

Strategies for Addressing Teachers' Workload under Fee-Free Basic Education in Tanzania: Special Focus on Students' Social Development

Mary Steven Sajiro¹ Daniel Mbonea Mngarah² Ignasia Renatus Mligo³

^{1&2} Department of Educational Management and Policy Studies, College of Education, University of Dodoma, Tanzania
marysajiro85@gmail.com, dmngarah@gmail.com

³ Department of Educational Psychology and Curriculum Studies, College of Education, University of Dodoma, Tanzania
isemligo1@gmail.com

Abstract

This study investigated the strategies for addressing the increased teachers' workload to promote students' social development after the introduction of fee-free education in Tanzania. The government of Tanzania's vow to expand school places in secondary schools in 2015 increased the burden on teachers, as the expansion of enrolment was not supported by a corresponding recruitment of teachers. The objectives of the study were to explore school management's interpretation of teachers' workload for students' social development and to investigate the strategies adopted to address the increased teachers' workload in relation to the social lives of students. Using the ethnographic design of a qualitative research approach, the study employed in-depth interviews with four heads of secondary schools, four academic unit heads and four discipline unit heads forming a school management team. Data were analysed using Roper and Shapira's (2000) five stages of thematic analysis. The results presented the participants' perspective, defining teachers' role in students' social lives as crucial and irreplaceable, irrespective of the class size. Further, the study established that the strategies for addressing teachers' workload for students' social aspects included enhancement of school and community-based strategies aimed at reinvigorating the students' social development rather than relieving teachers of their natural role. It is concluded that the student's social growth is not yet addressed properly due to the absence of objective standards for measuring attainment of social competencies as is the case with academics. The study therefore recommends the establishment of assessment criteria for ascertaining the fidelity of implementing social aspects.

Keywords: *Students' social development, teachers' workload, Fee-free basic education, Secondary education*

Introduction

The global commitment to providing quality education for all, irrespective of economic status, has made fee-free education a pivotal agenda in educational policy and practice in Tanzania (Marwa, 2019; Shukia, 2020). While international declarations and conventions underscore the right to free access to education (UNESCO, 2015), the implementation of fee-free education policy decisions has varied across nations, with Tanzania being one such country that has adopted and implemented such initiatives (Haidari, 2021; Lazaro & Loisulie, 2022; Tarimo, 2020). However, the introduction of fee-free education, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, has posed challenges for educators and school administrators, affecting teachers' workload and school management practices (Asim *et al.*, 2019; Lucumay & Matete, 2024). In Tanzania, the introduction of the fee-free basic education initiative in 2015 aimed to increase access to primary and secondary school students by waiving registration and examination fees (Shukia, 2020, United Republic of Tanzania [URT], 2015). While this policy decision has led to a surge in student enrollment, it has also placed significant strain on teachers and school administrators, exacerbating challenges related to workload management and resource allocation (Lucumay & Matete, 2024; Magesa & Mtebe, 2022; Shukia, 2020). As such, students' social development has tended to be one of the aspects overlooked mainly by those fee-free initiatives, as the focus seems to be on academic performance. This has been a common error of omission in education.

The introduction of fee-free education in 2015 implied that teachers attended to the needs of a larger number of students than was the case hitherto. For the school management teams and teachers, the pressure of managing large classes and maintaining academic performance can adversely affect students' social, health, and well-being unless great care is taken. This overcrowding diminishes opportunities for meaningful teacher-student interactions and hinders the development of essential social skills such as communication and teamwork. This suggests that the expanded enrolment necessitates the need to seek strategies to ensure smooth curriculum implementation among teachers. This study focused on the strategies for addressing teachers' workload under fee-free basic education in Tanzania, with a special emphasis on students' social development. It sought to provide insights into how secondary school management teams can effectively manage teachers' workload and promote students' social development within the context of fee-free education. The study was deemed relevant as researchers sought to establish whether the increased teachers' workload altered their role of nurturing and fostering students' social development, taking the perspective of the school management teams. The main assumption underlying the study was that

while teachers have the role of facilitating students' learning, they tend to focus on the promotion of students' intellectual development more than social development.

