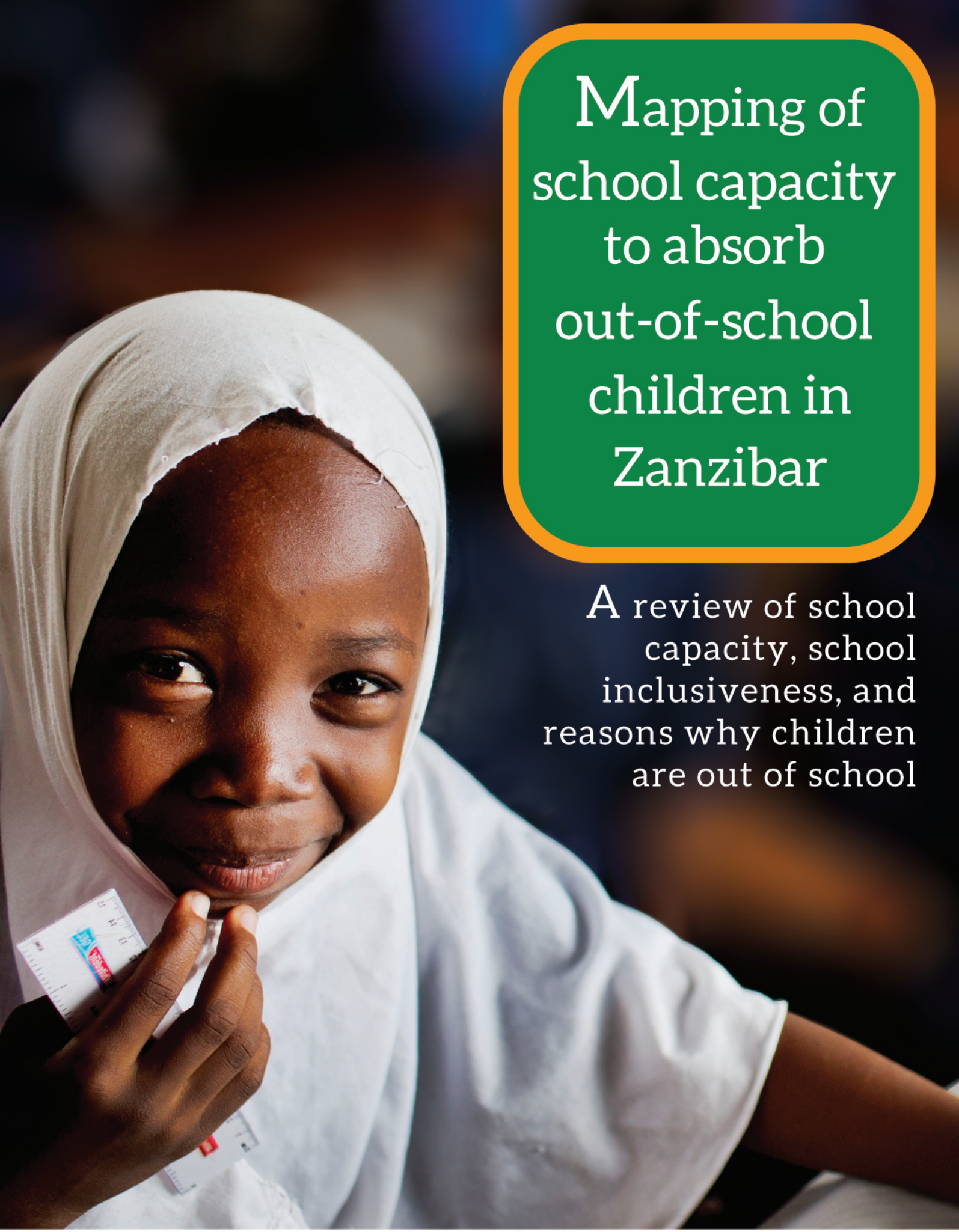

Mapping of school capacity to absorb out-of-school children in Zanzibar

A review of school capacity, school inclusiveness, and reasons why children are out of school

Milele Zanzibar Foundation

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February 2018

The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

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Principal Secretary
Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
Zanzibar

Executive summary

Introduction

Oxford Policy Management (OPM) has been contracted for this assignment by the MoEVT of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (RGoZ) with the technical and financial support of UNICEF and the MZF.

The assignment has three components: to establish profiles of all schools and non-formal alternative learning classes (ALCs);to analyse the reasons that children are out of school (OOS);and to make recommendations to ensure that out-of-school children (OOSC) and those at risk of dropping out are retained in schools.

Between March and October 2017, the OPM team conducted qualitative and quantitative primary research, along with a review of existing evidence, to understand and analyse these three components. This report presents the consolidated findings and recommendations from all activities conducted during the research period.

The report consists of six chapters: Chapter 1 introduces the assignment and provides the background and context, Chapter 2 gives an overview of existing education policies, and Chapter 3 details our research methodology. Research findings and analysis are presented in chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, with these chapters focusing on the key research themes of school resource capacity, school infrastructure capacity, inclusiveness, and reasons for the OOS status of children. Chapter 8 concludes with recommendations in light of this research.

OOSC in Zanzibar

There are three categories of OOSC:

- **Never been to school:** Children who have never attended any school at any level;
- **Dropouts:** Children who once attended school regularly (for more than three months) but have not been to school for three months or more;and
- **At-risk children:** Children who attend school generally but face various challenges, which often prevent them from attending school regularly, and that put them at high risk of ultimately dropping out.

In Zanzibar, the Education Policy provides for the following cycles of compulsory education: two years of pre-primary at ages four and five, six years of primary between ages six and 11, and four years of ordinary secondary between ages 12 and 15. These ages and cycles form the basis of the analysis presented in on the proportion of OOSC of various types.

The latest Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) (2015/16) data and Household Budget Survey (HBS) (2014/15) data indicate that around one-third of 4–15 year olds in Zanzibar are OOS. Though estimates of OOSC by school level vary by data source, the trends across both sources of information indicate that enrolment rates are highest at 12–15 years of age, and while a large share of children are OOS at early ages a majority do eventually start school, albeit over-age.

Estimates of total number of OOSC suggest that approximately 140,000 children between the ages of four and 15 are OOS, using 2017 Office of Chief Government Statistician (OCGS) population projections and 2014/15 HBS OOS rates.

Poverty, lower educational attainment of the household head, living in a rural area, and being male are all factors associated with a higher likelihood of 4–15 year olds being OOS. Boys are systematically more likely to be OOS than girls, at each level of schooling, with the gap between boys and girls widest at the secondary level.

The primary-level survival rate, or likelihood of those who start primary education reaching the last grade, is 85%, while the survival rate for the ordinary secondary cycle is significantly lower at 54%. Boys are less likely to survive in both cycles than girls.

Secondary data suggest that reasons for being OOS include a lack of interest in schooling, age, illness, and poverty. In addition, disability, quality of education, physical school environments, a lack of trained teachers, physical and sexual violence in schools, and some gender-specific barriers also play a role.

The RGoZ and MoEVT have developed a wide range of policies that address barriers to OOSC, including a fee-abolition policy and provision of school meals to address barriers related to poverty, the Spinsters' Act to reduce dropout due to pregnancy, and the banning of corporal punishment under the Education Act (1982). However, these policies are not understood and implemented uniformly across districts, and are therefore not having the desired impact in curbing dropout and encouraging enrolment.

Research methodology

The quantitative survey consisted of a school census of all the schools in Zanzibar. This totals 1,320 schools, which includes schools of all levels (pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools) and ownership types (public, private, and community owned). Community-level schools include Madrasa Early Childhood Programme (MECP) schools and Tucheze Tujifunze (TUTU) centres.

The quantitative survey used three instruments: a school listing questionnaire, a head teacher interview, and an interview with the teacher of the ALC in schools where this class exists.

The qualitative research used three research instruments: key informant interviews (KIIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), and a community mapping exercise with respondents from multiple levels (school, household, community, and shehia (ward)) across four research sites in order to understand factors influencing the OOS status of children.

The research was conducted by Zanzibari data collectors, with support from OPM's Tanzania office. The quantitative data collection was carried out in July and August 2017, and the qualitative research was conducted soon after, in August and September 2017.

School capacity – accessibility and teacher availability

The current schooling system does not have significant teacher capacity to absorb additional children. A major factor explaining current capacity constraints is inequality in the distribution of teachers across schools.

Zanzibar employs a sufficient number of teachers to meet policy targets, but there is some misalignment between the profile of teachers (the level they teach, their training, and their qualifications) required in each school and the teachers available.

A sizeable minority of teachers (about 20%) are neither trained (professional education qualification) nor qualified (bachelor's degree), which is an important teacher capacity gap. This constraint is less prevalent among public teachers, but still affects more than 10% of them.

There is an overall shortage of pre-primary teachers. None of the districts meet pre-primary pupil-to-teacher ratio (PTR) targets. Primary teachers are available in almost sufficient numbers to cater for current enrolment, but the distribution across schools is very unequal. A majority of secondary schools (around 55%) have spare teacher capacity, but this is concentrated in Unguja's districts.

Compared with Unguja, districts in Pemba have relatively high PTRs at each level of schooling. The distribution of teachers within each district is also very unequal, with the result that there are schools with spare capacity and schools with an acute shortage of teachers, at all levels.

There are greater teacher capacity shortages in public schools than in the non-public schools, but the patterns of inequality in public teacher distribution across districts are broadly similar to those in the system overall. Pupils in public primary schools in Pemba are particularly disadvantaged in terms of their access to teachers.

Travel time from home to school does not appear to be a widespread barrier to school access, but travel times are still very long for some pupils and journeys to and from school can be unsafe for both boys and girls.

School capacity – infrastructure availability

The current schooling system does not have significant infrastructure capacity to absorb additional children. This is due to a lack of available school infrastructure and to inequality in its distribution across schools.

Shortage of classrooms is the most serious resource capacity constraint in the schooling system. A small minority of schools have no classrooms at all, and almost all districts have schools that teach at least some classes outside.

The overall shortage of classrooms is made worse by the unequal distribution across schools, leading to spare capacity in some locations and extreme overcrowding of classrooms in other locations.

A large minority of schools in all districts (40% overall) have at least some classrooms that are not being used but could be.

Classroom shortages are much more extreme on Pemba than on Unguja, and the spread of pupil-to-classroom ratios (PCRRs) within each district on Pemba is very large too.

Public schools have far greater classroom capacity shortages than non-public schools, which typically have a surplus of classrooms.

Public classrooms are in short supply on Pemba, but Magharibi has the greatest public classroom constraint and Mjini also faces extreme shortages of public classrooms. Magharibi and Mjini both have a dominant non-public school sector with surplus classroom capacity.

Average class sizes at primary and secondary level are close to policy targets overall, but inequality in teacher and classroom availability between and within districts means that class sizes vary greatly too.

Compounding classroom shortages is the huge need for major repairs to classrooms and toilets, as well as the provision of water for drinking in schools that currently lack this basic need.

Across Zanzibar, communities are helping to solve school infrastructure constraints. Mkoani, Chake Chake, and Wete have high needs coupled with a high proportion of schools with incomplete community-led infrastructure.

Under a scenario of universal basic education enrolment and completion, pressure for additional school places would be concentrated in Micheweni and Kaskazini B. Micheweni is the district emerging from this analysis as systematically having the most capacity constraints of all districts, at all levels.

Achieving universal ordinary secondary enrolment and completion would require current enrolment to expand by about 30%. Although there is currently some spare capacity in the secondary schooling system, it is nowhere near sufficient to deal with this scale of increase.

School inclusiveness

On average, schools offer fragmented, inconsistent, and inadequate support for children with special needs, which includes girls, children with physical disabilities, children struggling to cope with the content of schooling (including slow learners), children that have previously dropped out or started school late, and children that are vulnerable due to a range of social and economic reasons.

A large share of children with disabilities (sight, hearing, or motor) are excluded from school, and such children form around 1% of total school enrolment.

The lower share of girls with disabilities in the overall enrolled female student body relative to the same for boys indicates that girls with disabilities are more likely to be excluded from school.

The provision of teaching and learning materials for special needs children is far from adequate: of schools that enrol children with disabilities, only 7.6% have material for sight-impaired children, 2.5% have material for hearing-impaired children, only 30% of all school entrances and in-use classrooms are accessible, and 15% of functional toilets are accessible.

Teachers lack training for inclusive education. Less than 20% of schools have at least one teacher with some training on how to identify and teach children with disabilities, and only 8% of all schools reported having at least one teacher trained in gender-responsive pedagogy (GRP).

The ratio of female-to-male pupils in school is approximately 1.05, meaning there are more girls enrolled than boys. On average, this ratio tends to improve from pre-primary to primary level, and then worsens from primary to secondary level.

There is little gender inequality in the Standard 7 and Form 4 pass rates overall. For Form 2 pass rates, however, girls outperform boys, while boys outperform girls in passing the Form 4 examination and qualifying for Form 5.

Approximately 16% of all primary and secondary schools reported having at least one pregnancy or early marriage case during the last three years. In the absence of proper support structures, early marriage and pregnancy cause girls to drop out – 75% of pregnancy cases during the last three years resulting in the pupil dropping out from school.

Almost a quarter of pre-primary and primary schools still collect contributions from parents,which suggests the fee-abolition policy is not being implemented fully. Almost all secondary schools require parental contributions.

While a larger share of public pre-primary schools operate feeding programmes compared to private or community schools, only 57% of all public pre-primary schools had a school feeding programme, highlighting a gap in the implementation of this programme.

About half of all schools have a counsellor but only 18% of all schools have counsellors with dedicated time for counselling activities. Counsellors are often without any training or professional

qualification specific to their role as a counsellor. Counselling services were requested by pupils in only 4% of all schools during the last school year.

Two-thirds of all schools have a School Management Committee (SMC). A small share (about 15%) of SMCs discussed inclusive education for girls or for children with disabilities at their last meeting. One-third of all SMCs reported doing something in the last school year to bring OOSC into school. This suggests that SMC operations are, generally speaking, not addressing the issue of school inclusiveness and OOSC.

The scale of ALC operations is very small as ALCs exist in just 27 schools, or 5% of all primary schools, and enrolled 0.18% of all primary-level enrolment in Zanzibar in 2017. In addition, about 5% of all schools also offer some remedial learning support to pupils, though the distinction between ALC and remedial classes is not always clear within schools.

Factors affecting the OOS status of children

Almost all children of school-going age attend school at some point, even if pre-primary education is delayed for some children because of their young age and the long distance to travel to school. The key exception concerns children with disabilities, as schools are ill equipped to cater to these children. There is also a sense of shame among parents and children, limiting their opportunities.

Associated education costs (such as uniform and food) till primary level as well as fees and associated costs at the secondary level cause problems for enrolled children that affect their ability to remain in school.

The general level of engagement among the parent generation is low, with their own low levels of education meaning they are not always particularly concerned about the education of their children.

Parents and community members are concerned about the perceived utility of education, as they wonder whether schooling will lead to gainful employment.

The quality of schooling is also perceived to be low in many communities, discouraging children from remaining in school. The rapid influx of children into schools without the prerequisite resources to cope with this increase has put further pressures on the school system.

Students are at risk of experiencing sexual and physical violence at schools, which affects the ability of students, especially girls, to attend school regularly.

Most girls who get pregnant leave school, even though government policy has changed to encourage them to return to school.

A significant number of dropout children come from single-parent families or families where the parents are not the primary carers for the children.

Many dropouts cite corporal punishment by teachers as a key reason for their leaving school. However, authority figures such as parents and teachers report a preference for the use of corporal punishment to maintain discipline.

