/T31/A:12/03/2005]. Several supplemented their income through small scale 'projects' (Kisw: *miradi*), such as holding live stock, growing cash crops or having a small business [Int/T31/A:23/01/2005]. Only those whose earnings barely allowed them the minimum living standard (approximately US\$ 75 per month), occasionally suffered some form of 'unacceptable material hardship' (Lister, 2004) [Field:30/12/2004, 03/01/2005; Field/A:15/03/2004; Int/T31/B:23/03/2004].

Less advantaged teachers lived in less developed areas where cheaper housing was available, yet often far from school (up to 5 km), which involved long walks or relatively expensive minibus travel. Only a few had free housing on the school's compound. Some apologised for the clothes they wore or the food they ate, claiming they did not have additional sources of income. Nevertheless, all made conscious efforts to appear smart when in school. Nearly all teachers owned a mobile telephone. Some owned the latest models available on the world market, worth 2 to 3 months' wages, and which were proudly shown round the staffroom. Allegedly some teachers arranged to be rung during staff meetings for this reason alone [Field/A:30/10/2003; 20/01/2005; Field/B:25/11/2004; Int/T31/B:23/03/2004].

Socio-economic status was associated by some to the religious background of staff and pupils. In formal and informal conversations, local Christian and Muslim Tanzanians noted that

relatively more wealthy inhabitants of Dodoma were predominantly Christian, whereas Islam had become increasingly popular among poorer segments of the population [Field/B: 28/06/2004; Int/T34/A:29/12/2003; Int/REO:06/05/2004]. This matched what has been described for the whole country (Magesa, 2007; Bondarenko, 2004; Sumra, 2001).

Religious Backgrounds

Although Tanzania is officially a secular country, religious affiliation distinguished staff and pupils in both schools. Although views related to religion were regularly expressed openly, negative opinions about colleagues related to their religion were voiced only sporadically. With regard to the pupils and their parents however, Christian staff appeared more often negative about Muslims than vice versa. In school A, with a majority of Muslim pupils, this phenomenon was even stronger than in school B, which had a majority of Christians. Although still a minority, school A (14 out of 37) had more Muslim teachers than school B (6 out of 37). During teacher training sessions and in conversations with Christian teachers and education officers examples of expressed opinions were:

Islam is a threat because it grows fast in Dodoma. Muslims produce more children than Christians [Int/MEO:04/06/2004].

Muslim pupils are slow learners (*Kisw: mzito*), as they are not stimulated to think. They are told to follow the Qur'an blindly. They just memorise [Int/T31/A:23/12/2003].

They [*Muslim children*] are less developed, because they are used to sit on the ground at home and in the Madrassas [Train/A:20/11/2003].

Muslim children are less willing to learn, as their parents don't stimulate them. The parents are more interested in making money and use their children to support the family income [Train/A:28/11/2003].

Muslim girls stay less 'developed' as they marry and bear children young and leave education, even at primary school level [Int/T31/B:20/03/2004].

Conversely, in their opinions about Christians pupils, parents and colleagues, Muslim teachers were more defensive than accusing:

The Christians are wrong about us. They think they know better [Field/A:17/03/2004].

We don't discriminate them in the way they discriminate us, but one day we will be respected [Int/T16/A:23/02/2004].

There is no difference between Christian and Muslim pupils. Their parents are equally poor, so they have the same problems at home [Field/B:28/06/2004].

Although physical punishments were more common in school A than in school B, teachers did not link this directly to religion but to pupils' 'bad' behaviour (such as lack of concentration in class, truancy, lack of respect for the teachers or not doing homework). However, seeing Muslim values and lifestyle as less conducive to formal schooling, some Christian teachers may regard 'bad' behaviour as being caused by religion [Int/T34/A:29/12/2003].

Other incidents indicated how religious affiliation affected school culture. In December 2003, Muslim teachers in both schools were aggrieved by the refusal of the (Christian) Municipal Council director to allow early payment of salary, so they could honour their religious and cultural obligations at the end of Ramadhan, including buying new clothes and gifts for their children. Many teachers (Muslim and Christian) expressed their dismay and attributed the refusal to religious intolerance, even though municipal officers claimed that the salaries had not yet arrived from the Ministry of Finance in Dar es Salaam [Field:26/11/2003]. Early 2004, the period roster in both schools was adapted to allow Muslim teachers to leave early for the mosque on Fridays [Field/A:23/03/2004; Field/B:18/02/2004].

Even though no-one admitted to be actively involved with local medicine men or women, on at least three occasions teacher behaviour was related by colleagues to having made use of their practices. In one incident, a teacher appeared in school with characteristic cut marks on her arms (multiple small incision made with a razorblade) [Field/A:04/05/2004]. On two other occasions a senior member of staff was absent for a week, officially ill, but said to be seeking spiritual consultation in her home town related to private difficulties [Field/A:09/11/2004, 16/11/2004, 10/01/2005].

Also ethnic origin differentiated staff and pupils, in particular when seen in conjunction with socio-economic and religious background.

Ethnic Backgrounds

Ethnic groups in Tanzania are referred to locally as 'tribes' and each has its own cultural traditions and language. Tribal affiliation is strong, and many Tanzanians identify themselves both by ethnic origin and nationality. Both school buildings were occasionally used in weekends

or holidays for tribal meetings [Int/T31/B:10.04/2004; Int/HT/B:07/03/2005]. According to the school registers, over $\frac{1}{3}$ of all tribes living in Tanzania were represented in school B, prominent among which were the historically better educated and politically well-connected (e.g. the Wachagga and Wapare). In contrast, approximately half the population of school A constituted of less affluent local Wagogo and Warangi.

Teachers reported two educational issues related to ethnic diversity: 1) the mastery of Kiswahili (national language and language of instruction) and 2) learning ability of pupils related to home background. Many children were said to have poor language development in their mother tongue [Int/DH1/DH2/T33/B:19/08/2004] (Legère, 2002), which subsequently affected their learning of Kiswahili (which is indigenous only to Tanzania's coastal regions) and English (compulsory subject from Standard I and considered essential for further education). Poor mastery of the language of instruction also existed among several teachers (Kironde, 2001). For the school this increased the difficulty in raising examination scores, which were all done by written tests. For pupils this compounded the comprehension of other subjects, and possibly even exacerbated deficient development of their thinking and problem-solving skills, which was recognised in Tanzania as being under-developed (Davidson, 2004b; Anderson, S., 2002; GoT, 1996). Covert and subtle forms of ethnic discrimination occurred as some teachers expressed a belief that pupils with lighter skin colour were brighter or more popular than pupils with darker skin colour, in particular among girls [Int/T31/B:20/03/2004; Int/T34/A:29/12/2003]. The local Wagogo in particular had a reputation of being intellectually not well-endowed, and therefore 'poor' pupils [Field/A:12/06/2004].

Other societal influences affected wider school culture, such as urban life, political affiliation, educational level and professional status of parents, age-related authority within the community or beliefs concerning gender. Their influence was however less obviously problematic, though possibly not less important. For example, several older staff mentioned the lasting influence of the '*mabalozi*' (10-cell leaders), who are local representatives of the ruling political party with considerable power over daily life within the community [Int/T32/A:14/10/2004; Int/T31/B:17/04/2004]. In following discussions I only mention these additional influences when evident within the schools.

Next, I describe some effects of the external cultures on the wider aspects of the organisational culture in both schools.

Wider School Culture

The data indicated that Tanzanian primary schools had organisational cultures that were not insulated from those of the education system and societies in which they were embedded (Alexander, 2000; Prosser, 1999). As such there was external influence on the managerial and pedagogical functioning of the schools, which in turn affected attempts to make changes for the better. Two key influences were: 1) staff adherence to formal hierarchical values and practices, and 2) informal staff attitudes and behaviours diverging from the schools' formal culture.

Both management and teaching staff were formally the lowest ranking subordinates within a strongly power-concentrated system, with very limited autonomy, yet highly accountable for their performance. Using the terminology from Hofstede's cultural dimensions (1994) and Dimmock and Walker's (2000) cross-cultural model for educational leadership and management, the attitudes of the majority of staff towards work might therefore be categorised as 'avoiding uncertainty', 'short-term orientated', 'replicative' and 'fatalistic' [pg.37]. This did not mean that the teachers did not work hard [pg.215], but being highly dependent on headteachers, who in turn were highly dependent on local education officers, most staff approached their work reactively, as executors in accordance with prescribed procedural routines (Barrett, 2005), showing very little of their own initiative. Due to the lack of security, the work relationship with colleagues was competitive, rather than collaborative.

The informal counter-culture of the education system was reflected in corrupt practices within the two schools (Haki Elimu, 2004a; Komba, D. *et al*, 2000). Fig. 4.2 lists examples observed by me and reported to me by staff [e.g. Int/T31/A:08/02/2005; Int/T31/B:02/05/2005, 07/05/2005; Int/MAO:17/01/2005; Field/A:28/09/2004; 10/09/2004; Field/B:27/05/2005, 26/11/2004, 16/09/2004]. Most examples were of a petty nature (Bakilana, 2001; Hallak and Poisson, 2001; TCCIA, 1995), which was consistent with a 2005 survey on perceived corruption among civil servants, in which teachers were seen by Tanzanians as among the least corrupt (REPOA, 2006). However, some informal practices were clearly not seen as 'wrong' by some staff as they resulted from adherence to existing cultural conventions (see Mziray, 2004; Sumra, 2001; Mwamila, 2001), such as negotiating a discount on school purchases (e.g. buying materials to make teaching aids, shopping for tea and sugar, making

photocopies, repairing furniture), submitting the bill for the full amount to the school and pocketing the difference [Int/T31/B:07/03/2005; 23/03/2004].

Fig. 4.2: Examples of 'corruption' in two Tanzanian primary schools

Observed	Reported
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using school facilities for conducting private business • Providing extra tuition to one's own pupils • Having ghost teachers on the staff roll • Demanding '<i>posho</i>' (daily allowance) where this is not due • 'Cooking the books' • Writing lesson plans after lessons were given • Arbitrary and unlawful corporal punishments of pupils • Favouritism towards certain pupils • Teachers out of school on private errands during school hours • Pupils ordered to run errands during lesson time and out of school grounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiating discount on school purchases and pocketing the difference • Claiming false expenses • Teachers reporting 'ill' while attending to private business • Awarding school renovation/construction projects to friends • Awarding privileges and gifts to favoured staff • Coercing staff through threats

Similarly, the casual way some staff behaved in school (e.g. doing their daily shopping from hawkers visiting the staffroom, loudly exchanging private messages with colleagues during lesson time, uninhibited physical contact with colleagues and pupils) more likely pointed to customary than unprofessional or unethical behaviour. Still, although possibly harmless, some incidences would be considered a cause for concern when occurring in Western schools. For example, I noticed a male teacher and an older female pupil leaving his house during school hours, both straightening their clothing while returning to the school [Field:28/01/2005].

The influence from societal backgrounds on wider school culture, concerned issues of poverty, diversity and divisions. According to staff, the effects of socio-economic background affected their life and work in the schools most strongly (Sumra, 2006, 2004; Barrett, 2005), while religious and ethnic background compounded differences among staff and pupils (Omari, 2002), but without leading to open conflict. Overt ethnic-related discrimination or abuse among staff was rarely ever reported to or witnessed by me. As effects on pedagogy and school management, teachers reported several direct influences:

- Home poverty had negative effects on many pupils' health, learning motivation and capability.

- Concrete and perceived poverty had negative effects on teachers' perceived status and power, as well as motivation and capability to work.
- Muslim pupils were perceived to be less motivated and capable to learn.
- Muslim teachers perceived to have less power within the management of the two schools.
- Ethnic background was perceived to affect pupils' learning capability, in particular in relation to mastery of language.

Irrespective of whether these effects were perceived realistically by staff or were believed as taken-for-granted scripts (Harber and Davies, 1998), they affected the focus and process of school improvement. These effects became even more complex in conjunction with those originating from the schools' internal cultures.

Internal Cultures

Within the study schools three sets of closely intertwined and overlapping sub-cultures could be distinguished. First, their unique cultures were visible in practices, behaviours and features that were distinctly different from any other school. Second, as educational institutions both schools were immediately recognisable as 'schools'. Although seen by Prosser (1999) as external influence, I treat generic values and practices as internal, because of the way in which staff acted them out, more or less uniquely to each school. Third, the various ways each school was perceived by people 'on-site' and by 'outsiders' further complicated the understanding of the school's 'culture' and 'its' effect on school improvement and its management.

As I describe and discuss managerial and pedagogical practices when presenting my findings on change management in chapter five, I choose to focus here on the various enduring groupings in the schools and within them on staff relationships, behaviours and practices (see Fullan, 1999; Nias *et al*, 1989). These groupings expressed the cultural functions of identity, security, problem-solving and legitimation of power differences among staff (Eriksen, 2001; Cohen, 1994). Furthermore, through their practices, some of the underpinning values of staff could be inferred. I start with the divisions among staff which were unique to each school.

Unique Aspects of School Culture

There were school-specific differences in how staff grouped themselves. In school A, staff appeared to have split into 4 different sub-groups: 1) the head teacher and a small number of senior management staff, 2) the older staff, mostly with a long service record in the schools, 3)

the younger staff, and 4) a small number of solitary individuals, including the few afternoon teachers. In school B, staff appeared less clearly divided, although there was some indication of three groupings: 1) the head teacher and the group of teachers she was amiable towards, 2) the group she was more businesslike towards, and 3) the group of afternoon teachers. These school-specific groupings resulted partly from inter-personal relationships between individual members of staff and partly how individuals responded and contributed to the structural, cultural and power-related conditions in the school. This was most clearly observable in the way members of staff congregated and interacted, for example in staffroom seating arrangements, during staff meetings, when arriving at or leaving the school [e.g. Field/A:16/02/2004, 02/03/2005; Field/B:18/11/2003; 02/09/2004]. However, these unique groupings seemed well established and did not change dramatically after transfer of the headteacher (as in school A) or other staff. This may be because they overlapped with other divisions among staff that were observable in both schools, and which were therefore possibly more generic within Tanzanian primary education.

Generic Aspects of School Culture

Professionally, the strongest generic aspects of school culture in both schools overlapped with the schools' wider culture, as they resulted from compulsory adherence to administrative procedures to school management and pedagogy, enforced by district education officers and school inspectors. Although their underpinning traditionally hierarchical values required conformity and compliance, among staff in both schools a division in at least six subgroups could nevertheless be observed:

1. Management vs. teaching staff
2. Older vs. younger staff
3. Higher vs. lower qualified staff
4. Poorer vs. wealthier staff
5. Male vs. female staff
6. Committed vs. non-committed staff

Some groupings were distinct, others more or less overlapped in ways unique for each school. To understand their relative importance for school culture, I describe each grouping in more detail.

Management vs. Teaching Staff

Due to the management problems in school A [pg.189], there was a stronger division between management and teaching staff than in school B. Under the first headteacher's management, informal leaders competed with her formal authority, expressed in sometimes open hostility between her and some older staff. As all other management staff had teaching responsibilities, there was little noticeable power distance between them and the rest of the teaching staff (Hofstede, 1994). The second headteacher in school A kept his distance from other management and teaching staff as he was new and on a clear mission to address discipline problems among staff and pupils. He suppressed the existing divisions among staff, resulting in stronger congruence between formal and informal practices.

In school B, where the headteacher was almost matriarchal in her approach to leadership [pg.190ff] teachers reported only two examples of power difference between management and teaching staff. First, management staff (in particular the academic teachers) had real authority and influence in the school, with consequences for poorly performing teachers. Their power was therefore heeded [Field/B:15/03/2004]. Second, the headteacher was said to prefer staff loyal to herself as management staff. The resulting consistency of management, most staff saw as positive. However, one of the deputies was not close to the headteacher and had despite her formal authority limited influence over the rest of staff [Int/DH2/B:28/02/2004]. In contrast, one NQT (Newly Qualified Teacher) who was very close to the headteacher due to ethnic and religious affiliation, stood out among staff as outspoken and influential [Field/B:30/06/2004]. Similarly, the influence among staff of a very experienced older Muslim teacher appeared partial, commanding much respect on pedagogical matters, but with little power over school management issues [Field/B:02/09/2004].

Division between management and teaching staff also showed in seating arrangements in the staff room and allocation of office space. Office space was allocated in accordance to hierarchical position of staff. The headteachers resided in their own offices, where they worked and usually ate their lunch, either alone, with a member of senior staff or with guests. Only occasionally would they sit and eat with staff in the staffroom [Field/A:16/02/2004; Field/B:09/06/2004]. A second office was shared by two deputy headteachers. Other office space was occupied by the schools' academic teachers and the school bursar (also a teacher). All other

teachers had their preferred seat in either the staff room or other available space, such as the resource room. During non-teaching time staff would usually sit there to prepare their lessons, mark pupils' exercise books, drink tea and eat their food, talk or snooze. Some teachers marked 'their' places with personal items or even their name. Due to their allocated spaces management staff tended to group together, while among the teaching staff individuals tended to group themselves according to personal preference. When in the staff room I invariably ended up sitting in 'someone's' seat, who happened to be in class or out of school. Although unplanned, this allowed me to move from group to group without being seen to do so.

Older vs. Younger Staff

Both teams consisted of comparable numbers of older, usually lesser qualified staff, and younger, more qualified staff (Appendix 13), in accordance with the district education office's policy of allocating different aged and qualified staff evenly among schools. Although this situation was considered not divisive by management staff, younger staff members appeared less powerful than older ones. In accordance with societal custom, younger people were expected to show reverence towards older community members. In both schools, at the beginning of the day younger staff initially greeted senior colleagues with the traditional reverent greeting of '*Shikamoo*' (and bent their knee when female). The youngest female members of staff were also expected to serve their colleagues drinks and food during meetings or breaks, or could even be sent on small shopping errands [Int/T33/A:30/11/2004; Field/A:4/12/2003, 15/03/2004]. This status difference also meant that openly challenging the knowledge, actions or ability of older colleagues could be seen as impolite or disrespectful. Instead, younger staff tended to adopt attitudes such as asking a sympathetic older colleagues to speak on their behalf, or: '... we just wait until it is our time' [Int/T33/A:30/11/2004; Int/T36/B:24/02/2004].

Higher vs. Lower Qualified Staff

In both schools, formal qualifications were seen by staff as a sign of status, as well as necessary to compete for favourable positions. The allocation of classes, preferred subjects and number of teaching periods could be negotiated on the basis of one's qualifications. Some of the older B/C grade teachers studied to acquire the required A-grade, as under PEDP-I B/C-grade teachers were being phased out. Several more highly qualified teachers were enrolled in

study for further qualifications with the aim of leaving to teach at secondary level or switch to more highly paid professions. Most lower qualified teachers taught in lower classes, whereas higher qualified teachers taught the examination classes. They were also in a better position to provide extra tuition to pupils, which supplemented their incomes [e.g. Int/HT/B:05/10/2004; Field/A:06/01/2004, 14/11/2003; Field/B:10/05/2005, 26/10/2004; 03/04/2004].

Poorer vs. Wealthier Staff

As explained earlier, the strongest determinant for staff grouping in both schools appeared to be socio-economic status, which encompassed more than only the material wealth individual teachers had access to. Apart from religion and tribal affiliation, it was also related to age and political affiliation and appeared to define a common ground upon which individuals within the schools grouped themselves into more and less powerful groups. Still, several personal friendships existed between some teachers, irrespective of their individual wealth and power [Field/A:19/08/2004; Field/B:07/11/2003].

Male vs. Female Staff

With very few male teachers in both schools, there were no specific male groupings. However, gender expectations did affect school culture. The appointment of the male headteacher in school A appeared to homogenise staff. When asked why this might be the case, several teachers alluded to the fact that he was male and therefore a 'natural leader' [Int/T31/A:06/03/2005; Int/T32/A:22/10/2005]. Furthermore, under his management the majority of staff seemed to resign almost submissively to the increase in their workload, as if a 'natural' order had been restored. Alternatively, staff may also have welcomed the stability that was reintroduced after a period of paralysing inconsistency.

'Lazy' vs. 'Serious' Staff

Finally, a grouping among staff occurred along the lines of being 'lazy' or 'serious'. These labels were often used by staff themselves to describe their own and others' attitudes towards their job [Field/A:06/11/2003]. 'Lazy' teachers worked 'only for the money', arrived late, taught unprepared, skipped teaching when the headteacher was not around, and often left the class unattended with work on the blackboard. Conversely, 'serious' teachers were known for their

efforts in preparing lessons, making teaching resources, consistently marking pupils' work, and attendance in school and class. They had more involvement with their pupils, who tended to perform and behave better. They were more willing to volunteer for improvement related activities (e.g. training), but did not openly group themselves to improve the quality of education in the school as a whole. Their input remained almost exclusively restricted to their classrooms. When asked why, some explained that as long as their efforts did not expose the poor quality work of the majority of less dedicated teachers, they would not suffer resentment or hostility [e.g. Field/A:19/02/2004; Int/T31/A:16/04/2005; Int/T32/A:22/01/2005; Int/T35/A:16/03/2005; Int/T31/B:01/05/2004]. Being 'hard-working' appeared to be a personal quality of individual teachers, as it did not seem related to age, gender, qualification, position in the school or personal wealth.

These six enduring groupings possibly resulted from how staff in both schools responded as subgroups to external systemic and societal influences. Differences in power among staff arguably caused each grouping, except for the sixth one, as the group of dedicated staff cut across all others.

Perceived Aspects of School Culture

Rather than seeing 'school culture' from an organisational perspective as 'the way we do business around here' (Miller, 1998), with a 'reality defining' and 'problem-solving' function (Hargreaves, D., 1995), staff in both schools equated the concept with the societal norms and values they were supposed to pass on the pupils; i.e. the socialisation role of school. The word used for 'culture' was '*utamaduni*', which referred to the schools' physical environment, as well as to civilisation, being educated and cultural refinement (Kirkeby, 2000). Its corresponding practices involved taking care of the school grounds and gardens, holding parades, having a school band, singing nationalist songs, wearing clean school uniforms, as well as teachers providing good examples in their behaviour, enforcing pupil discipline and adherence to school rules [Int/HT1/A:18/09/2003; Int/DH2/B:05/11/2003].

In terms of staff adherence to educational values and quality of subsequent practices, school B was perceived 'on-site' and 'off-site' as being 'better' than school A. Within the schools, staff of school B regarded their school with some pride and derived some status from working in a 'good' school, according to local standards [Int/T33/B:24/11/2003]. Conversely, several staff in

school A regarded their posting as a form of punishment, given the school's working conditions and poor performance over the years. Prior to the headteacher's replacement an unprofessional 'way of doing business around here' had been established among the majority of staff, which took her successor some time to reverse [pg.256]. Beyond the schools similar perceptions were expressed. The pride of school committee members governing school B contrasted with the more sombre stance of those responsible for school A [Field/A:16/10/2003; Field/B:22/10/2003]. Also school inspectors and education officers contrasted the two schools, seeing the work attitude among staff and the performance and behaviour of pupils in school B as superior to those in school A [Int/SI1:05/10/2004; Int/MEO:01/03/2005, 03/03/2005; Int/DEO:20/01/2005]. The only unity in both schools as perceived 'off-site' (Prosser, 1999) resulted from staff presenting a united front towards 'outsiders', such as parents, education officials and visiting researchers [e.g. Field/B:13/01/2005, 11/06/2004, 12/05/2004, 20/04/2004].

Chapter Summary

This chapter illustrated the complexities of organisational culture in the two study schools. Combined, both parts of this chapter provided a physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal profile, part of which was uniquely school-specific. The profiles showed structural, cultural and power-related similarities and differences between the two urban schools (Eriksen, 2001), which resembled some of the dissimilarities between Western suburban and inner-city ones.

The schools' cultures were strongly externally influenced by the education system and the communities in which the schools operated. This caused them to be strongly hierarchically managed in both formal and informal ways, expecting subordinate compliance from its management and teaching staff. However, the occurrence of many distinct and overlapping sub-groups, and of regular unprofessional and corrupt behaviour (according to local understandings) pointed to fragmented, if not balkanised teams (Fullan, 1999). The divisions among staff arguably served the various inter-related purposes of culture: providing identity, problem-solving, security and legitimation of power differences (Eriksen, 2001; Cohen, 1994).

Grouping allowed staff to express their own identities, convergent with or divergent from the formal culture of enforced uniformity. As such, the unique and generic sub-cultures in the two schools possibly resulted from a *divisive response* by staff to external pressures, as opposed to their free choice to collaboratively self-generate and develop a professional or whole-school identity (Bush and Anderson, 2003; Sen, 1999). Adherence to professional attitudes and conduct as teachers and school managers appeared to be an *individual choice*. As a result, both schools did not have a clearly distinguishable whole-school identity, acknowledged and identified with by all staff. Belonging to a sub-group appeared to be the norm.

In terms of 'the way we do business around here' each group served as a competitive means of survival. Even corrupt practices could be seen for some staff as a way to surviving professionally or financially. Views of staff on the learning capabilities of pupils as determined by their home background, affected their approaches to the otherwise highly prescribed and proceduralised teaching and learning process. Division among staff with regard to attitudinal and practical approaches to work signalled an absence of a whole-school approach to pedagogy and management.

In terms of security and belonging, both schools did not provide much physical or emotional safety to pupils or staff. Indiscriminate physical punishments, threats of staff transfers, fear of discrimination, lack of consideration for problematic home background, expectations of unquestionable obedience were some examples [pg.200, 235, 248]. Conversely, given its academic reputation many wealthier parents chose and supported school B. Belonging to the school gave both pupils and staff a sense of pride. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, through its 'not-so-hidden curriculum' (see Alexander, 2000) the function of security strongly affected the schools' socialisation role (see Harber, 2001; Bendera and Mboya, 1998).

Staff groupings signalled and maintained power differences related to age, wealth, qualification, formal and informal authority and (to a lesser extent) gender, as power-relationships between (groups of) staff were characterised by hierarchy and competition rather than by negotiated and agreed exchanging and sharing of resources, tasks and responsibilities (Bennett, 2001; Dimmoack and Walker, 2000; Hofstede, 1994). A negative reciprocal relationship existed between the many groupings in the schools and the enforced compliance to formal hierarchy.

Individual staff could belong to different groupings, which sometimes overlapped. From an organisational perspective the schools' cultures therefore defied uniformity and needed to be understood as complex 'kaleidoscopic' phenomena, containing simultaneously fluid, enduring and even rigid features. This complex culture determined the space in which to understand the scope and management of improvement in the two schools.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

Introduction

In this thesis I explore the scope of improvements in two urban Tanzanian state primary schools, the key characteristics of the underpinning change management process, and the influence of the schools' cultures on the scope and management of change. In order to present and discuss my findings in a way that answers my research questions, I divide this chapter into four sections. First, I describe the focus of imposed and self-instigated improvement initiatives as they occurred in the two schools. Drawing on my Management of Change model [pg.61] (Appendix 3), I then discuss in the remaining three sections 1) 'what worked', in terms of change management, 2) which elements of the model were absent or obstructed change, and 3) what did actually change in the context of the various initiatives, and to what extent staff deemed this school improvement. The influence of values, practices, attitudes and behaviours of management and teaching staff (i.e. school culture) is discussed throughout.

SCOPE OF SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

In terms of scope, I begin with the focus of the various school improvement initiatives which the staff in both schools worked on during the academic year 2004. I present six initiatives in more detail, using them throughout the subsequent three sections to illustrate the relevance and process of school improvement and its management.

School Improvement Initiatives

Forty-eight different improvement initiatives were identified in the two schools combined (Appendix 16). Of these, 17 had a physical-material focus (e.g. procurement of books), 21 were technical-procedural (e.g. using a Class Book to monitor staff teaching all required periods), and 10 had a strong cultural-attitudinal focus (e.g. introducing more participatory techniques of teaching and learning). Of the 48 initiatives, 18 were restorations of conditions that had deteriorated over previous years (e.g. lack of regular repairs), whereas 30 aimed at further developing existing conditions in the schools (e.g. pairing under-performing staff with more experienced colleagues). Furthermore, 18 of the 48 initiatives had a predominantly pedagogical

purpose (e.g. provision of remedial teaching during school hours to Standard I and II) and 30 an organisational one (e.g. training school committee members on their tasks under PEDP-I), of which 12 arguably directly supported improvement of pedagogy (e.g. tightening of the work of the school's Academic Committee).

Bar the two initiatives I was most closely involved in, none of the other initiatives were self-generated by staff, although some were self-instigated by the headteachers (4 in school A, 11 in school B). These were relatively school-specific, addressing particular local issues or problems (e.g. adding a security grill to the headteacher's office, or strengthening cooperation with headteachers of neighbouring schools). However, all were adopted as 'good practice' from other schools. All other initiatives were either imposed by government directive [pg.238], or demanded or suggested by education officers or school inspectors [pg.187]. As all state primary schools were supposed to be formally identical in structure, culture and power-distribution, adopting 'good practice' was not seen as problematic. Given their compatibility with existing values and practices, the assumption was that new practices could simply be 'slotted in'. Furthermore, as I explain later under 'rationale' [pg.223ff], all improvement initiatives had to directly or indirectly raise performance in national examinations.

For the purpose of illustrating relevance of school improvement and the change management process involved, I will regularly refer to the following six initiatives:

1. Restoring the school's working environment (School A)
2. Addressing the effects of the school's environment on pupils' behaviour and learning (School A)
3. Individual consultation and training (School A)
4. Introduction of the Participatory Techniques (School A and B)
5. Improving pupils' learning attitudes (School B)
6. Enhancing school performance in exams (School A and B)

All required more or less substantial attitudinal changes by both staff and pupils, and thus also illustrate the reciprocal influence of school culture on school improvement. Three of the initiatives were externally imposed (nos.1,4,6), three were generated within the study schools to support this research (nos.2,3,5). I discuss the achievability of all six extensively in the fourth section of this chapter [255ff].

Two of the six initiatives had a predominantly organisational-managerial focus (nos.1 and 2), whereas in the others the focus was more pedagogical (nos.3-6). Each initiative required some

level of re-structuring (e.g. changes in procedures and methods), re-culturing (e.g. changes in attitudes towards work and pupils' learning) and re-empowerment (e.g. changes in responsibilities and influence) when compared to preceding functioning. In four initiatives, change involved a move *away* from existing values and practices in the schools (nos.2-5), whereas the changes in the first and last initiative tended to reinforce existing structures, cultures and power-relationships. Due to their procedural nature and limited impact on school conditions, I do not include any of the initiatives instigated by the headteachers.

Example 2 and 5 are the two negotiated whole-school initiatives generated in the context of this study [pg.143]. After the collapse of the initiative in school A, I continued assisting individual and small groups of teachers in their own initiatives to improve their classroom practice (nr.3). The restoration of the working environment in school A (nr.1) occurred after the headteacher's replacement. Example 6 was not strictly a distinct improvement initiative, but arguably the single most important goal of all school improvement in Tanzanian primary schools, as it informed nearly all other initiatives.

The fourth initiative was the region-wide introduction of the 'Participatory Techniques and Method to Teaching and Learning' (*Mbinu na Njia Ushirikishi ya Kufundisha na Kujifunza*) (GoT, 2004b, 2004c), which occurred during the latter half of 2004 in the context of PEDP-I (GoT, 2001). From here on, I refer to this initiative as the 'Participatory Techniques'. The principle idea behind the introduction was to change the approach to pedagogy in school through promoting greater pupil contribution to and sense of ownership over their own learning. Two-way teacher-pupil interactions were thought to make teaching and learning more effective. In a move away from commonly used one-directional delivery methods (e.g. 'talk and chalk', 'lecture method'), staff were expected to familiarise themselves and adopt a range of more participatory techniques of teaching. Teachers from the Mpwawa Teacher Training Institute provided a 5-day training at Kaloleni Teacher Resource Centre, Dodoma Town, for a small number of the management and teaching staff of both schools [Field:25-29/10/2004]. They in turn were required to provide a 2-day introduction training for the rest of staff (i.e. the cascade method of staff development) with schools then deciding how to provide follow-up training. The impetus for this initiative came from the district education office and its implementation was monitored by school inspectors. It was required to be adopted immediately in every school and be operational in full from the start of the following academic year (2005). In school, the headteacher and academic teacher were required to drive and supervise this initiative. As

introduction occurred during the latter half of the fieldwork, and its approach matched the participatory/cooperative approach to the two initiatives generated in context of this study, I assisted in training staff of both schools in the purpose and use of these techniques.

Summary

On the face of it, the 48 initiatives covered the three sets of conditions within the schools (i.e. the physical-material, the technical-procedural and the cultural-attitudinal), and focussed both on pedagogical and organisational areas for improvement [pg.45] (Appendix 2). However, neither *within* each initiative, nor *between* them was the scope of improvement comprehensive. Within each initiative the focus was either material or technical or attitudinal. The inter-relationship between the various initiatives was also not intentionally and systematically addressed, linking for example pedagogical with organisational change (Hopkins *et al*, 1997).

If any unifying rationale could be detected between the various initiatives, then it was the overarching functionalist goal of enhancing school performance in national examinations. Furthermore, most initiatives were not aimed at transformational change, but at optimising (and thus consolidating) the established 'way of doing business around here' (Hargreaves, D., 1995). The intended transformational changes proposed under PEDP-I (e.g. introduction of participatory teaching and learning techniques or the school committees' greater role in the running of the school) were being introduced, but as I explain in the last section of this chapter [pg.255ff], they did not find broad acceptance and implementation within the schools. From a broad understanding of 'school improvement', ranging from limited restoration and modification to fundamental innovation and transformation, the foci of the 48 initiatives tended to be narrow and incidental rather than broad and comprehensive.

I now turn to those elements of the change management process that were involved in the successful implementation of several of the improvement initiatives.

MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE – 'What Worked?'

Of the 48 pedagogical and organisational improvement initiatives some were more easily achieved than others. In this section I focus on those elements of my Management of Change model [pg.61] (Appendix 3) that were successfully involved in changing the schools' physical-material, technical-procedural and/or cultural-attitudinal conditions, and so on the managerial and pedagogical practices of staff. Success here reflects local criteria on progress and/or outcomes of the various initiatives.

I use the various elements of my model as thematic headings under which to group the findings, starting with the operational, followed by the conditional. Because of their highly inter-dependent and holistic relationships, various findings could have been grouped under different headings. The order in which I present the findings therefore does not indicate a priority of importance, but rather serves the narrative of answering the second and third research question. I start with the element of leadership.

Leadership

I conceptualised 'leadership' as the cultural responsibility of school managers, complementary to their structural responsibility of 'administration' [pg.85]. Leadership of change thus concerns those roles of change managers in which they motivate and guide staff into and during the change process. As mavericks, they may sometimes go against the established order to champion and accomplish the changes that underpin improvement (Thrupp, 2005; Samoff *et al*, 2003; Fullan, 2001b). In more collegially organised schools these management responsibilities can be distributed over staff (Harris and Muijs, 2005). In Tanzania, where schools are formally hierarchically organised, school management is normally the headteachers' responsibility (Babyegeya, 2000; Galabawa; 1997).

Leadership played an important but limited role during change

Both successful headteachers often used the terms management, administration and leadership interchangeably. According to them, leadership of change was important to ensure compliance to mandated initiatives, rather than galvanise staff to engage in relevant self-

generated school-specific improvement. The second headteacher of school A [Int/HT2/A: 19/05/2005] described his 'daily duties' as school leader toward staff and pupils as:

To supervise, to give them motivation, and the other, yourself to be an example.

He explained, that:

The thing that I am doing in order to improve [school A] is to make sure teachers are teaching; from Monday to Saturday. After lunch, the pupils of Standard IV and VII have remedial teaching. That I think will improve [school A] academic wise.

His actions reflected his views. Not only did he hold teachers and pupils successfully to account, he also acted as an example. Unlike the previous headteacher, he was visibly present in the school, arriving early to oversee the cleaning of the grounds and teaching extra classes after school. His supervision role concerned the daily organisational running of the school and safeguarding its pedagogical quality [pg.218, 233], which meant teaching according to standard procedures as required by education officers and school inspectors, not the professional expertise of staff to realise relevant learning by every pupil.

The leadership of school improvement was also important but limited in school B. For example, during the introduction of the Participatory Techniques the headteacher showed leadership by responding pre-emptively to implementation demands from the district education office. Despite having misgivings over the way in which this innovation was mandated and the burden immediate implementation would put on staff, she made sure all essential staff could attend the externally provided training sessions in the local Teacher Resource Centre. She collaborated with a neighbouring school on providing the required two-day in-school follow-up training in the following month and requested my assistance in organising and conducting several of the training sessions [Field/B:27/10/2004, 25/11/2004]. During the follow-up training some members of staff commented positively on her pre-emptive approach. This way they would be ahead of teachers in other schools in having knowledge about the required changes [Field/B:26/11/2004].

Within the hierarchical Tanzanian education system, the leadership role in change for improvement remained limited due to the restricted powers of headteachers and of staff.

Power of management and teaching staff was restricted

Despite their formal authority in school, the headteachers' position within the educational hierarchy was akin to low-ranking middle managers (Komba, D. *et al*, 2000; Galabawa, 1997; Harber and Dadey, 1993). Both successful headteachers were keenly aware of the possibilities and limitations of their managerial power (i.e. administrative authority and leadership influence), both using their power in a measured way. As they explained:

Sometimes, not always ... you can report any teacher, if according to the discipline ... he is not coming to the work, at least three days or four, or one week ... you can report him or her to the Municipality. That, I have got the power of that. I have the power to command a teacher to teach any lesson, any class. If he cannot, because ... he refuses that, then I can report him to the Municipality. I have the power of that.
[Int/HT/B:02/12/2003]

The power that I have got through the Municipal and the other [power] from the school committee. [...] If the pupils are naughty, if pupils are undisciplined, the school committee can allow me to, let's say, to discipline them. Like punishment, to punish them [...]. The power which I got from the Municipality is to make sure teachers are teaching. But when they are not teaching, it means that the Municipality allows me to punish them.
[Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005]

Headteachers could therefore use their formal managerial authority as a lever to pressure staff into compliance. On other issues, such as staff deployment [pg.248], headteachers were virtually powerless. Teaching staff regularly went over their heads to speak directly to the district education officer (DEO) when unhappy with their placing in the school:

They give reasons: 'I don't like to teach here. I want to go to another school', and the DEO listens to them and changes the teachers. [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003]

Also in galvanising staff to engage in school improvement, the headteachers' powers were limited. Despite the headteacher being a consistent driving force behind improving pupils' learning attitudes in school B, some of her staff regularly absconded from the training I provided or ignored its purpose during their lessons [Field/B:14/11/2003; Obs/T16/S4/B:20/01/2004].

On pedagogical issues, headteachers had their authority curbed by school inspectors. Of defaulting teachers, the headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] said:

I don't have the power, because if I tell the inspectors ... and they are coming here to inspect ... sometimes they know the teachers are like that ... but they do nothing ... what can I do? ...if the inspectors don't do anything, I just leave them.

All she could do was 'write a report to the DEO' who would then take action or not.

Still, parallel to her formal authority, she had informal influence she could bring to bear to effect change. For example,

When I came here at [school B], I met at least six, or five teachers, they were a problem of the school. But when I came here, I tried to talk to them friendly, and then they changed.

Her age, experience and demeanour as leader supplemented her limited formal authority. Similarly, the second headteacher of school A quickly established his informal influence in the school through a consistent disciplinarian approach to his formal management authority.

Some power was formally delegated by the headteachers to the teaching staff. According to the second headteacher of school A [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005]:

The leadership, it means that [...] if you are a school manager, it means that all, each and everything, it depends to you, but you cannot do anything by yourself. It means that a school manager must delegate; delegate activities of the school. Discipline master, academic master, deputy, each and everything you must do [...] that power you are supposed to supervise. That is delegation. [...] Because I think, as you know, the first supervisor at the school is the headteacher.

However, delegation here meant practical dispersion of administrative management tasks (see Appendix 13) which the headteacher closely supervised as he was formally accountable. Delegation of administrative tasks also happened in school B. Neither headteacher had the power to devolve formal authority to teaching staff, although in school B the headteacher allowed staff some informal influence in the execution of the delegated tasks (see below).

Leadership by those members of staff responsible for change – in the two schools typically the headteachers and their deputies – was also dependent on the extent to which leadership was accepted by those members of staff who were supposed to be 'led' (Lumby, 2003b, 1999b; Angus, 1996).

Successful leadership approach reflected professional and cultural expectations

The first headteacher of school A, despite her academic credentials, did not live up to professional and cultural expectations with regard to leadership. Her key weaknesses were seen as:

- Dividing staff (mainly through gathering information about staff through colleagues)
- Unequal distribution of privileges among staff
- Avoiding confrontational situations
- Leaning on external powers
- Openly expressing disappointment in staff and lack of conviction in possible solutions
- Seeing existing experience among staff as a threat, rather than as a resource
- Negative attitude towards parents
- Lack of confidence in pupils' academic capabilities and dismissive of the motives behind their behaviours

[Field/A:06/11/2003, 11/02/2004, 15/03/2004, 05/05/2004; Int/T31/A:30/11/2004, 20/01/2005, 06/03/2005]

Between the end of 2003 and the first half term of 2004 her leadership credibility in the school rapidly diminished. A staffroom incident of 11 February 2004 illustrated the headteacher's status, following her decision to forbid staff to go to the municipal education office during teaching hours to apply for a personal loan:

The day is 'dead', according to mwl. Q. Teachers have given up teaching, despite this being the 5th period. The pupils are in class, quietly, and do nothing. Class prefects [appointed St. 7 pupils] supervise. Even the normally shy young teacher from Z. behaves in a deviant way. She lies across one of the tables and is boisterous. Other teachers look miserable, walk around dragging their feet, speak in agitated ways; even one of the deputy headteachers. The headteacher enters the staffroom and orders the teachers to go to the classes, while talking disapprovingly about their behaviour. Most teachers ignore her. When she addresses mwl. X. [whose management role is teacher discipline supervisor] to speak on her behalf, the response is: 'This is your school' [i.e. sort it yourself]. After she has left, mwl. X. and Y. address the others, asking them to go to the classes, on behalf of the children. However, some teachers remain defiant, asking why they speak on behalf of the headteacher. Is it because the 'mzungu' ['European'; i.e. me] is present? [Field/A:11/02/2004].

It wasn't until the second headteacher's arrival at the start of the academic year 2005 that the situation in school A began to change. Two main factors contributed to this. First, staff were feeling increasingly unhappy with the lack of working order in the school. Secondly, he lived up to expectations of staff with regard to 'strong' headship. As positive were seen:

- Not ignoring problems, but facing them directly
 - Checking up on teachers teaching their periods; questioning all teachers who do not teach
 - Making sure all periods are taught; no wastage of time
 - Insisting classroom monitors (a designated pupils in each class) find the teacher of the next period, when s/he does not show up
 - Working together with neighbourhood schools (in sharing ideas on how to solve problems, as well as in doing regular competitive examinations for pupils)
 - Paying teachers gratuities out of PEDP funds, when providing additional tuition for pupils of St.4 and 7 (examination classes), and St.6
 - Having all lesson plans signed daily by the Academic Teacher, then following up on her duty
 - Using the senior staff effectively, by reaching agreements with them before presenting decisions to staff
 - Checking up immediately when hearing noises from a classroom
 - Coming to school first and leaving last
 - Going round the school all the time
 - Not showing 'despair' about the situation in the school
 - Quickly establishing a reputation and building on that
- [Int/T31/A:06/03/2005, 19/05/2005; Field/A:19/01/2005, 08/02/2005, 22/02/2005, 19/04/2005; Int/S11:14/04/2005; Quest/A:20/05/2005]

On his approach to the restoration of working practice in school A the second headteacher explained [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005]:

In order to improve my school, it means [...] to make sure that the pupils are willing to learn, teachers are teaching in proper way. After that, to supervise, number one, two and three, to make sure that pupils are learning, teachers are teaching, and pupils have discipline.

His approach to leadership could be called traditional-authoritarian. However, under the circumstances his approach proved 'successful'. In the months after his appointment, behaviour of pupils and staff changed markedly, complying to regulations and expectations, and performance scores of tests and exams rose [Field/A:26/05/2005, 02/03/2005; Int/T31/A:06/03/2005; Int/T35/A:16/03/2005]. Similarly, in Western, hierarchically organised schools more authoritarian approaches have been recognised by some as initially 'successful' in ineffective schools (Harris and Chapman, 2002). Nevertheless, old habits died hard. When the headteacher was out of school, several staff tended to revert quickly to their previous behaviours [Field/A:19/04/2005].

