

A Twist on Performance Theory

How rewarding individual teachers may promote
whole school improvement.

Examining the effects of KiuFunza in Mbozi District, Tanzania.



McAlpine, K, Kagucia Omesa, N, Semwene, J & Mbise, A (2018)

Twaweza; Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Table of contents

Executive summary	2
Background. Teachers' impossible conditions are being ameliorated.	5
Teaching infrastructure is improving. But, teachers continue to be underpaid.	5
The profession used to be respected.	7
Does a cash payment upon evidence of student success improve teaching?	8
Research design	10
Results. Teachers are unequivocal that KiuFunza is positive.	12
I have more security and thus have become a better teacher.	13
We all focus on the child.	16
A positive feedback loop of whole school improvement has been established.	18
Discussion. KiuFunza wakes teachers up.	20
Theoretical proposition. A twist on performance theory.	22
Advocating for the reward of (unbiased) performance.	23
Appendix: Interview guides	25
Interview guide for District Coordinator	25
Interview guide for teachers	25
References	26

Executive summary

Evidence from around the world shows that teacher effort has an impact on learning outcomes. One of the most basic measures of teacher effort is teacher presence. In Tanzania, teacher absence from classrooms is a non-trivial problem. The Service Delivery Indicators study (2014) found that 14.4% of teachers absent from school, but moreover, that 46.7% of teachers were absent from classrooms (World Bank, 2017). A set of surprise school visits conducted in 2016 suggested the trends are not changing (Twaweza, 2017e).

Recognizing the central role teachers play in the learning achievement of students and the magnitude of the problem of teacher absenteeism in Tanzanian classrooms, Twaweza Tanzania has for the past four years (2013-2016) implemented a teacher motivation intervention based on a cash-on-delivery model (COD). The initiative, termed KiuFunza, aims to measure the impact on student learning of COD incentives for teachers in Standards I-II-III of public primary schools. KiuFunza measures student skills, pays teachers for improved performance based on these skills, and provides feedback to teachers about their performance. It does not train teacher on what or how to teach, nor does it provide any additional teaching resources or inputs into school management. It basically trusts that teachers are able to impart basic skills and competencies (through to Standard III), as long as they are motivated to do so.

Twaweza found that the narrative around this design was contested from the start. There is much discomfort with the individualized nature of the COD design, and concerns are raised that such an approach is detrimental to the group cohesion and morale at school-level. Indeed, in exploratory studies conducted by Twaweza on the topic of management of education at district-level, and specifically around teacher absenteeism in schools, the dominant narrative that emerges is one of collectivism, not individual action and individual rewards. There is strong preference for sharing of responsibility for under-performance (e.g. there are valid reasons why teachers are absent; parents are as much to blame as teachers for poor learning outcomes, etc.). One could almost term this a form of “collective paralysis” where no actor is willing to be at the forefront of demonstrating change in behaviour, perhaps because doing so would expose others and therefore potentially threaten the wellbeing of the entire group (Twaweza, 2017h).

But KiuFunza works. It has been implemented in 180 government-run, primary schools across 10 districts in Tanzania. Districts and schools were sampled randomly so that results are nationally representative. The first phase (2013 & 2014) trialled the direct delivery of capitation grants to schools (which was subsequently adopted by the government as policy in January 2016) and cash on delivery for teachers – separately and in combination. This phase found a significant positive impact on learning outcomes from a combination of teacher incentives and direct delivery of capitation funds. The second phase built on this to trial different models of incentive systems since the capitation grant delivery model has already been adopted by the government. After two years of treatment (2015 and 2016), findings show that the impact is equal to one-third of a year of schooling, added to the business as usual learning progress (without incentives).

For an initiative to be adopted throughout the system, we need to know not only whether it works, but also *how* and *why* it works. To understand better the mechanisms of how the individual-performance based initiative KiuFunza interacted with the school's collective, we conducted in-depth qualitative research in the twelve schools participating in KiuFunza in the Mbozi district in Tanzania.

Mbozi district was purposefully chosen from among the districts implementing KiuFunza, because it ranked as "middle-performing" in terms of overall COD bonuses earned in 2017. Kindondoni was the district with highest amounts of bonuses earned, while Mbinga earned the least. KiuFunza schools within Mbozi presented a range of performance with teachers with low achievement of COD bonuses, as well as some of the highest-earning COD teachers. The data collection approach was narrative interviews with teachers and head teachers.

A grounded theory method was used to analyse the data. Grounded theory is a process that generates ideas that are grounded in data about participants' problems. The intention is to build abstract theoretical understanding of latent patterns of behaviour. Data is collected, coded, and analysed in an iterative process. As the researcher codes, categories and their properties begin to emerge, and the researcher begins to generate hypotheses about the relations among the categories and the key variable starts to become clear. Grounded theory allows the researcher to go beyond verifying facts and describing experience to generating an explanation of them. In total 26 interviews were coded, generating 633 references.

What do teachers say about KiuFunza? Teachers are unequivocal that KiuFunza is positive. At an individual level they have more financial security which reduces their stress and positions them to be a better teacher. KiuFunza focuses everyone in the school on the child and creates a positive feedback loop of whole school improvement.

What reasons do teachers give for KiuFunza being effective? Teachers explain that the financial security that they receive from the bonus enables them to think about tomorrow, to spend more time teaching, and to focus on their students as individuals. A few teachers explicitly stated that as a result of the bonus, they stopped taking work outside of the school. Moreover, KiuFunza was trusted because it was seen as not biased (rewards based on observable outcomes), and because it delivered (the bonuses were paid out).

What did teachers do differently as a result of KiuFunza? Teachers speak of adopting different ways to assess students' learning by giving them regular tests to gauge their abilities. The results of these assessments provide teachers with data to differentiate their teaching between students depending upon their individual needs and capacities. In the face of limited teaching resources teachers are improvising and adapting material from their environment, so that they can vary their teaching stimuli and techniques.

A positive feedback loop of whole school improvement has been established. Teachers speak of developing solutions and performance-oriented culture. The school uses limited resources more effectively, and students focus, study and achieve.

Teachers reinforce student performance with their families; and as teachers spend more time and attention on the child they find that they are bonding with students.

How did the teachers use the bonuses received? More than half the teachers used the bonus to reward the teachers' collective. A number used it to incentivize and reward students. For others it added to their family financial security, and to purchase "treats" for them and their family.

KiuFunza builds on an underlying self-identity that teachers possess where they think of themselves as purposeful educators. They call the bonus they are paid "*Bakshishi*". This word derives from Persian and Arabic, but, often when used in Kiswahili it means a tip or a bribe; something that is sweet like candy. In KiuFunza the *Bakshishi* has proved to be a quick motivator that is sweeter than a salary rise. This is because it is a public undertaking with the potential for social affirmation and makes explicit the relationship between effort, results, and payment.

In the challenging conditions of a resource poor educational setting teachers have lost sight of their significance as educators. Society claims to value and respect good teachers, but our actual behaviours undermine claims that we are committed to educational attainment.

KiuFunza's goal is to improve students' learning outcomes. It does so by demonstrating a concern with teachers' interests, by trusting teachers to deliver, and by rewarding unbiased outcomes.

