Reflecting on Five Decades of Teacher Professional Development in Tanzania: The Missing Dimensions

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Abstract

The importance of teacher development need not be over stated. This is adducible by the fact that transformations, innovations and diffusions in education make it imperative that teachers have to continually change and adopt. This paper takes stock of the trajectory of teacher professional development in Tanzania by locating related initiatives in the macro-policies and education transformations spanning a period of nearly five decades. It identifies the missing dimensions for robust in-service continuous professional development programmes (CPD) for primary and secondary school teachers. The paper proposes the need to support a cost effective in-service CPD model, which is school based designed around a reflective practitioner approach, for which teaching is an interactive problem solving professional undertaking requiring continuous updating of key competences that teachers require for classroom practices.

Key words: teachers' professionalism; teachers' continuous professional development; macro-policies; education transformations

Introduction

A considerable body of knowledge show that Continuous Professional Development (CPD) can enhance the quality of teachers' classroom practices and subsequently improve learning achievements and outcomes (Bolam, 2007). Immediate public concerns about quality of education services and the efficacy of systemic innovations in education and their diffusion make it imperative that teachers have to change and be able to define and cope with public pressures and parents' outcry over the declining quality of education (Mhando, 2009). Teachers have to practice and use new methodology and approaches of teaching in consonance with the ever-changing contexts (Mhando, 2012). The OECD (2011) supports this proposition. Arguably, in all high-performing education systems, teachers have a central role to play in improving learning outcomes, and leading on reforms, taking responsibility as professionals. Closely related to those assertions, is the idea that quality improvement initiatives and curriculum reforms require that teachers continuously learn new techniques of imparting cognitive and non-cognitive skills, which translate into teachers changing their own classroom and out of classroom practices (Fullan, 2001).

Fundamentally, new managerial approaches to education, teacher management and pedagogical leadership and digitalization demand teachers to be knowledgeable and responsive to the needs of the education system, students and professional learning (Bashir, Lockheed, Ninan and Tan, 2018). It follows as a corollary that the importance of CPD for teachers in Tanzania need not be overstated. Latest data makes it possible to claim that Tanzania has had achieved 100 percent access to primary education and 60 percent to secondary education translated as gross enrolment rates (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT)(2017a). The emerging paradox is that despite these quantitative successes associated with the implementation of

various transformations and programmes including the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP), there is a persistent tension gravitating around two critical issues. First, teachers are viewed from a quantitative angle only, in terms of supply and spatial distribution in the districts but hardly their quality (Dachi, 2017). Teachers are factored in the successes just as a means. Second, the government is increasingly leveraging teachers to deliver quality education and learning outcomes (The World Bank (WB), 2014). However, research and other reports (UNESCO, 2014, 2013; UNICEF, 2013; Hardman, Abdi-Kadir and Tibuhinda, 2012) have consistently concluded that increases in school enrolments and correspondingly supply of teachers have not translated into improved learning outcomes to the majority of primary and secondary school learners. Millions of children are attending schools but the level, quality and rate of learning in basic skills of literacy and numeracy is low as defined by UWEZO/TWAWEZA assessments (Mkumbo, Mgalla, Shukia and Kanukisya, 2016).

Therefore, it is possible to argue that the strategic efforts of expanding access to primary and secondary schools whilst impressive are accompanied by systemic deficiencies linked to teachers' quality that compromise the rate of learners' cognitive development. It would appear credible to argue that in the absence of tractable regulatory and policy frameworks for improving teachers' competences through professional development programmes, the excitement about implementing the Education Sector Development Plan, 2016/17-20/21 (URT, 2017b) is simply for scoring political points, so to say. Eventually, education expansion may end in itself without learners achieving basic proficiency across a suite of essential skills, problem solving and critical thinking.

The remaining sections of the paper are organized as follows: The next section provides an overview of teacher professionalism and professional development grounded in a literature review and drawing from international and local research. Documented macro-policies, transformations and associated teacher professional development initiatives are detailed in section three. Section four discusses missing dimensions of robust teachers' CPD programmes that need to be addressed expediently. Concluding remarks are in section five.

Setting the scene: Teachers' professionalism vis a vis teachers' CPD

An array of literature on teacher professionalism undisputedly evidences how teacher professionalism and professional development are subjects of open debate. In this section, we are briefly reviewing literature on teachers' professionalism and how this concept is linked to teachers' professional development.

Teachers' professionalism

Debates over the years have focused on whether teaching is a profession in the same league as law or medicine (Ishumi, 2013; Hoyle and Peter, 1995) in standard setting, conduct, supervision and regulation (Hargreavas, 2006), not just an occupation (Menter and Pollard, 1997). This extends to professional quality control and assurance with regard to entry and service within it (Ishumi, 2009). Lai and Lo (2007) noted that practitioners do perceive teaching as classroom focused based more on experience than discourses, theoretical frameworks and reflective practices.