Form 2 exams serve as a crucial marker for education success, with students who fail these exams usually unable to complete their formal schooling.

Many of these push factors are also closely tied to the key pull factor of income-generating activities that attract school-age children, taking them away from the school system. Tourism, fishing, and farming provide opportunities for these children to make a living for themselves and support their families, which can prove too attractive to pass up.

The same push and pull factors lead to students being absent regularly, and it is conceivable that these children could ultimately drop out from school. Seasonal activities (such as farming or tourism) an imitation of dropouts also contribute to a higher potential for dropout.

There are some important gendered findings as well. While enrolment appears similar for boys and girls in pre-primary, at the primary and secondary levels there are different factors leading girls and boys to drop out. For example, at the primary level girls drop out because they are expected to carry a greater burden of household work or due to the expectation that girls will soon marry, while at the secondary level boys are more likely to participate in income-generating activities that affect their school attendance. Girls also dropout at this level, albeit at a much lower rate, because of household work or because they get married or become pregnant.

Conclusion and recommendations

There are a number of policies in Zanzibar that address some key issues and concerns related to the OOS status of children. For instance, policies related to corporal/alternative/positive punishment, Form 2 failure and dropout, pregnancy and early marriage, violence against children, and costs and associated costs of primary and secondary schooling have already been developed. However, there is a big gap between policy intent and implementation.

We propose a set of recommendations to address this gap between policy and intent:

- The MoEVT, in partnership with other relevant line ministries, should ensure that each policy is clear on its intent.
- The MoEVT should then provide a clear directive on each policy to schools as well as shehas to communicate the policies clearly. These directives should explain each policy in detail, and all schools should be required to display these policies publicly so that everyone is aware of them.
- The MoEVT should ensure that its pre-service and in-service training for teachers includes a component on these relevant policies, to ensure that head teachers, teachers, SMC members, and community leaders understand their role in handling difficult situations concerning these policies.
- The MoEVT should consider using mass media (such as radio and TV) to provide some 'soft messaging' around the design and intent of these key policies, so that parents and community members are also aware of these policies. If feasible, additional training and support to parents and community members on these issues can further increase the effectiveness of these policies.
- The reporting and redress mechanisms for each of these policies should be made clear, should any stakeholder have any complaint or misgivings about the use and interpretation of these policies. This will provide a feedback mechanism to adapt and improve both policy intent and implementation further.

In addition to these policy-level recommendations, we propose a few other options to address specific issues arising from this OOSC study:

- Children with disabilities remain a key group who are most likely to never attend school. MoEVT should coordinate with the National Council for People with Disabilities and the Department of Disability Affairs to first map out the location of all children with disabilities, and then provide the necessary human and material resources, training, and support to nearby schools, community leaders, parents, and community members to facilitate bringing such children into school and providing them with a supportive environment to ensure their quality education.
- The current schooling system does not have significant infrastructure capacity to absorb additional children due to overall shortages, coupled with an inequality in the distribution of

resources. In planning for universal basic education enrolment and completion, MoEVT and development partners should work together to develop a transparent prioritisation strategy for investment in school infrastructure and human resources. The list of critical potential investments within schools is long, meaning a strategic response is essential. The focus of investment should be on schools with the greatest shortages, while maintaining basic standards across all schools. MoEVT should also ensure that all development partners align their school infrastructure investment strategies with the overarching prioritised investment plan.

- Given the MoEVT's recent announcement to abolish school fees at the secondary level, and the new directive that all students who have failed Form 2 will be allowed to repeat that form, an increase in secondary school enrolments is likely to be imminent. Although there is some spare capacity in the secondary schooling system currently, it is not sufficient to deal with this scale of increase as achieving universal ordinary secondary enrolment and completion would cause current enrolment to expand by about 30%. There should be a clear plan to ensure that secondary schools have the resources and support needed to deal with the expected increase. A micro-planning exercise using this study's supply-side data together with demand-side data at the lowest geographical unit possible can serve as a powerful tool for resource planning at all levels of the system, particularly at the secondary level.
- Classroom capacity constraints are severe, and more severe in public schools compared to private school. In areas where the private sector is well established, information from this study could be used to understand the extent to which these schools have spare capacity to enrol additional children, keeping in mind that the costs and issues associated with private school education could be different to the public school system.
- The current operations of the ALC system place a lot of burden on individual teachers and schools, who are often already operating in resource-constrained environments. The MoEVT, therefore, needs to continue working with the Inclusive Education Unit to supply a clear ALC curricula and shared learning objectives for ALCs, as well as to train teachers and provide them with ongoing support on pedagogical and curriculum approaches for ALC children.
- There is a broader need to develop a system to identify at risk or excluded children and to support their integration through individual and family support. Zanzibar has a well-developed system of local government which can be drawn upon to support this process. For example, shehas and school head teachers can be drawn upon to compile and maintain a record of OOS children in their locality and to encourage parents to send their children to school. Within schools, SMCs, school counsellors, and ALC/remedial teachers can be given the explicit responsibility to bring these children to school and to provide them the academic and emotional support they need to stay in school.
- Given the problem of distance and late enrolment in pre-primary education, the MoEVT should engage community volunteers (if not paid staff) to accompany young children from target vulnerable localities to pre-primary centres. A review of demand- and supply-side data can also help establish if and where more pre-primary schools need to be built to ensure that each community has easy access to them.
- The MoEVT should provide flexible schooling hours, particularly in schools near tourist areas and fishing areas/communities, so that children do not have to choose between education and economic activities. The curriculum should be made more relevant to people's lives, including a focus on skills that can translate into income-generating activities, perhaps by expanding vocational education options.
- MoEVT should use data to understand and address teacher allocation issues at each level of school, and explore mechanisms to incentivise districts to use the transfer and new appointment systems to narrow inequalities in parent-teacher ratios at each level. MoEVT should also plan to increase the supply of math and science teachers, as well as ensure that current math and science teachers are distributed equitably across schools and regions.

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List of abbreviations

ALC	Alternative Learning Class
CAPI	Computer Assisted Personal Interview
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESA	Education Situation Analysis
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GER	Gross enrolment ratio
GPI	Gender parity index
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
GRP	Gender-Responsive Pedagogy
HBS	Household Budget Survey
IDI	In-depth Interview
KII	Key Informant Interview
MECP	Madrasa Early Childhood Programme
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MZF	Milele Zanzibar Foundation
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
OCGS	Office of Chief Government Statistician
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
OOS	Out of school
OOSC	Out-of-school children
PTA	Parent–teacher association
PTR	Pupil–teacher ratio
PCRR	Pupil-classroom ratio
RGoZ	Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar
SMC	School Management Committee
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
ToR	Terms of Reference
TUTU	Tucheze Tujifunze (learning through play)
TZS	Tanzania Shillings
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene
WHO	World Health Organization
ZEC	Zanzibar Examinations Council

Key terms

There are some key terms that will be used throughout the discussion in this report. Definitions of these terms are presented below. Unless explicitly stated, the same definitions will be used across all the chapters.

- **Shehia:** A shehia, or ward, is the fourth administrative division (after region, districts, and divisions), and is based on population, with each shehia usually having around 21,000 people. A rural shehia may include several villages while in urban centres it may only form a part of a bigger town. Zanzibar has a total of 387 shehias.
- **Kitongoji:** This refers to a village or hamlet. Each shehia is made up of several kitongojis. More than one kitongoji are known as vitongoji.
- **Sheha:** A sheha is the local government leader at the shehia level, responsible for implementing government policies and directives, as well as for settling community-level disputes.
- **School level:** This refers to whether a particular school operates at the pre-primary level, primary level, or secondary level. In practice, schools usually offer a combination of levels.
    - **Pre-primary level:** refers to up to three years of pre-primary classes being taught at the school.
    - **Primary level:** refers to Standard 1 till Standard 6 classes being taught at the school.
    - **Secondary level:** refers to Form 1 till Form 6 classes being taught at the school. If a school only has partial secondary classes (for example, it only teachers lower secondary, i.e. Form 1 – Form 4), it is still categorised as a 'secondary' school.
- **School type:** This refers to the ownership structure of the school, and is separate from the school levels discussed above. A school may be a public school, a private school, or a community school. This is based on self-categorisation by the school-level respondents.
    - **Public school:** This is a government-owned school, where the head teacher and teachers are appointed and deployed by the MoEVT.
    - **Private school:** This refers to a school owned and operated by an individual entrepreneur.
    - **Community school:** This refers to private schools owned and run by community members, not by an individual entrepreneur.
        - **MECP schools:** community schools that fall under the MECP, run by the Aga Khan Foundation.
        - **TUTU centres:** community pre-primary schools, which are small, informal schools, often only consisting of one teacher and one group of 30children.
- **ALC:** This refers to extra classes set up in primary schools specifically for previously OOSC who are over-age and have started school for the first time. The class focuses on teaching children basic skills before they are integrated into regular primary-level classes taking place at the school. ALCs currently operate in 27 primary schools in Zanzibar.
- **Alternative learning centre:** This refers to centres that provide pre-vocational skills to students aged 15–22. They are designed to cater to children who are too old to join ALCs and who may otherwise not enter school. There are two such centres in Zanzibar.

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of the assignment

OPM has been contracted by the MoEVT of the RGoZ with the technical and financial support of UNICEF and the MZF to conduct a mapping of school capacity to absorb OOSC in Zanzibar together with research into the reasons that children are OOS. The mapping exercise covered all the registered and unregistered pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools, both private and public, in Zanzibar. In addition, it also covered community preschools established by MECP and TUTU centres.

In the revised Technical Proposal submitted by OPM in November 2016 in response to the Terms of Reference (ToR) (see Annex A), we envisioned three components to this work, as summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Research components, objectives, and key questions

Component	Objective	Key questions
Component 1	To establish profiles of all pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools and non-formal ALCs or centres, including geographic specifications	• What is the human and physical capacity within schools to absorb more students? • What is the level of inclusiveness and gender sensitivity within schools? • What is the preparedness within schools to reintegrate OOSC? • What are the counselling services and school capacity to provide counselling services to the most vulnerable children? • How are SMCs structured and what are their strategies to deal with OOSC? • What is the location of each school?
Component 2	To assess and analyse the factors contributing to students dropping out of pre-primary, primary, and secondary education	• Which push and pull factors lead to the OOS status (never enrolled and dropout status) of children? • Do these factors vary by school level or pupil gender? • Which factors affect children at risk of dropping out?

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Component	Objective	Key questions
Component 3	To identify and recommend the appropriate mix of strategic interventions to ensure that OOSC and those at risk of dropping out are retained in schools	• Which policies exist to address the factors affecting OOSC (as identified under Component 2)? • What are possible areas of intervention to address factors driving the OOS status of children?

Components 2 and 3 aim to understand the reasons why children are OOS and how they can be brought to school while Component 1 aims to understand the capacity within schools to successfully incorporate these new enrolments by evaluating both the physical and human capacity of schools as well as their levels of inclusiveness and support for groups of children with special needs.

Between March and October 2017, the OPM team carried out qualitative and quantitative primary research, as well as a review of existing information, to gather evidence on all three of these components and associated research questions. This report presents the consolidated findings and recommendations from all our research activities during this period.

1.2 Structure of the report

Before discussing our methodology and approach to this assignment, it is important to understand the education sector context in Zanzibar, particularly concerning OOSC. This chapter will begin with an overview of the education system in Zanzibar and then presents an adapted universal framework for conceptualising OOSC in Zanzibar. The chapter then goes on to discuss the characteristics of OOSC and the reasons why children are OOS based on the existing literature.

The chapter that follows (Chapter 2) presents a summary of existing policies and practice as they relate to school capacity and inclusiveness in Zanzibar. The findings of our own research are presented in subsequent chapters: Chapter 3 summarises our research methodology, chapters 4 and 5 present our findings on existing school capacity, Chapter 6 analyses the current levels of school inclusiveness toward at-risk and vulnerable children, and Chapter 7 discusses reasons for the OOS status of children. Overarching implications of the findings of our research and associated recommendations are presented in Chapter 8.

1.3 National education policy context

Since 1964, the RGoZ has been committed to giving every child equal opportunity to access education. This has been legally recognised in the Constitution (1984), the Education Act (1982), and the Children's Act (2011). In 2000, the government adopted Vision 2020 as its long-term development plan, with its main objectives being to eradicate absolute poverty and sustain human development. This is based on a recognition that provision of equitable education is key to the attainment of both these goals. Poverty reduction plans to implement Vision 2020 goals that have been in place since 2002 have consistently affirmed this, and the latest iteration – the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (ZSGRP) III: 2016–2020, also known as MKUZA III –has the explicit objective of ensuring inclusive and equitable access to quality education and skills training.

The Zanzibar Education Policy (2006) was developed within the overall context of Vision 2020 as a concrete comprehensive education policy. This policy introduced the 12-year compulsory education cycle, and continues to provide the main guidance for the education sector.

In line with its domestic objectives, the RGoZ is also committed to achieving Education for All (EFA) and the Sustainable Development Goals.

1.4 The education system in Zanzibar

The Zanzibar Education Policy (2006) states that compulsory education is for 12 years, consisting of two years of pre-primary education, six years of primary education, and four years of ordinary secondary education (Annex D, Figure 1). This corresponds to official school ages of four and five years for pre-primary, six to 11 years for primary (Standards 1–6), and 12 to 15 years for ordinary secondary (Forms 1–4). The additional elements of the system are: two years of advanced secondary,[1] technical and vocational education (TVET) courses targeted at two groups of ordinary secondary leavers (Form 2 and Form 4), higher education, and adult and alternative learning programmes. There is a mix of public and private provision at all levels.

Trends in student numbers over the past eight years are given in Table 2. Enrolment growth has varied a lot depending on the subsector. The size of the pre-primary subsectors has increased substantially, while primary and ordinary secondary displayed more modest growth and advanced secondary has declined. Enrolment growth has been strongest at pre-primary at 14.5% per year on average, while at primary level student numbers have been increasing steadily by almost 2% each year.

In 2017, the total pre-primary enrolment was 62,720, which represents a 50% increase from the total pre-primary enrolment two years earlier in 2015. At the primary level, total enrolment was 256,048 in 2017, a 2% reduction from the 2015 primary-level enrolment. These numbers coincide with significant policy-level changes including parental contributions being abolished at the pre-primary and primary levels and a complete transition in the total number of years of primary schooling from seven to six years. With pre-primary education being compulsory, the increase in school uptake as a result of the fee-abolition policy is clear through the significant increase in the number of children enrolled at the pre-primary level, and with the associated increase in the gross enrolment ratio (GER) at the pre-primary level from 33.3 in 2017 to 66.1 in 2017 (MoEVT Education Management Information System (EMIS), 2017).

[1] *For the purpose of this report, 'secondary' refers to ordinary secondary classes, i.e. Form 1 to Form 4. Advanced secondary has been excluded from our discussion as it is not part of the compulsory education requirement.*

Table 2: Enrolment trends (number and GER) by compulsory education levels and type of provider, 2009–2017

Subsector 2009	Number of students					Average annual growth (%)
	2011	2013	2015	2017	2009–17	
Pre-primary	21,218	33,229	31,045	41,731	62,750	14.5
GER	19.8	29.4	26.1	33.3	66.1	
Share private (%)	78.9	58.2	60.3	54.6	59.5	
Primary	220,819	237,690	247,440	261,212	256,948	1.9
GER	98.9	101.2	100.1	100.3	107.0	
Share private (%)	5.1	6.1	6.9	8.4	10.0	
Ordinary secondary	77,958	77,671	76,979	84,925	118,520	5.4
GER	70.7	66.9	63.0	66.0	77.2	
Share private (%)	5.5	7.3	7.8	8.2	8.6	
Advanced secondary	4,844	4,182	1,937	2,640	3,643	-3.5
GER	9.6	7.9	3.5	4.5	10.8	
Share private (%)	12.7	12.3	11.4	10.0	13.5	

Source: *Statistical Abstracts of 2013 and2015, budget speech tables for various years, as presented in the Zanzibar Education Situation Analysis (ESA) (MoEVT, 2016) and the original Kiswahili report for 2017 (MoEVT, 2017). Notes: (1) These figures exclude the two 'biased' government secondary schools that offer technical education.*

The provision of 12 years of compulsory education is a decisive change from the previous system, under which the compulsory education cycle was for 10 years, with official entry at seven years of age. It comprised seven years of primary education (Standards 1–7), followed by a year of orientation to secondary school, then two years of lower secondary education (Forms 1–2), with an examination to qualify for further study. Pre-primary education was offered, mainly by private providers, and not included in compulsory education.

