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Why are Teachers Motivated to Behave Unprofessionally? A Qualitative-Data-Based-Inquiry on Education Stakeholders' Experiences in Tanzania

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ABSTRACT

Scholars and practitioners agree that teaching and/or education can be generally prone to widespread abuse. This paper investigates the education professionals' account of professional misconduct in the education and/or teaching sector in Tanzania. It draws on the qualitative data generated from interviews, observations and documentary reviews. The informants for this study were teachers, teacher-trainees, officers from the Tanzania Teachers' Union and school inspectors. The study findings confirm that social, economic, political, academic, traditional and cultural, as well technological forces account for teachers' misconduct in Tanzania. The paper, however, concludes that the accounts advanced by educational professional informants to explain teaching malpractices and immoral behaviour among teachers in Tanzania are not justifiable on moral grounds and professional etiquette.

Keywords: Educational professionals, Qualitative data inquiry, Teacher misdemeanours, Tanzania

BACKGROUND AND THE PROBLEM

Globally, scholars agree that the teaching profession is generally prone to widespread abuse. Writing from experience in America, Conrad (1971) asserted that virtually all professions had some profile of professional misconduct. In teaching, in particular, Sockett (1993: 10) cited the case of a school principal who was involved in drug dealing with children. Generally,, unprofessional practices have been common in many societies in the world. Many recent African cases in which school and college teachers have been implicated abusing schoolgirls, or sexual harassment of female students have been observed in Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and other African countries (Bakari, 2004; Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani, & Machakanja,

2003; Munthali, 2001). Also, there is evidence of widespread involvement of teachers in examination malpractices in many African countries (Maunda, 2002; Soyemi, 2002). Teachers were found to be negligent and biased in addition to using impolite language towards their students in schools in Finland and the UK (Tirri & Puolimatka, 2000; Skinner, 2001).

In institutions of higher learning, where teachers might be considered more 'professionally' mature, there is also evidence to indicate to the contrary. In America, for example, unbecoming behaviours commonly reported among university professors include sexual harassment, neglectful of student supervision in favour of research, outside of university work, or leisure, and even easy grading in favour of students. Other professional misconduct are unwarranted tough grading to bolster their ego, casual grading due to laziness, and the use of students to coerce colleagues or administrators when working normal channels fail (Baier, 1990; Cintron, 1995). In sum, violations of professional ethics are not limited to any one country or level of education, for they can be found in any country and at any educational level. Tanzania, like other countries, has similarly, witnessed a spate of such problems that are detrimental to the welfare of the teaching profession, education, and the country at large. On 14 December 2001, the Executive Secretary for Teachers' Service Department (TSD), wrote a letter to the then Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar Salaam, a premier institution of higher learning in the country, complaining about unprofessional conduct among teachers throughout the country:

Our secondary schools, teachers' colleges and other education related institutions are manned by products of your faculty. Although we have teachers/tutors who man the mentioned institutions, we have observed with concern the low level [sic] or absence of professional ethics among our teachers. Some of them are totally ignorant of the professional code of conduct. The situation has caused some of the teachers to find themselves in awkward situations and ...sometimes they commit offences, which are embarrassing to themselves, the profession and the nation (URT, 2001:1).

This extract testifies to an absence of professional decorum among practising teachers, and to a problem that cuts across all levels of education in the country. Also implicit in this allegation is the fact that the University of Dar es Salaam has been failing to expose the trainee-teachers to the necessary ethics during their training at the institution. Given the nature, aims, and mission of the teaching enterprise, it is hard to believe that a professionally-trained teacher would fail to live up to expectations, but tangible evidence on the ground indicates otherwise. Although the letter is silent on the actual details of the professional misdemeanours of teachers, the available literature has documented the nature of these professional misconducts.

In 1996, for example, former Prime Minister, Judge Joseph Sinde Warioba, was mandated by the third phase Tanzania government to investigate corrupt practices in the country. The resultant Warioba Commission of Inquiry

confirmed the existence of different forms of professional dereliction that permeated all public sectors in the country. These include:

a). Some teachers demand bribes from parents before enrolling their children in school. Sometimes, they used the pretext that these were mandatory contributions for school activities.

b). Teachers offer bribes to their senior officers at the district, regional and ministerial level so that they can get promotions.

c). Conversely, parents bribe teachers so that weak pupils can pass their examinations by either giving them extra marks or inter-changing examination numbers or enabling teachers or secondary school pupils to take the examinations on their behalf.

d). Bribes are demanded or given to teachers to enable poor students to join secondary schools and training institutes.

e). Bribes are demanded and given to the Ministry officials and head-teachers in order to enable the failed students to be transferred or permitted to resume school as repeaters.

f). Bribes are given for students to secure on-campus accommodation in secondary schools, tertiary institutions and universities.

g). Teachers voluntarily or involuntarily give bribes so that they are transferred (often from remote rural or undesirable schools) or not transferred from their work places (often strategically located schools, especially in the urban centres).

h). Markers of examinations are bribed to allow weaker pupils to examinations they would otherwise fail.

i). Female students in tertiary institutions and universities are lured into and embroiled in sexual liaisons with teachers so that they can pass examinations (URT, 1996: 47 & 48).