Theoretical Foundations and Literature Review

The attachment theory, which emphasises that secure attachment is necessary for students' success (Bergin & Bergin, 2009; Bowlby, 1982) places the role of social development of students in schools to teachers, who are required to serve as parent figures as opposed to mere academicians (URT, 2023; Feeney *et al.*, 2019). Hence, teachers have a moral obligation of fostering positive social relationships among students while serving as moral leaders as well as setting themselves examples of moral character (Herndon, 2021; Klaassen, 2012; Orr & Lavy, 2024). As such, secondary education plays a crucial role in nurturing holistic student development, encompassing academic, physical, social, and emotional dimensions rather than stressing any of these aspects at the expense of others.

The increased workload faced by teachers and school administrators have raised concerns about the effective implementation of social development activities in Tanzanian secondary schools. While studies on fee-free education in Tanzania focus on its implementation (Haidari, 2021), its freeness (Lazaro & Loisulie, 2022), community understanding of fee-free education (Tarimo, 2020), challenges facing its implementation (Lazaro & Matiku, 2022; Lucumay & Matete, 2024), little is known regarding strategies towards students' social development in the context of fee-free education. It is not well established how members of the school management teams link the increased teacher workload with teachers' role of nurturing students' social development, and what strategies are in place to ensure that students' social development is not left behind. The study follows the claims that while the ideal teachers need to be highly competent in their subject matter and social skills (Ciechanowska, 2010), the contemporary educational trends are geared towards economic globalisation (Cairns *et al.*, 2001; Ball, 2008, 2004). Such trends tend to sideline the social development of students in favour of the labour market demands.

The implementation of fee-free basic education policy decisions in low-income countries like Tanzania has led to a significant increase in student enrollment in public secondary schools (Magesa & Mtebe, 2022). However, this surge in enrollment has posed several challenges, particularly in the domain of students' social development. Overcrowded classrooms have become a common occurrence, affecting both the physical learning environment and the social dynamics within classrooms (Magesa & Mtebe,

2022). This overcrowding diminishes opportunities for meaningful teacher-student interactions, hindering the development of essential social skills such as communication and teamwork (Opstoel *et al.*, 2020). Additionally, resource constraints limit the availability of extracurricular activities that promote social development, further exacerbating the challenges faced by students. Moreover, the pressure of coping with overcrowded classrooms and academic performance can adversely affect students' social, health and well-being, impeding their social development (Baidoo-anu & Acquah, 2021).

Methodology

This research employed a qualitative approach to explore the school management teams' interpretation of teachers' workload in relation to students' social development as well as investigating the strategies for addressing teachers' workload on the same. A qualitative research approach was chosen due to its suitability for investigating human behaviour, feelings, perspectives, attitudes, and experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Additionally, the study adopted an ethnographic design to seek the experience of the study informants in their natural workplaces and culture. Ethnographic inquiries enable researchers to understand the informants' perspectives of the realities they face (De Fina, 2019; Rinaldo & Guhin, 2022). Those inquiries involve direct and sustained contact with stakeholders in the context of their routine activities and culture, producing a rich written account of their experience (Feixa *et al.*, 2020). As such, the study on school management perspectives of students' social development after the introduction of fee-free educational initiatives suits well with the ethnographic design as it involves a deep immersion into the lives of those researched. It also requires building professional relationships, thus allowing open sharing of views that ultimately enable researchers to interpret the social world of those researched (De Fina, 2019; Rinaldo & Guhin, 2022).

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The study sample included twelve (12) informants, including four heads of secondary schools, four teachers heading the discipline units, and four teachers heading the academic units, respectively. Those informants formed the school management teams in four secondary schools involved and worked cooperatively to ensure, among other roles, proper allocation of roles to teachers. It was assumed that their daily routine provided them with sufficient experience of working with teachers, hence understanding and feeling the workload of teachers in their respective schools. Hence, they provided their understanding of teachers' promotion of students' social development in the context of fee-free education. A purposive sampling procedure was used to select those participants as they possessed relevant and

in-depth knowledge of teachers' increased workload in the context of fee-free basic education. Participants were selected based on their direct involvement in the implementation of fee-free educational initiatives and their expertise in educational management and teaching practices. Ethnographic studies prefer a small sample to allow ample time for researchers' familiarisation with the informants, research processes and the context (De Fina, 2019; Sangasubana, 2011).

Tools for Data Collection

The study employed ethnographic interviewing method. This method involves immersion into the lives of the study informants and making conversations with them while observing their working environment as well as making sense of their feelings to be able to link what is said with the naturally occurring events (De Fina, 2019; Sangasubana, 2011). The face-to-face in-depth interviews were used and each informant was interviewed at least twice at different school contexts for the sake of ensuring rigor of the study. The interviewing processes occurred after an adequate rapport had been made, when the researchers had introduced their identity as professional teachers, which was an important step towards professional relationship building aimed at enhancing trust among the participants.