At the primary level, the change from a seven- to a six-year primary cycle was accompanied by a new curriculum, and the first cohort of students to be taught the six-year curriculum started Standard 1 in 2010 and were in Standard 6 in 2015, while the last group of students who went through the old curriculum were in Standard 7. This double-cohort entered Form 1 in 2016.

At the secondary level, students are still subject to the examination selection rules of the previous system, and must pass the Form 2 examinations in order to progress to Form 3.

In practice, the Zanzibar system has transitioned to the 2006 policy in phases, and some aspects of the old system are still in place. For example, while at the pre-primary level public provision of a two-year cycle has been introduced and grown at pace, many of the dominant private providers still offer a three-year cycle, which contributes to the late entry of pupils into primary school. Trends such as this affect data analysis and the common conception of what is considered to be 'OOS'.

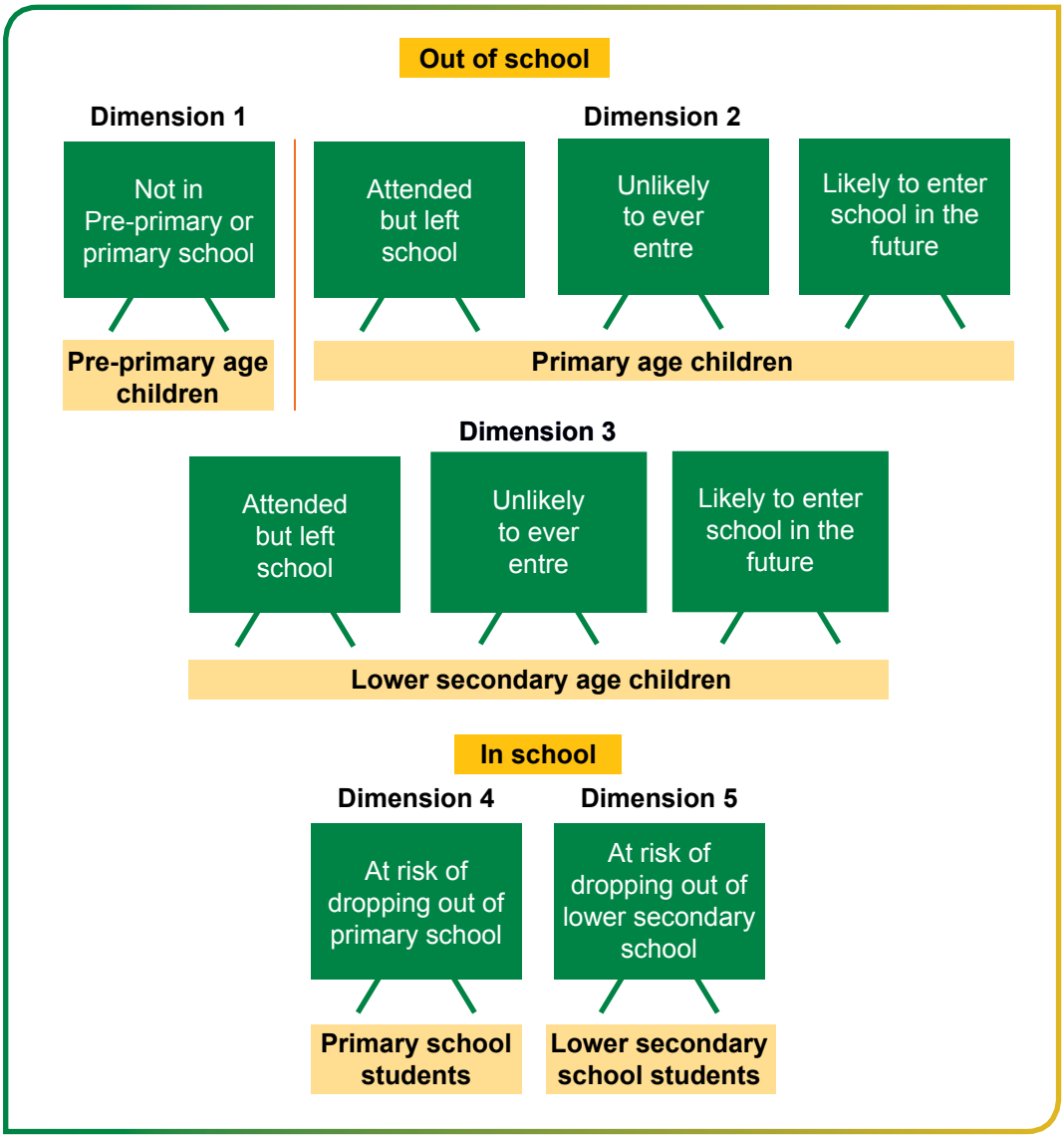
1.5 OOSC in Zanzibar

1.5.1 OOSC framework

In analysing the problem of OOSC, a model developed by the UNICEF–UNESCO Out of School Initiative, termed the Five Dimensions of Exclusion Model (UNICEF, 2015a), is helpful in understanding the different types of exclusion.

The model consists of five distinct groups of children, as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The Five Dimensions of Exclusion Model



Source: *UNICEF, 2015a*

This model divides children into three age groups: pre-primary age children, primary age children, and lower secondary school-age children. In addition, there are two broad categories of exclusion – children who are OOS, and those who are in school but at risk of dropping out. Of those who are OOS, we distinguish between those who entered school in the past but have dropped out and those who have never started school. In our own investigations, we have broadly used these categories as well, as will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

1.5.2 Zanzibar definition of OOSC

The Five Dimensions of Exclusion Model relies on age groups corresponding to each level of schooling (pre-primary, primary, and secondary). However, as we have already touched on above, the implementation of the 12-year compulsory education cycle starting at age four is still in transition in Zanzibar. This means that the mapping of age groups to different levels is not always consistent or straightforward.

For the purposes of this report, we follow the age groups for each level of schooling as prescribed in the current Education Policy (2006). Thus, pre-primary school age is 4–5 years, primary school age is 6–11, and secondary school age is 12–15. This is for consistency in definition and analysis, and with the aim to give recommendations that will accelerate the transition to full implementation of the Policy.

The sections below summarise the existing evidence on the scale and reasons for exclusion of children from school. In keeping with the Five Dimensions of Exclusion Model, our analysis also distinguishes between OOSC who were enrolled in school but have dropped out and those who have been never enrolled in school, while identifying, where possible, children who are expected to enter school as late entrants. We also present a discussion on marginalised and vulnerable groups of children who are in school but who are at risk of dropping out.

1.5.3 Scale of exclusion

During the design stages of this study, the focus was narrowed from quantifying both supply- and demand-side characteristics of OOSC to purely supply-side characteristics. As a result of this, our study is not able to provide updated estimates on the exact number of OOSC, as was originally envisioned.[2] Nonetheless, it is important to estimate the scale of exclusion of different groups of school-aged children in order to propose recommendations that are appropriate and relevant.

Table 3presents estimations of OOSC by age groups corresponding to schooling levels, as prescribed in the current Education Policy. It shows that estimates for the proportion of children that are OOS vary by the data source used. For example, the HBS (2014/15) estimates that 74% of four to five year olds are OOS, while the DHS 2015/16 survey estimates 82% for the same age group. On aggregate, however, the percentages do not differ as widely and indicate that between 27% and 30% of 4–15 year olds are currently OOS in Zanzibar.

Although the proportions vary, the general trends in enrolment across both data sources indicate that enrolment rates are highest around 12–15 years and lower at younger ages. These estimates also highlight the trend of late entrants into primary school: even though many children do not start pre-primary school at the stipulated age of four years, or primary schooling at six years, most children eventually enter school, albeit over-age. The fact that a majority of OOSC are late entrants is also supported by the relatively small share of dropouts within the overall OOSC population, as shown below.

[2] *Please refer to our revised technical proposal, submitted in November 2016, for details on the changes to the scope of the study since the original ToR.*

Table 3: Estimations of OOSC by age group and level of schooling

Age bracket (level)	4–15 years (Compulsory education)	4–5 years (Pre-primary)	6–11 years (Primary)	12–15 years (Secondary)
HBS (2014/15)	27%	74%	18%	13%
DHS (2015/16)	29%	82%	20%	11%
DHS (2015/16) – dropouts only	2%	0%	0.5%	7%

Source: *HBS (2014/15) using authors' own calculations; Zanzibar DHS (2015/16) using authors' own calculations. OOSC includes dropouts as well as never enrolled, except where specified otherwise.*

Table 4 estimates the total number of 4–15 year olds OOS in 2017, by district. In total, approximately 130,000 children between the ages of four and 15 are OOS in 2017, although a majority of them are likely to be 4–5 years old, who will eventually start school over-age, as discussed above. The rates of exclusion vary geographically across Zanzibar, with Kusini having the smallest number of OOSC and Magharibi having approximately 18 times more children OOS.

Table 4: Estimated number of OOSC in 2017, by district

District	Share of 4–15 year olds OOS	Number of 4–15 year olds in population	Total number of 4–15 year olds OOS
Mjini	16%	76,296	12,207
Magharibi	22%	146,452	32,219
Kaskazini A	33%	39,115	12,908
Kaskazini B	28%	30,062	8,417
Kati	26%	25,501	6,630
Kusini	14%	11,794	1,651
Mkoani	31%	38,585	11,961
Chake Chake	31%	37,618	11,662
Wete	29%	40,695	11,802
Micheweni	40%	41,552	16,621
Overall	27%	487,670	131,671

Source: *Share of 4–15 year olds based on HBS (2014/15) using authors' own calculations. Number of 4–15 year olds in population based on 2017 OCGS projections (used in EMIS). Magharibi has been presented as one combined district since the HBS data does not distinguish between Magharibi A and Magharibi B.*

While this gives a sense of the number of OOSC per district, these estimates are sensitive to the source of population projections and OOS statistics used[3] and do not answer the question of how many children fall into each of the three distinct categories of OOS children. To make full use of the supply-side information presented in this report, we encourage the MoEVT and OCGS to update estimates of the numbers of OOSC using the latest population estimates disaggregated by gender, geography (ideally at the shehia level), and exclusion category (never enrolled, late entrants, and dropouts) as much as possible.[4] This will greatly improve the usability of our findings

[3] *The project ToR state that 'Recent calculations based on National Bureau of Statistics projections have shown there are approximately 66,000 out of school children (OOSC) in primary.' In our consultations, we have been unable to determine the source and methodology of these estimates.*

[4] *The methodology for estimating numbers in each of these categories from survey or census data is detailed in the UNICEF-UNESCO OOSC Initiative manual (UNICEF, 2015a).*

and recommendations to address OOSC issues, and allow relevant stakeholders to make full use of studies such as this in the future.

1.5.4 Five dimensions of exclusion in Zanzibar

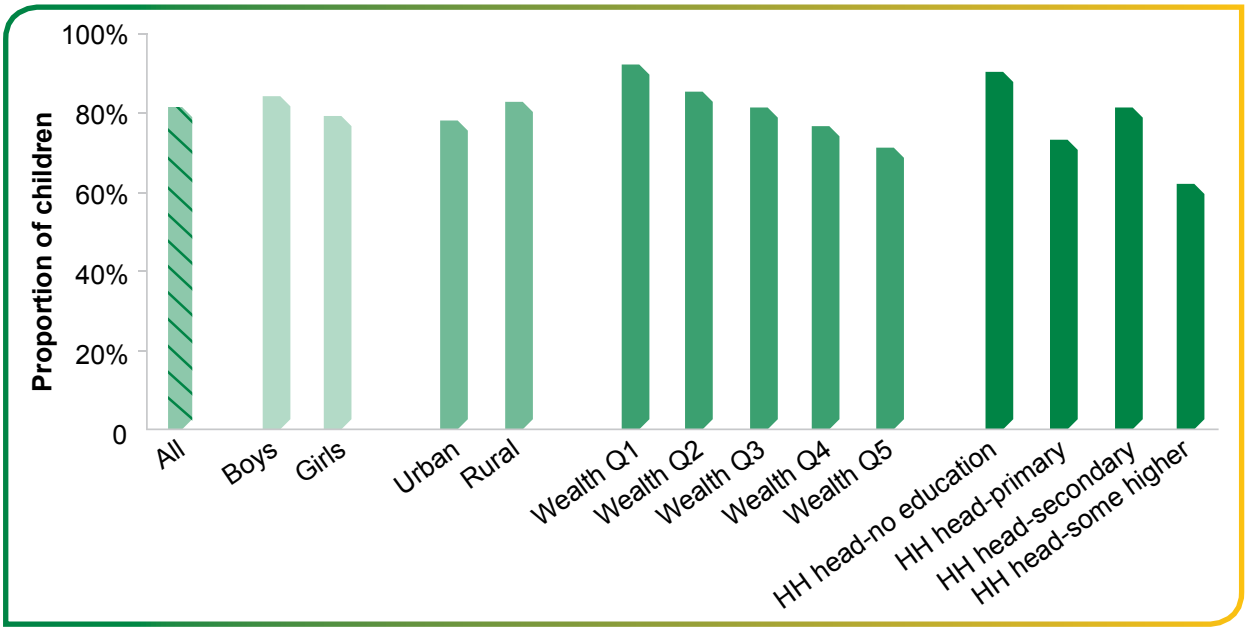
In the sections that follow, summary characteristics of what is known about children in the five dimensions of exclusion in Zanzibar are presented. 'OOS' is defined as those who have never attended school or who have previously attended school but have since dropped out. DHS 2015/16 data and the latest Zanzibar EMIS data (2017) are used for this analysis. References to wealth quintiles refer to the population divided into five groups, each with 20% of the total surveyed population, where wealth quintile 1 is the poorest and wealth quintile 5 is the wealthiest. Due to small sample sizes for higher educational attainment of the household head, correlations with schooling status of pupils need to be interpreted with caution, and not as representative of the larger effect of parental education levels on child outcomes.

Dimension 1: Children of pre-primary age who are not in pre-primary or primary

In 2015/16, 82% of pre-primary-aged children were estimated to be OOS. For this group, no dropouts were recorded (Table 3), which is to be expected as this is the youngest age children can possibly start school.

Gender, location, economic background, and educational attainment of the household head are all factors associated with the likelihood of being excluded from school. As shown in Figure 2, boys are five percentage points more likely to be OOS than girls, and children who live in rural areas are five percentage points more likely to be OOS than children living in urban areas. Household income is positively correlated with schooling status: 92% of children from the poorest quintile are OOS, with this percentage dropping steadily to 71% for the wealthiest quintile of households. In households where the head of the household has no education, children are 17% more likely to be OOS than household heads who had finished primarily schooling.