Research reports also show that there have been many complaints from students about teachers' negative behaviours such as collecting money from them without issuing receipts, poor time keeping, failure to account for income and expenditure, having sexual relations with pupils, and favouritism of teachers' children. Other misconducts include coming to school drunk, not teaching in classes, dressing immodestly, and losing books (Anangisye & Barrett, 2005; Barrett, 2005; Telli, Nsemwa & Kallage, 2004; O-saki & Agu, 2002; Mosha, 1997; Ishumi, 1988). Officially, unless teachers meet the required professional and academic standards, they cannot continue in their employment. Indeed, a significant number of teachers have been dismissed on the grounds of unprofessional practices (Boimanda, 2004). There is little doubt that many other offences and misconducts in teaching take place without the knowledge of the respective authorities, hence go unpunished. Usually, what is reported tends to be a fraction of many incidents that go unreported, hence undocumented. The fundamental question, therefore, is: Why are teachers motivated to behave unprofessionally?

Theoretical Framework

It might be held to be a universal truth that teaching has a long and honourable tradition of ethical behaviour (Brock, 1999). Ancient Greek philosopher Socrates, for example, was concerned with moral character as an end or goal of teaching and he claimed that 'virtue is knowledge'. His main argument was 'that all we need in order to be good is to know what is good' (Rowse, 1936). Since the time of Socrates, the teacher's conduct has often been considered a moral mission. For that reason alone, teaching or education is a profoundly moral activity (Fenstermacher, 1990). In particular, most education philosophers seem to agree that teaching is an inherently moral undertaking. More importantly, it is argued that, 'values are an integral part of teaching, reflected in what is taught and also in how teachers teach and interact with pupils' (Arthur, 2003: 318). Such values seem to include punctuality, excellence, courage, patience, fairness, neatness, honesty, trust, truthfulness, orderliness, caring, respect for pupils and other people. Teachers are expected to demonstrate these values in all walks of life.

In her book, *The Ethical Teacher*, Elizabeth Campbell (2003:29) shows that such values or virtues are reflected in how teachers relate to their immediate clients. Claiming that teaching is an ethical or moral enterprise, Campbell asserts that, 'the need to treat students fairly or impartially' for teachers is an 'all-pervasive moral imperative that extends into all aspects of their professional practice'. Indeed, the virtue of fairness is grounded in the ethical principles of social justice.

Likewise, scholars (Carr, 2000; Pring, 2001; Strike & Soltis, 1998) acknowledge that teaching is prone to evaluation on moral grounds. In fact, people habitually give moral assessments of teaching. The judgements passed by people include observations of good or bad behaviour of school or college teachers. Also, school and college students make common evaluative comments in different educational or social settings. University students, for example, may be heard speaking or complaining about fair or unfair treatment or marking of take-home essays in a certain course. Furthermore, all the available literature indicates that teaching is notable for its normative character and implications. In his work, *Ethics and Education*, Peters (1966:3), like other educational philosophers emphasises normative character inherent in teaching:

> "Education" does not imply, like "reform", that a man should be brought back from a state of turpitude into which he has lapsed; but it does have normative implications, if along a slightly different dimension. It implies that something worth-while is being or has been intentionally transmitted in a morally accepted manner.

This notion is further clarified and developed by Carr (2003). The normative character of teaching exists on different levels. The normative character embodies the values inherent in teaching — though it should also be borne in

mind that not every undertaking that can be evaluated in terms of 'good' or 'bad' is necessarily ethical. In view of these points, one may argue that entering the teaching profession largely means getting involved in moral commitments and obligations. This is because teaching, among other things, is primarily concerned with commitment to individual welfare and basic needs (Sockett, 1993). Surprisingly, however, cases of professional misconduct in the teaching sector continue to occur in the world irrespective of the ethical character inherent in any particular education system. As already mentioned, the incidences of teachers' misconduct are global. On the other hand, the motivation behind teachers' unprofessional conduct or practice, particularly as they pertain to Tanzania, has not been adequately addressed in the available literature. This study seeks to fill this knowledge gap.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE INQUIRY

This study drew on the qualitative inquiry, resting on research participants' lived experiences and voices concerning misdemeanours among teachers. Relying primarily on a qualitative framework, the study deployed a case study design. The need for a detailed exploration of possible reasons behind teachers' misdemeanour made this underlying design indispensable. It helped the study to meet the research needs in terms of professional community and research settings (Gillham, 2000). Based on teaching related informants, the study was conducted in Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Mbeya regions. Dar es Salaam provided the researcher with data pertaining to a well-established and developed teacher education at the university level. Iringa had more than one Government College of teacher education and was also one of the regions with many secondary schools and naturally with an adequate number of teachers. Mbeya was particularly useful because it had both 'religious' and government or public-sponsored teacher training colleges. The religious-based teacher training facilities were significant in this study as a control mechanism against which public-controlled teacher training institutions can be measured. After all, most of the religious-based teacher training institutions tend to emphasise moral values as an integral part of their training. These three regions enabled the researcher to have access to reflections of the informants of diverse educational and social backgrounds on teachers' misdemeanours. Informants included teachers, student-teachers, pupils, officers from the Tanzania Teachers' Union and school-inspectors.