Conversely, there is also consensus in the literature that teaching is a profession constituting its own body of knowledge (Komba and Nkumbi, 2008), including that of the content of the discipline, students' characteristics and behaviours (Nsubuga, 2000), teaching methods and assessment techniques (Perraton, Creed and Robinson, 2002) and professional codes of practice (Auala, 1999; Carr, 2000). Such attributes, are inculcated to the would-be teachers, like in other

professions, through a concerted and elaborate process of education and training that requires time, perseverance and dedication (Ishumi, 2013).

Without dwelling into epistemological debates underlying teachers' professionalization, in this paper we borrow from Hargreavas (2006), and take teacher professionalism to mean improving quality and standards of practice. Teachers have to be proficient in the content of the disciplines, understand how students learn best, and have to master a wide range of methods and strategies to facilitate the process of learning and teaching (Loucks-Horsley, Hewson, Love and Stiles, 1998).

Teachers' professional development

The centre of gravity of teachers' professionalism is teachers' professional development. According to Bolam (2007), this is an on-going process of education, training, learning and support activities aimed primarily at promoting teachers professional knowledge, skills and values. Fentiman, Sugrue, Wyse and Dachi (2013), looks at in-service professional leaning within the context in which teachers are working as an essential part of lifelong learning, likely to provide a base for teacher motivation and improved classroom performance. Rogan (2004) consider it done for a purpose. 'It may, for example, be linked to the introduction of a new curriculum or policy...Or it may be designed to promote change or improvement within the current curriculum framework...' (p.155). It is effective in raising the level of teachers' attainment, improving teachers' ability to perform their duties and implementation of educational reforms (Villegas-Reimers, 2003).

The above assertions echoes the need for CPD programmes and associated opportunities to introduce new concepts to a critical mass of teachers by working through cases and exercises, debating concepts and discussing their application. Joyce and Weil (1980) states that:

...The knowledge base on teaching strategies has expanded dramatically...with meta-cognition, situated cognition, cooperative learning, computer-based inquiry, student self-assessment and portfolio assessment all influencing the field... (cited in Hargreaves, 2006, p.681).

Therefore, not taking into consideration the need for systematic CPD programmes, contextual changes would invariably make teachers' knowledge and skills irrelevant and obsolete (Tikly, 2011).

Bashir, Lockheed, Ninan and Tan (2018), UNESCO (2014) and O'Sullivan (2010) have judged based on statistics initial teacher education (ITE) that student teachers receive in Sub-Saharan Africa to be of poor quality. Similarly, Hardman, Ackers, Abrishimian and O'Sullivan (2011) in discussing teacher quality in Eastern and Southern Africa acknowledges that, 'by international standards average teacher academic qualifications and levels of training are low as many teachers are unqualified or under qualified' (p.170).

In the case of Tanzania, studies by Hardman and Dachi (2012) and Hardman, Abd-kadir and Tibuhinda (2012) and Fentiman et.al. (2013) reported that the pedagogical content knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to teach primary subjects through a mixture of theory and practice are not practiced as required. This observation suggests an indication of poor quality of teacher education and training and a weak link between ITE and key competences that teachers require in the classroom. International research has advanced the view that strategies for improving the quality of education provision have to embrace a long-term sustainable vision of professional development that links college based ITE and its application in classroom (Hassler, Hennessy

and Hofmann, 2018; UNESCO, 2014; Tikly, 2011). The OECD study (2011) in its review of teacher education covering more than 50 countries found that high performing education systems in the provision of quality education such as Finland, South Korea and Canada have placed a high premium not only to ITE but also to systematic school based professional learning programmes.'

It has been observes that in Tanzania ITE teachers, once posted in schools rarely go back to formal learning or access in-service professional development opportunities. Ishumi (2013, p.105) for instance reported a complete absence of the idea in as many as 52% of the school in the public sector and 58% of the schools in the non-government sector. Overall, only 6.4% of the total teaching force in the public sector has had an in-service professional development in the last five years. Yet, high performing education systems have invested in CPD as well, because ITE and in-service CPD are parts of a coherent continuum of professional practices (Bashir et.al. 2018).

Locating teachers' professional development in macro-policies and education transformations in Tanzania

This section examines the major macro-policies and reforms that have had a notable influence on teachers' professional development in Tanzania. These include the Arusha Declaration. on socialism and self reliance, the Musoma resolutions, the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) and the Big Results Now in Education (BRNEd) programme.

The Arusha declaration (AD) on socialism and self reliance

Upon gaining independence in 1961, emphasis was put on human capital development as a key element in creating a self sustaining economic base for the country's participation in the global economy. It is for that reason, the manpower planning prioritised secondary and tertiary education (Galabawa, 1990a). The Arusha Declaration (AD) of 1967 and its ideology of 'Ujamaa na kujitegemea' (socialism and self reliance) (Nyerere, 1967), set a wedge between investment in human capital and humanity by stressing egalitarianism as a philosophy that should guide economic and social development initiatives, policies and strategies. Shivji (2009) put it boldly that, '...the task of economic development was not only of increasing the production of goods and services, but of 'asserting human dignity'... (p.21).