Figure 2: Proportion of pre-primary-aged children who are OOS by personal and household characteristics (%), 2015/16



Source: *DHS 2015/16 (Authors' own calculations)*

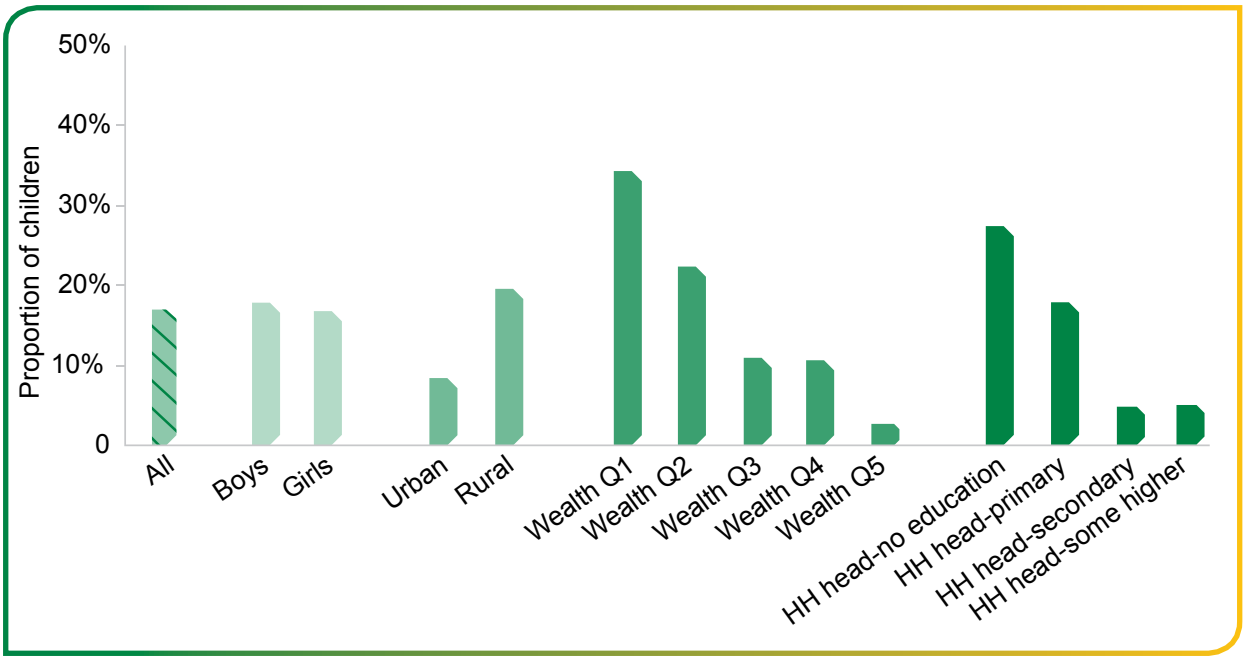
According to EMIS data, in 2016, 22% of Pre-primary year 1 children in government schools were four years of age, while more than 37% of children were aged six or above. This suggests that while 82% of all children of pre-primary age are OOS, children who are actually enrolled in pre-primary are likely to be older than the stipulated ages of four for pre-primary year 1 and five for pre-primary year 2.

Dimension 2: Children of primary school age who are not in primary or secondary

For primary-aged children i.e. 6-11 year olds, 20% of the population is estimated to be OOS. Economic background, education of the head of the household and location are all major factors associated with the likelihood of being excluded from school, as indicated in Figure 3.

By far the largest disparity is related to household wealth. Children from the poorest quintile of households have a 40% chance of being OOS. This drops to 26% for the next quintile, halves to 13% for quintiles 3 and 4, while children from the richest 20% of households have a 3% chance of exclusion. Living in a household where the head has completed primary education is associated with 11 percentage point reduction of being excluded from school than if the head of household has no education, and this drops by another 15% if the head of the household has completed secondary education. A gap of 13 percentage points is visible between rural children and their urban peers.

Figure 3: Proportion of primary-aged children who are OOS by personal and household characteristics (%), 2015/16



Source: *DHS 2015/16 (Authors' own calculations)*

It is interesting to note that the gap between sub-groups based on region (urban versus rural) and wealth quintiles is the highest at the primary level. This indicates that, even though all children eventually start school regardless of their gender, location, and poverty status, progression to primary schooling is significantly affected by these personal characteristics.

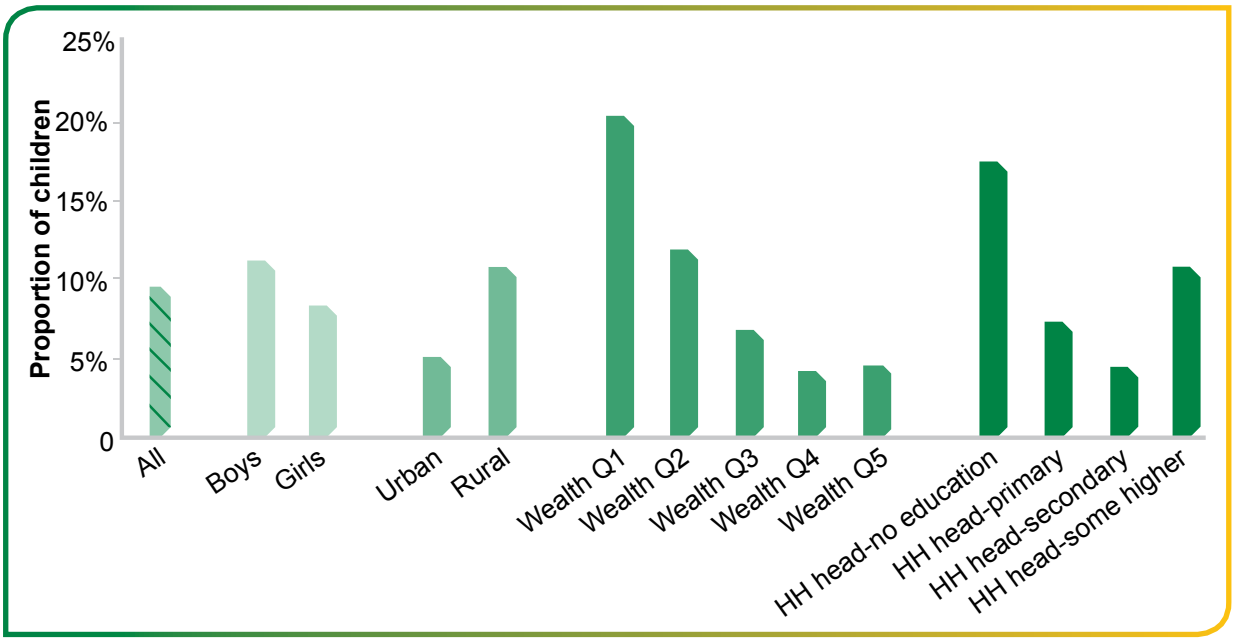
Dimension 3: Children of lower secondary age who are not in primary or secondary

As shown in Figure 4, 11% of children aged 12 to 15 are OOS. For this older group of children, the likelihood of being OOS more is more than twice the average, at 23%, for those children in

the poorest quintile of families, dropping to 5% for the wealthiest quintile. Children in households where the head has no education have a likelihood of 19% of being excluded, and rural children are twice as likely as their urban peers to be OOS.

While the gap between boys and girls exists at all levels of schooling, it is widest at the secondary level with boys three percentage points more likely to be OOS than girls. Therefore, while girls are more likely to be in school compared to boys at all levels, at the secondary level, this difference in likelihoods is the greatest.

Figure 4: Proportion of secondary school-aged children who are OOS by personal and household characteristics (%), 2015/16



Source: *DHS 2015/16 (Authors' own calculations)*

Dimensions 4 and 5: Children who are at risk of dropping out

As well as children who are OOS, it is important to anticipate which students are most at risk of dropping out. Such at-risk children at the primary and secondary level are included in dimensions 4 and 5 of the Five Dimensions of Exclusion Model, respectively. The level of education, sex of the child, and location are all factors that determine risk of dropping out.

In 2017, the survival rate for the primary cycle was 85%, which means that for every 100 children who started in Primary 1, and assuming the system stays the same, 85 will reach the last grade of primary while 15 will have dropped out. This masks significant differences between boys (79%) and girls (92%), which are shown in Figure 5.

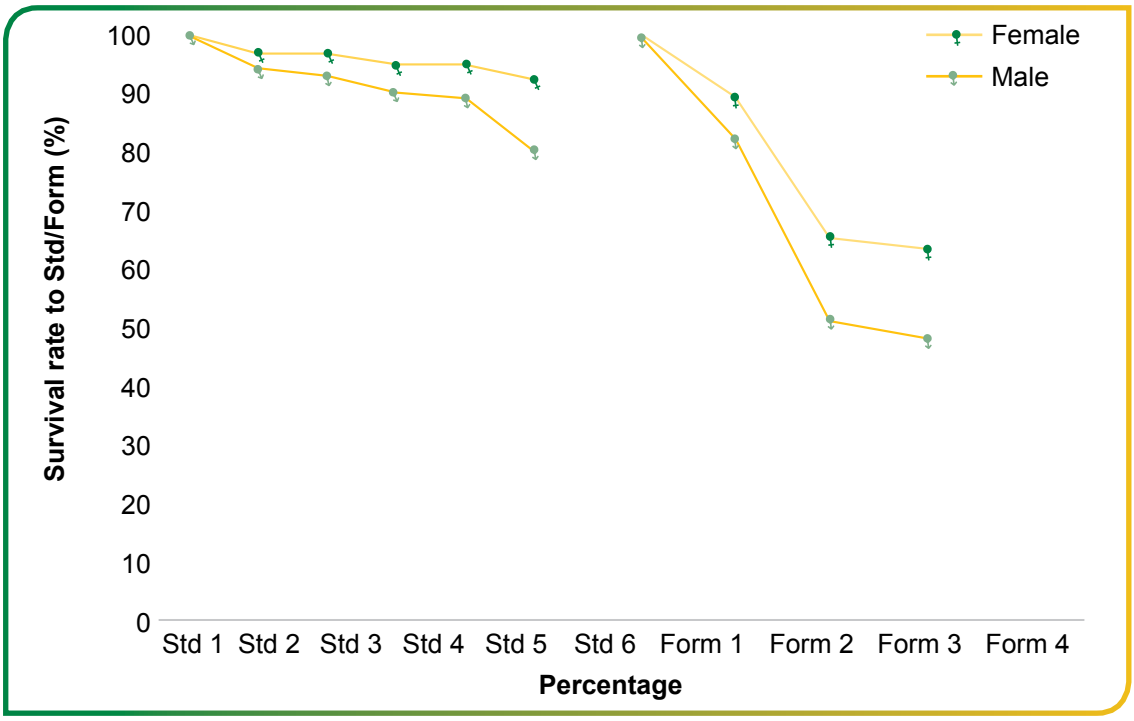
At the primary level, repetition rates are highest at Standard 1 (7.1%), with repetition becoming less likely as students progress through primary school. Dropout rates are highest in Standard 5 (6.9%) and vary by district, with rates as high as 41% and 31% in Chake Chake and Micheweni respectively, and reported to be 0% in Kaskazini A and Kati. This is in line with rural/urban disparities as seen in dimensions 1–3 above.

The survival rate for the ordinary secondary level is significantly lower, overall at 54%, again with boys (45%) significantly less likely to survive to Form 4 than girls (62%). A total of 14.2% of students drop out at Form 1 and 33.9% of students drop out at Form 2. Dropout was more uniform

across the districts, with five districts having cumulative dropout of 50% or more and districts with the best retention still accumulating a dropout of 39%. This indicates that secondary school dropout is prevalent across all districts more than dropout at the primary school level, and forms a large group of at-risk children.

Graphically, the survival rates for each year can be seen in Figure 5, with detailed dropout and repetition rates by district presented in Table 7 in Annex D.

Figure 5: Retention profile for the primary and secondary cycles (public students), female and male, 2017



Source: *MoEVT (2017)*

1.6 Reasons for being OOS

This section discusses the reasons children in Zanzibar are OOS separately by categories of children: 1) those who never enrolled in school; 2)those who started school but dropped out; and 3) those who are at risk of dropping out.

1.6.1 Never enrolled

Research by Kholowa and Mtahabwa (2013) found that low income and inability to pay school fees were barriers for the most vulnerable children to enter pre-primary. The growth in pre-primary GER and change in policy provision to make pre-primary free since 2015 has partially alleviated this constraint. The latest data (Kessy and Omar, 2016), however, shows that poverty is still prevalent in Zanzibar. The basic needs poverty rate was 30.4% in 2014/15. Poverty rates are much higher in rural areas: about 40.2% of the rural population live below the basic needs poverty line as compared to about 17.9% in urban areas. Similarly, 15.7% of people live below the food poverty line in rural areas, compared to 4.5% in urban areas (Kessy and Omar, 2016). Findings presented in Section 1.5.4 above indicate that poverty is still an important determinant of exclusion from school.

While overall approximately 29% of 4–15 year olds are recorded as being OOS (DHS 2015/16, as shown in Table 3), only 2% of 4–15 year olds are children that have dropped out, suggesting that 26% of 4–15 year olds have never started school. In addition, while 82% of 4–5 year olds have never started school, this falls to 3.8% by ages 12–15 and further to 2.8% for ages 16–19. This suggests that almost all children in Zanzibar eventually start school, although many start school late.

There are still likely to be small groups of children who never start school. Children who never enrol are among the most vulnerable and often the most hidden group of vulnerable children, and little is documented about their circumstances or reasons for them being OOS. One group for whom there is evidence on disproportionate exclusion from school is the group of children with disabilities. Comparing enrolment data of children with disabilities with disability rates among the population suggests children with disabilities are subject to much higher rates of exclusion from school. This is discussed in Section 2.2.1 and Chapter 6.

Late entrants

Entering school over-age is a common occurrence in Zanzibar, as already discussed above. In 2016, 83% of students entering Primary 1 were older than the prescribed six years of age, with 47% being older than seven. This trend is similar for girls and boys (MoEVT, 2015).

A number of reasons contributing to children enrolling late are documented. Bartlett (2014) found in many cases that late enrolment was the result of an active choice by parents, who felt that their children were not ready for the burdens of Standard 1 at the age of six. In addition, some private providers of pre-primary still provide three-year programmes, so even if these children started pre-primary at the official age of four years they would be technically over-age by the time they start primary school.

Repetition averages are low, at 4% during the primary cycle and 2% in the secondary cycle (MoEVT EMIS, 2017). These statistics do not suggest that repetition once in school is a significant driver for why students are over-age, further supporting the notion that late entry into school is a primary driver of over-age enrolment.