Several methods were deployed in the data generation process. Firstly, interview protocols involved one-to-one dialogues (OTODs) and focused group discussions (FGDs). OTODs were aimed at individual informants' voices on professional dereliction. FGDs, on the other hand, opened a room for diverse views (Patton, 2002). In fact, 'participants tend to provide checks and balances on each other, which weeds out false or extreme views' (p. 386). Secondly, observations allowed the researcher to observe the

behaviours and interactions of professional teachers in their social settings. The main focus of these observations was on how teachers related to each other, with students, and how they abided by school, college or university regulations. The observations allowed the researcher to take note of the behaviour of the teachers not included in the primary sample. It was during this observation process that the researcher noted how the teachers used impolite language when speaking with the students, drunk during school hours, and used official time to drink in pubs. Thirdly, documentary review involved a critical examination of the available texts informed the data generation procedures as well. The focus was on logbooks, daily attendance records, class journals, registers, teachers' annual reports, meeting deliberations and minutes. Such analysis of documents helped to provide a clear picture of explanations behind teachers' misdemeanours. In this endeavour, the hermeneutic approach informed and shaped the critical study of documents.

The data so collected was then analysed thematically. The process of data analysis began at the outset of fieldwork, focussing on transcribed interviews, field notes made during and after interviews, on observations, and documentary evidence. Three main stages informed data analysis (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Firstly, data reduction involved transcribing and summarising data from all sources. Data reduction was done on a daily basis. This enabled the researcher to assess the methods and strategies of data generation, and to make adjustments accordingly. Secondly, there was further organisation of the reduced data, in terms of generating major themes and sub-themes from oral and written texts. Finally, data interpretation was followed by drawing of conclusions. The primary units of analysis were informants and written texts. Although the data was derived from diverse local settings, the country (Tanzania) was used as unit of analysis. As such, the study's conclusions have been generalised to the whole country.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Presentation and discussion of the findings drew upon one major research question: Why are teachers motivated to behave unprofessionally in Tanzania? The results of the research findings suggest a varied nature of possible explanations for such unprofessional conduct and practice among teachers, ranging from economic, social, political, academic, traditional and cultural, as well technological forces:

Economic-related view

Poverty or low income: For many years, teachers have been complaining about low income (King, 2005; Samoff, 2003). Poverty or low income was singled out as an explanation for why teachers resorted to unprofessional

practices. Research findings revealed that the salaries of teachers were not realistic. Indeed, salaries were too small to sustain the life of a teacher and his or her family for a month:

> […] The period when I started working, salaries corresponded with the standard of living. But, today, the salary does not correspond with the ever-rising cost of living. The salary is too low compared to the cost of living. As a result, teachers do not have job satisfaction; they have their eyes open for other opportunities that can offer them chances to raise income … (College teacher).

This finding is in line with research findings in other countries. For example, a study carried out in New Zealand indicates that teachers had relatively low salaries compared to those of other occupations:

> [...] For the study participants, their salaries still did not seem fair or reasonable when compared with the salaries of peers in other occupations…All participants told stories of acquaintances who appeared to have higher incomes and more free time while working in less demanding careers than theirs. Even more difficult to accept were instances of former teaching colleagues who had left the profession and were now using their skills in higher paid 9 to 5 jobs… (Cushman 2005: 231)

Why are low salaries such a problem for teachers? According to some long-serving teacher informants, this problem rested largely on the poor state of the country's economy. As a result, teaching and several other occupations have been affected:

It is very difficult to mention the year. But, it should be noted that not only teachers but also other professions with educated people started to lose their meaning or simply status when the economy began to decline following the oil crisis. The economy started to decline after the price of oil went up. As the economy started to be difficult, the business sector flourished and non-educated people prospered. Thus, the education sector began to be despised. You find men or women without a good education and gainful employment becoming rich. As a result, many of the professionals began to aspire to run businesses on the side so as to supplement their income (College teacher).