Education for Self Reliance (ESR)

The AD sought to realize through a policy statement 'Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)', a set of core moral, spiritual, ethical and civil values geared at attainment of national unity, social cohesion, peace and stability critical for the country's social and economic transformation (Nyerere, 1968). It called for revolutionary reforms in the education system to create equal opportunities for and create a critical mass of students with a good cognitive base, critical mind, and investigative of complex social, political and economic phenomena. The ESR articulated a doctrine of primary education being a complete education in itself and terminal, thus effectively delinking primary and secondary education levels of schooling.

In response, the Government abolished the inherited 'colonial curriculum' and associated syllabi. Arguably, they were inconsistent with the values enshrined in the Arusha Declaration and the philosophy and goals of ESR. Consequently, the Ministry of National Education (1978) developed the 'new curriculum' and officially launched it in November 1969 (Galabawa, 1990a).

The Tanzania, UNICEF and UNESCO Primary Education Reform Project (Mpango wa Tanzania UNICEF/UNESCO - MTUU).

The paradigm shift in the curriculum came with it a requirement for new content knowledge and a change in pedagogic content, and the content of textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. The answer as to who should do that and through which structures came with the The Tanzania, UNICEF and UNESCO Primary Education Reform Project (Mpango wa Tanzania UNICEF/UNESCO - MTUU). The Government of URT enunciated the project in 1970 following the signing of an agreement with UNICEF and UNESCO and charged it with the responsibility of carrying out In-service Training (INSET) to equip primary school teachers with the necessary academic and professional ability to implement the post Arusha declaration curriculum.

The main objective of MTUU was to introduce a new curriculum and related syllabi, textbooks, teaching aids and improved methods all associated with continued education reform, to education officials at all levels, all teacher educators and all teaching staff of primary schools totalling 12,803. It employed a cascading approach in six phases covering the period 1970-1976...

The Musoma Resolutions

In November 1974, at the Lake Victoria town of Musoma, the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the then ruling political party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) deliberated on the 'status' of the education system and how it was reflective of the principles enshrined in both, the AD and ESR. It made and promulgated several resolutions, which largely affected education policy and practices. Two of them, one on Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the other on higher education are pertinent to the present discussion on teachers' professional development.

The resolution on Universal Primary Education (UPE)

On the first resolution, the NEC committed the state to universalize 'free primary education' and the state declared it to have been achieved in 1977 instead of 1989, the year for which it was originally projected in the national manpower plan (Galabawa, 1990a). It was axiomatic that paying to attend schooling was deterrence to poor children, which ultimately confined primary education access to children of the elite. The unequal access to primary schooling led to unequal access to secondary and subsequently higher education (Mbilinyi, 1979). Galabawa (2001) summarizes the main argument by NEC for the Musoma resolution on UPE in this way:

....In as much as education was a right to each and every citizen, but more, that a government committed to the development of egalitarian socialist society cannot disaggregate and discriminate in the provision of education, especially at the basic level... (p.17).

Parents took advantage of the UPE policy; enrollment in primary schools grew in absolute terms from less than one million children in 1971 to 3.5 million in 1983 (URT, 1984). The UPE drive came with it the problem of teacher supply. The strategic policy options adopted by the government to curb a critical problem of inadequacy of teachers were mainly to allow less qualified individuals to train and obtain the credentials to teach, and to reduce the duration of teachers' training in the colleges. A brief narration of the two is in the following sub-sections.

The UPE teachers' training programmes

Within a period of 1974-1979, the Tanzania education system witnessed about 35,000 primary school graduates and dropouts recruited to teach junior classes in the primary schools while undergoing a skimpy training under a four years village based distance education scheme. On completion, they graduated as grade IIIC teachers. The scheme was decried by scholars and researchers (Malekela, 1984) and the general public on its ability to attain and retain key professional qualities in the teachers whose testimony is easy to discern from their dubbing of the teachers produced under the scheme as *Ualimu Pasipo Elimu* (UPE) - (literary meaning teachers without education).

For the Grade IIIA category of teachers, it required one to obtain a certificate of secondary education and complete two years of training in a teacher education college. The time of the process of provision of grade IIIA teacher education and production in the colleges was reduced by fifty percent. The practice was termed the 'UPE crash programme' (Ishumi, 1986), with a split between three months 'teaching orientation' in a primary school and one year in a teachers' college, again split between teaching methods and block teaching practice. Pedagogy triumphed with the elimination of content from the total experience of teacher education (URT, 1993).