In school B, the relatively more consultative approach of the headteacher and her senior management staff had become established since her appointment in 1998, percolating through

staff interactions. On her management role in the success of school improvement initiatives, teachers and education officers mentioned the following characteristics:

- Insisting on good cooperation between teachers, pupils, parents, authorities, etc.
- Being a good connection between all members of staff, including the headteacher
- Leading and motivating teachers
- Giving encouragement through advice and rewards (such as gifts and money)
- Insisting that teacher and pupil take responsibility for their own discipline, behaviour, clothing, teaching and learning
- Being convinced that academic performance can be raised
- Giving advice on and doing follow-up of performance in work and discipline
- Not pushing the teachers, but having discussions
- Listening to advice from all staff
- Promoting teacher development by organising seminars
- Seeking parental advice in school development
- Seeking cooperation with neighbouring schools in raising academic standards, through competitions and exchange of good practice

[Int/AT/B:19/02/2004, 17/05/2004; Int/DH1/B:28/04/2005; Int/DEO:14/06/2004; Quest/B:24/05/2005]

The headteacher [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] explained her approach to management, which emphasised the links between leadership and other elements of change management, such as communication, teamwork and decision-making:

... we are working together. I am not important and the class teachers are not less important. We work together and that we can make the pupils study. I am here only to organise things, ... I am not more important than the other teachers, no, Because the teachers are grown up. They have got their ideas. They can't just take the ideas from you. [...] Not only to give your orders: do like that, do like that, it is not good. Even within our families you can't do like that. You have to exchange your ideas and then you can come to the conclusion.

Her approach was based on sharing the concerns of her staff:

The style of [to] cope together, as a team. That is very good. Most of the teachers like that. And you can manage to lead the school if you cope to the teachers ... Have a meeting, talk to them, discuss with them and then you make a decision.

Also in parent meetings she used the same consultative approach, for example when trying to raise additional financial contributions for material improvements:

That was very difficult, but it worked to us, because [of] the same style. We called the parents, talked to them, and they were willing to buy some materials for their children or to contribute money for the school ... so we have to buy the stationeries, books and buy some marker pens, to use for the drawings, for the teachers. The same way we used for the parents to contribute for us.

Despite the differences in their approach to leadership, there were also similarities between the two successful headteachers that can be inferred from the data. They:

1. Believed in what they were doing, were clear about their role and had extensive experience
2. Did not compromise on the goals they set for the school, but were willing to negotiate with staff on how to get there
3. Led by example, thus instigating actions and conveying their rationale
4. Were confrontational in holding teachers to account, but showed awareness of sensitivities among staff
5. Used a combination of pressure and persuasion, and a balance of close follow-up and giving leeway
6. Used 'levers' effectively to affect staff decisions, such as the demands and force of education authorities, wishes of parents and expectations of colleagues
7. Mediated between staff and higher authorities, to the point of defying directives
8. Maintained a level of unity among staff

These features distinguished successful leaders from the unsuccessful one, in particular as in the prescriptive centralised system all three headteachers used virtually identical administrative procedures in running their schools.

Establishing acceptance of leadership among staff was not restricted to the headteachers. In school B a deputy headteacher reported lack of support from the headteacher as result of not being popular with teachers close to the headteacher. She felt her authority among staff was undermined. Later that year she applied for and was granted a transfer [Field/B:28/02/2004, 26/10/2004, 13/11/2004]. In both schools, some teachers had established informal leadership. On Thursdays the school seemed quieter than usual as two young, popular, but strict teachers were 'Teacher of the Day', carrying the responsibility of pupil discipline during school hours [Field/B:05/06/2005, 29/07/2004, 19/08/2005]. In school A, the influence of some teachers at times outweighed the first headteacher's formal power [Field/A:11/02/2004]. However, collegial

devolvement of leadership, power and responsibilities among members of staff as-a-team (Harris and Mujs, 2005) did not occur.

Even though the approach to leadership of both successful headteachers differed, their acceptance by staff indicated their behaviour met staff expectations of headteachers. Possibly their leadership approach may also have been in accordance with gender-related expectations.

Summary

Although strong leadership is seen by many as crucial to school improvement in Western and less affluent countries (Coleman and Glover, 2010; Ncgobo and Tikly, 2010; Hallinger, 2003; Fullan, 2000; Middlewood, 1999a; Christie and Potterton, 1997; Temu, 1995; Harber and Dadey, 1993), its importance in improving the two study schools was limited. Given the hierarchical-bureaucratic organisation and functionalist purpose of schooling, the (structural) administrative tasks of headteachers outweighed their (cultural) leadership role, while the school maintenance duties outweighed their developmental responsibilities [pg.85]. The headteachers saw their main task as supervising the daily running of their schools, as required by education authorities, which left them with little space to engage in self-instigated school-specific pedagogical or organisational improvements. Leadership of change was therefore the headteachers' smallest role, and was mainly meant to ensure compliance by staff. Change leadership among teaching staff was virtually non-existent in both schools (Harris, 2002; Frost *et al*, 2000).

As the headteachers made no clear distinction between the concepts management, leadership and administration, or between school maintenance and development, the attitudinal approach with which they dealt with the various school improvement initiatives did not differ from how they ran their school on a daily basis (e.g. authoritarian or consultatively) (Barrett, 2005). Limited as it was, the successful headteachers' leadership depended not so much on their formal authority, but on a combination of their informal power, personal traits, school-specific circumstances and acceptance by staff (Ncgobo and Tikly, 2010; Coleman, 2005a; Hallinger, 2003; Angus, 1996; Temu, 1995). Central to the acceptance by staff of the headteachers' leadership was not only the cultural appropriateness of their approach, but also its dependability over time (Earley and Fletcher-Campbell, 1992).

Consistency, Reliability and Trust

Within the process of school improvement, coherence of pedagogical and managerial values and practices is important (Fullan, 2003, 1999) as is building and maintaining trust among members of staff (Lines *et al*, 2005; Day *et al*, 2000; Dalin; 1993) [pg.91]. Especially for leaders in hierarchically organised schools, gaining genuine trust of subordinate staff is essential if they do not want to use formal coercion. Reliable conditions for people within and beyond the school provide stability, as intentional change of values and practices is unsettling under the best of conditions (Hopkins, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998). As professional and personal conditions in Tanzanian schools are generally unreliable (Sumra, 2006, 2004; Davidson, 2004b; Temu, 1995) establishing some sense of stability, although difficult, is arguably fundamental to change management.

In this study, consistency, reliability and trust determined the dependability of various elements of the change management process, such as leadership, communication and teamwork. The next two findings link dependability specifically to leadership.

Trust was key to successful leadership

In school A, the second headteacher established some respect among staff by defying district-level directives, such as delaying the introduction of the Participatory Techniques. He also minimised all activities seen as 'add-on' to regular work, which included restarting the improvement initiative generated in the context of this study [pg.256]. He used familiar tried-and-tested measures to 'fix' the school, such as providing extra tuition (called 'remedial teaching') for pupils after school hours, in weekends and in holidays. Although this practice was formally discouraged by the regional education office, the headteacher challenged this directive, arguing:

Because I know if I can't do this, I am going to fail totally. The school it has bad foundation. So, in order to improve the problems, I decided to teach in extra time, in order to improve the problems of the pupils [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005].

He paid the teachers providing extra tuition out of the PEDP Capitation Grant, as demanding payment from parents was no longer allowed. All pupils of Standards IV, VI and VII were required to attend these classes.

Another tried-and-tested measure to restore the school's working order was an uncompromising approach to pupil discipline. Rather than focusing on developing pupils' self-discipline, unquestioning compliance was enforced through punishments and rewards. Whenever he heard pupils making noise in or out of class he would immediately investigate and punish when this was deemed unauthorised. His approach was not seen by staff as 'harsh', which was understood as being insensitive and 'cruel'. Instead, it was seen as mostly 'fair' and even-handed, as he was guided by the school rules (see Appendix 11) and did not appear to favour only some pupils. His stance on school improvement, extra tuition and pupil discipline found favour among staff and contributed to his reputation as a 'strong' leader [Field/A:22/02/2005; Int/T31/A:06/03/2005].

Nevertheless, establishing trust in his leadership was not straightforward. Having been demoted in the past due to financial irregularities as headteacher in two previous schools, some staff were wary about his intentions [Int/T32/A:22/01/2005; Int/T35/A:16/03/2005]. However, the likelihood of a repeat was seen as slim as he was not expected to jeopardise his second chance at headship [Int/DEO:20/01/2005]. Furthermore, the school committee had been given stricter controls of school finances under PEDP-I and was aware of his past [Field/A:19/05/2005].

In school B, trust in the headteacher's leadership was relatively well-established. During her time in the school, performance had increased year on year, reaching nearly 100% of pupils passing their Primary School Leavers' exam against the national average of not more than 30% (GoT, 2003b). Any staff concerns with regard to her improvement actions stemmed from perceived or actual increase of workload, not from doubting her authority as organisational and pedagogical leader. Nevertheless, on at least three occasions her trustworthiness as headteacher was questioned by a parent or a members of staff. These concerned her closeness to certain members of staff, her personal motives for certain actions and her financial management. During a general parents' meeting she was questioned about that term's school budget expenditure with regard to the price of school meals and the necessity of procuring a computer. Her explanations were accepted as they were supported by the school committee. Financial transparency towards parents and staff was largely dependent on the trustworthiness and openness of the school committee members, who are formally local community representatives [Field/B:09/03/2005; Int/DH2/B:23/03/2004]. In private conversations a Muslim

teacher expressed concern about some of the headteacher's managerial decisions on the grounds of her strong Roman Catholic beliefs [Field/B:28/06/2004], while another member of staff wondered whether privileges were equally divided over all staff, given her personal sympathies for certain colleagues [Int/T31/B:01/05/2004]. From the evidence collected during the fieldwork, no data pointed conclusively towards financial mismanagement or to deliberate favouritism.

Trust in her leadership also existed among the pupils. Throughout the fieldwork I was struck by the work atmosphere and the relatively relaxed relationships between teachers and pupils. During lesson time, the noise coming from most classes was 'work noise'; i.e. the distinct murmur of engaged pupils' voices. The majority of teachers talked in clear, but businesslike tones, dealing with the topic of the lessons, rather than with pupil behaviour issues. Genuine laughter could be heard regularly, as well as teacher-led singing. During break time, and before and after school, many children were engaged in some form of play, rather than loitering or sitting passively talking in the school grounds. On several occasions spontaneous, friendly interactions between pupils and the headteacher could be observed, with the children appearing genuinely uninhibited [Field/B:03/03/2004, 01/10/2004].

Being trustworthy did not only depend on what the headteachers did to manage and improve the schools, but also on doing it consistently.

Consistency created space for change

Despite physical-material and technical-procedural school conditions being largely beyond the control of staff, the successful headteachers were still able to create a sense of stability in which to effect intentional changes. Examples were:

Use of consistent but suitable pressure

For improving school performance in national examination results (school B) and restoration of 'normal' working order (school A), both successful headteachers maintained relatively constant pressure on staff and pupils. This pressure was not arbitrary, but procedural and authoritative. Formal rules and regulations, fairly applied, were used as levers to manoeuvre staff into a position in which they had little option but to comply. For example, quarterly internal inspections, daily registering of teacher attendance, following-up of tasks of the school's

academic committee, recording staff performance and behaviour and immediate response to disturbances left staff little room to deviate from the direction set by the headteacher. Simultaneously, both also knew when to ease the pressure, to avoid alienating staff. After inspections, exam periods or when the syllabus was completed, all staff took more liberties with punctuality or preparing for lessons [Field/A:18/06/2004, Field/B:24/11/2004; Int/T31/B:16/03/2004]. This constant, but flexible pressure contrasted with the more inconsistent but rigid application of regulations by the previous headteacher in school A or by some district education officers and school inspectors. Similarly, pressure was kept on pupils through frequent tests and mock examinations (weekly, monthly, termly), close follow-up of progress by a significant number of teachers and close cooperation with parents [Quest/A:20/05/2005; Quest/B:24/05/2005].

Consistent approach to delegation

Both successful headteachers were consistent in their approach to delegation of management tasks to teaching staff. In school A, the headteacher prescribed and supervised the execution of the tasks. In school B the headteacher also supervised staff, but encouraged initiative in the execution of their duties, stating: 'Don't come to me with a problem, but come to me with a solution' [Int/HT/B:19/02/2004]. She would then decide whether or not to endorse staff decisions and actions. This approach allowed her staff greater practical, albeit informal, input in the running of the school. Furthermore, it encouraged staff not to be dependent on her for every decision taken. With increased levels of input, greater staff responsibility meant that teachers themselves needed to be more consistent, reliable and trustworthy in their professional duties. On the Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1973) continuum (Appendix 6) the headteacher tended to 'consult' and 'share' more than her male colleague in school A. Both approaches were nonetheless 'successful' as they fitted the conditions in the respective schools.

Consistent approach to directives

In response to the various imposed school improvement initiatives, both successful headteachers tried to retain space to accomplish improvements they considered appropriate. In school A, the refusal by the second headteacher to follow certain directives was a deliberate choice to create space in which restoration could take place, rather than a sign of resistance. In school B, the headteacher responded pre-emptively to mandated improvement initiatives, e.g.

the introduction of the Participatory Techniques, to alleviate pressure from education authorities and to give her staff time to adjust [pg.186].

Summary

Given the automatic importance of leadership in hierarchically organised schools, dependability of the headteachers and senior management staff was important for school improvement. Key to their management approach was earning trust through consistently balancing pressure with breathing space for staff, through delegating management tasks and (in school B) empowering staff informally, and through creating space for self-instigated improvements (see also Temu, 1995). Furthermore, the positive attitudes and expertise of both successful headteachers partially counter-balanced the plethora of uncertain conditions and destabilising influences from within and beyond the school [pg.159, 234], thus assuring some improvement success.

Next, I look at how communication affected the achievability of school improvement.

Communication

For the purpose of this thesis, I focus here only on cultural-attitudinal aspects of communication; i.e. the willingness and capability of staff genuinely to listen and understand each other (Fox, 1999; Riches, 1997) [pg.94ff]. In both hierarchically or collegially organised schools, willingness to communicate in the context of school improvement depends on the intentions of individuals or groups of staff with regard to change. Within a process of change, communication keeps colleagues informed and allows negotiation of re-structuring and re-distribution of power. When change requires re-culturing, e.g. of values and practices, it also serves to prevent or bridge fundamental divisions among staff. However, practical barriers, structural regulations or cultural customs can limit or obstruct communication (Riches; 1997). The quality of communication between staff indicates the quality of a school's organisational health (Harris, 2002), which in turn is an indicator for the achievability of school improvement (Stoll and Fink, 1996). Although the organisational health of school A was worse than that of school B during most of the fieldwork period, both successful headteachers used communication effectively to improve their schools.

Successful managers used formal and non-verbal communication effectively

Both schools used the same formal means to exchange information between management and teaching staff, and between school and the parents and pupils. In school B, fortnightly (or more often) staff meetings provided a formal forum for the headteacher, her management and teaching staff to discuss a full range of school-related issues. This included everything from mundane issues such as arranging the school leavers' ceremony, setting dates for term tests or for internal inspections, reminding staff to hand in their lesson plans or organising extra tuition for the examination classes, to more profound topics such as deciding on when and how to introduce new ways of teaching such as the Participatory Techniques, how to respond to the policies of the new Region Education officer (REO) or how to spend school budget [e.g. Field/B:18/11/2003, 03/06/2004, 07/03/2005]. She also discussed with staff change initiatives she instigated herself:

We have got a meeting every now and then, if we want to do any change, we have to meet together and extend our ideas and if we agree then we make the change. I, for myself, I can't ... Rarely I can do something alone, but always I have to tell the teachers and we discuss together and then we make the decision.'
[Int/HT/B: 02/12/2003]

In school A, regular staff meetings were resumed after the second headteacher's appointment.

Each school had a notice board in the staffroom, but these were only used to post time-tables and duty rosters. Verbal dissemination of information was more prevalent. In each school one teacher was formally responsible for 'communication'. In practice, this role was limited to 'being a messenger', for information to be passed on from the headteacher to every other member of staff, or to other schools and education officers. Their role did not involve listening to staff and feeding back to the headteacher, communicating with parents or pupils. It became even less important after reconnection of the telephone, and virtually every member of staff owning a mobile phone. In both schools, pupils' meetings (*barazas*) were held twice yearly, but these had lost their original democratic function in which pupils could discuss school issues with the teachers. The *barazas* held during course of this fieldwork limited themselves to pupils being informed of the school rules and requirements with regard to their in-school behaviour. A *baraza* was on one occasion also used as an opportunity for public caning of four boys who

regularly truanted. The punishment was conducted in accordance with Tanzanian law on corporal punishments in schools, in the presence of the school committee and the parents of the boys involved [Field/A:11/11/2003].

Parallel to the means of formal communication school managers used various non-verbal communicative strategies to express their intentions. In both schools, staff were urged to dress smartly and to behave appropriately as an example. The successful headteachers were not 'hiding in their office', but were walking about, looking into classrooms, interacting with students, responding to sounds of disturbance coming from the classrooms, enforcing cleanliness of the school grounds, keeping time and keeping themselves to time [e.g. Field/A:08/03/2005, 21/04/2005; Field/B:03/03/2004, 22/04/2004]. Even the measured use of corporal punishments could be seen as sending a message to pupils, aiming at changing their attitudes towards learning and behaviour. This measured use should however not be confused with observed examples of indiscriminate brutal punishments, such as pinching, hitting, punching, frog-hopping or kneeling on concrete, which are illegal under Tanzanian law. Similarly, the practice by some teachers of running after pupils with canes, chasing them into the classrooms, conjured up images of farmers herding cattle to market. These practices did change pupils' immediate behaviour, but arguably did not communicate pedagogically sound ways of developing or improving pupils' long-term attitudes towards life and learning [Field/A:29/03/2004, 10/05/2004, 22/02/2005].

The successful headteachers effectively used formal and non-verbal means to pass on and discuss information on school maintenance and development with staff and pupils. They also took communicating with parents very seriously.

Communication with parents was considered crucial to school improvement

In school B, the headteacher was a strong proponent of close contacts with the parents. She believed parent meetings were not a 'waste of time', parents and the school should be 'close', and it was important not to 'lie' to them [Int/HT/B:05/10/2004, 07/03/2005]. In order to ensure cooperation, she said:

We had a meeting with the parents. I talked to them and told them the reality, that the school don't have enough material to teach, therefore you have to contribute some, or

you can buy your children books, or a mathematical set, anything which are required in the school. And the parents agreed to me. [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003]

Furthermore, she argued that keeping the parents genuinely informed increased the chance of success of improvement initiatives.

...we have to talk to the parents to tell them they have to contribute something and they gave us the permission. [...] And when you tell them anything, they were willing to do [...]. I know that nothing can be impossible. And when I call them to come and do a meeting with me, they came and we did the meeting together, talked to the parents together. That is why we built four [class]rooms, behind there. Nothing was impossible. [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003]

According to the school's time table at least 17 formal meetings were scheduled throughout the year (see Appendix 17).

Parent meetings in school B were usually well attended [Field/B:12/05/2004, 09/03/2005]. The school's reputation meant it was heavily over-subscribed and relatively more parents were interested in maintaining the school's quality, compared to other primary schools in Dodoma Urban. In school A, a similar number of meetings were supposed to be held, but this only resumed after the second headteacher's appointment. He explicitly stressed the equality between staff and parents in meetings, and attendance rose over time [Field/A:11/03/2005; Quest/A:20/05/2005]. These formal meetings were seen as a means for the school to inform parents about general school issues, to report on their children's progress, to keep pressure on the pupils in terms of learning and behaviour, and to better understand them. In turn, the parents had a formal platform to feed back on issues important to them, as well as question the school leadership and school committee on academic progress, teacher behaviour or financial decisions.

The headteachers also spent much of their time on formal one-to-one meetings with parents. On nearly every visit to the schools parents could be seen waiting outside the headteachers' office, in order to discuss issues such as requests to enrol their children, transfers to other schools, negotiations on delay of payments for tuitions or school meals or conflicts with teachers, pupils' behavioural issues and academic progress. The headteacher of school B estimated spending three to four hours per day talking with parents [Int/HT/B:05/10/2004, 07/03/2005].

Having highlighted the means and frequency of communication between school management, staff and parents, I now focus on their quality and relevance.

Genuine communication engendered reliability and trust

In communication with staff and parents, the successful headteachers stressed the need to:

- Report the real situation; to talk freely and not lie
- Respect others as equals
- Provide regular feedback and updates
- Give and receive advice
- Promote a sense of ownership of the school
- Combine large-scale general meetings with small-scale class meetings
- Express a direction for the development of the school
- Share ideas on developing the school
- Understand each others problems

[Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005, 08/03/2005; Int/HT/B:07/03/2005, 05/10/2004, 16/03/2004, 02/12/2003]

Key in their approach was willingness and ability to acknowledge and respond to staff and parents' concerns. This did not mean bowing to every wish, but allowing these to be aired and discussed, even if these could not be accommodated (Evans, 1999). Through her approach to genuine communication the headteacher of school B kept herself informed about sentiments among staff, thus pre-empting build up of resentment. Similarly, in school A the opportunity for staff to share their concerns with the headteacher reduced existing resentful behaviour, which had resulted from lack of openness [Int/T31/A:03/02/2005; 12/03/2005].

The extent of the headteachers' consultation remained limited due to the hierarchical organisation of the education system (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973). Although all present were allowed to have their say during often lengthy staff and parents meetings, the headteachers often spent much time reasoning to secure compliance with government directives or their own proposals and/or decisions, rather than seeking compromise or mutual agreement [Field/B:24/03/2004, 03/06/2004, 02/09/2004]. For example, the decision to cooperate in the fieldwork of this study was made by both the headteachers, but during staff meetings they convinced the teaching staff to participate [Field/A:23/10/2003; Field/B:17/10/2003]. Similarly, the initiative to provide midday meals to pupils attending extra tuition in the afternoons, and for which the parents would have to pay, was argued about for hours until the parents agreed [Field/B:09/03/2005].

More evidence for the importance of genuine communication came from the initial management situation in school A. Staff meetings were regularly cancelled, and staff were expected to simply do as they were told. This resulted in resentment because the headteacher was seen as 'not close to the teachers' and did not discuss or give advice on how to work according to the directives [Int/T36/A:05/03/2004]. Staff had therefore resorted to discussing school matters amongst themselves, if only to try and find out what the headteacher's plans were. Several complained that only the 'trusted ones' close to the headteacher knew what was being decided and how money was being spent [Int/T33/A:30/11/2004; Field/A:07/04/2004]. Also in school B staff talked privately about school matters amongst themselves and with me, but as staff appeared better informed, overt anxiety with regard to the headteacher's plans rarely occurred.

No specific data was collected on informal communication between management and teaching staff, education officers and parents and its effect on the successful management of change. However, from my experience as a primary school teacher in the Netherlands and England I know that informal communications between individuals can have a strong effect on improvement initiatives, depending on the intentions of individuals involved. During the fieldwork, individual members of staff, education officers or parents often raised school issues in informal conversations with me. It was therefore likely that informal communication played a contributory part in the success or failure of the various improvement initiatives. This issue deserves further investigation.

Summary

Both successful headteachers communicated effectively with staff, parents and pupils. They communicated genuinely, acknowledging and taking seriously the concerns of others. Communication was not only key to the more consultative management approach of the headteacher in school B, but also in the more directive style of the second headteacher in school A, where open communication helped dissipate some resistance, anxiety and distrust. Open and extensive communication with parents increased their willingness to support the school (Ncgobo and Tikly, 2010; Swai and Ndidde, 2006, Temu, 1995). Parental support helped compensate for the lack of practical and principle support from educational authorities.

Genuine communication among all staff arguably enables the collaboration necessary for engaging in and bringing about change for school improvement.

Teamwork

Given the broad definition by Morrison, K. (1998:182-183) [pg.96] on the concept of 'team', the inevitability of staff collaboration in the context of whole-school improvement (Fullan, 1999; Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994; Hargreaves, A., 1992), and the frequent use of the term when staff referred to themselves collectively (Kisw: *timu*), I assumed the presence of a 'team' in both schools. Within the Tanzanian education system, I further expected both teams to be hierarchically structured, cultured and power-distributed, instead of being a collegium of equals (Hargreaves, D., 1995).

Given my cultural focus in the third research question, rather than focusing on the technicalities of teamwork in the context of school improvement, I looked specifically at the quality of collaborative attitudes among staff, and with others within and beyond the school. In the discussion below I use the term 'collaboration' to indicate high levels of willingness to work together on the basis of high quality trust, strong relationships and mutually agreed principles. The term 'cooperation' indicates more functionalist and survivalist forms of working together, based on compromise [pg.86ff,98].

Cooperation was seen as key to school improvement

Throughout the study, cooperation between teachers, management staff, education officers, parents and pupils was mentioned as a key determinant in successful changes for school improvement. Conversely, lack of cooperation between the various individuals involved was seen as a main reason why improvements were made slowly and with limited success, or even failed. Next, I present examples of cooperation among school staff and with others involved in the improvement of the schools.

Headteachers and senior management staff

The headteacher of school B mentioned the willingness among staff to work together 'as one' as well as their capability to cooperate as among her main management concerns. This was important when she formed specific workgroups within her school, such as the academic

committee, school discipline teachers or the group of afternoon teachers. To promote cooperation she urged the use of open and friendly communication between staff and with pupils and to show mutual respect through dressing smartly in school [Int/HT/B:07/03/2005]. She described her staff as a 'team', insisting that her own role was not more important than that of other staff members [pg.190]. Furthermore, she linked the necessity of teamwork to the lack of cooperation from education officers and to the need for a collective response to imposed directives [pg. 199ff, 238]. However, despite collaborative rhetoric and consultative actions, cooperation between management and teaching staff was not necessarily seen as working together as equals. For example, the headteachers' views on delegation and consultation [pg.188, 197, 202] meant that management and teaching staff functioned as separate groups, in which the latter remained unquestionably subordinate.

When asked about the nature of cooperation between management and teaching staff in the successful improvement initiatives, teachers of both schools [Quest/A:20/05/2005; Quest/B:24/05/2005] commented:

She [the deputy headteacher] cooperated with academic teacher and the other teachers to teach all subjects in classes [T12/S5/A].

She [the headteacher] cooperated with teachers, parents within implementation of all responsibilities [T4/S4/B].

Teaching staff

On cooperation between teachers during successful improvements, staff stated:

They work together sharing the shortage of material in each subject and school department [T3/S7/A].

They insist each other to teach in every period according to the timetable. Otherwise they report on each other [T22/S4/B].

Also, during a training session on the initiative generated in the context of this study, teachers of school B specifically asked for cooperation from both colleagues and experts in the field [Train/B:03/03/2004]:

I am going to ask other teachers who are able to help about this topic. I will ask the academic teachers to help [T18/S5/B].

Trusted colleagues to come to the class to observe while at work and to give feedback [T1/S5/B].

However, the nature of this cooperation was more practical than principled, and served staffs' required teaching goals rather than benefiting pupils' learning potential and needs.

Pupils

Similarly, the desired cooperation of pupils with teachers in improving the school and its performance goals was not a mutual 'horizontal' process. According to most teachers pupils had a duty to be obedient, compliant, and hardworking, so staff would not be obstructed in their teaching duties. On pupils' role in improved school results teachers stated:

Because they are following the rules they have been able to succeed in all subjects [T4/S7/A].

To cooperate with the teachers in learning and receiving the given knowledge [T24/S2/B].

Some teachers saw a slightly more collaborative role for pupils:

[They were] motivated because of using participatory techniques [T5/S3/A].

They enjoyed being participated and ask questions and give their views [T16/S6/B].

Parents and School Committee

Where school improvement initiatives were deemed successful, staff described the effect of cooperation with parents as positive. Staff understood parental cooperation mainly as support for their work as teachers:

They have cooperated to observe the control of discipline and attitudes of pupils, to like the subjects/lessons, to have good behaviour, obedience and good morality [T5/S5/B].

To cooperate with the teachers in making sure the child attends the class and to help with different improvements in the school [T20/S7/B].

Pupil behaviour changed according to good control of pupil truancy. There was good understanding among teachers and parents in improving pupil behaviour [T13/S5/A].

Some failures were however clearly blamed on the lack of cooperation by parents with the school or their children:

Construction of toilets and fence of the school was not successful because there wasn't cooperation between teachers and parents in contributing money [T17/S6/A].

According to staff, cooperation by the parents meant controlling their children, so they would come to school in clean uniforms, behave politely and accept their duties [Int/T31/A:06/03/2005; Quest/A:20/05/2005]. As a result of communicating regularly and openly with parents, the headteacher of school B saw a marked improvement in pupils' cooperation with the teachers over the year 2004 [Int/HT/B:05/10/2004].

Cooperation between the school and school committee was seen by teachers as an extension of parental contribution and monitoring. As community representatives they were expected:

To participate in giving advice and assign and authorize funds [T3/S7/A].

Municipal education officers and school inspectors

With regard to the nature of cooperation with municipal education officers and school inspectors, staff distinguished between their supervision and assistance duties. Firstly, they highlighted directing, monitoring and inspecting the schools' organisational administration, academic performance and behavioural discipline as most important:

To do inspection in school and to see how teachers are teaching in classroom [T4/S7/A].

To supervise and plan the strategies of improving education in the place concerned [T24/S2/B].

As education officers and school inspectors were also required to support the schools in their attempts to improve, teachers saw their role as:

They were able to instruct us on different teaching techniques and using teaching aids [T12/S5/A].

[They were] giving guidance causing teachers to work more effectively [T26/S4/B].

Cooperation also featured prominently in inspection reports on both schools. A passage from the 2003 report on school A (DSI, 2003:7) read:

Generally, the delivery of the subjects inspected reached a good level (standard). This is because of good relationship (cooperation) between the teachers and their leaders.

The 2004 inspection report of school B (DSI, 2004:9) read:

In order to improve the academic quality up to 100% in the school, the school administration together with the school committee are supposed to work together as a team to solve all defects seen during this inspection.

A caveat needs to be made here, as the contents of inspection reports may not reflect the reality in schools. Because school inspectors were held directly responsible for the quality of education in the schools they inspected, the phrasing of inspection reports has been known to be suspect [Int/DH2/B:22/04/2004; Int/MEO:11/01/2005].

Cooperation with municipal education officers was sometimes strained, as they were keen to overcome staff resistance towards imposed changes. They used measures ranging from demoting staff and punitive transfers [Int/DEO:20/01/2005] to non-punitive approaches and persuasive arguments drawn from school improvement theory [Int/MAO:17/02/2005]. Furthermore, lack of cooperation among municipal education officers indirectly affected teamwork within the schools, as well-connected staff influenced certain high-ranking officials, for example to grant redeployment in preferred schools [Int/MAO:01/03/2005].

Researcher

Also the effect of my research was seen by the majority of teachers as helpful in establishing greater cooperation within and beyond the school, especially in school B:

This research became successful in contributing to the development of the school, because there were so many teachers [who were] thinking others are not concerned with them [T26/S4/B].

The research in large extent has brought change and allowed development, especially changing the method of teaching and improving to some extent the school administration and running issues openly [T21/S7/B].

The research has taught us various techniques of teaching and to use teaching aids which are available in our environment which are not expensive. It also helped the teacher to have self-confidence in their teaching [T23/S7/B].

Not every teacher agreed:

The research failed to contribute because of lack of cooperation on the side of the parents and school leadership [T18/S7/A].

These examples of cooperation between the various groups involved in school improvement can be seen negatively and positively. From a negative perspective, the emphasis on cooperation pointed to a systemic absence of *collaboration*, arguably necessary for more comprehensive school improvement [pg.98]. From a positive perspective, it signalled a recognition of and move away from balkanised school structures, cultures and power-relationships, especially in school A. Therefore, in terms of 'teamwork' – in as much as staff could be regarded as a 'team' – staff in both schools worked at best 'in a team', not 'as a team'. Working together and developing cooperative attitudes was characterised more by mutually beneficial personal and professional practices, than driven by critically negotiated and collectively acknowledged compatible pedagogical and managerial principles.

The reasons collaboration remained limited among staff related to 1) the narrow focus of school improvement, and 2) cultural values and practices.

Limited collaboration reflected narrow school improvement

Most school improvement initiatives in 2004 (see Appendix 16) did not require high levels of collaboration; good cooperation arguably sufficed. Initiatives with a predominantly physical-material focus hardly required collaborative actions among staff, other than consenting to budgetary decisions by the schools' managers e.g. with regard to having repairs done. Nevertheless, financial openness was seen as a sign of 'good' cooperation [Quest/B: 24/05/2005]:

In the improvement concerning money, material and renovation, the school leadership has tried a lot to buy needed school materials. They also gave report on how the money was used to the teachers, school committee members, parents and the renovation and repairing was done [T21/S5/B].

School-wide improvement initiatives with an initial technical-procedural focus did require some collaborative action. For example, the use of a Class Book required all teachers keeping to its aims and procedures. However, in both schools some teachers cooperated in abusing the system, for example by signing on behalf of each other [Field/A:14/06/2004].

Collaboration also played a limited role in initiatives with an initial cultural-attitudinal focus. During the restoration of 'normal' functioning in school A, staff were not persuaded by educational principles or professional ethics to be more cooperative. Instead, with the second

headteacher's appointment, the disadvantages of disorder had begun to outweigh the perceived advantages (Chabal and Daloz, 1999). In school B, improving pupils' learning attitudes was mostly meant to lighten individual teachers' workload.

In general, teamwork was characterised by 'good' cooperation at best. The traditional compartmentalised way in which teaching was organised, meant there was little cooperation, let alone collaboration, among staff and with others to begin with. Lesson preparation and marking pupil's work were predominantly individual affairs, although some staff who shared the same subject would sometimes plan together [Field/B:09/06/2004]. Underpinning the way schooling was structured, were cultural attitudes and behaviours that limited collaboration.

Limited collaboration reflected cultural values and practices

Among staff in the two schools, the term 'cooperation' was often used interchangeably with the terms 'collaboration' and 'participation' (the word in Kiswahili for all three is *ushirikiano*), so the term's precise conceptualisation was problematic. Furthermore, the terms were frequently used as euphemisms for 'obedience' and 'compliance'. Pupils' interests were subordinate to the demands on staff, likewise staff interests were subordinate to the demands on the schools. Conversely, 'cooperation' could also mean 'being lenient' when seen from the subordinate position. During the introduction of the Participatory Techniques several staff accused municipal education officers of being uncooperative, as they showed very little consideration for teachers' concerns and objections [Field/B:26/11/2004; Int/HT/B:07/03/2005].

The quality of collaboration among staff further showed through practices related to 1) equal division of labour among peers, and 2) maintaining hierarchical differences in position and status.

Equal Sharing

Staff were alert to whether necessary input in improvements and regular work was both similarly and as equally shared as possible. This was mainly done out of self-interest or fear of being disadvantaged. In both schools, staff meetings often involved a great deal of bargaining and compromising to ensure this [Field/A:06/11/2003; Field/B:03/06/2004]. Absenteeism of colleagues was viewed with suspicion, as this could mean additional workload. Teachers became quite vocal when privileges were perceived to be unequally shared amongst staff

[Field/A:07/04/2004; Field/B:26/11/2004]. Given general levels of poverty these benefits were mostly financial (Kisw: *maslahi*), and involved:

- The privilege of doing shopping or photocopying on the school's behalf, which gave the possibility of arranging a discount with the shop, supplementing the meagre teacher's salary
- Being sent on errands to the municipal education office or other schools, giving the opportunity to be away from class, do some social networking or attend to personal business
- Being sent on training courses which provided sitting-in allowance (Kisw: *posho*) or meals
- Being selected to provide 'remedial teaching' in the afternoons, weekends or holidays; paid for out of the PEDP Capitation Grant
- Being selected as invigilators for neighbouring schools during exams, with meals provided for

During the compulsory training on the Participatory Techniques in school B staff openly questioned the absence of some colleagues, even those who had been given permission by the headteacher. Sympathy was only given to those who were perceived to have a valid reason; e.g. genuine illness or family calamity [Field/B:26/11/2004]. Presence in the training provided in the context of this study also became an issue when on several occasions a significant number of staff did not attend. Some argued that all staff needed to be present for the initiative to work, while others gave priority to other activities [Field/B:25/02/2004].

In general, unequal division of labour caused resentment. In school B, three less capable staff were paired with a more experienced colleague, who taught the same subject or standards. The experienced staff regarded the pairing as additional workload rather than a collaborative learning opportunity [Int/AT/B:07/06/2004]. Also in school B, the tightening of the work of the Academic Committee (i.e. the academic teacher, and one coordinator for each subject) was seen as increased workload, both by the committee's members and the teachers who needed to provide more evidence of their performance. The headteacher and academic teacher had to remain vigilant that all involved kept adhering to the new regime [Int/HT/B:05/10/2004; Int/AT/B:22/06/2004]. In both schools, the two successful headteachers exemplified equity through their actions as managers [pg189ff.]. Although in the hierarchy 'above' staff, they showed they were serious and pulled their weight.

Uniformity and Maintaining Difference

In school A, unity appeared somewhat restored under the second headteacher, but this meant in practice that existing divisions became less obvious and acute [Field/A:24/01/2005]. Despite a more uniform and functioning work atmosphere, in the staff room teachers still congregated in their usual groupings. Even though fewer teachers avoided teaching, they worked more, but not necessarily better [Field/A:22/02/2005, 19/04/2005]. Given the perceived higher status of working in school B, as well as the efforts by the headteacher to promote staff cooperation, there was relatively stronger adherence to teamwork than in school A. Nevertheless, apparent team unity hid divisions among staff, which related in school B mainly to different levels of personal wealth and to affiliation with the headteacher [pg.174ff].

Staff only presented a united front when faced with outsiders. For example, during parent meetings and visits of education officers or school inspectors, teachers tended to rally behind management staff. Furthermore, in discussions with outsiders, the successful headteachers would represent genuine concerns of the teaching staff. When the newly appointed REO visited school B in his bid to be known and to convey his views on improving education (Maulidi, 2002), it was the headteacher who asked critical questions and presented him with the dilemmas his policies would raise for the school [Field/B:11/06/2004; Int/DH2/B:12/06/2004]. Still, in subsequent staff meetings she used his demands and forewarnings as lever to ensure more adherence to her own managerial agenda [Field/B:22/06/2004]. During a school inspection in school A, the second headteacher adopted a more mediating role between staff and education authorities [Field/A:04/04/2005; Int/HT2/A:19/04/2005; Int/T31/A:16/04/2005]. Despite warm words of welcome and collaboration, this united front was also presented to me in the beginning of the fieldwork [Field/A:23/10/2003; Field/B:17/10/2003]. However, as time went by I was able to see and discuss with staff their own divisions and incongruities, and with some staff in both schools collaboration became genuine. Most others cooperated, to different degrees [pg.134].

Societal values and customs affected collaboration between staff in more mundane ways, indicating less separation between work and private life than may be deemed appropriate in Western schools. During regular school days it was common to hear a teacher shout personal messages through the classroom window to a passing colleague [Field/B:20/01/2004]. Staff regularly arrived late in class after haggling for discounts on anything from vegetables and

clothing to mobile phones from hawkers visiting the staffroom during break times [Field/A:20/01/2005, 19/03/2004; Field/B:10/11/2003]. Daily interaction among colleagues and with senior staff, parents, familiar education officers or pupils resembled customary informal relationships between members of an extended family. On at least two occasions a pupil was heard addressing a teacher who was not directly related as 'auntie' rather than as 'teacher' [Field/B:01/10/2004, 10/11/2003].

It was in the informal sphere that higher levels of collaboration (based on trust) between staff existed, but this was not related to school improvement. For example, in both schools teachers had arranged a mutual financial support scheme. In school A the majority of teachers voluntarily contributed a small portion of their salary (Tsh. 1000 = 1 US\$) each month to build up a lump sum to be given to a teacher in sudden exceptional hardship; e.g. the death of a husband [Int/T33/A:30/11/2004]. In school B some senior teachers earning well above the minimum teacher salary, had set up a saving scheme, each handing over Tsh. 50,000 per month in rotation to one member of the scheme in order to cover large expenses (mostly secondary school fees of their children) [Int/DH2/B:01/05/2004].

Despite greater equality between staff in their informal interactions, in the formal areas of their work, hierarchical positions and privileges were strictly adhered to. Unity in the schools therefore resulted from collective compliance to traditional hierarchical differences, not from consensus resulting from egalitarian negotiations and democratic agreements. This compliance led at best to cooperation among staff, with strong competitive undertones.

Summary

In this section on teamwork, focussing on collaborative and cooperative staff attitudes, the narrow conceptualisation of 'cooperation' reflected the narrow focus of school improvement initiatives, and the schools' formal hierarchical organisation. Cooperation was often understood as conforming to traditional social and professional norms and practices, rather than as a form of self-chosen collaboration with others in the workplace. Both successful headteachers saw 'teamwork' more in terms of conformity and avoiding conflict within the hierarchical system, than as 'sparking off each other creatively', i.e. exploiting constructive differences (Fullan, 2001b). Cooperation served the schools' functionalist goals and practical objectives of staff, rather than greater adherence to more collaborative-participatory principles. Even though the

management approach in school B was more subordinate-orientated (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973) than in school A, 'collegiality' as understood in the West did not occur (Hargreaves, D., 1995; Hargreaves, A., 1994, 1992). Outwardly presented team unity only occasionally masked the deep divisions between individuals and sub-groups, which I described in the Fieldwork Setting chapter [172ff]. Staff attitudes were more collaborative within informal relationships.

So far I described operational elements of the change management process (see Appendix 3) that made intentional change for improvement possible in the two study schools, bearing in mind their hierarchical structures, cultures and power-distributions. Underpinning the operational elements are the conditional ones. I start with staff motivation.

Motivation

In the context of change management, motivation is seen here first and foremost as the general attitude of management and teaching staff towards their work and their willingness to engage in school improvement initiatives [pg.63ff]. Factors that stimulate motivation are usually divided into intrinsic and extrinsic ones (Evans, 1999; Herzberg *et al*, 1959), which do not necessarily have to be positive motivators. Deeply felt concern about poor quality education or fear of transfer to an undesirable school may motivate staff to engage in school improvement initiatives. In hierarchically organised schools, educational authorities and school managers arguably tend to rely more commonly on 'stick and carrot' approaches to motivate staff. Even when subordinate staff is extensively consulted, the motivating effect of empowerment remains limited or backfires when the use of collegial management approaches turn out to be contrived (Angus, 1996; Hargreaves, A., 1994). Fullan (2001b; 1999) therefore suggests that the use by change leaders of extrinsic 'pressure and support' is better replaced by building on an intrinsic sense of 'urgency' among all staff, and on genuine partnerships with authorities and agencies beyond the school. This requires greater ownership by staff of the *values* behind school improvement, especially when initiatives are externally mandated rather than self-generated (Hallinger, 2003; Lumby, 2003b; Hopkins, 2001; Middlewood, 1999b).

Within the context of the narrowly focussed initiatives [pg.181ff] (Appendix 16), the quality of staff motivation was such that several were implemented successfully [pg.278ff]. The extent to which motivation obstructed change, I discuss in section three of this chapter.

Positive and negative methods were used to motivate staff and pupils

In motivating staff, the successful headteachers focused more on extrinsic factors affecting job satisfaction than on pedagogical quality which affects teachers' intrinsic motivation (Evans, 1999; Lumby, 2003a). In school A, the second headteacher used a combination of coercion and coaxing to motivate staff to restore a working atmosphere in the school [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005]. Given his formal authority he could take concrete steps to have a teachers suspended, dismissed or transferred. In a coaxing way, he used money from the PEDP Capitation Grant,

...to motivate teachers if they are teaching in extra time... it means that you give few more money.

At 2004 rates, a week's worth of extra tuition, i.e. six 40-minute periods, earns an extra Tsh. 1500 to 2000 (approximately US\$ 1.50 to 2.00). Or:

You can buy sugar for them. Sugar for tea time. That is a motivation for teachers.

To raise staff morale, the headteacher placed value on being an example:

...because you can't tell the teacher: go in the class, but you yourself, you stay in your office.

Cane in hand, he could be seen patrolling the school grounds. After hours and on Saturdays, he provided extra tuition to the examination classes [Field/A:22/02/2005], which also topped up his salary.

The pupils of school A were motivated to work through a mixture of positive and negative motivators. Measures taken by the second headteacher [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005] were:

For example, disciplining pupils. That is the first: disciplining pupils.

Disciplining here means immediate punishment (mostly caning) for breaking school rules and other 'bad' behaviour, such as 'not learning'. He also suggested less punitive approaches, such as:

...to tell them, that if the pupils they are good, doing well in examination, it is very proud for our school.

...to make pupils willing, I can give a prize, prizes for pupils who did well in examinations. First class, second class and third class. We can give the prize to motivate them to learning in high speed.

Rather than developing professional attitudes of staff or the quality of pupils' learning through appealing to their own will, interest or aptitude (Wedin, 2010; Haki Elimu, 2007; Evans, 1999; Wood 1988), the headteacher primarily used praise and rewards to boost school performance in examinations. Teachers who motivated their pupils during the lessons I observed, did so largely to stimulate work output rather than to encourage and teach pupils to take co-responsibility for the quality and process of their learning [Obs/T22/S7/A:05/03/2004; Obs/T30/S5/B: 20/10/2004].

In school B, the headteacher motivated her staff and pupils through similar methods, but used them within a more consultative management approach. She deliberately stimulated some level of intrinsic motivation and professional attitudes among her staff. Her actions (and those of her management staff) impacted directly on the engagement of staff in their work and in school improvement. Through her consultative approach she promoted teamwork [pg.190ff], through tightening the work of the Academic Committee she boosted the quality of teaching (in accordance with local standards), and period roster in hand she could be seen regularly checking up on whether teachers were present in class [e.g. Field/B:03/03/2004].