To explore the validity of the complaints, the researcher requested one of the female primary school teacher informants to show her latest pay-stub. Having taught for nine years, her monthly take-home salary was Tanzanian Shillings 89,000/ (around £45.00) at the time of fieldwork in 2004. On this pittance of a salary, the monthly basic needs for this female teacher informant included: house rent, meals, electricity, water, transport, and miscellaneous expenses for beauty items such as make-up, for which she had to pay with the same salary. When all these expenses were taken into account, her average expenditure per day was around Tanzanian Shs 2,966.67 (an equivalent to

1.45 pounds). In a market-led economy, this salary was not enough to see her through the month. This, however, raised one basic question: how did she and other teachers manage to make ends meet? The findings revealed that a significant number of teachers got involved in similar work to the informal sector. Like several other teachers, this particular informant carried out *miradi midogo midogo* (small income generating ventures) or other means to supplement her low income (Samoff, 2003; Dedze, 2005). Further probing revealed that for this informant, her small project involved running a piggery project with only one female pig.

The findings also disclosed that other teachers opted for other self-help projects. These included making local brew, snacks, and selling ice cream. Indeed, through such enterprises as these, they managed to generate more money. The question now might be: what is wrong with such legal activities for a poor teacher? Such activities raise questions on the teachers' commitment to their professional undertakings. Naturally, such activities made these teachers sacrifice some of their official time. As a result, students went without lessons because their teachers had embarked on personal businesses during school hours (Barrett, 2005; Samoff, 2003). In particular, Barrett explained: "Several informants in this study suggested that demoralised teachers neglected their teaching duties to spend time on their informal income-raising activities" (p. 48). Interestingly, research findings revealed that, at some stage, there were female teachers who used their pupils to run their 'mobile businesses', especially in urban-based primary schools. Such female teachers would take items such sweets, snacks, and ice-cream with them for sale at school premises. They often asked class monitors or other students in their confidence to sell the items during recess.

Poor living conditions: Congruent with this, findings also indicated that the informants cited the poor living conditions as a major reason behind professional misdemeanours. Central to this problem was a lack of favourable housing for teachers and their families. Many informants acknowledged this state of affairs:

> Almost all teachers in Tanzania work under very difficult conditions. Difficult working environment is partly caused by very low salaries. The salaries that many teachers get cannot enable one to meet his or her basic needs such as clothes, food, etc. Also, there are no incentives for teachers. There is a lack of good living environments for them and their families; very poor quality houses; some of them stay far from schools. Moreover, many teachers have classes that are too big to handle (College teacher).

For many years now, the government has been unable to improve the deplorable living and housing as well as working conditions for teachers. Although quality accommodation is crucial for teachers, many of them lack decent housing. The few exceptions can be found in a few government-owned institutions, especially those that previously belonged to religious

organisations before their nationalisation, and those inherited from the colonial government. However, given the rapid increase in the number of teachers, even the available houses in government schools or colleges can hardly meet the high demand of all teachers. In primary schools, especially, the situation was found to be appalling. In the countryside, for example, staff houses were grass-thatched without light, furniture, toilets, and other social amenities. Hygienically, these houses were not fit for human habitation (Sumra, 2004). In his research report, *The Living and Working Conditions of Teachers in Tanzania*, Sumra presents an account of a primary school teacher who complained about the deplorable living conditions: "I am living in a house provided by the school. The house is made of poles and mud. It has no windows and has a fragile door. The roof is thatched and leaks during the rainy season. I am quite unhappy living in such a house" (p.37).

Consequently, there were teachers who looked for relatively better and affordable accommodation elsewhere in nearby villages or areas. Nevertheless, given the financial constraints they face, the only houses they could afford were also in poor condition. They were generally un-conducive for a professional teacher to live in. One informant explained how such dreadful living conditions could one of the factors behind many teachers' involvement in misdemeanours: "Teachers work and live in environments that are full of enticements. They live in streets where all well known evils take place. In addition, they live in streets where there are a lot of temptations …" (College teacher). There is little doubt that the nature of working and living conditions lead to under-performance academically and professionally on the part of teachers. How should we expect quality delivery or performance from teachers, who do not have, among other things, toilets, and comfortable or safe places to sleep or work? Nevertheless should the poor working or living conditions justify teachers' unprofessional conduct? If dire living conditions were the only factor, how come teachers enjoying relatively better living and working conditions are also guilty of the same misdemeanours?

The Influence of Superstitious Beliefs: As discussed elsewhere, to survive poverty-related challenges, some teachers resorted to 'superstition' in order to improve their socio-economic wellbeing. There was irrefutable evidence that some teachers consulted witch-doctors in a vain attempt to become rich overnight. However, the conditions attached to such black-magic can be ridiculous. In one district, it was discovered that a male primary school teacher was told by a traditional medicine man to have anal sex with 15 people, both men and women in order to strike it rich: "[…] Aah! What I gathered from one of his colleagues is that he wanted to get riches. That he heard people get wealth by having such relationships… they get this belief from witch-doctors …" (School Inspector). There were also reported cases of teachers who consulted such witch-doctors for quick-fix success in business, others for promotions or favours from their bosses, or to excel in examinations. The irony is that these teachers are professionals who are supposed to steer people away from such superstitious beliefs.