Data Analysis

The analysis of data for the study drew from the interviews with the heads of schools, the heads of discipline, and the academic units. The study adopted Roper and Shapira's (2000) framework, consisting of five steps. The first step, coding for descriptive labels, involved searching and grouping transcribed words into descriptive labels, such as social development, workload impact, student population, soft and life skills, attitudinal dispositions, harmonious relationships, social interactions, school clubs, etc. The second step, which involves sorting for patterns, involved assembling the coded labels into themes, hence establishing relationships among the coded labels. The emerging themes included social development as indispensable, nurturing sociability through competence-based teaching, school-based social development strategies, and community engagement strategies as presented in Table 1. The third stage involved identifying outliers, implying sorting out the coded words that were unrelated to the rest of the findings, including aspects such as academic performance, leadership roles, intellectual development, etc. The fourth stage involved generalising constructs and theories, in which the patterns relate to theories. The study informants' constructions of the reality of the fee-free education in relation to teachers' workload linked with the social constructivism theory as propounded by Lev Vygotsky (Akpan *et al.*, 2020). Those constructs involved the influence of

the expanded enrolment emanating from the fee-free education initiative on students' social development. The fifth stage involved memoing with reflective remarks, which is useful in keeping track of the assumptions, biases and opinions throughout the whole research process (Sangasubana, 2011). The credibility of the data was enhanced through method, data, investigator and environmental triangulation (Stahl & King, 2020) as well as member checking (Candela, 2019; McKim, 2023; Thomas, 2017), as researchers shared the analyzed data with the informants, providing them room to add, discard or correct the interpretations the researchers had made. Further, dependability was ensured through peer reviews where the research tools were checked by faculty members to ensure their alignment with the study objectives.

Ethical Considerations

Formal permissions were obtained from relevant authorities, including the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dodoma, administrative authorities at regional and district levels, and the Kongwa Town Executive Director. Informed consent was acquired from each participant, and confidentiality measures were implemented. The study adhered to the University of Dodoma's ethical guidelines to ensure integrity and respect for participants' rights. Confidentiality measures were also implemented.

Findings

Table 1: Findings in a nutshell

Category	Theme	Sample of participants' voices
Teacher's workload vs. Students' social development	Social development is indispensable	<i>Students' social development has nothing to do with the workload, as it could for academics; it cannot be apportioned. It does not relate to the class size but to the teacher's commitment towards students' social lives (SDH 1).</i>
	Nurturing sociability through competence-based teaching	<i>... the teachers' workload of nurturing students' social development is nowadays emphasised alongside competence-based curriculum implementation, which integrates cognitive, psychomotor and affective dimensions (AH SCH '1', (HOS 3).</i>
	School-based strategies	<i>Following the realisation of the falling social and moral decadences, the government circular was issued that directed schools to pay more attention to students' social grooming through clubs and other social roles (HOS 1).</i>
	Community-based strategies	<i>Students' social development requires school-community collaboration. Neither of those two sides can successfully accomplish this role alone (AHSC 2).</i>

Source: Field data

The results of the study focused on participants' interpretation of teachers' roles in nurturing social development as well as strategies employed to fulfil the role. Overall, the findings revealed that the school management teams had observed teachers' increased workload due to expanded enrolment as requiring intervention of some sort. Nonetheless, the views presented fell under four thematic areas as presented in Table 1.

Social development plays an indispensable role

The study participants maintained that teachers' workload in the social lives of students cannot be condensed in the same way as academic and physical activities, as it occurs in a manner that is difficult to apportion. Hence, the school management perspective was that while there were fresh initiatives in schools for addressing students' social development that coincided with the fee-free education, they were not meant to relieve teachers of their natural role of nurturing students' social development. Instead, they posited that those strategies only concurred with the government's attempt to address the negative influence of globalisation. To this aspect, it was claimed that globalisation had negatively affected the cultural traditions, thus exposing children and youths to foreign culture, risking the values and traditions that define Tanzanian society. The informants further admitted that the social development of students had been underrated in the education sphere in spite of its role in shaping students towards responsible citizenry.