Although in both schools most teachers could be seen as hard-working during certain times of the year, in school B staff appeared relatively more self-driven. In comparison with school A, teachers took more individual initiative to improve on their own teaching and to support each other. For example, they regularly collected reference materials on their subjects, made and used teaching aids, used pupil text books in class, and taught difficult topics on behalf of each other [e.g. Field/B:03/06/2004; Int/T31/B:05/06/2004; Int/T35/B:02/12/2003; Obs/T33/S6/B: 08/06/2004]. It was therefore not surprising that the combined staff of the 11 primary schools of the ward to which school B belonged, selected by popular vote two teachers of school B to win both the prestigious 'Best Teacher' awards for 2004 [Field/B:19/06/2004]. However, with regard to willingness to engage in school improvement, one of the deputy headteachers of school B stated that staff only engaged if they felt the changes made their work easier, or as a necessity to stay out of trouble with school inspectors. According to her, the majority of staff were driven

by external and practical pressures rather than by principled 'urgency' (see Fullan, 2001b), as only a handful of teachers taught seriously with the aim of making children understand the contents of the subject syllabi [Int/DH2/B:01/05/2004].

Summary

The headteachers combined positive and negative motivators to keep staff at work, rather than to stimulate them to assume individual responsibility for their professional activities in school, or to develop a joint sense of urgency with regard to whole-school improvement. They focussed mainly on extrinsic factors that affected job satisfaction, rather than on stimulating intrinsic staff motivation and team morale with respect to 'being a teacher' (Lumby, 2003a; Middlewood, 2003; Anderson, S., 2002). Still, through the relatively more subordinate-orientated management approach in school B, its headteacher managed to develop a stronger team spirit among her staff than in school A. As with dependable leadership [pg.194] and parental support [pg.200ff], this arguably helped compensate for the pressures under which staff had to work, and for the lack of support from educational authorities (Davidson, 2006).

Not only willingness of staff underpinned their engagement in school improvement, also their pedagogical and managerial capability.

Capability

Developing pedagogical and managerial staff capability is seen by many as unavoidable in the process of school improvement (Earley, 2005; Middlewood, 2003, 1999b; McMahon, 2001; Dalin, 1998) [pg.67ff]. However, capability in this thesis means more than practical professionalism; i.e. the technical-procedural ability to teach children and to run and improve a school. It also involves the attitudinal stance with which staff do their work; i.e. the values which underpin their practices (Evans, 1999). It shows how serious, committed and ethical staff are. As such, the attitudinal side of professionalism links the practices of staff (i.e. their actions) to their professional principles (i.e. their rationale) and their willingness (i.e. their individual motivation and collective morale) to engage and commit. However, according to Anderson, S. (2002) the attitudinal side of 'being a teacher' is seldom addressed during staff development in Tanzania.

Staff development was largely limited to in-school supervision

Organised staff development activities seldom took place in either school during the fieldwork period, with exception of the training I provided. [pg.142ff, 276]. Out-of-school training at the only Teacher Resource Centre in Dodoma happened incidentally when a particular improvement program was mandated, organised and financed by education authorities (e.g. training on use of the Participatory Techniques or training for HIV/Aids coordinators) [Field:24/02/2004, 27/10/2004]. On other occasions, out-of-school training focussed according to the headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:07/03/2005] only on informing management staff on technical issues such as:

- [a] Procedural changes over time, i.e. amendments of subject syllabi, examinations, enforcement of pupil discipline, etc.
- [b] Keeping records of finances under PEDP
- [c] Being informed about national and district-level educational policy

Within the schools, school inspectors once held a training day on pedagogical topics related to the subject syllabi [Field/B:30/03/2004] Otherwise, systematic in-service staff development did not occur for financial, managerial and attitudinal reasons, including capability of management staff, and perceived lack of relevance by management and teaching staff [pg.226, 233, 248ff]. Therefore, headteachers tried to ensure staff quality through in-school supervision and intervention on a daily basis, rather than through training. The headteacher of school A [Int/HT2/A: 19/05/2005] would:

...go to the class to see how [the teachers] are teaching. After that you can tell him to see you and you can tell him the problem, if they are teaching not in a good way and correct them: if you want to do teaching properly, you are supposed to do this and this and this. [...] For example, there is one teacher who is teaching without writing the heading of what he is teaching about... general knowledge [Maarifa ya Jamii; a school subject]. He is teaching without writing the topics on the blackboard, and the date. I called them - they were teaching Standard VII and General Knowledge - and I called them to my office and I tell them: if you are teaching, you are supposed to write the heading of what you are teaching and the date. That is the instruction of our teachers.

As reason for his interventions he stated that:

Some of the teachers, they are not so good curriculum-wise. Probably half [50%]...

He recognised the need for in-service professional development of the teaching staff, which in his opinion ought to involve about $\frac{1}{3}$ of his work as headteacher. However, in practice, he stated that:

The technical [development] for my school is small, percentage wise, because we have no spare time...[other]...than teaching pupils, because term time is fully occupied...

The demands on teachers to cover their subject syllabi and to meet performance targets in exams did not allow time for systematic professional development. With regard to his own professional development, after his promotion to headteacher in 1981 he only received three specific headteacher training courses, totalling 4 weeks. These taught school administration, not pedagogical or organisational leadership. His own pedagogical expertise stemmed from his years as teacher.

Likewise, the headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] would, if necessary, directly or through the academic committee intervene and educate her teaching staff:

... we inspect internally. And when we see somebody is not doing very well, we call her or him and talk to him and we try to educate how he should do, how he should teach.

Instead of specific development training, the adopted supervision approach to staff quality in school B involved measures such as:

- Consistent daily time keeping of the teaching periods and follow-up on teacher absenteeism
- Attention to teachers' behaviour and dress code
- Weekly review of teacher's lesson plans and keeping of class registers
- Monthly tests to review pupils' progress and – indirectly – teacher effectiveness
- Fortnightly team meetings to discuss identified practical and pedagogical issues
- Teacher pairing (i.e. pairing a capable with a less capable teacher)
- Informal unannounced classroom visits
- Half term internal inspections (mimicking the procedures of formal school inspections), which includes review of pupils' exercise books

Even though all of these procedures were required by education authorities, it was in the consistent way they were carried out, that made them effective in school B. In school A, consistent in-school supervision was restored under the second headteacher [pg.233]. Still,

over the course of the fieldwork some staff did develop pedagogical and management capabilities, which I elaborate on later under the section on 'action' [pg.276].

Summary

The lack of systematic technical and attitudinal staff development in the two schools seriously hampered enhancing their quality. Furthermore, the focus during in-service supervision on procedural correctness rather than on changing approaches to pedagogy, meant consolidation of the narrow functionalist focus of school improvement. Lack of training for management staff arguably contributed to the continuation of the schools' existing bureaucratic-hierarchical management approaches. Although consistent leadership by the headteachers improved staff professionalism in terms of behaviour (i.e. working more and harder in accordance with expectations by education authorities), it did not fundamentally change their underpinning pedagogical values and practices as they were not encouraged to challenge and transform them.

Next, I briefly summarise the main findings on 'what worked', stressing the interrelationships between the various elements of the change management process.

Summary on 'What Worked'

Within the context of 1) the functionalist focus of the various improvement initiatives, 2) the bureaucratic-hierarchical organisation of the two schools (i.e. structures and power-distribution), and 3) their 'kaleidoscopic' and fragmented cultures [pg.178ff], the *combination* of consistent and genuine (i.e. dependable) leadership, communication, cooperation, in-service supervision and willingness of staff was sufficient to ensure achievability of *narrow* school improvement.

The management role of leadership automatically tended to fall to those in positions of formal authority (Angus, 1996, Anderson, G., 1996). However, for achievability of improvements dependability of leadership was important (Earley and Fletcher-Campbell, 1992). Through being dependable, the successful headteachers compelled staff to be more dependable as well, and in case of school B empowered staff to act more independently. Through actions such as acknowledging staff concerns, providing reliable information and consistent and fair

supervision, they earned respect rather than demanding it on the basis of their formal position. In return, staff were willing to cooperate and to engage in various whole-school improvement initiatives.

Despite being largely powerless vis-à-vis the formal administrative power of the headteachers, staff accepted their leadership only when executed in a culturally acceptable way, and when suitable for the circumstances in the schools. The disciplinarian approach in school A appeared suitable for restorative change (Harris and Chapman, 2002; Newman and Pollard, 1994), whereas the consultative approach in school B allowed marginally more developmental change, but did not go so far to challenge the school's existing structure, culture and power-distribution.

Although the described combination of change management elements enabled the successful implementation of narrowly focussed improvement initiatives, comprehensive and fundamental change in the two schools did not occur during 2004. Next, I discuss which elements of change management either blocked or were absent for more transformational change.

MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE – 'What Blocked or Was Absent?'

Drawing again on the operational and conditional facets of the Management of Change model as discussed in chapter two [pg.61] (Appendix 3), I now present and discuss findings on those elements that either obstructed change through how they occurred, or how they prevented change because they were absent. Certain elements discussed under 'what works' (such as consistency, reliability and trust, motivation and capability) also occur in this section as their influence on the change management process was diverse. The first element that showed limitations to the achievability of more fundamental transformational change was rationale.

Rationale

In the context of comprehensive school improvement, I conceptualised 'rationale' as more than mission, vision, policy statement or academic justification [pg.75]. Holistically, rationale is the deep understanding of *why* change is intended, which means it is also *felt* by those engaging in it, linking it closely to staff motivation and commitment to action. This is particularly the case when the underpinning change is transformational and its processes are exploratory and ongoing. This arguably happens in schools where staff operate as developers of quality education, not merely as executors of externally imposed blueprints for system-wide reforms. In other words, rationale expresses the 'heart, mind and soul' of teaching and management staff, when working and changing together.

Developing compatible rationales among staff to form a team-based direction for school-wide improvement ideally synchronises all ongoing initiatives as a rationale for school improvement expresses the values behind the pedagogical and managerial practices in the school (Dalin, 1998; Morrison, K., 1998). However, when an agreed school-wide direction is not developed, the danger lurks that rationales for or against change may be informed by professional or cultural scripts, goal displacement, hidden agendas or corruption (Baxter *et al*, 2001; Fullan, 2001b; Harber and Davies, 1998; Davies, 1994; Newman and Pollard, 1994). Diverging values and practices among staff are then likely to jeopardise the teamwork necessary for intentional school-wide change.

In the two schools, the rationale for school improvement was problematic.

Staff and system rationale for schooling diverged

By means of a questionnaire (Appendix 8) I asked forty-seven teachers from both schools to twice rank statements by national leaders and from Tanzanian education policies on the purpose of education (Appendix 18). First, I asked the statements to be ranked in ideal order of importance. Next, I asked to rank them according to how staff experienced their day-to-day practice as teachers. A similar pattern emerged in both schools. Most staff ideally tended to rank personal and societal statements relatively higher in comparison to academic and instrumentalist ones. In daily practice though, the academic purposes ranked among the highest. However, there was some indication of divergence in rationale between older and younger staff, in which the former prioritised more societal and instrumental goals, and the latter more academic and personal-individual ones. This shift resonated with the national political change from a socialist state under Nyerere in the 1970s and 1980s to a neo-liberal outlook on governance and the economy in the last two decades and its effect on education (Vavrus, 2009; Ngaleywa, 2005; Galabawa *et al*, 2000; Komba, W., 1998; Tripp, 1997). One of the younger teachers referred to international trends to explain this shift:

As I see it, it is very important to improve academically, because it is the main foundation of life of the human being by now. The whole world has become like a village, because of the new system of globalisation. [Quest/T23/S7B:25/05/2005]

The headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] linked rationale for schooling to the attitudinal side of professionalism [pg.67]. She emphasised that staff needed to be aware of:

...why we are teachers. We are responsible for the pupils. Now, if you don't know why you are a teacher, you will not do your work properly. You have to know, why I am a teacher. Why I am here? What should I do? That is a very important thing...

According to her, 'teachers are like preachers'. They not only teach the academic syllabus but also 'peace, love and happiness'. She claimed that as a result in her school around $\frac{3}{4}$ of pupils are 'not afraid of the teachers' [Int/HT/B:05/10/2004]. Nevertheless, a senior teacher of school A [Int/T31/A:12/03/2005] explained that teaching and learning attitudes had changed over the years to a 'simpler form'. Both teachers and pupils had become more used to short-term memorisation to pass tests, rather than developing deeper understanding. The teacher attributed the change to increased poverty, classroom over-crowding and hardship of life for

both teachers and pupils. Similar sentiments were expressed by a senior teacher from school B [Int/T31/B:10/10/2004], who claimed that school improvement in Tanzania nowadays meant improving 'teaching to the test'.

The divergences in rationale resulted arguably from narrow functionalist values and practices being imposed on the schools.

Managerial and pedagogical approach reflected narrow improvement rationale

According to the municipal academic officer (MAO), who is the senior officer at the district education office responsible for the academic standards at primary schools, key decisions about school improvement in individual schools were made at district level, to be adopted and executed by school staff [Int/MAO:01/03/2005]. Furthermore, in Tanzania school performance was strictly monitored at district and national level (DMC, 2004), and educational quality was inferred from their ranking in national performance tables (GoT, 2006b). Most of the 2004 initiatives in the study schools were therefore either imposed by directive or suggested by school inspectors. This meant that the rationale for school improvement was not determined within the schools, as management and teaching staff were given little say in how to improve the running of their schools or the teaching and learning process.

When discussing the improvement responsibilities of headteachers in the two schools, the MAO compared the second headteacher of school A to a 'doctor' who needed to 'heal the patient' [Int/MAO:01/03/2005]. Given his performance in the past with regard to staff and pupil discipline, he was thought competent to 'restore order'. When asked about pedagogical improvement, he expected restoration of pupil discipline and compliant behaviour towards working and learning. The desired restoration meant reinstating commonly practiced procedures and attitudes, not changes to teaching and learning to fundamentally improve quality. The headteacher in question viewed his role in a similar light, comparing school A with a 'broken-down car'. He argued that he could only 'improve' it once he had 'fixed' it. Furthermore, he stated that he needed 'ideas' on how to improve the school once it was working 'properly' [Field/A:08/03/2005].

Conversely, the MAO was critical of the headteacher of school B [Int/MAO:01/03/2005]. Although year on year nearly all pupils passed the PSLE, hardly any did so with an A-grade; i.e. scoring between 80 and 100% of exam questions correctly [pg.284] (Appendices 22 and 23). He attributed the relatively low numbers of pupils selected for secondary school to this absence. As a remedy he suggested providing pupils in class with more exercises and an increase in extra tuition. He rejected my suggestion to identify among pupils those with A-grade potential (on the basis of their test scores) and provide them with booster classes during school hours (as is done in England), or with extra tuition using different approaches to teaching and learning to increase understanding. He argued that parents would see this as favouritism, and staff involved in the extra tuition would want additional remuneration, which would upset colleagues. As a result, a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to teaching was considered most fair.

Similar sentiments were expressed by the MAO's superior, the district education officer [Int/DEO:14/06/2004, 20/01/2005]. When discussing the approach to school improvement in school A, he attributed the poor academic results to pupil's home background. Using differences between inner-city and suburban schools in Western countries as an example, I suggested that staff in school A possibly lacked the expertise to deal effectively with the learning and behavioural difficulties of the school's pupils. In response he argued that in Tanzania all children deserved the same education, irrespective of their background. Besides, specialised training for staff was not available. The only measure he could take was transferring suitable staff to the school [pg.248]. He then asked me to speculate on the consequences of transferring the entire staff of school B to school A. I reasoned that the success of one school could not simply be transposed to another, as it depended not only on staff expertise of how to deal with pupils of more disadvantaged backgrounds, but also on their capability to work together as a team, and on the freedom they would be allowed to work differently from other schools. Furthermore, the transfer was likely to create resentment among staff, which would defeat the purpose. The team was not transferred. On improving the quality of school B (i.e. more A-grade passes in the PSLE), he hoped the introduction of the Participatory Techniques would prove effective.

Managerial and pedagogical approaches within the schools also reflected the narrow rationale to schooling and its improvement. Each school had a motto, to guide teachers and pupils in work and learning. The motto of school A read '*Nidhamu na Maarifa ni Njia ya Maisha*' (Discipline and Knowledge are the Way of Life), which was very similar to the motto of school

B, which read '*Kazi na Nidhamu ni Dira ya Maisha*' (Work and Discipline are the Compass of Life). Similar mottos were used in other primary schools in Dodoma. The mottos emphasised the dual duties of working hard (and learning well), and obeying rules [Int/HT/B:25/11/2003]. Teachers were expected to instil these attitudes in pupils. For example, after a lesson observation [Obs/T1/S5/B:10/02/2004] a young, strict, but popular female teacher of school B stated emphatically that (corporal) punishment of pupils was a necessity in schools, so that pupils would '... take learning seriously'.

A similar assumption affected management approach to teachers' work. The academic teacher of school B [Int/AT/B:19/02/2004] explained that to improve quality of education, the school's academic committee (i.e. she and all subject coordinators) performed three-monthly inspections in the same vein as official school inspections. They also conducted weekly follow-ups to check whether teachers' lesson planning were written in accordance with their subject syllabus. However, this was done procedurally, not pedagogically. In terms of procedure, her argument was that as long as teachers followed them as required, then quality of work by pupils followed. With regard to pedagogical contents and approach she simply stated that '...the experts from the ministry know best' [Int/AT/B:19/02/2004]. The reverse argument was that if pupils did not do well, then teachers must not have followed procedure and would have to be punished. This 'punishment' could range from having to work extra hours without pay to catch up with the syllabus to salary cuts or transfer. Completing the syllabus was seen among staff as very important, as topics not covered would be added to the syllabus of a colleague in the subsequent year [Int/T31/B:20/03/2004].

Even though such arguments could be seen as scripts or goal displacement from a comprehensive view on school improvement (Harber and Davies, 1998), the sincere conviction about their validity made some members of staff work hard under difficult conditions.

School improvement rationale involved some goal displacement

When managerial and pedagogical practices in education become divorced from their purposes and are being pursued as goals in their own rights, then Davies (1994) speaks of 'goal displacement'. For example, performance in tests and examinations, which is only one of the means to gauge learning attainment by pupils, had in both schools become an educational goal in its own right [pg.233]. Consequently, school improvement was equated with raising exam

results year on year. In the context of restoring the functioning of school A, its second headteacher stated as his prime duty:

First of all is to make sure that pupils pass the examination [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005].

This narrow goal was seen by the majority of staff in both schools as the main drive behind all improvement initiatives. During the selection of the two school improvement initiatives generated in the context of this study, staff in both schools provided reasons that directly or indirectly contributed to this performance goal. In school A (i.e. addressing the negative effects of school environment on pupil behaviour and learning) the majority of teachers [Train/A:20/11/2003, 28/11/2003] reasoned:

Parents should promote [to their children] the awareness of education. School should be within the environment which is satisfactory, for example to build a school fence. Children should be given useful advice in order for them to stop truant habits and to copy dirty things, such as prostitution and smoking marihuana.

Instead of going to school, they [pupils] go to the Madrassas. They fail to understand well school lessons and in the Madrassas they used to write from right to left, and it is very difficult to change them. They are afraid all the time.

Cooperation between teachers and pupils. A school fence will help to have calmness in the classes. Truancy [from periods] will decrease.

Teachers' efforts towards raising exam results were hindered because pupil behaviour was considered 'bad', parental support was seen as lacking, and the local environment as distracting. Had funds been available, most teachers proposed as an immediate solution to the problem the construction of a fence or wall around the entire school to keep pupils in and pedestrians out. An alternative solution – a different, more learner-centred approach to schooling and to pupil self-discipline – was met with considerable scepticism, as this would mean changing current practices and attitudes. This in turn was thought to mean additional work and a greater demand on teachers' time. Having a fence would avoid rather than having to deal with the effect of the school environment.

In school B, teachers chose their improvement topic (i.e. improving pupils' learning attitudes) out of the desire to become the 'best' school in the district. The school already had a far above average percentage of successful school leavers and of pupils being selected for free state secondary education [pg.284]. Between staff and myself it was agreed to focus during training sessions on the use of more participatory teaching and learning methods as ways to increase

learning motivation and to encourage pupils' self-discipline (Cameron, 1998; Clark, 1998). However, the underlying rationale of staff remained raising school performance through pupils working harder and not necessarily contributing to pupils' academic or personal-social development. I return to the schools' performance focus when discussing the success criteria of the various school improvement initiatives [pg.282].

Summary

The rationale behind improvement initiatives in the two schools reflected the traditional functionalist focus of enhancing narrow outcome-orientated school performance. On the one hand, this narrow rationale provided a direction of sorts, which underpinned most initiatives, and even prompted limited forms of staff cooperation. On the other hand, the narrow rationale blocked more comprehensive school-relevant change for a combination of reasons. First, the rationale for most initiatives was determined higher up in the hierarchical education system, with key decisions aimed at school improvement taken by education officers, not by headteachers and staff. Second, the narrow rationale did not reflect the diversity of staff views on management and pedagogy, as there was no democratically negotiated and agreed rationale among staff. Third, school improvement rationale was to some extent based on scripts and led to goal displacement (Harber and Davies, 1998). Most notably, raising examination scores had arguably become one of the central improvement scripts in Tanzanian education. Fourth, staff understood the mandated rationale as more efficient functioning of the existing system, rather than improving it. At best, school improvement meant a change of practices, not of values. Even in initiatives that clearly required changes in attitude (e.g. the introduction of the Participatory Techniques) staff tended to focus on the methods, not on their underlying principles (Anderson, S., 2002; Fullan, 2001b, 1999). Only in school B did the headteacher try to develop some 'moral purpose', 'sense of urgency' or 'culture of concern' (Fullan, 2001b; Christie and Potterton, 1997), however this stayed within the boundaries of the narrow rationale.

Closely related to the narrow rationale was the limited extent to which management and teaching staff were willing and able to critically reflect on the purpose and process of school improvement under existing conditions.

Critical Reflection

Within the process of comprehensive school improvement 'critical reflection' is both attitude and capability of individual and joint staff [pg.78ff]. It means (ideally) to methodically, routinely, constructively, realistically and truthfully study, discuss and learn to understand, how and why actions taken during the process of change relevantly contribute to quality improvement of education within the school. Its purpose is to learn from change and understand its relevance for school development. To achieve this, staff reflect positively and constructively on their own actions and those of others. They also reflect on changing school conditions and consider possible future consequences of intended actions. Furthermore, at meta level, they reflect on their developing attitude towards and capability of improving education in their school (Hopkins, 2001). When school improvement is seen as a cyclical rather than linear process, then critical reflection involves *procedurally* the ongoing systematic diagnosis for and evaluation of change (Coleman, 2005c; Fullan, 2001b; Russell and Reid, 1997). In hierarchically organised schools and school systems, such as in Tanzania (Sumra, 2001; Komba, W., 1998; Galabawa, 1997), evaluation practices may be used by education authorities as managerial levers to direct what goes on in the schools rather than as a practical development tool for staff (DudRea and Weiner, 1998; Robinson, 1994). Furthermore, being critical in hierarchical organisations and traditionalist societies may be difficult, as genuine critique by subordinates can be construed as insubordination.

In the two schools, activities showing attitudinal and procedural critical reflection were virtually non-existent.

Critical reflection was absent in managing school improvement

Very little direct data could be collected on critical reflection in the context of the various school improvement initiatives. Nearly all initiatives were uncritically adopted and executed. Although concerns were often voiced during staff meetings about possible practical consequences, no joint reflection took place over relevance, process or outcomes. For example, the Class Book was introduced to check that teachers taught all their daily lessons to the various classes they were assigned to. The book was therefore held by a Class Monitor (a designated pupil per class) to stay with the class. However, there were no provisions or consequences to prevent

some teachers taking the book with them and having it signed by colleagues who had forgotten to do so or had been absent [Field/A:14/06/2004, 28/09/2004; Int/T31/A: 16/04/2005; Int/T31/B: 07032005]. Also in self-instigated initiatives critical reflection was absent. In school B the headteacher suggested purchasing a school computer, to be used for school administration and typing tests and mock examination papers. This decision was approved by the school committee and funding was sought through additional parental contributions [Field/A: 12/05/2004]. However, no consideration had been given to the need of computer literacy training for designated staff members, additional costs of peripheral equipment (e.g. a printer or surge protector) and consumables (e.g. paper, printer ink, floppy disks), increased safety risk in case of theft, or maintenance cost due to the dusty conditions of Dodoma.

Reflective exercises were however part of the training sessions supporting the two initiatives, generated in the context of this study. The insights of staff led regularly to lively discussions, and some were built upon in subsequent training or practice. In school A, when reflecting on the effects of the school's environment on pupils' behaviour and learning, the notion of cause, effect and knock-on effect led to animated discussions on the extent of teacher responsibility for the effects on pupils' in-school attitudes [Train/A:25/11/2003].

Fig. 5.3.1: Ordering exercise on causes, effects and knock-on effects

CAUSE of negative environmental influence	→ EFFECT on pupils' learning and behaviour	→ KNOCK-ON EFFECTS
Parents' misunderstanding of the importance of education	→ Neglect by pupils of educational matters	→ Truancy
Lack of education of parents	→ The pupils don't like school, they see no importance. No encouragement of learning	→ Poor education
Home environment is hard	→ Absenteeism, no homework, no studies	→ No learning
Poor family	→ Pupils are trying to get their basic needs by themselves	→ Falling into social evils, e.g. prostitution, drugs, theft, etc.
Poverty	→ The pupils don't get basic needs, so they are confused in learning	→ Lack in understanding
Doing home business	→ Pupils spend night time selling alcohol and food at the railway station. By doing so they face several temptations	→ Feel sleepy [in class]
Doing business	→ Absenteeism	→ Poor education
Polygamy	→ No confidence [especially girls]	→ Poor learning
No parents	→ Pupils look out for themselves	→ Bad behaviour
Living with their grandfather or grandmother	→ Pupils cheat [on] them. They [say they] go to school, but really [do] not attend	→ Poor education
No school fence	→ Absenteeism	→ Slow learning / no learning

First, I asked the attending 25 teachers during group discussion to identify effects they had experienced in their daily practice (middle column), and subsequently reflect on causes and knock-on effects (see fig. 5.3.1). Next, staff were asked to reflect in groups on who bore responsibility for the various causes and effects. Staff agreed unanimously that pupils could not be held responsible for the conditions mentioned as causes. One group wrote:

No, the pupils are usually less concerned [with] the causes of the negative effects, because the pupils have nothing to do with changing things that cause negative effects in learning. For example: changing home environment or poverty of his/her family.

Opinions became divided on whether pupils or teachers could be held responsible for the effects and knock-on effects:

No. As teachers we don't have enough money to buy materials for the school. We are not responsible for solving the problems of [...] society. So the parents and the government are concerned... [*and with regard to the pupils*]... it is their responsibility. When they are in school they have to know why they are in school. So they have to work hard and have good behaviour.

Yes. We agree that we teachers can be held responsible for causes and effects, for these reasons: [1] by becoming too harsh to the pupil, for giving severe punishments, e.g. using sticks, [2] by not making follow-up when things go wrong, [3] for poor methods of teaching.

When asked to estimate for the whole school 1) the percentage of pupils affected by the school's environment, and 2) the kinds of pupils most affected, results were mixed. This suggested that staff had different understandings of the problem they had chosen to improve in their school (see fig. 5.3.2 and 5.3.3).

When confronted with the outcomes, several members of staff disputed the results, arguing that: 'The teachers didn't think deeply, therefore the two tables are not true' [Train/A:28/11/2003]. The headteacher then stated that teachers would need more time to discuss the question to reach agreement on the 'right' answer. In terms of critical reflection, rather than learning from the variety of views among the members of her staff in order to arrive at a compatible understanding of the problem, presenting a unified picture seemed more important.

Fig. 5.3.2: % of pupils affected

% affected	tally	sub tot.
30 - 39	I	1
40 - 49	IIII	8
50 - 59	III	
60 - 69	I	1
70 - 79	IIII III	13
80 - 89	IIII	
90 - 99	II	2
Total	25	

a) Teachers could choose more than one category

Fig. 5.3.3: Kinds of pupils affected

Kinds of pupils affected	tally	sub tot.
Boys, older	IIII	9
Boys, younger	I	
Boys, irrespective of age	III	
Girls, older	IIII	7
Girls, younger		
Girls, irrespective of age	III	
Pupils, irrespective of age or gender	IIII IIII	10
Also mentioned were:		
Pupils with learning disability	III	8
Youths (over 13yr olds)	IIII	
Total	34 ^a	

During a training session in school B, staff contemplated approaches (based on attitudes) and methods (based on techniques) of improving pupils' learning attitudes [Train/B:03/12/2003]. I asked staff to remember their favourite teachers from their own primary school days and discuss in groups the reasons why they were still remembered, and how they themselves would like to be remembered. The questions prompted much animated debate, which resulted in a combined list of 29 different approaches and methods of improving pupils' learning attitudes (see Appendix 19), as well as increased awareness of the effect of the teacher on learning motivation. This insight was used in later sessions to inform lesson planning.

Despite the aptitude for critical reflection being clearly present among staff, the attitude was equally clearly not common. This also showed in the absence of its procedural forms.

No systematic diagnosis or evaluation took place

As staff in both schools were expected to adopt improvement initiatives whole-sale, the only 'diagnosis' of conditions that took place were staff meetings on how staff could adapt themselves to the imposed changes [pg.239]. Similarly, there were no formal evaluation procedures. Regular monitoring of the various pedagogical and managerial initiatives did take place: in school by the Academic Committees, and externally through once-a-year school inspections. However, their purpose was for supervision and enforcement of required formal implementation, not for critical evaluation of the initiatives' relevance and success [pg.218ff].

With regard to pedagogy, the second headteacher of school A [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005] explained about supervision and evaluation:

To supervise means to make sure that all things happen. And to evaluate. If you want to evaluate, it means that the examination of the pupils, it can show you that your planning, all your action for pupils to learn [is working]. To make sure that the teachers are teaching. For that thing you can supervise, to evaluate by seeing the examination of the pupils. To mark the test, or annual examination for my school. If the pupils are not doing well in the examination, it means that the teachers are not teaching properly.'

His belief that low scores in written tests by pupils were evidence of insufficient pedagogical capability of staff, further contributed to the narrow goal-displacing 'chicken-or-egg' situation in which perception of 'successful' school improvement and its purported evidence (i.e. higher examination scores and selection to secondary schools) had become interchangeable. This also meant that outcome indicators were seen as the strongest evidence for school improvement success [pg.282ff]. Process indicators to determine the quality of the teaching and learning process were not being used. Furthermore, the punitive consequences of perceived failure created an 'evaluation trap' for staff, similar to the one described for Western teachers [pg.82]. Staff were held accountable for the pupils' examination performance, which in turn fed into 'teaching to the test'. Also managerial changes were not formally evaluated by staff.

Summary

Nearly all improvement initiatives observed in this study, irrespective of kind and focus (see Appendix 16), did not involve critical reflection (ADEA, 2005; Otieno, 2000; Watson, 1996). Being constructively critical and systematically reflective were not part of professional values and practices of staff and it was not promoted or developed. This begged the question whether critical reflection, as with collaborative teamwork [pg.213], should be seen an essential element in the change management process in Tanzanian state primary schools. However, if school improvement needs systematic diagnosis of conditions as well as systematic evaluation of process (Coleman, 2005c; Fullan, 2001b; Russell and Reid, 1997), then its absence pointed to serious limitations to the kinds of improvements that were locally achievable. The lack of critical and systematic reflection arguably perpetuated the schools' hegemonic school cultures, based on bureaucratic functionality and formal and informal hierarchies (Russell and Reid, 1997; Angus, 1996).

Next, I revisit the operational element of consistency, reliability and trust, as *lack* of dependability obstructed change.

Consistency, Reliability and Trust

Dependability of in particular the headteachers [pg.194] compensated only partially for the uncertainty and unpredictability of school conditions (e.g. material scarcity, rigid organisational structures or limited staff capability). Here I provide examples of attitudes and behaviours of staff in response to conditions in school and at home, which contributed to inconsistency, unreliability and lack of safety and confidence, illustrating a limited space for change.

Inconsistencies limited space for change

Perceived 'randomly' imposed changes in teaching content, procedures and approaches

Prior to the fieldwork period various changes had been made to the syllabus of each school subject and to the required methods and approaches to teaching and learning (Babyegeya, 2000; Osaki, 2000). These changes were imposed, but without sufficient additional training and support for staff. For example, in 1992 a national restructuring of the primary school curriculum, lumped together the subjects of History, Geography and Civics into the single subject of *Maarifa ya Jamii* [community knowledge]. In particular older staff who had specialised in only one of its subjects, still found the new syllabus '...impossible to teach well' [Field/A: 29/05/2004]. Within both study schools arrangements had been made in which more knowledgeable colleagues would teach certain topics in each other's classes. As most school improvement initiatives were to be implemented immediately, staff perceived these sudden changes as 'random', failing to see a coherent rationale or direction behind them [pg.226, 238ff].

Unplanned loss of teaching and learning days

Each month approximately two whole days (i.e. a loss of nearly 10% over the entire academic year of 197 days) were lost due to the majority of staff being absent because of collecting salary or loans, attending religious or political functions (burials or rallies), being called away for meetings with education officers or being ordered to perform additional tasks, such as a census on school-aged children in the school's catchment area [e.g. Field/A:13/11/2003, 13/02/2004, 01/06/2004; Field/B:31/08/2004, 27/09/2004, 08/10/2004]. This did not take into account

additional loss of learning days for the pupils, due to illness, family problems or other examples of teacher and pupil absenteeism. During the academic year 2004 the total estimated loss was approximately 9 out of 39 weeks in school B and even more in school A.

Inconsistent application of educational principles and school regulations

During the fieldwork period, there were regular incidences indicative of inconsistencies in applying educational principles and school regulations (Appendix 11). Some examples were:

- Both teachers and pupils were required to be in school on time. In school A the teachers' attendance book over the first three months of 2004 showed that only ¼ of teachers arrived on time every day, with a further ¼ nearly every day. Teachers stopped filling in the book by April 2004 [Field/A:10/09/2004]. While pupils were punished at will when neglecting this rule, there were no consequences for staff.
- School rules stated that pupils were supposed 'to abstain from abusive language and any language of that kind' (Appendix 11). Although in both schools I did not hear staff swearing, several teachers regularly made derogatory remarks about and to pupils during lesson time, and used labels such as: *mzito* ('thick'; lit: heavy), *mkorofi* ('troublemaker'), *bongolala* ('dim wit': lit: sleepy brain), *mvivu* ('lazy'), *mbaya* ('bad') or *mwongo* ('liar') [Obs/T30/S3/A:18/02/2004; Obs/T34/S1/A:01/03/2004; Obs/T16/S4/B:20/01/2004, Obs/T8/S1/B: 26/10/2004]
- However, the use of belittling labels was also common among the adults. Teachers were on occasion labelled by each other and by education officers as 'lazy', 'bad', 'harsh' or 'old mamas' [Field/A:06/11/2003; Int/DH2/B:18/04/2005; Int/DEO:20/01/2005].
- Pupils were supposed to keep their uniform neat and tidy. A boy who had lost his brother to Aids and had drawn the Aids awareness symbol [' & '] in red pen on his school shirt, was severely and unlawfully beaten for doing so. The teacher who meted out the punishment explained that the boy was a 'trouble maker' and needed to be taught a 'lesson' [Field/A:19/02/2004].
- Pupils were not supposed to do any business in the school (such as selling food or water), which would keep them from attending or disrupting class. Yet, on several occasions in both schools pupils were sent for errands during school time, such as delivering messages, buying lunch for a teacher, collecting water, lighting the charcoal burner for making tea, washing up and cleaning [Field/A:06/11/2003; Field/B:25/11/2003; 15/12/2003]. Similarly,

staff coming late to class after haggling with hawkers was 'acceptable' behaviour in both schools [pg.171, 212ff].

- During the showing of a UNICEF promotion film on Children's Rights (*Haki ya Watoto*) in a classroom of school A after school hours, pupils who tried to watch without paying the Tsh. 100 (US\$ 0.10) admission fee were caned by the organisers and chased away [Field/A:02/02/2005].

Effects of home life and societal customs

In both schools, the majority of teachers were women. According to social norms, a married woman was expected to submit to her husband's wants and needs. When the husband's wishes conflicted with the wife's professional responsibilities, the school tended to lose out, even if she was the main breadwinner. The lower the income provided by the husband, the higher the pressure on the female teacher to supplement it, while at the same time having to run a household and be a wife and mother. These marital expectations were sometimes violently enforced, causing one teacher to be away for nearly three months having to recover from knife wounds [Field/A:25/08/2004]. Similarly, when the husband of a teacher in school B died [Field/B:27/09/2004], due to inheritance customs the widow could have lost all her possessions to the husband's family had she not had sons. For this reason, several younger female teachers chose to remain single, live on a teacher's wage (between 2 to 4 US\$ per day) and in case of need rely on family, rather than being dependent on a husband [Int/T33/A:08/09/2004]. Most teachers supplemented their income through 'projects' (Kisw: *miradi*), such as keeping livestock, growing crops, selling food, providing services or running small businesses, which at times prevented them to teach their classes [Int/T31/A:23/01/2005].

Summary

The examples above show that all staff not only suffered from, but passively or actively contributed to, the unreliable conditions in the two schools. Whether because of societal customs, systemic ambiguities, professional laxness or personal interests, this further limited the available space for whole-school improvement. However, as with resistance [pg.65, 197, 239, 242], unreliability of staff could also be seen as an informal way of creating space, because as subordinates they were formally largely powerless. Yet, this need for space concerned staff reservations about the practical consequences of school improvement (e.g. perceived additional workload) rather than principle issues such as the shift towards more

democratic school management or promoting more participatory pedagogy. Maintaining consistency with regard to (the improvement of) pedagogy and school management as understood in Western schools, i.e. as uniformity of conditions, methods and outcomes (Kyriakides, 2007; Tymms, 1996; Sammons *et al*, 1996), or as coherence in terms of approach (Fullan, 2003, 1999; Day *et al*, 2000), did not have high priority in the two schools.

The limited dependability of school conditions and members of staff affected the process of decision-making in the management of change.

Decision-making

Decision-making in the context of school improvement is seen here as the ongoing process of formal and informal adjusting of actions while putting initiatives into reality [pg.101ff]. As an attitude and a capability of management and teaching staff, decision-making involves accepting responsibility for school improvement actions and their consequences. Furthermore, the overall direction of improvement needs to be explicitly maintained, while having the opportunity to apply a variety of management methods, contingent on the school's conditions (Fullan, 2001b; Day *et al*, 2000; Harber and Davies, 1998).

For collegial decision-making by staff to operate effectively within the management of whole-school change, it arguably needs democratic and collaborative team-based decisions. Where staff remain (or are kept) disempowered, achievability and relevance of school improvement may be jeopardised for example through inflexibility of imposed decisions, pressures of subordinate accountability, lack of school autonomy and staff ownership, resulting in low motivation to act and to assume responsibility (e.g.: Anderson, L., 2005; Morrison, K., 1998; Angus, 1996; Anderson, G., 1996; Earley and Fletcher-Campbell, 1992; Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973). When staff have no formal space to determine the direction and execution of change, a reactive and fatalistic staff attitude can become part of school culture (Dimmock and Walker, 2000), while resistance and non-compliance can be regarded as informal forms of decision-making (Thrupp, 2005; Lumby, 2003b; Davies, 1993). This disempowering effect on staff is arguably exacerbated by the school's environment when local societal structures, cultures and power-relationships are traditionally hierarchical, based on patronage or even corruption (Chabal and Daloz, 1999).

The process of planning, as a formal procedural expression of decision-making, may suffer from goal-displacement, in particular when it is treated as a blueprint for or quick-fix solution to school improvement. As with procedural evaluation practices [pg.81], it also runs the risk of being used by education authorities as a managerial lever to direct actions of staff, rather than as a development tool (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994; Robinson, 1994). Under highly uncertain and predictable conditions, such as are common in Tanzanian schools, the relevance and effectiveness of prescriptive planning is questionable.

Staff decision-making was reactive rather than pro-active

As with determining a rationale for school improvement [pg.224], key decisions on initiatives were made beyond the two schools, and issued by directive. The headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] explained:

They just write us letters to command us: 'Do this, do that'. We are not having a meeting and to decide together, we don't. They are just writing us letters. [...] Even if we have got good ideas, we can't talk to them. Where to talk? If you have got meetings, you can exchange. Nobody is more important than others. Even you see her or him is very small, but they have got something to tell you.

Her unhappiness with the lack of consultation underpinned her more consultative approach to management, in particular when she herself instigated changes in her school [pg.199]. Nevertheless, she consulted staff only on how to deal collectively with the *consequences* of imposed or proposed changes, not on their rationale or prescribed execution. For example, when she decided to tighten the Academic Committee's work (e.g. regular in-school inspections, periodically providing evidence of planning, teaching and marking), during several meetings staff negotiated with her (the fairness of) the repercussions that failure to comply would bring [Field/B:22/06/2004, 02/09/2004, 13/10/2004]. Even with regard to initiatives instigated by the headteachers themselves, teaching staff had little ownership or power. In turn, headteachers were powerless in being forced to 'sell' changes to the rest of staff (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973), which were demanded by directive. Only on occasion did they have opportunity to mediate between staff and high ranking education officers [Field/B:11/06/2004].

Seemingly contradictory however, collective action within both study schools was only undertaken after sufficient whole-staff consensus had been reached [pg.202, 210ff]. The successful headteachers did not simply order staff to execute work as commanded, without

showing concern for resulting consequences for staff. However, the long negotiations over how to deal with or reduce consequences should not be confused with more subordinate-centred decision-making (Wadessango, 2010; Ngcobo and Tikly, 2010; Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973), or with collegial decision-making (Fullan, 1999; Anderson, G., 1996; Angus, 1996; Hargreaves, A., 1994) [pg.104], arguably more common in Western primary schools. The little power that staff in the two Tanzanian school did have, i.e. their formal and informal influence, was brought to bear on how to *adopt* initiatives by *adapting themselves* within the existing restricted school conditions. Leaving unethical (corrupt) solutions aside, staff created some limited space through cooperation and equal sharing of work in order to alleviate workload (mainly through covering each others classes) [Field/A:17/11/2003; Int/AT/B:26/02/2004].

When consequences were perceived as 'unacceptable', staff resisted. During the restoration of 'normal' functioning of school A, the second headteacher focussed on reinstating known procedures of management and teaching. As these were familiar to staff, agreement was relatively quickly achieved [Field/A:02/03/2005]. However, under pressure, he did not enforce any work that was perceived as additional to 'normal' work (e.g. introducing the Participatory Techniques or restarting whole-school activities related to this study). He was keen to avoid the passive and later open resistance against the autocratic approach of his predecessor [pg.189]. In school B, other than pre-emptive action on introducing the Participatory Techniques, the headteacher did not push staff to go beyond the minimum demands of the municipal education office [Int/HT/B:22/11/2004]. The strong influence of willingness of staff on the achievability of improvement initiatives is further explored under 'space for change' [pg.255ff].

The reactive attitude of staff towards decision-making also showed during the two improvement initiatives generated in the context of this study. Management and teaching staff had ample opportunity to collaborate with each other and with me, the researcher, in the choices for and the design, planning and implementation of the intended improvements. In practice however, staff preferred a consultative over a collaborative approach to decision-making. Rather than embracing the opportunity to assume full ownership of the improvement process, staff regarded me as the 'authority', responsible for proper guidance and training on school improvement and therefore indirectly for its success. However, as I maintained my agreed role (i.e. only to assist in improvement initiatives carried by staff), a telling gap became apparent between formally expressed and informal intentions by staff with regard to self-generated school improvement initiatives.

In school A, I was only able to work with a few individuals who assumed responsibility for improving their own practice, after the school-wide initiative had collapsed due to the school's management problems [pg.262]. In school B, I was able to work with the majority of the team for the entire course of the fieldwork, but mainly because the headteacher championed the initiative and played a mediating role between staff and myself. During training sessions, classroom observations and follow-up interviews the majority of staff maintained their reactive attitude. When confronting staff with problems they had identified themselves, and when trying to elicit self-generated solutions, I was regularly asked to provide ideas or solutions instead, which they could then either accept or reject [Train/B:21/11/2003]. For example, the suggestion of using teacher diaries to collect data for training purposes as well as to support this study, was rejected on the grounds it would increase their already extended workload. As in school A, only a minority of individual staff were creatively looking for novel solutions to their own problems and to try them out [Obs/T22/S7/A:08/03/2004; Obs/T32/S6/A:11/05/2005; Obs/T20/S6/B:24/10/2003; Obs/T33/S6/B:08/06/2004].

Despite the headteacher's bridging efforts, the disparity between my position on supportive training and staff intentions remained. As non-compliance in the improvement initiative did not carry any punitive consequences, staff members made individual decisions on whether to engage in the training activities and implement changes in their classes, despite initial unanimous agreement. Throughout the fieldwork between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of staff were regularly absent from training sessions, with a similar size group of individuals present nearly every session. Implementation of changes in the classrooms was monitored by the school's Academic Teacher, but was not made compulsory. According to her [Int/AT/B:07/06/2006, 17/02/2005] no more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of staff regularly incorporated measures to improve pupils' learning motivation into their lesson plans (see Appendix 10).

