Exploration of factors that hinder and facilitate best performance in Primary School Leaving Examinations in Tanzania

Lessons from poor and best performing regions





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2019



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02

Table of Contents

Ack	nowledgements	02	
List	List of Abbreviations		
Exe	cutive Summary	05	
1.0	Introduction	07	
1.1	Aim of the study	09	
2.0	Methodology	10	
2.1	Study sites: regions, districts, and schools	10	
2.2	Participants	12	
2.3	Data collection techniques	12	
2.4	Data management and analysis	13	
2.5	Quantitative data	13	
2.6	Ethical considerations	14	
2.7	Limitations	14	
3.0	Findings	15	
3.1	Factors attributable to 'better' regional, district and school PSLE performance	15	
3.2	Factors attributable to 'poor' regional, district and school PSLE performance	27	
3.3	Regional Disparities and Academic Performance	32	
4.0	Discussion and Conclusion	36	
5.0	Recommendations	39	
Ref	erences	40	

List of Abbreviations

EFA Education for All

FGD Focus Group Discussion

DEO District Education Officer

MDG Millennium Development Goals

NECTA National Examination Council of Tanzania

PEDP Primary Education Development Programme

PSLE Primary School Leaving Examination

REO Regional Education Officer

SPSS Statistical Package for Social Sciences

URT United Republic of Tanzania

WEO Ward Education Officer

Executive Summary

Tanzania is committed to providing basic education for all. In collaboration with various education stakeholders, the government seeks to ensure that all school-aged children attend and complete their primary education successfully. Among others the initiatives include implementation of fee free basic education, curriculum reforms, and teacher training. The implementation of curriculum fee free basic education, for example, has contributed to the massive increase of school-age children enrolment.

Available information, however, reveals that there are challenges facing the education sector in Tanzania. Among others, the sector is experiencing poor academic performance including poor children's PSLE results across regions. Some regions, however, outperform other regions in PSLE performance while others lag behind consistently. We know little about why some regions and schools in Tanzania consistently perform well or poorly. In this regard, HakiElimu designed a study to explore why some regions, districts and schools repeatedly perform better in PSLE while others repeatedly perform poorly, and then suggest ways to improve the situation in Tanzania. The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- To explore whether there are specific factors "not shared factors" that make some regions perform poorly while others perform better in PSLE.
- Establish whether geographical location or regional disparity is a considerable factor for children performance in PSLE in Tanzania.
- Compare and contrast performance factors among the poor performing and best performing regions in Tanzania in the last five to ten years.

The study employed qualitative and quantitative research methods. The methods included in-depth interviews with key informants, focus group discussions and questionnaires. Ten regions (3 high performing, 3 moderate performing and 4 poor performing regions) were purposively recruited to participate in the study. Furthermore, the study selected 20 districts, two from each participating region, and 40 schools, two from each participating district. A range of participants were recruited to participate in the study. These included Regional and District Education Officers, quality education officers, school committee chairpersons, heads of schools, teachers, pupils and parents.

Findings reveal that regions, districts, and schools share similar teaching and learning resources and infrastructure. Schools, districts and regions regardless of their PSLE performance experience inadequate teaching-learning resources, inadequate capitation grant, desks, classrooms and inadequate number of teachers. Factors such as regional initiatives including existing regional and district plans aimed at promoting academic performance in respective regions and districts, recognition and appreciation of effective teachers, and organised Standard seven camps to prepare pupils for PSLE could be attributed to consistent disparities in academic performance. Furthermore, teachers' commitment and long distance from school to district headquarters could be considered to account to high academic performance. Again, these factors could explain disparities in PSLE performance, however, they might not be exclusive to high performing schools, districts and regions only. Similar experiences were reported from some schools, districts and regions with consistent poor academic performance. However, there were factors that attribute to disparities in PSLE performance.

One factor which seemed to stand out and commonly reported across participants in almost every school, district and region was parents' value for their children's education. Schools with high performance were associated with parents who valued their children's education. These parents engaged with schools and were financially supporting the schools to supplement the capitation grants the schools received from the government. Contrarily, schools with parents who placed less value to their children's schooling, their engagement with schools and children's education were reported to be limited. Findings show that these parents encouraged their children to intentionally fail themselves in PSLE.

Findings from this study further reveal that examination mis-conduct was associated with consistent better PSLE performance. Participants revealed that heads of some of the schools, District Education Officers in some districts and invigilators collaborated to ensure that examination questions were solved and answers given to pupils.

The study concludes that regions, districts and schools share similar resources and challenges. However, there are regions, districts and schools which have recorded consistent better PSLE performance compared to others. Due to similarities in terms of resources it is tricky to attribute PSLE performance with resources or geographical location. There are some factors, however, which might explain the disparities, the majority of which are common. The 'uncommon', 'not shared' factors, however, include 'locally' organized strategies such as incentivizing teachers, putting Standard seven pupils in camps for practices in preparation of PSLE, and cheating in examinations. The 'uncommon' factors which might contribute to consistent poor PLSE performance include long distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters which denies schools some benefits from the district including quality assurance school visits. Moreover, the fact that in some places with low PSLE results, parents discourage their children from passing the examinations. This discouragement might explain consistent poor examination performance.

Recommendations

- There is a need for regions with poor academic performance to draw some practices from regions with consistent better performance in PSLE. One of the practices regions might wish to draw is regional academic promotion strategy.
- Despite the fact that there were mixed findings to explain the association between schools, districts, and regional consistent PSLE performance and availability of teaching-learning resources, availability of teachers and infrastructure we cannot underestimate their importance in promoting academic learning. This suggests a need of continuing efforts from the government and non-governmental organisations to resource the schools and improve infrastructure. More attention could be drawn to schools located a long distance from district headquarters and districts with more 'rural' characteristics.
- Some parents in some communities were encouraging their children to intentionally fail themselves in PSLE so that they could not pass the examination and continue with secondary education. Instead, they are urged to fail and remain at home to help with household activities, get married or look for jobs to earn money to support the family. This suggests a need for more sensitization needed to those communities to realize the value of education. This could be done by various stakeholders including CSOs, religious leaders, village, ward and the government as a whole. The finding also suggests the need to debate on the centralized education system to learn whether the education content is relevant to every community.
- There is a need to encourage communities and parents' engagement with schools and their children's education. Among other things, there is a need to mobilize parents to support schools with monetary contributions to supplement the capitation grants the schools receive.
- Cheating in examinations was reported to explain why some regions, districts consistently perform better in PSLE. HakiElimu may wish to conduct further research to systematically explore the examination mis-conduct 'phenomenon' taking into consideration a representative sample for national generalization. The research might also adapt an ethnographic research design to uncover socio-cultural factors comprehensively.
- Some schools were located a long distance from pupils' homes with no school feeding programme. Thus, pupils did not get lunch at school. This was led to lack of concentration in the classroom, which in turn affected pupils' performance. This suggests the need to encourage parents to support schools to establish feeding programmes.

1.0 Introduction

The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania recognises the central role of education in achieving the overall development goal of improving the quality of life for its citizens. It considers the provision of quality universal basic education for all the most reliable way of building a sustainable future for the country. This is well articulated in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty. In its National Development Vision 2025 lack of quality education is seen as one of the major impediments to development (URT, 1999). The Government of Tanzania and her partners made a significant and dramatic expansion of the primary education system through the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) in 2002, which has been implemented in two five-year phases, the first from 2002 to 2006 and the second (PEDP II) from 2007 to 2011. The first PEDP had four key components: enrolment expansion; quality improvement; capacity-building; and strengthening of institutional arrangements. The Programme was strategically designed to achieve the MDGs and EFA operational targets, as well as to address the critical challenges facing primary education. To make the implementation of PEDP possible, the Government made a number of far-reaching decisions among them: to abolish school fees and other mandatory school contributions that were tied to enrolment and attendance, so as to offer education to all eligible children.

Despite the efforts invested in the education sector in Tanzania, there are challenges facing the sector. Among others, the challenges include academic performance below expectations in almost all levels of education, but particularly in primary education. Figure 1 presents the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) results over the past ten years.

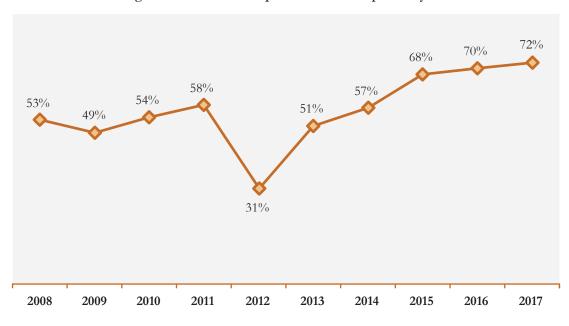


Figure 1: PSLE National pass rates over the past ten years

Source: NECTA – Performance of PSLE results, 2008 – 2016 as cited in BEST (2017) and calculation from Regional performance by NECTA for 2017 pass rate

As Figure 1 shows, PSLE results have been oscillating over the past ten years. In 2012, however, there was a dramatic drop of the pass rate compared to the rest of years. The following year, 2013, however, there was a sharp increase in pass rate. Since then the pass rates increased year after year.

The education system in Tanzania is centralised in terms of school curriculum, textbooks, teacher training and recruitment, and financing from the central government. Thus, schools, districts and regions share similar resources from the central government. One would expect closely related learning outcomes between regions, districts and schools. The available information, however, reveals that, there are disparities in PSLE performance at regional, district and school levels. Some regions have repeatedly performed better in standard seven national examinations while others have repeatedly performed poorly. Performance of some schools surpass the national target while others are below the targets. Regions such as Songwe, Singida, Dodoma, Mtwara, and Lindi have been featuring in the list of poor performance in PSLE consistently over the past five years. Dar es Salaam, Geita, and Iringa, however, have repeatedly ranked among the best performing Regions. A series of Uwezo annual assessment reports, "Are our Children Learning?" have consistently reported huge inequalities in learning outcomes between sub national groups in Tanzania (Uwezo, 2017). This raises a question, why have children in some regions in Tanzania, with a centralised education system repeatedly performed better than children from other regions, which share similar resources?