Upgrading of UPE teachers

According to Ishumi (1986) the focus of the UPE teachers' training programmes was on increasing the supply of teachers, however by default it lowered the standards and the quality of teachers. With the adoption of the Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995), grade IIIA became the minimum qualification for primary school teachers. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) designed a programme of upgrading Grade IIIC teachers to obtain a Grade 'A' teacher certificate professional qualification through what was termed as as the District Based Support for Primary Education (DBSPE). It became a source of disgruntlement among the target group because it was self-sponsored and done as a part-time evening programme in the Teachers' Resource Centres. The deadline for the re-categorization to grade IIIA was 2004. To date the primary education system still maintains a insignificant number of unqualified teachers who were not upgradable and would be retiring by 2020 or so.

According to Hardman, Ackers, Abrishamian and O'Sullivan (2011), INSET strategies are conflating teacher professional development with teacher certificate upgrading to improve academic qualifications rather than pedagogical skills and actual classroom practices. The upgrading of UPE teachers was not built on any coherent policy of professional support in the classrooms. Teachers judged the initiative as of poor quality. It was unsustainable and eventually it collapsed precipitously.

The resolution on University entry requirements

A precursor to Musoma resolutions was the radical shift in the Tanzania's education policy from that of post independence era which embraced white collar, bureaucratic and purely academic orientation to the ESR which advocated for an integration between education and work and vice versa (Galabawa, 1990b). The NEC of TANU eloquently reiterated the arguments of ESR for a transformation of the higher education system. Arguably, University education was elitist with the graduates knowing very little of poverty that the majority of masses live in which, a converse of egalitarianism embodied in socialist principles (Galabawa and Malekela, 1998).

The resolution outlined the manner of admissions of Advanced Level Secondary Education leavers in to tertiary level, and subsequently this changed the landscape of University and higher education. The candidates' eligibility for higher education had to be based on:

"...A minimum of two years satisfactory work experience, during which they have earned recommendations from both their employers and local ruling party branches that they are in every way fully suitable to be granted the privilege of admission to higher education..." (Mmari, 1980, p.175).

An attempt by the ruling party to equalize educational opportunity by allowing the mature entrants of varied socio-economic status and educational backgrounds to access university education created an opportunity for public servants to access university education. In this way eligible practicing teachers were able to grow both academically and professionally by upgrading to the bachelor degree level and subsequently higher levels. There is paucity of information on the impact that this resolution had on the quality of university education. This is an area of further interrogation.

The Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP)

By implementing the AD, public provision and financing of basic social services were an incontestable social and economic obligation of the state. In a twist of events, by the mid 1970s, the egalitarian expansionary redistributive policies spelled out in political and ideological promulgations were fiscally unsustainable because of the sluggish economic growth (Hartman, 1994). Economic adjustment and restructuring programmes ostensibly contributed to the tightening of the flow of resources to the social services (Ndulu and Mwenga, 1994), and being among the largest public budget items education was susceptible to budget cuts (Shivji, 1989).

By 1980s, public schools were disheveled, rundown, in disrepair with outdated and insufficient resources (URT, 1993). As the disjunction between the rhetoric of egalitarianism and reality of inequities and deteriorating quality of education became apparent, in the mid 1990s, the government of URT embarked on an ambitious Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) (URT, 2008). The overarching objective of the programme was to provide a framework for implementing a series of policy driven reforms aimed at revitalizing the ailing education system.

A corollary to the ESDP was the Primary Education Development Plan I (PEDPI) (2001 –2006) which articulated the attainment of universal primary education (UPE) and delivery of sustainable quality basic education covering the whole of Tanzania mainland. A sequel to PEDP I was PEDP II (2007-2011) aimed at consolidating the gains achieved in PEDPI. The Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) was the second major outcome of the ESDP. It had projections of up to 50% of primary to secondary education transition rates and secondary education enrolment surpassing 2,000,000 by the year 2010. Following the implementation of ESDP three issues emerged in relation to teachers supply and professional development.

First, numerically there was a gap in the number of required teachers to meet the demands of expanded enrollments. The government projected to recruit 156,667 teachers in between 2006/07 and 2010/11. Yet, public teachers' colleges could only produce 14,295 teachers in the same period. That resulted into a proliferation of private owned colleges. With this increase, there also arose issues of the quality of teachers produced, more so whether non-government teachers' colleges had the requisite capacity to train demand driven good caliber teachers than just the quantity of teachers produced by these institutions (URT, 2007a).

Second, the government again, reduced the time of the process of provision of teacher education in the colleges by 50%, with a split being one year in the teachers' college and one year of a 'supervised' on the job training in schools (URT, 2007b). School leavers with poor passes in their A-level secondary education were recruited and assembled in the public teachers 'colleges around the country for a short 4 weeks residential induction course, after which were licensed and employed to teach in the public schools. They were obviously very weak in both content knowledge and pedagogy. The Government also engaged hundreds of non-education graduates from universities and other higher education institutions to teach in its schools. The debate on the efficacy of licensure systems notwithstanding (Goldhaber, 2011), at least they should have been subjected to screening and eligibility tests to check and certify the quality of their content knowledge.