With decision-making among staff being reactive to events rather than proactive processes, systematic planning of improvement initiatives rarely happened.

School improvement occurred largely unplanned

The only evidence of formal organisational planning in both schools was 1) the yearly School Development Plan (SDP), 2) the yearly schedules of procedural school activities, as displayed on notice boards (see Appendix 20), and 3) teachers' lesson planning (Appendix 10). I restrict myself here to the first. The bulk of the development plan, written by the headteacher, described how the school intended to spend its yearly budget according to the required '4-4-2-2 formula', i.e. on maintenance of school buildings, procurement of school materials, school administration and national examinations (GoT, 2001). In 2004, the schools' budget consisted almost exclusively of $\frac{6}{10}$ of the PEDP Capitation Grant (i.e. US\$ 10,- per enrolled child per year). The remaining $\frac{4}{10}$ was managed by the district education office to procure subject text books for the schools under their authority. The SPDs also described construction plans (e.g. new classrooms and toilet facilities), even though the schools' 2004 Construction Grant was directly managed by the district education office. The SPDs did not describe any concrete initiative (either centrally imposed or self-instigated) aimed at improving the schools' pedagogical or organisational quality. In both schools, the SPDs mentioned the school committee's enlarged role in running and developing the school as required by PEDP-I (Baseline data, 22/09/2003), but otherwise no development time schedules, evaluation criteria, staff responsibilities or disciplinary consequences were specified. In other words, the SPDs were at best statements of intent, rather than working documents.

Similarly, despite its projected 5 year implementation period, PEDP-I provided no detailed schedule of implementation, comparable to for instance the prescribed, time-specific implementation of the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy in the period 1998 – 2000 in England and Wales (DfEE, 1999). Time schedules mentioned in national education policies and programs were treated in school as indications, rather than strictly enforceable time limits. Meeting deadlines was therefore seldom a problem, as under existing conditions these could seldom be set realistically. Even the use of so-called SMART targets (i.e. small manageable improvement targets, that aim to be Specific, Measurable, Agreed, Relevant and Time-limited) was not considered feasible in the two schools, as the majority of staff were unwilling to commit to concrete controllable tasks [Train/B:25/02/2004]. High workload, lack of time, as well as lack of confidence on capability were given as reasons. Although dutifully written by staff and regularly checked by the schools' Academic Committee and school inspectors, producing

lesson plans was done procedurally, rather than as a tool to inform quality teaching [Obs/T16/S3/A:20/02/2004; Field/B:16/09/2004; Int/AT/B:19/02/2004].

Even though none of the imposed or self-instigated school improvement initiatives in 2004 were formally planned, the successful headteachers consistently supervised implementation and monitored progress [pg.190, 197, 215ff, 218ff, 232ff]. Furthermore, they did not lose sight of their longer-term objectives through overly focusing on and trying to control the immediate changeable situations in their school. Rather than enforcing directives immediately and by the book, they goaded teaching staff over time towards adopting required practices, all the while mindful that too little pressure would not change staff behaviour, whereas too much pressure would lead to resistance [Int/HT/B:22/11/2004]. Furthermore, this happened more strongly during the 'quieter' times of the year, while condoning lapses in consistency during more stressful periods [Field/A:19/04/2005; Field/B:24/11/2004, 25/11/2003]. Under local conditions this could be termed a 'contingency' approach, in which patience was definitely a virtue. The headteachers responded to the school's daily reality as flexibly as they could, but with the longer term intention to turn required changes and their own improvement ideas into reality [Int/HT/B:25/11/2004].

Summary

As state primary schools were supposed to be organisationally identical, adopting initiatives was not seen as problematic. Management and teaching staff in both schools were seen as executors of externally made decisions and not as developers of school-specific improvements, so they had little ownership over the changes they were compelled to make (Oduro et al, 2008; Omari, 2002; Komba *et al*, 2000). Their attitude towards decision-making tended therefore to be reactive and ad hoc rather than proactive and ongoing. Within the schools, decisions on change concerned adapting the school to the initiatives, not the other way around (Hopkins, 2001, 1996). Staff tried to adapt themselves as 'painlessly' as possible to the various initiatives, as their concerns related to the consequences of imposed accountability, not to those of self-accepted responsibility for and ownership of school improvement decisions (Wadessango, 2010; Lumby, 2003b; Evans, 1999; Christie and Potterton, 1997; Robinson, 1994). As with the absence of a critical reflective attitude [pg.233], reactive decision-making by staff also confirmed the hegemony of existing pedagogical and managerial values and practices.

Although having little autonomous decision-making power themselves, both successful headteachers went some way in motivating staff by giving them a voice in the in-school decision-making process. However, despite her more consultative management approach, even the headteacher of school B did not go so far as to allow staff to *share* decision-making responsibility (Oduro et al, 2008; Evans, 1999; Angus, 1996; Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973). Still, both successful headteachers sought consensus in and compliance with decisions, combining patience with measured but consistent pressure on staff (Harris, 2002).

If the formal *process* of joint planning by staff (i.e. not merely having and executing a plan) is seen as essential for school improvement (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994), then this did not happen in the two schools. Furthermore, as with lesson planning, the presence in the school of a development plan document appeared more important than its contents and actual execution.

Seemingly resigned to their disempowered subordinate position in the hierarchy of the school and the education system at large, formal decision-making by staff was limited to incidental occasions in which they reactively resisted or complied with decisions made by those in formal authority within or beyond the school (Lumby, 2003b; Anderson, G., 1996; Angus, 1996). However, they used formal and informal resistance (such as not accepting professional responsibility or corrupt practices) as a means to create space, predominantly for non-educational interests (Komba *et al*, 2000). A disparity remained between formally expressed and informally enacted intentions of staff, in which only a small minority was willing to assume responsibility for school improvement. This minority was however too small and powerless to form a critical mass that could start and maintain a momentum of change [pg.176].

Having presented findings on the operational elements of the change management process that blocked change or prevented it through its absence, I now revisit the conditional elements of motivation and capability, in as much as they negatively affected school improvement.

Motivation

If motivation is seen as staff attitude towards work and willingness to engage in school improvement [pg.63], then the individual and team choices for or against certain initiatives are likely to result from a weighing of positive and negative consequences towards either side.

These consequences can be concrete and/or perceived as real. When combined disadvantages are deemed to outweigh advantages, then willingness may turn to resistance.

Poverty and scarcity of resources affected the quality of staff motivation

Staff motivation towards work (including efforts involved in school improvement) was often related directly to the effects of personal poverty and difficult working conditions. This negatively affected their professional attitudes (Evans, 1999). The headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] commented:

Many teachers [...] they don't know why they are teaching. And they don't have the material to teach the children in reality. Many of the teachers, they are teaching because they haven't got any other profession. They come to teach because they want to get some money [...] They are not professional.

She linked this specifically to the material conditions in Tanzanian primary schools:

...many of the schools they don't have material. There are very few [resources], that is why many teachers teach just to pass the days, because they don't have enough books. They don't have marker pens to draw the teaching aids. [...] therefore they are teaching just because they are there. And the classrooms they are not good for the teaching. [...] for example, you can see the holes in the classrooms, no windows.

This view reflected many similar assertions from within Tanzania and similar less affluent countries (Sifuna, 2007; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004b; GoT, 2003a; Ligembe, 2001; Sumra, 2001; Kuleana, 1999; Postlethwaite, 1998). The limitations of material scarcity also meant that only those improvement initiatives that did not require substantial material input could be more easily achievable.

Perceived negative conditions affected the quality of staff motivation

Also perceived negative conditions affected work motivation and willingness to change. These perceptions were often expressed as taken-for-granted scripts (see Harber and Davies, 1998), believed without evidence and acted upon without critical reflection. For example, lack of motivation was strongly linked to perceived workload. Various teachers of both schools were convinced that their workload far exceeded that of Western teachers who teach classes of around 30 pupils, whereas classes in the study schools could easily number 70 pupils or over.

In particular the work involved in marking hundreds of books daily was seen as a major burden [Int/T31/B:11/03/2004; Int/T32/A:14/10/2004; Field/A:19/08/2004; Field/B:10/11/2003]. Their assertions did not tally with my observations, however.

Fig. 5.3.4: Workload of Tanzanian and English teachers

Tanzania	Lesson time	Preparation time	Marking time	
	25 ⁽¹⁾ periods per week	25 lesson plans per week	70 pupils per period	
	40 minutes per period	10 ⁽²⁾ minutes per daily lesson plan	½ min per exercise book	
Per week	16h40	4h20	15h10	Total
Per day	≈ 3h20	≈ 0h50	≈ 3h00 ⁽³⁾	≈ 7h10 ⁽⁴⁾

¹⁾ staff taught on average 5 out of 8 periods per day during the morning shift

²⁾ filling in one standard A4 preparation form per lesson (see Appendix 10); including making and/or collecting teaching/learning resources (if any present)

³⁾ provided all books are marked outside lesson time, all periods are taught, all pupils are present and all lessons require written work

⁴⁾ this does not include staff meetings and other duties outside of lesson time

England	Lesson time	Preparation time	Marking time	
	9 – 12am 1 – 3:30pm	15 ⁽¹⁾ lesson plans per week	30 pupils per lesson	
	different lesson times per subject	15 ⁽²⁾ minutes per daily plan/lesson	1½ min per exercise book	
Per week	26h15	3h45	11h15	Total
Per day	≈ 5h15	≈ 0h45	≈ 2h15 ⁽³⁾	≈ 8h15 ⁽⁴⁾

¹⁾ approximate number of daily plans made per week on various subjects; in some subjects half term plans replace daily plans

(Maths=5; English=5; Science=3; Geo/Hist=2)

²⁾ this includes collecting and/or making teaching/learning resources (including photocopying)

³⁾ provided all books are marked outside lesson time and all lessons require written work

⁴⁾ this does include non-contact time for subject release, but not time spent on staff meetings and other duties outside lesson time

Both schools ran double shifts because of lack of classrooms in relation to number of enrolled pupils. Higher standards were taught in the mornings, lower standards in the afternoons. Morning teachers often spent less than 7 hours per day in the school during weekdays (between 7am to 2pm); afternoon teachers even less (between 1 to 5.30pm). No teachers were seen taking pupils' exercise books home, as most marking was done in class or in the staffroom during periods that teachers did not teach. Many teachers also prepared their lessons during school time. When I compared an average working day of the Tanzanian teachers with my own teaching experience in England, their workload appeared not only qualitatively but also quantitatively lighter (see Fig. 5.3.4).

This comparison corresponds with similar assertions by Sumra (2004) who found that on average Tanzanian primary teachers teach approximately 16 hours per week, which is among the lowest workload in sub-Saharan Africa. Urban teachers teach even less. He provides no figures on preparation and marking time. Figures quoted by Bubb and Earley (2004) show that per week English primary teachers teach approximately 18 hours, spend nearly 6 hours of non-contact time on management and subject-related duties, and nearly 13 hours on lesson preparation and marking.

Some negative perceptions about workload resulted from previous changes. For example, with the abolition of school fees under PEDP-I primary school enrolment initially grew dramatically after 2001 (GOT, 2006b). Despite some new schools being built in the area, existing schools absorbed most of the increase, with ever larger number of pupils occupying the existing classrooms. To keep teacher-pupil ratio under the officially recommended 1:45, the total number of staff also increased per school. As more teachers taught the same number of classes [pg.153], this meant that per teacher the number of periods taught per week dropped. With more pupils per class this meant that proportionally the time spent on marking increased at the expense of the time spent on actual teaching. Simultaneously, external pressure on staff increased as having books marked was seen by school inspectors as 'hard' evidence for teachers following up on pupils' learning, especially in very large classes where one-on-one follow-up became near impossible [Int/S11:05/10/2004, Int/T31/A:16/03/2004]. Also the quality of teaching suffered. To minimise marking time, pupils routinely copied a corrected exercise from the blackboard, which only required a simple tick to indicate it was written correctly in their notebooks [Obs/T12/S4/A:28/10/2003; Obs/T28/S2/B:26/10/2004]. Staff perception of workload was even less realistic compared to other schools, because of their (much) lower than average teacher-pupil ratios (school A: 1:24; school B: 1:35) and because of frequent pupil and teacher absenteeism (no reliable figures are available, but anywhere between 10 to 50%). Still, the reduced quality of education, as well as the proportionally large amount of teacher time spent on marking instead of teaching, were likely to be major demotivators with regard to teachers' *intrinsic* motivation (Evans, 1999, Lumby, 2003a).

Negative perceptions also resulted from unrealistic expectations. For example, one of the deputy headteachers of school B [Int/DH1/B:09/03/2005] expressed disappointment about the low number of pupils selected for secondary education after the nearly 100% pass rate in the

2004 Primary School Leavers' examination [pg.284]. According to her, selection for secondary schooling was seen by many parents as an important criterion of school quality. However, selection was based on procedures and circumstances beyond the schools' or teachers' control, such as a quota system per ward, increased competition from neighbouring schools, preference selection by the secondary schools, and the national rise of primary enrolment under PEDP-I without matching availability of secondary schooling [Int/HT/B:07/03/2005; Int/DH1/B:09/03/2005; Field:10/11/2003] (Makombe *et al*, 2010). The deputy headteacher had tried to encourage disappointed staff by arguing that despite not having been selected, pupils had at least developed a sense of self-respect and self-confidence through having completed school successfully.

Summary

Concrete and perceived negative conditions and expectations strongly affected staff motivation generally and with regard to engaging in improvement initiatives, in particular when these were seen as adding to workload. Being overburdened, whether factually or perceived, arguably exacerbated general hardship of daily life (Sumra, 2006; Davidson, 2004b). When seen in combination with the earlier finding that headteachers use predominantly extrinsic motivators to motivate staff [pg.215], then the *absence* of sufficient intrinsic motivation, together with *blocking* negative motivation goes some way to explain the limited achievability of school improvement in both schools (Evans, 1999).

Apart from unrealistic scripts and expectations by staff, inherent structural, cultural and power-related flaws of the existing education system contributed to staff reluctance and resistance to embark on constructive change. Some of these negatively affected staff capability.

Capability

Both maintenance and development of staff capability happened in the two schools, but was limited to regular in-school supervision of required narrowly focussed work [pg.218]. The extent to which staff development was absent, and existing capability was either blocked or not called upon, was likely to negatively affect the achievability of more comprehensive school improvement.

The staff deployment system negatively affected staff capability

Under the existing system, the central government via the municipal education office posted staff at schools. The general principle governing deployment was the even spread of more and lesser qualified, as well as older and younger staff over all schools [Int/DEO:26/08/2004]. For social reasons, male staff formed the majority in rural schools; women in urban schools (Claussen and Assad, 2010; Sumra, 2004). The transfer of staff could be influenced by headteachers, but remained essentially out of their control. Reasons for transfer included teacher request due to family circumstances, poor performance, unprofessional conduct, and cases of favouritism [Int/DEO:20/01/2005; Int/MEO:20/04/2004; Field/B:19/10/2004]. Over the course of the fieldwork, one headteacher, one deputy headteacher and five teachers had been replaced in the two schools; seven out of the total of 74 staff. Headteachers claimed to have little control over the quality of their staff, as investment in school development through strengthening staff capabilities and team cohesion could easily be undone through staff transfer. The headteacher of school B explained:

...one year you can get six or seven teachers coming from another school. And me as a headteacher I have to study them and then try to cope with the other teachers. It can be for three, five . . . no, three or four month, another teacher has come, others move . . . that is very difficult.'

Management staff, especially headteachers who were considered successful were rotated often among local schools [Int/MEO:20/04/2004]. The headteacher of school A [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005] elaborated:

They change the headteachers, because they say ... [you] transfer from your school to go to an other school, because there the teachers of that school they are not managing that school. That is why I am bringing you down... sending you to improve that other school.

The transfer system was essentially used to match staff to schools. Apart from spreading teacher quality equally around all schools, 'obstructive' teachers were regularly moved to other schools where they could do less 'damage' [Int/DEO: 26/08/2004]. Using the two headteachers of School A as example, the district education officer [Int/DEO:20/01/2005] explained that the first head had been demoted to academic teacher in a behaviourally less challenging school, as academically she had been proven capable in the past. The second head, having been demoted before for failing to improve two previous school academically, was given another

change at headship as he was a disciplinarian and a man, which in Tanzanian society is still commonly regarded as having a 'natural authority'. Furthermore, due to the rapid school expansion under PEDP-I, there was a shortage of experienced headteachers. As funds were not available to provide headteachers with appropriate management training, the municipal education office applied a form of 'contingency' approach to school improvement through targeted deployment of staff.

Because of frequent transfer, the second headteacher of school A [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005] found it difficult to commit to improvement initiatives that would take several years to succeed. When asked whether he would prefer to stay in one school for longer, he answered:

If I would stay there for five year, it means that I can learn... each and everything... and how to improve those problems... but only for one year, you cannot improve...

Despite this assertion however, according to the DEO [Int/DEO:26/08/2004] most headteachers regularly requested transfer themselves in a bid to be posted in the cushiest schools. After having been headteacher in school A for little more than a year, the second head was promoted in 2006 to ward coordinator, and the school has seen two new headteachers since.

Not only systemic management arrangements affected staff capability, but also staff perceptions with regard to its extent and content.

Training needs corresponded with staff perceptions of schooling

If staff development is crucial to school improvement (Earley, 2005; McMahon, 2001; Middlewood, 2003; Dalin, 1998), then staff perception of their training needs indicates their understanding of school improvement and the direction of change. An inventory among staff of both schools identified 24 training needs (see Appendix 21), divided over 7 areas [Train/A:07/04/2004; Train/B:12/05/2004]:

- a. Time management
- b. Use of teaching and learning materials and techniques
- c. Subject knowledge
- d. Working relationship with pupils
- e. Working relationship with colleagues
- f. Contacts with parents and other schools
- g. Balance between work and home life

In general, staff preferred to be shown tried-and-tested methods of working, only to adopt those deemed more time and energy 'efficient' than current ways of working. Rather than exploring and learning something 'new', staff appeared to want ways to do the 'known' more effectively.

With regard to pedagogy, despite differences in teaching capability, teachers' understanding of learning appeared generally limited. During training sessions on improving pupils' learning attitudes, most teachers of school B made no clear distinction between '*kukariri*' (to learn by heart), '*kujua*' (to know) and '*kuelewa*' (to understand) with regard to pupils' learning [Train/B:03/03/2004]. To improve learning attitudes, staff focussed more on compliant attitudes like diligence ('*juhuri*'), eagerness ('*shauku*'), thoroughness ('*ukamilifu*'), effort ('*bidii*') or will ('*nia*'), than on approaches such as inquisitiveness, problem-solving, critical questioning, explorative or peer learning. As a result, pupils' knowledge and understanding were likely to remain compartmentalised and limited to its required purpose: reproduction in tests. Moreover, submissive obedience by children towards adults was deemed a very important social obligation. Behaviour which was considered 'disrespectful' could quickly lead to punishment. This subdued attitude was therefore always present in the classrooms, even when teachers invited pupils to participate during lessons [Obs/T30/S5/B:20/10/2004].

Despite staff development being hindered by flaws of the education system and narrow perspectives on schooling, existing staff capability, resulting from initial teacher training and years of teaching experience, was more varied and richer than was being utilised on a daily basis.

Staff capability was limited, yet under-used and under-valued

As was the case in many Tanzanian schools, staff composition in the two schools showed most older, more experienced staff to be less qualified (B/C grade) and younger staff to have higher qualification but fewer years of service (Sumra, 2004; Appendix 13). In the context of PEDP-I, all B/C grade teachers were required to have left the profession by 2007 or to upgrade to A-grade. Less reverently, the DEO called this 'getting rid of the problem of the old mamas' [Int/DEO:20/01/2005]. Several staff in both schools studied for upgrading, to be effected by a written exam, although one senior teacher (B/C grade, with over 30 years of teaching experience) commented that the upgrading process was only an administrative exercise as she

learned nothing she did not already know [Int/T32/A:14/10/2004]. Upgrading did not increase salary [Int/MAO:24/05/2005].

In terms of pedagogical knowledge and expertise, a young Standard V teacher [Train/T15/A:20/11/2003] reflected on her A-grade teacher training:

When I was in college, I was taught various ways to face the pupils with methods of teaching and helping them: [a] when I teach to understand the children, because they differ in their understanding. Some are fast, others are average, some are slow. Therefore, in teaching them I know the kind of pupils and the approach with which to face them. Also to understand the habits of the children that I teach, like being naughty or gentle, in order to for me to be able to 'go with them side-by-side' [kwenda nao sambamba]. Those [pupils] who have gone bad, I help them to reform themselves so I don't dislike them. Those [pupils] who behave well, I agree with them not to copy bad behaviour.

However, even though staff were taught or had experience with different approaches to teaching, once in school they were often required to teach their subject in one standard way, determined by senior management and school inspectors. According to the headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:07/03/2005], most school inspectors were unfamiliar with alternative or innovative approaches to teaching and learning, as their knowledge and expertise was limited to having been teachers themselves. Moreover, work pressures led many staff to limit themselves to the most expedient ways of teaching. She concluded that years of neglect meant that nowadays her staff were not used to in-service teacher training. She lamented [Int/HT/B:07/03/2005]:

...if you are working anywhere, you have to brush your knowledge. You have to go to college. You have to have some seminars to brush your knowledge. So that you can manage to teach proper, but not in here. When you come from the teaching college, then '*basi!*' [Finish!], you are just doing teaching, teaching. They [*the government*] change the syllabus, but they don't give us any [training]. That is very bad.

Still, pooling of and building on available knowledge during in-school staff training [pg.232] (Appendix 19) was a simple way of enhancing staff capability at no cost to the school's budget. However, given the competition for favoured positions and privileges in the school [pg.210ff], one of the deputy headteachers argued that staff remained reluctant to share knowledge, as it meant: '... you are no longer 'hot cake" [Int/DHT2/B:01/05/2004]. Under-using and undervaluing the existing knowledge from initial teacher training and from subsequent expertise

resulted in consolidation of limited approaches to teaching, and possibly contributed to the de-skilling of staff.

Nevertheless, based on my own experience in primary education, it struck me during lesson observations that in both schools the quality of teaching by some teachers (irrespective of age or qualification) easily matched what OFSTED inspectors in the UK would consider as more than 'satisfactory'. Not only in enthusiasm and engagement with the pupils, but also in lesson preparation, use of available teaching and learning materials, level of academic comprehension of their subject, pace and variety in approaches of delivery, these teachers appeared capable and confident. Despite classes averaging up to 87 pupils (in school B), real engagement and learning was noticeable among most pupils, despite very limited opportunity for differentiation in pupils' exercises or for one-on-one support within the time span of 40 minutes per period (and without the luxury of classroom assistance). Even when in some cases during classroom observations model lessons were being conducted for my benefit, this still showed that sufficient teaching capability existed among staff. This resonates with Barrett's (2007) assertion that the 'pedagogical palette' of Tanzanian teachers is more varied than they are often given credit for.

Also the existing capabilities of management staff were under-used. Due to the high level of accountability to authorities, the headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:02/12/2003] felt under-valued as she was not allowed to take responsibility and act on her own initiative and expertise. In effect, the only initiatives open to management staff lay in finding creative ways of making staff comply and act according to government demands. In that sense (i.e. in terms of school maintenance rather than development), the headteacher was a capable manager though her consultative approach to leadership. However, like her successful colleague in school A, her management capability was a personal quality, not something she was trained for.

Summary

The existing capabilities of management and teaching staff, though limited and dispersed throughout the two school teams, were not being called or built upon in order to realise more comprehensive school improvement. In-school development of team capability was difficult, due to (the threat of) frequent transfer of staff. Systematic sharing and combining expertise in order to develop each other professionally and enrich the quality of learning within the schools

did not happen, as individual capability gave staff an advantage in negotiating allocation of teaching duties and of privileges. Narrowly prescribed approaches to teaching and to its improvement not only prevented the development of school capacity to learn how to deal with change (Hopkins *et al*, 1997), it arguably also contributed to the de-skilling of staff. Those who did develop professionally, did so on their own accord.

Summary on What Obstructed or was Absent

Similar to 'what worked' in the management of improvement of the two schools [pg.220], a *combination* of elements prevented or blocked change beyond what was achievable within the narrowly focussed initiatives. I reiterate that I view each element from a cultural-attitudinal perspective. Some elements were largely absent, such as 1) a comprehensive self-determined improvement rationale, 2) the skill and attitude of critical reflection, 3) proactive decision-making and assuming joint responsibility, 4) systematic diagnosis, planning and evaluation, 5) collaborative learning, and 6) compatible, constructive and intrinsic motivation among staff as a team. Other elements were so pervasive, narrowly conceptualised, deeply ingrained or rigidly prescribed that they obstructed change, such as 1) goal displacement rationales and scripts on management and pedagogy, 2) lack of dependability of people and school conditions, 3) hierarchical decision-making and reactive responses by staff, 4) detrimental consequences of systemic arrangements and procedures, and 5) entrenched demotivation and distrust.

The complex interrelated reasons why certain elements were blocking or absent in the schools' improvement process, were structural, cultural and power-related in origin. Furthermore, they originated formally and informally from within and beyond both schools (Mbelle, 2008; Sumra, 2006, 2004, 2001; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004b; Omari, 2002; Kironde, 2001; Ligembe, 2001; Babyegeya, 2000; Komba, W., 1998). In response, a critical mass of staff in the two schools had arguably become habituated to an opportunistic mix of subordinate compliant and deviant behaviour (Haki Elimu, 2004a; Komba, D., *et al*, 2000; Angus, 1996, Leach, 1994). This included low-level corruption (REPOA, 2006, Balikana, 2001). An entrenched survival attitude among the majority of teaching staff meant there was little interest and action to maintain, let alone develop, the quality of pupils' education. Staff also did not show much interest in ownership of school improvement initiatives or participation in their management. Moreover, similar to findings by Barrett (2005), staff in the two schools regarded school improvement as a procedural extension of their daily work, rather than as a

transformational learning process involving all staff. They focussed on keeping their workload manageable, basing their choices of engaging in school improvement activities on balancing positive and negative professional and personal consequences (Morrison, K., 1998) Furthermore, the school's 'capacity' to deal with change for improvement (Hopkins, 2001) remained undeveloped. However, a serious caveat needs to be made here. No staff were obviously 'lazy', as compliance can be hard work. On a daily basis, nearly all staff put in much effort to fulfil required and prescribed duties that could not be avoided or refused. Moreover, the general survival attitude did also not stop a committed minority of management and teaching staff to work determinedly and constructively at improving their practice in class, and in the school as an organisation.

The interplay between low staff motivation and under-developed capability within restricted school conditions of scarcity and lack of autonomy meant that only limited change could occur. Next, in the third section of this chapter, I discuss what did change in the two schools in terms of school improvement and how this related to the balance of forces pushing and blocking change.

MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE – 'What Changed?'

Again drawing on the Management of Change model [pg.61] (Appendix 3), I look in this section at the extent to which organisational and personal change actually occurred in both schools. In order, I present findings on the conditional element of 'space for change', the operational element of 'action' and the transformational element of 'change of space'.

I begin with presenting force field analyses of the six improvement initiatives highlighted under 'scope of school improvement' [pg.182]. The analyses depict the 'space for change' available for each initiative, and how in particular the attitudes of staff affected their achievability. They also reflect the previous two sections, showing how certain elements of change management 'worked' for or against a particular change. Next, I look at how within the available space, reluctance among staff and the absence of professional development affected the improvement actions they undertook. I end this section on 'what changed' with discussing concrete and perceived changes in the schools' conditions in light of the criteria with which improvement initiatives were deemed locally successful. I also discuss the extent to which these changes amounted to narrow or more comprehensive school improvement.

Space for Change (Force Field Analyses)

'Space for change' is conceptualised in this thesis as the 'room to manoeuvre' within the school's environment for staff to engage in intentional change for school improvement. School environment comprises of the holistic totality of the school's physical-material, technical-procedural *and* cultural-attitudinal conditions. These conditions are concrete *and* perceived, internal *and* external to the school, and affect both the managerial *and* pedagogical realms of the school organisation [pg.69ff]. If improving schools are characterised by cultures that are 'moving' (Stoll and Fink, 1996), then identifying the space in which staff can change their values and practices is important. If improving schools not only improve their school pedagogical conditions, but also their managerial 'capacity' to improve (Hopkins, 2001), then knowing the available space is arguably a precondition for creating more suitable space for future change.

In this sub-section I focus on how available 'space for change' with regard to the six improvement initiatives was perceived by the schools' staff. As every school improvement initiative is in principle comprehensive (i.e. involving physical-material *and* technical-procedural *and* cultural-attitudinal aspects) [pg.45], each of the six examples involved some attitudinal change. The forces pushing or blocking change were not just mechanical or organic in origin, but also voluntary and intentional (Harris, 2001; Morrison, K., 1998; Sergiovanni, 1997; Aktouf, 1992). To illustrate this, I omit material and technical forces (e.g. funds, time and resource availability, pedagogical and managerial arrangements and competencies) from the analyses and only show the forces representing the will and intentions of the people involved in the initiatives, both from within and directly beyond the school. Through the arrows' sizes I indicate the forces' *perceived* strength. The arrow size has no quantitative value, but expresses my overall interpretation of staff perceptions. Furthermore, over time (and even on a daily basis) the perceived strength of each force could fluctuate. Forces that were relatively constant among all examples are shaded, the more variable forces are left white. I end this sub-section with presenting findings based on comparing the force fields.

Initiative 1: Restoring the working environment in school A

The first force field shows the situation after the second headteacher took over the school and set about restoring pupil and teacher discipline, in order re-establish a working environment and to enhance pupils' scores in national examinations.

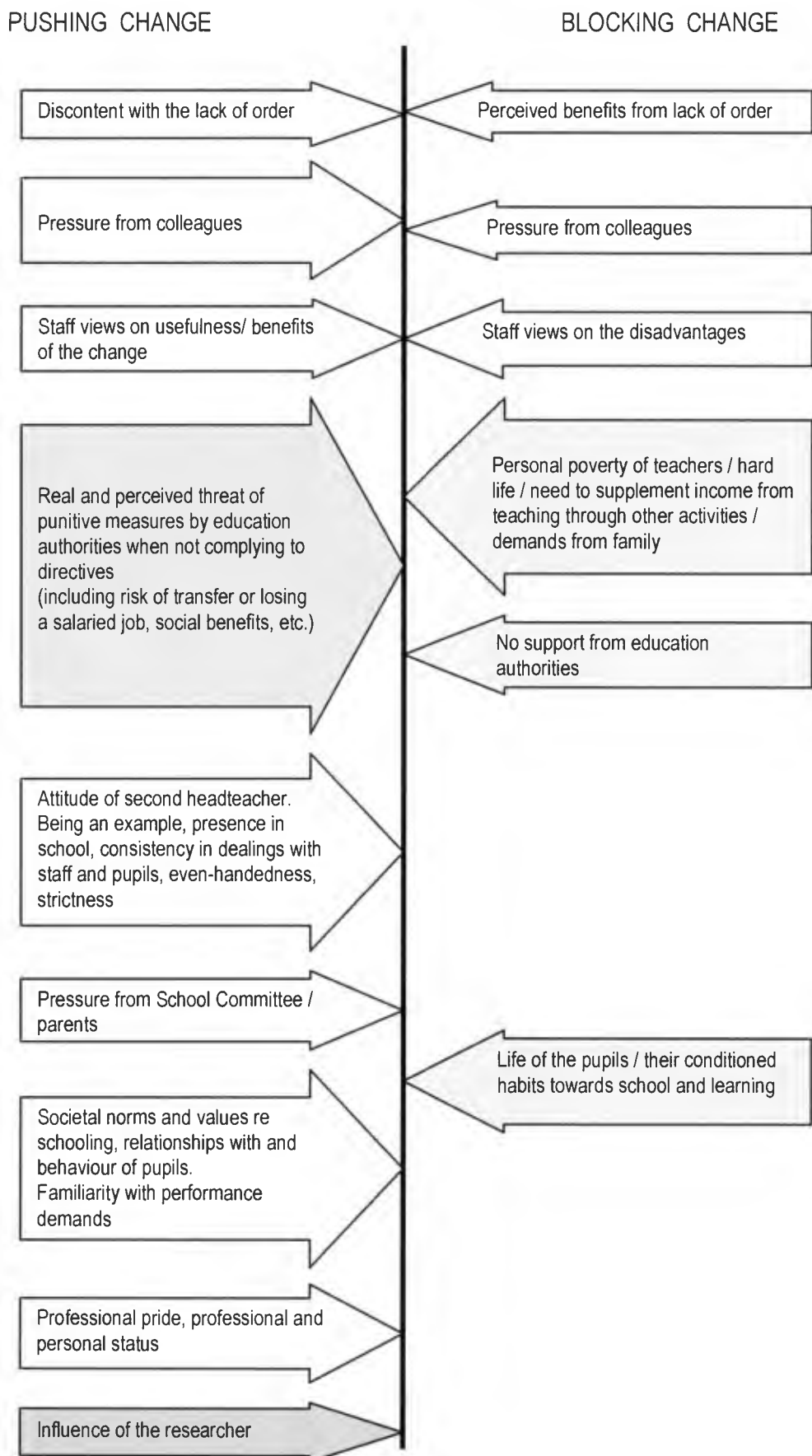
Some of the depicted forces formed pairs, as certain forces were perceived as both positive and negative. For example, the reinstatement of management authority in the school was perceived as both an advantage and a disadvantage. Before the second headteacher's arrival, some teachers skipped teaching classes to mark books, write lesson plans or engage in private business during school hours, while others distanced themselves from these colleagues and limited themselves to their own duties. Interestingly, in both groups the older teachers commented openly about each other's behaviour [Field/A:17/03/2004, 11/02/2004]. However, this pressure on each other remained mainly verbal, although in some cases younger colleagues were coerced by older ones into taking double classes or double periods [Field/A:20/02/2004]. After the change of headteacher, staff attitudes changed in that deviant behaviour of colleagues was much less tolerated as this meant more work for themselves [Int/T31/A:12/03/2005]. Most other forces were mainly one-directional.

The strongest one-directional force blocking change, consistent over all initiatives, was the effect of personal poverty on teachers' attitudes towards work in general and change in particular. Even the most dedicated teachers reported difficulties in balancing home and work demands, giving priority to home whenever possible [e.g. Int/T31/A:23/01/2005; Int/T32/A:30/12/2004; Int/T33/A:30/11/2004; Int/T35/A:16/03/2005]. However, only when external pressure from education authorities became such that their position in the school came under threat, would staff comply to demands of work. Through the second headteacher's appointment, the municipal education office openly applied pressure on the staff during a joint staff meeting to restore a 'normal' working situation in the school [Field/A:11/01/2005; Int/DEO:14/01/2005]. Although the external official pressure existed also in some of the other initiatives, in this case it became effective through the way headteacher used it in his dealings with staff. By applying pressure evenly on all staff and dealing with problems consistently, staff was unable to complain to the municipality education officers, which happened frequently under the previous headteacher [Int/DEO:20/01/2005]. Similarly, the second headteacher also used the growing concern of parents, via the school committee, as a lever to effect change, whereas previously parents had been ignored [Field/A:11/03/2005].

In general, the second headteacher acted in line with systemic demands and societal expectations on schooling, on pupil behaviour, on school performance, and on the teacher's professional pride and status. As a result, teachers acted more according to their expected role and duty: e.g. they started to dress more smartly and paid more attention to the cleanliness of their work environment [Field/A:08/03/2005; Int/SI1:14/04/2005]. For staff, the risks of non-compliance in this case were greater than the benefits, so they complied.

Progress and sustainability of restoration remained dependent on the balance of the forces. Overall, the restoration was visibly successful in the school, despite other relatively constant blocking forces: i.e. the lack of support from education authorities, the personal conditions in which the pupils lived and their conditioned school-related attitudes (e.g. submissiveness, resignation, passiveness, avoidance, rote learning). My influence as researcher remained limited during the restoration. The headteacher saw no benefit in re-engaging all staff in the research. He prioritised restoration of normal functioning. Continuation of working with individual teachers was allowed (see initiative no.3).

Fig. 5.4.1: Restoring the working environment in (Initiative 1; School A)



Initiative 2: Addressing the effects of the school's environment on pupils' behaviour and learning (School A)

A very different picture emerged from the force field of the whole-school improvement initiative that was chosen by the first headteacher and staff of school A at the beginning of the fieldwork [pg.143]. Even though lack of performance of the school in national exams and discontent with pupils' social behaviours were the main drives behind this choice, the combined pressures blocking the change soon became overwhelming.

Parallel to personal hardship of teachers and pupils, discontent with the school's leadership and perceived (non-educational) benefits from lack of authority soon became strong blocking forces. Despite earlier agreement on team participation, the first headteacher provided little support to the staff training activities that were part of this study, leaving the teachers to make their own decisions whether to participate or not. Most support initially came from a senior teacher. Her informal leadership among staff made several staff meetings possible. However, as the situation in the school deteriorated, her influence waned.

From the outset, staff was divided over the work involved in the initiative (staff training, changes in pedagogy, consequences for workload), in which opponents gained influence over proponents. Furthermore, there was no pressure from the municipal education office to suppress divisions and to compel teachers to adhere to necessary changes.

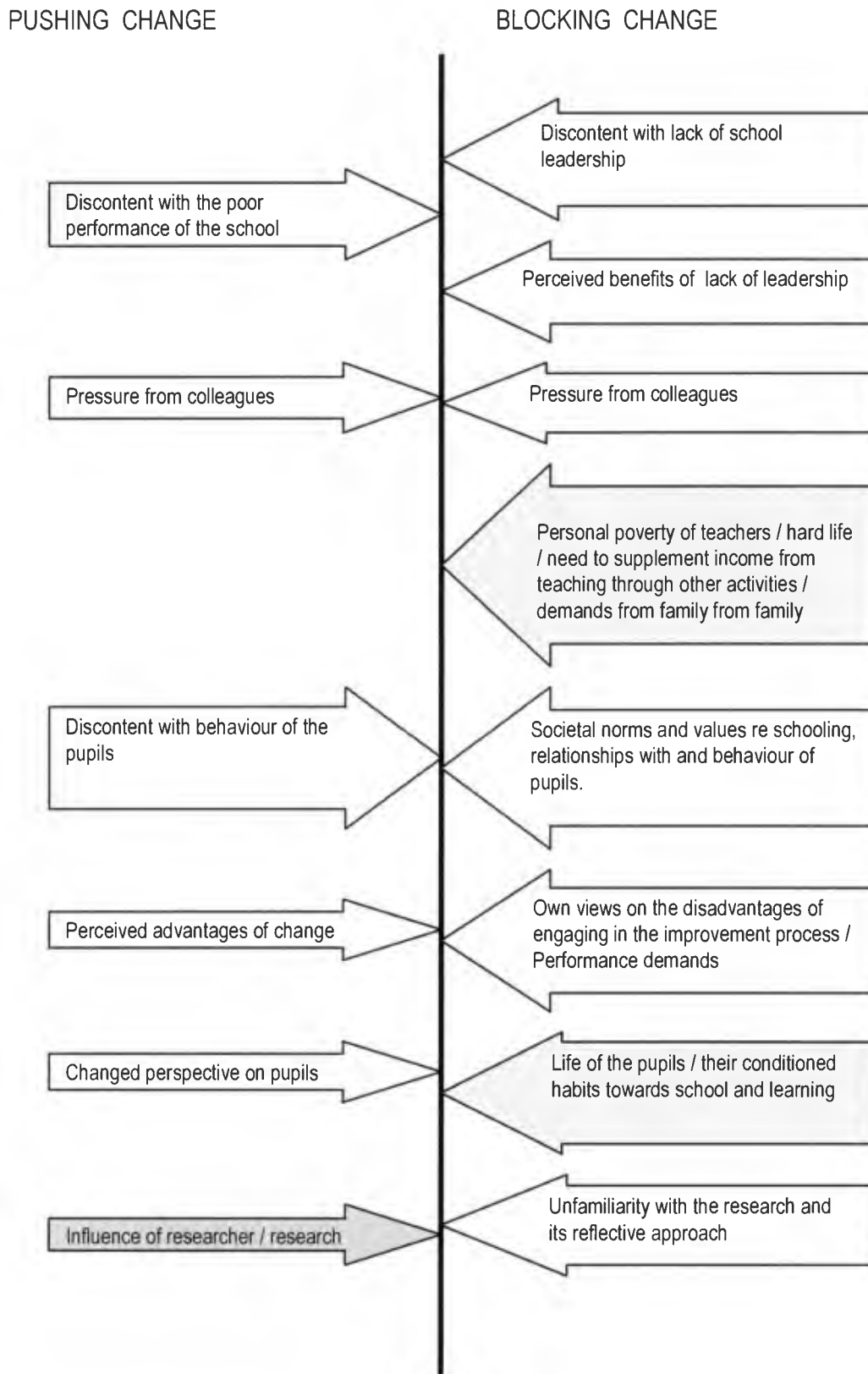
Even though discontent with pupil behaviour initially motivated staff for this initiative, this was countered by insistence of staff for the restoration of submissive obedient behaviour by pupils, rather than critically reflecting on this demand in light of pupils' personal circumstances. During staff training sessions I asked staff to reflect on causes, effects and knock-on effects within and outside the school in relation to pupil behaviour, on their influence as teachers and on the consequence for pupil learning [pg.230]. The key idea behind this approach was that many of the *causes* of pupil behaviour lie beyond the powers of the school, but teachers can still positively influence its *effects* within school.

Two cultural-attitudinal obstacles emerged however. Firstly, staff did not distinguish between causes and effects. Behaviour of pupils was either 'good' or 'bad', according to expectations

and regulations. For example, truancy was forbidden (Appendix 11). Teachers did not entertain the idea of mitigating circumstances, such as the need to earn money, hunger, absence of carers, illness or other personal tragedy. A truant pupil was simply punished for the committed offence. Secondly, critical reflection meant that teachers had to reflect on their own influence on pupils' behaviour, which meant assuming responsibility for their own attitudes. Under the conditions in which the school operated, the majority of staff objected to this approach. Central to their objections was the assertion that they as teachers also had a hard life and that they were supposed to follow orders without protest. So why not the pupils? [Train/A:28/11/2003].

Under these circumstances, my influence as researcher rapidly diminished and the initiative died an early death.

Fig. 5.4.2: Addressing the effects of the school's environment on pupils' behaviour and learning (Initiative 2; School A)



Initiative 3: Individual consultation and training (School A)

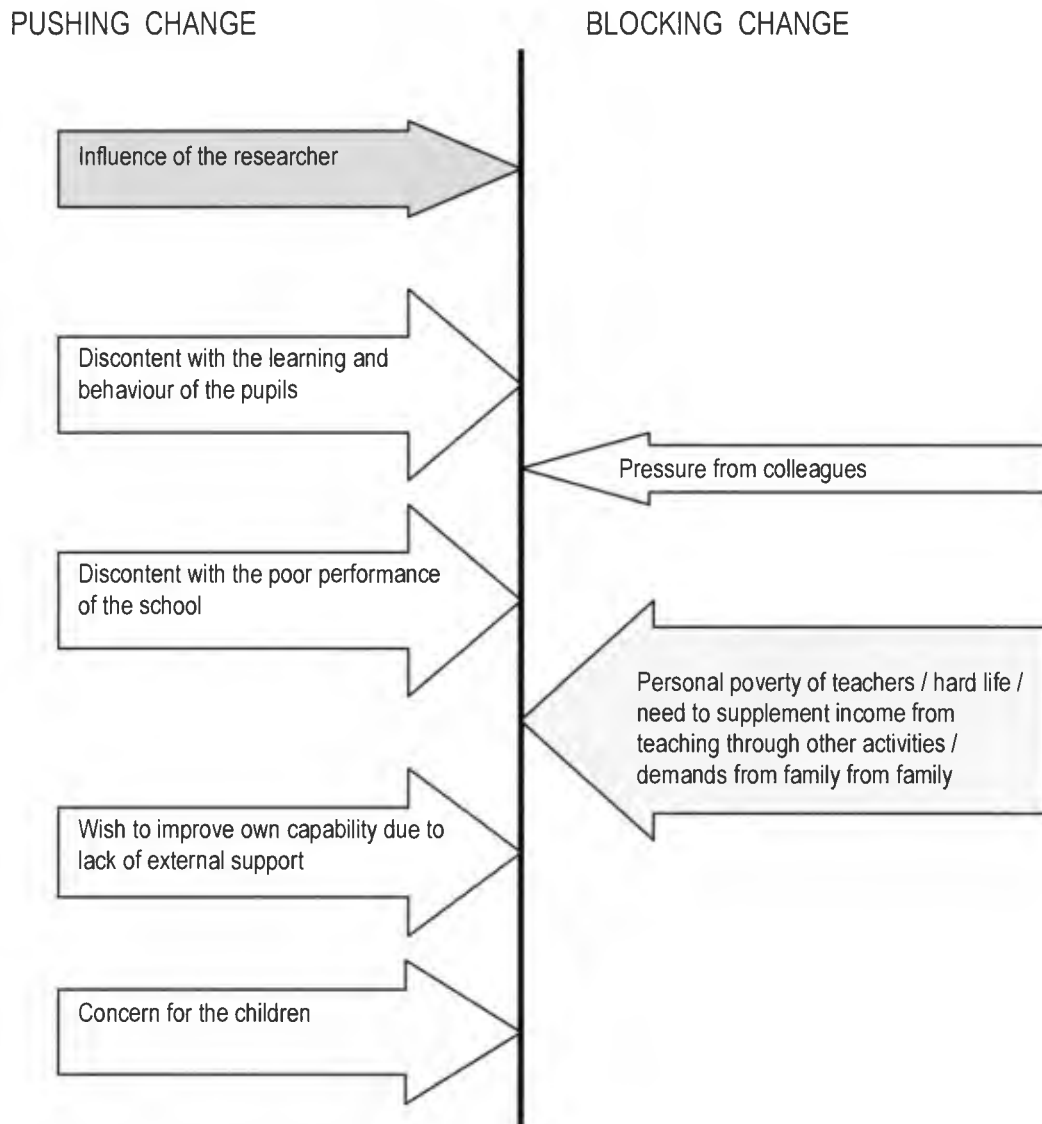
Despite the premature end of the whole-school initiative, several teachers expressed the wish to continue with professional development through feedback from classroom observations and after school training sessions on teaching English. This was condoned by both the first and second headteacher.