Literature suggests that disparities in examination performance is attributable to teacher motivation, school management, teacher incentive scheme, school infrastructure etc. In a comparative study conducted in the Appalachian schools by Chambers and Hausman (2014), for example, describes factors that distinguish between low and high-performing schools. Teachers' qualities such as qualifications, morale, commitment, efficacy, effectiveness and attitudes towards teaching were reported to influence performance of pupils in primary schools (Mkumbo, 2017). A study by Peabody (2011) explains teachers' beliefs and instructional practices as the basis for pupils' achievement. That is, if the teachers are well motivated they will have a positive attitude towards teaching and learning and the learners; consequently, there is a possibility to improve their job performance, hence children's learning outcomes. Furthermore, literature reveals that school performance is improved when there is collaborative teaming among teachers and between teacher and school management. Collaborative teaming helps in proper utilisation of resources and sharing experiences. Additionally, the performance in examinations may be determined by the efforts made by both teachers and learners in achieving the goals they have set (Wolf, 2012). On top of that, performance in examinations is a result of long term plans that the school community has established. The plans include established in-service teacher training and incentives given to teachers and students who perform well (Sunderman, Coghlam, & Mintrop, 2017).

Furthermore, factors including culture, school infrastructure, availability of teaching and learning resources, and school administration can influence disparities in students' academic performance at various levels. In some cultures, for example, formal education is accorded less value compared to traditional education. Parents from this culture would discourage their children from acquiring formal education. In so doing parents support becomes minimal, which in turn negatively influences children's schooling and learning (Tandika, 2015). The schools that are well equipped with teaching and learning resources including ICT facilities are far better in terms of performance than those schools without. School leadership has been reported to be one of the most influential factors in both low and high performing schools. This suggests that, the heads of schools can promote high or low academic performance by the way they practice their administrative roles in the schools. Friendly and democratic school leadership tends to encourage teachers and promote teamwork while hostile heads of schools promote separation among teachers hence reducing their commitment and teaching morale (Bahadur, Bano, Waheed, & Wahab, 2017).

It has also been reported that the school boards and community participation in school programmes lead to better performance in PSLE. A study by Ngalawa, Simmt, and Glanfield (2015) describes the importance of involving the school board in planning, execution and implementation of school plans including issues of teaching and learning. The school board will monitor parents and teachers' roles in the process of teaching and learning. The school board will also check for the availability of teaching and learning resources.

Moreover, geographical location may also contribute to disparities in provision of quality education and learning. Ojoawo (1990), for example, reported that one of the potent factors that influences the distribution of educational resources is geographical location. Some teachers do not accept postings in rural areas because of poor rural life conditions (Hallk, 1977; Kuliman, et al., 1977).

A systematic study, however, is lacking on why some regions and schools in Tanzania consistently perform better or poorly in PSLE over the years. In this regard, HakiElimu designed this study to explore why some regions repeatedly perform better in PSLE while others repeatedly perform poorly, and then suggest ways to improve the situation in Tanzania.

1.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study was to explore factors which enable some school, districts and regions in Tanzania to repeatedly perform better in PSLE while others repeatedly perform poorly when we know that the two categories share similar resources and challenges. Specifically, the study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- To explore whether there are specific factors "not shared factors" that make some regions perform poorly while others perform better in PSLE.
- Establish whether geographical location or regional disparity is a considerable factor for children performance in PSLE in Tanzania
- Compare and contrast performance factors among the poor performing and best performing regions in Tanzania in the last five to ten years.

2.0 Methodology

The study was informed by a mixed-method research approach. This approach involved use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The approach supported usage of multiple sources of data and data collection techniques in generating information. Use of multiple sources of data has a potential to facilitate comprehensive understanding of the topic under investigation.

2.1 Study sites: regions, districts, and schools

This study was conducted in 10 purposively selected regions. Of the selected regions, 3 were high performing, 3 with moderate and 4 with poor performance in PSLE over the past two years (See Table 1). In addition to purposive selection, regions were strategically recruited to achieve zonal representation.

High performing regions: Geita, Iringa and Dar es Salaam Regions

Moderate performing regions: Mbeya, Mara, and Coastal Regions

Low performing regions: Songwe, Dodoma, Singida, and Mtwara Regions

Table 1: Regional ranking in PSLE, 2016 - 2017,

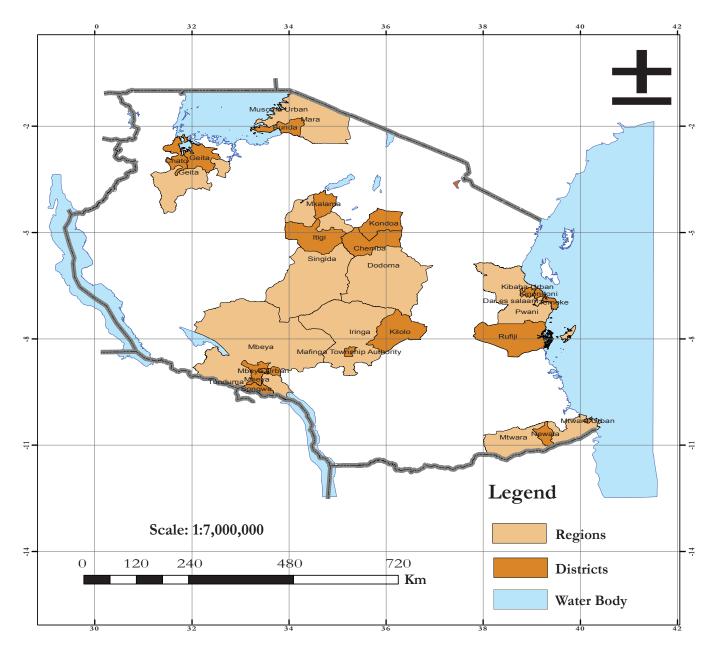
Region	2016	2017
	Pass rate (Position)	Pass rate (Position)
Geita	82.9 (1)	87 (2)
Dar es Salaam	82.5 (4)	88 (1)
Iringa	82.8 (3)	83 (4)
Mara	69.4 (13)	69 (13)
Mbeya	60.7 (22)	68 (17)
Coastal	62.6 (21)	65 (19)
Dodoma	58.4 (24)	63.7 (24)
Songwe	52.7 (26)	63.9 (23)
Mtwara	56.3 (25)	64 (22)
Singida	69.2 (12)	62 (26)

Source: NECTA

As Table 1 shows, there are regional disparities in PSLE results. Geita, Dar es Salaam and Iringa Regions have been in the list of the top 5 for the years 2016 through 2017. On the other hand, Dodoma, Songwe, Mtwara, and Singida Regions have been appearing at the bottom of the regional list for the past two consecutive years.

Furthermore, twenty districts (two districts from each selected region) were purposively recruited to participate in the study. Of the two selected districts, one was a district with high performance and the other one was a district with low performance in PSLE. The selection of regions and districts was based on the National Examination Council of Tanzania's (NECTA) ranking of regions and districts based on PSLE results over the past two years. Figure 2 presents the selected regions (in blue) and districts highlighted yellow.

Figure 2: Selected Regions and Districts



10 REGIONS AND DISTRICTS

Furthermore, in each district, two schools, one with high and one with low PSLE performance records were purposively selected. The selection of the schools was done in collaboration with the DEOs from the selected districts. DEOs were consulted to identify 1 school consistently ranked high in PSLE and 1 school consistently ranked low in PSLE. Thus, a total of 40 schools were employed to participate in this study.

2.2 Participants

A sample of 2012 participants was selected to participate in this study. The sample comprised of 10 REO, 20 DEOs, and 20 quality assurers. The sample also included 40 heads of primary schools and 40 school committee chairpersons. All these participants were purposively recruited to participate in the study. A total of 359 teachers found in the respective schools during the study were employed to participate in the study. Moreover, the sample included a total of 1,483 Standard seven pupils randomly selected. The number of pupils selected in schools ranged from 20 to 40 per school. In particular, stratified random sampling technique was used to recruit pupils. Furthermore, a total of 240 parents were conveniently selected from the participating schools. Heads of schools and school committee chairpersons were consulted to facilitate recruitment of parents.

2.3 Data collection techniques

The study employed content analysis of documents, face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and questionnaires to generate information.

2.3.1 Content analysis of documents

Policy documents such as the Education and Training Policy, and the Basic Education Statistics and NECTA PSLE results over the past 5 years were subjected to content analysis.

2.3.2 Face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions

In depth face-to-face interviews and FGDs were used to generate information in this study. The purpose of the interviews and FGD was to explore factors, which hinder or facilitate children's performance. On top of that interviews and focus group discussions explored participants' views on best practices and cases from best performing areas, and how best challenges related to poor examinations performance could be addressed.

A total of 130 in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with REOs (10), DEOs (20) and quality assurers (20), heads of schools (40) and school committee chairpersons (40).

Forty FGDs, one from each selected school were held with parents. A total of 240 parents from the selected schools were conveniently recruited to participate in the FGDs. Of the parents selected, 56 percent were males and 44 percent were females. The majority of parents held primary school education. Only a few were holders of secondary and higher education certificates. Recruitment of parents was done in collaboration with heads and the chairpersons of the school committees of the participating schools. Parents with children enrolled in a school were contacted through their children and some through their mobile phones and asked to participate in the FGD the next day. A number of participants in a group ranged from 6 to 9. The groups were heterogeneous in nature, comprised of males and females.