1.6.2 Dropouts

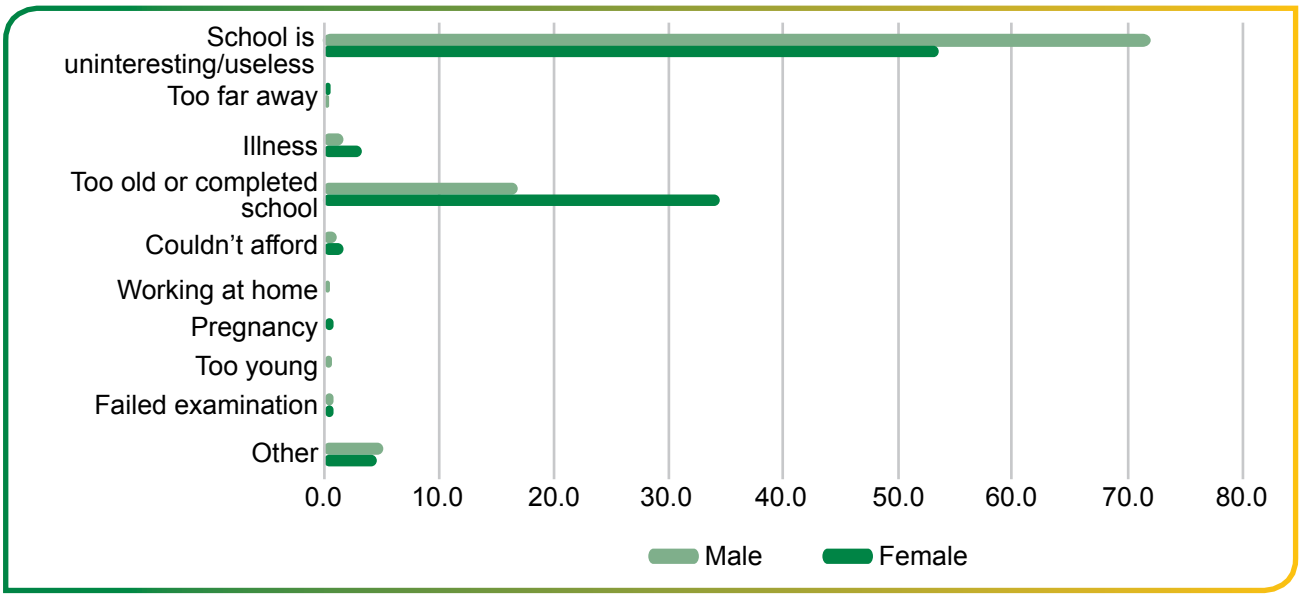
The DHS data (Table 3) shows that 2.4% of all children aged 4–15 years have dropped out, of which 12–15 year olds form the largest share while there are no dropouts from the 4–5 year age bracket.

The HBS (2014/15) collected information on reasons for dropping out and these give an interesting insight into barriers affecting the schooling status of children.[5] Figure 6 shows the response for males and females between the ages of seven and 16. By far the most common reason given for dropout is 'school is uninteresting/useless', accounting for 72% of responses for males and 54% for females. Over-age ('too old or completed school') was the next most common response for both sexes, although it is comparatively a more common reason given for females (35%) than males (17%). Economic reasons ('couldn't afford' or 'working at home') accounted for only 2% of responses, which is somewhat surprising given that children from poorer families are significantly more likely to be OOS in dimensions 1–3 (see Section 1.5.4). Therefore, the actual impact of economic reasons is likely to be greater than this result indicates. Related to poverty, limited food intake is also recorded as a barrier.

[5] *The HBS (2014/15) does not include data on dropout rate. Using EMIS data, we calculated the primary dropout rate in 2014 to be 15.7% and the secondary dropout rate as 49.5%. This is comparable to 2017.*

An interesting point to note is that failing exams is rarely reported as a reason for dropping out, even though this is the point at which almost half of the in-school population at the secondary level leave school (see Figure 5). This tendency not to characterise Form 2 failure as a reason for 'dropout' is discussed in Section 2.3.6 and explored further in our qualitative research in Chapter 7.

Figure 6: Reasons given for dropout, by gender



Source: *HBS 2014/15*

If we deduce that students' lack of interest in schooling or perception that it is useless may be related to the quality of services being delivered (e.g. because the curriculum is not engaging or relevant to real life), then supply and quality factors are clearly important drivers of dropout rates (MoEVT, 2016).

The Education Policy (2006) notes that some children do not attend or drop out due to shortage of spaces and distance from home to school; however, the ESA noted that the vast majority of households are within 2.9 km of a primary school (97%) and a secondary school (86%). In fact, most households are within 1 km of a primary school (66%) and secondary school (61%), so distance to school itself seems unlikely to play a major role in dropout rates (MoEVT, 2016) at these levels. The HBS data supports this, as this is rarely a reason given for dropout. However, the capacity of these schools to absorb more students is questionable as World Bank data also suggest that large share of classes are overcrowded (World Bank, 2015).[6] This could force parents to send their child to a more distant school, or to not send their child to school at all. It is possible, therefore, that children are OOS due to shortage of space and how this interacts with distance to school. This may be particularly relevant at the pre-primary level and for children with disabilities.

In addition to a lack of classrooms, a lack of learning equipment and water, sanitation, and hygiene facilities point to an unconducive physical learning environment. Other school factors include limited social services, a lack of trained and skilled teachers, and violence in schools, including physical and sexual assault and the practice of corporal punishment (MoEVT, 2014; World Bank, 2014). The EFA Report notes that, even when ALCs exist,[7] they also tend to lack learning facilities (MoEVT, 2014).

[6] *24% of classes have PCRRs of over 100, 21% have PCRRs of 70–100, and 23% have PCRRs of 50–70%.*

[7] *ALC refers to classes set up in primary schools specifically to teach OOSC who have started school late basic skills before they can be integrated into regular classes.*

Parents' lack of awareness of the importance of education is also mentioned as affecting the OOS status of children (MoEVT, 2006).

Some reasons for the OOS status of children are gender based, and are specific to girls, including early marriage, unintended pregnancy, lack of role models or career guidance, and negative perception of some parents regarding the importance of education for girls (MoEVT, 2014). These reasons commonly interact with wealth inequalities, with the poorest being more likely to be affected (Population Council et al., 2015). There seems to be little known about the reasons that may be disproportionately affecting the schooling status of boys, particularly during primary years of schooling, though income-generating activities are often reported as reasons for why boys to leave school, largely at the secondary level.

1.6.3 At risk of dropout

We have already discussed that boys and children from rural areas are more likely to drop out of their schooling in Zanzibar. In addition, a growing body of evidence suggests that children who lack exposure to pre-primary education have a higher risk of leaving school early (UNICEF, 2013). There is some data to suggest that this is the case in Zanzibar. Since 2014, a higher proportion of girls than boys have had pre-primary exposure. Figure 5 above shows that, in 2017, boys have a lower survival rate and are more likely to drop out at every grade. Geographically, the urban districts Kusini and Kati reached 88% and 82% respectively of Standard 1 students with pre-primary exposure, whereas the rural districts Wete and Kaskazini A were lowest at 36% and 33%. This corresponds to data showing Kusini and Kati to be among the districts with the lowest dropout rates, while Wete and Kaskazini A had higher than average dropouts (see Annex D).

Another common trait of children who tend to drop out, and therefore children that are at risk of dropping out, is that they are older than the official age for the corresponding grade (Hunt, 2008; Lewin, 2008; Ampiah and Adu-Yeboah, 2009 cited in UNICEF, 2013). As children get older, the opportunity costs to them of remaining in school increase, especially if they are from poorer households (Sabates et al., 2010). As seen in Section 1.1.5, being over-age is the second most common reason given by students who have dropped out in Zanzibar. This suggests that over-age children are particularly at risk of dropout in Zanzibar as well. Moreover, this group is quite large: in 2016, 83% of children were above the age of six when entering primary school, with 21% being nine or above.

2 Review of existing policies

As introduced in Chapter 1, the main objectives of this study are to establish profiles of Zanzibar's schools in terms of capacity and level of inclusiveness, as well as barriers that contribute to keeping children OOS. The MoEVT and the RGoZ have made efforts to set policy directions for most of the key issues. This chapter outlines the main policies and practices that relate to each of these factors, setting the background for the findings of our research in the chapters that follow.

Where relevant, references to specific interventions under the current Zanzibar Education Development Plan II (2017–2021) are noted with details on the policies and documents reviewed available in Annex E.

2.1 Key policies related to school capacity

2.1.1 Teacher management

Teacher recruitment and allocation

The implementation of the teacher recruitment and allocation policy is unclear. Each year, the Departments of Pre-Primary and Primary and Secondary compile a list of teachers needed by school and subject. Once agreed with the Department of Administration and Personnel and the Principle Secretary, the list is forwarded from the MoEVT to the President's Office and the Civil Service Commission,which is tasked with recruiting teachers. From here, it is unclear how this list determines the actual recruitment process or how the MoEVT is involved (MoEVT, 2016). According to a report on views of education stakeholders, 'teacher recruitment is not responsive to demands from schools' (MoEVT, 2013).This is likely to affect the capacity of schools to effectively teach existing children and absorb additional groups of students.

Once teachers enter the civil service, they can apply for transfers but this process is also unclear. Female teachers almost all move after marriage to live with their husbands' families (Bordewieck, 2015). This is often cited as a cultural reason for why it is difficult to keep teachers in under-served areas even when incentives are provided, as they are not fully in control of where they live and work.

The ZEDP II (2017–2021) pledges to establish a Teacher Service Commission, and to review and implement schemes of service, promotion, and demand-led transparent appointment, to conduct

performance assessment, to support professional development, and to guide transfers and promotion. It is unclear how far this has progressed.

Incentives for under-served postings

A transport allowance is paid for teachers who need to travel to get to school, and some rural schools offer teacher housing. It is unclear how prevalent the provision of teacher housing is, although the last World Bank ZBEIP project built 10 staff houses attached to rural schools. In the absence of adequate incentives for postings to under-served areas, the availability of teachers between urban and rural settings will continue to vary, thus perpetuating regional differences in learning outcomes.

Science and maths teachers

The Education Policy (2006) recognises that the teacher training output does not correspond to what schools require, especially in maths and science. To alleviate the shortage of science teachers, the MoEVT entered a partnership with the Government of Nigeria in 2012, under which two cohorts of Nigerian science teachers have been relocated to Zanzibar for two-year contracts (Gregory, 2015). Another strategy is implemented through the World Bank ZISP, which will retrain 600 lower secondary arts teachers to become maths and science teachers at the secondary level (World Bank, 2016).

The ZEDP II (2017–2021) includes specific goals on teacher quality and professional development, specifically to provide intensive focused training in maths and science subjects.

Teaching double shifts

It is unclear whether there is a policy on teaching in double-shift schools. Typically, double-shifting relates to the infrastructure being shared, and a second shift typically operates as a separate school administration, with different staff including head teacher and teachers.

2.1.2 Multi-grade teaching in small schools

Multi-grade teaching was listed as a strategy for the expansion of primary education in the Zanzibar Education Policy (2006: 12). However, this strategy does not feature in ZEDP II (2017–2021), so the current status of this policy and its implementation are unclear.

2.1.3 Physical infrastructure

Construction of classrooms is often a joint undertaking between the MoEVT and communities. For government schools, community contributions include identification of land, collection of funds, and building classroom foundations and walls. The MoEVT then has responsibility for roofing, painting, and furnishing the classroom (Lexow et al., 2007). The MoEVT keeps a database of classrooms that have been started and completed by communities. In many cases, buildings remain incomplete for a long time after construction starts. Development partners have often contributed to finish classrooms in support of the government. For instance, the Sida Phase VI programme and current Global Partnership for Education (GPE) 2018–2021 programme both have completion of community classroom components.

In the ZEDP II, a strategic response for school infrastructure improvement is to prepare plans for expansion based on areas of greatest need. It is unclear if this will take priority over finishing existing incomplete community buildings. The focus on 'greatest need' in planning rehabilitation

or new infrastructure is very relevant, given the very wide inequality across schools in current provision of school infrastructure highlighted in Chapter 5.

The Zanzibar Education Policy (2006) acknowledges that there is strong community involvement in school construction/maintenance. However, based on the current policy and practice, it is unclear whether school rehabilitation and maintenance is the responsibility of the community, the school, or the MoEVT.

MoEVT and UNICEF published some school water, sanitation, and hygiene (SWASH) guidelines in 2016. These recommend that each school should have adequate waste distribution and supply, functioning toilets, handwashing infrastructure, waste disposal and sewer, sewer maintenance, health education, regulations to protect the hygiene of the school kitchen and where food is served, and a special dustbin for sanitary pad disposal (MoEVT, 2016c).

Not all schools have such facilities. For example, 13.2% of schools have an adequate number of toilets, 84.8% of schools have water supply infrastructure, and 53.7% of all schools have functioning handwashing facilities (MoEVT, 2016c). These issues are of concern as they can affect school attendance. Children in such schools also face increased health risks, including diarrhoea, worms, and urinary infections – which can impact their ability to learn and could result in increased absenteeism. After reaching adolescence, girls are less likely to regularly attend school if toilet and hygiene facilities are inadequate or non-existent (MoEVT, 2016c).

2.2 Key policies related to improving school inclusiveness for at-risk children

2.2.1 Support for children with disabilities

The MoEVT has a draft Zanzibar Inclusive Education Policy, which is in its final revision before being adopted. The policy gives guidance on advocacy and awareness raising for rights-based quality education for all, early detection and intervention, assessment of barriers to learning, teaching and learning environments and methods, teacher support services and training, inspection and school administration capacity, examinations and certification, individual assistance, and community sensitisation campaigns.

Specific ZEDP II (2017–2021) strategic responses that relate to inclusive education include approval and dissemination of the policy, provision of in-service training for all teachers and inspectors on inclusive education strategies, and the development of a database on learning materials that will serve as a basis for provision.

The GPE Programme (2018–2020) and UNICEF Country Programme (2016–2021) have specific components on inclusive education, which support implementation of many of the aspects of the policy, including making schools more accessible, provision of assistive learning materials, teacher training, and community engagement events. These interventions aim to address many of the barriers that are keeping children with disabilities out of schooling. The scale of implementation of these various inclusive education initiatives is currently unclear.

The ZEDP II has also committed to adopting an Inclusive Education Filter (MoEVT, 2017b), which will include classroom-level early detection mechanisms for monitoring students and data to show the number of children either not accessing or unable to access learning, although it does not detail how this will be implemented.

2.2.2 Presence of guidance counsellors

Guidance and counselling programmes have long been a part of Zanzibar education policy. The first education policy, the Zanzibar Education Master Plan (MoEVT, 1996), aimed at establishing a guidance and counselling programme to reduce dropout due to issues such as early marriage of girls, drug abuse, and other problems that were seen as symptomatic of a lack of educational awareness among parents, children, and communities (MoEVT, 1998).

Analysis in the Education Policy (2006) shows that, by 2006, while teacher counsellors existed in all schools, they were inadequately trained. One component of the GPE Programme 2014–2016 was training school counsellors and providing furniture for counselling rooms. However, a major constraint in effectiveness is that school counsellors have the same teaching load as other teachers, and consequently rarely have time to provide counselling services. A manual for school guidance counsellors is available and has been provided to schools. The manual focuses on types of problems children in Zanzibar might face, how the counsellor can help, and the characteristics of a good counsellor. The guidelines are less clear on the policies around how often the counselling should happen, whether counsellors should have a reduced teaching workload, how many counsellors each school should have, and what their qualifications should be.

2.2.3 Presence of SMCs

The establishment of SMCs dates back to the Education Act (1982) and has the aim of bringing the community closer to the school to promote ownership and assist in the school's development. Membership is voluntary and unpaid, and the committee often comprises of the local sheha, appointments made by the district education officer, parents, and members of the community, with the head teacher as secretary. SMCs typically play a role in collecting funds and mobilising labour and other contributions, although their activities and effectiveness vary between communities (Lexow **et al.**, 2007).

Research on the implementation of SMCs showed that community members, committee members, and teachers had not managed their responsibilities in the schools well. The implementation of the committees is at unsatisfactory levels because of alack of training, lack of understanding of the responsibilities of a SMC member, and lack of readiness to work on the SMC, particularly as it is a voluntary role (MoEVT, 2016b).

ZEDP II (2017–2021) has numerous provisions to strengthen and revitalise the role and function of SMCs. In addition, the World Bank, USAID, and GPE programmes will establish standards for SMCs and build the capacity of SMCs to manage school grants.