Furthermore, those study participants were critical of the long-held assumption that schools are the sole authorities responsible for students' social development, maintaining that it is a shared responsibility. Hence, they identified strategies for promoting students' social development to include both school-based and community-based. The school-based strategies cited ranged from fostering school social climate, use of extracurricular activities, to transformative teaching and learning in the classrooms. The community-based strategies included mechanisms to draw the community closer for promoting participation in the social development of students. Findings, therefore, revealed that the different strategies were not meant to relieve teachers of their roles to nurture students' social development due to expanded enrolment, but instead supplemented them.

During the interview, one of the Heads of School described the teachers' roles with respect to students' social development, noting that:

The fee-free initiative and its resulting expanded enrolment have nothing to do with the teachers' workload of promoting students' social development. Teachers are naturally caregivers and moral exemplars. This role, as opposed to knowledge and skills delivery, does not depend on student populations. A

teacher may have a multitude of students to care for and nurture each one's social values better than a teacher with only a few students. It all depends on one's understanding. (HOS '1', 25th July, 2023).

The Head of School's description was supported by a counterpart, whose narrative extended to the understanding of the role of nurturing social development, saying:

A teacher's role includes teaching of academic subjects, guiding and supervising physical activity in schools, as well as caring, serving as a moral guide, and a parent figure. Teachers' social roles form part of their lives both in schools and in the community. It is difficult to apportion their role of nurturing social development (HOS '3', 29th July, 2023).

A further clarification on the teachers' role towards the students' social development came from the interviewed heads of discipline matters, who referred to the guidelines that assign teachers the social role towards the students under their jurisdiction. One of the heads of the discipline unit remarked that:

Teachers' role towards students' social development is not quantifiable. It is all about the quality of interactions that occur when the teachers teach their lessons, supervise students' extracurricular works, and when they fulfil their roles of caring as guided. Hence, the workload questions may not apply in social aspects as such (SDH '1', 28th July, 2023).

Social development under a competence-based curriculum

The heads of academic units noted that teachers' workload for students' social development has been given an impetus by the guidelines underscoring a paradigm shift from content to competence-based that characterises Tanzanian curriculum implementation for the past two decades of the 21st century. They maintained that the contemporary paradigm favours the learner and transformative pedagogy by which the social dimensions form an integral part of the teacher's teaching roles. For instance, the head of the academic unit noted that:

... the teachers' workload of nurturing students' social development has been made simple nowadays because their teaching involves competence development, which calls them to pay attention to intellectual, psychomotor and affective dimensions equally (AH SCH '1', 26th July, 2023).

Considering the school management voices, findings view teachers' workload for students' social development as a phenomenon that is well emphasised but not as a means for addressing teachers' workload. Those

views dismiss the assumption that teachers' workload on students' social development can be narrowed.

School-based social development strategies

The study sought to understand more about strategies adopted by the school management teams in promoting students' social development in relation to teachers' workload. Results revealed that while teachers' workload arising from the expanded enrolment was apparent, the social dimensions were not directly affected. The study participants defined social development roles to involve, among others, maintaining students' discipline, emphasis on resilience, personal and interpersonal relationships, personal hygiene, respect and mutual relationships with others, life and soft skills, and positive attitudinal dispositions. The identified strategies for enhancing those social values included the school management's promotion of the whole school climate, emphasis on extracurricular activities, pedagogical strategies that promote social values and community engagement. It was established that those strategies largely involved the school management teams and teachers, which suggests that teachers' roles towards students' social development were shared rather than exclusive teacher roles. This further suggests that teachers' workload for students' social development differs significantly from their supervision of intellectual and physical roles. The school management perspective on strategies for promoting students' social development, as described by heads of schools, heads of discipline and academic units, varied as each provided scenarios related to their areas of jurisdiction. For example, while the heads of schools emphasised the maintenance of the school climate, heads of discipline units underscored the importance of extracurricular activities in fostering social and discipline matters, while heads of academics linked their descriptions with teaching and learning processes.

One of the heads of schools was quoted as saying that social development permeates the whole school life, saying:

The best practice for students' social development is to create a school environment that fosters harmonious relationships so that everyone feels part of the school community. We achieve this by emphasising effective communication, open and participatory leadership, and close relationships with all members of the school community (HOS '2', 29th July, 2023).

The head of the discipline unit's perspective was that:

... following the emphasis by the Ministry of Education on students' social development in schools, we have responded by strengthening student empowerment that was not active previously. The school clubs serve as good examples of extracurricular strategies for students' social development. These

clubs have little teacher or school intervention but are helpful in student social development (SDH '1', 28th July, 2023).