Interviews and FGDs were conducted in Kiswahili, the language of the majority, and medium of instruction in almost all public primary schools in Tanzania. The interviews and FGDs sessions lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. Interviews and FGDs proceedings were recorded mainly through note taking. The aim of recording was to allow preservation of participants' words and retrieval of information during data processing and report writing.

2.3.3 Questionnaire

Questionnaire were administered to selected students and teachers in the participating schools. Among others, the questionnaire sought information about participants' background information, views about teaching and learning habits. On top of that, questionnaire sought participants' views and experiences on factors that influence or hinder performance in PSLE.

A 'cognitive testing' was conducted to check the validity and reliability of the instruments which were used to collect data. The instruments were administered to research assistants on a training workshop. Then, feedback was shared and discussed among researchers, HakiElimu staff and research assistants. The researchers involved have a background in education and are experienced in educational research. The research assistants engaged were holders of postgraduate degree in education and have worked at different capacities in the education sector and in research projects. HakiElimu staff have long experience in education sector as well as designing and conducting research in education. Thus, we believe that inputs from the research assistants and HakiElimu staff contributed to the validity and reliability of the data collection instruments used in this study.

2.4 Data management and analysis

2.4.1 Qualitative data

The analysis of qualitative data combined both deductive and inductive strategies. In this regard, we neither approached the data with rigid set of pre-conceptions nor fully inductively but rather deductively, a combination of the two strategies. This was based on the assumption that a better and broader understanding of the phenomenon under investigation would be informed by both research objectives/questions and emerging insights from the data. The analysis, however, proceeded through the following three main steps: preparing and organising data, creating categories/themes, and coding, presentation and interpretation.

Preparation and organisation of the data for analysis started in the field. This involved listening to a randomly sampled audiotaped interview/focus group discussion. This practice did not only enable the researcher to familiarise with the data but also to develop a general sense of the data. This was followed by a verbatim transcription of the interviews and focus group discussion proceedings, which was done by the research assistants. Thereafter, data were approached inductively. Inductive approach did not only allow unanticipated themes to emerge from the data set but also helped to determine whether the deductively derived themes were well supported by the data from the field. After creating themes, transcripts were re-read for coding. Coding involved associating data with the themes created. This was done by identifying text elements — words, sentence (s), and or paragraph (s) — from each transcript and dragging-and- dropping them into respective themes. Furthermore, all the coded data extracts for each theme were reviewed by researchers to determine whether they form a coherent pattern.

2.4.2 Quantitative Data

A codebook for quantitative data was created. Among other things, the codebook included: variable name, variable description, variable format etc. Thereafter, data were entered into a Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software for further processing. This was followed by data cleaning process. This process involved checking the data carefully for errors, accuracy, and identifying and handling missing values. Thereafter Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages, and mean will be performed and presented in tables and charts. At both qualitative and quantitative levels, data were analyzed by case (at regional, districts and school levels) and then a cross case analysis was done to check similarities and differences emerging from the data.

2.5 Ethical considerations

The study adhered to research ethical issues. These included obtaining research clearance to conduct the study from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam, the institution where the principal researcher is affiliated to. The Vice-Chancellor has a mandate to grant research clearances to members of staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam. This is in accordance with the Tanzanian government circular Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980. The research clearance letter was addressed to the Administrative Secretaries of the participating regions. The Regional Administrative Secretaries granted permit to access districts, schools and participants through District Administrative Secretaries. On top of that PO-RALG provided a letter to allow the research team to access schools.

Furthermore, ethical obligation to protect participants' privacy and confidentiality maintained throughout the conduct of the study by the research team. Before administering questionnaire or initiating any interview or focus group discussion participants were informed of the purpose and nature of the study, and their rights to participate or withdraw from the study at any particular moment. They were also told that the information they would provide was going to be kept confidential, and that the information would not be linked to their identity in any way.

2.6 Limitations

The study encountered the following limitations: 1). Data on, for example, school teaching learning materials and facilities, teacher-pupil ratio at regional level was largely lacking; and 2) Although the return rate was at 98%, a good number of teachers' questionnaire were not dully filled. These limitations limit a comprehensive understanding of the topic investigated from regional and teachers' levels. However, triangulation of research methods and analysis of data at district and school levels minimise the effect of these limitations in the study.

3.0 Findings

This study was designed to explore factors attributable to regional performance in PSLE. Three main objectives guided the study: to explore whether there are specific factors "not shared factors" that make some regions perform poorly while others perform better in PSLE; to establish whether geographical location or regional disparity is a considerable factor for academic performance in PSLE in Tanzania; and to compare and contrast performance factors among the poor performing and best performing regions in Tanzania in the last five to ten years. This section presents the findings of the study.

3.1 Factors attributable to 'better' regional, district and school PSLE performance

The study sought to understand whether there were specific factors "not shared factors" that made some regions perform poorly while others perform better in PSLE. Findings reveal several factors, as summarized below and further explained in subsequent sections. 'Uncommonly shared' factors are highlighted.

Factors attributable to 'better' PSLE performance

- Regional, district and school administrative and managerial factors
- Regional and district locally established strategy to improve
- Academic performance, recognition and appreciation of teachers
- Adequate number of teachers, teachers' motivation and commitment
- Parental engagement with schools and their children's schooling and contribution
- Parents' high literacy levels
- Cheating in PSLE

3.1.1 Administrative and managerial factors

The study reveals that regional, district and school administration as one of the factors that could be attributed to better PSLE performance at regional, district and school levels. We define administration as a formalised system, which intends to control, supervise, plan and make decisions about various education matters at various levels (Mbithi, 1974). The current study found that regions with consistent better performance held leaders who were reported to be cooperative, encouraged team work, and practiced democratic style of leadership whereby educational decisions in respective regions, districts and schools were made collaboratively. When asked what makes your district outstanding in PSLE results, one of the DEOs, for example, said;

Leaders' commitment and working collaboratively is very crucial. My colleagues, District Executive Director, quality assurers and I work collaboratively...we have been working as a team and committedly. We do some school visits together. Even if one of us cannot manage to attend we give each other feedback and decide the way forward together. One visit may involve a team of fifteen people. We divide ourselves into may be a team of two people so that we can manage to visit many schools per visit. We do the same the next day. Thanks to our District Executive Director. He is very supportive.

The DEO further said that the district education officer works closely and talks to teachers often. We talk about challenges and how to overcome them. According to the DEO, that boosted teachers' morale despite the challenges teachers encounter in the teaching and learning process:

At school we discuss with teachers the challenges facing them. You know teachers encounter a lot of challenges. We try to solve the challenges together. However, as you know we cannot address some of the challenges on the ground, at one visit. It may take time to address other challenges but at least we show concern. This is important. Teachers appreciate this. They have been missing a forum to share their feelings. So providing them with an opportunity to discuss those helps. We have a schedule. So we know when to visit which school

To sum-up, the findings reveal that regional, district and school management could be attributed to better performance in PSLE. We learn from the quotes that collaboration between the management team and teachers might be one of the reasons for better performance. A management team which practices a democratic style of leadership may determine or influence better academic performance.

3.1.2 Set regional and district plans

Analysis of regional and district documents revealed that two out of three regions with consistent better performance in PSLE have 'well' written plans, which focused on promoting primary schools' academic performance in respective regions. The plans observed had various strategies. Among others the plans, outlined the status of the academic performance of the regions in PSLE over the past five years. Furthermore, the plans presented challenges facing the education sector in the regions. One of the challenges presented was academic performance below expectations. Furthermore, the plan presented strategies aiming at improving academic performance in the region. Such strategies included recognition and appreciation of effective teachers and schools, Standard VII initiative academic performance improvement strategy, an initiative to control truancy and peer-tutoring initiative. These strategies are further presented in the subsequent sections:

3.1.2.1 Recognition and appreciation of 'effective' teachers and schools

The purpose of this strategy was to incentivise teachers through 'locally' organised incentive schemes. This scheme targeted teachers whose students scored 'As' in their subjects in PSLE. According to the strategy, those teachers were expected to be provided with certificates and some amount of money as recognition and appreciation for enabling pupils to score A's in their subjects. This plan provision was echoed by the REO during interview as he said;

We provide incentives for any teacher whose student scores an 'A' in any subject in PSLE. Likewise, we provide some tokens for students who pass their subjects at 'A' level. This practice applies at all levels, school, ward and district. Most of time we do not give them money because, as you may know, we do not have enough resources to manage that. Instead we give them certificates of recognition. The certificate is signed by the Regional Administrative Secretary. This is something for teachers. It motivates teachers. Also teachers whose schools perform better are involved in the selection process of pupils who are to join secondary school education. Teachers who are involved in the selection process are provided with an allowance. This is something for teachers...it really motivates them.

According to the REO teachers were not only provided with certificates for job 'well' done but also were offered opportunities to be involved to some other activities which in turn could earn them some allowances. Moreover, pupils who performed at 'A' grade were also provided with certificates.

In related way, another REO from another best performing region reported on incentivizing teachers, as he said:

We have been providing prizes for schools which perform better. Every school which performs academically better, receives some money as reinforcement for the school. Some schools receive TZS 100,000/= while other may receive TZS 200,000/=. The amount the school receives depends on the performance level. The heads of the school in collaboration with teachers plan how to spend the money given to the school. In addition to the school prize, teachers who are rated outstanding in respective schools are given certificates of recognition.