2.2.4 Establishment of ALCs

ALCs and centres were conceived to address the needs of OOSC and youth and in recognition that education is not limited to formal education (Education Policy, 2006). In 2008, alternative education classes were established in 18 schools, with an enrolment of 760 students. It is unclear whether teachers who taught these classes had specific ALC training. In 2006/07, 317 students mainstreamed into formal schools.

Inaugurated in 2006, the Alternative Learning Centre in Rahaleo was designed to capture children who had dropped out from primary school or never been enrolled at all. The centre offers primary education based on a three-year condensed curriculum, primarily for 15–19 year olds. The centre

also offers skills training in cookery, tailoring, carpentry and computer training. Another such centre has now opened in Micheweni, Pemba.

Updates on policy regarding ALCs is unclear as they are not mentioned in the ZEDP II (2017–2021).

2.3 Key policies related to barriers causing the OOS status of children

2.3.1 Alleviation of school fees and other associated costs of education

Abolition of parental contributions

In July 2015, the RGoZ introduced the abolition of parental contributions or school fees for pre-primary and primary education, with the government purchasing goods for schools instead (MoEVT, 2016). The abolition of school fees at the secondary level was announced in September 2017, and is expected to come into effect from July 2018 (Daily News, 2017). It is unclear if this is expected to cover all levels of secondary or if there will be financial support for alternative secondary schooling streams such as vocational training.

As was seen in Table 2 above, the abolition of school fees at pre-primary and primary levels since 2015 have had noticeable impact on enrolment rates, especially at the pre-primary level. The planned extension of this policy to the secondary level will likely a drive an improvement in secondary enrolment and retention.

School feeding

School feeling is included in the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty III (2016–2020) and the Food Security and Nutrition Policy (2008). This is implemented in several ways. The MoEVT has a policy to provide all pre-primary students in public schools with porridge, and the Home Grown School Feeding Programme provides public schools in some districts with locally grown school meals (World Bank, 2015).

Conditional cash transfers

Zanzibar is part of a wider Union of Tanzania social protection scheme –the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) III. The TASAF includes bi-monthly cash transfers with two components: 1)a basic cash transfer to all eligible registered households based on poverty and vulnerability criteria;and 2) a variable component for households with children who comply with health and education conditionalities. For education, conditionality includes school enrolment and at least 80% attendance of school days per month for children aged five to 18. In 2014, 2,714 households in Uguja and 4,202 households in Pemba were enrolled as beneficiaries.[8]

2.3.2 Sexual and physical violence in schools

According to the Violence against Children Survey (2011b), 62% of females and 71% of males reported experiencing physical violence, with more than 40% of assaults perpetrated by teachers in schools. Additionally, 6% of girls and 9% of boys experienced sexual violence before the age of 18, with school or travelling to or from school being among the most common locations where this would occur. The World Bank ZISP survey (2014) reported that 7% of teachers cited sexual abuse as the main factor driving secondary students OOS.

[8] *In the 2012 Census, there were 175,186 households in Ungula and 75,026 households in Pemba.*

Under the Children's Act (2011), teachers have a statutory responsibility to report cases of children in need of care and protection to the Department of Elders and Social Welfare. In practice, however, referrals are rarely made and no working case management protocols exist to support teachers and schools in the identification and referral of children in need of care and protection.

In 2017, the RGoZ launched a National Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women and Children (2017–2022). This identifies key strategies including research on violence against children in schools, developing national child safeguarding guidelines, rolling out pre-service and in-service training to counsellors and teachers, the promotion of the use of positive discipline by teachers (see Section 2.3.5 below), the adoption of safe school strategies, and the development of a comprehensive life skills training programme for children. It is unclear whether there is an implementation plan in place, although children benefitting from a comprehensive life skills training programme is included in the ZEDP II (2017–2021).

2.3.3 Education relevance and quality

As is highlighted in the HBS 2014/15, an aspect of education quality is the perceived utility or relevance of schooling to enhance future prospects. The ZEDP II (2017–2021) is proactive in addressing this concern, with strategies to improve the quality and relevance of learning intended to prepare students for labour market demands and, specifically, to update the curriculum.

2.3.4 Parental gendered perceptions around education

Different barriers affect girls and boys, and at different stages of schooling; however, both are subject to gendered notions and expectations. Although boys seem more likely to drop out at every level of school compared to girls and have higher rates of being OOS, more is documented about the barriers toward schooling for girls.

At the national level, 3.5% of girls are married before the age of 15 and 18% are married before the age of 18. In addition, 2% of girls have given birth before the age of 15 and 17% of girls have given birth before the age of 18 (Population Council **et al.**, 2015). The Spinsters' Act (2005) and the Education Policy (2006) both support reinstatement of young mothers at school following the delivery of a child. However, whether this is actually understood and implemented within communities is unclear and a large share of young mothers and young brides drop out.

To gain a further understanding of this issue, one of the research topics within the ZEDP II period is 'Reinstatement of teenage mothers in schools'. The results of this proposed research should inform any future policy developments and dissemination.

The ZEDP II also commits to developing a Gender Filter to ensure all programmes are appropriately gender sensitive and responsive (MoEVT, 2017b: 34), as well as to an annual report on gender at the Sector Joint Annual review and reviews of the curriculum and learning materials. These initiatives seem highly relevant, as the dynamics of gender have been shown to be nuanced and a blanket strategy is unlikely to be effective. However, it is important to ensure that 'gendered' features of projects aim to address constraints affecting the inclusion of boys as well as girls.

2.3.5 Corporal punishment

Corporal punishment remains lawful under the Education Act (1982), although it is curbed as a disciplinary measure under the Children's Act (2011). The MoEVT has been active in reducing the practice of corporal punishment in schools, establishing a unit to promote alternative forms of discipline, adopting a Code of Conduct including professional and ethical conduct of teachers,

supporting capacity building and community awareness campaigns, and introducing alternative forms of discipline in schools since 2010 (Ministry of Empowerment, Social Welfare, Youth Women and Children, 2017).

More recently, there has been a shift from the promotion of alternative punishment within schools to the use of positive discipline. A Positive Discipline Teachers' Manual has been developed together by MoEVT and Save the Children (2017) to provide teachers and head teachers with a practical guide on how to move away from physical and humiliating punishment toward positive discipline techniques that are non-violent and respectful of the child as a learner. Positive discipline encourages teachers to build up norms and limits within classrooms in positive ways so that, over time, classroom management is less dependent on active intervention or behavioural disciplining from the teacher. It relies on clear communication and messaging from the teacher, and promotes the continuous affirmation of good behaviour rather than punishing bad behaviour. The ZEDP II (2017–2021) continues the promotion of positive discipline, aiming to implement a comprehensive age-appropriate life skills programme that discourages physical punishment in schools.

Research has shown that, despite these efforts, corporal punishment is still used, even if not as frequently (Hassan and Bali, 2013). Recent surveys (UNICEF, 2016) highlighted that six out of 10 respondents reported that children are often physically punished by their teachers, and one in two respondents reported that it is necessary for teachers to physically punish children to ensure that they are well educated.

2.3.6 Form 2 barrier exam

As noted in Section 1.5, about one-third of all dropouts at the secondary level are due to failure in Form 2 exams or children not acquiring a grade that permits entry into Form 3. Once children do not score high enough on the Form 2 exam, they can continue to Form 3 only through private institutions.

Due to the provisions of the old Education Policy, and without clear implementation of the four-year ordinary secondary cycle the 2006 Policy, the common understanding of leaving school after Form 2 is completing basic education, rather than dropping out.

In reviewing the current practice, the historical volatility of Form 2 results suggests that the exams themselves may not be reliable assessments of learning or a robust tool for deciding which students should progress. ZEDP II's strategy to commission an independent review of the assessment system, and the ZISP component on examination reform, are both highly relevant initiatives to address this major barrier that is driving pupils out of the schooling system.

In terms of next steps of implementation of the policy, there are further confusions about expected changes to the system, as well asa lack of clarity in the communication of what this means for pupils who fail Form 2. Within the ZEDP II there are different suggestions on the next steps for implementation of the four-year secondary education policy. One section of ZEDP II (MoEVT, 2017b) notes the first cohort to have four years of ordinary secondary entered Form 1 in 2016, and one of the strategies of the Secondary Education programme is to 'evaluate the function and purpose of the Form 2 examination and shift to this being an assessment to provide staff and managers to identify specific areas for curriculum focus and individual student support'. Another section of the document, however, notes that the MoEVT is considering developing a vocational stream for those who do not progress to Form 3. While both could be consistent with provision of four years of ordinary secondary education, they speak to very different implementation strategies. Clarification

on the government's plans for implementing four years of secondary education, the form it will take, and clear communication of the strategy are critical for the success of the policy.

In September 2017, President Shein announced the abolition of fees for secondary-level education from July 2018 without addressing whether the selective nature of Form 2 will remain or to what grade the free provision will apply to (Daily News, 2017). It has been seen through the abolition of fees and parental contributions at the pre-primary and primary levels that this will likely create additional demand at the secondary level. However, it is unclear how the government aims to address this anticipated increase in demand with the planned abolition of secondary school fees.

2.4 Conclusion

The RGoZ and MoEVT have developed an impressive range of policies to improve the condition of education and learning in Zanzibar, and many key issues are addressed in the ZEDP II (2017–2021). However, clarity is needed around how they are being implemented. The chapters that follow assess the capacity within schools to enrol and retain children, with a focus on infrastructure, teaching staff, and provision of inclusive education resources, in light of the intended policy directives.

3 Research methodology

3.1 Research objectives

Our research activities were organised in line with the three components of the study (see Table 1), with a strategy to integrate findings across components. Component 1 utilised a predominantly quantitative approach that included a school census covering all the schools in Zanzibar in order to understand the capacity and map the location of all existing schools. Component 2 relied on a qualitative approach to understand reasons for children being OOS, while Component 3 consisted of a literature and policy review and the analysis of secondary datasets. This chapter discusses the approach to components 1 and 2.

3.2 Quantitative survey

The research objectives under Component 1 are primarily to compile an accurate profile with geospatial information of all pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools in Zanzibar. The methodology for this consisted of a school identification exercise at the shehia level, followed by a quantitative school survey of all the public and private schools in Zanzibar, including TUTU centres and community initiated preschools supported by MECP. The survey exercise was not intended to replicate or replace EMIS but rather to collect more detailed information on themes such as current enrolment, infrastructure, capacities to enrol and retain OOSC, and physical space for expansion.

Full details on the definitions of education indicators is available in Annex B, while descriptive statistics are available in Annex C. Annex F presents additional details on the quantitative survey activities, which have been excluded from here in the interest of space.

3.2.1 Instruments

The OPM team developed three instruments for the purpose of this research: a school identification exercise questionnaire, a head teacher questionnaire, and an ALC questionnaire, where applicable. Table 5 below presents a summary of the different interview types, intended respondents, and the purpose of the instrument. Further details on respondent selection can be found in Annex F.6.

Table 5: Interview outcomes

Instrument	Respondent	Purpose
School identification (listing)	Sheha or alternative informed respondent, such as a community leader. Verified by two further respondents and then again in the head teacher interview	To establish a complete listing of all schools in Zanzibar
Head teacher	Head teacher or alternative informed school leader, such as the deputy head teacher	To collect information on school capacity, school inclusiveness, counselling services, school management capacity, and GPS coordinates
ALC teacher	Teacher of the 2017 ALC	To collect information on school preparedness to integrate OOSC

Together, the above instruments collected all the necessary information to calculate the indicators agreed upon in the inception report. Once finalised, all three instruments were programmed into Survey Solutions CAPI software and desk tested by the survey team.

3.2.2 Sensitisation

Before commencing data collection, the research team undertook a sensitisation exercise through the cooperation of MoEVT colleagues and our team members in Zanzibar. Sensitisation activities were conducted with head teachers in public schools, members of relevant institutions (including the Zanzibar Association of Private Schools) and shehas to familiarise them with the purposes and requirements of the survey in order to ensure their cooperation and participation in the data collection exercise. Annex F.4 provides further details.

3.2.3 Translation

The data manager translated the survey instruments into Kiswahili. Where similar questions are found in the EMIS questionnaires, the survey team generally tried to keep translations consistent with those used in EMIS. Following the initial set of translations, the project working group consisting of MoEVT, MZF, and UNICEF representatives reviewed the English and Kiswahili versions of the instruments and provided suggestions on how to make the instruments more suitable for Zanzibar. Further improvements to the translations were made during pre-testing and interviewer training, based on the piloting experience and recommendations by the field teams during training and piloting.

3.2.4 School identification exercise

During the inception phase, we obtained a range of school lists from MoEVT and other stakeholders. However, to allow for the possibility that the school lists may be incomplete, for example by missing unregistered schools, we approached school identification from scratch at the ward (shehia) level. Supervisors conducted school identification in each of Zanzibar's 387 shehias. The school identification process relied on shehas, and validated the information provided by the sheha with two other respondents at the local level, in addition to head teachers of all schools visited in each shehia. The OPM Tanzania team verified the list of schools obtained through the identification exercise to ensure that no schools were omitted from the schools lists compiled (see Annex F.5).

3.2.5 School survey

Following a three day pre-test exercise in Unguja in May 2017 (see Annex F.2), the survey team updated and finalised the survey instruments. The data collection was conducted by a team of Zanzibari enumerators, supervisors, and quality control officers. The survey manager, fieldwork manager, and data manager supervised the work of the field team. The fieldwork was conducted between July and August 2017. Further details on the school survey, including data management and quality control structures, can be found in Annex F.6.

3.2.6 Comparison of total number of schools relative to lists from inception

Together with RTI/MoEVT, the OPM team matched the schools listed in the school identification exercise with the public schools in the EMIS data. Approximately 95% (728/768) of schools from the EMIS data have been successfully matched to schools in the OPM survey data. The OPM survey also identifies 599 schools that do not appear in the EMIS data, of which 145 are publicly owned. As such, the OPM school survey has also added to the existing schools lists.

In total, our survey included 1,320 schools, while we were expecting to reach 1,500 schools based on the initial estimates obtained during the inception stage of the project. There are several possible reasons that account for the lower than expected number of schools interviewed in the survey, including overlaps between school lists leading to double counting of some schools, outdated information in the initial lists not accounting for school closures, schools becoming purely religious schools, and schools merging with other schools since the time that the lists were produced (see Annex F.6.5). Given the effort taken by our research team to identify and include all schools in Zanzibar (see Annex F.5), we are confident that the exclusion error in our research is minimal.

3.2.7 Non-survey quantitative data sources

To the school survey data, we added data on exam results for 2015 and 2016 for Form 4 (sourced from NECTA), Standard 6, and Standard 7 (sourced from ZEC, Standard 7 for 2015 only) for analysis and compilation of the associated indicator (see Annex F.8). This was done to get a sense of the quality of pupil learning outcomes within the surveyed schools, discussed in Section 6.4.3 of this report. In addition, we used 2012 population census estimates to generate rough projections of the school-age population in 2017 across districts. Annex H.1 provides details on this estimation.

3.2.8 Analysis

We used the cleaned data set to produce indicators outlined in the inception report. Details on the definitions and variables used are presented in Annex B to this report. Overall summary statistics, as well as statistics disaggregated by district and school type, are presented in Annex C.

A majority of the summary statistics presented in the annex (Annex C.1 to Annex C.3) and throughout this report have been computed at the school level first and then averaged over the various higher-level units such as districts and school types. However, some of the indicators have only been tabulated at the district level (see Annex C.4).

In addition to descriptive analysis, the report uses geospatial analysis to illustrate the geographic spread of various indicators of interest. QGIS software was used for this purpose. While maps have been used throughout this report, additional maps are presented in Annex H, Annex I, and Annex J.