The political elite had therefore no qualms with unleashing teachers of ill repute and little or no credentials to teach in the public schools where the dual system of education places the majority of children from poor economic backgrounds (Dachi, 2017). When systemic deficiencies, which indicate little learning taking place in the schools (Bashir, Marlane, Ninan and Tan, 2018), are juxtaposed on questionable approaches that dismember the process of teacher education and reduce it to ITE only (Ishumi, 2013), it paints a gloomy scenario for the development of quality teachers to meet the demands of an expanded education system amidst challenges of resource scarcity.

The Teacher Education Development and Management Strategy (TEDMS)

The quest for quality teachers that resulted from the implementation of ESDP made it imperative for the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) to review its strategies for the preparation of the teaching force. In that, the quantitative expansion of enrollment should not inadvertently affect both the quality of teachers and quality of education in general. The MoEVT developed and enunciated the Teacher Education Development and Management Strategy (TEDMS) (URT, 2007a; 2007b) in which it plainly observed that there has been sporadic INSET for teachers and that, '...systematically, the focus of INSET has reached only a small section of teachers leaving many teachers staying up to 10 years without any further training...' (URT, 2007a, p.26). It recommended INSET for all teachers at all levels be regularized and this made a precondition for promotion to the next rank.

The In-service Education and Training Strategy (IETS)

The in-service education and training Strategy (IETS) (URT, 2010) for primary school teachers followed the TEDMS. It has had as a strategy, a systematic and coordinated INSET provision for all teachers through a school based INSET drawing on the Open and Distance Learning (ODL) approach. It vested responsibility of teachers for INSET activities and networking through the School Clustering Model (SCM), Teacher Resource Centres and Teachers' College.

Startlingly, TEDMS and IETS strategic objectives notwithstanding, there is no documented evidence of the extent of their implementation. Apparently, there were neither a national framework for school based INSET nor specific regulations for CPD from relevant regulatory authorities, in this case the MoEVT and the Prime Ministers' Office, Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG), to systemically enforce the TEDMS and IETS objectives and recommendations.

The Big Results Now Development Programme

In 2013, the Government sought to adapt the Malaysian system of economic development and improving quality service delivery. Conceptually, it was termed Big Results Now (BRN) with

a goal of spearheading the transformation of the country from low to a middle-income economy (World Bank, 2014). The foci of BRN was on achieving a set of specific targets termed as National Key Result Areas (NKRA) in seven 'critical' sectors, including education by 2015/16. Its conceptualization and implementation were within the policy frameworks of the Five Year Development Plan (2011-2016) and the 2025 Tanzania Development Vision, in which the Government of URT considered education a core ingredient of the envisioned socioeconomic transformation of the country. Nevertheless, despite the centrality of education in the development vision and the ESDP successes, evidence suggested that the expansion of access to primary and secondary schooling had no concomitant improvements in the quality of education (URT, 2016).

In April 2013, the Government launched the BRN in Education (BRNEd) programme, arguably to fast track the improvement of quality of basic education service delivery. The programme aimed at producing tangible results by improving students learning outcomes and to lay the foundation of an outcome based performance culture in the education sector (World Bank, 2014). It was supported by the World Bank International Development Association (IDA) credit and parallel financing from the Department for International Development (DFID) (UK), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)(Sweden) and the Government of the URT⁷ at an estimated total amount of 416,104,724 Million USD. The funding was committed to the activities or key result areas as shown in the following table:

Table 1: BRNEd Activities aligned to the Allocation in Percentage of the Total Estimated Budget

	Activities/Result areas	Budget allocation (%)
1.	Official School Ranking	0.54
2.	National 3R assessment	0.44
3.	School Incentive Scheme	1.04
4.	Teacher Motivation (non-financial performance incentives for teachers and clear	
	backlog of claims)	16.21
5.	School Improvement Toolkit	0.29
6.	Student-Teacher Enrichment Programme (STEP)	15.36
7.	Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (3R) teacher training	2.21
8.	Capitation Grant	63.86

Source: World Bank (2014).

Following the 3R assessment, two main activities related to teachers' INSET were to be implemented:

- (a) Training 17,000 primary and 8,000 secondary school teachers through the STEP to support low performing pupils and students respectively.
- (b) Training 12,300 standard one and two teachers in 3R teaching skills.

Interventions implemented correspondingly with the BRNEd include the following:

- 1. The Quality Education Improvement Programme in Tanzania (EQUIP-T) funded by DFID targeting 15,670 standards 1 to 3 teachers in seven regions (Tanzania Mainland)
- 2. Literacy and Numeracy Support Programme (LANES) funded by Global Partnership in Education (GPE) targeting 18,656 standard 1 and 2 teachers in 14 regions (Tanzania Mainland).
- 3. School Based In-service Training (SBIT) funded by UNICEF targeting 1000 teachers in three regions (Tanzania Mainland).