Similarly, one of the DEOs from one of the best performing district reported;

In our Council, schools which perform well in the national examination are recognized. We recognize schools as well as teachers and pupils. We give schools some teaching and learning materials such as chalks, flipcharts and others of that kind. We provide materials according to the school's needs. We examine what a school needs. These materials are provided in a meeting which involves various education stakeholders. We have been doing this for three years now...we are witnessing its positive impact. It motivates teachers. We are planning to go beyond what we are currently doing. We want to touch individual teachers...we want to recognize individuals whose pupils perform better in various subjects. We want to create a situation which will encourage teachers to work hard...to compete to get a prize, which in turn may lead to better PSLE performance.

3.1.2.2 Considerable attention to national examination classes (Standard IV & VII),

According to the REO, the plan for improving PSLE performance, Standard Seven and Four, classes with National examination in each year were treated as special cases. These classes were provided with more time for practices. Lessons in these classes were reported to start one hour earlier compared with other classes. The plan encouraged pupils of these classes to attend school even during weekends and holidays so that they could be taught and have more time for revisions. Moreover, pupils in these classes were exempted from extra school duties to enable them have considerable time for studies. Further, the plan stated that as days towards examination approached, Standard seven classes were put in camps. The camps were organised in schools by the schools. They were residential camps, whereby pupils stayed in camps for at least a month before PSLE.

During interviews it was reported that in the camps pupils were taught and subjected to revisions and tests/examinations organised at school level. In addition to school organised tests and examinations, pupils were subjected to inter-school examination competitions. Inter-school examinations were organised at ward level or between public and private schools as reported in one of the regions. It was revealed that Standard seven camps were supported through parents' contributions. Contributions were both monetary and non-monetary. Non-monetary contribution involved parents donating cereals including maize for making maize flour and beans for lunch and dinner. Monetary contributions were reported to range from Tsh 1,000 to 3,000 per pupils per camp. This contribution was used to buy food and for teachers' tokens.

According to the heads of schools and district education officers, camping was considered as one of the strategies which improved PSLE performance. One of the District Education Officers from one of the high performing district had the following to say:

One of the strategies we use to promote academic performance in our district is encouraging teaching in extra time for examination classes and where necessary and safe school organise 'camps' where standard seven pupils stay at school for some months before PSLE. This has been possible with support from the heads of schools and parents. The heads of schools sometimes use their own money, allowances for camps and examination-related activities and sometimes they offer some token to teachers for their work done.

3.1.2.3 Initiatives to 'control' pupils' truancy

The plan further described initiatives set to control pupils' truancy. These included a 'penalty' system for pupils who missed schools for three consecutive days with no reason. In case a child missed a school, his or her parents/guardians were informed and asked to come to school to explain why the child missed school. Then, the parent would be warned and requested to ensure that his or her child attends school regularly. In case the child's truancy persisted, parents/guardians would be penalised by the school committee. The penalty was based on the agreement made between teachers and parents and in some cases among parents themselves.

3.1.2.4 'Peer tutoring' initiative.

In one of the best performing regions peer tutoring among pupils was stated in the plan. It was revealed that the regional and district officials encouraged teachers to support 'peer tutoring' in their respective schools. Peer-tutoring involved teachers pairing pupils with better academic performance with their counterparts with low academic performance especially in classes with high teacher-pupil ratios. This was based on a belief that low performing pupils would benefit from high performing pupils in the course of interaction. Furthermore, the participants expressed that pupils from higher grades (in some schools) were assigned to assist teachers in teaching pupils in lower grades especially in schools with inadequate teachers.

As mentioned earlier, during interviews, participants revealed that the set strategies were supported by internal sources in a respective region. Although these strategies were documented, there was little evidence on whether the strategies were implemented as planned.

3.1.3 Adequate number of teachers and teachers' Commitment

It was explained that the number of teachers in a school matters. When you have an adequate number of teachers in a school, the teachers' workload is reduced as compared to the districts/schools with inadequate number of teachers. According to the participants, low workload made teacher effective in teaching. One of the DEO, for example, said;

I think one of the reasons for school or district's consistent better performance availability of adequate number of teachers. Some schools have extra teachers; this makes them have low workload to teach. This makes them become more effective. They have few subjects to teach, which makes them have time for planning and helping pupils. In this context pupils are likely to do better compared to pupils in other schools with inadequate number of teachers.

One district education officer added that adequate number of teachers matters. However, according to the participants, teachers' commitment matters the most. The participant explained that, you may have an adequate number of teachers but if they are not committed and do not attend class regularly for any reason they might not be effective. On the contrary you may have an inadequate number of teachers but who are effective due to their commitment. With their commitment they teach effectively, which in turn enables pupils and the school to perform well. The DEO said,

...adequate number of teachers in a school is fine. But...I think it is not a good determinant of a school's performance. We have seen schools with inadequate number of teachers but pupils do well in examinations. To me what matters the most is teachers' commitment to their work...teachers' morale. The school might have high teacher-pupil ratio still the school can do better if teachers are committed, you see. Some heads of schools say that its better they have a small number of teachers with commitment rather than having many teachers who are not committed...who cannot help.

In related vein, quantitative data reveal that the majority of schools with low number of teachers have high performance compared to their counterparts in the same district. Further, as Table 2 shows only 4 out of 40 schools visited have more teachers beyond demand. One of these schools however, was in a group of low performing schools. Other two low performing schools have low percentage of teacher deficit compared to their counterparts in the same district. This highlights that there could be factors other than inadequate number of teachers in a school which could be attributed to school's low academic performance.

Table 2: Teachers demand, available and deficit by region, district and school, 2013 - 2018

Geita	Geita Rural	Kishinda	21	15	6
Gerta	Ocita Rufai	Mkapa	53	43	10
	Chato	Magufuli	9	10	NA
	Citato	Katende 'B'	9	6	3
Dar es Salaam	Kinondoni	Mchangani Mchangani	42	40	2
Dai es Saiaaiii	Tunongom	Kisauke	39	27	12
	Temeke	Mgulani	37	_	-
	Temere	Mianzini	_	-	_
 Iringa	Mafinga	Mamba	12	9	3
ıımga	Wainiga	Nyamalala	12	13	-
	Kilolo	Kitelewasi	14	13	1
	Kholo	Idasi	10	7	3
 Mbeya	Mbeya Urban	Benjamini Mkapa	27	25	2
Mbeya	Wibeya Ciban	Iziwa	17	15	2
	Mbeya Rural	Darajani	14	13	1
	Wibeya Kurar	Mwashiwawala	10	14	NA
 Pwani	Rufiji	Mohoro	24	22	2
i waiii	Kunji	Ruwe	12	7	5
	Kibaha	Jitegemee	19	20	NA
	Ribana	Bokotimiza	14	10	4
Mara	Musoma Urban	Mukendo	15	15	
	masonia Ciban	Kigera'A'	30	23	7
	Bunda	Nyihanga	11	8	3
	Danda	Kabarimu 'B'	-	26	-
Singida	Itigi	Mlowa	35	25	10
5g.u	1481	Kalangali	10	7	3
	Mkalama	Mnolo	8	7	1
		Nyahaa	12	6	6
Dodoma	Kondoa	Potea	10	10	0
		Sabwa	11	9	2
	Chemba	Chemba	10	10	NA
	~ w	Paranga	13	8	5
Songwe	Tunduma	Msambati	-	-	-
 		Migombani	19	14	6
	Mbozi	Mwenge	40	32	8
		Mafumbo	14	7	7

Source: Heads of the schools

3.1.4 Community/parental-related factors

The study identified four community/parental-related factors that could be attributed to regional disparities in PSLE results. These factors included community perception towards the value of educating children, regional literacy levels and parents' education level, parents' engagement in their children's schooling, and family economic backgrounds.

3.1.4.1 Parents in high academic performing regions, district and school value their children's education

It was found that the regions, districts and schools with consistent high and moderate examination performance, the community members and parents were reported to value children's education. According to the participants, community members felt that education was crucial for their children's life success. In these communities, community members and parents cooperated with schools and teachers to ensure that their children get better education, pass examinations. According to the participants, the community members were attending school meetings regularly, followed their children's school progress, made teachers accountable, and were willing to provide contribution, both financial and in kind to cover some school running costs. When asked his opinion about what makes some regions perform better consistently while others perform poorly, one REO, for example remarked:

One of the reasons for other regions to perform better in PSLE consistently is positive parents' perceptions towards their children's education. In some regions parents have positive attitude towards children's schooling. They value their children's education. This makes them encourage their children to do better in school... they follow their children's progress and collaborate with schools as well as with teachers.

Similarly, one of the district education officers for, example, remarked;

There are various factors which influence schools and district's better or poor performance in primary school leaving examination. However, one of the very crucial factors which determine performance is the community around the school...parents in particular. If parents do not value their children's education and do not engage with the school how can one expect children of these parents to perform better academically. A school in a community which values education and engages with the school is likely to perform well. The community which make school engagement part and parcel of daily activities is a catalyst to the school's performance. You cannot compare this school's performance with a school whereby teachers and the school are isolated by parents. Teachers are there as if the school is theirs. We are experiencing this in our council. School 'X' for example, on top of the capitation grants provided by the government, parents contribute to support the school. Parents feel responsible of their children's education. Parents through their school committee requested to District Executive Director to contribute to supplement capitation grants. Their request was approved. You can tell the difference in terms of performance of this school with others.

3.1.4.2 Regions with better performance had high parents' literacy rates and education levels

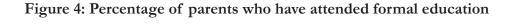
The study findings indicate that, there was slightly high parents' literacy rates in high performing than in the low performing regions. Figure 3 summarises parents' literacy rates of the participant regions extracted from regional profile documents.