It has demonstrated a virtuous cycle of effects

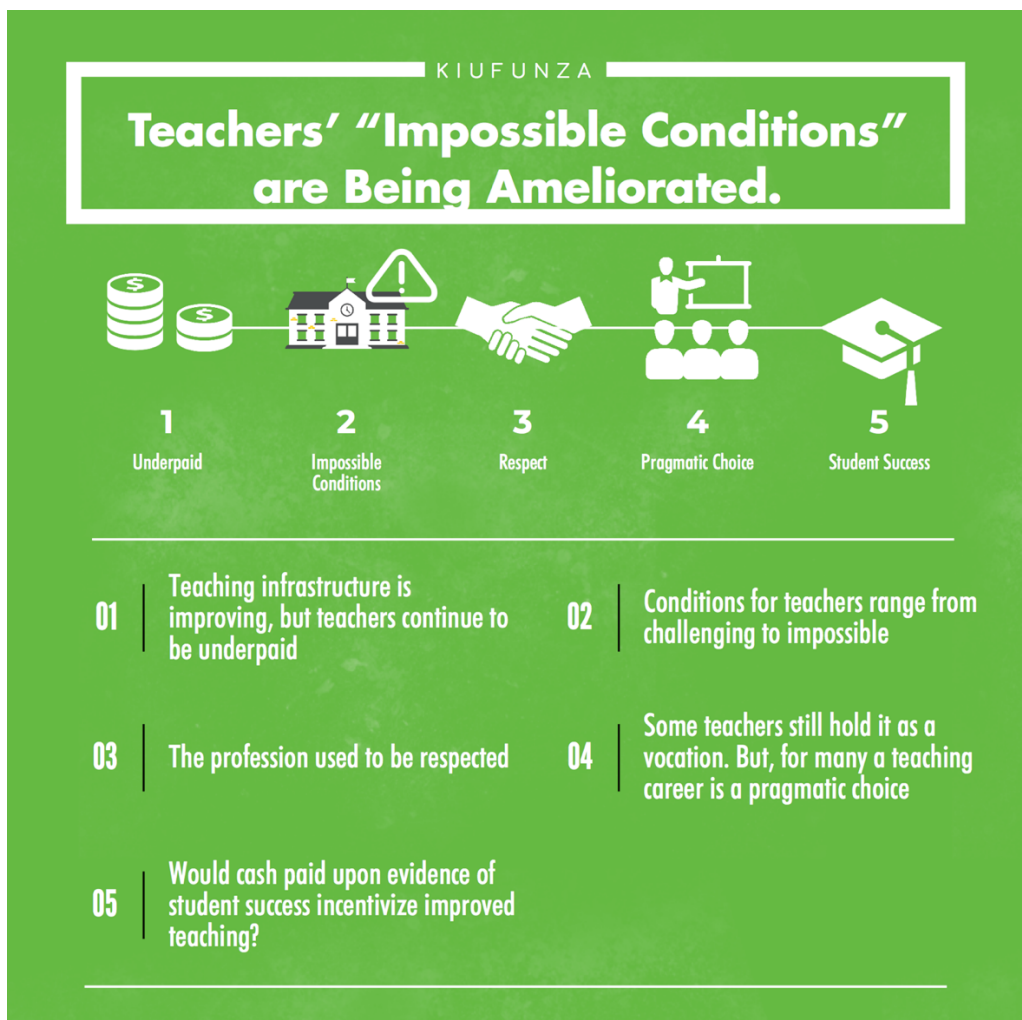
1. Teachers feel more secure and less stressed; and so are able to focus teaching time, attention and reward on individual children.
2. A school environment has emerged that focuses on learning, solutions and performance.
3. Teachers, students and parents become bonded in their joint pursuit of performance.
4. Teachers self-image recovers as they identify as purposeful professionals, irrespective of their motivation to join the teaching profession.

These effects are conditioned on the catalyst for motivation being unbiased and reliable, and tangibly demonstrating to teachers that hard work pays, and can generate social affirmation.

Advocacy and program design within the education sector could further focus on rewarding (unbiased) performance, rather than blanket measures of resource increases.

Background. Teachers' impossible conditions are being ameliorated.

Fig 1. Teachers' "impossible conditions" are being ameliorated.



Teaching infrastructure is improving. But, teachers continue to be underpaid.

Resources are being sent to schools.

Twaweza's analysis (2017g) of the Tanzanian Government's basic education statistics paint a picture of national investment in schools. There have been improvements schools' receipt of the capitation grant, classrooms have been built, and teachers have been hired.

The implementation since January 2016 of the direct Capitation Grant policy means that payments are now sent directly to school bank accounts by the President's Office - Regional and Local Government (PO-RALG). Head teachers report that capitation grant money arrives earlier

than expected (against 20 percent or less reporting this before 2016), and the per student capital grant receipts have improved. 2016 data shows the highest per student receipt since 2013 (Twaweza, 2017g).

There has been a massive increase in the number of primary school students, with 8,247,000 enrolled in primary education (fhi360, 2017). An assessment conducted by Twaweza of the schools in the KiuFunza initiative revealed that with very few exceptions there was a surplus of classrooms (2017f). However, student teacher ratios do vary between schools and teachers may be on the payroll, but not necessarily be consistently teaching in class. “STRs vary considerably: two schools can have (about) the same number of students but quite different numbers of teachers” (Twaweza, 2017d).

Teachers are not consistently present in class.

In 2015 and 16 Twaweza conducted unannounced visits to 180 schools to monitor attendance and teachers’ activities. They discovered that one out of three teachers on duty is at school. But, they are not inside the classroom. This “represents a large loss of instructional time for the students.” Twaweza assessed that when outside of the classroom, teachers were talking with other teachers, and sometimes with students (40 percent and 11 percent, respectively, in 2016). About a quarter are engaged in leisure activities and another quarter in paperwork (Twaweza, 2017f).

Salaries have improved, but teachers’ purchasing power has diminished.

94% of teachers in standards I, II, and III are certificate teachers. Relative teacher salaries have increased between 1990 and 2012. In 1990, teacher salaries were between 127-155 percent of per capita GDP. In 2012, they are between 228-439 percent. However, teachers’ purchasing power has stagnated. Since 2000, certificate teachers’ salaries have decreased compared to GDP; from 230% in 2000 to 175% in 2005 (Twaweza, 2017a).

Conditions for teachers range from challenging to impossible.

Teachers complain about working in conditions that make it impossible to embody their professional practice. In a 2016 study of teacher absence in Ilemela and Mvomero participants described a situation where school infrastructure was not fit for purpose; teachers were exhausted because of the lack of teacher housing; classrooms were packed; schools were unsafe; and teaching materials insufficient (McAlpine, 2016).

In Mbozi in 2017, teachers’ complaints closely mirror those of their colleagues in the other districts. There are many challenges that teachers have to confront as a result of the environment. *[Ni kweli kazi yetu ina changamoto nyingi kutokana na mazingira yenyewe]*. In spite of the investments mentioned above, teachers complain that infrastructure is not fit for purpose. *[Ukiangalia mazingira ya ufundishaji na kujifunzia sio mazuri sana]*. There has been a particular under-investment in rural schools *[Kwa sasahivi mazingira ni magumu kwakweli,*

tofauti na mjini]. Across the board teachers describe situations where students play truant because of the lack of a school fence; where teachers housing is far from the school; and where there is a shortage of water and toilet facilities. Teaching materials are insufficient and inappropriate, with the books that are available not reflecting the context in which children are living and thus failing to foster student understanding.

Teachers complain that parents do not reinforce messages about the importance of attending and focussing on school. They believe that community members have limited appreciation of education and how to support their children. As a result, children are not motivated to learn, they do not study at home and they “just put their books under the bed”. Parents fail to follow up on their child’s development, and they do not collaborate with the school.