⁷ About 9.4 percent (15.5 million USD) of the Government co-financing was to come from the IDA financed SEDP II and had to be used for construction and related activities.

Earlier interventions included the TZ 21 for Basic Education funded by USAID targeting teachers in one region. The convergence in the above interventions with the exception of that of UNICEF that targeted higher grades, the rest aimed at the strengthening of early grade reading and teaching using a leaner-centered and participative pedagogy aligned to the new early grade curriculum and 3Rs syllabus developed by the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE). The divergence was in their delivery modes oscillating between a one off INSET for teachers coordinated from the centre (LANES of GPE) and a continuous cycle of school based INSET linked to classroom practice cascaded from district to school level (SBIT of UNICEF and EQUIP-T of DFID).

Whilst the BRNEd closed ranks officially in 2017, its value addition to learning achievements and outcomes through teacher INSET is blurred or subsumed in the parallel interventions. It is in the same way that Klingebiel and Janus (2014) and Janus and Kaijzaer (2015) have argued that the assumed benefits of results based aid are short term and largely unsustainable 'quick wins'. More so, table 1 suggests that finances were expended thinly over a large number of activities than concentrating largely on sustaining the INSET for teachers. Its allocation was just 2.21 percent of the BRNed budget. This observation extends to the ongoing projects because once donor funding and technical support wanes, the Presidents' Office-Regional Administration and Local Government shall have to grapple with the issue of sustainability.

The emerging picture

What is emerging from the analysis of the trajectory of teachers' continuous professional development tend to suggest that a number of initiatives were implemented by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania supported by the international community for nearly five decades since the Arusha Declaration. MTUU, inarguably stands out as the only systematically organized sector wide primary education teachers' CPD programme ever witnessed and documented in the history of education system in Tanzania in orientation, depth and professional quality. Others tended to be organized in an ad-hoc manner with weak institutional arrangements for retooling teachers on a regular or systematic basis. It is possible to argue in retrospect, that donor funded INSET initiatives represented a paradigm shift from the sector wide approach to education development to project cum programmes approach, too fragmented to have long terms effects on the holistic quality improvement of primary and secondary school teachers.

In the next section, we are proposing and integral dimensions for designing and implementing viable in-service professional development programmes for teachers in Tanzania.

The missing dimensions of Scalable CPD programmes for Teachers in Tanzania

We do acknowledge that Hardman and Dachi (2012) and Hardman, Hardman and Dachi et al. (2015) have discussed extensively the challenges associated with scaling up the school based teachers' development initiative at national level. Two of which comes out, is the motivational aspects of teachers' engagement in the INSET and variable contexts in which CPD programmes are implemented amidst an expanded but low resourced education system. In the same outlook, The Oxford Policy Management (2017) draws from the EQUIP (T) experience to show how difficult it is to implement an INSET for teachers if the initiative has no in built financial incentive or linked to promotion.

Similarly, Hassler, Hennessy and Hofmann (2018), Hardman, Ackers, Abrishimian and O'Sullivan (2011) have also discussed the challenge of developing sustainable and scalable

pedagogical innovations where donor funded short term projects are limited by contextual factors, programme design and competing interests. Even more significant than the rest, despite the Education and Training Policy (URT, 2014) cognizance of the role of CPD for quality improvement, the programmes and INSET for teachers, are not yet structured in the legal, administrative and governance frameworks of the education system.

A coherent CPD system

While bearing the above observations in mind, this paper reiterates the strategic proposition of the in-service education and training strategy for primary school teachers (UNICEF, 2009; URT, 2010 and Hardman, Hardman and Dachi et al. (2015) of implementing and systematizing school based teachers professional development modeled on the use of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) materials in the school clusters and Teacher Resource Centres, professionally supported by teachers' colleges and expert teachers. It is feasible to extend the model to secondary education teachers. Nevertheless, the efficaciousness of this model hinges crucially on the formulation and implementation of a coherent framework for a systemic institutionalization of the CPD provision, monitoring and evaluation in a cascaded manner from the ministerial level down to the regions, districts and schools.

A school clustering and TRCs' strategy for CPD

The Education and Training Policy (ETP) (URT, 1995) stated boldly that, '...in-service training and retraining shall be compulsory in order to ensure teacher quality and professionalism...(p. 50). The new ETP (URT, 2014) mentions the institutionalization of Teacher Resource Centres (TRCs) and professional development centers as school clusters as a viable option for effective CPD and INSET. Ideally, they are to provide opportunities for teachers to explore new roles and challenges, develop new instructional techniques, refine their practices and broaden their academic and professional horizons.