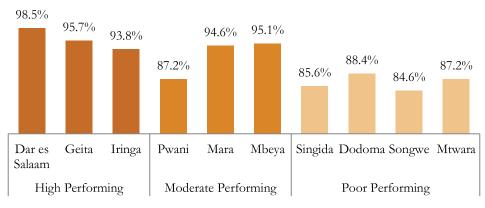
94% 82% 81% 81% 75% 70% 70% 67% 66% Dar es Geita Iringa Pwani Mara Mbeya Singida Dodoma Songwe Mwara Salaam High Performing Moderate Performing Poor Performing

Figure 3: Parents' literacy rate by region

Source: Field data

As indicated in Figure 3, high performing regions have high literacy rates of over 82% while all poor performing regions have literacy rates of below 75%. Similarly, high performing regions have high percentages of parents who have attended at least a formal education, primary school education as it was reported by their children. For example, as Figure 4 shows about 99% of parents in Dar es Salaam were reported to have attended primary school education and beyond compared to less than 90% of parents in regions with low education performance.





Source: Field data

As shown in Figure 4, most of the parents in high performing schools are reported to have education. For example, 98.5% of parents in Dar es Salaam and 95.7% in Geita were educated. In low performing regions, parents were also educated for example, Mtwara 87.2% and Songwe 84.6%, although not as many as those in the high performing schools.

3.1.4.3 Parents engagement with school attributable to high academic performance

In the regions with consistent high examination performance it was found that parents' engagement in their children's schooling was high. Parents were reported to support their children at home with school activities, followed-up their children's academic progress and collaborated with teachers as well as schools. Almost all heads of the schools visited in Dar es Salaam and Geita Regions, for example, reported that parents visited schools to inquire about their children's academic progress (See Figure 5).

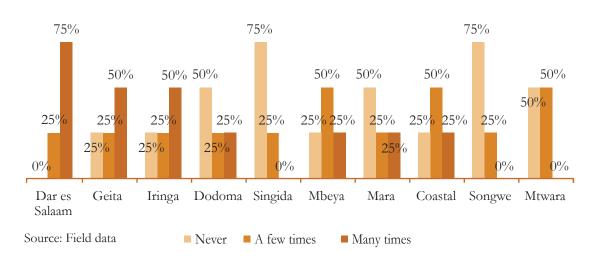


Figure 5: Percentage of schools reporting parents' engagement with their children's schooling

As Figure 5 shows, according to the heads of the schools visited, in regions with consistent low academic performance parents rarely visited schools to inquire about their children's academic progress. The majority (75%) of heads of schools in Singida and Songwe Regions, and 50% in Dodoma and Mtwara regions (Low performing regions) expressed that parents never visited schools. Only two heads of schools, one from Songwe Region and another from Singida Region reported that parents visited schools only a few times.

Similarly, qualitative findings reveal that schools' high academic performance could be attributed to parents' engagement with schools and their children's education. In those schools, parents were reported to engage effectively with schools. They attended school meetings often, and were supporting the schools financially.

3.1.5 Teachers' motivation attributable to high academic performance

Findings show that teachers' motivation could be one of the factors that explain disparities in academic performance in schools, districts and regions. Regions with high percentage of teachers who revealed to be motivated had high academic performance (See Table 3).

Table 3: Percentage of motivated teachers by academic performance

Performance level	Region	Percentage	Average in Percentage
High Performing regions	Dar es Salaam	40.8	48.5
	Geita	52.8	
	Iringa	52	
Moderate Performing regions	Mbeya	43.9	32.7
	Coastal	35	
	Mara	19.4	
Low Performing regions	Singida	37.5	27
	Songwe	24	
	Dodoma	22.2	
	Mtwara	24.3	

As Table 3 indicates the extent to which teachers are motivated towards their work. Teachers' motivations vary between high performing, moderate performing and low performing regions. Findings show that a good number (49%) of teachers in high performing regions are motivated, followed by 33 percent of teachers in moderate performing regions and 27 percent in low performing regions their motivation was low (27%). Teachers' motivation could be attributed to regional, district and school management. School management, for example, which was reported to encourage team work and involved teachers in the decision making process and supported teachers was reported to be crucial in promoting teachers' motivation. Further, teacher's motivation could be attributed to incentives teachers received from the regional or district management.

Teachers' motivation and commitment to their work was echoed during interviews with participants in high performing districts. The participants explained that consistent high PSLE performance could have not been without teachers' motivation and commitment. Teachers were reported to work beyond working hours including some weekends to support children. One of the DEO, for example said;

...all this [consistent better PSLE performance at regional level] would have not been possible without teachers' commitment and sacrifices to help pupils. Teachers are working beyond their working hours and always think on what can be done to improve pupils' performance. Due to this there are different strategies in place for improving performance. One of the strategies is teaching extra time for examination classes. Teachers volunteer, however, when there is something to offer them, the school or district does, to motivate teachers.

3.1.6 Cheating in examinations is associated with 'better' PSLE performance

During interviews with participants from one of the high performing district it was revealed that some high performing regions, districts, and schools were engaging in examination 'malpractices', cheating to ensure that pupils in those regions, districts and schools perform better in PSLE. This involved education officers at various levels in collaboration with heads of schools and some teachers solving examination questions and give answers to pupils in an examination rooms prior to respective examination. This was done in cooperation with an invigilator. In one of the schools from one of the high performing districts, one of the teachers, for example, revealed the following:

Yes, the school and district has been performing better. This could be due to the heads of school and district education officer supervision. However, I can assure you, there is something extra...examination misconduct during national [PSLE] examinations. The district education officer has a group of heads of schools, the majority being young people...they are ready to 'bomb' themselves so that their schools perform better in national examinations. These heads of schools are given directives by the district education officer to make sure that pupils pass the examination by any means...even by the 'hand goal' from the school and district to be praised. The district education officer warns the heads of schools that they have to keep the secret to handle the matter carefully as he won't be responsible in case the matter becomes known (Teacher X', Female, from school 'X' in one of the high performing school and district).

When asked how examination cheating was practiced at school, the participant revealed that invigilators were involved as they were the ones who would give out examination papers for teachers to solve, as she had the following to say:

...there are heads of schools, who get the examination paper prior to the examination day. They prepare answers and give them to pupils through various strategies. A night before exam, the head teacher calls pupils in secret at his house and gives them the answers for pupils to take with them to the exam the next morning. Another strategy they use is that, the head teacher collaborates with the invigilator and the answers are given to pupils in the classroom or through the window. This happened last year. I witnessed it myself. The head teacher was giving the answers to pupils through the window in the presence of the invigilator, who was standing at the door talking to the phone. I witnessed this myself. On that day I was at school preparing food for candidates and the invigilator.

When probed further to explain why heads of schools and invigilators engaged into examination malpractice, the participants had the following to say:

I do not know exactly...may be they are given nothing...maybe they are doing it so that they can protect their position as heads of schools or rather 'ingratiate themselves to their leaders to avoid being dismissed or punished' or so that they can be appointed to higher posts such as ward educational officer position...But I think invigilators are paid something, money I guess...unfortunately, I do not know the amount.

When asked what could be done to avoid examination mis-conduct, the participant recommended the following:

Invigilators should not be accommodated in heads of schools houses and heads of schools should not be available around the school during examination days. I also think that we need to go back to the previous examination format. The current multiple choice format makes exam cheating so easy.

Case '1' summarises a profile of one of the high performing schools. From Case 1 we learn that, a good number of factors related to high performance in PSLE. These factors involve parental engagement with schools and their children's schooling in this school parents were reported to have positive attitudes towards supporting their children and school. The parents were supplementing capitation grant from the government with their contributions. The contributions were covering school operation costs including food programme allowance for teachers, and salaries for employees employed by the school. This suggests that parents were willing to incur costs for quality education of their children.

Case 1: School 'A', better performing

School 'A' is one of the schools with consistent better PSLE results at both regional and district levels. The school ranks at top 6 in PSLE results across levels over the past 5 years except in 2014 whereby it ranked 11th at district level. At ward level, it has ranked number 1 for the past five years consecutively. It is a public school, which uses English as a medium of instruction. The school is located in an urban district, about 5 km from the district headquarter. The school is surrounded by shops. However, the school is fenced and there are security guards. Pupils are not expected to be out of the school fence without permission before home time.

The majority of children's parents are government and non-government employees (40%), and businessmen and women, 40% and 49% respectively. According to the head of the school, parents value their children's education. Their engagement with the school is commendable. They effectively participate in school meetings when needed. Like many others, the schools receive inadequate capitation grants. For example, the amount expected for each month in 2018 is TZS 1,665,000/=. The school, however, has been receiving only 41% (TZS 689,000/=) of the expected amount for each month since January through July. To compensate for the deficit, based on their agreement, parents pay TZS 200,000 per each child as fee per year. The fee is used to support construction when need arises, and for paying every teacher a sum of TZS 150,000/= at the middle of every month as incentive. On top of that the money is used to cover costs related to internally organised monthly examinations, salaries for non-teaching staff including school secretary and security guards, and to support breakfast and lunch provision for teachers and pupils. On top of the school fee, parents contribute TZS 160,000/= per child per year for school feeding programme, breakfast and lunch for teachers and pupils. According to the head of the school, during breakfast teachers and pupils are served with milk tea and bread with butter. The main menu for lunch includes rice served with either meat or beans.

The school has a good number of teachers. In 2013 and 2014 there were 21 teachers out of 21 who were needed. However, in 2017 there were 26 out of 31 needed. This suggests a deficit of 5 teachers. In 2018 the deficit increased to 7 teachers (demand 38 available 31). To encounter the deficit over the years, the school has employed three teachers who are paid from parents' contributions.