Teachers perceive that the Government ignores their needs because the State exists far from their day to day realities. The Government does not pay on time. Some schools have not been inspected for 20 years. Teachers need other sources of income in order to survive.

The profession used to be respected.

Whatever their motivation for joining the profession, teachers agree that the repute with which they are held by society has shifted in a negative direction. They argue that teaching is no longer considered a respected profession. It is just considered to be like any other profession. *[Saivi ualimu ni kazi kama kazi nyingine tu ... kwa sababu ukimchukulia mwalimu wa zamani na wa sasa ni vitu viwili tofauti]*.

Teachers are like priests and teaching is a vocation.

The work of teacher is like that of a priest. One cannot expect to get reward or motivation from the community. *[Tunafanya kazi kama mchungaji, lakini useme jamii inipongeze au kunipa motisha hapana, lakini sisi tuliofika huku tumezoea mazingira haya, lakini]*. In the 2016 study (McAlpine, 2016) teachers self-identified as having a place on the social hierarchy that is not reflected in how they are treated in practice; complaining that the Government ignores their needs and that they were routinely disrespected.

In spite of the lack of appreciation from others 73% [n=19] of the teachers in this study described themselves as having a vocation. This takes the form of an intrinsic love of children that expands to the job as they transform people’s understanding. This mirrors the 2016 findings where teachers characterized a good teacher as having a sense of vocation and pride in their role.

The teachers in this study identified as public role models, who are patient and calm. They spoke of catching the vocation at the hands of their own teachers or from parents who were teachers. *[Ilikuwa kama wito kwangu kuona walimu wana fundisha, na ikitokea mwalimu akanipenda sana kwa hiyo na mimi nikaipenda sana kazi hii]*.

The significance of the teaching vocation lies in the assertion that teachers are drawn to the profession, irrespective of what they are paid. *[Unajua ualimu ni wito na ualimu unatakiwa mtu kujituma bila kujali unalipwa kiasi ambacho kinakutosheleza wewe katika mahitaji yako].*

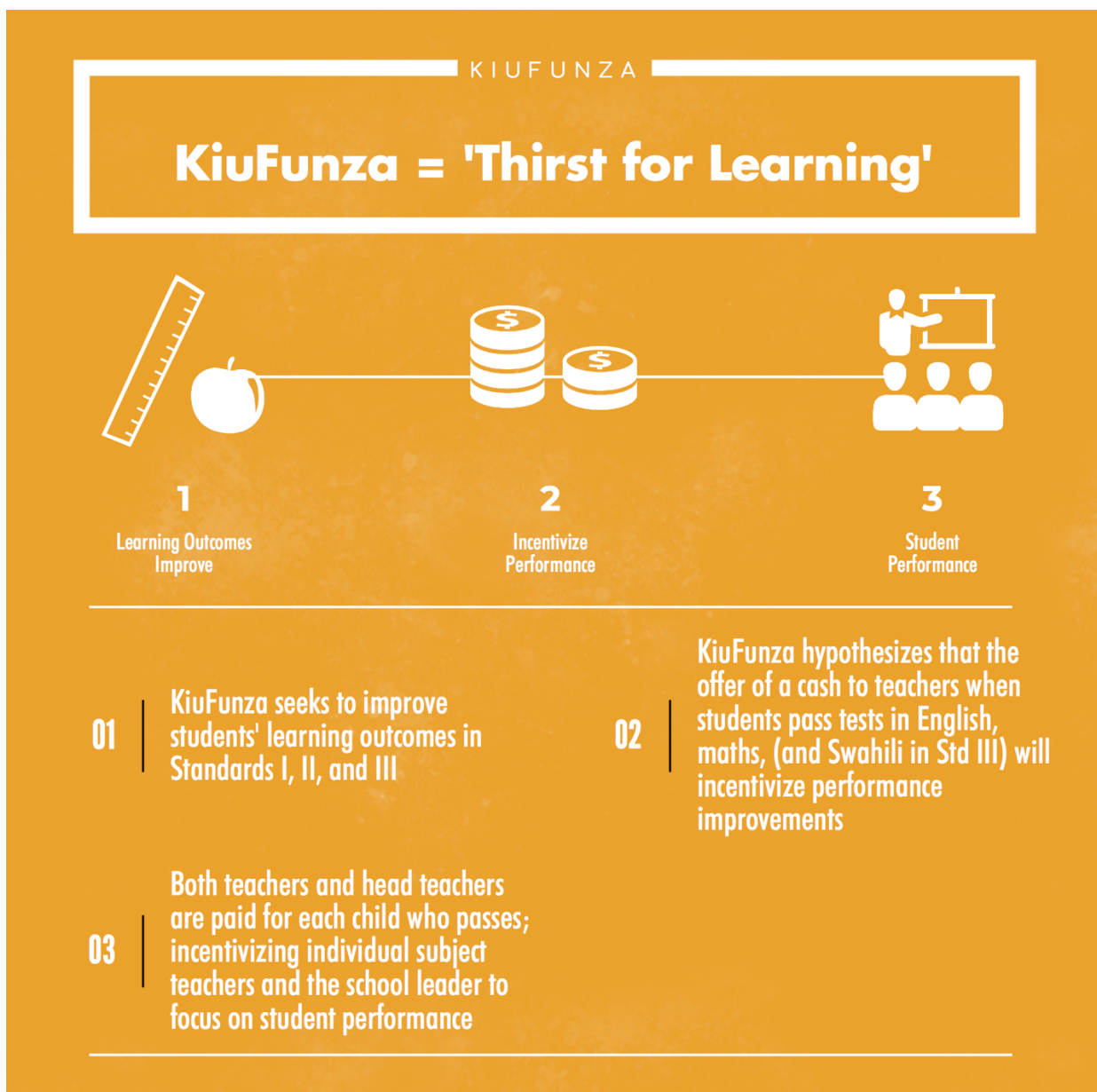
Teaching is a pragmatic choice.

For 23% [n=6] teachers in this study, joining the profession was a pragmatic choice. They speak of wanting a job with flexibility and security. *[Kinachonisukuma kwa sababu hii ni kazi yangu nilio isomea na ninapata mshaara lazima niende kazini nikafanye kazi mwisho wa siku nipate hela niendeshe familia yangu].* Some fell into teaching as a second option after their first choice of further education fell through.

Does a cash payment upon evidence of student success improve teaching?

Recognizing the central role teachers play in learning achievements of pupils and the magnitude of the problem of teacher absenteeism in Tanzanian classrooms, Twaweza Tanzania has for the past four years (2013-2016) implemented a teacher motivation intervention based on a cash-on-delivery model (COD). The initiative, termed KiuFunza, aims to measure the impact on student learning of COD incentives for teachers in Standards I-II-III of public primary schools. KiuFunza measures student skills, pays teachers for improved performance based on these skills, and provides feedback to teachers about their performance. It does not train teacher on what or how to teach, nor does it provide any additional teaching resources or inputs into school management. It basically trusts that teachers are able to impart basic skills and competencies (through Standard III), as long as they are motivated to do so.

Fig 2. KiuFunza = “thirst for learning”.



The core of KiuFunza is that teachers improve their practice and students perform better in tests. And in doing so teachers become more motivated as they better understand the drivers of student success; and then see that reflected in children’s understanding and improved pass rates.

Cash on delivery is understood to be a “tip” or “present”.