The classroom observations focussed mainly on improving teacher-pupil interactions. One teacher consulted me on ways to improve communication with the pupils with the intention to improve transmission of knowledge, but increasingly used interaction to find out why certain pupils failed to understand provided explanations [Obs/T22/S7/A:02/03/2004, 08/03/2004; Int/T22/A:07/04/2004]. Another teacher went further in attempts to address lack of concentration and effort among pupils through experimentation with seating arrangements in class and group work. Even though the teacher reported some positive effects, their impact remained limited [Obs/T31/S6/A:11/05/2005; Int/T31/A:11/05/2005] as colleagues teaching the same classes did not follow suit. Others occasionally asked for subject-specific ideas to liven up their teaching [e.g. Field/A: 24/05/2005; 28/05/2004; 02/03/2004]. The classroom observations happened incidentally on request of individual teachers, depending on their need for feedback.

For a year (May 2004 to May 2005) a group of five teachers met once or twice per fortnight for a two hour training session on English as a subject and on pedagogy when using it as a language of instruction. The Tanzanian primary school curriculum required teachers to teach the subject of English from Standard III onwards entirely in English. The B/C grade teachers in particular had difficulty mastering English at conversation level, let alone using it as a language of instruction.

Despite personal hardship and some negative pressure from colleagues, personal and professional concerns motivated these teachers to invest some of their own time regularly to increase their capabilities. Further motivation came from the consistency of my support. The consultations and training sessions were relevant to the needs and capabilities of the teachers (at the end of each session teachers were asked to provide suggestions for the next session) and engaging through the use of humor.

Fig. 5.4.3: Individual consultation and training (Initiative 3; School A)



Initiative 4: Introduction of the Participatory Techniques (School A)

In school A, the forces blocking this change far outweighed those pushing it. Despite strong pressure from the municipal education office, introduction and implementation were delayed primarily due to the second headteacher's choice to prioritise the restoration of the school's functioning. When I suggested combining the goals of restoration and innovation, he remarked:

First, I want to change the situation in the school. When teachers are working, then can I do this. [Int/HT2/A:19/05/2005]

He may also may have been reluctant to introduce this in a situation he did not feel sufficiently in control of.

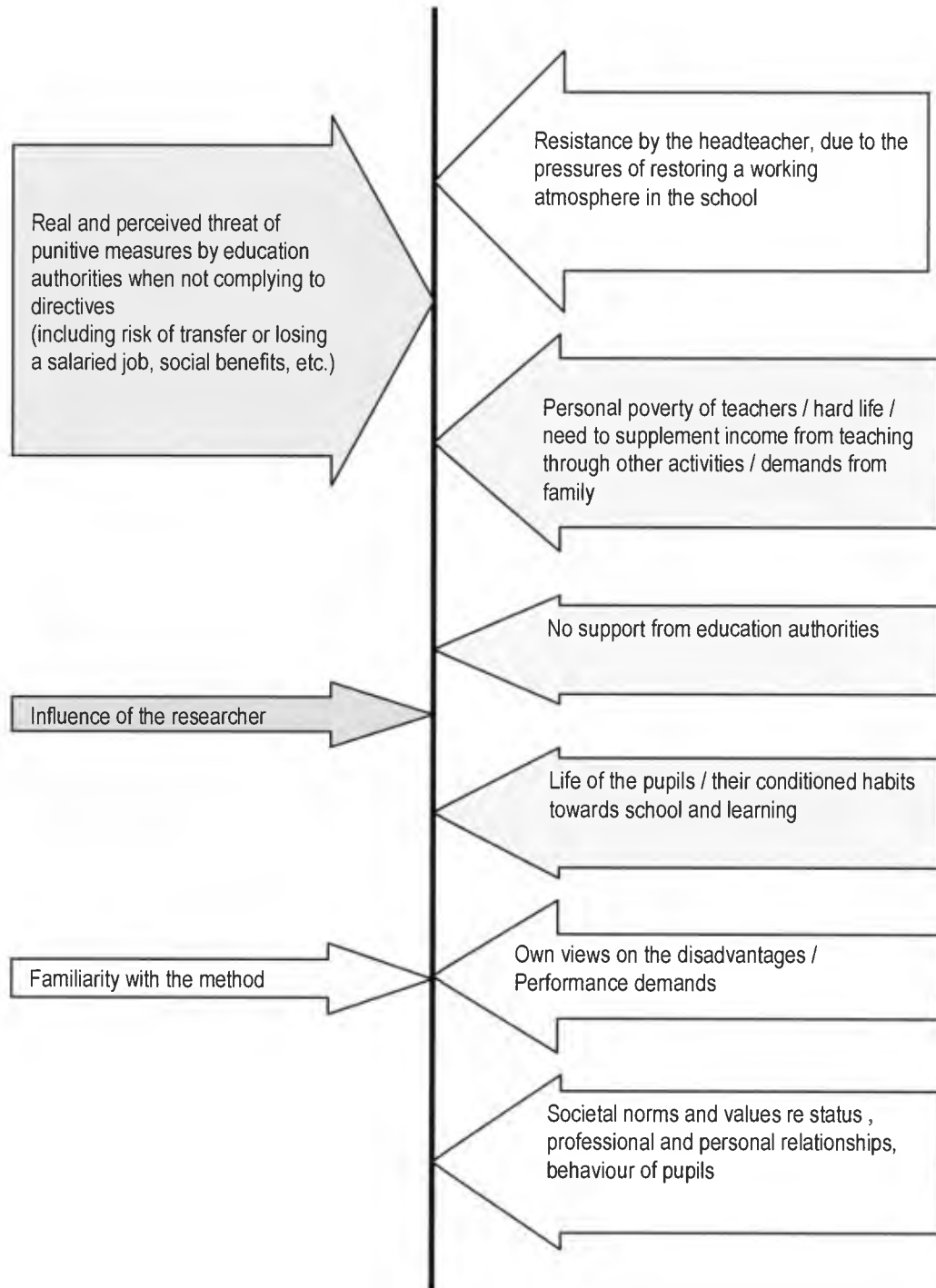
During the in-school introductory training session, teachers claimed familiarity with participatory techniques of teaching and learning [Train/A:10/02/2005]. These had been taught in teacher training college. Some staff also used them in their practice [Obs/T3/S6/A:23/02/2004; Obs/T30/S6/A:26/05/2005]. However, most teachers considered imposing these methods on staff inappropriate for two reasons. First, they were seen as cumbersome, due to the large number of pupils in the classes, the short time of each teaching period (40 minutes) and the system of teaching one or two subjects to several classes (rather than teaching all subjects to one class). Building relationships with (all) pupils or doing proper follow-up on their academic progress was therefore seen as impractical. Even though many teachers fondly remembered participatory approaches from their own primary school days, under the present situation they felt compelled to use expedient teaching methods (e.g. lecture, drill, question-and-answer) and punitive approaches to pupil discipline. Secondly, the extent to which the Participatory Techniques required an open and more egalitarian relationship between teachers and pupils, did not sit well with the cultural expectations of the (traditionally hierarchical) Tanzanian society.

My influence in the implementation of this new approach in school A was confined to convincing the second headteacher to allow at least the two-day in-school introduction training, so teachers would be informed about the required oncoming changes. He agreed only to one day. In exchange, I assisted in providing part of the training [Train/A:10/02/2005]. Later the second headteacher convinced the municipal education office to allow him some dispensation on the implementation [Int/S11:14/04/2005]. As a result, formal implementation was delayed after the initial introduction.

Fig. 5.4.4: Introduction of the Participatory Techniques (Initiative 4; School A)

PUSHING CHANGE

BLOCKING CHANGE



Initiative 4: Introduction of the Participatory Techniques (School B)

In school B, the introduction of the Participatory Techniques commenced according to the directive of the municipal education office. The headteacher arranged with a colleague of a neighbouring school for the two-day in-school training to be held jointly on the premises of school B. Approximately five out of every seven staff members were present on both training days. From the start I was asked to assist in the planning and provision of the introductory training [pg.183].

As in school A, teachers claimed to be familiar with the techniques and levelled a similar critique with regard to their appropriateness under the existing circumstances in the classrooms and with regard to the conventional teacher-pupil relationship. Still, the headteacher intended to follow administrative requirements and implement the use of the techniques over the course of 2004, so they would be in place by 2005. This way she pre-empted pressure from educational authorities and informed her staff in time about what the authorities had planned. She had however no intention to work pro-actively with regard to the re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment this whole-school development initiative required. Her approach was:

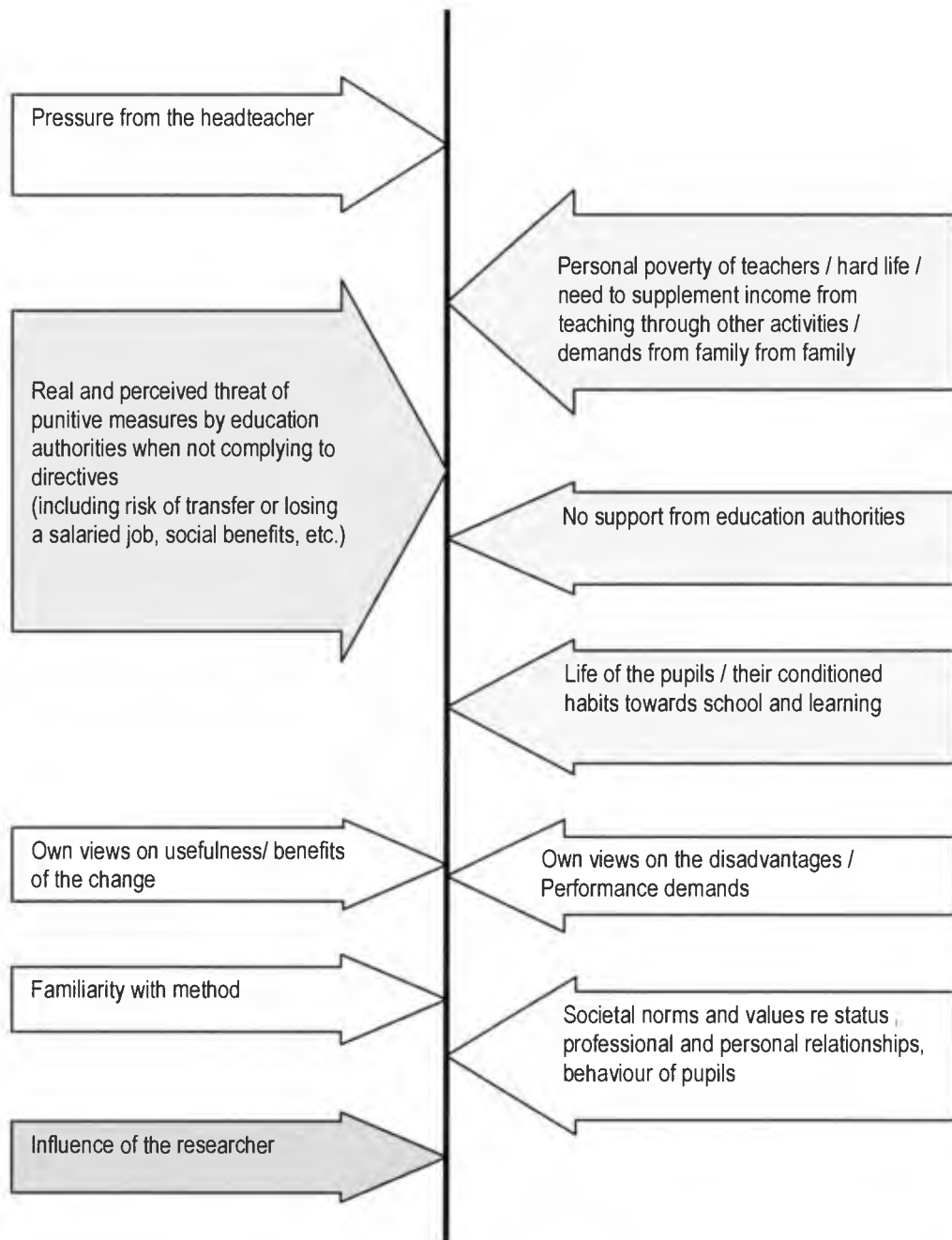
The government wants us to do this, so they can tell us how to do it.
[Int/HT/B:22/11/2004].

As a result, implementation occurred at a minimum pace.

Fig. 5.4.5: Introduction of the Participatory Techniques (Initiative 4; School B)

PUSHING THE CHANGE

BLOCKING THE CHANGE



Initiative 5: Improving pupils' learning attitudes (School B)

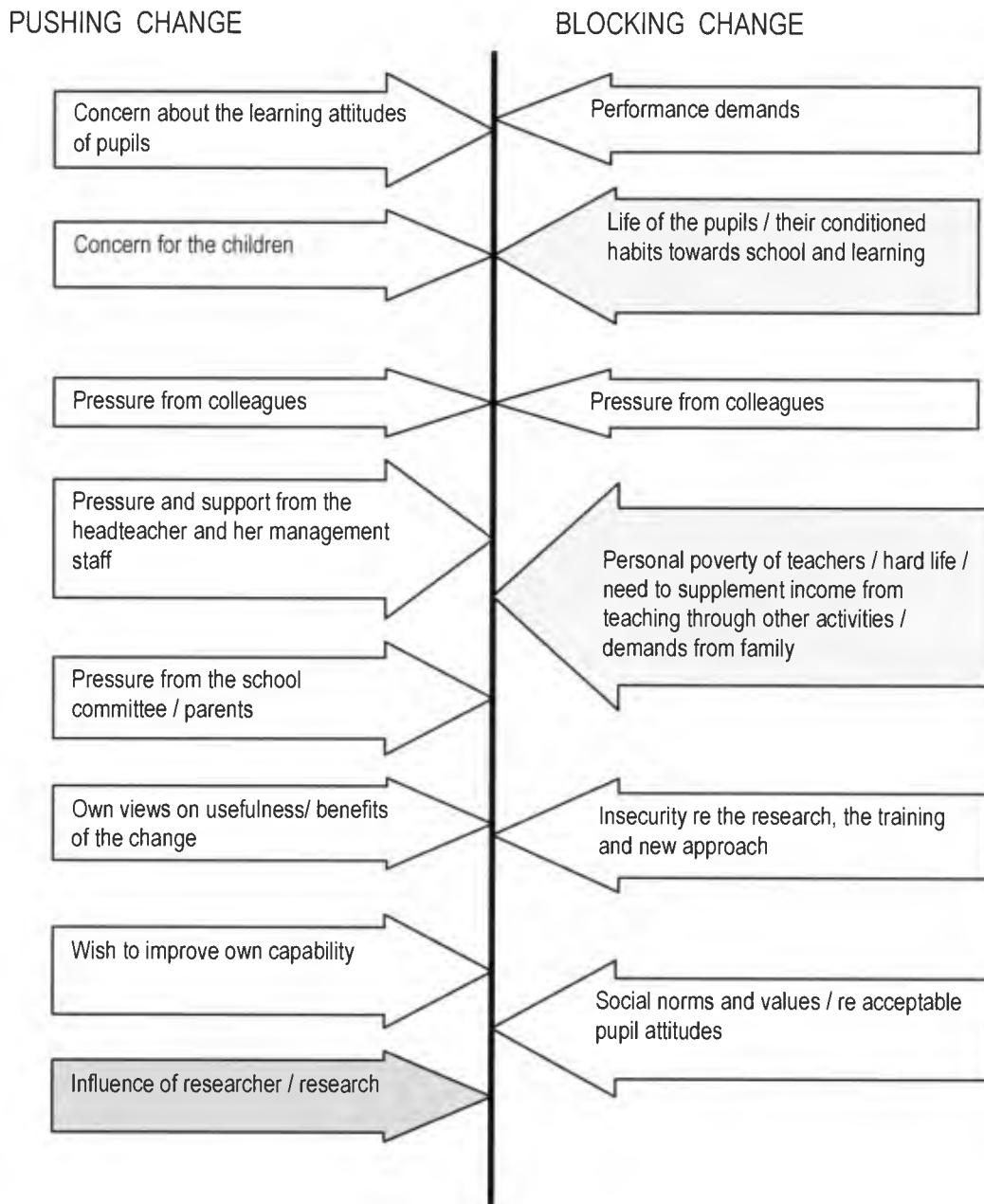
The staff of school B chose 'Improving pupil's learning attitudes' as a topic for school improvement in the context of this study, which meant improving on a situation that was already good compared to other district primary schools [pg.143]. This initiative required teachers to invest some of their own time to attend training sessions, i.e. the time following the 8th period, which postponed their lunchtime. It also required teachers to incorporate motivational strategies in their lesson plans and execute those during lessons.

Blocking this initiative at personal level was the pressure of personal poverty on both teachers and pupils. This constantly affected their motivation and capability to teach and learn. Several teachers openly resisted. They questioned the benefits of this initiative, complained about the time and effort it would take, raised doubts about the possibility of changing pupils' will to learn or expressed difficulty in understanding the training, due to their own lack of education or command of English as language of instruction. On training days some would be absent without providing a reason [Train/B:21/11/2003, 25/02/2004].

In contrast, forces pushing the change outweighed the obstructing ones, despite the absence of direct pressure from the municipal education office. Foremost was the pressure of the headteacher, who often reminded teachers personally to be present at training sessions and to apply the outcomes in their work. Pressure also came from the parents, through the active monitoring role of the School Committee. A number of active teachers, keen to further improve the school's performance, influenced their colleagues by openly disagreeing with resistant teachers. Through the example of their teaching they indirectly applied pressure on colleagues not to stand out as under-performing [Train/B:10/06/2004]. In particular among a small but dedicated core of senior staff and younger teachers (approximately ten staff), motivation for engaging in this improvement initiative came from a genuine concern for the pupils' academic performance and for the effectiveness of the teaching process. These teachers had a desire to develop professionally. However, even though identifiable as a segment of school staff, they did not go as far as to intentionally collaborate 'as a team' within the team to form a critical mass aimed at bringing about a momentum for more transformational change. As such they did not counter-balance the general reactive attitudes of the majority of staff [pg.176, 238ff]

The training in the context of this study stimulated a higher level of professional self-reflection. One of the deputy headteachers explained that through the training she had come to realise the pupils' lack of deep understanding was the result of teaching methods she had been using [Int/DH2/B:01/05/2004]. Similarly, another teacher had ceased the use of physical punishments as a 'quick-fix' solution to pupil discipline [Obs/T4/S7/B:09/03/2005; Int/T4/B:11/03/2005]. Although more time-consuming, the teacher reasoned with the pupils and found that over time this improved pupils' learning attitudes. Overall, this improvement initiative was seen by a majority of staff as positive, resulting in heightened awareness of the importance of pupil motivation. Some argued that indirectly this contributed to the school's success in national examinations.

Fig. 5.4.6: Improving pupils' learning attitudes (Initiative 5; School B)



Initiative 6: Enhancing school performance in exams (School A and B)

Although an educational objective rather than an improvement initiative in itself, the enhancement of performance in national examinations was in itself a very powerful impetus for staff to engage in all kinds of pedagogical and managerial improvement initiatives (Appendix 16). This led to changes in classroom practices, school administration, discipline, resourcing and other physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions.

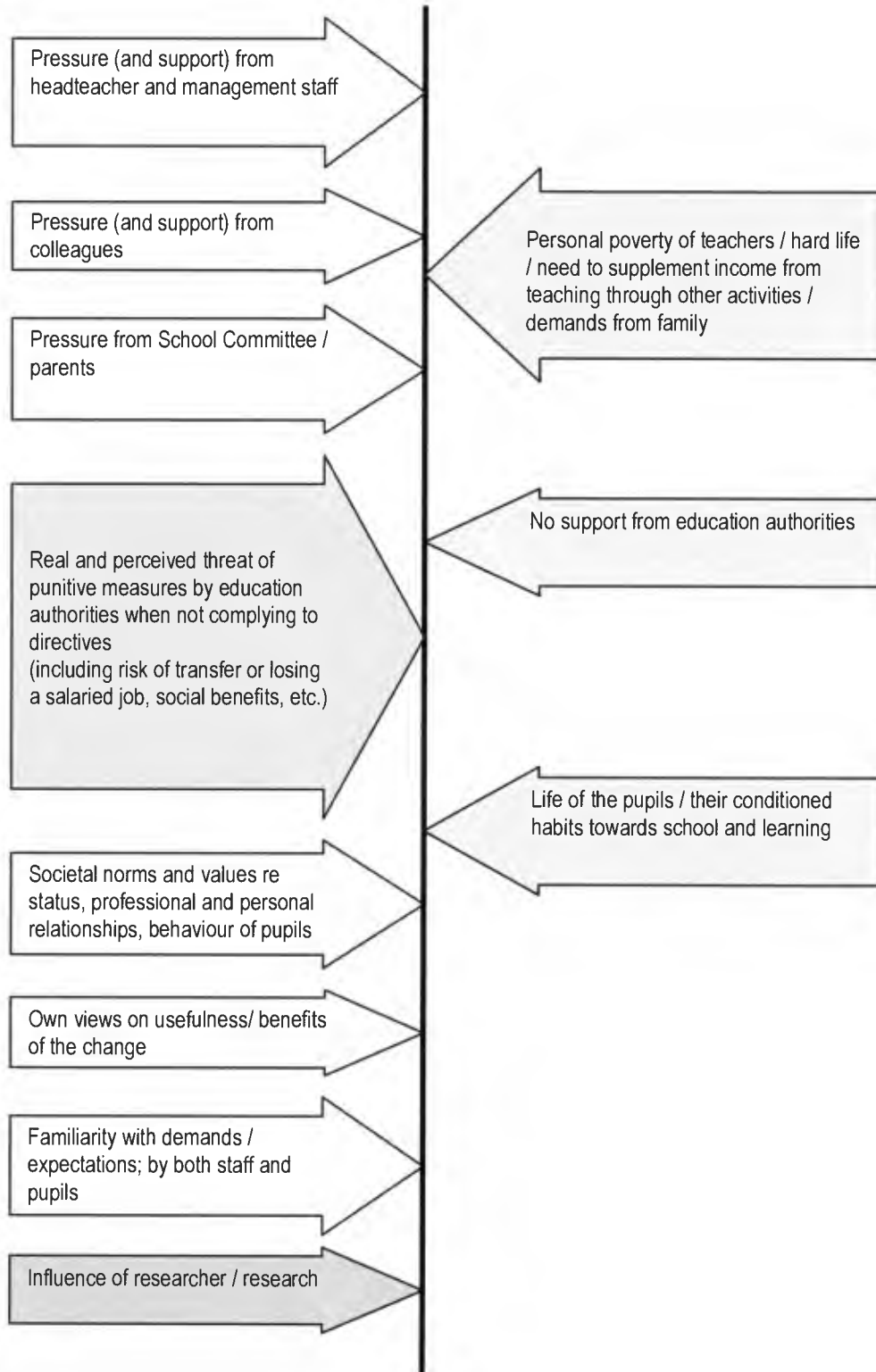
The forces obstructing change were the three relatively constant forces: personal poverty and living conditions of staff, the effects of pupils' home background, and the absence of support (motivational and otherwise) from education authorities. All were beyond the powers of school managers and teachers. They were heavily outweighed by two sets of pushing forces. First, external demands and punitive consequences originating from educational authorities, the managers in the school and parents put pressure on individual teachers and the staff as a whole. Secondly, pressure for engaging in changes also came from staff themselves. Although a majority expressed different personal views on schooling [pg.233], in daily practice many chose under pressure to conform to prescribed pedagogical and managerial practices, and extended pressure to colleagues [pg.210]. At first glance, the efforts of staff resulted in improved test and examination results [pg.284]. However, as the quality of teaching and learning, and relevance of assessment remained limited [pg.226, 244ff], the increased outcome did not necessarily signify educational improvement.

The force-field depicts the situation as it existed largely under the two successful headteachers. Towards the end of the first headteacher's posting in school A, many of the pushing forces had waned (e.g. professional pride, norms regarding responsibilities towards the pupils, influence from parents) or had become blocks (e.g. pressure from colleagues, norms regarding management, performance demands), and negative forces (e.g. pressures from home life, teacher deviance) had space to manifest themselves and grow in strength. Central was her leadership approach, which caused much resistance and resentment among staff [pg.189] and had become a blocking force in its own right. This for a time outweighed the influence of the municipal education office.

Fig. 5.4.7: Enhancing school performance in exams (Initiative 6; School A and B)

PUSHING CHANGE

BLOCKING CHANGE



Summary

In this section on 'space for change' I presented seven force field analyses, illustrating attitudinal forces that pushed and obstructed six different initiatives in the two schools. Each of the forces can be seen as representing the will and intentions of some of the people involved, either within or beyond the schools.

When comparing the seven analyses, several force combinations shed further light on some of the findings I described earlier:

- Punitive pressure by authorities countered the demotivating or resistance effects of poverty
- Professional and personal risks were powerful forces for compliance
- The power of the headteacher was a strong force for or against change
- When supported, professional and personal interests of management and teaching staff were powerful forces for change
- Forces based on traditional educational views tended to outweigh those based on novel ones

More in general, the analyses suggest that:

- Obstructing forces tended to be counteracted or blocked, rather than directly addressed, queried or refuted
- In high stakes initiatives forces pushing the change were both negative *and* positive (i.e. 'stick and carrot')
- Inconsistent staff behaviour (including informalisation and corruption) only had a determinative effect on the achievability of change, when other forces tended to balance each other out.
- Despite relatively constant forces, space for change differed per initiative

Having omitted the more concrete and procedural aspects of 'space for change', the force field analyses further suggest that cultural-attitudinal conditions were by themselves indicative of each initiative's achievability. As summarised earlier under 'What Worked' [pg.220], the schools' hierarchical management and uncertain conditions meant that staff willingness needed

to be combined with dependable leadership, communication, cooperation and close in-service supervision in order for narrow improvement initiatives to succeed.

The self-generated initiative in school B (no.5) showed that the *potential* for a critical mass of willing staff was present. Given sufficient space, a momentum for ongoing school improvement could possibly have been generated. This lends weight to the voluntarist argument that the will, intentions or motivations of school staff cannot simply be ignored, manipulated or overruled in the process of school improvement (Bennett, 2001; Fullan, 2001a; Busher, 2001, Evans, 1999; Fox, 1999; Hargreaves, A, 1998; Slee *et al*, 1998; Angus, 1996; Aktouf, 1992). However, at the time of data collection, punitive pressure rather than approval and support by education authorities often tipped the balance on the implementation of imposed initiatives. How such pressure effects the *quality* of school improvement and of the resulting education then becomes an issue of concern. The role of staff motivation on school improvement in Tanzania therefore deserves further research (see also: Davidson, 2006, 2004b).

Within the conditional facet of the Management of Change model [pg.61] (Appendix 3), the force fields illustrate the 'space for change' that is available for each improvement initiative. Within the concrete and perceived 'room to manoeuvre', management and teaching staff went into action, in order to implement the various initiative, which at the same time changed that space. Next, I discuss two finding concerning 'action', as part of the model's operational facet. These relate to staff motivation and capability.

Action

Action in the context of whole-school improvement initiatives occurs when staff collaboratively 'walk the talk' [pg.109] Whether seen as modifications of existing work or as transformational innovations, in action pedagogical and managerial practices are being changed. The changes aid more effective operation in accordance with existing values, or aim to respond to and concretise changing values. At the same time, after critical reflection on their underpinning values, some existing practices may even remain unaltered. It is during action that consequences and meaning of changes are felt and become clear in terms of workload, effectiveness, transformation and purpose, as well as 'loss' and 'gain' (Morrison, K., 1998). Experiencing change-as-it-happens links action directly to deep understanding of its rationale, as well as staff motivation and capability. During intentional change for improvement, staff learn

about new pedagogical and managerial practices and gain understanding from their experiences, preferably formalised into systematic whole-school staff development training. Familiarity with learning from change is arguably in itself a major determinant for achievability of school improvement (Hopkins, 2001; Fullan, 2001b, 2001a, 1999). I limit myself here to staff attitude towards action and the extent to which staff development formed part of action.

Staff undertook school improvement actions reluctantly

When work duties – including improvement activities – were not resisted, then staff implemented school-wide changes in a reactive, executive and replicative way (Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Hofstede, 1994). As most initiatives were narrowly focussed on school performance, supposed to be adopted whole-sale in line with the school's required functioning, and perceived by staff as add-ons to already familiar routines, staff replicated known approaches and methods, rather than experimenting with new ones. Staff waited for and executed orders as and when given by superiors:

[We] fulfil all the suggestions/ideas given by the school leadership. [Quest/T23/S7/B:24/05/2005]

They [*the leadership*] tell us what to do, and we'll do it to the best of our ability. [Int/DHT2/B:20/03/2004].

This subservient attitude was enforced by school inspectors. During a training day on '*mada tata*' ('hard topics' within the subject syllabi), they provided academic and procedural instruction on how to teach certain topics, to be copied by the teachers and used as such in their classes [Field/B:30/03/2004]. Given the lack of power and ownership by staff, their subservient attitude also indicated an unwillingness to assume responsibility in the face of rigid accountability (Robinson, 1994). By only following directives to the letter, staff reduced the possibility of being blamed in case of failure.

Nevertheless, individual staff had to get used to required modification or adoption of 'good practice', no matter how mechanical, incidental or procedural the various initiatives were. With regard to the introduction of the Participatory Techniques a younger teachers said:

As teacher I try my level best to use the new technique of teaching in my subject of mathematics. Also I am trying my level best to follow the principles of teaching pupils which I was given by the government. [Quest/T23/S7/B:24/05/2005]

Although Fullan (2001a) links the 'implementation dip' clearly to *innovative* (intentionally transformational) change, also the adoptive changes caused some internal 'disturbance' in the study schools (Hopkins *et al*, 1997). Possible loss of privileges and liberties, anxiety about increase of workload and frustration about strong pressure and lack of support from the local educational authorities heightened staff reluctance to go into action and thus threatened the implementation of more procedurally and attitudinally focussed improvement initiatives.

The predominantly mechanical adoption of initiatives combined with the reactive 'wait and see' attitude of staff resulted in limited professional development.

Limited professional development occurred during the various initiatives

As already discussed, specific out-of-school and in-school professional development training was seldom available and incidental staff development was largely limited to in-school supervision on daily work and the 'correct' implementation of the various initiatives [pg.218ff]. Exception to this was the consistent consultative approach to school management of the headteacher of school B, aimed at sensitising her staff to working more cooperatively in a team [pg.199ff, 204ff, 216ff]. Some systematic staff development training did take place, but was limited to my research and support activities in the two schools [pg.208, 230ff, 239ff, 262ff].

During internal inspections, the management staff in school B reported improvement in teacher performance and pupils' learning attitudes. They concluded this from improved quality of pupils' work and general improvement in test results [Int/DH1/B:28/04/2005]. Most teaching staff reported positively on what they had learned as a result of staff development activities, and on resulting pupil behaviour [Quest/B:24/05/2005]:

...[it] helped teachers and pupils to have encouragement in learning. It also gave new methods of teaching. [T12/S3/B]

Most of the teachers have changed from lecture method to participatory techniques, [such as] participating pupils by asking questions or dividing pupils in groups. Asking pupils questions enables them to find out their own answers rather than being given by the teachers. [T16/S6/B]

Good implementation [of improvement measures], good administration and good attitudes of teachers made pupils of this school to be confident, obedient and have good moral conduct. [T4/S4/B]

Some whole-school professional development also took place in the context of the introduction of the Participatory Techniques [pg.183] as teachers were required to attend in-school training and apply the knowledge from training immediately in their classrooms. However, the amount of training consisted of only two days in school B and one day in school A, in which staff were mostly told *about* participatory teaching and learning, instead of engaging in practical training. Furthermore, no sufficient provision had been made to address and instil the values behind this specific pedagogical approach. There was no staff training on evaluation to assess the implementation.

Summary

Staff attitude in the two schools towards school improvement action can best be described as reluctant, because of concrete or perceived professional and personal consequences. Improvement actions were treated by staff as one-off events rather than ongoing processes (Fullan, 1999), and seen as procedural 'add-ons' rather than attitudinal transformations (Barrett, 2005). Management staff were mainly concerned with supervising that teachers and pupils worked as instructed. The majority of staff showed little individual, let alone collective, learning mentality. As a result, very limited professional development happened as part of improvement action, and so the schools' pedagogical and managerial quality hardly improved.

I end this chapter with findings on the transformational facet of the Management of Change model. I discuss how concrete and perceived conditions changed in the two schools, why these changes were considered successful by staff, and how the use of available space related to achievability of school improvement.

Change of Space

As space is seen here as the 'room to manoeuvre' for staff to effect school improvement within the school's combined physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal environment [pg.69ff], then improving school conditions inevitably affects the space for further change.

Keeping Fullan's (2001a) warning in mind that not all change is an improvement, then ideally improved conditions also mean improved space for change. This improved 'room to manoeuvre' benefits ongoing improvement for optimum school maintenance (Hargreaves, D., 1995), *as well as* further improvement in terms of school development (Fullan, 2001b, 1999). In other words: better quality 'space for change' enables the enhancement of school effectiveness *as well as* more fundamental and innovative transformations. This notion of 'space for further change' also resonates with Hopkins' (2001) assertion that the process of school improvement not only changes the school's pedagogical conditions, but also strengthens the managerial 'capacity' of staff to deal with further change for improvement.

If my assertion is accepted that both staff motivation and capability are integral to the school's 'space for change' [pg.114ff], then from a personal perspective, 'change of space' involves changes in staff values, practices, attitudes and behaviours. Equally, more and better quality 'room to manoeuvre' allows more and better quality 'will and skill' of staff to effect school improvement.

Concrete and perceived conditions changed, but in a limited way

During 2004, in both schools more desks had become available which meant fewer pupils sitting on the floor or being squeezed onto one desk. The average book:pupil ratio had improved to 1:3, thanks to PEDP funding. More teachers were able to use teaching aids (either bought or self-made from provided materials). Offices, stores and classrooms were being renovated and improved, services like water and telephone had been restored. Pupils in school B whose parents could afford the cost were provided with lunch when staying over for afternoon classes.

Conditions in both schools had also changed in technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal sense. Administrative measures such as the Class Book contributed to heightened control on periods taught. The provision of MEMKWA and remedial classes arguably differentiated the pedagogical opportunities to learn. Printed test papers in mock exams familiarised pupils with formal testing. Also noticeable were the effects of tighter control by the Academic Committee (in school B), stricter enforcement of school rules and regulations and the heightened awareness of dress code. A start had been made with using more participatory teaching techniques. In school A, the restoration drive by the second headteacher had led to less

teacher deviance, less pupil absenteeism and improved results in Standard IV and VII examinations [Field/A:02/03/2005, 19/05/2005; Int/T31/A:06/03/2005]. In school B, deploying more experienced staff in the lower Standards reportedly contributed to strengthening the foundations of pupils' learning [Int/HT/B:05/10/2004]. Pairing of staff prevented to some extent classes being disadvantaged by incapable teachers. Introduction of repetition of Standard I and II meant that from Standard III onwards teachers could rely on pupils being sufficiently proficient in reading, writing and basic math.

As a result of the various initiatives the majority of teachers reported a heightened effectiveness the school's functioning, achieving better results with and from the pupils, being better supported by parents and having a sense of professional empowerment. In both schools staff commented:

There was a great change in our pupils' behaviour after getting new leadership, which has given us a good relationship compared to the previous years. Therefore teaching has been well and easier in general. [Quest/T18/S7/A:20/05/2005]

Teachers are following all teaching rules and they are committed to fulfilling their responsibilities. Also pupils have improved their behaviour, wearing school uniform, to enter the classroom and report to school early. [Quest/T15/S4/A:20/05/2005]

Supervision and seriousness in provision brings academic efficiency. This means the academic committee of the school does their work as they should. [Quest/T11/S6/B:24/05/2005]

Teachers began to change in entering the classroom on time. Many teachers now work without excuses. [Quest/T26/S5/B:25/05/2005]

Despite 'participation' often being interpreted as 'compliance', some teachers also reported a slight change of space for pupils:

Teachers have stopped blaming pupils, instead they try to find other ways to help pupils in teaching them. [Quest/T16/S6/B:25/05/2005]

In terms of 'room to manoeuvre', the improved conditions enabled capable and willing staff in both schools not only to work more effectively, but also to heighten their expectations of the pupils and of themselves [Obs/T24/S3/A:24/01/2005; Int/SI1:25/04/2005]. The extent to which space had been created to *also* further develop the school, challenge existing values and practices and start a momentum of ongoing improvement, I address below [pg286ff.].

Despite reported improvements, there were also areas of contention in which improvements according to some were viewed differently by others. For example, the implementation of the Participatory Techniques was not seen by everyone as an immediate success:

There is still absenteeism of pupils; Participatory Technique has not yet succeeded.
[Quest/T24/S5/A:20/05/2005]

Teachers began using Participatory Techniques, although not all.
[Quest/T26/S5/B:25/05/2005]

Furthermore, lesson observations during the end of the fieldwork suggested that as a *method*, the Participatory Techniques were seen by several teachers as interchangeable with previous more one-directional techniques, rather than as a fundamental departure from a teacher-orientated *approach* to pedagogy [Obs/T30/S6/A:26/05/2005; Obs/T14/S6/B:07/03/2005]. Despite their formal introduction and adoption, during lessons it was often 'business as usual'. For example, the 2005 inspection report of school A (DSI, 2005) read:

Explanation method of teaching and speech method [lecture method] was used instead of participatory technique. Equality in participation needed to be improved; also using groups. (p.7)

Participation in higher classes was generally better. Teachers were advised to make more teaching aids and to keep them for future lessons. Also to use different reference books to prepare their lessons (not just one). (p.13)

Subject teachers were advised to fill in the lesson plans in the sections of Remarks and Evaluation. They should show how the pupils understand the subject [...] and not write only 'seen'. (p.7)

Also in school B, several staff interpreted the concept of 'participation' in an unidirectional compliant rather than a two-way collaborative sense [Quest/B:24/05/2005], describing it as:

- To execute work in class, discipline and all other school activities
- To execute what they are supposed to do academically and behaviourally
- To follow the given education and to follow the given school rules
- To be in class and do their work

Still, through training on improving pupils' learning attitudes staff tentatively began to change school-wide teaching and learning practices through addressing underlying participatory principles. In planning their lessons some teachers explored the values underpinning the alternative ways of teaching:

To improve self-confidence of learning this subject, I'll do these methods: 1. I encourage them to use English, however broken where ever they are, 2. to motivate them by giving rewards to those who do better in their exams and encouraging those who fail, and 3. to do dialogues, debates and give them more reading and essay exercises [Train/T31/S7/B:03/03/2004].

I will help them to know that Kiswahili is subject as another subject, for praising pupils who are doing better. I will give them challenges like writing essays, poems, letters and the winners I give rewards. I will tell them about people who were famous in Kiswahili (and) that they make their life better by using Kiswahili as a subject. So they wrote many books and sold them and got some money [Train/T20/S7/B:03/03/2004].

The success of several of the other improvement initiatives was also limited. Some teachers did not use the Class Book in accordance with its purpose [Field/A:28/09/2004, 14/06/2004]. Procuring and repairing desks was questioned as a way for some staff to make extra cash [Int/T34/A:24/12/2003]. The mass procurement of books by the municipal education office was viewed with similar suspicion. Furthermore, staff had not been consulted over the relevance of the books [Int/DH2/B:01/05/2004]. Despite the improvement of book:pupil ratio, school inspectors found that teachers in both schools left the books in the stores in order to preserve them, rather than use them in class (DSI, 2005; DSI, 2004) [Int/S11:07/05/2005]. The appointment of HIV/Aids coordinators led in school A to the removal of at least one suspected pupil, which was contrary to the intention behind the initiative [Field/A:08/03/2004]. The upgrading of B/C-grade teachers to A-grade was seen by at least one teacher as a bureaucratic exercise, not one of professional development useful for the teaching and learning process [Int/T32/A:14/10/2004]. Of the self-instigated initiative in school B, many staff reported improvement, although according the school's academic teacher no more than ¼ of staff regularly incorporated motivational activities in their lesson plans [Int/AT/B:17/02/2005, 07/06/2004]. I was unable to obtain direct evidence on school-wide implementation, other than from teacher report and from lessons I observed.

In one instance, little to no concrete change took place, but due to a change in perception some teachers saw a previous difficulty as less problematic. In school A, the effects of school environment on pupils' behaviour and learning attitudes were initially considered 'unsolvable' as the causes were seen as beyond the school's control. Pupils' behaviour and learning attitudes were therefore simply judged and dealt with punitively in accordance with strict formal regulations and expectations [pg.155, 259]. However, through reflecting on pupils' home

background, on the relationship between causes and effects, and on more learner-orientated approaches to teaching and discipline, some staff changed their expectations of pupils. Where possible, they adopted more relevant approaches to teaching (e.g. a more remedial approach, focusing on gaps in pupils' learning rather than on blanket delivery of the syllabus) and discipline (e.g. awareness of the reasons of pupils' attitudes and behaviours) [Field/A:22/11/2004; Int/T33/A:09/03/2005]. Although the whole-school initiative in school A was prematurely abandoned, the teachers who changed their perspective on the working conditions in the school, reported improvement within their teaching due to being more responsive to their pupils, in particular in conjunction with using participatory techniques:

We used participatory techniques in teaching. It helped a lot to get answers together with the pupils [Quest/T10/A:20/05/2005].

Because it targets very much the pupils and most of the time they cooperate together [Quest/T12/A:20/05/2005].

Pupils are learning easier by using this technique and pupils can keep better memory [Quest/T7/A:20/05/2005].

Despite the limited focus of the various school improvement initiatives, change for improvement did happen in the two schools during 2004. Some initiatives were more successful than others. The criteria with which success was determined I discuss next.

Quantitative and qualitative success criteria were narrowly conceptualised

Apart from the two generated in the context of this study, none of the improvement initiatives (Appendix 16) were systematically planned [pg.241], nor implemented in accordance with specific timelines, negotiated distribution of responsibilities and evaluation criteria. Still, in judging the success of an initiative, staff of the two schools used qualitative and quantitative criteria. Given the narrow rationale for schooling, and therefore for school improvement [pg.224ff], all criteria focussed directly or indirectly on managerial and academic performance. Examples of qualitative evaluation comments on various initiatives were:

There was a great change in our pupils' behaviour after getting new leadership, which has given us a good relationship compared to the previous years. Therefore teaching has been well and easier in general. [Quest/T18/S7/A:20/05/2005]

Leadership is good, teachers work together, the timetable is followed seriously. [Quest/T4/S7/A:20/05/2005]

Teachers are punctual, observing responsibilities, e.g. being on time, supervising areas, observing the main timetable. [Quest/T15/S7/B:25/05/2005]

In the improvement concerning money, material and renovation, the school leadership has tried a lot to buy needed school materials. They also gave report on how the money was used to the teachers, school committee members, parents and the renovation and repairing was done. [Quest/T21/S5/B:25/05/2005]

These qualitative statements were complemented by often imprecise but quantitative measures of perceived success:

50% [of teachers] have the attitude of improving and solving the problem. [Quest/T14/S6/A:20/05/2005]

Truancy rate of pupils has dropped a little. [Quest/T26/S5/B:25/05/2005]

The problem of lack of reference books has been solved so it is possible to use books in the ratio of 1:3. [Quest/T13/S5/A:20/05/2005]

There have been enough desks in every class. Therefore there is no one who is sitting on the floor as to be squeezed in one desk. [Quest/T24/S4/A:20/05/2005]

The most convincing quantitative evidence of success of the various improvement initiatives (according to local standards) was the rise in academic performance in tests and exams:

We have done enough examinations every week, which helped to promote the academic level in school. [Quest/T20/S7/B:25/05/2005]

The education standard of pupils has raised so they are able to score high marks in neighbourhood exams; in this school it happened more than four times. [Quest/T2/S2/A:20/05/2005]

Over the academic year 2004 school B improved significantly on its performance in the 2003 Primary School Leavers' examinations (PSLE; see fig 5.4.8).