The majority (48% out of 31) of teachers are holders of a bachelor degree in education. Others hold Grade 'A' teaching certification (32%), and diploma (16%) and master's degree (3%) in education.

The school has an adequate number of classrooms, head and deputy head's offices, and staff room shared by teachers. The school has a school secretary, who serves at the head of the school office. In terms of facilities, the school has a library, electricity, ICT facilities such as computer, printer, and photocopy machine. On top of that the school has running water, one room special use for girls, fire extinguisher, and kitchen.

The school does not provide accommodation for teachers. However, according to the head of the school, teachers live close to the school. This allows them to be early to school around 6.30 am and leave the school around 6.00 pm. Teachers spend considerable amount of time in teaching and helping pupils with learning difficulties. There is no teachers' absenteeism. In case one teacher could not manage to attend the school other teachers organise themselves to cover her classes. According to the head of the school, there is good relationship between teachers and parents. Parents visit the school several times to inquire their children's academic progress. In addition to that, teachers encourage parents to check and sign their children's workbooks at home. Failure to do so a parent will be asked to explain.

Over the past 5 years, the school has been visited by quality assures twice a year except in 2014 whereby it was visited only once.

3.2 Factors attributable to 'poor' regional, district and school PSLE performance

This section presents factors attributed to 'poor' performance in PSLE, 'uncommonly shared' factors in particular.

Factors attributable to 'poor' PSLE performance

- Parents discouraging their children from passing in PSLE
- Long distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters

3.2.1 Parents discouraging their children from passing examinations

In the areas where community members and parents were reported to place less value in their children's education, parents were not monitoring academic progress of their children. Some parents were reported to prohibit their children from attending schools regularly so that they could take care of their younger siblings or perform other household activities such as taking care of livestock, and get involved in small scale economic activities. It was further revealed that some parents encouraged their children to intentionally fail themselves in examinations. They particularly asked their children to write wrong answers during PSLE so that they could fail. Parents revealed to their children that they are not in a position to support their further education in case they passed PSLE. One of the Districts Education Officer from poor perfuming region, for example, reported;

...Some parents do not want their children to pass their examination. Can you believe this! The parent is ready to struggle to make sure that his or her child does not pass...Majority of them allow their children to attend school though not regularly to avoid legal measures. However, a good number of them categorically allow their children to sit for the examination but they encourage them to fail, not to pass those exams. They tell their children it is up to them in case they pass. They won't support their secondary education. This happens. You find that the pupil is very good in class he or she passes his or her tests and internal examinations. But when it comes to the PSLE the pupil fails.

The District Education Officer further said:

Children have been revealing about this when they get chance to talk to you. They say, "Parents ask us to fail ourselves intentionally, to write wrong answers in the final [PSLE] examination". So this is one of the factors which makes some school fail while others do better in examination consistently.

Similarly, another District Education Officer commented;

Parents involvement in their children's education is very important. In our district, however, parents' engagement in their children's education and school is limited. They do not engage...they do not follow their children's progress, rarely come to school meetings, if you a lucky on that day... There are some parents, who do not want their children to pass examinations...they do not want to incur secondary education-related costs...you cannot believe this but they are there.

Responding to the questionnaire item, "My parents/guardians encourage me to work hard in my school work", only 34% students from one of the schools with poor performance revealed that their parents/guardian always encourage them to work hard. Contrarily, 87% of their counterparts from a school with better performance in the same district said that their parents/guardians were supportive and encouraged their children to work hard.

It was explained that parents, who encouraged their children to fail in PSLE wanted their children to remain at home so that they could support their families with household activities such as taking care of livestock in pastoralist communities or look for jobs, boys in particular whereas girls could be subjected to marriage for the family to earn some income from dowry or look for 'house' keeping jobs. One of the head of schools revealed;

In some pastoralist communities, for example, ward 'X' and 'Y' children are asked to skip school and perform poorly in examinations. Boys are asked to remain at home and take care of family livestock while girls are expected to get married.

Some parents were reported to tell their children that they would not support their further education. Other parents went further to ask heads of schools to deregister their children from school, as one of the head of the school revealed,

The community does not value their children's education... They do not follow their children's school progress... they do not encourage their children to attend school... some of the parents ask heads of schools to deregister their children from school so that they can remain at home; they do not proceed with secondary education. We try to educate parents about the importance of their children's education. We sometimes ask them to sign a form to commit that if a child fails it's due to parents' problems. All these do not work to the expectations.

To sum-up, the study found that some communities and parents placed less value on education. As a result, their engagement with their children's education was limited. Some of the parents went further to force their children to deliberately fail in PSLE. The participants expressed that these practices hampered children's achievement motivation. Placing low value to education could be attributed to feeling that education provided could be irrelevant to a respective community. It might also be due to poor family socio-economic position. Thus, parents felt burdened to support their children's secondary education. Fee-free basic education is being implemented, however, indirect school costs could be much higher than fees for parents to accommodate.

3.2.2 Long distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters

It was found that distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters might explain disparities in examination performance among schools. More than 60 percent of the participants, particularly from rural areas were of the view that, long distance from pupils and teachers' areas of residences to school have influence on pupils' poor examination performance. The participants reported that long distance from residences to school negatively affected pupils regular school attendance. They were of the view that pupils had to walk a long distance to and from the school. In one of the poorest performing school, for example, it was reported that pupils were walking about 20 kilometers per day, 10 kilometers to school and 10 kilometers from school. Long walk distance made pupils tired. With this walking distance, only 20 percent of pupils managed to go back to their homes for lunch.

The majority could not manage. According to the participants, tiredness and lack of lunch affected their concentration during classes. Furthermore, it was explained that teachers living away from school catchment areas lacked morale to work due to tiredness. On some days, some teachers failed to attend school. On top of that due to long distances, pupils and teachers failed to report to schools on time. They were late on almost all the school days. This reduced the number of class hours' pupils were to attend in a day as they had to start almost 1 hour late and finish classes earlier so that they could go back home early. During interviews, one of the DEOs, for example revealed:

There are schools which are located far from pupils and teachers' residences. This causes poor school attendance, lowered teachers' effectiveness due to tiredness and late reporting to school. In most cases, especially during the rainy season, classes start a bit late and finish early so that pupils and teachers can go home early. This cuts down the number of instructional hours which adversely affects implementation of the curriculum. Some of the topics might not be well covered though they are assessed.

Similarly, one of the heads of schools from one of the poor performing schools commented:

A long distance from home to school influences poor academic performance. For example, there are children who have to walk twenty kilometers in a day, ten from home to school the ten from school back home. More than two hundred and fifty pupils walk for more than 7 kilometers from their homes to school... This makes some pupils not to go home for lunch... They cannot walk for more than seven kilometers for lunch and then come back home. Only about twenty percent can afford going for lunch and come back. Most of them if they go they do not come back. That means they miss all afternoon classes. You can imagine, long walking distance, no food...poor performance because pupils cannot concentrate...they are tired.

Analysis of data further reveals that a long distance from school to district headquarters was one of the factors which leads to consistent poor performance in PSLE (See Table 4).

Schools 'X' and 'Y', for example, were located 80 km and 70 km, respectively, from district headquarters in their respective districts. Their average pass rates for the past five years were 83 and 68. Mlowa and Mnolo schools, which are located 1 km and 30 km respectively, their pass rates were 132 and 125 respectively.

Table 4: Quality Assurer School Visit, 2013 – July 2018 by School, District and Region

Geita	Geita Rural	Kishinda	28 km	3	181
		Mkapa	45 km	6	126
	Chato	Magufuli	0.5 km	6+	179
		Katende 'B'	5 km	1	128
Dar es Salaam	Kinondoni	Mchangani	4 km	6	162
		Kisauke	16 km	6	111
	Temeke	Mgulani	1.5 km	6+	154
		Mianzini	9 km	3	153
Iringa	Mafinga	Mamba	20 km	6+	111
		Nyamalala	5 km	6	154
	Kilolo	Kitelewasi	45 km	5+	155
		Idasi	60 km	3	96
Mbeya	Mbeya Urban	Benjamini Mkapa	5 km	6+	161
		Iziwa	9 km	5	87
	Mbeya Rural	Darajani	22 km	2	140
		Mwashiwawala	15 km	1	122
Pwani	Rufiji	Mohoro	71 km	6 times	129
		Ruwe	86 km	0	80
	Kibaha	Jitegemee	10 km	3	152
		Bokotimiza	8 km	7	88
Mara	Musoma Urban	Mukendo	3 km	6+	180
		Kigera'A'	-	5	116
	Bunda	Nyihanga	10 km	3	90
		Kabarimu 'B'	2 km	3	153
Singida	Itigi	Mlowa	1 km	-	132
		Kalangali	80 km	3	83
	Mkalama	Mnolo	30 km	6+	125
		Nyahaa	70 km	6+	68
Mtwara	Mtwara Urban	Lilungu	12 km	5	109
		Mitengo	6 km	5	99
	Newala	Kitangali 'B'	80 km	6+	147
		Mtendachi	1 km	5	89
Dodoma	Kondoa	Potea	52 km	-	146
		Sabwa	70 km	1	37
	Chemba	Chemba	-	1	110
		Paranga	5 km	6	109
Songwe	Tunduma	Msambati	40 km	1	79
		Migombani	-	2	99
	Mbozi	Mwenge	0.5 km	6+	131
		Mafumbo	55 km	1	85

According to the participants, the majority of schools, which were located far away from district headquarters were limited in terms of teaching-learning resources and were experiencing inadequate number of teachers. Furthermore, it was reported that the schools were less frequently visited by the quality assurers. Interviews with quality assurers reveal that quality assurers experienced challenges reaching out schools, which were located far away from the district office. The challenges included unavailability of reliable vehicles and fuel, which could enable them to visit the schools. As a result, teachers in those schools were reported to be ineffective and inefficient. Moreover, in those schools, teachers' absenteeism was reported to be high compared to those in schools located close to the district headquarters.