Twaweza’s 2016 implementation report (2017b) on KiuFunza reports that

- Teachers were paid almost Tsh252 million in 2016 to reflect students' success in passing tests.
- This was earned by 788 teachers in Standard I, II and III.
- The average teacher cash bonus was Tsh266,315. Given that the average net monthly teacher salary in 2016 was Tsh637,790 the average bonus was about 42% of that wage.
- For each teacher the cash bonus depends on how well his or her students did. The lowest payment was Tsh8,100 and highest was Tsh3.6 million, almost six months of the net average teacher salary.

In the interviews teachers consistently referred to the cash they received as “*bakshishi*”. This word derives from Persian and Arabic, but, often when the word is used in Kiswahili it means a tip or a bribe; something that is sweet like candy. This study tries to explain whether the *bakshishi* is seen by teachers as sweeter than their salaries.

Research design

The purpose of this research was to better understand how teachers in schools who experienced the KiuFunza incentives make sense of their involvement; to explain their perceptions of its efficacy; and to theorize how the impacts of KiuFunza could sustain. Five lines of inquiry were pursued.

1. How do teachers describe and explain their experience of KiuFunza?
2. How did KiuFunza affect teachers' social identity, practice and relationships with others?
3. How did KiuFunza affect the culture of the school?
4. To what extent, if any, is there resonance between the findings of the 2016 study into teacher absence (McAlpine, 2016) and the KiuFunza program?
5. What are the prevailing attitudes towards rewarding performance?

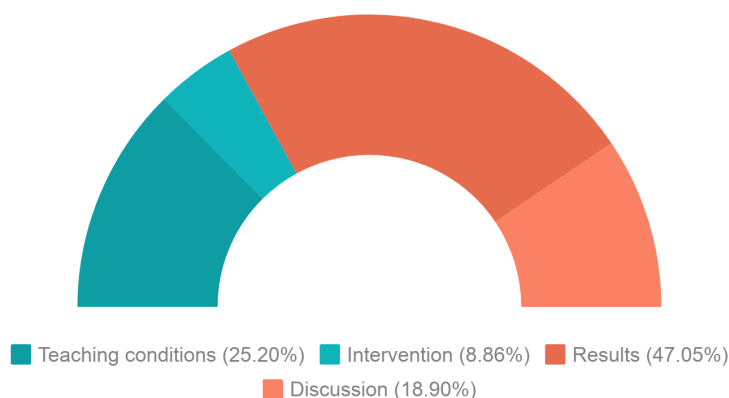
Mbozi district was purposefully chosen from among the districts implementing KiuFunza, because it ranked as “middle-performing” in terms of overall COD bonuses earned in 2017. Kindondoni was the district with highest amount of bonuses earned, while Mbinga earned the least. KiuFunza schools within Mbozi also presented a range of performance. It has teachers with low achievement of COD bonuses, as well as some of the highest-earning cash on delivery teachers.

Twenty-six teachers from twelve schools were interviewed, consisting of those who had received the incentive, those who did not, and the head teachers. The District Coordinator of KiuFunza was also interviewed. [See Appendix for interview guides]. The interview was an opportunity for people to tell their story in their own words.

Classic grounded theory was used to analyse the data. Grounded theory is a process that generates ideas that are grounded in data about participants' problems. The intention is to

build an abstract theoretical understanding of latent patterns of behaviour. Data is collected, coded, and analysed in an iterative process. As the researcher codes, categories and their properties begin to emerge, and the researcher begins to generate hypotheses about the relations among the categories and the key variable starts to become clear. Grounded theory allows the researcher to go beyond verifying facts and describing experience to generating an explanation of them.

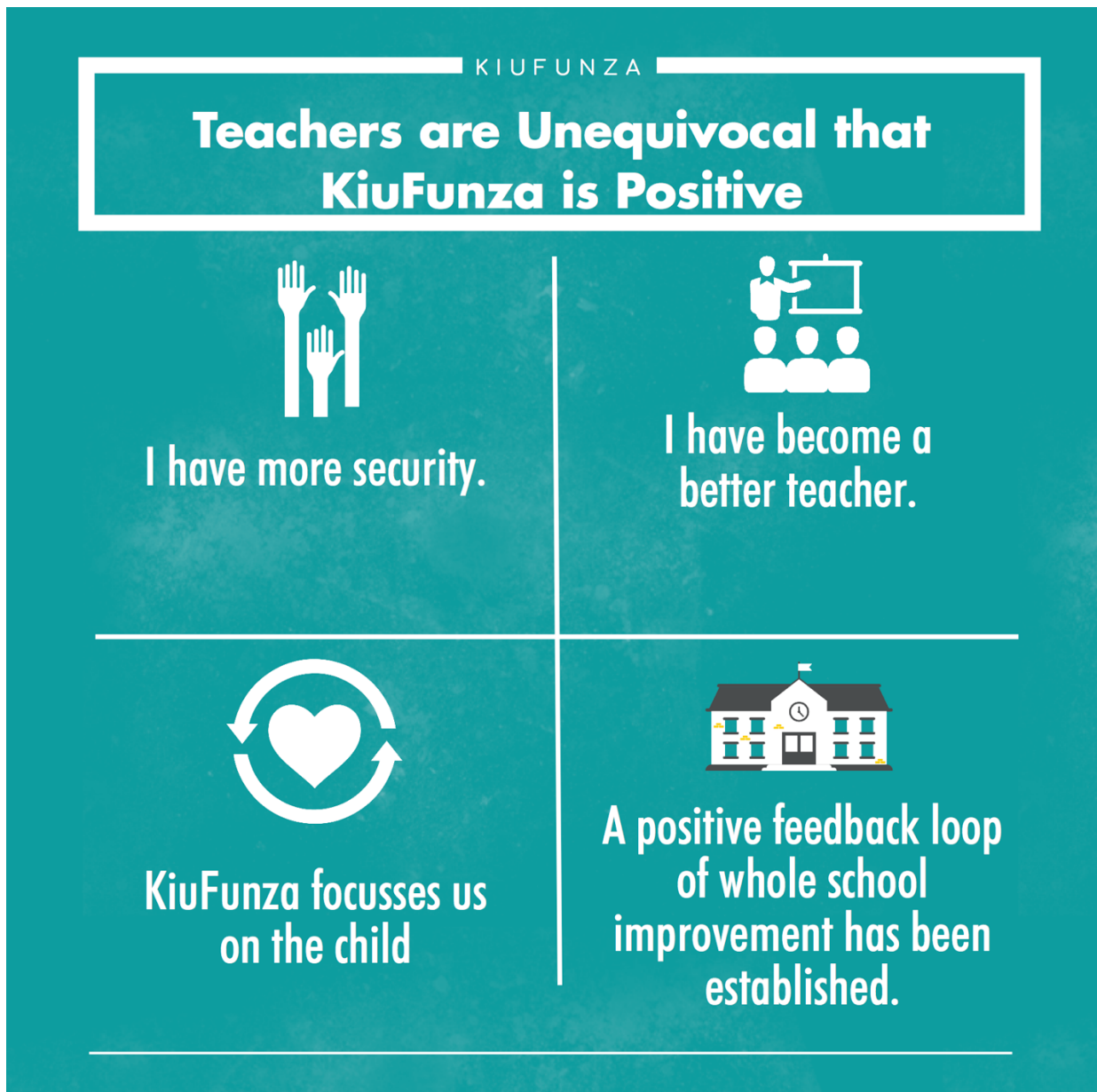
Fig 3. Node distribution.