However, available evidence tends to indicate unequivocally that TRCs are dysfunctional because of lack of funding and the position of school clusters in the CPD equation is diminutive if at all (Dachi, 2010). The fact that both are not part of any coherent programme for teachers' CPD or network for teachers' INSET is incontestable. Yet, the quest for the strategy to reposition them in the education administrative framework to facilitate teachers to network, self reflect and share content and pedagogical knowledge comes to fore. One issue that comes to mind is that the possibility of using TRCs and school clusters for CPD and teachers' INSET anchors firmly on the consistency in the provision of CPD programmes. The institutional arrangement of TRCs in connection with the Tanzania education system administrative and governance structures is not clear. Whilst the TRC coordinators are teachers, who are on the government payroll, the TRC expected functions of offering professional support to teachers are not allocated budget resources by the central government or the Local Government Authorities. In our opinion, one way of ensuring their sustainable functioning is having credible sources of funding and technical support.. This would be possible by financing their functions through the Human Capital Investment component of the Government development budget allocation to the Local Government Authorities.

Constructive alignment to the teacher education curriculum

It is fundamentally critical to the quality of education that teachers receive quality ITE, induction into the profession and opportunities to access quality professional development programmes to hone their competences throughout their career life. In that regard teacher education has to be perceived as a synergy of, and an organically interlinked system of preservice and in-service education and training. Therefore, the CPD programmes have to be

aligned constructively to the contemporary teacher education curriculum and paradigm shifts in the philosophy, orientation and discourses of teachers' development and training.

With regard to teacher education, it needs to be noted that, as the context within which teachers in Sub-Sahara Africa are working is changing at a rather fast pace (Bainton,Barrett and Tikly, 2016), it advisable to revisit the curriculum in order to make the graduates more skillful and competent in dealing with emerging issues and concerns that teachers are facing in the schools and communities in which schools are located (Akyeampong, 2017). It is useful for instance, to consider inclusion in the teacher education curriculum, aspects of counseling and skills to deal with psychosocial needs of pupils as well as health related social dysfunctions and misalignments and their effects on the learning and teaching process in the schools (Dachi, 2010).

On the other hand, INSET through school clusters and TRCs coupled with health care and support could enhance the vibrancy and vitality with which teachers apply to their work requirements. Eco-literacy and environmental care, politics of education, governance of schools and new ways of managing teachers (Olsen, 2006; Bashir et al. 2018) have to be included in the teacher education curriculum in order to make future teachers better able to undertake their responsibility in a manner that enhances their credibility in schools and the society.

Educational innovations in ICT

Integrated use of mobile technologies, digital open educational resources and interatice pedagogy are a new feature of professionalism in teaching (Hennesy.HaBler and Hofman (2015). This is what Lei and Morrow (2010) termed as 'the adoption of technology innovation into pedagogical practices'. Teachers need to learn new ways of teaching and new software updates, programmes and operating systems.

Interactive digital teaching methods and the understanding that technology is changing rapidly brings about the need for periodic teachers' development. According to Ertmer (1999) initial supplemental uses of technology may require small changes in classroom management and organizational strategies, "...more extensive uses tend to challenge traditional classroom culture and established classroom practices as well as teachers' beliefs about the teaching-learning process" (p.48). Furthermore, Ertmer (2005), Keengwe, Onchwari and Wachira (2008) make a similar observation that despite the recognition of the importance of digitalization in education, false beliefs about teaching, equipment and technology, and unwillingness to change among teachers constitute a barrier that can block implementation efforts.

Similarly, Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005) argues that new experiences and opportunities not embedded in some form of reform structures and policies have not been successful. An attempt to introduce ICT innovations to teachers without changing contexts, beliefs and structures can rarely bring a significant change (Hennesy, HaBler and Hofman (2015). Therefore, new learning technologies and digital integrated teaching and learning have to be adopted in pedagogical practices through professional development and reformulation of institutionalized routines embedding teachers' practices (Ntebe, Dachi and Raphael, 2011).

Scaffolding and communities of practice

One critical issue that needs to be taken into consideration is the current capacity for teachers to support innovations, work with others to promote professional development and to ensure

maximum utilization of rare skills and resources (Oduro, Michael and Dachi (2013). The different exceptional abilities, which some teachers possess above others - musical talents, mathematical skills, language acumen, social studies- need to be shared in non-threatening and mutually beneficial settings (Showers, Joyce and Bennett, 1987). This is what Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) referred to as scaffolding.

Professionalism in teaching is no longer an individual competence, but includes the ability to function and the capacity and willingness to share experiences that can enhance teaching (UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS), 2006). No one teacher can keep up with all current developments in their subjects; or be a virtuoso performer of all the teaching methods and strategies. Teachers are functioning in what Hargreaves (2006) termed 'the age of the Collegial Professional', meaning that, '...the role of the teacher has expanded to embrace consultation, collaborative planning and other kinds of joint work with colleagues' (p.681). Teachers have to network, exchange scholarly materials, test out new ideas in seminars, workshops, colloquia and conferences (Perraton, Creed and Robinson, 2002).