Teachers' ignorance of the nature and character of teaching

The study findings also revealed that professional misdemeanours in teaching were also attributable to lack of knowledge on professionalism. There were school and college teachers who were ignorant of what it meant to be a teacher. These teachers were unable to draw a clear distinction between teaching and other occupations. An informant with a thirty-five year teaching experience explained what she considered to be behind the unprofessional conduct among teachers as follows:

> […] Perhaps this is because teaching is treated like a trade and not a profession. A person is employed and goes into teaching as a trade. In this regard, they do the work partially so that they have other things to do tomorrow. If you finish all the work today, what will you do tomorrow? People are just concerned about benefiting from teaching and nothing else … (School teacher).

In some respects, this observation is consistent with the findings by Campbell (2003:1). She argues that 'teachers primarily carry out their professional work without being fully aware of the moral and ethical implications of their actions'. This, however, raises the question: are professional misdemeanours in teaching excusable just because of the teachers' ignorance of their professional etiquette?

Inappropriate procedures of teacher recruitment

'Impact' of Crash Teaching Programmes: Through field research, it became evident that the crash programmes for teachers carried out by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training aimed at alleviating the acute shortage of teachers ended up being detrimental to the teaching profession, primarily because of the procedures employed in such initiatives. Many 'unqualified candidates' found their way into teaching due to the unprecedented demand for teachers to meet the goals of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP). To begin with, the government launching the 'out of college' teacher training programme in the 1970s to fill the yawning gap. Primary school leavers, who failed to qualify for secondary school, were thus employed but many of them lacked the necessary qualities due to the inappropriate recruitment methods. In fact, one informant, who was involved in the UPE teachers' recruitment drive as a Ward Education Co-ordinator, explained:

> In the UPE programme, there was selfishness in such a way that they did not recruit the right candidates. Essentially, the programme was intended to recruit those of an academically capable standard. Instead, they also recruited people such as barmaids some of whom did not even finish Standard VII. But if

> they had used proper ways that were free from selfishness they would have got ethical and respectable people in work. I recall all youths who taught as part of the programme until today are good teachers… (School Inspector).

This UPE crash programme was doomed from the outset when it comes to developing professionalism for the following reasons. Firstly, the recruits did not have sufficient professional and academic training because they had failed the Primary School Leaving Examinations. Secondly, co-ordinators appointed to train and prepare them were not teacher-trainers; they had not been exposed to any teacher education training, since they were merely primary school teachers with basic teaching qualifications. Secondly, the PEDP a recent programme was aimed at getting all school-age children in Tanzania to school. As a result, it was deemed necessary to reduce the periods of teacher education and training courses to help meet the shortfall of teachers, especially in rural areas. Consequently, the theoretical part of the teacher training was reduced from two years to a year. Under this arrangement, teacher trainees spent the first year in college and the second year teaching. Thirdly, the recruiting of untrained cadres into teaching undermined the profession since these were vulnerable to committing misdemeanours. For many years, the Ministry of Education appointed untrained individuals to positions even in secondary schools and colleges of teacher education, all because of the severe shortage of teachers: "The Ministry of Education will provide a special intensive six months' teacher training course to Form six leavers in order to meet the need for academically sound teachers in secondary schools. This will be a short-term plan …" (URT, 1982: 13).

There were two categories of this type of teacher. The first category of 'teachers' involved Form Six leavers. Those who had performed well in their subjects, who wanted to be teachers underwent some training in the basics of teaching, especially the pedagogical dimension, for just a month, before being allowed into the classroom:

> Those whom we take for a brief period get an ABC of teaching only after which those who want to can apply for a teaching post. But they go to teach while under supervision. For those who are interested in teaching can apply for a course in education. Before pursuing such studies they normally get licences. In teaching, there are two things. You can teach either under licence or certificate. If you teach under licence, the implication is that you are not a trained teacher but you have a good academic background. But if you teach under certificate you are a professionally trained teacher. And these who teach under licence include those with a degree but without a teaching component. The licence lasts for two years after which he or she must go for an education course. If he or she does not do so, we tell him or her that in two years you did not show interest so bye…bye (School Inspector).

Indeed, these 'teachers' were supposed to teach for two years before proceeding to colleges of teacher education for full professional training in teaching. In fact, the government has been using this type of 'teacher' since the late 1970s under a slight different arrangement. Following the Musoma Resolution of 1974, all male Form Six leavers had to stay at home for two years after completing the *National Service Call up* before enrolling in institutions of higher learning. During this period, some got employed in areas of their interests while others started teaching in secondary schools. However, it remained questionable whether all those who ended up in such teaching positions were interested in teaching in the first place. On the whole, all these short-cuts of recruiting teachers had their own share of problems when it came to promoting professionalism.