In total 26 interviews were coded, generating 633 references. These were distributed across background information about teaching conditions, information about the KiuFunza intervention, data about results, and discussion about teachers' motivation, as illustrated in figure three.

Results. Teachers are unequivocal that KiuFunza is positive.

Fig 4. Teachers are unequivocal that KiuFunza is positive.



Teachers describe their experience of KiuFunza as being good. *[Kwa ujumla mafanikio yalikuwepo.] [Mradi huu ulipendeza kwa kila kitu].* They may not have initially fully internalized the change being sought. But, they bought in to the initiative quite rapidly, and the results started to speak for themselves. *[Unajua kitu kipya kikia unaweza kuona kama hakina maana, lakini baadae tulivyokizoea tukaona kinaleta mabadiliko makubwa].*

I have more security and thus have become a better teacher.

Fig 5. I have more security and thus have become a better teacher.

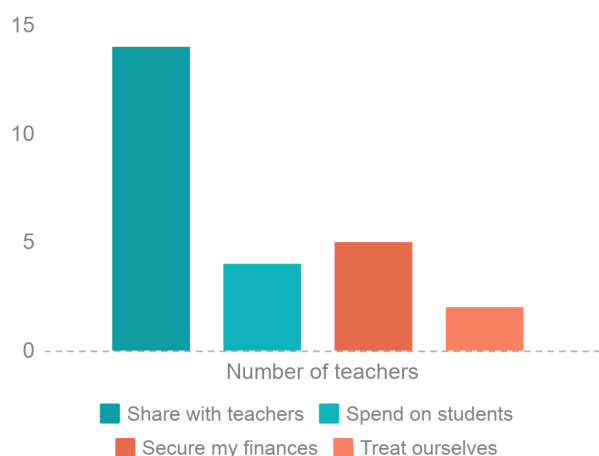


The *bakshishi* enables me to think about tomorrow.

Teachers used the *bakshishi* or tip in three ways.

Incentivising performance within the school. 69% of teachers [n=18] used the *bakshishi* to nurture school improvement. 53% [n=14] report that they shared the *bakshishi* with other teachers because that was the fair thing to do, and 15% [n=4] used the *bakshishi* to incentivise students. They did this by buying them pencils, materials for the school, and sugar for students. This is a notable finding which may account for the lack of negativity expressed about KiuFunza from those teachers who did not participate in the trial.

Fig 6. Use of Bakshishi.



Contributing to personal financial security: 19% [n=5] of teacher used the money to lay down additional security for their and their families' future. For example, it was used to pay for their child's education, to buy a relative a plot of land, to invest in income activities such as buying goats, or to repay debts.

Treating myself and my family: One teacher attributed his new television at home to KiuFunza, another describes how he used money to meet small family needs.

I use my time differently.

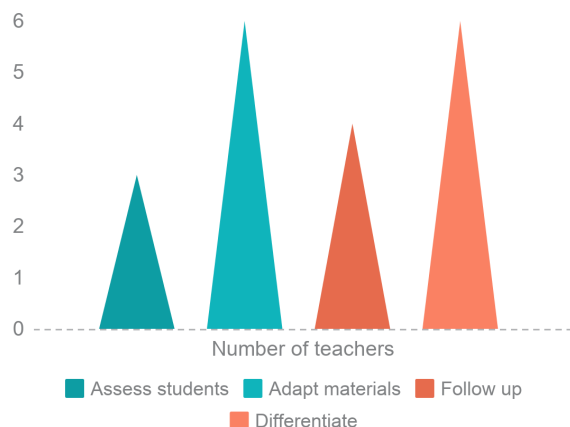
23% [n=6] of teachers stopped taking on work outside of the school; which had typically been an income generating strategy in the face of insufficient or

delayed payment of their salaries by the Government. Instead they describe how they now teach children whenever possible, both during and outside normal school hours; and teach extra classes in collaboration with other teachers.

This contrasts to the 2016 study where teachers identified the behaviours that undermined their commitment to be a good teacher. These included not stepping up, making excuses, lax teaching where they did the bare minimum, arriving late or being absent, and neglecting their professional development.

I focus on my students as individuals.

Fig 7. Changes in pedagogical practice.



50% [n=15] of teachers in 2017 spoke about improving their teaching practice as a result of their involvement in KiuFunza.

Hard work pays. At the heart of these new behaviours is teachers' insight that an investment of time and attention in the children pays. Both teachers who claim a vocation and those who joined the profession as pragmatists appreciate the importance of their work. Their participation in KiuFunza taught them that increased effort on their part, and consequently on the part of the students leads to success. They recognised that children's ability is a reflection of how they are taught. [Nilipogundua kumbe

kama unafanya kwa kutaka kupata kitu flani unaongeza bidii, sasa hii nilijiunza kwamba kumbe bidii inaweza kubadilisha kitu].

Improved teaching pedagogy. Teachers speak of learning different ways to assess students' learning by giving them regular tests to gauge their abilities. The results of these assessments provide teachers with data to inform how they differentiate their teaching between students, depending upon their individual needs and capacities. In the face of limited teaching resources teachers are improvising and adapting material from their environment, so that they can vary their teaching stimuli and techniques. Teachers explain that KiuFunza has helped them teach the younger classes and as such prepared students so that teaching them as they progress through the school becomes easier.

These changes in practice advance what teachers already knew to be the positive behaviours of a good teacher, as articulated in the 2016 study (McAlpine, 2016). They described good teachers using themselves as an instrument of change; engaging the students and ensuring that they understand; having and using teaching tools, using the language of love, and following up students.

We all focus on the child.

Fig 8. KiuFunza focuses us on the child.



KiuFunza reminds us to collectively focus on the student

KiuFunza has not affected the nature of the relationship within the teaching body, which were already considered to be good. *[Sisi hapa mahusiano yetu ni mazuri, hamna uhusiano mbaya hapana, tulikuwa tunaenda vizuri kabisa]*. The introduction of KiuFunza into a school focussed the entire teaching body, irrespective of whether they taught the KiuFunza classes or

not, on children's success. *[Kwa sababu sisi tulijitahidi kuwapanga wale walimu na kuwajulisha kabisa kwamba lengo ni moja ni mtoto]*. This unity of purpose reveals itself teachers' support and backstopping of each other. *[Tuna ile nia ya kusaidiana]*. 54% [n=14] teachers shared their bakshishi with their colleagues.

Teachers reinforce student performance with families.

In 2016, one of the complaints was that students do not take their education seriously; failing to show sufficient effort, being undisciplined and disobedient, and playing truant. In this study the teachers spoke of how KiuFunza had motivated them to take the message of students' performance into the children's homes, encouraging parents to follow up and send their children to school.

As a result, parents, teachers and children have benefitted from KiuFunza. *[Kwa hiyo mzazi, mwalimu, mtoto wote wamenufaika na mradi]*. Additionally, teachers said that Twaweza, the village government, and school committees had visited community members to emphasize the importance of education. As a result non-enrolment and truancy have diminished. *[Hakuna mzazi anakaa na mtoto bila kwenda shule kwa sababu kusafiri kunahitaji elimu, kulima elimu, kufuga elimu, kila kitu]*.

KiuFunza is trusted because it is not biased and it delivers.