Of late, the discourse of communities of practice has gained currency. These have been understood as, '...groups of people who have a common interest in learning collaboratively through social interaction and through sharing knowledge about the best practices related to their profession...' (Cardona, Lugo & Gonzalez, 2012, p.1821). This is possible to be done for instance through organised professional learning events, regular meetings to exchange ideas with peers at their school or in local virtual networks. Communities of practice are essential tools for stimulating and supporting learning that leads to innovation in pedagogical practices and better performance in the teaching and learning process (Bashir et al., 2018).

Strong unions and professional associations

The capacity for teachers to work together in their unions and professional associations, which enables them to initiate and engage in negotiations and bargaining for labour and professional rights as members of a collective, gives them social and political potency. This in turn makes them confident in themselves and their ability to participate fully and meaningfully in educational policy-making processes (Alphonce, 2003). The professional synergisation emanating from such strong unions and teachers' associations with and amongst each other has the potential to contribute greatly to the realization of quality education obtaining in schools and other educational places. It can be argued, however, that such associations and their capacity to augment teachers' professional integrity and development hinges on the value of the premium they attach on the institutionalization of the teachers' voice on issues that matter to them (Tikly and Dachi, 2009).

Revalorization of the teaching profession

In the past, teachers in Tanzania had a special place in the society (Ishumi, 1988; 1986) and it perceived them as champions of development (Nyerere, 1968). Today the nobility linked to teachers no longer holds. People have perfected the art of looking down on teaching (Ishumi, 2013; 2009). Interestingly, the government has customarily relegated teaching to a lower tier of professions by allowing those with dismal grades and weak points to join the teachers' colleges (Dachi, 2017). Apparently, many competent teachers have lived the teaching job and held onto it as they consider what other career options to follow. Curiously, the negative attitude towards teaching is inadvertently by teachers in public schools attributing it to what they have termed as the government neglect of the teaching profession (Shekighenda, 2011).

There is need therefore to recognize the criticality of investing in the revalorization of teaching, teachers' status and the profession or, what Ishumi (2013) calls, '...revitalizing the lost glory of the teaching profession...'(p.108), and changing the '...silently negative or ambivalent public opinion about the teacher and the teachers' work and responsibilities...'(p.111). In addition to the formation and legislation of a professional teacher regulatory body, monetary and non-monetary motivational incentives such as professional development opportunities are a key ingredient of the revitalization efforts in that regard. According to Bashir et al (2018), without motivation, teachers working under conditions of hardship tend to quickly burnout and suffer from stress, which quite often lead them into dereliction of duty and obligation. Acts such as absenting themselves from school or of not entering the classroom to teach are evident in many Tanzanian public schools (Oxfrod Policy Management, 2017). De-motivated teachers not only lose the capacity and competence to serve their schools and communities but also send into disrepute the entire teaching profession robbing it the confidence it has always enjoyed from the public and society at large (Jonson and Maclean, 2010). Dachi (2017) argues that when the teachers become deviant and dysfunctional, policy makers have to grapple with such a corpus of workforce, which is "spent out" even though they remain on the payroll.

Concluding remarks

The Tanzania education system has not had a formalized and programmed professional development for teachers at all levels. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a number of initiatives though were not implemented under any institutional arrangements and a coherent policy of teachers' CPD. A strong case has to be made to the government that policies and practices that do not support the institutionalization and sustenance of teachers' CPD, thus encroaching on the capacity of teachers to hone their competencies through professional learning are rescinded and reversed lest they become inimical to the development and progress of the teaching profession and professionalism in Tanzania. There is need to support a cost effective INSET model, configured in the following manner:

- 1. Designed to be of a mixed mode with short residential training workshops in school clusters or TRCs on the content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge about topics of designated/specific subjects, supported by:
 - (a) Distance self-study modules of the respective subject content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge.
 - (b) Demonstration of the pedagogical knowledge through model lessons and teachers practicing and refining their pedagogical skills in the classrooms.
- 2. Collaborative facilitation of training workshops with tutors from teacher colleges and instructional leaders from the District and Ward levels.
- 3. Onsite professional support and guidance from teachers' colleges, 'master teachers', school leadership and other instructional leaders
- 4. Systematic application of quality assurance measures, monitoring, and evaluation to ensure sustainability.

It is cost effective because teachers remain in their respective schools and it allows sharing of teaching materials, tools (including innovative ICT) and institutional infrastructure that support good teaching and learning practices. It is essentially a reflective practitioner approach of professional development, in which teaching is an interactive problem solving requiring a systematic updating of key competences which teachers invariably require in the classrooms. Devolving the ownership of in-services professional development to the wards, clusters, schools and teachers themselves should be key concepts in the CPD strategies and institutionalization.

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