Case No. 2 presents a profile of a school with poor performing PSLE results over the past five years.

Case No. 2: Profiling School 'Y', poor performing school

School 'Y' is one of the schools with consistent poor performance in PSLE results at both regional and district levels. In 2017, for example, the school was the worst performing school in the PSLE at national level. In 2017, it was ranked as the last performing public primary in PSLE. Over the past five years, only 33 out of 257 Standard seven pupils (an average of 7 pupils each year) have transited to Secondary school education. The school is located in the rural part of the district; about 70 km from the district headquarter. The school was not fenced and is prone to wind challenges. It was reported that most of the pupils did not arrive early to school because they have to walk long distances, estimated 10 km to and from school. The school did not provide lunch for pupils hence the majority were obliged to stay in their respective classrooms until the departure hours. According to the head of the school, only about 20 percent of pupils could manage to go home for lunch and then come back to school. This made them miss some of the classes. Truancy was reported to be common at this school, Parents were reported to ask their children to remain at home to take care of livestock. Moreover, the majority of pupils were reported to leave the school before departure hours so that they can go and take care of family livestock, as well as businesses. The school was at the border of the region. Some children used to miss schools so that they have time to go to the neighboring region for business activities. Other parents requested heads of the schools to deregister their children from school.

A good number of children were reported to lack competences in Kiswahili language, the medium of instruction, but were rather competent in their mother tongue, 'Sukuma'. The majority of children's parents were farmers (47%) while others engage in other activities such as livestock keeping, business and fishing. The head of school reported that most parents do not encourage their children to go to school. They want their children to help them in farming and pastoral activities. The head teacher added that, some parents advised their children to deliberately write wrong answers in their examinations so that they fail their exams. The motive behind all this is to have manpower to help in domestic chores for males and get marriage dowry for girls. They do not engage in school affairs of their children at all. They hardly attend school meetings until they are forced and threatened.

Like other schools, school 'Y' has been receiving capitation grants since 2015 to 2018. But, unlike other schools, it has been receiving 100% of the capitation grants for the past three years. For example, in July 2018, the expected amount was 129,907.66 which the school received in full. The head of the school reported that, though the expected and received amount of capitation of grants have been similar, the amount has not been sufficient enough to cater for the school's needs and the school does not have any extra source of income to solicit funds to cater for its needs.

Over the past 5 years (2013 – 2017), the school has recorded an average of 51 Standard seven pupils each year. This number of pupils is close to the standard norm of 45 pupils per class. However, the school has an inadequate number of teachers. For example, in 2016, 2017 and 2018 there were only 6 teachers out of the required 8. This was a deficit of 2 teachers in every year. The head teacher of the school reported that, there were no efforts being put in place to deal with the problem. The majority (5 out of 6) of teachers were holders of grade IIIA teaching certification. Only one teacher had a diploma in teaching. According to the head teacher, the school has adequate physical infrastructure such as classrooms and toilets for both teachers and pupils. However, the school does not have necessary teaching and learning facilities such as computers, photocopy machines, library and electricity. There were no houses for teachers and thus most teachers have to rent houses most of which are located far away from the school and, according to teachers, the houses were in bad condition. Teachers expressed that staying far from the school and the conditions of the house were serious impediments for them to arrive early at school. However, although, it was found that the school was one of the school's poor PSLE performance, the school's PSLE performance, has remained low.

Case No. 2 exemplifies profiles of the majority of schools with consistent 'poor' PSLE results over the past few years. Among others, factors such as long distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters, limited parental engagement, and lack of school feeding programme were reported in these schools. Other factors included inadequate teaching-learning resources and low teacher motivation.

3.3 Regional disparities and academic performance

The study also sought to understand whether regional disparities were considerable factors for academic performance in PSLE in Tanzania. In the context of this study, regional disparity refers to regional variations in terms of availability of teaching and learning resources. To address this question, first we explored whether there were disparities in terms of teaching-learning facilities by region and distance from school to district headquarters, and the extent to which they were related to academic performance. Findings reveal that although there were some disparities, overall availability of teaching-learning facilities was almost similar across regions. For example, all sampled schools in all regions visited have no laboratories and have limited ICT facilities. Table 4 presents availability of some teaching-learning facilities in the visited regions.

Data in Table 5 show that regions share almost similar resources and challenges in terms of financing and teaching-learning materials/facilities no matter which geographical position the region is located and academic performance. Dar es Salaam, Geita and Iringa Regions, for example, have schools whereby pupils shared a classroom, 25%, 25% and 50% respectively. In Songwe Region, however, there was no school in which pupils across grades shared a classroom. Again, 75% of schools visited in Dar es Salaam have children seating on the floor during lessons compared to Singida and Songwe Regions with 0% and 25%, respectively, of schools where pupils sit on the floor.

The status of play grounds, chalk boards, offices for heads of school and teachers, pit latrines, electricity was almost similar across all regions. Further, the results indicate that most regions were not equipped with ICT facilities such as computers, photocopy and printing machines, scanners and internet connectivity. All regions did not have schools with laboratories and nearly all regions, including Iringa Region, one of the high performing regions, have no school with a library. Dar es Salaam and Geita Regions have one school each with a library. Only Coastal Region recorded two schools with a library.

Table 5: Availability of teaching-learning facilities as reported by schools, (%) by Region

					Region					
	Singida	Dar es Salaam	Songwe	Mbeya	Coastal	Geita	Mara	Dodoma	Iringa	Mtwara
Availability of electricity	25	100	25	50	50	50	25	50	25	75
Availability of an office for the head of school	100	75	100	100	75	100	75	100	100	100
Availability of an office for teachers	50	25	100	100	25	75	00	100	100	100
Availability of school library	00	25	00	25	50	25	00	00	00	00
Availability of laboratory	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Availability of staff houses	75	25	75	75	100	50	25	75	75	100
Availability of computers	25	25	00	25	00	00	25	00	00	50
Availability of printing and photocopy machines	00	25	25	25	00	00	25	00	00	50
Availability of scanners	00	25	00	25	00	00	25	00	00	00
Students who seat on the floor during lessons	00	75	25	00	50	50	00	50	00	50
School feeding programme	25	25	50	75	00	00	25	00	50	25
Grades which share a classroom	75	25	00	25	25	25	00	50	50	50

Source: Field data

Findings reveal that regions, districts and schools share closely related experiences in terms of classrooms and availability of desks over the past five years regardless of their academic performance. For example, on average, Geita Region (one of the high performing regions), has a deficit of classrooms and desks at 56% and 36% respectively. On the other end of the continuum, on average, Singida Region (one of the poor performing regions), for example, has experienced a deficit of classrooms and desks at 49% and 21% respectively. This deficit is lower than what Geita Region has experienced over the past five years. Likewise, Dar es Salaam Region recorded an average classrooms deficit at 52% while Dodoma Region recorded at 50% classroom deficit for the period 2013 – 2017. These findings are suggestive that factors other than availability of classrooms and desks might explain regional disparities in national examination performance. Figure 6 exemplifies deficit of classrooms in percentage over the past five years (2013 – 2017).

50% 41% 52% 47% 47% 47% 47% 47% 46% 47% 46% 51% 50% 50%

Dodoma

2013 **2**014 **2**015 **2**016 **2**017

Singida

Geita

Figure 6: Average Deficit of Classrooms, 2013-2017, by Regions

3.3.1 Schools receive capitation grant 'untimely' and below expectations

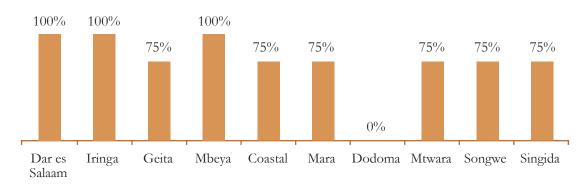
Iringa

Dar es Salaam

Source: Field data

The study sought to understand whether there were differences in terms of timeliness and adequacy of capitation grants school received which might influence teaching and learning process, hence disparities in PSLE performance. All heads of the schools acknowledged that schools received capitation grants into their accounts from the government. However, some of the heads of schools across regions, districts and schools expressed that schools received capitation grants untimely (See Figure 7). Further, all heads of the schools, except one across high and low performing schools, districts and regions revealed that the amount received was inadequate to meet the school needs and was below expectations. The head of the least performing school, however, acknowledged that the school has been receiving 100% of the expected amount of capitation grant. For example, the school received TZS 129,907.66, which was 100% of the expected amount for July 2018.

Figure 7: Percentage of heads of schools reporting timely receipt of capitation grants over the past 3 years, by regions



Source: Field data

Figure 7 shows that all heads of the schools visited in two districts of Dodoma Region reported that capitation grant was received untimely. The Table further shows that 75% of the heads of the schools in nearly all regions with moderate and poor PSLE results over the past five years. All heads of the schools, except one (Geita Region), from the regions with high academic performance (Dar es Salaam and Iringa Regions) over the past five years reported receipt of capitation grant.

Similarly, there were mixed findings when receipt of capitation grant was associated with district and schools' academic performance. Some districts and schools with high academic performance reported to have received capitation grant untimely. Likewise, some low performing districts and schools revealed untimely receipt of capitation grant. For example, School 'X' in one of the districts in Mtwara region has high academic performance compared to school 'B'. The school, however, recorded untimely receipt of capitation grant for the period from December 2015 through July 2018.