Teachers' approve of KiuFunza because Twaweza kept their promises and communicated effectively. If KiuFunza staff said something would happen on a certain date it did. *[Wakisema tarehe flani wanakuja wanakuja kweli]*. Teachers also appreciated that KiuFunza was unbiased, only caring about teachers' effort and the associated student performance. *[Kilichonipendeza ni ile kwamba walimuwa hawaangalii eti wewe ni nani, walikuwa wanaangalia bidii yako, ukifaulisha watoto wengi utapata nyingi, ukifaulisha wachache, kulingana na bidii yako ndogo utapata ndogo, kwa hiyo hicho kitu mimi nilikipenda, kwamba ungeweza kupata hela kulingana na bidii yako]*.

Teachers describe how when they were presented with the offer they immediately started to work harder, but they doubted that they would get paid. But, from 2014 when they started to receive the *bakshishi* they started to appreciate that the project was not biased and was reliable.

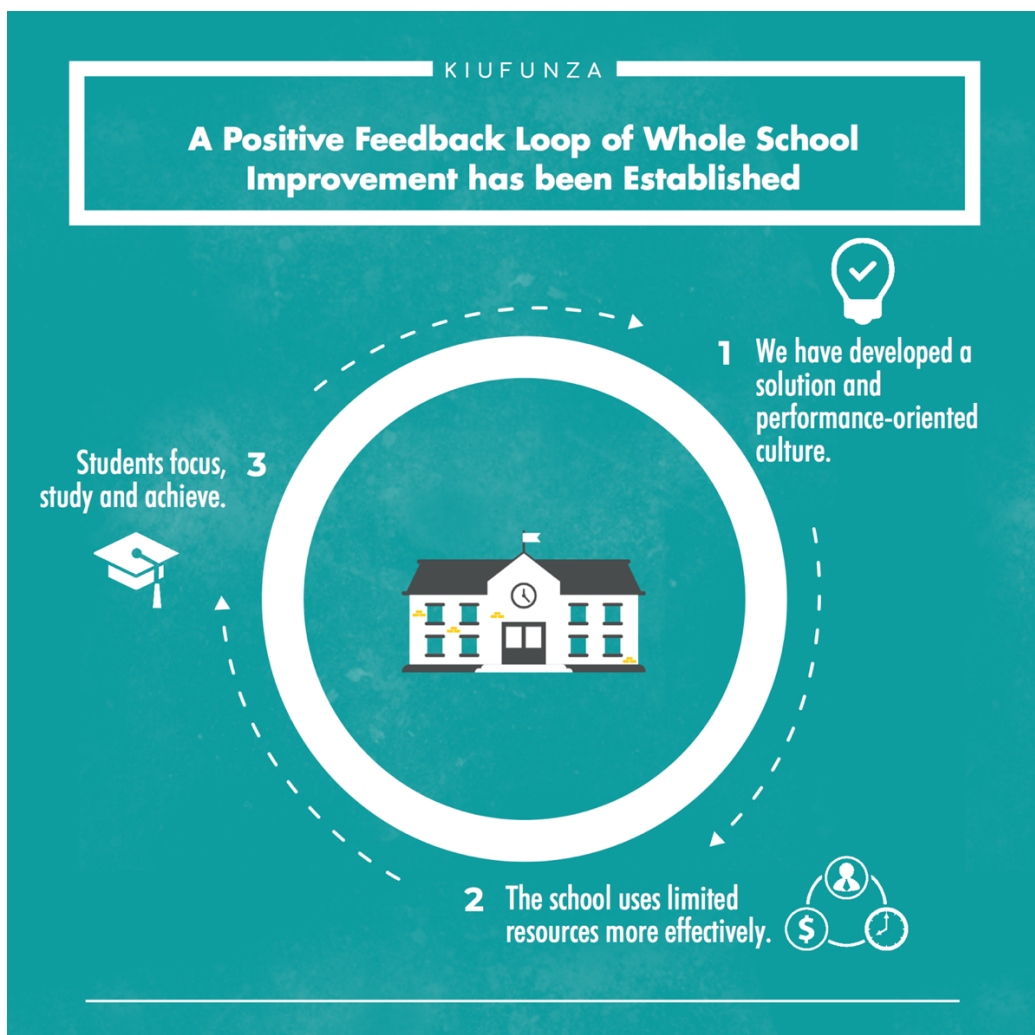
Students and teachers bond in a virtuous cycle.

42% of teachers [n=11] explained that they have strengthened their relationships with students because of their new focus on teaching students as individuals. This helped them to have a better understanding and empathy with the child as they understood the child's problems. *[Kukaa na wanafunzi na kujua matatizo ya wanafunzi kwa ukaribu zaidi]*.

Connection with the child was nurtured and this ultimately led to improvement in the child's performance, and in turn greater love between the child and teacher. *[Lazima yabadilike kwa sababu watoto wakielewa lazima wakupende].*

A positive feedback loop of whole school improvement has been established.

Fig 9. A positive feedback loop of whole school improvement has been established.



We have developed a solution and performance-oriented culture.

The focus that arose from KiuFunza on student performance also highlighted a range of fixable problems related to teacher performance that have now been addressed. *[Huu mradi unaweza kwa sababu unapokuja kutakuwa na mapungufu ambaayo yapo shuleni, kutoka kwenye vitendea kazi kwa hiyo huu mradi unaweza kuibua mapungufu yaliopo shuleni].* Improvements have been made in many domains. For example, school meals are now being given to those

who can't get food at home; and teachers are meeting regularly to discuss how to improve the learning environment and their teaching.

The school uses limited resources more effectively.

KiuFunza data has given head teachers information that informs how they allocate teachers. *[Moja ni usimamizi wa taaluma kiujumla, kubadilika kwangu ni kuwa mwanzoni nilikuwa sijawatambua vizuri. Kwa hiyo mradi huu umenisaidia kuwatambua kuwa huyu akae hapa, baada ya kugundua nilifanya mabadiliko kwa baadhi ya maeneo na sio kwa upendeleo hapana].* Pressure on teaching resources has reduced as teachers have used their bonuses to buy books, teaching materials and pencils for students.