3.2.9 Limitations

The quantitative research only relates to the supply side and provides findings on the extent of overcrowding or under-utilisation of resources within schools (see Section 1.1). Without in-depth demand-side data on where OOSC are concentrated relative to these schools, it is not possible for us to make recommendations on where exactly school capacity needs to be enhanced to absorb OOSC. Should updated sheha-level population data become available, our data can be used to identify areas for school construction.

The quantitative survey training lasted two weeks, and we selected the best researchers from the group for the research. In addition, there were weekly refresher modules on questions proving to be particularly problematic for the data collectors or respondents. Despite these efforts to ensure reliable data collection, several questions and their underlying concepts continued to be problematic for the field teams and/or the respondents, due to which we have concerns around the quality of the data. Although our quality assurance team and fieldwork manager made attempts to clean the data for these questions, it is possible that some unknown errors remain. For these reasons we are concerned that the data in the sections of teacher turnover, class groups, and ALC transition may be unreliable, and therefore not a source of reliable estimates regarding these indicators.

While the geospatial analysis has added depth to our analysis, it suffers from two main limitations. First, since these maps rely on existing administrative boundary maps, and the latest coherent boundary maps for Zanzibar exist at the district level, this has meant that our spatial analysis is at the level of the district even though the data itself can be disaggregated at the shehia level. Second, Magharibi A and Magharibi B appear within the former shared administrative boundaries of Magharibi, due to which within the maps the indicators have been combined for these two districts and presented together.

3.2.10 Evidence uptake

To facilitate uptake of the findings presented in this report, and to maximise the usefulness of our data for relevant stakeholders, OPM is working with the MoEVT to allow the data to be hosted on the EMIS toolbox website, currently under construction. This will allow the data to be analysed in real time by MoEVT staff. We have also added the updated EMIS IDs to our dataset to allow the MoEVT to refer to our data more easily, particularly as it moves toward an electronic EMIS data collection exercise and an updated EMIS database.

3.3 Qualitative research

The qualitative research focused on primary data collection and analysis to meet two key objectives (under components 2 and 3 in the ToR):

- Assess and analyse the push out factors contributing to students dropping out of pre-primary, primary, and secondary education, especially in areas where the OOSC rate is highest;[9] and
- Help inform future policies on prevention of dropout and possibly reintegration of OOSC into the education system.

The specific focus of the research was on age-appropriate children who have never been to pre-primary education and children dropping out in primary and secondary education. We first

[9] *During inception, we proposed to and got agreement from all key stakeholders that we would assess both push and pull factors.*

established the key demographics to identify these children in each of our target communities. We then systematically investigated both 'why' and 'how' these children either never attended school or dropped out over time.

This research is exploratory, so our research tools were intentionally designed to ask open-ended questions so that we could first gather as much information as possible, and then hone in on asking further probing questions to get more details about these responses.

3.3.1 Research process

A major methodological challenge in qualitative-led research is the definition and achievement of 'rigour'. Qualitative research is sometimes accused of being open to research bias or anecdotal impressions, as well as of being impossible to reproduce and difficult to generalise (Mays and Pope, 1995). Our research addresses such concerns by adhering to a number of key considerations, including:

- A clear sampling strategy that explains the justification for our identification of research sites, key informants, and individuals for our FGDs;
- A well-developed research framework, underpinned by appropriate methods and tools including structured or semi-structured interview guidelines;
- Write-up of all interview notes and analysis of findings;
- Triangulation of findings against different sources, both qualitative and quantitative;
- Daily debrief during the fieldwork to discuss emerging findings and ensure adaptability throughout the research; and
- Assessment of findings from different researchers throughout the research process, to recognise, reduce, and/or acknowledge individual researcher bias through a reflexive process.

We have primarily ensured that our fieldwork is rigorous and unbiased through the systematic selection and extensive training of local researchers. Ensuring rigour in this study fundamentally relies on the contributions of each data collector in the field. We addressed the potential limitations of the research through training, team checks, record keeping activities, triangulation, and fieldwork analysis. All team members had to keep written records of all their activities, including interview notes, detailed transcripts, and debriefing notes, which were used during the analysis stage. The findings from the fieldwork were also triangulated against different existing data sources in order to minimise researcher bias and establish the validity of the findings.

The following sections outline the research process that was followed in each school and community. Supplementary detail on the qualitative research and analysis processes is presented in Annex G.

3.3.2 Site selection

The qualitative component of this research was carried out in four sites across Zanzibar, two in Unguja and two in Pemba. This is because the focus of this component was on depth rather than breadth of knowledge. The research team thus focused on getting as much detailed information about push and pull factors regarding OOS status in these locations as possible.

Research sites

Our consultations have shown that some of the key concerns around OOSC and high dropout of children relate to the demands of the tourism industry, proximity and access to the sea, and

urbanisation. We also discussed some of the areas where the problem of OOSC is most acute. Based on these conversations, and in close consultation with our national researchers and experts, we selected two shehias each in Unguja and Pemba for our fieldwork. We received approval from MoEVT, UNICEF, and MZF for these selected sites before beginning fieldwork.

In terms of the selection of sites, although the initial selection was at the shehia level, we carried out the actual research at the level of the kitongoji within the selected shehias. Once again, we proposed this approach to ensure that we were able to study the key factors concerning the OOS status of children and/or their dropout in depth, since we expected potential variations in these reasons even within each kitongoji. If we were to focus on a full shehia, for instance, the scope of the research would have expanded significantly.

We recognised the legitimate concern that narrowing the sampling unit to the level of the kitongoji could curtail the scope of the research significantly. As such, in addition to the community-level activities we carried out at the kitongoji level we also conducted FGDs with local leaders and other stakeholders from other vitongoji in each sampled shehia. Such an approach allowed us to bring in shehia-wide views into our consideration as part of our research. We were thus able to effectively balance our desire to collect in-depth information alongside our interest in assessing the broader situation in shehias.

3.3.3 Fieldwork organisation

The fieldwork team consisted of a lead qualitative researcher, a fieldwork manager, and four local researchers. Six local researchers were trained for eight days, with four being selected for the assignment and two providing cover as well as gaining skills that could be useful for future assignments. The local researchers were carefully selected to ensure their knowledge of the local context, ability to communicate effectively with the senior researchers as well as respondents, and experience.

The entire group underwent the training exercise, led by the OPM qualitative lead, in Zanzibar. The training period also included an in-field pilot where researchers got a chance to practice their research techniques before moving out to the field sites.

3.3.4 Research techniques and respondents

The research relied on three key research instruments –KIIs, FGDs, and community mapping. All the KIIs and FGDs utilised structured and unstructured methodologies. Annex G.1 provides a discussion on structured and unstructured research methods. Table 6 summarises the research methods and their purpose of use.

Table 6: Research methods and purpose

Method	Purpose
Informal observations: including observations at the individual, household, school, community, and shehia levels	• To build rapport with respondents • To assess the general situation in our research sites • To develop an informal understanding of key issues concerning the push and pull factors for OOS status of children • To verify the findings gathered through more formal research processes

Continued

Continued

Method	Purpose
Community mapping Parents Community members	• To map the kitongoji physically in a public setting • To gain basic information about the area • To have a visual representation of the status of OOSC in the kitongoji
FGDs: Sheha committee members School teachers Shehia leaders	• To understand multiple viewpoints, and capture differential experiences and perceptions • To increase research coverage • To allow for internal verification of information through the participation of multiple respondents • To gauge degree of agreement and disagreement on key themes
Interviews: IDIs were carried out with OOSC (at primary and secondary levels), parents of OOSC (at the pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels), head teachers, and shehas	• To obtain in-depth information from individual respondents • To provide respondents with privacy and freedom to respond openly without the presence of other group or community members

The qualitative research included interactions with a range of respondents associated with the programme in varying capacities at the central, district, and local levels to gather responses to address the research questions. To develop a comprehensive understanding of issues surrounding OOSC, an average of 23 interviews took place in each community (see Table 7). Having a variety of respondents allowed for data triangulation and validation at the analysis stage.

The sampling process followed for each of the instruments is detailed in Annex G.2 while details on the process followed for administering each instrument are given in Annex G.5.

Table 7: Qualitative research methods, per community

Level	Respondent	Method	Total
Community	Community leader	Interview	2
	Community members	Community mapping	1
Household	Parents of OOSC – pre-primary level	Interview	2
	Parents of OOSC – primary level	Interview	2
	Parents of OOSC – secondary level	Interview	2
	OOSC – primary level	Interview	4
	OOSC – secondary level	Interview	4
School	Principal or head teacher	Interview	1
	Teachers	FGD	1
Shehia	Shehia leaders	FGD	1

We note that there were some slight changes in the implementation of the research. For instance, although we had expected to carry out an FGD with vitongoji leaders, in practice we found that such leaders did not exist in each kitongoji, so we carried out discussions with sheha committee members instead. Such changes were implemented based on the realities in the field, but these were neither unexpected nor major and are therefore consistent with the ethos of the research design.

3.3.5 Community mapping

As a first step in each of the four research sites, we carried out a community mapping exercise. The purpose of this exercise was to physically map the kitongoji in a public setting, to gain basic information about the area as well as to see if we could establish whether OOSC, if they were present in each community, were concentrated in any particular area of the kitongoji.

The mapping exercise relied on working with the community leader on gathering six to eight respondents from different backgrounds to work with our research team to identify all the households and people in that kitongoji. Each group was asked to draw a schematic map of the kitongoji, and to draw all the key elements of the kitongoji there, such as the rough boundaries, public spaces, and the location of residential and non-residential buildings. Using this map, the participants were asked to identify houses where they think there is any OOSC. This profiling allowed us to get a comprehensive sense of the household structure, and identify any interesting trends (such as whether there was variation regarding school attendance within and between households). Annex G.3 provides further details on this process.

We verified the findings from the community mapping exercise by separately asking the head teachers as well as school teachers to prepare a list of dropouts, absentees, and, if possible, never-beens from their records. We then used snowball sampling to identify and engage with OOSC for this research.

3.3.6 Initial approach

In each shehia, the first contact was with the sheha. We were asking for a lot of help from the community leader, so it was crucial that the team build rapport with this person from the very beginning. After explaining the identity of the team and the purpose of the study, we asked for permission from him/her to conduct research in his/her shehia. At the beginning, we also confirmed that we have the necessary permissions from the relevant authorities to conduct this research. The fieldwork manager liaised directly with the community leader throughout the research period.

This initial discussion with the community leader presented a first opportunity to find out more about the social context of the community, which helped with the selection of participants for the FGDs.

3.3.7 Analysis

For the qualitative research, there were four stages to the analysis, starting right in the field. As a key part of the research process, we asked research teams to start initial synthesis and analysis in the field following each individual interview or FGD. This was followed by a daily debrief exercise at the end of each day to identify research gaps to be addressed in the next day of fieldwork. At the end of the research activities in each site, there was a full team brainstorming session to consolidate and synthesise all the findings from that community. These activities are detailed in Annex G.6.

These sessions were documented, translated, and shared with the qualitative research lead, who then conducted the fourth and final stage of analysis and consolidation of the findings.

3.3.8 Limitations

We faced a number of challenges during our fieldwork, and although we tried to address them through our iterative research process we are aware of some limitations to our research and these are outlined below.

Reflexivity is a concept that requires researchers to think about their role in the research process, including in terms of how knowledge is created, processed, and understood in relation to the researcher. It is a key component of carrying out rigorous qualitative research, and the research team engaged with these challenges and limitations throughout the fieldwork and during the analysis and writing of the report. While these limitations have imposed some constraints in parts of our analysis, our research design was both extensive and adaptive, ensuring that mitigation strategies, as discussed above, were in place to address these concerns. Similarly, these limitations are also symptomatic of the on-the-ground realities and challenges of implementing a complex research programme.

Space and timing of KIIs and FGDs

The research team sought to conduct all interviews and FGDs in private to ensure a safe space for the respondents. We also sought to carry out our activities at a time that was convenient for our respondents. However, this was not always possible because the circumstances in the field were not always as expected.

For instance, in terms of space, some of the vitongoji we visited did not have easy, accessible, and yet private spaces where we could interview our respondents. As a result, we had to carry out some interviews and discussions in a nearby open space, often under a tree. There were consequently some disturbances, with other people in and around the area where we were working. Nonetheless, we tried to select places that were as private as possible to ensure that our respondents were comfortable speaking with us.

The timing of FGDs was also a problem, particularly in engaging with shehas. Since all the shehas of the region meet weekly to discuss various activities, we had to rely on those days to carry out our discussion with them. Asking them to meet with us on any other day could have meant that we placed undue burden on them, as they are not always from nearby areas. However, on the assigned meeting days shehas already had significant work responsibilities, so they were not always free to speak with us. We had to wait for long hours in some instances, but we managed to speak to them by either scheduling meetings early in the morning or in the later afternoon.

Sampling difficulties

Although the research team had planned a random sampling strategy for selecting our respondents, especially for FGDs, the on-the-ground realities required us to adapt our plans. For instance, we wanted to get a clear sense of all the OOSC first, so that we could then select some OOSC and their parents to interview. However, in reality it was not always possible to have identified all the OOSC in a community early enough to be able to implement this strategy. Instead, we tried to find some OOSC to begin with, interviewed one or two of them, and then used a snowball sampling strategy, which means that we used these contacts to identify and interview more OOSC and parents thereafter. As expected, it was extremely difficult to track and locate OOSC, as they are often not part of the school system by definition.

Clarity of purpose

We tried to make it clear to all stakeholders from the beginning that we were neither from the government nor looking to evaluate any person or school specifically (see Annex G.7 for the informed consent form). Nonetheless, throughout our research, it was clear that our respondents did not always understand our purpose, affecting the quality of data we collected.

This issue could be highlighted through a number of examples. First, in some schools, head teachers as well as school teachers were reluctant to speak openly at times. Even when we observed or confirmed some specific findings through informal conversations, teachers were not always willing to explain the reasoning behind the problems uncovered during our research.

Dropout children as well as their parents were extremely hesitant to speak openly with us as well. Despite our best efforts, we uncovered that, in some communities, people thought we were there to uncover OOSC and punish them as well as their parents. Some people even thought that we were there to imprison people for not sending their children to school. A level of satisficing, where respondents try to give answers they think the researchers want to hear, is to be expected, but our team had to reiterate our purpose (and our independence from the government) numerous times to appease many respondents. Nonetheless, many respondents claimed that they were either not dropouts, for instance, or that they were planning to return to school very soon, even when our findings and analysis suggested otherwise. Although the suspicions of the respondents decreased over time, we could thus feel that some participants had not always accepted that we were an independent research team, and that we were not there to judge or evaluate them personally.

School capacity – accessibility and teacher availability

4

The following two chapters address one of three core study research questions: **is there spare capacity in the schooling system to enrol all children who are currently OOS?** This chapter explains the concept of school capacity, and presents findings on accessibility of schools and on teacher availability, while the next chapter deals with school infrastructure availability. The key findings from this chapter are summarised in Box 1 below. The overall conclusions on school capacity are found at the end of the next chapter.