Furthermore, all heads of schools, except one, involved in the study, regardless of their academic performance reported to have received an amount of capitation grant below expectations.

3.4 Comparison of performance factors over the past three years

Findings of this study, as reported in previous sections reveal that regional, district and school performance was attributable to several factors. These factors include administrative and managerial, distance from home to school, community/parental engagement, teachers' motivation, availability of teaching and learning resources. It is however, challenging to trace these factors over the past three years. Data were largely lacking, at regional level in particular. Thus, comparison of performance factors was complex. In addition, as the preceding section reveals, there were mixed findings when teaching learning resources were associated with PSLE performance. Some regions, districts and schools with 'adequate' resources were not ranking high and vice versa. In this regard, explaining regional disparities in PSLE performance in terms of resources is a complex undertaking.

4.0 Discussion and Conclusion

This study sought to explore factors attributable to regional disparities in PSLE performance. It was guided by three specific objectives: to explore whether there are specific factors "not shared factors" that make some regions perform poorly while others perform better in PSLE; to establish whether geographical location or regional disparity is a considerable factor for academic performance in PSLE in Tanzania; and to compare and contrast performance factors among the poor performing and best performing regions in Tanzania in the last five to ten years.

Consistent with literature, this study affirms that regions share similar resources and challenges in the context of education. Schools, districts and regions with better and poor PSLE performance experience similar resources and challenges such as inadequate teaching-learning materials, capitation grant, and number of teachers. The study further reveals deficits of desks and classrooms across regions, districts and schools.

Despite the fact there were similarities in terms of the availability of resources, some regions, districts and schools perform better in PSLE compared to other regions, districts and schools. Better performance could be attributed to regional, district and school's initiatives. For example, in high performing regions and some districts there were established strategies aimed at promoting academic performance in respective regions and districts. Among other things, the strategies have provisions on recognition and appreciation of teachers whose pupils performed at 'A' level in a subject. According to the strategies the teachers were provided with certificates of appreciation at special occasions.

Furthermore, the strategies advocated for putting Standard seven pupils in camps for practices a few months before PSLE. The strategies also encourage to pupils to regularly attend school and peer-tutoring. It was also noted that teachers in high performing areas were motivated, parents' literacy level were high and parental engagement with school was high. Furthermore, teachers' commitment and short distance from school to district headquarters could be attributed to consistent high academic performance. The majority of these factors, however, are commonly articulated in literature. Thus, the factors might not be exclusive to high performing schools, districts and regions only. Similar experiences were reported in some schools, districts and regions with consistent poor PSLE performance.

One factor which seemed to stand out and was commonly reported across participants in almost every school, district and region was parental effective engagement with school and their children's education. Schools with high academic performance were associated with parents who valued their children's education. These parents were reported to engage with schools and were financially supporting the schools to supplement capitation grant the schools received from the government. Again, parental engagement with schools and their children's schooling has been reported previously.

The 'uncommon', 'not shared' factors which could be attributed to the better PSLE performance from this study include regional and district initiatives which include established strategies with provisions on incentivising teachers using 'locally' organised resources, Standard seven camping commonly supported parental contribution both monetary and non-monetary and cheating in examinations. Findings from this study further reveal that examination misconduct was associated with consistent better PSLE performance. Participants revealed that heads of some of the schools, District Education Officers in some districts and invigilators collaborated to ensure that examination questions were solved and answers given to pupils. This is affirmed by the annulment of the 2018 PSLE results of some of the schools and districts by NECTA on 2nd October 2018. According to reports, NECTA discovered examination misconduct in the PSLE, which was set on 5th – 6th September 2018. Reporting to the media, the NECTA Executive Secretary explained that there was examination misconduct, involving heads of schools, teachers, ward education officials in collaboration with district education officials, as he said:

Some of the executives who are endowed with the responsibility of protecting and supervising the examinations according to the law, including education officers, ward education officers, heads of schools, school owners, and invigilators committed examination misconduct, cheated. The district education leadership created a WhatsApp groups involving ward education officers and heads of schools. The purpose of the groups was to communicate about the examination...In doing so the examination was opened in advance and shared through the groups. The district education leadership provided directives for the examination items to be solved and answers given to the candidates. Wards education officers were responsible to ensure that heads and candidates received the answers.

Cheating in PSLE examination might be attributed to several factors including school, district and regional rankings on the basis of examination results. On one hand, ranking might be a motivational factor for a school, district or region to perform. On the other hand, however, ranking might put schools, districts, regions in inescapable competition spiked by pressure to perform as generated by media, politician, and education officials at various levels. It is high time now we reflected on the value for ranking. This might inform the assessment process and dissemination of examination results.

The study further identified 'uncommonly' shared factors which could be attributed to consistent poor regional, district and schools in PSLE performance. These factors include long distance to and from school and from school to district headquarters and parents discouraging their children from passing PSLE. Further analysis, however, reveals that some schools which were located far away from district headquarters have better academic performance compared to other schools, which were close to the district head quarter. Likewise, two schools from one of the urban districts were located about 1 km from the district headquarters. Their PSLE performances, however, differed. These findings suggest that long distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters might influence poor academic performance. However, factors other than distance could as well be associated with poor academic performance of some schools.

Findings show that in some communities parents discouraged their children from passing PSLE. These parents asked their children to intentionally fail themselves in the final examinations so that they would not progress to secondary education. Parents did not want their children to progress with school as they could not support them financially. On one hand, financial reasons, family poverty might be the reason. On the other hand, however, this might not be the reason since lower secondary is fee-free. Probably, parents feel the burden of indirect schooling cost not covered by fee-free policy, which they should take care of. It might also be due to early marriage practices whereby girls are forced to marry upon completion of primary school for the family to benefit from dowry, and child labor practices. Moreover, discouraging children from passing PSLE might be explained by a view that may be parents did not value the current education system. There might be some feelings that the primary education provided is irrelevant to meet the demands of some communities.

As mentioned earlier in this report, there were some differences in terms of educational resources at regional, district and school levels. However, it is complex to attribute regional disparities in terms of resources with PSLE performance. There were mixed findings as some regions, districts and schools with adequate resources performed poorly while some regions with inadequate resources performed better. This, however, is not to underestimate the importance of teaching-learning materials in learning rather to highlight the complexity of regional disparities in explaining PSLE results. When this study was being designed, Mtwara Region, for example, was sampled as one of the regions with poor PSLE performance over the past years. Surprisingly, in 2018 Mtwara Region was among the top ten regions with better PSLE performance. When this study was being conducted, there were no emerging insights which could have hinted that Mtwara Region would probably be among the top ten regions. One wonders what Mtwara Region did in a short period of time to rank high in PSLE results while it had been at the lower end over the past years. Comparison of performance

factors among the poor performing and best performing regions in Tanzania in the last five to ten years is tricky due to conflicting findings. The study reveals that some regions with adequate resources were not performing to expectations compared with regions with inadequate resources. Similar observations were noted at district and school levels.

Conclusively, regions, districts and schools share similar resources and challenges. However, there are regions, districts and schools which have recorded consistent better PSLE performance compared to others. Due to similarities in terms of resources it is tricky to attribute PSLE performance with resources or geographical location. There are some factors, however, which might explain the disparities, the majority of which are common. The 'uncommon', 'not shared' factors, however, include 'locally' organised strategies such as incentivising teachers, putting Standard seven pupils in camps for practices in preparation of PSLE, and cheating in examinations. The 'uncommon' factors which might be attributed to consistent poor PLSE performance include long distance from home to school and from school to district headquarters which denies schools some benefits from the district including quality assurance school visits. Moreover, the fact that in some places with low PSLE parents discourage their children from passing the examinations. This discouragement might explain consistent poor examination performance.

5.0 Recommendations

- i) There is a need for regions with poor academic performance to draw some practices from regions with consistent better performance in PSLE. One of the practices regions might wish to draw is regional academic promotion strategy.
- ii) Despite the fact that there were mixed findings to explain the association teaching-learning between schools, districts, and regional consistent PSLE performance with availability of resources, availability of teachers and infrastructure we cannot underestimate their importance in promoting academic learning. This suggests a need of continuing efforts from the government and non-governmental organizations to resource the schools and improve infrastructure. More attention could be drawn to schools located far from district headquarters and district with more 'rural' characteristics.
- Some parents in some communities were encouraging their children to intentionally fail themselves in PSLE so that they could not pass the examination and continue with secondary education. Instead, they should fail and remain at home to help with household activities, get married or look for jobs to earn money to support the family. This suggests a need for more sensitization needed to communities to enable them realise the value of education. This could be done by various stakeholders including the CSOs, religious leaders, village, ward and the government as a whole. The finding also suggests the need to debate on the centralised education system to learn whether the education content is relevant to every community.
- iv) There is a need to encourage communities and parents' engagement with schools and their children's education. Among other things, there is a need to mobilise parents to support schools with monetary contributions to supplement the capitation grants schools receive.
- v) Cheating in examination was also reported to explain why some regions, districts perform consistently well in PSLE. HakiElimu may wish to conduct further research to systematically explore examination misconduct 'phenomenon' taking into consideration a representative sample for national generalization. The research might also adapt an ethnographic design to uncover socio-cultural factors comprehensively.
- vi) Some schools were located far away from pupils' homes with no school feeding programme. Thus, pupils did not get lunch at school. This accounted to lack of concentration in the classroom, which in turn affected pupils' performance. This suggests the need to encourage parents to support schools to establish feeding programmes.
- vii) The government should improve teachers working conditions, pay teachers their dues, and motivate them to enhance their teaching effectiveness and efficiency.

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