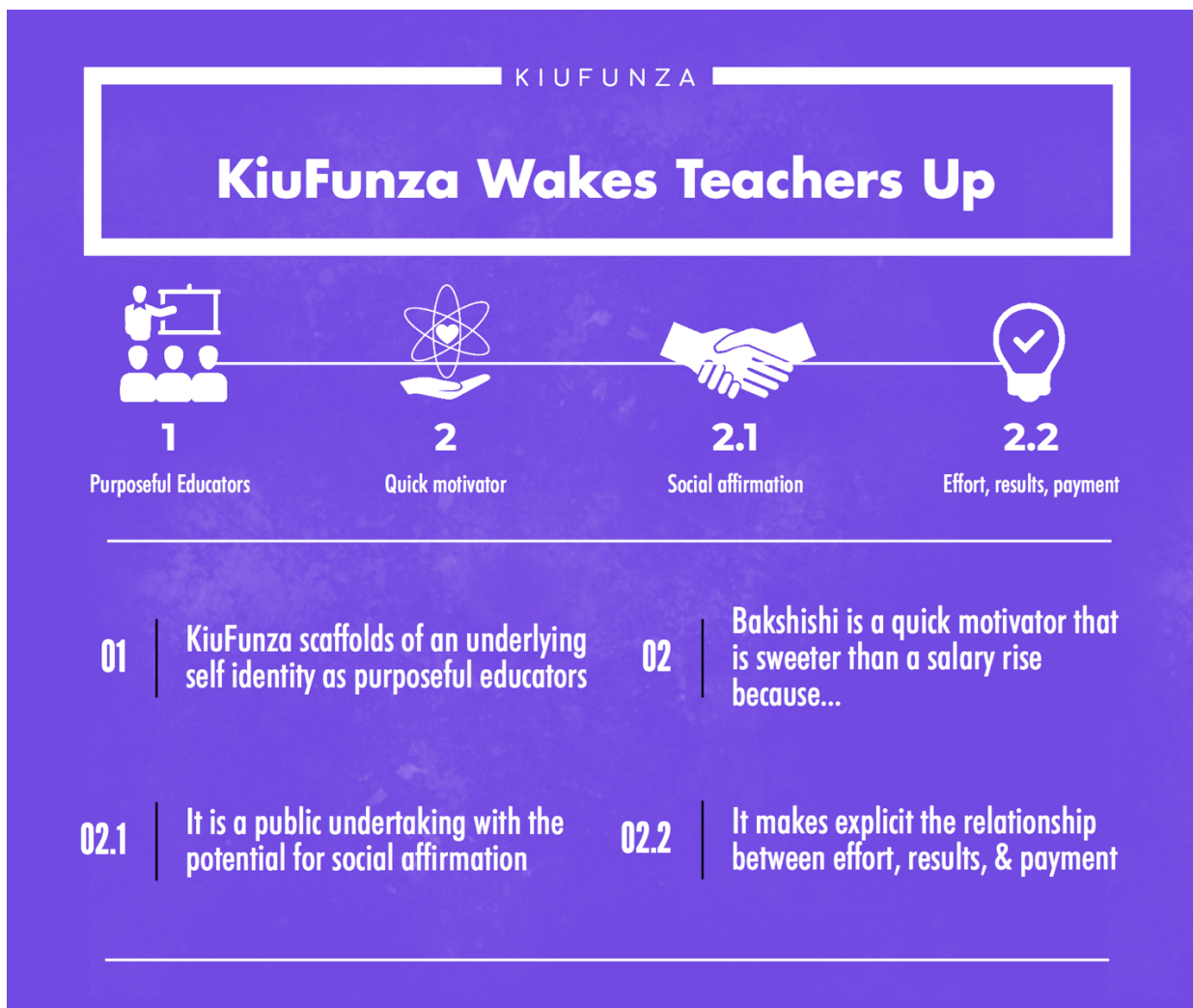
Students focus, study and achieve.

38% [n=1] of teachers argued that changes in student behaviour had been the most significant change from KiuFunza. Students are more calm and confident. They read at home. They are ready to learn and work extra hard to pass the tests. Students are even keen to take the Twaweza tests *[Na wakiambiwa kesho ni mtihani wa Twaweza mtoto yuko radhi asishinde shule atakaa shule mradi afaulu ule mtihani]*. As a result, more children can read and write, the pass rate has gone up, and children transition better with better recall.

In KiuFunza schools the average child performed as if they had received one-third year of added schooling. There is no effect, negative or positive, on grades or subjects that are not tested or incentivized (Twaweza, 2017c).

Discussion. KiuFunza wakes teachers up.

Fig 10. KiuFunza wakes teachers up.



Teachers describe the experience of KiuFunza as transformative, saying “I woke up!” They explain that in the face of challenging conditions, they had lost sight of their purpose as educators and lost their motivation for the profession.

KiuFunza scaffolds of an underlying self-identity as purposeful educators.

The 2016 study (McAlpine, 2016) revealed that teachers possessed a strong internal commitment to creating an environment where children and teachers can concentrate and learn, and to advancing the best interests of teachers. However, teachers admitted that they undermined their own commitments by not stepping up. They self-reported that they make

excuses, that they did the bare minimum, that their teaching is lax, that they arrive late or are absent, and that they neglect their professional development.

The 2017 participating teachers mirror their colleagues by self-identifying as purposeful professionals who they feel should play a socially significant role as an educator. They believe that teachers seed prosperity because everything in life demands an education and teachers train all the other professions. *[Bila mwalimu hamna chochote kwa sababu ndio anafungua uwezo wa watu wengi kufahamu mambo]*. They appreciate the fact that these students would go on to become productive adults and parents. *[Ni ile tu kufundisha watoto waelewe, huwa nafurahi sana, na ina matunda]*. They describe themselves as being responsible and committed to motivating children, and motivating society to improve student learning. They see themselves leaving a legacy. *[Mimi mpaka nakufa nitaitwa mwalimu, ndio hata kisa mpaka sasa tunamkumbuka nyerele tunasema mwalimu, mwalimu, mwalimu, hawasemi teacher hahaa]*.

Bakshishi is a quick motivator that is sweeter than a salary rise.

The 2016 study assumed that two incentives were needed if teacher practice was to improve. Firstly, teachers wanted to experience others' commitment to protect their interests; and secondly, the learning environment needed to be properly resourced.

What emerges from this 2017 study is that KiuFunza fulfils these two conditions; and that once fulfilled teacher motivation can be built quickly. *[Mi niliona ni ile motisha mwalimu huwa anaridhika na kitu kidogo sana, hata mia tano]*.

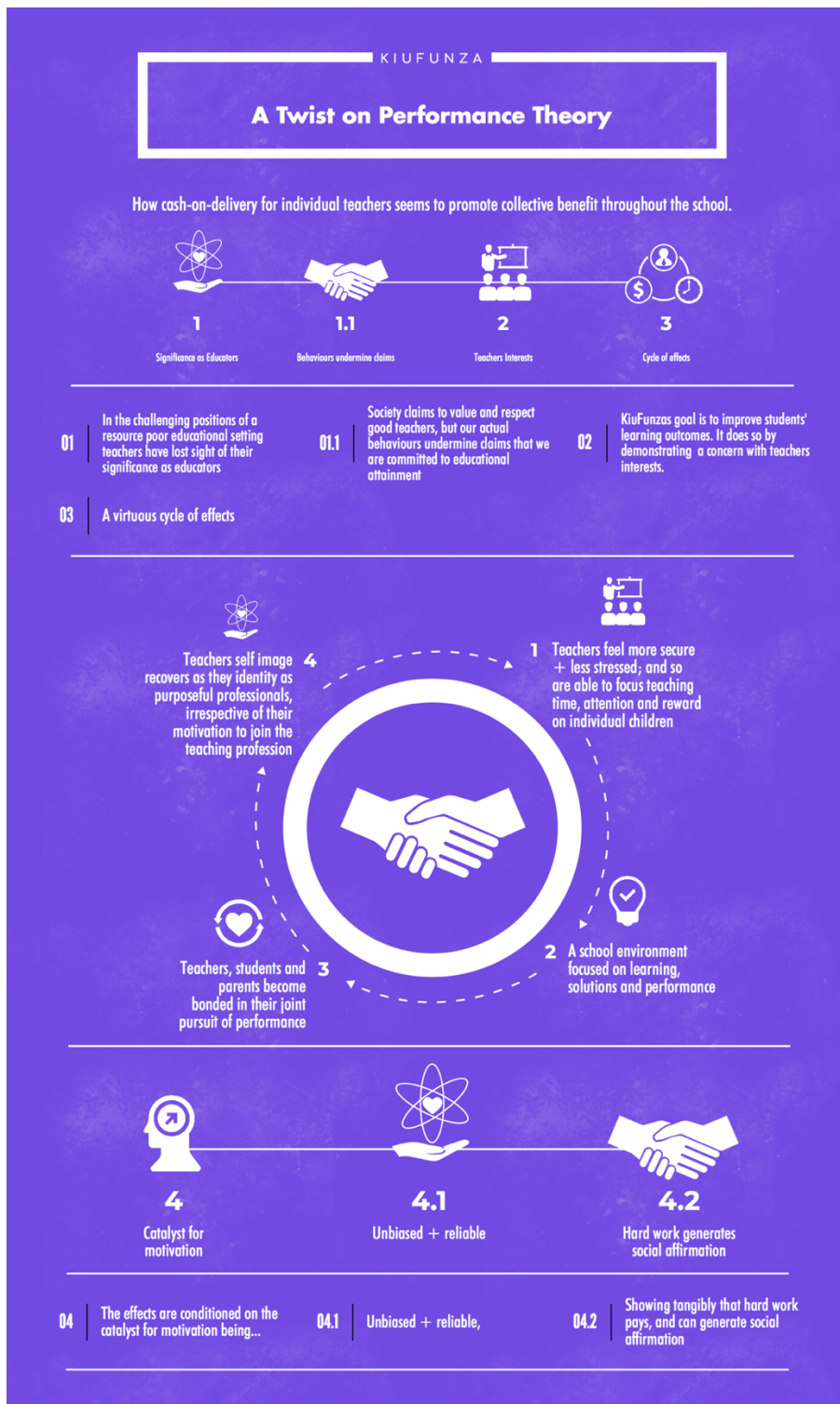
KiuFunza is a public undertaking with the potential for social affirmation. 23% [n=6] of teachers explained that the beacon of being visited by guests and the regular visits by KiuFunza staff was a motivator. Unlike a salary increase, which is essentially a private transaction between the teacher and the State employer, KiuFunza required the school and the teachers to rise to the challenge publicly. This held out the beacon for not just personal enrichment, but status enhancement within the school and community; which would counter the teachers' widespread sense that they are not appropriately respected.