Similar views were echoed by another head of discipline unit:

Sometimes it is just a matter of giving students freedom to choose what social actions they think are suitable for themselves, the school and the society. They are able to do the right social actions and live them (SDH '2', 29th July, 2023).

The previously mentioned descriptions sound as a way to curtail teachers' workload on students' social development though there was no admission to the fact that such was the school objective.

The experience of the heads of academic unit revealed that teachers' workload related to social development of students is embedded in their daily routine of teaching in a way that they do not feel it as a burden. One informant said:

The competence-based teaching that we are required to adopt consists of knowledge, skills and social overtones. Hence, effective teachers' pedagogical strategies result in transforming students' social values alongside knowledge and skills (AH SCH '1', 26th July, 2023).

The other head of the academic unit presented a rather contrary idea that depicts the reality of teachers' promotion of students' social development, saying:

In theory, teachers have the role to nurture students' social development. In practice, some do it consciously while others pay lip service to this grand role. Since there are no clear mechanisms in place to determine the extent to which a teacher nurtures students' social development, the results are inconsistent. Hence, teacher workload on this matter is not measurable (AH SCH '2', 28th July, 2023).

Community engagement strategy

Regarding the community involvement and support, results established that the introduction of fee-free education had largely necessitated involvement and support of the community through the school boards. The heads of school, for example, noted that since students lived in the family circles as day scholars, it was important to involve the community, as most social behaviours were nurtured at the family rather than the school level. Hence, the community involvement and support were a necessary condition for students' social development. An interviewed Head of School '1' remarked that students' social development is a shared responsibility because those social values have their background in the family, such that there is a great

risk for not involving the community in nurturing the social development of students. These views were shared by the head of school '4', who viewed community involvement as a significant factor in enriching the educational experience and supporting teachers, saying, 'community involvement not only improves the educational experience for students but also provides valuable support for teachers. Similarly, the head of academics from school '4' emphasised the benefits of community involvement in social development:

We have witnessed firsthand how community involvement positively impacts both students and teachers. By creating a network of support that extends beyond the classroom, we empower students with a broader array of resources and opportunities (AH SCH '4', interview, 28th July, 2023).

Generally, the results of the study established that the phenomenon of teachers' workload is practicable in teachers' activities such as the knowledge provision and supervision of the physical activities in schools but not applicable in the promotion of students' social development. This follows that those issues are so pervasive that they form part of the teaching processes be it knowledge dispensing, supervision of various activities in classroom and outdoor activities. As for strategies for addressing students' social development, findings revealed that those strategies are inseparable with other teachers' roles.

Discussion

The study reported that the increased enrolment arising from fee-free education had no link with processes of addressing teachers' workload for students' social development, emphasizing that the teachers' determination towards students' social development has nothing to do with increased enrolment. In the context of the self-determination theory (Legault, 2020; Reeve, 2011) motivated teachers would demonstrate higher moral courage to nurture students' moral development irrespective of the class size. This explains that teachers' levels of motivation and henceforth commitment towards students' social wellbeing, self and social regulation varies significantly. While some teachers have extended professionalism, others have restricted professionalism (Klaassen, 2012). Furthermore, while some teachers have moral courage to serve students placed under their care, others lack it (Klaassen, 2010). Presumably, teachers' roles towards students' social development raises an important reflective question namely whom they are in the lives of students (Feeney *et al.*, 2019). Hence, the view that the students' social development does not link well with workload arrangements as academic subject or supervision of physical tasks seem to be relevant.

The study findings claimed that teachers' roles with respect to students' social development is guided. This view might have been referring to the code of professional conduct for teachers that defines the roles of Tanzanian teachers in relation to children, the community, the profession, the employer and the state. Towards the child, the code assigns teachers the role of nurturing children's intellectual, physical, social and spiritual development (United Republic of Tanzania [URT], 2002). However, the general trend indicates that the role of teachers towards social development tends to be neglected as the main thrust is placed on intellectual development through academic subjects and standard tests (Ball, 2021; Kohn, 2000; Popham, 2016). This seems to be the case for Tanzanian basic education, considering that the guidelines available for measuring students' learning achievement are cognitive-based (URT, 2021). As such, there are no indicators in place for ascertaining students' acquisition of life and soft skills, self-regulation, improvement in character, effort, commitment, moral and ethical reflection, or attitudinal changes arising from the years they spend in schools (Kohn, 2000; Spann & Kaufman, 2015). This might explain why the teachers' workload for students' social development is difficult to distribute even after the introduction of fee-free education.