Table 5.4.8: Scores of school B in the yearly Primary School Leavers' Examination since the appointment of its current headteacher

Year of PSLE	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
% of PSLE pass ^(a)	60%	72%	82%	79%	71%	84%	96%
no. of pupils with A or B grade ^(a)	25%	28%	30%	36%	26%	33%	52%
change in quality year-on-year		+3	+2	+6	-10	+7	+19 ^(b)
National Average ^(c) , % of PSLE pass	21%	19%	22%	29%	27%	40%	48%

(a) The mandatory benchmark for PSLE scoring grades per total number of pupils sitting the exam are: A=1:12, B=3:12, C=4:12, D=3:12 and E=1:12. For all schools this sets a required minimum percentage of pupils passing PSLE at 67%, of which at least 33% A or B grade

(b) Scores need to be read with caution, as regular changes are made to examination format and procedures

(c) Source: GoT, 2006a

The pass rate went up by 12%, from 84 to 96% (= 179 out of 212 pupils), against a national average of 48%. The quality rate (i.e. pupils passing with A or B-grade) rose by 19%; from 33 to 52% (i.e. 175 out of 183 pupils).

However, the quality improvement in school B (measured against local standards; i.e. grade A to E), was tempered by the fact that the ratio A:B grade was 1:94. (against 1:22 in 2003), which is far below the required benchmark of 1:3. The lack of top scores had arguably contributed to the drop in pupils selected for secondary school from 47% (84 out of 179) in 2003 to 38% (66 out of 175) in 2004 [Int/MAO:01/03/2005]. A possible explanation is that within their lessons teachers seldom differentiated in terms of learning ability [Obs/T24/S3/A:24/01/2005; Obs/T4/S7/B:09/03/2005], arguably due to a combination of class size, insufficient professional capability and perceived workload. As a result, their 'one-size-fits-all' approach only benefited the largest middle ability segment of each class. Consequently, the bulk of pupils 'moved up' in comparison to the previous year (see Appendix 22), whereas no special provisions had been made to achieve more A-grade passes, or to boost lower ability pupils. Remedial classes during school hours for low ability pupils in Standard I and II had only been introduced since 2004. Even though some of its quantitative gains over 2004 looked impressive, in terms of improving school quality school B may simply have become more effective in goal displacement. Raising exam scores was the central school improvement script, urging staff to more teach more effectively 'to the test'.

In school A, the quantitative pass scores dropped from 52% (48 out of 93) in 2003 to 34% (34 out of 99) in 2004. Qualitatively, the percentage of A or B-grade passes dropped from 15% (7 out of 48) to 6% (2 out of 34) (see Appendix 23). Also the number of pupils selected for secondary school in school A dropped, from 17% (8 out of 48) to 6% (2 out of 34) who passed. The management problems in the school were seen as the most likely cause [Int/MAO:03/03/2005]. The performance of school A only started to improve (in neighbourhood and mock exams) after the second headteacher's arrival in 2005 [Quest/A:20/05/2005].

The difference in performance between school A and school B may be partially explained by the argument put forward by Harber and Davies (1998:34) that the notion of 'achievement' in education reflects the values of society's middle classes and the goals of the ruling elites. The home background of the majority of children in school B was the local urban middle class, which was more closely associated with the country's rich and powerful. Conversely, in school A the demands to 'achieve' – even if narrowly understood as passing exams and being selected for secondary education – were arguably at greater odds with the home background of its children [pg.143, 145ff].

Having so far presented changes that took place in the two schools and the criteria with which staff perceived success, I now focus on the extent to which the various improvement initiatives had transformed the schools' pedagogical and organisational quality and their space for change.

Existing space was more effectively used, rather than new space created

As the overall aim of schooling was strongly focussed on achieving the highest possible outcome in formal examinations, improvement initiatives that directly or indirectly contributed to that goal were therefore considered 'successful'. They could also be considered 'effective', as they produced 'desired outcomes' (Beare, 2007). However, the headteacher of school B [Int/HT/B:07/03/2005] criticised the quality of this effectiveness, given the present 'low' standard of the syllabi of the various primary school subjects. Pupils were 'anxious to know', but according to her, 'knowledge is the main problem', as the syllabi were 'too simple and academic'. She saw them as 'not suitable for life'. But because of the present performance

orientation of education, schools were not given any choice but to teach the required curriculum. Even the self-generated initiative of improving pupils' learning attitudes remained largely focussed on increasing school performance through exam scores, rather than instilling what the headteacher called a 'love for learning' among pupils.

Similarly, official school inspection reports focussed on enhancing procedural and behavioural effectiveness in relation to school development, not on staff attitudes and capability to be innovative or transformational in improving school quality. Inspectors commented exclusively on the level of staff competence in and compliance with required pedagogical and managerial procedures and adoption of imposed changes. No references were made to self-instigated initiatives. Comments from 2003 and 2005 on school A read:

Classes 3 - 7 were being taught by using visual aids. The subject teachers for classes 3 to 7 had attractive visual aids. Pupils had very few textbooks, less than 20%. The teachers had subject log books, schemes of work. Lesson plans were not prepared continuously. Exercises given to the pupils were marked, questions being provided to the pupils were more than 10. Monthly tests were being done but not continuously. [...] Therefore the academic progress in this subject was average. This is caused by the *wazito* [Eng: the heavy ones; i.e. the slow learners] of Standard VI, V and II. By this results the teachers were advised to put more effort into using materials every time they teach in the class. (DSI, 2003:2)

The teacher [of St. 2] showed good ability of controlling the subject. She used different methods in teaching, using teaching aids. Questions given covered all aspects. (DSI, 2005:12)

Questions asked caused a great desire for the pupils to learn and gave opportunity to express themselves. The teacher [of St. 5] showed seriousness in letting the pupils participate by any means. (DSI, 2005:12)

... pupils were well participated by mentioning kinds of factories and where they were by using atlases and maps. (DSI, 2005:14)

Because the progress of the pupils academically is average, it will be better for all teachers to raise the school academic level by increasing teaching speed, considering good use of teaching aids, good participatory teaching techniques. They should also prepare themselves completely before entering in the class for teaching, giving out books, etc. (DSI, 2005:20)

These examples of pedagogy revealed a strongly procedural and quantitative outlook on teacher quality. Even when teachers were seen to work more progressively with pupils, i.e. more learner-orientated and activity-based, and were judged on the attitudinal side of their professionalism, underpinning the inspectors' comments lay compliance with required

procedure. This functionalist focus effectively restricted the space in which teachers could operate and develop more comprehensive quality of their teaching.

The overriding drive to increase functionalist effectiveness in some areas meant corners were sometimes cut in another. The 2004 inspection report of school B (DSI, 2004:7-8) reported with regard to the non-core subject of *Stadi za Kazi* (loosely translated as Arts and Crafts):

Teaching and learning of this subject was not serious, because the teacher thought that this subject was to push other subject syllabi, such as Maths, English, etc. Pupils were seen to have few written work in their exercise books. Teaching standard was about 40%, while lesson preparation was only 30%. All teachers of this subject were advised to teach all S/Kazi periods continuously, using teaching aids and enough written exercises in which they have to reach 95%. Also the academic committee was ordered to make sure St.7 pupils started learning this lesson. Pupils' progress of this lesson was poor.

Furthermore, in the existing hierarchical system school inspectors were under similar pressure to promote form and performance as the teachers they inspected. On the one hand they stressed teacher and pupil output for appearance sake, such as being able to show subject logbooks, monthly test reports, schemes of work, lesson plans for every lesson, daily written work in pupil notebooks and marking according to protocol, while on the other hand allowing 'short-term measures' to achieve 'success', such as memorisation rather than understanding subject knowledge, and punishments of rather than participation by pupils [Int/DH2/B: 01/05/2004; Int/S11:05/10/2004].

Despite these examples of restriction of space in the two schools, the counter-argument could be made that since the introduction of PEDP-I space for more comprehensive school improvement had increased in general, due to availability of funds and the focus on school maintenance, school administration, school governance and quality of education (Davidson, 2004a; Makongo, 2003; GoT, 2001). However, notwithstanding some material improvements in both schools, the imposed operational and pedagogical procedures and staff and pupil attitudes remained focussed on academic performance of the schools as institutions. When the new REO visited the schools mid 2004 [Field/B:11/06/2004], he made all staff write down:

Starting now (2004) and continuing, all teachers will enter the classes and teach as they are supposed to.

In other words, he stressed stricter adherence to directives, existing regulations, requirements and expectations (Maulidi, 2002). He demanded more of the same, not something different. As a result, teachers in both schools strived to be 'good', rather than becoming 'better'.

In terms of management of school improvement, lack of opportunity to create space meant that the successful headteachers were essentially managers of school effectiveness, not transformation. Rather than being transformational leaders, as middle managers accountable for executing demands made by educational authorities, their role was largely transactional (Nguni *et al*, 2006; Hallinger, 2003). Without the space to create more space, they were straight-jacketed into following orders rather than being free to make their own professional choices. In having to adhere to the existing centralised systemic structure, culture and power-relationships, the schools' managers inadvertently perpetuated the existing hierarchical-bureaucratic management style, instead of developing and championing a more collegial-collaborative management approach.

One caveat on transformational change needs to be made here. The two-year fieldwork period was too short to observe substantial fundamental change. Dalin (1998) asserts that intentional fundamental change takes a minimum of approximately eight years to achieve. Still, the consistent consultative management approach of the headteacher of school B did positively affect the willingness of her staff to engage in school improvement action, especially when compared to the situation in school A. Also, a tentative change of pedagogical values was arguably taking place in the two schools, as one teacher explained:

They [the teachers] hesitated to use Participatory Techniques, but as time goes on they started to use it. [Quest/T16/S6/B:24/05/2005].

Indications of more transformational change also occurred beyond the schools. During staff development seminars in the local TRC, the municipal academic officer had begun to stress that teachers must 'know the pupils' in order to be effective, i.e. understand their home background and not just focus on covering the syllabus during the academic year [Int/MAO:24/05/2005].

I end with a chapter summary, which includes a summary of this last section on 'change of space'.

Summary on 'What Changed'

During the realisation of the various initiatives, the reciprocal and cyclical influence between space for change, action and change of space became clear. First of all, the room to manoeuvre for staff within the combined school conditions was limited from the start in both schools. The force field analyses showed from a cultural-attitudinal perspective how a complex combination of 'pushing' and 'blocking' forces determined available space. However, the analyses also showed that the space required for each initiative was different, making some more achievable than others. Parallel to material and procedural conditions, this depended on the willingness and competence of staff, in relation to the purpose and consequences of the intended changes. The common survival attitude and avoidance of negative consequences meant the majority of staff showed little tendency towards *whole-school* improvement actions, and by extension towards the development of all pupils. Nevertheless, a minority of staff in both schools did engage seriously in improving their practice over and above enforced changes, despite the daily hardship of their personal and professional lives.

As a result of the intentional actions within the context of the various improvement initiatives, over the course of the fieldwork the schools were undergoing observable and reported changes to their physical-material, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal conditions, affecting both their pedagogical and organisational functioning. Staff judged the changes underpinning the various improvement initiatives by narrow criteria. Those initiatives that most favourably affected school performance and work conditions were deemed most successful. However, from an organisational perspective, the changed space did little to enhance 'school capacity' (i.e.: staff capability) to instigate and manage change for improvement (Hopkins *et al*, 1997). Where managerial or pedagogical practices were modified or altered, there was no reflecting on or challenging of underlying principles. If anything, the local bureaucratic-hierarchical approach to school improvement consolidated existing values and practices. Under enduring conditions of material scarcity, education authorities imposed managerial and pedagogical restrictions, whereupon resulting staff reluctance and under-development limited space even further. This severely limited space was not specific to the two study schools, but has arguably been recognised as common in most urban and rural Tanzanian primary schools (Mbelle, 2008; Oduro *et al*, 2008; Sifuna, 2007; Sinyolo, 2007; Sumra, 2006; Barrett, 2005; Carr-Hill and Ndalichako, 2005; Davidson, 2004b; Mziray, 2004; Omari, 2002; Ligembe, 2001; Kironde,

2001; Babyegeya, 2000; Galabawa *et al*, 2000; Komba, D., *et al*, 2000; Bendera *et al*, 1998). From a staff perspective, lack of space left willing and capable school managers and teachers largely isolated and powerless, because it did not allow for a critical mass to be powerful enough to start and maintain a momentum of ongoing school improvement. Although the changed conditions marginally expanded the 'room to manoeuvre' for staff to work more effectively, this did not create better quality space for organisational or professional transformation.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this final chapter I start with summarising the answers to my three research questions, focussing specifically on the influence of school culture on school improvement management. These lead to an overall conclusion concerning the creation of space for transformational change. Next, I argue the applicability of three practical suggestions aimed at creating space for school-specific improvements under conditions similar to those in the two study schools, and discuss pre-conditions, knock-on effects and implications for state primary schools and education systems in a country like Tanzania. I end with reflections on meeting this study's objectives regarding contribution to practice and to theory.

Conclusions

In the general introduction to this thesis I picked up on the assertion by Samoff *et al* (2003) and Harber and Davies (1998) that in many less affluent sub-Saharan African countries, in comparison with the majority of schools, some schools appear able to significantly improve the quality of their organisational functioning, and of their pupils' attainment. In order to understand what makes these schools more successful under local conditions, and what lessons may be learned that can be applied more generally across the education system, I investigated school improvement in two Tanzanian state primary schools, which were deemed improving according to local standards. I asked the following three inter-related questions:

1. What is the scope of school improvement in two urban Tanzanian state primary schools?
2. What are the key characteristics of the underpinning change management process?
3. How does school culture influence the scope and management of change?

In both schools, one of which was considered locally to be among the most successful in the district, I found improvement initiatives to be restricted in terms of relevance, focus and process, due to a combination of limited material-physical, technical-procedural and cultural-attitudinal school conditions, which included a narrow functionalist perspective on the nature

and improvement of pedagogy and school management. As a result, the initiatives that were implemented successfully over 2004 needed only a limited kind of change management.

Key characteristics of this limited change management were the presence of some, and the absence or restrictive nature of other process elements, all of which are cited as vital to the school improvement process in mainly Western academic literature. Narrowly focussed school improvement initiatives, aimed mainly at restoring or enhancing the effectiveness of existing managerial and pedagogical practices in the two schools, required a combination of dependable leadership, genuine communication, in-service supervision and the willingness of staff to cooperate. The locally accepted understandings of the various elements also played a role. Within the hierarchical system, leadership could be authoritarian or consultative (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973), communication was 'top-down, bottom-up', supervision meant limited staff development, and willingness took the form of compliance. More transformational change, leading to more fundamental quality improvement, hardly occurred, as a school development rationale agreed among staff was absent, whereas goal displacement and scripts tended to block change. Also critical reflection (including systematic diagnosis and evaluation) was absent. Inconsistent practices and reactive decision-making obstructed change, as well as distrust and low motivation among staff. This situation was compounded by conditions of endemic scarcity and through staff capabilities being under-valued and under-developed.

Another key characteristic of the change management process was, that although the successful headteachers made effective use of the existing limited space for change, hardly any additional and better quality space was created for *ongoing* improvement. School improvement remained largely the incidental if not random implementation of imposed initiatives rather than a self-determined process of relevant accumulative change. As low-ranking middle managers in the strongly hierarchical education system the headteachers' formal authority was limited and their informal influence curtailed. Furthermore, the schools did not have a critical mass of motivated and capable staff to start a whole-school improvement process and maintain its momentum. As a result, the schools' existing organisational structure-power-culture (S-P-C) complexes were hardly affected, and staff values, practices, attitudes and behaviours hardly changed.

In terms of pedagogy and management, the various successfully implemented initiatives did not amount to comprehensive school improvement [pg.40, 45]. Although committed staff in both schools need to be commended for their efforts in enhancing the schools' operational effectiveness and in school B for year-on-year raising the Standard VII examination scores, the *relevance* of these school improvements to pupils' lives remains questionable (Tao, 2010; Alexander, 2008; GoT, 2007; Haki Elimu, 2007; Benson, 2006; Carnell and Lodge, 2005; Thrupp, 2002; Kironde, 2001; Galabawa *et al*, 2000; Harber and Muthukrishna, 2000; Weare, 2000; Welch, 2000; Bendera and Mboya, 1998; Slee *et al*, 1998; Fontana, 1997; Osaki, 1996; Fuller and Clarke, 1994; Darling, 1994; Davies, 1994; Bennett, 1993).

A reciprocal influence existed between the schools' cultures and the relevance, focus, process and management of their achieved, but limited improvement.

Restrictive Influence of School Culture

My third research question focussed specifically on the cultural-attitudinal conditions in the two study schools. The influences of their cultures limited the space for and management of change in many ways, reflecting the inter-related functions of culture: i.e. legitimation of existing power-relationships, security, identity and problem-solving (Eriksen, 2001; Hargreaves, D., 1995; Cohen, 1994). I identified at least five inter-related influences: powerlessness, poverty mentality, team fragmentation, enforced uniformity and the existence of vicious cycles.

1. Powerlessness

Strong external influences, emanating from the education system and societal cultures in which both schools were embedded, maintained formal and informal traditional bureaucratic-hierarchical approaches to management, in which not only teachers but also management staff held nearly powerless subordinate positions. Although some staff had considerable informal influence among colleagues, this did not markedly affect school improvement. Non-compliance to directives from education authorities could result in punitive consequences. As a result, staff had very little room to make and act upon their own decisions with regard to school-relevant change. Being reactive in decision-making was perceived as safe.

2. Poverty Mentality

The attitudes and behaviours of staff strongly reflected a wider 'culture of poverty' [pg.31], in which enduring material scarcity and associated practices such as patronage, petty corruption and competition for scarce resources determined managers' and teachers' sense of security. Within the schools their mentality limited the space for change.

3. Team Fragmentation

The divisions among staff served different purposes, such as expressing differences in power and status, seeking security within a competitive low-trust environment, focussing resistance against top-down pressure, and the creation of informal space between the school's formal goals and the informal agendas of various groups and individuals. These purposes were contrary to comprehensive whole-school improvement and the collegial-collaborative environment that its management arguably requires. The small number of individual staff who endeavoured to improve their own professional practice did not constitute a sufficient 'critical mass' necessary to create a momentum for ongoing whole-school improvement.

4. Enforced uniformity

Rather than being a 'bureaucratic façade', which hides informal intentions and practices (Harber and Davies, 1998; Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Leach, 1994), the successful headteachers' hierarchical approach to management in the two primary schools mainly served as a culturally familiar tactic to keep divisions and divergence under control, in order to maintain the school's formal functionality and to allow at least some change to be possible under difficult conditions. However, the enforced uniformity of pedagogical and managerial practices, intended to counter the effects of fragmentation, also meant that diversity among staff was not appreciated and built upon creatively, which is arguably key to innovative improvements (Fullan, 1999).

5. Vicious Cycles

Due to the reciprocal relationship between 'space for change' and 'change of space' (see my Management of Change model) [pg.61], at least two vicious cycles had established themselves as rigid features of the study schools' cultures, affecting in particular the function of problem-solving. Firstly, uniformity of practices and lack of fundamental change mutually reinforced the lack of technical and attitudinal development of staff, while secondly, autocratic management

and decision-making from beyond the school mutually reinforced staff resistance, divisions, and deviance. These vicious cycles had become restricting pre-conditions of every school improvement initiative.

The influence of school culture on the scope and management of change means that in countries like Tanzania, school improvement is likely to remain irrelevant (from a democratic-participatory point of view), when focussing only on enhancing the effectiveness of the existing pedagogical and managerial approaches to primary schooling. For example, the political benefits of ineffective schooling have already been highlighted by Bennett *et al* (1993) and Harber and Davies (1998).

Next, I discuss a three-pronged approach to creating space for more fundamental change within schools.

Implications

For schools operating under similar conditions as the study schools, the one overriding theoretical and practical implication of the findings is that for more comprehensive improvement of their pedagogical and managerial quality, more *transformational* change is needed. This cannot be achieved without the creation of better quality and appropriate quantity of 'space for change'.

The inter-relationship between the three core models underpinning this thesis [pg.120] (Appendix 24) suggests a holistic way in which this could be achieved through every improvement initiative, in 'small, but radical' steps which ideally are cumulative over time (Bennett and Harris, 2001; Lewin, 1991). In principle, each pedagogical or managerial initiative requires some, but *simultaneous* re-structuring and re-culturing of the school as an organisation, centred around the re-empowerment of all staff. At the same time, whole-school improvement needs to be understood as an ongoing and collective responsibility of staff, which is undertaken comprehensively. This requires *simultaneously* addressing the specific physical-material, technical-procedural *and* cultural-attitudinal conditions within and beyond the schools that bear on the different improvement initiatives. This keeps them from clashing with each other and with an agreed overall direction of change. Also at the same time, the management of the inter-related initiatives needs to be understood and undertaken as an ongoing *cyclical*

process, in which staff motivation and capability are key elements to stimulate and develop. Furthermore, ongoing 'change of space' (i.e. the transformational facet of change management) is not only important for assessing progress and success of particular initiatives, but also for the achievability of more fundamental school improvement over time.

Next, I explain how this holistic approach to creating space for more transformational change could occur under the adverse conditions similar to the ones in the two schools. These conditions are characterised by:

- Permanent material scarcity
- Low levels of pedagogical and managerial capabilities among the majority of staff
- De-motivation and poverty mentality among the majority of staff, which can lead to disinterest, defiance or deviance
- Formal and informal hierarchical power-distributions
- Rigid and inefficient bureaucratic and traditional structures and procedures
- Fragmented competitive insecure cultures
- Established vicious cycles, due to the negative influences of these conditions on each other

I offer three inter-dependent suggestions: three-way partnership, ipsative accountability, and school-specific development planning.

Based my insights into how the study schools operated within the local education system, and judging by the willingness and capabilities of the majority of staff, I see these suggestions as concrete possibilities to create space for transformation and to begin moving away from the current situation. However, to paraphrase Bassegy (2002:114), these suggestions are 'fuzzy general possibilities', leading to what 'may work', because ready-made blueprints and 'quick fix' solutions to school improvement in Tanzania do not exist. If anything, they are long-term processes of discovery that need the will, efforts, creativeness and patience of staff to be realised in accordance with their intended purpose. This resonates with Harber and Davies' (1998) recommendation that approaches to school improvement in less affluent countries need a clear principled direction, but flexible methods to succeed. The combination of the three suggestion therefore need to be read as such.

Three-way Partnership

As state schools cannot operate in isolation from the education system, increased decentralisation aimed at giving schools more space, necessitates a clear re-distribution of responsibilities and repercussions between 1) each school (i.e. its management and teaching staff), 2) its school committee (i.e. the parents and community members) and 3) local representatives of the Ministry of Education (i.e. ward and district education officers and school inspectors). This requires binding three party negotiations. As equal partners, each party commits unreservedly to ongoing school improvement and assumes full responsibility for their share of the tasks needed to improve the school's pedagogical and managerial quality. Furthermore, they commit to ongoing mutual consultation to ascertain how improvement initiatives can be put into practice, so as to relevantly and realistically move away from existing conditions. For example, school staff assume responsibility for instigating school-relevant initiatives and commit to sharing and developing their managerial and pedagogical capabilities. The school committee determines the school's development rationale and the transparent allocation of its budget. Local education officers no longer dictate and constrain the schools' actions, but facilitate and monitor each school's own improvement efforts, and stimulate and coordinate initiatives across the wards and district. This suggestion amounts to a fundamental shift in power-distribution, requiring complementary re-structuring and re-culturing, and is based on the principle that each party has their own professionalism and expertise, for which they are accountable towards the other partners.

Ipsative Accountability

Collegial-collaborative relationships between the three partners require a different kind of accountability, in which responsibility for progress and achievements in school improvement are not determined according to goals and standards imposed by others, but by their own. Because of mutual dependence, self-determined actions and success criteria need to be negotiated and agreed upon among the three parties. The resulting mutual accountability is called 'ipsative', when having met the self-chosen and mutually agreed responsibilities is accounted for through the success with which each partner has fulfilled them between two points in time (see on ipsative assessment: Headington, 2003:26). This arguably goes beyond Fullan's (2001b:118) notion of 'lateral accountability', in which staff in a 'contrived collegial' way

(Hargreaves, A., 1992) may still be considered answerable for adhering to societal norms and systemic demands, generated beyond the school. Ipsative accountability also means that, rather than one party holding the power to blame and inflict punitive measures over the others in case of 'failure', each of the partners agrees to carry the consequences of the inadequacies of their own actions, proportional to the importance of their responsibilities. For example, school staff may agree to be transferred or dismissed in case of not fulfilling their agreed commitments, parents may agree to incur fines when neglecting their agreed obligations, high-ranking education officers may even face prison sentences for grave dereliction of their public duties.

For school staff this means that committing to school improvement is categorically non-negotiable. School improvement simply *has* to happen, both pedagogically and managerially. However, in return, they get to decide on *how* to do this, relevant to the school's limitations and possibilities.

School-Specific Development Planning

Rather than an administrative declaration that the school complies with national policies, the school development plan becomes a 'working document' in the ongoing process of deciding on and executing *school-specific* improvement initiatives. This plan therefore needs to be updated at least every two years, and agreed upon with and supported by the school improvement partners. Within an overall development framework, set by the parents and the community through the school committee, staff (as a team) design and instigate initiatives to which they are willing and capable to commit, and that can realistically change the school's conditions, and thus its pedagogical and managerial quality. Staff discuss and formulate realistic success criteria and decide what to do when these are not met. They not only take collective responsibility for improving the quality of pupils' learning process, but also for their own technical and attitudinal development. To that end, they identify the pupils' potentials and learning needs, as well as their own strengths and immediate professional development requirements, in relation to the chosen initiatives. This not only focuses on solving 'problems', but also on further developing already existing strengths. During school inspections, schools are appraised on progress on their self-chosen initiatives, rather than on compliance to directed changes. The locally developed *Whole-School Development Planning* manual (GoT, 1997) could provide useful guidelines.

Because of the cyclical nature of school improvement, these three suggestions will require certain pre-conditions and will have foreseeable knock-on effects specific to less affluent countries such as Tanzania, as they signal fundamental changes to the established structures, cultures and power-relationship within and beyond the schools.

Pre-conditions and Knock-on Effects

External Endorsement

As the implementation of the three suggestions within schools involves equalising power differences, and necessary complementary re-structuring and re-culturing within the system, sufficient endorsement from the system's most powerful groups and individuals will form part of the schools' 'space for change'. For educational improvement at systemic level, Bennett (1993:54) suggests that:

If we are to provide effective schooling for poor and disadvantaged children, we must first show how this advances the political interests of those with power, or at the very least, how it benefits at least one powerful group.

Hence the need to have local representatives of the Ministry of Education in the three-way partnership negotiations, expressing the government's genuine political will. At a minimum, schools need to be guaranteed real autonomy to 1) adjust any imposed initiative to school-specific situations, and 2) develop and implement school-relevant initiatives of their own. At the same time, government needs to guarantee the opportunities for schools to be able to exercise their autonomy (e.g. punctual transfer of school funds, inclusive decision-making, transparency of intentions). In Tanzania, the government has made a start in this direction through its formal commitment to decentralisation of governance (Carr-Hill and Ndachilako, 2005; Galabawa, 1997), and boosting the quality of primary education through PEDP-I and II (GoT, 2006b, 2001). However, regular occurrences of mismanagement and corruption at the national and district level of the education system keep pointing to a powerful informal system, which diverges from the formal one (Claussen and Assad, 2010; *The Citizen*, 21/06/2010; *The Guardian*, 18/04/2008; Björkman and Madestam, 2003;). If anything, it indicates the extent to which leading politicians and education officials are powerless towards, or even involved in, the

system's informal S-P-C complexes, and how seriously they take their ethical authority to be an example and push for genuine change towards a more equitable society.

Provided Tanzania's most powerful groups realise that re-empowerment does not mean loss of power but a change in its quality [pg.50], and genuinely endorse ethical re-distribution of formal and informal authority and influence among all staff in the education system, then my three suggestions can be viable. However, simultaneously, this also needs the willingness and capability of staff within the schools to assume their enhanced agency.

Staff Agency

If greater autonomy for schools is to signal a fundamental shift from bureaucratic-hierarchical to more collegial-collaborative management within Tanzanian state primary education, then it is imperative that power-distributions *within* the schools become at least more subordinate-orientated (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1973). In other words, greater autonomy for schools needs to be the consequence of genuinely greater agency among its management *and* its teaching staff, and not simply mask a dispersed form of essentially top-down management (Angus, 1996, Anderson, G , 1996). Greater choice for all staff crucially depends on their motivation and capabilities, i.e. whether they *want* more fundamental change and can see its benefits, and whether they have the opportunities to make changes. This involves developing the necessary professional attitudes and skills. I briefly elaborate on each issue.

Motivation

Intrinsic motivations for greater agency in school will need to be separated from extrinsic ones, most notably those affected by the insecurities of their personal lives. If punctual payment of sufficient salary could be guaranteed, this would free staff substantially to concentrate on their work, and be less dependent on alternative income-generating activities and on social obligations. It would then still require collective reflection on relevance, focus and process to determine what would intrinsically motivate staff 'as a team' to move out of the reactive rut and engage seriously in whole-school improvement. When driven by a self-determined sense of urgency, collective engagement becomes the critical mass needed for ongoing change (Fullan, 2001b; Christie and Potterton, 1997; Temu, 1995).

In terms of the general approach to change, it is for staff arguably more realistic to reflect on and move away from the current situation, than to aspire to and try to adopt an 'ideal' one (Fullan, 2003). As improvement is a developmental process in which each team finds their own way, staff can build on what is already happening and succeeding. For example, the introduction of the Participatory Techniques in the two schools and the headteacher's insistence on teamwork in school B are useful starting points. More importantly, through overtly identifying, uniting, supporting and giving 'room to manoeuvre' to committed staff, while isolating deviant behaviour by others, headteachers can induce a culture change. Arguably, this 'moving away from' rather than 'aspiring to' approach is also more effective in turning around the established vicious cycles mentioned earlier. Moving towards more subordinate-orientated school management is likely to mutually benefit staff engagement and cooperation, while increased diversity of practice is likely to mutually benefit staff development.

Capability

A key attitudinal skill for staff to master regarding more subordinate-orientated management, is how to 'own' the extended freedom responsibly. Being controlled less by superiors means developing more self-discipline (Clark, 1998; Rowland, 1987). Similarly, being led less by leaders, requires more capability to collectively self-direct. However, after arguably a lifetime of 'learned helplessness' (Seligman, 1975), staff require time and learning opportunities to become familiar with this new 'way of doing business around here' (Harber and Muthukrishna, 2000). It may even require some forceful encouragement from enlightened headteachers to wean the majority of staff from their engrained subservient and resistant attitudes (Harris and Chapman, 2002; Davies, 1997; Newman and Pollard, 1994). Also in the development of more technical skills related to greater agency, such as negotiation, planning, group work or administration, staff may draw on collective knowledge and experience within the team, and focus on what helps them move out of the current situation. Although staff will still have to contend with material scarcity, together they can choose an alternative, more proactive approach to deal with it. Or as one of the deputy headteachers put it: 'Even a poor woman can keep her house clean' [Int/DH2/B:03/01/2005].

Headteachers as Cultural Change Agents

Given the established formal and informal hierarchical organisation of the Tanzanian education system and the schools within it, the headteachers are still the most obvious members of staff to fulfil the role of change agent for more fundamental, transformational improvements. As formal and informal re-structuring of the school and re-empowerment of staff are strongly dependent on external endorsement, the headteachers are best placed to concentrate on *re-culturing* their schools (Davies, 1997; Cohen, 1994). In order to instigate and lead a gradual move towards more subordinate-orientated management and collegial-collaborative school organisation, they can draw some inspiration from the two successful headteachers featuring in this study, and move beyond. Under current conditions, they can, for example, demonstrate a duty of care, fairness and dependability through transparently allocating school funds, inviting two-way communication and critical reflection during team meetings, going beyond consultations and encouraging staff to share in the school's decision-making process, while emphasising trust within teamwork. In developing a more participatory approach to pedagogy and care towards the pupils, the headteachers can draw deliberately on appropriate attitudes and existing capabilities among all staff and disseminate these through in-school supervisions. With regard to promoting social justice and inclusion in Tanzanian primary schools, Dachi et al (2010) recently reported some successful tentative steps in this direction.

If more fundamental school improvement is to depend on more than the fortuitous traits, qualities and inclinations of individuals in charge, then professional development of headteachers and senior management staff is needed on appreciating the holistic approach to creating 'space for change' for ongoing and more fundamental change. Successful school managers will be those that can see the 'bigger picture' beyond every improvement initiative. They understand the inter-relationships between re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment, the connectedness of school conditions, management and pedagogy within comprehensive improvement, and the cyclical nature of change. With the right combination of persistence and patience, they can then successfully redress the functions of the school's culture; e.g. foster a united rather than uniform school identity, promote security for staff and pupils alike, stimulate new ethical and relevant ways of problem-solving, and challenge the existing legitimisation of power-distribution.

Curbing Misuse

No school improvement approach or initiative is immune to deliberate misinterpretation and misuse, either by staff within, or by politicians and education officers beyond the school. In combination, my three suggestions on creating space aim to stimulate convergence and discourage divergence between formal and informal values and practices among each of the three partners. This means that everyone involved needs to realise and agree that the created space is not a freedom in which to act without impunity. On the contrary, with more freedom of choice, every individual within the three-way partnership also accepts responsibility for her/his choices and actions, and for carrying the consequences thereof. The success of the three-way partnership depends on each party being trustworthy and dependable, while sharing of power helps prevent its concentration and abuse by any of the partners. For example, the school-specific development planning prevents education officers or parents holding too much power over school staff through the 'evaluation trap' [pg.82] in which they are judged by externally determined criteria on the success of imposed improvement initiatives. In order to create the appropriate space for desired change, in some schools headteachers may need to use their formal authority to temporarily reduce the freedoms of those staff, who use these inappropriately (e.g. taking liberties, corruption). Given the headteachers' expected central role in the re-culturing process, in a first departure from the current staff deployment system, their appointment could become a joint decision between the three partners. This is likely to prevent any one partner unduly influencing the change agenda.

Knock-on Effects

The three suggestions will have foreseeable knock-on effects on the pedagogical functioning of individual schools, for which staff will have to prepare themselves. I discuss three: diversification of the curriculum, school-specific assessment and selection to secondary education, and approaches to pupil discipline.

Curriculum

School-specific development planning means tailoring the school's managerial and pedagogical functioning to better address the needs and potentials of its staff and pupils. Rather than imposing sudden whole-sale change, moving intentionally away from the current

situation means that staff gradually develop a school-specific curriculum, loosely based on existing syllabi. The gradual approach gives them the opportunity to develop their professional attitudes and skills alongside, geared towards the specific improvement choices they have made for their school. Rather than having to adapt to 'good practice' imported from somewhere else, staff develop 'better practice' through solving their own problems. Acknowledgement by education officers and school inspectors of school-specific successes can help change perceptions of what is valuable in school improvement, and serve as inspiration for others. For pupils, this means a differentiation of learning through teaching, away from inequitable 'one-size-fits-all' approaches. Under the current conditions, the different populations in school A and B, despite both being urban, contributed to the differences in their success in national examinations. Through a more comprehensive curriculum, each school can cater more effectively for the diverse intake of its pupils, which is also the intention behind the use of the Participatory Techniques (GoT, 2004b, 2004c).

Assessment and Secondary School Selection

A more diverse and school-specific curriculum will require some, but fundamental adjustments to current assessment and selection practices. At present, these are done through monthly academic testing in primary schools, and selection to secondary schools on the basis of the national Primary School Leaver's examination. Bearing in mind that in Tanzania, primary education is still the only education that most children receive, the current procedures could be replaced by a combination of 1) school-specific school leaver assessment, with greater role for teacher assessment and attention for pupils' strengths in non-academic subjects, and 2) school-specific entrance exams for secondary schools. The first is more comprehensive in terms of what pupils are assessed on, and reduces the fear of failure resulting from competitive pressure on pupils and school staff. The second means that secondary schools can begin to differentiate, selecting students on their particular strengths in relation to what the schools specialise in. Some may focus predominantly on academic education, while others offer a more technical or social curriculum [pg.41ff]. This may ease some of the negative effects of rapid expansion on the quality of secondary education under SEDP I (Makombe *et al*, 2010).

Pupil Discipline

The subordinate position of children is deeply ingrained within the Tanzanian society (Ntukula and Liljestrom, 2004; Obdam, 1998). Despite well-meant attempts to make primary education more participatory (GoT, 2008, 2007, 2006b, 2001), submissive obedience to one's elders is

still far more valued, and often harshly enforced (Sumra, 2004; Kuleana, 1998). Fundamental changes to staff values and practices regarding comprehensive child development, which arguably has become the norm in some continental European countries after the Second World War (Liljestrom, 2004), may be best achieved indirectly when staff themselves experience the space in which to learn to value and handle freedom responsibly. As respect begets respect, staff can simultaneously start earning genuine respect from their pupils by taking their pedagogical responsibilities seriously. Apart from properly preparing and conducting lessons, they can teach pupils different ways of mastering their own learning. Moreover, they can genuinely respect them as persons, by replacing punishments through teaching self-discipline and how to carry responsibility for one's own actions (Cameron, 1998; Clark, 1998).

Next, I discuss some issues arising from creating space for more fundamental change within individual schools across the education system in a country like Tanzania. These concern: complexity and convergence, determining the nation-wide direction of school development, piloting the approach, and donor involvement.

Taking Implications to Scale

Complexity and Convergence

The issues involved in school improvement as demonstrated in this thesis make it abundantly clear that enhancing educational quality through transformation of managerial and pedagogical values and practices is highly complex. The concrete ways to bring about school improvement will therefore not only differ from school to school, but also from district to district and nation to nation. Especially when choosing to move away from bureaucratic-hierarchical towards collegial-collaborative approaches to management, and from narrow functionalist to more comprehensive approaches to pedagogy, some fundamental re-structuring of the system and re-empowerment of its staff is also unavoidable. Any system-wide improvement policy, plan or program therefore needs to be comprehensive, addressing *all* conditions of the system in unison, including the cultural-attitudinal ones. However, no matter the strategies and methods by which formal re-structuring, re-culturing and re-empowerment is realised in the running of the education system as a whole, this cannot happen without achieving sufficient levels of convergence with the existing *informal* structures (e.g. traditional patronage networks), as well as their complementary informal cultures and power-distributions.

Direction of Change

If those people, who are formally and informally in charge of the education system, are serious about endorsing genuine moves away from the current rigid situation, then some kind of agreement needs to be reached about the overall direction in which to develop schools within the system. From a critical humanist point of view, this direction would not replicate a predominantly instrumentalist and uniformist approach to education, such as Nyerere's (1968) philosophy on 'Education for Self-Reliance', intended to overcome poverty collectively as a nation (Buchert, 1994). It would also not resemble the narrow academic and equally uniformist approach, which has existed since colonial times and has become common-place again since the 1990s, catering for a competitive neo-liberal market economy and an essentially individualist escape from poverty (Komba, W., 1998, Samoff, 1990). As it is likely that commercial privatisation of primary education may contribute to the widening gap between the wealthy elites and the impoverished majority of Tanzanians, this also is not a recommendable strategy.

The direction I suggest lies in the diversification of education for all, through a comprehensive approach to school management and pedagogy (Haki Elimu, 2007; Omari, 2002; Sumra, 2000; Osaki, 1996). In other words, rather than imposing a single developmental direction onto all schools, the overall approach entails allowing schools to increasingly set their own direction. Each school can then determine how to cater most *relevantly* to the specific diversity in needs and potentials among its pupils. Similarly, differentiation in terms of management approaches coincides with each school's conditions, and is relevant to its development. However, even with the right combination of urgency and patience when gradually moving away from the current situation, realising equitable diversification as the direction for fundamental change is never going to make school improvement, and the many initiatives that this involves, 'easy'. Yet, to paraphrase Taylor (1998:16): 'We need to put the necessary effort into what we value, rather than only value what is more easily achieved'.

Piloting the Approach and Donor Involvement

The suggested gradual but holistic approach to school improvement may need to be piloted in all schools within selected wards throughout the country. Samoff *et al* (2003) issue a stark warning that local school success is seldom transferable to an education system as a whole, mainly due to its context-specific set of school conditions. They therefore argue for creating

school conditions that allow for local innovations, rather than trying to reproduce elements of successful reform from elsewhere. My suggestions therefore concern an overall approach, rather than a specific set of transferable methods (Fullan, 2001b, 1999; Harber and Davies, 1998). After a sensible number of years, informed by the lessons learned, the approach may then be rolled out over the entire country.

International donor agencies can play a vital role in this process through a two-pronged approach aimed at supporting staff motivation and capability (see Evans, 1999; Herzberg *et al*, 1959). First, donors could help remove a major demotivating factor, which is insecurity about salary. Provided the Tanzanian government is serious about paying its primary teachers sufficiently and reliably, and donors can agree on a united strategy vis-à-vis the Tanzanian government, then the country's state primary education sector could be supported through ensuring the punctual monthly payment of an average salary of double the minimum living standard (\approx US\$ 200/month) to all of the approximately 130.000 primary staff (GoT, 2006b). For the Tanzanian government this would involve automatically transferring around US\$26m/month (US\$312m/year) directly into the schools' bank accounts, thus bypassing the districts where most 'leakage' of funds has been found to occur (Claussen and Assad, 2010; Björkman and Madestam, 2003; Rajani and Sumra, 2003). To ensure dependable payment, donors act only as an emergency guarantor, if the government fails to meet its monthly deadline. This service may need to be streamlined with other funding to Tanzanian education. In accordance with my three suggestions, salaries could be paid out of the school's budget directly to all staff, controlled by the school committees and monitored by education officers. In return, procedures such as performance-related pay, staff transfer and dismissal can be made conditional to adherence to school-specific standards of professional quality as stipulated in the school development plan. Independent auditors monitor proceedings in a publicly transparent way, alert for inappropriate practices, such as claiming salaries for phantom staff (*The Guardian*, 18/04/2008). Genuinely committed to curb misuse, full government cooperation is given to criminal prosecution of those who do.

Second, through targeted financial and technical support to local education NGOs, and through international non-profit consultancy and development organisations, donor agencies can indirectly stimulate locally conducted technical training and attitudinal support activities for which school management and teaching staff, school committee members and local education officers can sign up voluntarily. The motivation to engage in professional development may

grow, when members of the three-way partnership gradually realise the possibilities and consequences of their new powers and responsibilities, leading over time to increased professional self-respect.

Reflections on this Study

In the Method chapter I described my position, choices and actions in researching school improvement and school culture in two urban state primary schools in Tanzania. I argued, and to some extent already reflected on, the appropriateness of my critical humanist stance vis-à-vis conducting qualitative research in a cross-cultural setting, the relevance of the research questions and objectives, the suitability of action research in a case study context as the methodological approach, the grounds on which to judge this study's quality as social research, and the use of different data collection methods. Now that I have presented my findings, conclusions and their implications, I end this thesis by reflecting on meeting this study's objectives [pg.125] and on the lessons I learned during its process. In meeting my objectives, I distinguish between contribution to practice and to theory.

Contribution to Practice

Three of my objectives (nos. 5 to 7) focussed on practice; i.e. contribution to the work situation of staff and developing my own research capability. Given the qualitative nature of this study and the complexity of school improvement, this study's contributions cannot be quantified, but are inferred from staff feedback and observable changes in practices.

In both schools, this study only affected their cultures in as much as staff changed some of their social and pedagogical attitudes and behaviours. Only some individuals noticeably changed their practices over the course of the fieldwork, which meant that values held by the majority were only marginally affected. These changes concerned their general practice and were not limited to the negotiated whole-school topics of pupils' behaviour resulting from the school's environment (school A), pupils' learning attitude (school B), or the use of Participatory Techniques (both schools). Similarly, although most teachers reported positively on the impact of the training sessions, the individual consultations on their classroom practice and on perceived benefits for the schools and the pupils, their motivation to engage in school

improvement initiatives remained relatively minimal, as did their capability to master the management of (more fundamental) change processes.

I can only speculate on the extent to which the combination of this study's methodological approach (i.e. action research in case study context), its focus (contributing to transformational organisational and attitudinal change, informed by this study's theoretical framework), and my philosophical stance towards and mastery of conducting social research played a role in the success of meeting my objectives. Processes requiring more fundamental change are complex, and thus time-consuming and largely unpredictable. In the previous chapters I have described many limiting structural, cultural and power-related influences on school improvement, that were beyond my control. As I had to select the study schools from those put forward by the district education office, and given my initial intention to overtly acknowledge the schools' contribution to this study, it was my impression I could only choose between less progressive schools and less maverick headteachers (see also Samoff *et al*, 2003). My critical humanist perspective on pedagogical and managerial improvements, and on doing social research (requiring concrete improvement, generation of knowledge and empowerment of participants), was generally a far cry from local values, practices and conditions. Any contribution from me was likely to be limited because of that distance. Given the negotiated freedom of staff to participate in this study (see Heron and Reason, 2001, 1997), but their general reluctance to engage in school improvement activities, meant I played only a limited role as catalyst in the concrete improvements to the schools and the empowerment of staff.