These fire-brigade measures did not give 'teacher trainees' enough time to learn about and internalise what teaching as a profession was all about. Many of those churned out of these programmes had not been adequately prepared to fully grasp the character of teaching and its moral implications. As one educationist pointed out:

> The mere fact that teachers in basic education are trained at a low levels shows that it is not easy to engage them in serious research. It is also not possible for them to deal with complicated educational debates that inform teaching in the present world of changing paradigms of knowledge. Most of them join the teacher training course after finishing only primary education or the ordinary level secondary education. Teachers are trained like they were in a craft, managing the basic principles that guide their practices. Very few of them have the ability to question or even adapt the principles in real situations (Mhando, 2006).

Studies on teacher education and preparation have generally raised concern over the viability of the 'crash programmes' or 'innovations in teacher education' toward promoting teacher professionalism (Mmari, 1979). Evidence confirms the detrimental character of such programmes (Ishumi, 1986:14). Ishumi, for example, draws on the 'second phase' or 'models' of teacher preparation — crash programmes that lasted from 1968/69 to the early 1980s:

> A number of professional misbehaviours among teacher products of this second [phase] have been observed or else reported, including either extreme laxity or extreme authoritarianism in classroom performance, little care about exemplary qualities of personal hygiene, and conduct, teacher absenteeism and other unprofessional or professionally disgracing activities.

Influx of other 'occupational cadres' into teaching: The findings also disclosed that apart from crash programmes, the government used raw graduates from other fields in filling the teaching positions. Again, this was

in response to the critical shortage of teachers. 'Teachers' in this category came from fields such as engineering, agriculture, home economics, animal science, food science, and social sciences. These individuals joined teaching due to soaring unemployment in their respective specialisation (Chapman & Mulkeen, 2003:3): "In some countries, such as Tanzania, the retrenchment of the public sector has led to divestment of staff from many areas, while the private sector cannot absorb of those seeking work". The government issued them with teaching licenses so that they could teach for two years before going for professional training in teaching. However, some of these non-teaching degree holders failed to do so because of financial constraints in the absence of government support. Without a proper arrangement for them by the government, several of these teachers have been teaching for over five years without any training in teaching or in teaching ethics and morals.

Irresponsibility of parents and/or guardians

The research findings established that parents were blamed by informants for the current failures in many aspects of the teaching profession, especially for the unbecoming character of their offspring. The argument here is that poor parentage would result in colleges of teacher education and training receiving candidates who are impossible to be moulded into professional and morally upright teachers. Indeed, many parents spend little time with their children (Walsh, 1995). Without elementary moral values, these children could eventually end up in colleges of education for a teacher education and training course with worrisome consequences. As one school inspector explained:

> […] On the side of parents, the past upbringing of children was different from today. Nowadays, it is possible to find a youth who never got even basic ethics on how to live with adult and other people; many people are just like that. You find that the father and mother are civil servants, leaving early in the morning for work; a house girl is the one that gives them food and spends more time with children than the parents do. Parents have very little time to stay with their little children. Thus, a child grows without knowing right and wrong things. As a result, he or she does what he or she thinks is right while it is not. Consider things related to love; a teacher having sex affairs with students. It once appeared that even female teachers had affairs with male students … this could be due to personal frustrations or perhaps bad upbringing.... not like in the past. It is a problem that a person who was not brought up in an acceptable manner is the one who gets into teaching. He or she just feels that it is all right to entice his or her pupil into sex affairs, something which is unprofessional. He or she is supposed to treat pupils like his or her own children (School Inspector).

Some parents were also held responsible for some of the malpractices of the teachers. For example, parents who wanted their children to the final examinations with flying colours regardless of their aptitude, tended to influence teachers likely to invigilate examinations and head-teachers: 'Sometimes parents would organise themselves and mobilise money for examinations. When you arrive they request you to sell them the examination papers; they release the money' (Tanzania Teachers Union officer). As such, affluent parents do lure hungry and needy teachers into such traps. In the same vein, Mosha (1997:12) explained:

> Of late, there are several temptations that confront a teacher and an administrator with low morality. There are schools today where when a teacher enters an examination room [he or she] finds every student has placed money (one thousand shillings or more) on top of their desks. The simple message is please take this money and let us do our thing. Would you take this money just because the system is not paying you fairly?

Whereas it is inexcusable for teachers to fall into such traps, it is evident that parents and guardians need educating or sensitisation workshops to enable them to contribute meaningfully towards the promotion of the moral education their children need in their respective households.

Mishandling of teachers' welfare

The findings also established that, apart from getting low incomes, teachers were among the most neglected lot in Tanzania, especially in the public sector where the employer appears insensitive to their plight. Several complaints from teachers focused on uncertainties in getting their pay from their employing authorities (district councils and the Central Government). For example, newly-appointed teachers can be posted to new workstations without salaries and allowances due to them. A female primary school teacher, with a thirty-one year experience to her belt based in a remote rural area said: " ... because of the difficult working environment, for example, you get a first appointment, while you have nothing at all in your handbag. Once you get to your new workstation you are forced to look for whatever means so as to make money for survival. This is true of female teachers…"

From a personal experience, it took the researcher more than six months to get his first regular salary when employed as a high school teacher for the first time. Fourteen years later the story is still the same. The only explanation from the responsible authorities is that names had not yet been entered into the computerised payroll. The story does not end there however, as Mosha, (2004:50) explains:

> The plight of teachers is further undermined and affected by the minuscule salaries often paid late, especially for teachers working in remote primary schools. It takes inordinate time — sometimes

> up to one year — to have salaries of newly appointed teachers paid due to bureaucratic procedures of establishing and validating records.