Among the strategies for enhancing students' social development in the context of fee-free education is the promotion of schools' social climate. School management teams stated that they made efforts to make students feel part of the school community. This view is in connection with several studies (Bradshaw et al., 2021; Coker et al., 2018; Green & Falecki, 2021; McCallum, 2021; Thapa et al., 2023). Literature indicates that the social climate in schools serves as a means to foster students' feelings of belonging such that they develop elements of positive education (Allen et al., 2021; Arguis-Rey, 2021; Green & Falecki, 2021; Martinez et al., 2016; McCallum, 2021). Positive education implies students' affirmative feelings in the course of interactions with the teachers and among themselves, as well as valuing school life. They see the meaning of what they learn in real life and the relationships they enter into. Hence, they link well the school and home life. Arguably, these aspects of students' social development require a holistic approach and whole-school engagement rather than allocating them to specific school members through workload allocation.

The heads of the discipline units highlighted the school's extracurricular activities as an important avenue for advancing students' social development, citing examples such as clubs, where students are empowered to form voluntary groups for advancing healthy and positive causes. Studies have provided various evidence suggesting that clubs in schools foster social

values such as self-discipline, environmental awareness and care, gender sensitivity, self-responsibility, human rights, interpersonal relationships, etc. For instance, studies by Mahmud and Manda (2016) and Nureva and Tohir (2020) establish that scout' clubs are among the effective means for implementing character education and student' discipline in schools. Studies by Mhando, Shukia and Mkumbo (2015) noted that the extracurricular clubs, namely 'Tuseme Clubs', that is, students' groupings for advocating openness and freedom for students to air their voices against improper teacher and students' behaviours in the schools, were useful in forging a safe and peaceful school environment. It is apparent, therefore, that students' social development derives from several sources.

The heads of the academic units had their descriptions based on the teaching processes that culminate in students' social development. They linked the potential of students' social development with the curriculum renewals that emphasise competence-based teaching processes that integrate knowledge, skills and social disposition. Such claims reverberate the directives by the national curriculum framework for basic and teacher education (URT, 2019) on competence teaching and assessment, as well as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation-International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa [UNESCO-IICBA] (2017) on transformative pedagogy. Both the national curriculum framework and the UNESCO-IICBA (2017) guidelines oblige teachers to serve as facilitators with disposition skills, knowledge and commitment to support students' social development. Nevertheless, there are doubts whether the guidelines on students' social development are implemented, considering that the fee-free education has tended to focus on quantitative expansion of school places with little or no emphasis on competence-based teaching and its assessment (Drisko, 2014; Losioki, 2018; Nkya et al., 2021). Furthermore, the objective criteria for measuring the attainment of social values seem to be lacking.

The view on community involvement strategy after the introduction of the fee-free education revealed that community support and engagement are increasingly becoming important in the efforts to advance students' social development. Literature relates community engagement with increased students' social responsibility, social accountability, social and emotional learning competencies and service-learning attitudes (Jumanne, 2023; Vidyarini & Sari, 2018). In the context of Epstein's (1992) overlapping spheres model, the relationship between parents and teachers is emphasised as both parties have shared responsibilities in the social development of students. This is particularly the case when considering that after the introduction of fee-free education in Tanzania, secondary school students

from family backgrounds largely outnumber those in boarding schools (Nyamohanga, 2024). As such, the education circular No. 6 of 2022 requires teachers and parents to initiate forums for monitoring students' social development (URT, 2022).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Considering the findings of the study, it is apparent that the school management teams agreed that fee-free education had intensified teachers' burden of teaching subject matter, noting, however, that this did not affect their moral role of fostering values among students. This study concludes that despite involvement of multiple stakeholders, students' social growth remains teachers' primary responsibility, as students spend more time during the day with teachers at school than with their families. The parents, other caregivers, peers and the community at large have their roles, too, but teachers' role of cultivating students' social growth cannot be overemphasised. Hence, the strategies for enhancing students' social development can be fruitful when they assign teachers the leading role. The study recommends the need for the government to strike a balance between the academic and social aspects of schooling by devising mechanisms for ensuring that those dimensions proceed in tandem. As claimed earlier, economic globalisation tends to sideline the social dimensions of education, which is a risky business. It is further recommended that the current developments require the formulation of objective measures for determining teachers' accountability that are measured not only on the basis of students' academic achievement, but also their social progress and well-being. This remains one of the contemporary challenges for the 21st century education.

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