For these reasons, the action research component of this study remained limited to my actions related to staff development. Through the training activities, classroom observations and follow-up interviews, I was able to collect data on changes in practices by teaching staff, which were evaluated together, and on the basis of which I planned subsequent collective and individual training. Staff were unfamiliar with the principles and practices of practitioner research, and did not have sufficient space (i.e. agency and opportunity) to do this properly themselves in support of school improvement. No staff showed interest in becoming a co-researcher. Despite regular consultations and discussions with the schools' headteachers and senior staff, no specific changes were made to how improvement initiatives were managed, except for enhancing the rigour in executing existing practices. Still, without the action research component, I neither would have experienced first-hand the difficulties involved in staff changing their practices, nor would I have had ongoing access to data related to the change management as-it-happened.

This contributed to a more holistic understanding of the main topics of this study (Crossley and Watson, 2003).

With regard to the development my own practice as social researcher, many valuable lessons were learned over the course of this study. For example, maintaining focus during data collection and analysis was greatly helped through clarity about my philosophical position as researcher and the development of a clear theoretical framework prior to the fieldwork. Although my insight expanded over time, it did not fundamentally change my theoretical understanding of the topics of this study. What did change was my perspective on the 'weight' of and relationships between the many elements of school improvement management. Initially, I expected to find operational elements such as leadership and decision-making to be centrally important for fundamental change, but I conclude now that for organisational transformation towards more collegial-collaborative management, 'space for change' (determined most notably by staff motivation and capabilities), a holistic rationale and teamwork are the key elements.

Through my consistent adherence during fieldwork to this study's quality criteria (centred around ethics and rigour) [pg.130], staff generally treated me respectfully and cordially as a 'resident guest' (Prosser and Warburton, 1999) who did not belong to any group within the school. In both schools, some came to appreciate me as loyal person and confidant. Only at the start of the fieldwork did I experience some stereotyping on the basis of skin colour, ethnicity or gender, but this quickly ceased as I explicitly chose not to identify myself in these ways as a person or researcher (Sen, 2000). If any attributed labels influenced the study positively in terms of access and cooperation, it would have been my age, qualification and professional experience. I had developed a reputation of being 'sharp' (Kisw: *akili*) in observing and analysing, but in a non-threatening way. During data collection and analysis, my efforts to maintain rigour and foreground ethics were intended to contribute to the credibility of my findings and conclusions.

Were I to do a similar study again, I would include working with local education officers (e.g. district education officers and school inspectors), given their direct influence on what happens in the schools. During the write-up phase after the fieldwork, a key lesson was to get the structure of the Findings chapter right, so it not only lists key findings, but answers the study's research questions. Still, given the intricate relationships between school culture, school

improvement and school management, being able to credibly move from the complexity of details involved in change processes to the one over-arching conclusion and back, involved many frustrating days of thinking a lot and writing little. Doing this study also confirmed to me that I am a practitioner at heart, not a theorist, and that single-mindedness and doing the study part-time make uneasy bedfellows.

Although this study's contribution to concrete improvement and staff empowerment was limited, it has generated a wealth of detailed knowledge in an area that is relatively under-researched.

Contribution to Theory

Four of my objectives focussed on theory and were exploratory in nature. Two led to deeper understanding of the part-factual, part-created reality in two Tanzanian urban state primary schools, whereas the other two aimed at contributing to generic theory.

Through analysing the implementation of improvement initiatives in the two schools, I identified the combination of change management elements that made them realistically achievable under existing conditions. This knowledge is likely to be transferable to other schools implementing similar initiatives while working under similar conditions, provided their headteachers and staff are amenable to and capable of the combination of dependable leadership, communication, cooperation and in-service supervision. I also identified elements of change management that were either absent or blocked change through the way they were understood. This knowledge can either be used to consolidate the current limited approaches to school improvement, or as a starting point to move away towards more comprehensive pedagogical and managerial school quality. For schools further afield, this knowledge may also be useful when first translated to general principles and subsequently adapted to their specific conditions.

During the course of the fieldwork, I regularly discussed my findings and conclusions with staff in both schools and with local education officers. With their consent, I disseminated these to interested third parties, such as the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), local academics and educational organisations. Together with a deputy headteacher, a municipal academic officer and a school inspector I presented preliminary conclusions of my study at a conference of government officials and NGOs, organised by Haki

Elimu (a local education NGO), held on 29/04/2005 at the UNICEF building in Dar es Salaam, focussing in particular on successes and shortcomings of PEPD 2002 – 2006. Prior to my departure, I presented a summary of findings and conclusions to both schools and the regional and municipal education officers. These were subsequently discussed in order to inform my presentation of their voices in this thesis.

Based on the theoretical understanding of school culture as an organisational phenomenon and a metaphor for people's values, practices, attitudes and behaviours, this study supports the school of thought that cultural transformation is integral to school improvement in Western as well as in less affluent countries (Coleman and Earley, 2005; Bennett, 2001; Breidlid and Stephens, 2001; Fullan, 2001a; Alexander, 2000; Lumby, 1999a; Prosser, 1999; Dalin, 1998, 1993; Miller, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996; Hargreaves, A., 1994). The findings further support my assertion that staff motivation and capability are key conditions within a school's space for change. This study's theoretical framework, although largely based on educational theories developed in Western countries, adequately explained practice in the two Tanzanian schools. However, as my influence in the school was formally limited to staff development activities, the framework only informed practice with regards to supporting staff in changing approaches to pedagogy and classroom management.

The framework's explanatory strength, when applied in diverse cultural settings, rests on a combination of characteristics. First, it is not prescriptive on the contents of culture, thus allowing for very different values and practices, despite the universality of the phenomenon of state education and of schools as formal organisations. Second, there is room within the framework for alternative explanations for events, school conditions and their inter-relationships (e.g. unique vs. generic), and for different interpretations and success criteria of whether changes in practice amount to improvements. During its design and during fieldwork I rigorously checked for discrepancies with local understandings on school improvement. Third, the framework allows for complexity and flexibility, and credibly links minute details to meta-concepts, making it practically and theoretically more relevant than the commonly accepted quantitative, linear or functionalist perspectives on school improvement in Tanzania. In short, the framework is intended to be flexible on detail, while being robust in terms of overall explanations.

Finally, the framework includes two ideas, which I developed over the course of this study. These are: 1) the theory on converging and diverging formal and informal S-P-C complexes in organisations, and 2) the concept of 'space for change'. The framework can be depicted as a meta-model, showing the cyclical relationship between this study's three core models on school culture, school improvement and change management (Appendix 24).

Throughout this thesis I suggested directions for further research on the influence of staff motivation, informal communication and formal/informal divergence in S-P-C complexes on school improvement. I hope this may inspire in particular local researchers to engage in more qualitative research in the field of school improvement. They can make a valuable contribution through advising, assisting and motivating the schools' three-way partnerships in their respective tasks, because improving the quality of Tanzanian state primary schools is first and foremost the responsibility of Tanzanians themselves.

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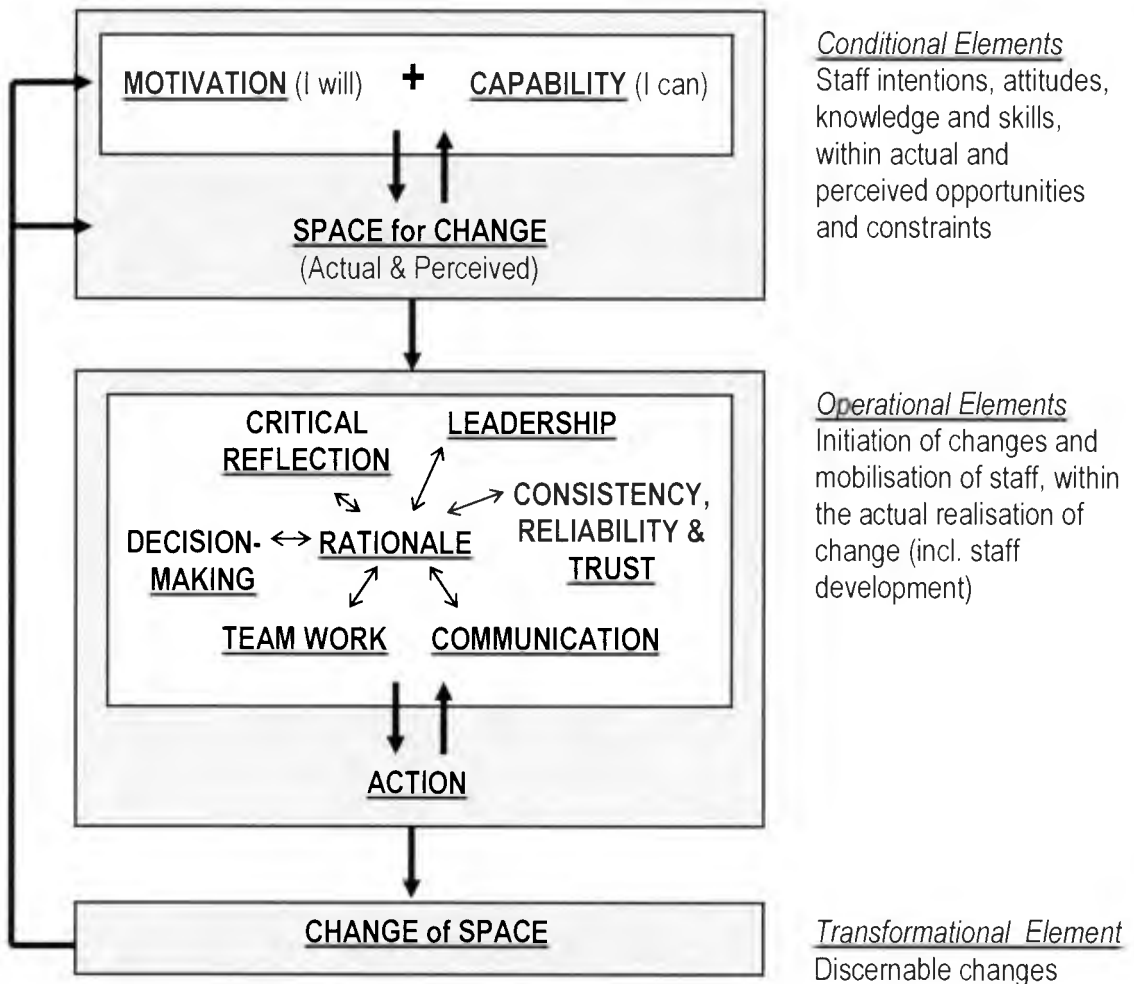
[1] S-P-C model

	STRUCTURE <i>(positions, regulations, procedures, arrangements)</i>	← POWER → <i>(power exchange, redistribution, balance)</i>	CULTURE <i>(values & practices, identity, security, ability, intentionality)</i>
FORMAL = overt, legal, organised, specific, explicit	administration, operational design, departments, accountability protocols, strategy, task orientation, operational methods, routines, rights	<u>authority</u> & <u>influence</u> <i>(physical, material, financial, knowledge, skill, reverence)</i>	Leadership, heroes, principles, vision, mission, ceremonies, rituals, artefacts, symbols, belonging, pride, responsibilities, professional relationships, legitimization of power
INFORMAL = organised / spontaneous, overt/covert, legal/illegal, explicit/taken-for-granted	as above; also: 'old boy' networks, cliques patronage, obligations hidden agendas nepotism, privileges customs	<u>authority</u> & <u>influence</u>	as above; also: sympathies, antipathies, personal relationships, dependency, liberties, habits, beliefs

[2] Kigoda model

		SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT CONDITIONS		
		CULTURAL – ATTITUDINAL	TECHNICAL – PROCEDURAL	PHYSICAL – MATERIAL
SCHOOL MANAGEMENT PROCESS - Daily running of the organisation - School development and improvement - Staff and pupil management	Organi- sation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management approach / leadership style • School culture • Team building • Communication • Negotiation • Human resource management • Morale / motivation • Staff and pupil discipline • Traditions and transformations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management skills / administration procedures • Organisational structure • Decision-making, delegation of responsibilities • Planning (long term, short term) • Personnel management • Staff development / training • Home – school contact • Rules and regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget / school funds • School environment / gardens / fence • Buildings / facilities • Teacher housing • Water, electricity, telephone
	SCHOOL MANAGE- MENT LOCATIONS	Classroom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pedagogy (<i>approach to learning through teaching</i>) • Purpose / aims of education • Teacher – pupil relationship / interaction • Guidance and counselling • Personal – social attitudes and values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Didactics (<i>learning through teaching methods, techniques and skills</i>) • Assessment procedures / testing, examinations • Curriculum development / academic syllabus design • Personal – social skills and knowledge
LEARNING THROUGH TEACHING PROCESS - Purpose of the organisation (<i>academic and personal development of pupils</i>)		<i>approaches, styles values, will, motivation</i>	<i>capability, expertise skills, techniques</i>	<i>material conditions / funds</i>

[3] Management of Change model



[4] Two linear school improvement models

Leithwood, Kenneth, Jantzi, Doris and McElheron-Hopkins, Charryn (2006); 'The development and testing of a school improvement model', *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 17:4, 441 — 464

5. Monitoring

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



HENEVELD, W. and CRAIG, H. (1996); *Schools Count: World Bank project design and the quality of primary education in sub-Saharan Africa*; technical paper no. 303; page 16; Washington: World Bank

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



[5] Two holistic school improvement models

Hopkins, D. (2001); School Improvement for Real; Chapter 6, page 111; London: Routledge/Falmer

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

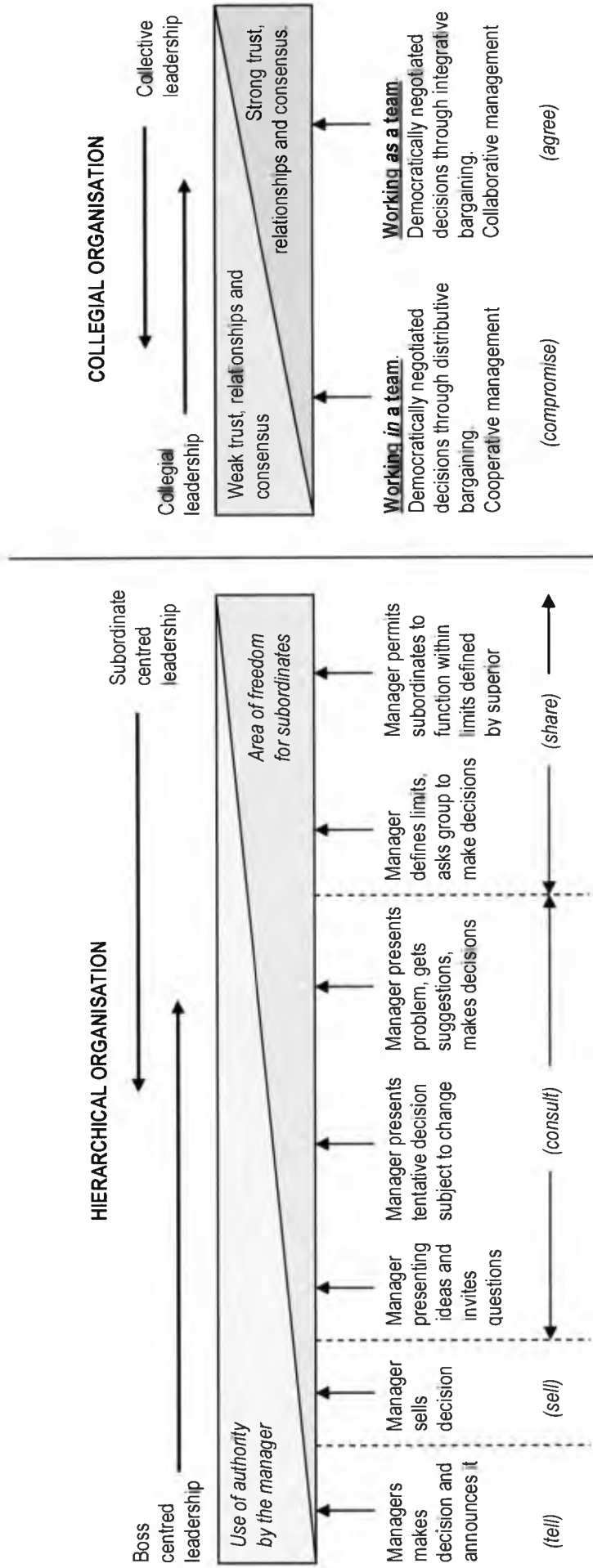


ANDERSON, S. (2002); 'The Double Mirrors of School Improvement: The Aga Khan Foundation in East Africa'; page 18; in: Anderson, S. (ed.) Improving Schools through Teacher Development: case studies of the Aga Khan Foundation projects in East Africa; Lisse, the Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger

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[6] Tannenbaum/Schmidt continuum



[7] Lesson observation sheet

For additional REMARKS: insert ①, ②, ③, etc. and write on reverse

DETAILS			
Date:	Standard:	Stream:	Period:
Subject:	Topic of the Lesson:		
Lesson Plan: prepared / not prepared / shown / not shown / used / not used / SI target described / SI target not described			
TIME	STRUCTURE - PROCEDURE (build up of the lesson; methods used)	ACADEMIC CONTENT - OBJECTIVE (purpose of T&L methods and activities)	PEDAGOGY - UNDERSTANDING (approach by teacher and pupils to T&L)
			CONDUCT - INTERACTION (teacher & pupil behaviour)

[8] Questionnaire in Kiswahili and English

Maswali kuhusu Uongozi wa Uboreshaji wa Shule

[0] Taarifa ya kila mwalimu

Tafadhali pigia mstari kwenye taarifa iliyo sahihi

Mimi ni: Mwanaume / Mwanamke

Umri wangu ni: 21 – 30 / 31 – 40 / 41 – 50 / 51 – 60+

Ninafundisha darasa: 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7

Nimefundisha kwa muda wa:

miaka 1 – 5 / 6 – 10 / 11 – 15 / 16 – 20 / 20 – 25 / 26 – 30 / 30+

[1] Je, umeona maboresho / maendeleo yoyote katika shule, kwa kipindi cha Januari 2004 mpaka sasa?

Tafadhali pigia mstari mojawapo: NDIYO au HAPANA

- Tafadhali orodhesha maboresho/maendeleo yote yaliyopo kwenye shule yako uliyoyaona katika kipindi kutoka Januari 2004 mpaka sasa. Oredhesha mengi tofauti kadiri uwezavyo (mfano: fikiri kuhusu maboresho/maendeleo ya shule katika utawala / uongozi, katika ufundishaji na kujifunza, katika nidhamu ya shule). Jaribu kama unaweza kugawanya maboresho / maendeleo katika mafungu matatu.

1. VIFAA - KIPATO	<i>Hii inamaanisha mendeleo/maboresho yanayohusisha fedha, vifaa na ukarabati</i>
2. KITAALAMU – KIUTARATIBU	<i>Hii inamaanisha maboresho/mendeleo yanayohusisha shughuli za uwezo, ujuzi, mbinu na utaratibu wa kufanya kazi kama kiongozi wa shule au mwalimu</i>
3. KIUTAMADUNI – MWELEKEO	<i>Hii inamaanisha maboresho/maendeleo yanayohusisha tabia, muonekano na njia za viongozi, walimu na wanafuzi katika uongozi wa shule, ufundishaji na kujifunza</i>

Kama huna nafasi ya kutosha, tafadhali geuza karatasi hii

[2] Kutoka kwenye orodha uliyoandika, tafadhali chagua boresho moja (1) kadiri uonavyo wewe kuwa limefanikiwa zaidi katika shule kuanzia kipindi cha Januari 2004 mpaka sasa.

- Boresho hili ni:

- Sababu zako ni zipi kwamba boresho hili limefanikiwa? (Elezea kwa maneno yako mwenyewe)

- Kulikuwa na wajibu/ushawishi gani wa watu wafuatoa katika kufanikisha boresho hili?

Mwl. Mkuu	
Wl. Wakuu Wasaidizi	
Wl. wa Taaluma	
Walimu wengine (tafadhali pambanua)	
Waratibu wa kata na/au maafisa elimu wa manispaa	
Wakaguzi wa shule	
Kamati ya shule	
Wazazi	
Wanafunzi	

Kama huna nafasi ya kutosha, tafadhali geuza karatasi hii

[3] Tafadhali pia taja boresho moja (1) lililojaribiwa kwa ajili ya uboreshaji wa shule likashindikana katika kipindi cha Januari 2004 mpaka sasa

- Boresho hili ni:

- Sababu zipi zilizofanya boresho hili lisifanikiwe? (Elezea kwa maneno yako mwenyewe)

[4] Je, unafikiri ni boresho lipi ni la muhimu au ni la lazima sana katika kufuatiliwa katika shule yako?

- Boresho hili ni:

- Sababu zako ni zipi ambazo unafikiri boresho hili ni muhimu au la lazima kufuatia? (Elezea kwa maneno yako mwenyewe)

- Ili kufanikisha boresho hili muhimu, kadiri unavyoona wewe linahitaji mambo gani kati ya haya ya fuatayo:

A. Fedha na vifaa

B. Shughuli za ujuzi na utaalamu wa viongozi, walimu, n.k.

C. Mwelekeo na tabia ya viongozi, walimu, wanafunzi n.k.

[5] Je, utafiti na mafunzo ya ualimu shuleni yameongeza / yamegeuza uboreshaji wowote wa shule?

Tafadhali pigia mstari mojawapo: NDIYO au HAPANA

- Tafadhali elezea kwa maneno yako mwenyewe **jinsi gani** utafiti umechangia / umeshindwa kuchangia katika maboresho/maendeleo ya shule

- Tafadhali elezea kwa maneno yako mwenyewe **kwanini** utafiti huu umefanikiwa / umeshindwa kuchangia katika maboresho/maendeleo shuleni

[6] Sababu zangu za kufanya kazi kwenye elimu kama mwalimu

Maelekezo:

*Kutoka kwenye mafungu 3 ya maelezo, tafadhali chagua maelezo yale **yanayokuhusu wewe tu**. Yapange maelezo kufuatana na umuhimu wake; ukiyapa namba '1' yale yaliyo muhimu zaidi, namba '2' yanayofuatia kwa umuhimu, n.k. Panga kila fungu peke yake.*

Katika safu ya kwanza panga maelezo kutegemeana/kadiri ya sababu ulizonazo ulipoanza kufundisha. Halafu, katika safu ya pili panga maelezo kutegemeana na sababu ulizonazo kwa wakati huu

Safu 1		Safu 2
Sababu zangu hapo mwanzoni	Sababu zangu za kufanya kazi kwenye elimu kama mwalimu	Jinsi ilivyo sasa

KIFUNGU CHA KWANZA

	Kuwa na kazi	
	Kujifunza/kujizoeza utaalamu	
	Kufuata wito	

KIFUNGU CHA PILI

	Kufanya kazi/kuwa na watoto kila siku	
	Kuchangia katika maendeleo yao wenyewe watoto, ambayo ni kiwili, kiakili, silika na uwezo wa kimaadili na kijamii	
	Kufundisha somo nilipendalo	
	Kuwajengea wanafunzi moyo/nia ya kutafuta maarifa ya kitaaluma na kujifunza taaluma ya juu	
	Kuchangia maendeleo ya taifa na kizazi cha baadaye	
	Kusaidia jamii inayozunguka mazingira ya shule	
	Kumsaidia mtoto apate, atambue, aheshimu na kuendeleza kujivunia familia yake, chimbuko la utamaduni wake, athamini, maadili, mila na desturi, pamoja na kutambua elimu ya maadili, utambulisho na kujivunia utaifa	
	Kulikomboa taifa kutokana na umaskini na utegemezi	

KIFUNGU CHA TATU

	Kupata mshahara kwa ajili ya mahitaji yangu (na ya familia yangu)	
	Kuongeza/kuchangia kipato cha mume/mke wangu	
	Kuweza kupata kazi nzuri baadaye serikalini au kwa njia ya kupandishwa daraja	
	Kufurahia hali ya kuwa mwalimu (ualimu) katika jamii yangu	
	Kufurahia marupurupu yanayotokana na kazi ya ualimu (mfano: nyumba bure, huduma ya afya bure, n.k.)	

[7] Panga maelezo yafuatazo kulingana na umuhimu wa madhumuni ya elimu

Maelezo yafuatayo yanaelezea madhumuni ya elimu kutoka kitabu cha Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Benjamin Mkapa, Sera ya Elimu na Mafunzo ya Tanzania, Mpango wa Maendeleo wa Elimu ya Msingi 2002 – 2006 na vyanzo vingine.

Unatakiwa kupanga maelezo haya mara mbili.

Maelekezo:

Safu ya **kwanza** panga maelezo kulingana na unavyo fikiri madhumuni ya elimu yanavyotakiwa.

Kwanza chagua moja unalofikiri lina umuhimu wa juu kabisa na andika namba '1' kwenye safu ya kwanza.

Halafu chagua moja unalofikiri lina umuhimu wa chini kabisa na andika namba '14' kwenye safu ya kwanza

Halafu panga maelezo yaliyobaki kwa kuyapa namba '2', '3' na kuendelea kulingana na umuhimu wa madhumuni ya elimu kadri unavyofikiri na ulivyochagua mpaka unamaliza maelezo yote.

Hakikisha kwamba kila maelezo yana namba tofauti kwenye safu ya kwanza.

Rudia tena utaratibu wa safu ya kwanza kwa safu ya **pili**. Panga maelezo tena, lakini kulingana na maoni yako ya hali halisi ya kazi yako ilivyo.

Safu 1		Safu 2
Jinsi inavyo paswa kuwa	Madhumuni ya elimu	Jinsi ilivyo
	Kulikomboza taifa katika umaskini na kuwa tegemezi	
	Kuwatayarisha wanafunzi walio wengi kimaisha na kiuchumi baada ya kumaliza darasa la saba, katika shughuli ambazo ni kilimo (vijijini) na biashara ndogo ndogo (mjini)	
	Kuwajengea wanafunzi moyo/nia ya kutafuta maarifa ya kitaaluma na kujifunza taaluma ya juu	
	Kumpa moyo na kuendeleza haiba ya mtoto: silika na uwezo wake ambao ni kimwili, kiakili, kimaadili na kijamii. Hii ni pamoja na kuwatambua watoto wasio na uwezo wa kawaida au uwezo wa kielimu, na kutafuta mpango mwingine kwa ajili yao	
	Kuchangia uwezo wa kiufundishaji wa shule katika ngazi ya wilaya, mkoa na taifa	
	Kujenga siasa ya ujamaa, inayojali usawa na kuheshimu utu wa mtu, kushiriki katika rasilimali zinazotokana na juhudi za wananchi na kila mmoja kufanya kazi kwa kujituma bila kuwa mnyonyaji	
	Kuendeleza rasilimani ya mtu binafsi na ya kitaifa ili kupata maendeleo ya teknolojia mpya	
	Kuwafundisha wanafunzi maarifa na ujuzi utakaowawezesha kufaulu mtihani wa kumaliza elimu ya msingi na kuwatayarisha kwa ajili ya elimu ya daraja la pili, yaani sekondari, vyyuo vya ufundi na elimu nyingine ya kujiendeleza	
	Kumwezesho kila mtoto aelewe na kukubali/kutambua vyema utu/nafsi yake	
	Kufundisha somo kufuata muhtasari unaotakiwa	
	Kumpatia mtoto msingi imara wa kujitafutia njia za kujitegemea, kujiendeleza na kujiamini	
	Kuwafanya wanafunzi waelewe uwezo wao na wajibu wao wa kubadili na kuboresha hali zao na za jamii inayowazunguuka	
	Kuendeleza akili ya uhakiki kwa mwanafunzi, na uwezo wa kutatua mafumbo ya kitaaluma na uwezo wa kuanzisha biashara mpya	
	Kujenga tabia/silika ya kila mwanafunzi kutegemeana na mila, desturi na tabia/kanuni za jamii na taifa la Tanzania	

Asante sana

QUESTIONNAIRE on MANAGEMENT of SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

[0] General Information

Please underline the correct information

I am : male / female

My age is between : 21 – 30 / 31 – 40 / 41 – 50 / 51 – 60+

I teach standard : 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7

I have taught for : 1 – 5 / 6 – 10 / 11 – 15 / 16 – 20 / 20 – 25 / 26 – 30 / 30+ years

[1] Have you noticed any improvements in the school over the period January 2004 until now?

Please underline: **YES** or **NO**

Please list **ALL** the improvements within the school that you have noticed in the period from January 2004 until now. List as many **different** ones as you can (for example, think about improvements in school management, in teaching and learning, in school discipline). Try if you can to divide the improvements in three groups:

1. MATERIAL – FINANCIAL	<i>This means improvements that involve money, materials and maintenance</i>
2. PROFESSIONAL – PROCEDURAL	<i>This means improvements that involve professional ability, skills, methods and routines of working as a school manager or teacher</i>
3. CULTURAL – ATTITUDINAL	<i>This means improvements that involve the behaviour, views and approaches of school managers, teachers and pupils to school management and to teaching and learning</i>

If you do not have enough space, please use the back of this sheet

[2] From the list of improvements you have written above, please choose only one (1) improvement which according to you has been most successful in the school in the period January 2004 until now.

• The improvement is: _____

• What were the reasons that this improvement was successful? (Explain in your own words)

- What was the role/influence of the following people in the success of this improvement?

Headteacher	
Deputy headteachers	
Academic teachers	
Other teachers (please specify)	
Ward education officer and/or municipal education officers	
School inspectors	
School committee	
Parents	
Pupils	

If you do not have enough space, please use the back of this sheet

[3] Please also give one (1) example of an attempt to school improvement that was not successful in the period January 2004 to now.

- The improvement is: _____

- What were the reasons that this improvement was NOT successful? (Explain in your own words)

[4] What improvement do you think is the most necessary one in your school next?

- The improvement is: _____
- What are the reasons that you think this improvement is most **necessary** next? (Explain in your own words)

- To achieve this necessary improvement what according to you does it need in terms of:

Money and materials?

Professional skills and expertise of managers, teachers, etc.

Attitudes and behaviours of managers, teachers, pupils, etc.

[5] Has the research and teacher training in the school had any influence on the improvement of the school?

• Please underline: YES or NO

• Please explain in your own words **how** the research has contributed / failed to contribute to the school's improvement

• Please explain in your own words the reasons **why** this research has succeeded / failed to contribute to the school's improvement

[6] My reasons for working in education as a teacher

Instructions:

From the following 3 groups of statements, please choose only those statements that apply to you. Rank them in order of importance, giving a '1' to the highest importance, '2' to the second highest etc

In column ONE rank the statements according to the reasons that you had when you started teaching. Next, in column TWO rank the statements according to how the reasons are for you at present.

Column 1	My reasons for working in education as a teacher	Column 2
My reasons in the beginning		How it is now
<u>GROUP ONE</u>		
	To have a job	
	To practise a profession	
	To follow a calling	
<u>GROUP TWO</u>		
	To work / to be with children every day	
	To contribute to the overall personality development of children, that is: their physical, mental, moral and social characteristics and capabilities	
	To teach my favourite subject	
	To instil in pupils the attitude of the pursuit of academic knowledge and higher academic learning	
	To contribute to the development of the nation and its future adult citizens	
	To support the local community around the school	
	To help the child acquire, appreciate, respect and develop pride in the family, his or her cultural backgrounds, moral values, customs and traditions, as well as national ethic, identity and pride	
	To liberate the nation of poverty and dependency	

<u>GROUP THREE</u>		
	To earn a salary to provide for myself (and my family)	
	To supplement my husband's / wife's income	
	To be able to get a better job with the government later or as a way of promotion	
	To enjoy the status of teacher in my own community	
	To enjoy the benefits that come with the job of teacher (e.g. free housing, free health care, etc.)	

[7] Rank the following statements on the purpose of education according to importance

Below are statements on the purpose of education, taken from Julius Nyerere, Benjamin Mkapa, the Tanzanian Education & Training Policy, PEDP 2002 – 2006 and from other sources.

*You are asked to rank these statements **twice**.*

Instructions:

*In column 1 rank the statements according to how you think they should be **in an ideal world**.*

Write an '1' next to the statement that according to you has the highest importance (choose only one).

Then write '14' next to the statement that according to you has the lowest importance in an ideal world.

Give the second most important statement a '2', the next most important one a '3' and so on, until you have done all statements.

Then rank the other statements.

*Repeat this procedure for column 2. Rank the statements again, but this time according to how you think they are **in the present reality of your work**.*

(see next page)

Column 1		Column 2
How it ought to be	The purpose of education	How it is in reality
	To liberate the nation of poverty and dependency	
	To prepare the majority of pupils for the reality of economic life after finishing Standard 7, that is in the agrarian (rural) or informal (urban) sector	
	To instil in pupils the attitude of the pursuit of academic knowledge and higher academic learning	
	To encourage and promote overall personality development of the child, that is: his or her physical, mental, moral and social characteristics and capabilities. This includes identifying children with abnormal patterns of development or educational potentials and devise special programmes for them	
	To contribute to the performance of the school in district, regional and national ranking	
	To build a socialist society, based on equality and respect for human dignity, sharing of resources that are produced by communal efforts, and work by everyone and exploitation by none	
	To develop individual and national human resources for modern technological advancement	
	To teach pupils the knowledge and skills they need to pass their primary school leaver's exam (PSLE) and to prepare them for second level education (i.e. secondary, vocational, technical and continuing education)	
	To enable every child to understand and appreciate his or her human person	
	To teach the required subject syllabi	
	To provide the child with the foundation of self-initiative, self-advancement and self-confidence	
	To make pupils aware of their potential and of their responsibility to change and to improve their own conditions and that of their society	
	To develop in pupils a critical mind, as well as problem-solving and entrepreneurial skills (Mkapa)	
	To mould the character of the individual pupil according to traditions, norms and values of the community and Tanzanian nation	

THANK YOU

[9] Priority selection grid; school A and B

									Total
A. Absenteeism among pupils. (This concerns the various forms of short- and long-term absenteeism and truancy in the school)									A = 2
	A or B								
B. Behaviour of pupils in and out of class (This relates to 'bad' behaviour of pupils when in school, both in- and outside the classrooms)		A or C							B = 5
	B or C		A or D						
C. Behaviour of parents (This concerns the lack of respect that parents show for the teachers, as well as incidences of aggressive behaviour)		B or D		A or E					C = 3
	C or D		B or E	A or F					
D. Effect of school environment on pupils' behaviour and learning (This relates to the position of the school in the centre of town as well as the presence of a market next to the school which attracts pupils during school time)		C or E		B or F		A or G			D = 6
	D or E				B or G	A or H			
E. Relationship between parents and teachers, in support of their children's education (This concerns the lack of interest and support of parents and carers for their children's learning)		D or F		C or G		B or H			E = 6
	E or F		D or G		C or H				
F. Lack of co-operation between boys and girls in the upper classes (This concerns the forming of strongly separated sub-groups and also relates to a difference in exam performance)		E or G		D or H					F = 0
	F or G		E or H						
G. Strengthening team work and co-operation among teachers (This concerns the intention of further extending the existing collegial atmosphere among the teaching staff)		F or H							G = 2
	G or H								
H. Lack of care amongst pupils of school materials and environment (This concerns pupils' treatment of school books, furniture, buildings, etc.)									H = 4

REMARKS School A

During three 30min sessions management and teaching staff formulated in no particular order the social-pedagogical issues which they identify as 'positive' or 'problematic' in School A, and which they wished to improve upon. Each issues was subsequently matched on priority against all others.

Staff expressed the need for opportunity to discuss among themselves the implications of the outcomes of the priority selection and of the final choice.

Having narrowed the choice down to issues 'B', 'D' and 'E', issue 'D' was chosen 'unanimously' by the 22 members of staff that were present (out of a total of 37), as the one they saw as root cause of the school's poor performance in examinations.

A. Pupils are too noisy. (This relates to general behaviour of pupils when in school, both in- and outside the classrooms)									Total
	A or B								A = 3
B. Lack of study attitude of all pupils (This concerns the seriousness with which pupils approach their learning)		A or C							B = 5
			A or D						
C. Lack of study attitude of the pupils in the lower standards (This relates to the idea that a better attitude at young age benefits the pupils by the time s/he reaches Standard VII)		B or D		A or E					C = 2
	C or D		B or E		A or F				
D. Lack of care of school materials by pupils (This concerns pupils' treatment of school books, furniture, buildings, etc.)		C or E		B or F		A or G			D = 2
	D or E		C or F		B or G				
E. Behaviour of pupils towards each other, due to their different backgrounds (This relates to the different socio-economic catchment areas from which the school draws its pupils)		D or F		C or G					E = 6
			D or G						
F. Some teachers are not serious towards their work (This concerns colleagues who turn up late or not at all, fail to prepare and mark properly, teach inadequately etc.)		E or G							F = 3
G. Pupils are afraid of some teachers (This concerns the harshness of some teachers, which inhibits pupils' learning)									G = 0

REMARKS School B

The selection was made in a single staff meeting. After the priority selection, there was no opportunity to discuss the relevance of the outcome. Instead, staff discussed only which issue to choose as target for school improvement on which to concentrate for the coming academic year, and as topic of research and support.

Having narrowed the choice down to issue 'B' and 'E', the headteacher recognised issue 'E' as an acute concern in the school, but argued that as teachers, staff would have more direct influence on issue 'B'. Dealing with learning attitude also would benefit the school more directly in terms of examination outcomes.

Staff chose issue 'B' by 16 out of 22 votes (15 staff were absent).

[10] Two lesson planning sheets

1a. (front)

ANDALIO LA SOMO : FOMATI (WEU)
LESSON PLAN : FORMAT (MOEC)

TAREHE DATE	SOMO SUBJECT	DARASA CLASS/FORM	KIPINDI PERIOD	MUDA TIME	IDADI YA WANAFUNZI NUMBER OF PUPILS/STUDENTS	
					WALIOSAJILIWA REGISTERED	WALIOHUDHURIA PRESENT
29-04	ENGLISH	IIAB	2, 3	60 mins	62	60
MADA KUU / TOPIC: DAYS OF THE WEEK						
MADA NDOGO / SUB-TOPIC: To name days of the week						
MALENGO YA JUMLA / GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: To enable pupils to name days of the week						
LENGO MAHUSUSI / SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE: Every pupil should be able to name days of the week						
VIFAA / TEACHING AIDS / RESOURCES / REFERENCE BOOKS: flash cards EPS, pupils book 2, ED primary English course.						

MUDA TIME	HATUA STAGES	KAZI YA MWALIMU TEACHER'S ACTIVITIES	KAZI YA MWANAFUNZI PUPIL'S ACTIVITIES
5 mins	UTANGULIZI (INTRODUCTION)	To make revision of the last lesson. eg. to count no. 1-50	They'll make revision.
10 mins	HATUA ZA UTOAJI MAARIFA MAPYA (PRESENTATION)	To guide pupils to name days of the week eg. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday	They'll listen and follow the lesson silently.
5 mins	KUKAZA MAARIFA (APPLICATION)	To ask them to name days of the week in groups then individually.	They'll name days orally in groups.
10 mins	TATHMINI (EVALUATION)	The lesson was taught 3 were able to name days 4 of the week.	They'll sing a song of days.

I will help those who didn't do well.

1b. (back)

To give them short exercise

To give them songs according to
the subject

To give them short tests

To give them more exercise

To give them group work

2a. (front)

ANDALIO LA SONO : **FOMATI (WEU)**
LESSON PLAN : **FORMAT (MOEC)**

TAREHE DATE	SOMO SUBJECT	DARASA CLASS/FORM	KIPINDI PERIOD	MUDA TIME	IDADI YA WANAFUNZI NUMBER OF PUPILS/STUDENTS	
					WALIOSAJILIWA REGISTERED	WALIOHUDHURIA PRESENT
1-9-2014	HISABATI	IIA	1	Mk.30	60	59
MADA KUU / TOPIC: <u>NAMBA NZIMA MATEMBO</u>						
MADA NDOGO / SUB-TOPIC: <u>Kuzidisha kwa mafumbo</u>						
MALENGO YA JUMLA / GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: <u>Wanafunzi wawe kuzidisha</u>						
LENGO MAHUSUSI / SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE: <u>Bacula ya Dak. 30, mwanafunzi aweze kuzidisha kwa mafumbo zao kirozidi 72.</u>						
VIFAA / TEACHING AIDS / RESOURCES / REFERENCE BOOKS: <u>Vihesabio. Kitabu cha Pili cha Hisabati.</u>						

MUDA TIME	HATUA STAGES	KAZI YA MWALIMU TEACHER'S ACTIVITIES	KAZI YA MWANAFUNZI PUPIL'S ACTIVITIES
5	UTANGULIZI (INTRODUCTION)	Kuwapa hesabu za Kichwa: $4 \times 5 = 3 \times 6 = 5 \times 5 = 2 \times 8 = 3 \times 3 =$ n.k.	Watajibu kwa kusema:
10	HATUA ZA UTOAJI MAARIFA MAPYA (PRESENTATION)	Kuandika mifano wbaoni na kuifafanua $\begin{array}{r} 15 \\ \times 4 \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ \times 12 \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{r} 26 \\ \times 2 \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{r} 18 \\ \times 4 \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{r} 16 \\ \times 3 \\ \hline \end{array}$ n.k.	Watajadiliana na mwalimu mifano ya wbaoni.
15	KUKAZA MAARIFA (APPLICATION)	Kuwaongoza wanafunzi kufanya zoezi la 30, Swali la 6-10.	Watafanya hesabu za zoezi la 30, Swali la 6-10.
	TATHMINI (EVALUATION)	Wanafunzi 57 wamafanya vizuri. Wanafunzi 2 ni watito, wita wasidii kwa muda wa pekee.	

GRDODOMA

2b. (back)

KUJIAMINI:

- 1) Kazi za Vikundi
- 2) Kuwapa Maroezi ya Mara kwa mara.
- 3) Kuwapa Majanibio ya Mara kwa mara.
- 4) Kutunga Zana Wakati wa Kufundisha
- 5) Kuwamolisha wanasafanya vizuri.
- 6) Kuwapa Zawadi wanasafanya vizuri.
- 7) Kuwapa Kazimradi (Project)

[11] School rules; school A and B

SCHOOL REGULATIONS of School A

Each pupil is:

1. Supposed to arrive at school on time, obey the school routine and attend all periods in class
2. Supposed to perform both inside and outside activities. To neglect any is breaking the rules
3. Supposed to be at school all the time until the end of the day's programmes. Playing truant is illegal
4. Supposed to wear school uniform all the time when he/she is at school and must be clean
5. Supposed to take care of school items and working tools. Misusing, destroying or stealing is forbidden.
6. Supposed to abstain from abusive language and any language of that kind
7. Supposed to abstain from smoking, using drugs or any sort of intoxicant
8. Supposed to separate him/herself from participating in any kind of strike
9. Supposed to abstain from hair braiding, keeping long hair and wearing any kind of decoration at school
10. Supposed to keep clean the in and outside environment
11. Not allowed to conduct any kind of business in the school
12. Supposed to obey teachers, parents, leaders and all his/her fellow pupils
13. Not allowed to enter teachers' offices or store without permission, but obliged to welcome school visitors politely
14. Supposed to silent when he/she is inside the classroom or any other place where silence is demanded

SCHOOL REGULATIONS of School B

Every pupil is supposed:

1. To obey the bell, to be early in school and to attend all periods in class.
2. To work in the class and outside the class. Not to work is a big 'mistake'.
3. To be in school all the time of school activities. Truancy is forbidden.
4. To wear school uniform and to be smart.
5. To care for the school materials. Destruction and stealing is forbidden.
6. Not to use insulting language and dirty words.
7. No to smoke cigarettes, hashish and drink alcohol or any kind of drunkenness is forbidden.
8. Not to co-operate in or persuade to any kind of strike among pupils or teachers.
9. Not to plait hair, to wear it long and to wear any kind of decoration.
10. To take care of the inside and outside environment of the school.
11. To respect teachers, parents, leaders, guests and other pupils.
12. It is forbidden to play in front of the staff room and to enter the staff room and the library without permission.
13. To respect and help guests who arrive at the school.

[12] Rules on corporal punishment

(source: Kuleana (1999): *The State of Education in Tanzania; Crisis and Opportunity*; Mwanza: Kuleana Centre for Children's Rights; pg. 41)

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION (CORPORAL PUNISHMENT) REGULATIONS 1979

Made Under Section 60 (O)

1. These Regulations may be cited as the National Education (*Corporal Punishment*) Regulations, 1979.
2. In these Regulations unless the context otherwise requires: "*Corporal Punishment*" means punishment by striking a pupil on his hand or on his normally clothed buttocks with a light, flexible stick but excludes striking a child with any other instrument or on any other part of the body.
"*Head of School*" means any person in charge of a primary or a secondary School.