It is gratifying to see the relationship between effort, results, and payment. There is a strong case to be made for better teacher pay, given the diminishing purchasing power of their salary. But, it is questionable whether a salary increase would have the same positive effects as the KiuFunza cash payment for results.

Teachers argued the significance of payment upon performance. The incentive was not just more money, as one would get in a salary, but the lure of being paid for a result; and thus, having to put effort in with the students to achieve that payment. *[Kingine kilichofanya nipende ni walimu kuwa na moyo katika ufundishaji ... mimi iliniongezea ari ya kufanya kitu bora ili siku ya mwisho niwe na kitu]*. *[Sahivi natakiwa kuwa darasani, kipindi kikifika natakiwa niwe darasani, nikiwaza ile mitihani kwa sababu ule mtiani utanipa mimi hela umeona kwa hiyo nikizembea nakosa ile hela]*.

Theoretical proposition. A twist on performance theory.

Fig 11. A twist on performance theory.



In the challenging conditions of a resource poor educational setting, teachers have lost sight of their significance as educators. Society claims to value and respect good teachers, but our actual behaviours undermine claims that we are committed to educational attainment.

KiuFunza's goal is to improve students' learning outcomes. It does so by demonstrating a concern with teachers' interests, by trusting teachers to deliver, and by rewarding unbiased outcomes.

It has demonstrated a virtuous cycle of effects

1. Teachers feel more secure and less stressed; and so are able to focus teaching time, attention and reward on individual children.
2. A school environment has emerged that focuses on learning, solutions and performance.
3. Teachers, students, and parents become bonded in their joint pursuit of performance.
4. Teachers self-image recovers as they identify as purposeful professionals, irrespective of their motivation to join the teaching profession.

These effects are conditioned on the catalyst for motivation being unbiased and reliable, and tangibly demonstrating to teachers that hard work pays, and can generate social affirmation.

Elger (nd) defines six components of performance in educators. The first is the teachers' self-identity. In this domain KiuFunza has had a notable, and largely unintended consequence. It has reinvigorated teachers' own sense that they are purposeful professionals. This has interacted with the context of performance where the entire school and the wider community has started to take student performance more seriously and to see it within their control to influence. Whilst KiuFunza did not provide teachers with new skills or knowledge, they have gained those as a consequence of getting to know their students better, more collaborative planning within the teacher body; and using assessment to inform their teaching. The fifth component of Elger's theory is personal factors and it is in this domain that KiuFunza has thrived. It has given teachers' back their professional and thus personal pride.

Advocating for the reward of (unbiased) performance.

In the 2016 study participants assumed that a way to effect change in schools was to engage with the Government. The learning from KiuFunza presents a real opportunity to do that. Advocacy and program design within the education sector could further focus on rewarding (unbiased) performance, rather than blanket measures of resource increases.

"Don't forget us." Teachers recommend KiuFunza is continued, finessed and scaled.

61% [n=16] of the teachers believed that KiuFunza should be continued and scaled up across the country, and to all classes. [*Waendeleze huu mradi na watoe bakshishi kwa walimu wote*]. There was a concern that Twaweza would "forget" the teachers now that the trial was finished. 53% [n=14] offered specific design recommendations, which were as follows.

- **Make sure all children in the class get to sit the assessments.** Some children missed out because they were new in the class, but had not been registered by Twaweza. Not sitting for the assessments was demoralizing.
- **Finesse the student assessment process.** There was recognition that the Twaweza tests were different from the ones teachers would normally give, and this created some discomfort for some teachers who felt that they should be involved in preparing the tests. This indicates that there has not been a 100% internalization of the concept of transparent payment upon results, and efforts should be continued to raise teachers' awareness about the value of cash on delivery. More specifically, there was feedback that students should not sit for more than one test per day; that it was inappropriate to test English; that topics such as "why" and "because" are on the Standard V syllabus and thus not suitable for testing children in Standard III; and that foreign invigilators should be replaced by people from Tanzanian universities and / trained teachers because students may not feel comfortable with foreign invigilators.
- **Ensure everyone is paid what they deserve on time.** Some teachers were not paid, not paid on time, or did not receive the final payment. One spoke of following this up with the Coordinator with little success.

Appendix: Interview guides

Interview guide for District Coordinator

How do the nuts and bolts of KiuFunza work?

- How are teachers selected or not?
- What is the role of the head teacher?
- How did the Mashindano and Stadi groups function?
- How did you measure performance and fed back to the teachers?

What changes did you see in teacher performance?

What would you do differently?

Interview guide for teachers

Step 1: Connect + build trust: Introduce yourself - explain why you are personally interested in this + draw on your involvement in the teacher absence study to share your interest in interviewing.

Step 2: Explore their sense of self: If you were an animal what would you be and why. Please share with me how you became a teacher and what inspires you? How has KiuFunza changed you?

Step 3: Understand what they are doing differently: In what way did you participate in KiuFunza? [Probe self-selecting, chosen, didn't get involved?] What did participation in KiuFunza demand of you? Please share a highlight of your participation in KiuFunza? What aspects of this project did you struggle with during implementation? How did you adjust to accommodate those blocks? How did your teaching change as a result? How did you use the incentive money?

Step 4: Explore how the school functions: What is it like to work in this school? Why do you think students' performance improves? How has the environment of the school changed?

Step 5: Investigate if social relationships have changed. How has your relationship with your students changed? How has KiuFunza influenced relationships between all the teachers? What effect has the improved performance of students in your school had on the relations between the school and the community

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