Indeed, a large number of teachers still go for long periods without payments, or experience monthly payment delays, and are owed millions of shillings by their employer (district councils and the Central Government). The following experience in one district exemplifies what is happening nation-wide:

> A total of 700 primary school teachers working in Arumeru district have given the government a deadline of up to March 17 to settle their financial claims, amounting to Tshs. 150 million, or else they will be compelled to take some drastic measures…the cash claims are actually accumulated payments and allowances, that were supposed to be paid to the teachers, for the past five years… Transfer cost for 365 teachers; holiday payments for 117 teachers; in-practice training allowances for 113 teachers; and health payments for 72 teachers… (Kirenga, 2005).

Such lack of motivation has implications for teachers' commitment and concentration in their professional duties.

Teaching as the remaining employment alternative

Lack of professionalism could also partly be attributed to fact that some practising teachers and student teachers did not regard teaching as their chosen profession. Many of these part-timers ended up in teaching due to lack of viable alternatives. Thus, they took teaching as a last resort to at least earn a living (Alphonce, 2003; Chapman & Mulkeen, 2003). Once an opportunity knocks, they would be the first to leave. Asked to rank professions, one teacher informants said:

> […] I did not choose teaching. Certainly, I did not like this field. My ambition was to finish Form Four and join the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy (DSA) for a course in accountancy. I liked accountancy or materials management (store-keeping), very much. But, I was really shocked when I was selected to join a college of teacher education …Shinyanga Commercial Institute, popularly known as ShyCom, for a diploma in education. I went to the college but later I had determined to leave for other alternatives. When the deputy Principal heard of my frustrations, he called for a meeting with all student teachers. He told us that 'being selected to join a college of teacher education does not prohibit you from acquiring a university education'.

This was also true with teachers-to-be (teacher trainees) in teacher training as the following statement by a second year female student teacher illustrates:

Why are Teachers Motivated to Behave Unprofessionally?

> "[…] obviously, a teacher's life is difficult. But, I have to agree with the situation. I had other choices including teaching. The strategy was, if I miss my first choices then I would go to teaching…"

The implication for both practising teachers and student teachers is that they are largely in the wrong profession while nursing other ambitions or unfulfilled dreams. One of the reasons they end up in teaching has to do with their having performed poorly in the state-administered national examinations. Indeed, the findings confirmed that many students went into teaching because of their uncompetitive grades, hence their failure to join their chosen careers. With doors to other avenues firmly shut, they tried teaching:

> Having failed to pursue their choice of career most had faced the need for an alternative. Thus, while only some Diploma students initially wanted to teach, others (both Diploma and Certificate students) had accepted their academic or financial limitations and opted for teaching as the only feasible alternative (Towse, Kent, Osaki & Kirua, 2002: 642).

Interviews with retired teachers and education officers, however, revealed a different viewpoint. This category of informants said that they joined the profession because they loved teaching which they cherished as a 'noble career'. One retired teacher, who also served as a school inspector and regional education officer during his heyday, said:

> […] During that period teaching was the only easy course to get and also people like me who lived in villages thought teachers were the only people who commanded high respect. That is why even parents, when there was an issue that called for any advice, used to say let us ask the teacher. I thought teaching was right for me, something that is not there to many who join it today. As for me, I was longing to be a teacher. Teaching, at that time, commanded high respect in society…

However, under the present circumstances too many people joined a profession they did not like. In fact, they were in the profession with their eyes open to other areas (Chapman & Mulkeen, 2003). Unfortunately, for some of these teachers their loyalty to the professional remains largely questionable. This anomaly has also been observed in a study conducted by the Voluntary Service Overseas in Malawi, Papua New Guinea and Zambia:

> Although... many teachers continue to do their jobs in difficult circumstances, it is clear that the hardships of their living and working lives have begun to take their toll on professional commitment. In countries where there is little alternative formal sector employment, it is perhaps inevitable that the education

> system will end up carrying some teachers who are not fully committed to their work. Thus, attrition out of the profession itself may not be a problem, but a gradual erosion of professional norms and values is unfortunately in progress, with concomitant effects (Fry, 2002: 25).