(1) Corporal punishment may be administered for serious breaches of school discipline or for grave offences committed whether inside or outside the school which are deduced by the Head of School to have brought or are capable of bringing the school into disrepute.
3. - (2) Corporal punishment shall be reasonable having regard to the gravity of the offence, the age, the sex and the health of the pupil and shall not exceed 6 strokes on any one occasion.
4. - (1) The Head of School in his discretion may himself administer corporal punishment or delegate his authority in writing to all or any members of his staff provided that the member or staff authorized may only act with the Head of School on each occasion when corporal punishment is administered.

(2) Female pupils may only receive corporal punishment from female teachers, except where there is no female teacher at the school in which case the Head of School may authorize in writing a male teacher to administer corporal punishment or may himself administer such punishment.
5. All occasions on which corporal punishment is administered shall be recorded in writing in a book kept for the purpose and such record shall state in each instance the name of the pupil, the offence or breach of discipline, the number of strokes and the name of the teacher who administered the punishment. All entries in this book shall be made and signed by the Head of School.
6. Refusal to accept corporal punishment either by a pupil or by a parent on the pupil's behalf may lead to the exclusion of the pupil in terms of expulsion and exclusion of pupils from schools' regulations made under the provision of the National Education Act, 1978.

N.A. KUHANGA
Minister for National Education

Dar es Salaam
1st December, 1979.

[13] Staffing list; school A

TEACHER	* YEAR OF QUALIFYING (after 2 years TT)	* QUAL. LEVEL ON STARTING EMPLOYMENT	* TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE	* EDUCATION BEFORE TTC	* TEACHING SPECIALISATION	* MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES
1	M 01/07/1988	IIIA	Butimba	F.IV	Mathematics	Headteacher / Discipline of Teachers
2	F 01/07/1994	IIIA	Tarime	F.IV	Science, Art	First Deputy Headteacher / Discipline of Teachers and Pupils
3	F 01/07/1987	IIIA	Butimba	F.IV	Kiswahili, English	Second Deputy Headteacher / Disaster & Luxury Fund
4	F 01/07/1983	IIIA	Monduli	F.IV	Nursery	Head of Nursery
5	F 01/07/1978	IIIA	Chang'ombe	F.IV	Mathematics, General & Social Studies	Academic Teacher / Period Timetable
6	F 01/07/1972	IIIA	Katoke	F.IV	Reading, Writing & Arithmetic, English, Agriculture	Class Teacher 2A / Pupils Health
7	M 01/07/1979	IIIC	Mpwapwa	VII	Mathematics, Kiswahili	Class Teacher 6B / Discipline of Pupils / School Furniture / School Environment / Library
8	F 01/01/1979	IIIC	Songea	F.III	Science, Domestic Science	Discipline of Teachers
9	M 01/07/1981	IIIC	Tarime	VII	General & Social Studies, English, Music, Art	Class Teacher 6A / Subject Co-ord. English (St 5 - 7) / NDiscipline of Teachers / School Band
10	F 01/07/1983	IIIC	Kasulu	VII	Reading, Writing & Arithmetic	Class Teacher 1A / School Environment
11	F 01/07/1972	IIIA	Monduli	VII	Kiswahili, English	none
12	F 01/07/1978	IIIA	Marangu	F.IV	Mathematics, English, General & Social Studies	Discipline of Pupils / Health
13	F 01/07/1981	IIIC	Mpwapwa	VII	Kiswahili, Arts & Crafts	Class Teacher 3A / Communication
14	F 01/07/1976	IIIC	Mhonda	VII	English, General & Social Studies	HIV/Aids Co-ordinator
15	F 01/07/1975	IIIC	Mhonda	VII	Reading, Writing & Arithmetic	none
16	F 01/07/1977	IIIA	Songea	F.IV	Arts & Crafts	Discipline of Teachers / School Environment / Disaster & Luxury / Subject Co-ord. Arts & Crafts

TEACHER	* YEAR OF QUALIFYING (after 2 years TT)	* QUAL. LEVEL ON STARTING EMPLOYMENT	* TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE	* EDUCATION BEFORE TTC	* TEACHING SPECIALISATION	* MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES
17	F 01/01/1979	IIIC	Marangu	F.II	Reading, Writing & Arithmetic	Class Teacher 1B
18	F 01/07/1981	IIIC	Tabora	VII	Agriculture	none
19	M 01/07/1991	IIIA	Mpwapwa	F.IV	Science, Arts & Crafts	none
20	F 01/07/1987	IIIA	Tukuyu	F.IV	General & Social Studies, Arts & Crafts	none
21	F 01/07/1983	IIIC	K/Mpanda	VII	Reading, Writing & Arithmetic	Class Teacher 2B
22	F 01/07/1985	IIIA	K/Nyembe	F.IV	Kiswahili	Class Teacher 7B / Accountant / Subject Co-ord. Kiswahili
23	F 01/07/1990	IIIA	Butimba	F.IV	General & Social Studies	Class Teacher 5A / School Environment / Period Timetable / HIV/Aids Co-ordinator
24	F 01/07/1991	IIIA	Butimba	F.IV	English, General & Social Studies	Secretary
25	F 01/07/1995	IIIA	Tabora	F.IV	Kiswahili, English	Class Teacher 4B / Secretary / Subject Co-ordinator English (St. 1 - 4)
26	F 01/07/1995	IIIA	Mpwapwa	F.IV	Science	Class Teacher 4A / School band / Sports & Games / Subject Co-ord. Science
27	F 01/07/1995	IIIA	Mpwapwa	F.IV	English	School Furniture / Disaster & Luxury
28	F 01/07/1983	IIIB	Singachini	VII	Mathematics	Period Timetable
29	F 01/07/1993	IIIB	Ndala	VII	Kiswahili	Class Teacher 5B / School Furniture / Disaster & Luxury / Sports & Games
30	M 01/07/1998	IIIA	Sumve	F.IV	Mathematics, General & Social Studies	Subject Co-ord. General & Social Studies
31	F 01/07/1995	IIIA	Tabora	F.IV	Mathematics	Discipline of Pupils
32	F 01/07/1997	IIIA	Mpwapwa	F.IV	English	Class Teacher 7A
33	F 01/12/2000	IIIA	Mpwapwa	F.IV	Mathematics, Kiswahili, English	none
34	F 02/02/2004	IIIA	K/Nyembe	F.IV	Science, General & Social Studies	none
35	F 01/07/1998	IIIA	Butimba	F.IV	General & Social Studies	Class Teacher 3B / Period Timetable / School band
36	M 01/07/2002	IIIA	Ifunda	F.IV	Mathematics	Subject Co-ord. Maths / Discipline of Pupils / School Environment / Disaster & Luxury / Sports & Games
37	F	IIIA	Bustani	F.IV	General & Social Studies	Class Teacher 3C

[14] Pupil register; school B

Register No.	Surname & Initials	Date of Birth	Sex	MARKS OBTAINED IN EXAMINATIONS						
				1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
4896		21-1-98	M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4897			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4898			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4899			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4900			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4901			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4902			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4903			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4904			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4905			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4906			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4907			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4908			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4909			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4910			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4911			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4912			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4913			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4914			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4915			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4916			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4917			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4918			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4919			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4920			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4921			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4922			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4923			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4924			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4925			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11
4926			M	1	11	11	11	11	11	11

NAMES OF PUPILS

Structure of the Register

The column captions read:

1. Student Number
2. Date of Registration
3. Name of Pupil
4. Date of Birth
5. Tribe
6. Date of Vaccination
7. Name of Parent or Guardian
8. Occupation of Parent or Guardian
9. Living Area

On the back of a half-page overleaf sheet it reads:

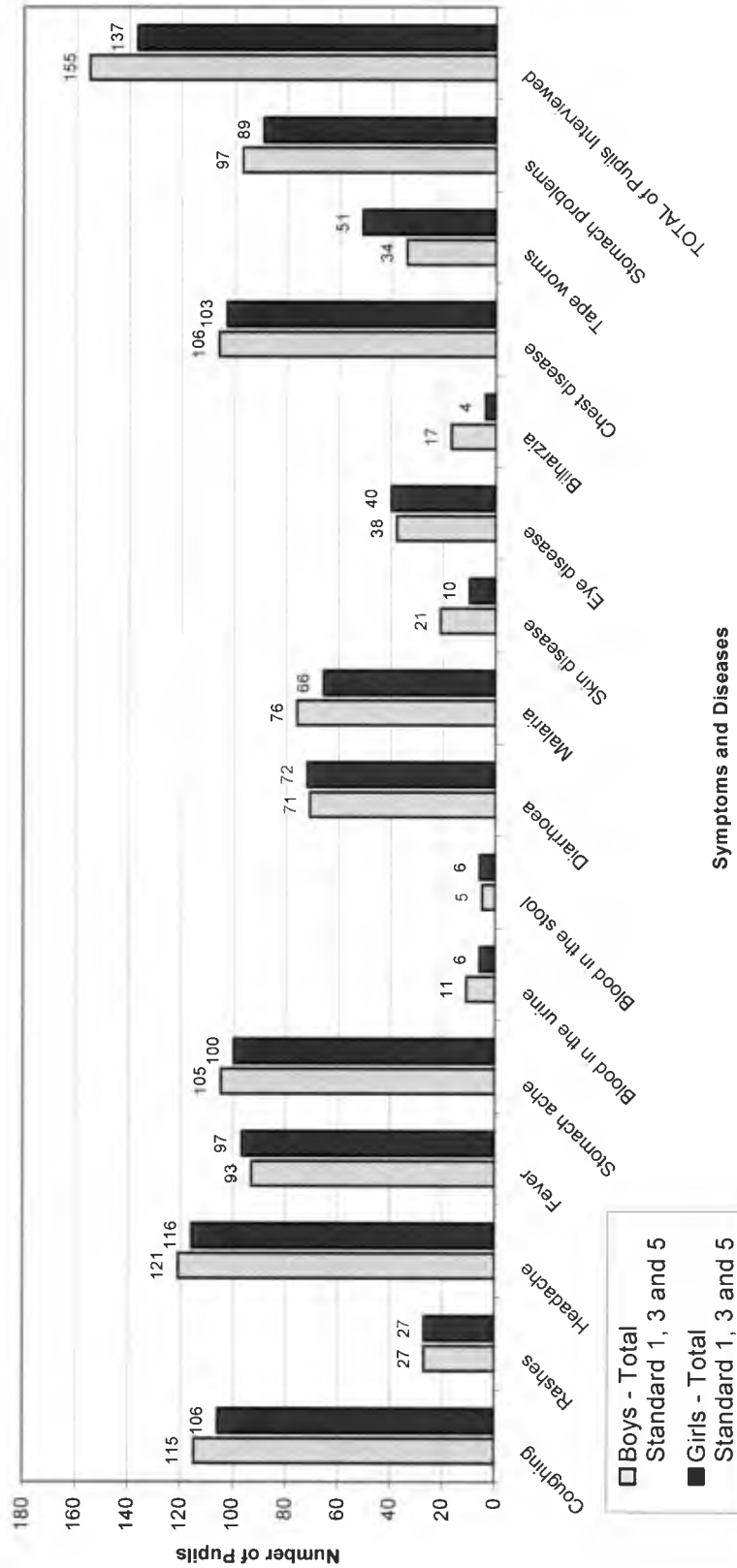
10. Progress in School (listing each following year of registration)

Register No.	Sex	Date of Birth	Date of Registration	Name of Pupil	Name of Parent or Guardian	Occupation of Parent or Guardian	Living Area
4910	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4911	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4912	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4913	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4914	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4915	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4916	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4917	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4918	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4919	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4920	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4921	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4922	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4923	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4924	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4925	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		
4926	M	1937	1950	MAURICE	MAURICE		

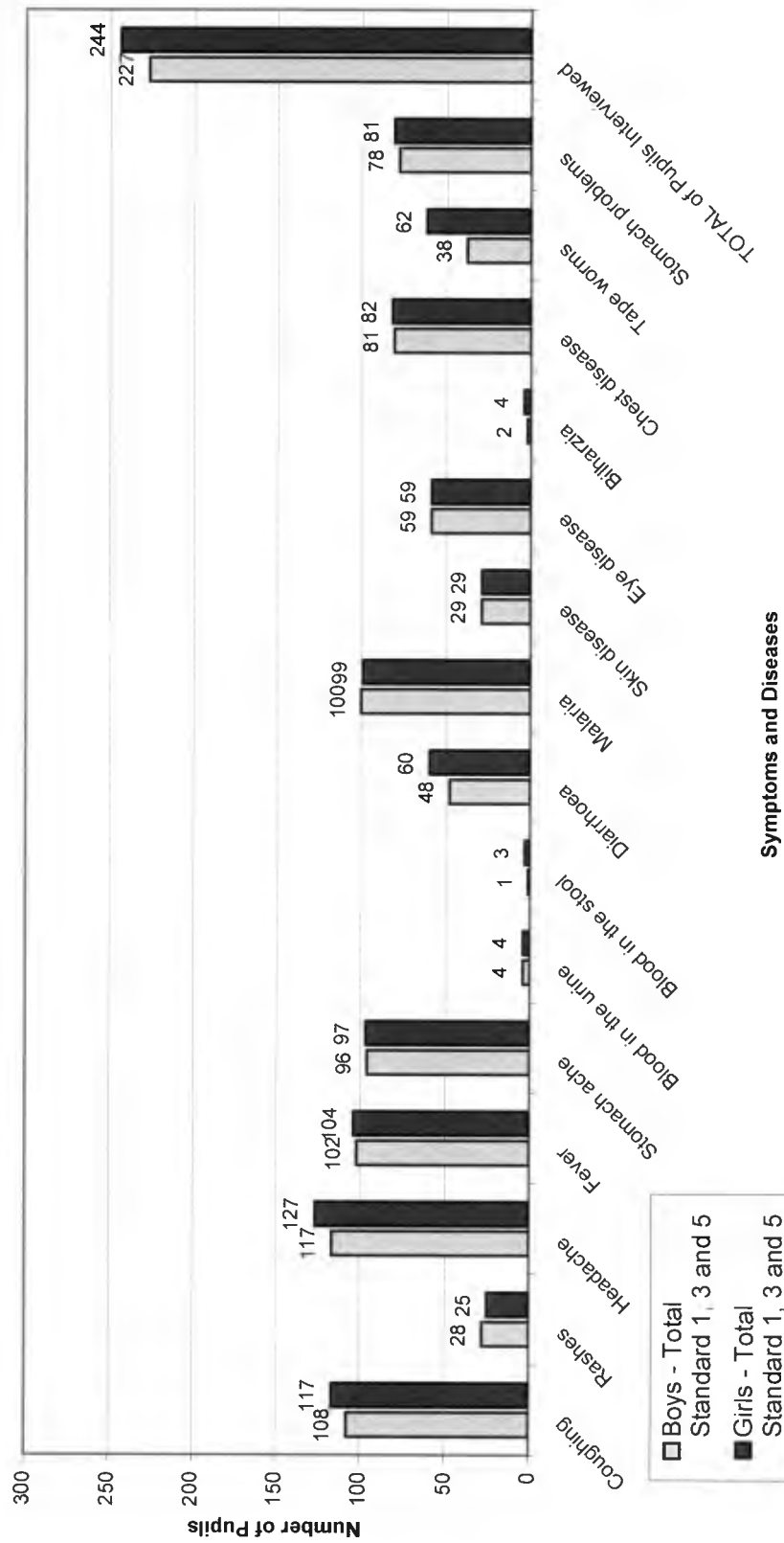
[15] Pupil health graphs; school A and B

(data used with the kind permission of the Dodoma Municipal Health Department)

Pupil Health School A



Pupil Health School B



[16] Forty-eight improvement initiatives

In compiling the lists per school of school improvement initiatives over the academic year 2004 a differentiation has been made according to the main assertion in this thesis that every school improvement initiative needs to be seen as *comprehensive*.

This means that all initiatives include physical-material *and* technical-procedural *and* cultural-attitudinal objectives at *both* managerial (organisational) and pedagogical (classroom) level.

Physical-material objectives focus predominantly on improvement of aspects such as school grounds, buildings and furnishing, availability of office and teaching & learning resources as well as the provision of school meals.

Technical-procedural objectives focus predominantly on enhancing professional capability and performance at managerial and pedagogical level, as well as on improving managerial and pedagogical processes and practices.

Cultural-attitudinal objectives focus predominantly on changing managerial and pedagogical values, attitudes and behaviours.

Furthermore, the initiatives are sub-divided into *restoration* and *development*.

Restoration involves bringing the school back to previous (higher) standards of functioning, performance, maintenance and school culture.

Development involves planned changes at whole-school level to achieve improved school processes, outcomes and environment.

Initiatives that were self-initiated by the headteachers are typed in **bold**. The ones in normal print were required by the Municipal education office and School Inspectorate. Nearly all initiatives were adopted 'good practices' from other schools. In brackets is mentioned which initiatives have been paid for out of the school's PEDP Capitation Grant¹.

SCHOOL A

Physical-Material Objectives

RESTORATION

Re-coating some blackboards

Repairing the school's entrance veranda

Repairing and procuring pupil desks

Planting new plants and hedges in and around the school garden

Restoring water and electricity to the school (by paying outstanding bills)

Replacing broken ceiling boards in some classrooms

Providing lunch time meals for St. 4 and 7 pupils during half term and end-of-year exams (PEDP Capitation Grant)

Procuring materials for teachers to make teaching aids (PEDP Capitation Grant, some paid for by the teachers themselves)

Procuring a First Aid kit

Procuring cutlery for the staffroom (for making tea)

¹ During the academic year 2004 nearly 6 US\$ per child per year was sent to the schools of the 10 US\$ p.ch/p.y of the PEDP Capitation Grant. Apart from small contributions from parents this made up the schools' entire year budget.

DEVELOPMENT

Adding a security grill to the headteacher's office

Procuring new school books²; to replace dated teacher manuals and pupil textbooks (PEDP Capitation Grant)

Book/reading promotion by commercial company (MacMillan) in exchange for free reading books

Providing some free learning materials (useables) to pupils, using the PEDP Capitation Grant

Technical–Procedural Objectives

RESTORATION

Using printed rather than hand-written mock examination papers to make pupils used to this kind of formal testing (paid out of PEDP Capitation Grant)

Provision of free after-school remedial teaching² for all Standard 4 and 7 pupils; i.e. the examination classes (PEDP Capitation Grant)

Re-teaching during the holidays of St. 7 by teachers from St. 5 and 6 (PEDP Capitation Grant)

DEVELOPMENT

Training all staff on the effects of school environment on pupils' learning and behaviour (discontinued)

Training and appointing two HIV/Aids co-ordinators

Training day organised by the municipal education office and conducted by school inspectors and subject specialists on difficult topics within the subject syllabi (*mada tata*)

Training by school inspectors of the school committee on their new role under PEDP

Training of some B/C-grade teachers for A-grade

Provision of MEMKWA classes

Introduction of pupil repetition of St. 1 and 4, when under-performing

Provision of free remedial teaching for all Standard 4, 6 and 7 pupils on Saturdays by the headteacher (PEDP Capitation Grant)

Introduction of a Class Book, to be signed by every teacher for every period taught

Various initiatives by individual teachers regarding their own classroom practice (e.g. improving classroom interaction with pupils, applying new teaching methods and skills).

Cultural–Attitudinal Objectives

RESTORATION (*under second headteacher*)

Restoring familiar work-ethos among staff

Strengthening co-operation between staff

Strengthening co-operation with parents, through regular general and stream meetings

DEVELOPMENT

Addressing the effects of school environment on pupils' learning and behaviour in class (individual teachers)

Fairer use of corporal punishment according to official regulations (individual teachers)

² The procurement of school books was done by the Municipal Education Office, using part of the schools' PEDP Capitation Grant (i.e. US\$ 4 per pupil). The books were sent to the schools, who had no say in the choice of titles or the number of books.

² Prior to PEDP 2002 – 2006, in order to supplement their income, many teachers provided 'extra tuition' to pupils whose parents could afford the tuition fee. The government discouraged this practice, as teachers created a need for 'extra tuition' through limited teaching during school hours. This also created a difference in attainment and performance between wealthier and poorer pupils. For providing free 'remedial classes', open to all pupils, teachers were paid out of the school's PEDP Capitation Grant.

SCHOOL B

Physical–Material Objectives

RESTORATION

1. Re-coating all blackboards
2. Replacing broken ceiling boards and wire mesh from the windows in some classrooms
3. Paying the telephone bill in order to re-connect the service
4. Providing lunch time meals for St. 4 and 7 pupils during half term and end-of-year exams (PEDP Capitation Grant).
5. Procuring materials for teachers to make teaching aids (PEDP Capitation Grant)
6. Procuring a First Aid kit
7. Procuring cutlery for visitors; given the custom to provide meals to formal visitors to the school; e.g. school inspectors, education officials, invigilators (PEDP Capitation Grant)

DEVELOPMENT

8. **Replacing the roofing on part of the school's office block with more burglar-proof material**
9. Procuring new school books¹; to replace dated teacher manuals and pupil textbooks (PEDP Capitation Grant)
10. **Procuring a school computer, to be paid for by contributions of parents (still ongoing)**
11. Providing some free learning materials (useables) to pupils (PEDP Capitation Grant)
12. **Providing lunch time meals (paid for by the parents) for pupils who stay for afternoon remedial lessons**
13. **Contracting out the running a school shop, selling foodstuffs and school materials (useables). One objective of this scheme was to keep pupils close to school during break times.**

Technical–Procedural Objectives

RESTORATION

Using printed rather than hand-written mock examination papers to make pupils used to this kind of formal testing (paid out of PEDP Capitation Grant)

Provision of free after-school remedial teaching² for all Standard 4 and 7 pupils; i.e. the examination classes (PEDP Capitation Grant)

Re-teaching during the holidays of St. 7 by teachers from St. 5 and 6 (PEDP Capitation Grant)

Organising a school trip to Ngorongoro Game Reserve; only for those pupils whose parents could afford the costs involved

DEVELOPMENT

Training all staff on improving pupil's learning attitudes (e.g. diligence, creativity, academic and personal self-confidence)

Training all staff on participatory methods and techniques to teaching and learning

Training a member of staff as HIV/Aids coordinator

Training day organised by the municipal education office and conducted by school inspectors and subject specialists on difficult topics within the subject syllabi (*mada tata*)

Training of some B/C-grade teachers to upgrade to A-grade.

Training by school inspectors of the school committee on their new role under PEDP

Tightening the work of the school's academic committee and internal inspections; e.g. using systematic evidence-based follow-up of teacher performance and behaviour in an attempt to improve the coverage and quality of work of individual teachers

Pairing under-performing staff with more able colleagues, who teach within the same stream

Deploying more experienced staff in the lower standards to strengthen pupils' learning foundations

Introduction of end of year exams for St. 1 and 2 (to secure ability in reading, writing and arithmetic / KKK)

Provision of genuine remedial teaching in reading and writing to pupils of St. 1 and 2 'in order to make up for other teachers who were failing'. These lessons took place during regular school hours. Once the skills were mastered pupils rejoined their class.

Introduction of pupil repetition of St. 1 and 4, when under-performing

Introduction of a Class Book, to be signed by every teacher for every period taught

Provision of MEMKWA classes (a nation wide catch-up program of core subjects for older pupils in lower classes; this fast-tracks them through the first years of primary school)

Strengthening of co-operation between the headteachers of the 11 primary schools in the ward to solve problems at ward level, focusing in particular on teamwork among staff, teacher conduct and conflicts between teachers and school managers (initiative by one of the headteachers, who was acting ward co-ordinator)

Cultural-Attitudinal Objectives

RESTORATION

1. Setting good examples and boosting motivation by celebrating good performance of pupils in the presence of parents, senior staff and education officials (e.g. in graduation ceremonies)

DEVELOPMENT

2. **Improving pupils' learning attitudes in class**
3. **Actively promoting teamwork among staff through a consultative style of school leadership**
4. Strengthening co-operation with/parents, through regular general and stream meetings
5. Rewarding two 'best' teachers, selected by staff themselves (both at school and at ward level)

Number of Improvement Initiatives

SCHOOL A

Restoration:	16
<u>Development:</u>	<u>16</u>
Total:	32

Adopted	24
<u>Self-instigated</u>	<u>8</u>
Total:	32

SCHOOL B

Restoration:	12
<u>Development:</u>	<u>25</u>
Total:	37

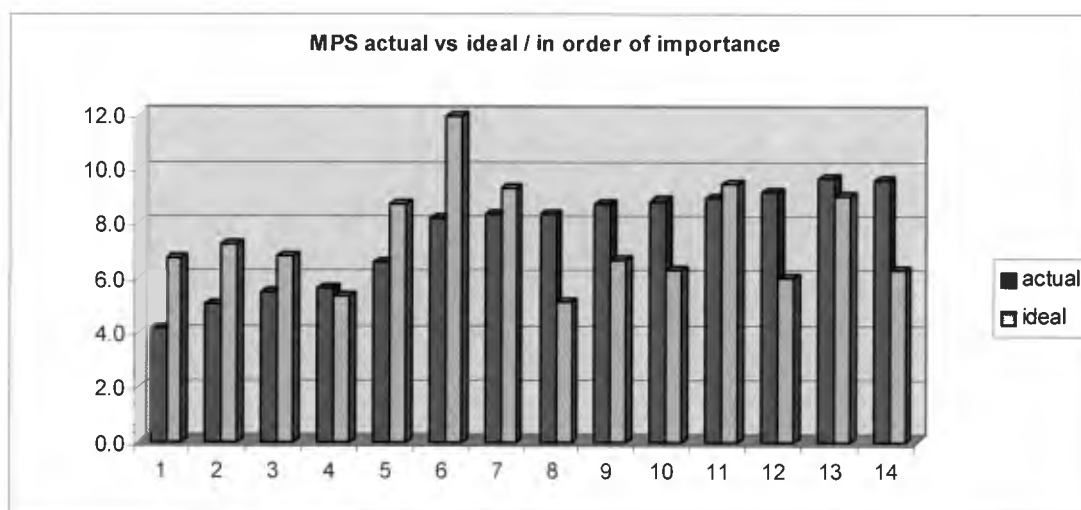
Adopted	25
<u>Self-instigated</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	37

[17] Overview of parent and pupil meetings; school B

Formal meetings with parents / pupils	Times per year	Number of parents present	Main topics of agenda
General meeting	4x	Approx. 300	School budget and expenditure. School rules. Parental contributions. Test and exam results. School development and improvement. Selecting school committee members (once per year).
Individual class meetings St. 3, 5, 6	1x	Approx. 50	Parental concerns. Parental support. School procedures. Pupil discipline and behaviour.
Individual class meetings St. 4 and 7	2x	Approx. 50	Parental concerns. Parental support. School procedures. Convincing parents to contribute to extra tuition. Pupil discipline and behaviour.
School committee meetings	6x	6	Expenditure of school budget. Follow-up on academic progress. Follow-up on pupils discipline and behaviour. School development and improvement.
Pupil government (Baraza)	2x	none	School rules. Pupils discipline.

[18] Ranking of statements on purpose of education

1. To teach pupils the knowledge and skills they need to pass their primary school leaver's exam (PSLE) and to prepare them for second level education (i.e. secondary, vocational, technical and continuing education) (E&TP)
2. To teach the required subject syllabi (SI)
3. To encourage and promote overall personality development of the child, that is: his or her physical, mental, moral and social characteristics and capabilities (E&TP). This includes identifying children with abnormal patterns of development or educational potentials and devise special programmes for them (E&TP)
4. To provide the child with the foundation of self-initiative, self-advancement and self-confidence (E&TP)
5. To instil in pupils the attitude of the pursuit of academic knowledge and higher academic learning (E&TP)
6. To develop individual and national human resources for modern technological advancement (PEDP)
7. To develop in pupils a critical mind, as well as problem-solving and entrepreneurial skills (Mkapa)
8. To liberate the nation of poverty and dependency (Nyerere)
9. To make pupils aware of their potential and of their responsibility to change and to improve their own conditions and that of their society (E&TP)
10. To build a socialist society, based on equality and respect for human dignity, sharing of resources that are produced by communal efforts, and work by everyone and exploitation by none (Nyerere)
11. To contribute to the performance of the school in district, regional and national ranking (SI)
12. To prepare the majority of pupils for the reality of economic life after finishing Standard 7, that is in the agrarian (rural) or informal (urban) sector (Nyerere)
13. To enable every child to understand and appreciate his or her human person (E&TP)
14. To mould the character of the individual pupil according to traditions, norms and values of the community and Tanzanian nation (E&TP)



NB: The shortest bars represent the highest importance

[19] Twenty-nine approaches to improve learning attitudes

During a training session in school B (31/10/2003), staff listed the approaches that between them they currently use to stimulate learning

- To teach through activities in the periods
- To teach through song
- To teach using pictures, maps, etc.
- To teach using games and drama
- To use projects
- To teach through dialogue, discourse and debate
- To teach through competitions pupil to pupil / between groups / between schools
- To do experiments in science subject
- To have regular study tours. To teach through the use of study visits.
- To invite expert teachers in class
- To give additional work to do at home
- To give pupils exercises that are sufficient and not too hard
- To do weekly, monthly and end of term and end of year tests
- To group and teach pupils according to their ability
- To teach individual pupils
- Pupils with the ability to help others who do not have learning ability
- School environment to be good and clean
- To use textbooks and reference books
- To use better, appropriate and enough [teaching] materials
- To design / create various teaching materials
- To be close to pupils; to love them
- Give encouragement to those who do well
- Apply incentives, such as the music band, games, rewards, etc.
- To give the pupils books, pencils, notebooks, etc.
- To understand the background of the pupils
- Pupils to participate by giving their opinion and advice
- To follow-up on students who are lazy, truant
- Co-operation between teachers and pupils
- To show dignity (character) in teaching

[20] Year planner; school A and B

Year Planning of Activities 2005; School A

MWEZI	TAREHE	SHUGULI	Activities
Januari	10 – 31	Masomo	Lessons
Februari	1 – 28	Masomo	Lessons
Machi	1 – 10 14 – 16 17 – 19 22 – 22 28 – 31	Masomo Ukaguzi wa ndani Utungaji wa mitihani Ukusanyaji na ukaguzi Mithani ya likizo fupi	Lessons <i>Internal inspections (lesson plans and marking)</i> <i>Designing tests (by subject staff)</i> <i>Compiling and checking (of tests)</i> <i>End of half term tests</i>
Aprili	1 – 3 4 – 30	Likizo fupi Masomo	<i>Short holiday</i> Lessons
Mei	1 – 12 13 – 17 18 – 19 20 – 21 23 – 25 26 – 29 30 – 2 June	Masomo Utungaji wa mitihani Ukusanyaji mitihani Ukaguzi wa mitihani Mithani Usahihishaji Majamvi na Matokeo	Lessons <i>Designing tests (by subject staff)</i> <i>Compiling tests</i> <i>Checking of tests</i> <i>Term tests (week)</i> <i>Marking tests</i> <i>Staff meeting discussing test results</i>
June	3 – 30	Likizo ndefu	<i>Long holiday</i>
Julai	1 – 10 11 - 31	Likizo ndefu Masomo	<i>Long holiday</i> Lessons
Augosti	1 – 30	Masomo Ukaguzi wa ndani	Lessons <i>Internal inspections (lesson plans and marking)</i>
Septemba	1 – 2 5 6 – 7 8 – 9 10 – 18 19 – 30	Utungaji wa mitihani Ukusanyaji na ukaguzi Mithani ya likizo fupi Matokeo ya mitihani Likizo fupi Masomo	<i>Designing of tests (by subject staff)</i> <i>Compiling and checking (of tests)</i> <i>End of half term tests</i> <i>Recording test results</i> <i>Short holiday</i> Lessons
Octoba	1 – 26 27 – 31	Masomo Ukaguzi wa ndani na kadi	Lessons <i>Internal inspections of pupil records</i>
Novemba	1 – 3 4 – 7 8 – 10 11 – 14 15 – 21 22 – 25 28 – 1 Dec.	Utungaji wa mitihani Ukusanyaji na ukaguzi Mithani Usahihishaji Majamvi na repoti Repoti na kadi Matokeo ya mitihani	<i>Designing tests (by subject staff)</i> <i>Compiling and checking (of tests)</i> <i>Term tests (week)</i> <i>Marking tests</i> <i>Staff meeting discussing pupil reports</i> <i>Writing report cards (of pupils)</i> <i>Recording test results</i>
Desemba	2 – 31	Likizo ndefu	<i>Long holiday</i>

MPANGO WA KAZI - 2003

MWAZI	TAREHE	SHUGHULI
JANUARI	13 - 31	MASOMO
FEBRUARI	1 - 28	MASOMO
MACHI	1 - 10	MASOMO
	11 - 14	UKAGUZI WA NDANI
	15 - 17	UTUNGATI MITIHANI
	18 - 21	UKUSANYATI/UKAGUZI
	25 - 27	MITIHANI
28 - 31	LIKIZO FUPI	
APRILI	1 - 6	LIKIZO FUPI
	7 - 30	MASOMO
MAYI	1 - 11	MASOMO
	12 - 14	UTUNGATI MITIHANI
	15 - 16	UKUSANYATI MITIHANI
	19 - 20	UKAGUZI MITIHANI
	21 - 23	MITIHANI
24 - 31	USAHIHISHAJI	
JUNI	1 - 4	MAJAMVI
JULAI	6 - 30	LIKIZO NDEU
	1 - 13	LIKIZO NDEU
AGOSTI	14 - 31	MASOMO
	1 - 17	MASOMO
	18 - 21	UKAGUZI WA NDANI
	22 - 26	UTUNGATI MITIHANI
SEPTEMBER	27 - 29	UKUSANYATI/UKAGUZI
	1 - 4	MITIHANI
	5 - 14	LIKIZO FUPI
OKTOBA	15 - 30	MASOMO
	1 - 31	MASOMO
NOVEMBA	1 - 3	UKAGUZI WA NDANI NA KADI
	3 - 7	UKAGUZI WA NDANI NA KADI
	8 - 12	UTUNGATI MITIHANI
	13 - 14	UKUSANYATI/UKAGUZI
	18 - 20	MITIHANI
DESEMBER	21 - 25	USAHIHISHAJI
	26 - 30	MAJAMVI & RIPOZI
	1 - 3	RIPOZI
	4	URUDHATI MAJI
	5 - 31	LIKIZO YA MWAKA 2003

MPANGO WA KAZI - 2003

1	M.F
2	UNWA
3	KATI
4	MW
5	KATI
6	KUKU
7	MATA
8	NA
9	FE
10	ZAN
11	USAL
12	KADI Z.
13	MRATI

TAKE

1. Iba ili ya kudhalilisha

2. ... zao wa

3. ... au kushana na

4. ...

5. ... viutabisha na

6. ... hivyo karwa mali

7. ... waka na kushauri

8. ... na thi ya wachini

9. ... waka nje na hata

10. ...

11. ...

12. ...

13. ...

14. ...

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16. ...

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29. ...

30. ...

31. ...

[21] List of training needs

(Collated from statements of staff in both schools, during training on 24 and 25 February 2004)

Time management and efficient techniques within teaching and in marking; especially how to mark many books in a short time, how to help many pupils in a short time, how to plan lessons in a short time, how to cover the syllabus in the given time

Design and use of different teaching and learning materials according to class level, especially in lower standards; instead of drawing on the blackboard

How to teach without teaching aids or materials, e.g. mathematics, Stadi za Kazi (Arts and Crafts)

Use of different teaching and learning techniques (such as Participatory Methods)

To have instructions on how to teach new curriculum subjects (e.g. Stadi za Kazi); how to deal with changes in the syllabus

Confidence in teaching; how to overcome problems in the teaching process

To improve subject knowledge, on all subjects, especially on 'difficult topics' (such as English grammar, identifying the number of atoms and electric charges, drawing of maps)

How to teach language and mathematics in upper standards

How to teach vocabulary

How to use computers

How to do science experiments in class (with many pupils) in 40 minutes (= 1 period)

Topics that are close to the pupils, such as diseases (HIV/Aids), effects of chemicals in cocaine, marijuana, too much drinking

Psychological knowledge in teaching approach and in approaching pupils' behaviour; ways of disciplining pupils, controlling and managing the class

How to increase, speed up pupils' understanding of subjects, lessons in the short time of the periods (40min); how to question pupils in order to measure their understanding; how to answer questions of pupils

Acquiring good communication with the pupils; to acquire methods to motivate the pupils; how to improve involvement of pupils in class

How to group 'good' and 'bad' pupils (academically and in behaviour); how to work in groups

To be able to follow-up on individual pupils

How to help pupils with learning difficulty; how to deal with pupils who are often absent; how to teach slow pupils; how to deal with pupils' poor home environment; how to help unkind pupils, rude boys (i.e. pupils disliked by the teacher)

Team teaching within one subject; use of experts from outside school

Building good relationships among staff

How to work together with teachers who teach the same subject; exchanging ideas and knowledge with colleagues

To give advice on the relationship between parents and teachers

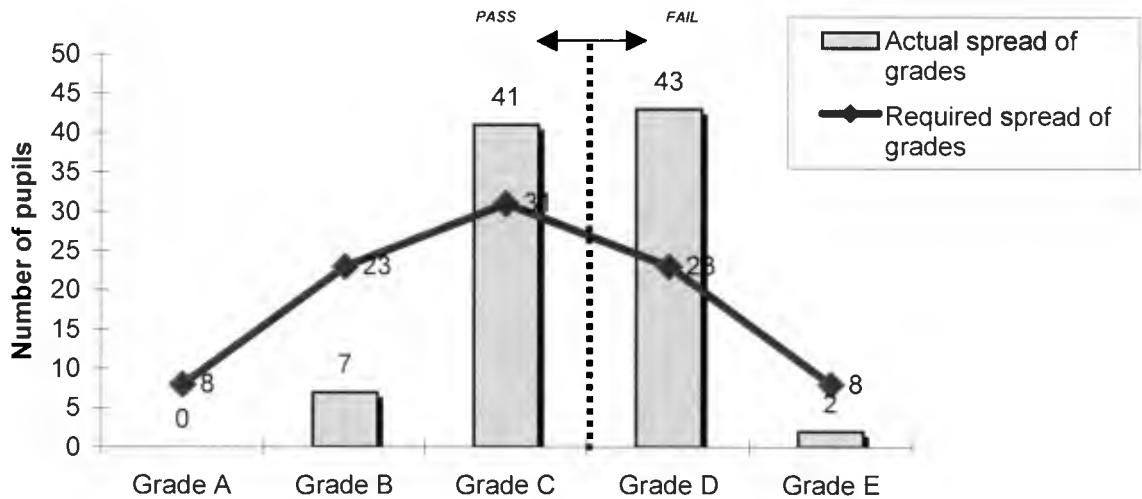
To get ideas of how to collaborate in lessons with other schools

How to combine teaching well with hard home life; how to improve teaching, although I have other problems (hard life)

[22] PSLE graphs A

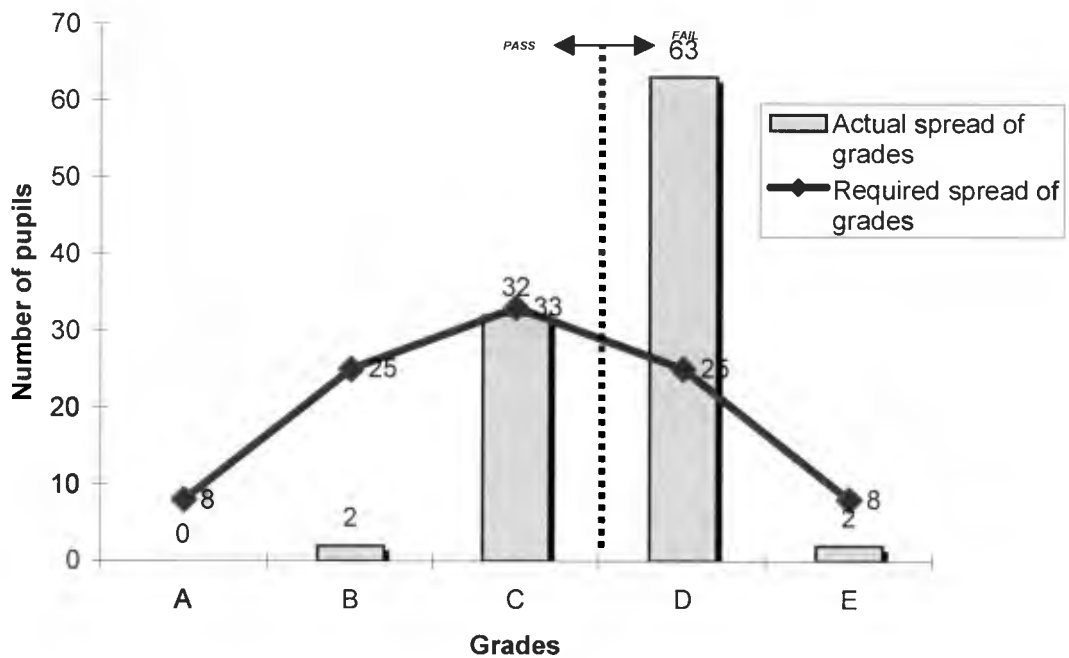
PSLE results School A, 2003

2003 actual pass/fail grades matched against the required spread of A,B,C,D and E grades



PSLE results School A, 2004

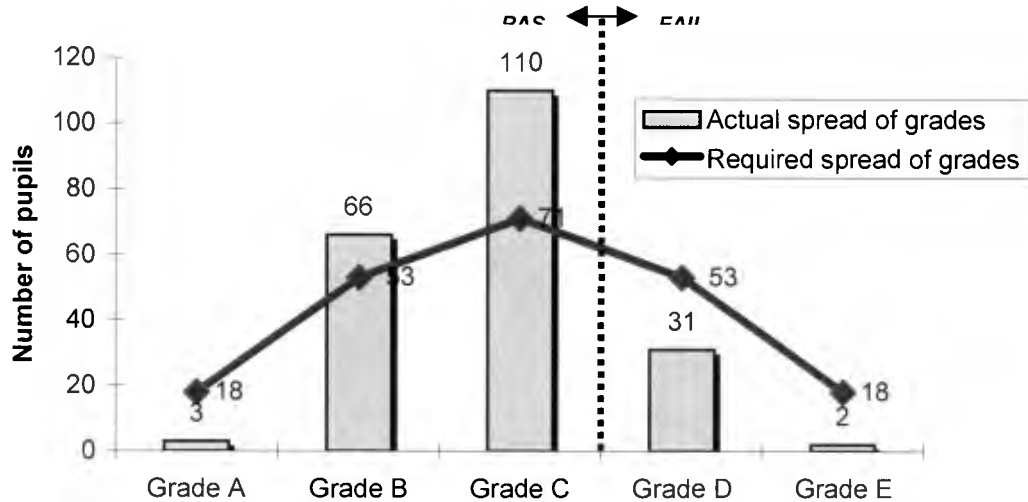
2004 actual pass/fail grades matched against the required spread of A,B,C,D and E grades



[23] PSLE graphs B

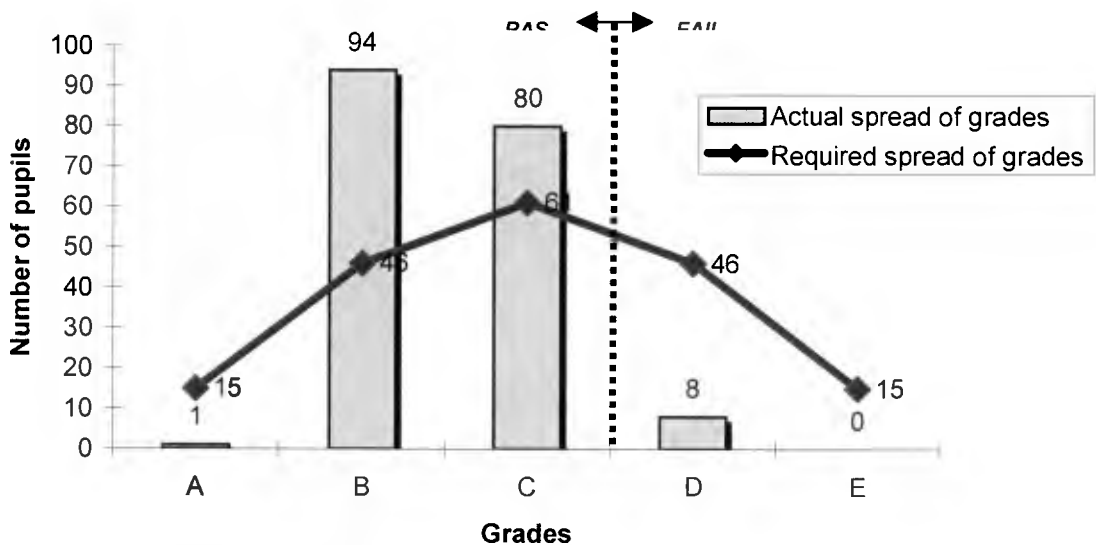
PSLE results School B 2003

2003 actual pass/fail grades matched against the required spread of A,B,C,D and E grades



PSLE results School B 2004

2004 actual pass/fail grades matched against the required spread of A,B,C,D and E grades



[24] Meta-model of three core models