Circumstantial view

Science and technology and the globalisation process: The effects of modernity and its technological advancement in an increasingly globalised world were also cited as having had taken a toll on local ways of life and values. One of the arguments the informants made was that exposure to Western culture through TV, newspapers, the internet, videos had a debilitating effect on the local cultural norms and values. Teachers are not immune to these changes. The situation has been compounded by the mushrooming of tabloids containing pictures of half - or fully nude people: 'Newspapers are full of sex stories and pictures which draw people's attention… You think of Internet cafes and X-rated movies. All this exposure to indecent materials awakens lust in people' (College teacher). With lack of strict government control on access to obscene content which has widely available as part of the globalisation process, the nation was also reaping negative effects as well. Unfortunately, some of the teachers imbibe in this cultural transformation without thinking seriously about the negative consequences this might have on their teaching, behaviour and professionalism.

Role of students: Some teacher informants accused some female students of seducing teachers into committing some misdemeanours, especially sexual related behaviours (SRB). Indeed, there was ample evidence to affirm that some female students especially in secondary schools, colleges and universities employed different tactics to entice their teachers into illicit sex affairs: As one school teacher explained, 'In fact…there are problems that make teachers fail to follow professional ethics in girls' schools. Students can be the cause for teacher misdemeanours. This is a habit of female students. Male teachers, on the other hand, are blamed for failing to control themselves when such problems surface'.

A head-girl at one secondary school said the tactics used by female students to attract male teachers included leaving open the upper parts of their blouses and expose part of their bosom. Others folded their skirts or gowns to attract the teachers' attention to their thighs. Some bit nails when asked to answer a question. There were also others who used seductive voices and strategic sitting that exposed their private parts. Students perform these provocative acts inside the classroom during lessons. Some female students even sent e-mails to the teachers they admired. As one Form Six leaver informant explained, 'Given scientific and technological changes nowadays female students do not use physical letters. They use the e-mail to

communicate'. Here is an email from a female student teacher to her male college teacher (informant):

> […] Greetings. I have tried much to show you all signs but it seems I am not of your standard because you don't seem to be aware of me. Therefore, I send you my photo. Probably if you see what you miss, you will be shocked a bit. Please, I am a wife of someone, you are a husband of a person, I am a student and you are a teacher. Therefore, please, please, please, none should see this picture. Let it be a secret between you and me. Let us not disgrace each other. I have dared to take risk because I want you and I to have communication. I adore you…

However, transferring the blame to desperate female students does not justify the unprofessional conduct on the part of school, college or university teachers. Arguably, these circumstances are tempting but it is also a duty of a teacher to exercise professional restraint and avoid abusing his authority as a teacher.

Traditional and cultural orientations: Some informants made a rather strange observation in connection with SRB. Some traditional cultural expressions tend to encourage immoral sexual behaviour (Zanda, 2004; Bagamoyo College of Arts, Tanzania Theatre Centre, Mabala & Allen, 2002). In particular, Bagamoyo College of Arts, et al. (2002:335) found that in places such as Kisarawe and Bagamoyo the initiation ceremony of girls, particularly *ngoma,* 'girls are trained to be a good wife and mother, but are also encouraged to have a 'farm and a garden' (meaning a spouse and an extra-marital sexual partner)':

> Girls are also told during initiation that in order to get material goods (including essentials such as soap and clothes), they should depend on sexual partners and not parents. During the 'coming out' celebrations accompanying the end of initiation, all night dances include songs that encourage casual sex, stripping, and drummers demanding sexual relations during *vanga* dancing.

For both male and female teachers who come from such culture having an extra-marital affair is a normal thing so long as the cheating partner is not caught. Such immoral behaviour when uncontrolled can affect the teaching practice. As one female teacher informant explained during an interview, with particular reference to female teachers from such a cultural background:

> … There are married female teachers who ask for permission from the head-teacher on the pretence that they want to attend to family matters but they use the excuse to go to [*ngoma* and] their male partners. As a result, children go without lessons due to teachers' absence. Also, pupils learn bad behaviours from such teachers. The feeling among pupils is that as teachers practise sexual behaviour then it is not bad thing! (School teacher).

It is evident that students and future teachers from such cultures are likely to be affected by these practices but these are not justifiable grounds for embracing teaching malpractices and misconduct, hence tainting the teaching profession.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based mainly on qualitative field data, this study sought to account for professional misconduct among school and college teachers in Tanzania. Study informants referred to a number of issues ranging *inter alia* from social, economic, traditional and cultural, to technological parameters to explain why teachers abuse their teaching profession. Given the professional nature and character inherent in the teaching and/or education undertaking, none of the explanations they offered is justifiable on moral grounds. Invariably, every teacher must exercise an ethical conduct irrespective of his or her socio-economic, cultural, or geographical background. That said, it should also be noted that the promotion of the ethical dimension of teacher professionalism is not the responsibility of teachers in schools or colleges of teacher education alone. Rather, every stakeholder in teaching has a role to play. Education authorities responsible for selecting students to join different levels of teacher education programmes have the obligation to ensure that only those individuals with the potential to be ethical should get into teaching; hence there is a need to exercise vetting. More importantly, innovations in the teacher education programmes curriculum must take *ethical education* seriously and make it mandatory to enable teachers to treat the moral dimension as obligatory and indispensable (Soltis, 1986).

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