Box 1: Key findings on school capacity—accessibility and teacher availability

- The current schooling system does not have significant teacher capacity to absorb additional children. A major factor explaining current capacity constraints is inequality in the distribution of teachers across schools.
- Zanzibar employs a sufficient number of teachers to meet policy targets, but there is some misalignment between the profile of teachers (the level they teach, their training and qualifications) required in each school and the teachers available.
- A sizeable minority of teachers (about 20%) are neither trained (professional education qualification) nor qualified (bachelor's degree), which is an important teacher capacity gap. This constraint is less prevalent among public teachers, but still affects more than 10% of them.
- There is an overall shortage of pre-primary teachers. None of the districts meet pre-primary PTR targets. Primary teachers are available in almost sufficient numbers to cater for current enrolment, but the distribution across schools is very unequal. A majority of secondary schools (around 55%) have spare teacher capacity, but this is concentrated in Unguja's districts.
- Compared with Unguja, districts in Pemba have relatively high PTRs at each level of schooling. The distribution of teachers within each district is also very unequal, with the result that there are schools with spare capacity and schools with an acute shortage of teachers, at all levels.
- There are greater teacher capacity shortages in public schools than in the non-public schools, but the patterns of inequality in public teacher distribution across districts are broadly similar to those in the system overall. Pupils in public primary schools in Pemba are particularly disadvantaged in terms of access to teachers.
- Travel time from home to school does not appear to be a widespread barrier to school access, but travel times are still very long for some pupils and journeys to and from school can be unsafe for boys and girls.

4.1 Meaning of school capacity and study objectives

4.1.1 Main research objective and definition of school capacity

The RGoZ is committed to enrolling and ensuring the provision of quality and inclusive education for all school-age children (see Section 1.3). However, not all eligible children are currently enrolled in school and, while estimates of the scale of exclusion vary (see Section 1.5.3), there is consensus that this needs to be tackled. As a first step in planning a strategic response, it is important to understand whether the schooling system has the physical capacity to absorb additional children. This chapter, together with the next, aims to provide analysis to help answer this question.

A schooling system's physical capacity can be usefully analysed using two simple concepts set out in the GPE Education Sector Analysis Guidelines (GPE, 2014[10]):

- **accessibility** of school services**:** whether schools are located close enough to where children live (physical access);[11] and
- **availability** of school resources: the extent to which there are sufficient human resources (teachers) and education inputs considered critical (classrooms, textbooks, learning materials, etc.) to cover the number of children who are supposed to go to school.

In this study, the analysis of availability of resources covers teachers (this chapter) and critical school infrastructure, i.e. classrooms, toilets, and water (next chapter). Other inputs will clearly be required to support the learning of previously excluded children, particularly considering that many are likely to have special educational needs related to their circumstances. Resource-related aspects of inclusive capacity are taken up in Chapter 6.

4.1.2 Main approach and scope

This study maps out the physical capacity of all schools in Zanzibar that provide pre-primary, primary, and ordinary secondary schooling, using a comparison of **available resources** (teachers and infrastructure) with the size of the school-age population. It also discusses the **accessibility of schools** based on information about how far away pupils live from school. The mapping of physical capacity focuses on the 12-year basic education cycle that is compulsory under the latest education policy: preschool (4–5 years), primary (6–11 years) and ordinary secondary (12–15 years).

In the ToR for this study, Component 1 is outlined as 'establish profiles of all pre-primary, primary and secondary schools and non-formal ALCs or centres, including geographical specifications'. These two chapters on school capacity address this component of the ToR apart from non-formal learning classes and centres, which are covered in Chapter 6.

4.1.3 Data sources and key limitations

Information on available resources in schools, enrolment, and distance to school for pupils comes from the quantitative school survey carried out for this study. In a few cases, findings from the qualitative research for this study are highlighted as well.

Data on the size of the school-age population (age 4–15 years) comes from the OCGS projections of the school-age population by district for 2017 (see Annex H.1). These projections are based on the

[10] *See Section 4.3. These concepts are part of UNICEF's conceptual framework called 'Bottleneck Analysis'. This was developed from an original framework used in health called the Tanahashi model to determine service coverage.*

[11] *Accessibility can also include other constraints, for example financial barriers, but for the purposes of this chapter the concept is taken to mean physical access (in line with the original health model).*

2012 population census, and are also the projections used by the MoEVT's EMIS team to estimate key education indicators such as the GER.

By putting the data on available school resources together with the data on the estimated school-age population in each district, this study analyses school capacity at a district level. District-level analysis of school capacity produces findings that are useful in identifying districts with overall capacity surpluses and shortages in key resources. It also shows current capacity surpluses and shortages across schools within districts with their geographical locations. From this, schools in need of additional resources currently can easily be identified. This level of analysis does not, however, reveal where new school places need to be created within districts because school-age population projections, and estimates of the number of OOSC, are not currently available at a lower level than districts.[12]

4.1.4 More details on our analytical approach to school capacity

There are a few additional analytical concepts that are helpful to understand before reading the findings on school capacity.

Sufficient resources: Part of the definition of physical capacity, discussed above, talks of 'sufficient resources […] to cover the school-age population'. It is clear that a judgement of physical capacity requires policy benchmarks for resource ratios to act as a comparator.

According to the ZEDP II (MoEVT, 2017b: 71), the target for class sizes (also known as the PCR) at primary and ordinary secondary level is 45:1, while for preschool it is 25:1 by 2030. Current class sizes are well above this. To achieve these class size targets, PTRs need to be considerably lower than the targets to take account of constraints such as subject specialisation, non-teaching head teachers, and policy choices.[13] In line with this, the targets for PTRs are 13:1 (preschool), 31:1 (primary), and 28:1 (ordinary secondary) by 2030. Implicit targets for PCRRs in the ZEDP II are the same as class sizes. Double-shifting of classrooms happens in some schools in Zanzibar, which reduces the effective PCRR required to accommodate a given class size. This is taken into account in the analysis of school capacity that follows by computing an adjusted PCRR that counts classrooms twice if they are in a double-shift school.

Numerators in resource ratios: The policy benchmarks for resource ratios use the total number of pupils in the numerator of the calculation. For the purposes of assessing school capacity in this study, two different numerators are used. The first uses the total number of pupils currently enrolled to indicate **existing** capacity shortages and surplus. The second uses the estimated total number of children aged 4–15 years to indicate **potential** capacity shortages and surpluses if there was to be universal enrolment (and completion) in the basic education cycle.[14]

District-level analysis of school capacity: School capacity varies by geographical location, by school ownership type (public, private, or community), and by the level of education offered (pre-primary, primary, and secondary). The focus of analysis in this chapter is looking at capacity

[12] *Under the original ToR for the study, a household survey would have provided information on the number of school-aged children and the number of OOSC at kitongoji level, which could then have been matched with the supply-side data collected in the school survey. The final ToR did not include a household survey.*

[13] *In pre-primary the strategy appears to be to have larger class sizes than perhaps are common for pre-primary pupils in other countries, but to have more than one teacher in each class.*

[14] *Strictly speaking, the total number of children aged 4–15 years will only be equal to total enrolment under a universal enrolment and completion scenario if there are no repeaters (and children enter school at the official age). Levels of repetition are fairly low at primary and secondary level in Zanzibar.*

disparities between districts and within districts. This level of focus is for two reasons. First, district education offices are the key point of contact above schools in the education management system. District officers visit schools, provide planning and monitoring information to MoEVT, and crucially have a role in assessing teacher demand, deploying new teachers, and transferring teachers (MoEVT, 2016). Second, the Local Government Authority Act (2014) came into effect in July 2017. This Act shifts the responsibility for management of pre-primary, primary, and ordinary secondary, the recommendation of establishment of secondary schools, and the coordination of schools' parent committees from the MoEVT to district-level governments. The implementation of this decentralisation-by-devolution act is being phased, so in practice the MoEVT is still responsible for these aspects of education. Nonetheless, the intention is for districts to assume increasing responsibility for planning and managing educational resources, and so it is very useful to understand school capacity through a district lens.

Although the district is the focus unit of analysis, however, results by schooling level and sometimes ownership type are also discussed in this chapter, where this is feasible and highly relevant. Zanzibar has a high proportion of schools that offer multiple levels of schooling. In assessing infrastructure capacity in particular, it is difficult to break this down by level meaningfully using the data collected.[15]

Key indicators to show the distribution of school capacity: In order to locate schools that are operating under-capacity or over-capacity and to understand some of their other characteristics, the analysis uses the following types of indicator:

- **Pupil-to-resource ratio for a district:** This is calculated as the total number of pupils in a district divided by the total number of resources (teachers or classrooms). This is used to explore the distribution of resources **between** districts.
- **Mean pupil-to-resource ratios of schools in a district:** This is the average of pupil-to-resource ratios of schools in a district. By comparing this with the overall pupil-to-resource ratio for a district (the first indicator above), this gives insights into whether resources are distributed equally by school size (enrolment per school) **within** a district. School size can be an important factor in driving inequality in school capacity if there are minimum requirements for resources in each school (e.g. a teacher and classroom for every grade offered).
- **Proportion of schools with resource ratios that meet, exceed, or fall under policy targets:** These indicators are calculated for each district for key resources. This provides more detailed insight into resource distribution **within** districts.
- **Low, middle and high markers:** This shows three points in the distribution of values of the indicator to understand the spread of values. The low marker is the 10th percentile (10% of schools have values of the indicator equal to or below this value),the middle marker is the 50th percentile or median (50% of schools have values of this indicator equal to or below this value and 50% of schools have values of this indicator above this value),and the high marker is the 90th percentile (10% of schools have values of the indicator above this value).

All the indicators discussed in this chapter are listed in Annex C. There are separate tables for indicators disaggregated by district, by school type (ownership), and by school levels offered for reference.

Ordinary secondary and upper secondary: The first four years of secondary school (Forms 1–4, ordinary secondary) are part of the compulsory basic education cycle, while the second two

[15] *In multi-level schools, the data collected did not include information on which classrooms are being used by which level of schooling.*

years (Forms 5–6, upper secondary) are not compulsory. In principle, the school capacity analysis should only include the ordinary secondary level but in practice it was not possible to disentangle resources between the two levels, which are always taught in the same school. This does introduce a distortion into the analysis, but since enrolment in upper secondary is relatively low (in 2017 there were only 3,643 upper secondary pupils, representing 3% of total secondary enrolment) this is not of undue concern.

4.1.5 Chapter structure

This chapter is divided into three further sections. The first section (4.2) focuses on accessibility by looking at the number and types of schools and their geographical distribution. It also presents findings on the distance that pupils have to travel to school. The second section (4.3) deals with teacher availability as a potential capacity constraint, and covers findings on the volume, qualifications, and efficiency in the deployment of teachers. The final section (4.4) highlights key findings and concludes the first part of the school capacity analysis.

4.1.6 Maps

Throughout the chapters on school capacity, reference is made to various maps of schools that exhibit different capacity characteristics. Most of these maps are in Annex H and Annex I because it was impractical in space terms to integrate them into the chapters. The maps add considerable value to the findings and readers are advised to refer to the maps when reading the chapter.

As discussed in Section 3.2.9, the maps are only able to show Magharibi as one district, even though in reality it has been split into Magharibi A and B. In order to discuss findings in a consistent way with the maps, Magharibi is discussed as one district in this chapter;however,separate indicators for Magharibi A and Magharibi B are made available in Annex C.

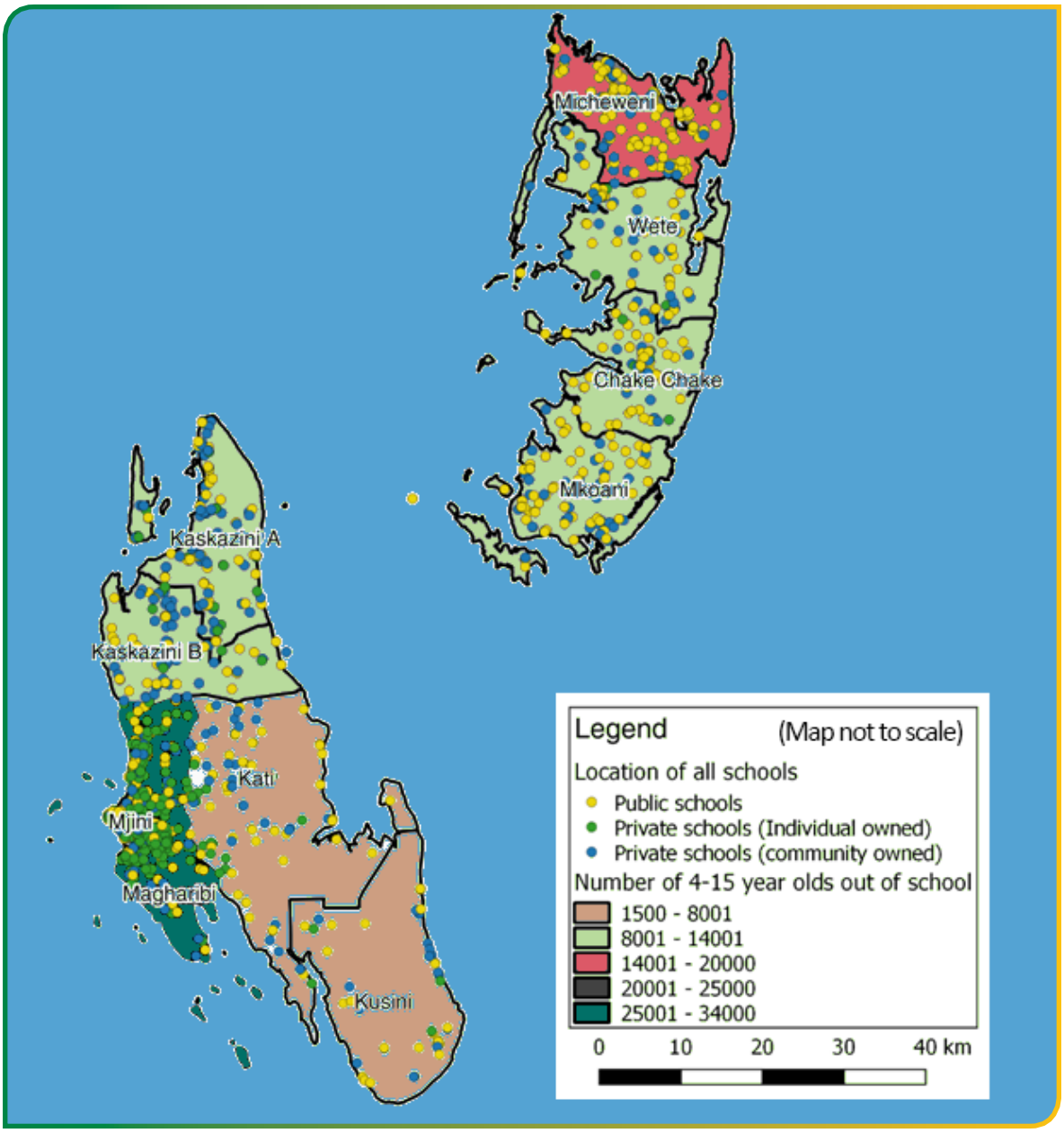
4.2 School capacity: accessibility

4.2.1 Supply of schools by ownership

This study visited all schools in Zanzibar. The location of each school is displayed in Figure 7 using different symbols to denote the school type/ownership status of each school, i.e. public, private, or community owned. The districts are shaded according to the size of the underlying school-age population, with darker shades representing larger populations. In broad terms, this helps to visualise whether the supply of schools is related to the size of the population that is eligible to receive this service.

There are 1,320 schools in Zanzibar, with363 of these, or 28%, being located in Magharibi (A and B). Magharibi accounts for 30% of the eligible population of 4–15 year olds so its allocation of schools is roughly proportional to potential demand. Some of the other districts have a greater mismatch between their share of the school-age population and the number of schools they have. At one extreme, Kusini has 4% of schools (109 schools) but only 2% of the eligible population, which suggests it may be relatively oversupplied with schools compared with other districts. Kati and Kaskazini A also appear relatively oversupplied on this simple basis. On the other hand, Mjini has 11% of schools but 16% of the eligible population live there, indicating potential under-supply.

Figure 7: Map of all schools by ownership status (public, private, or community)



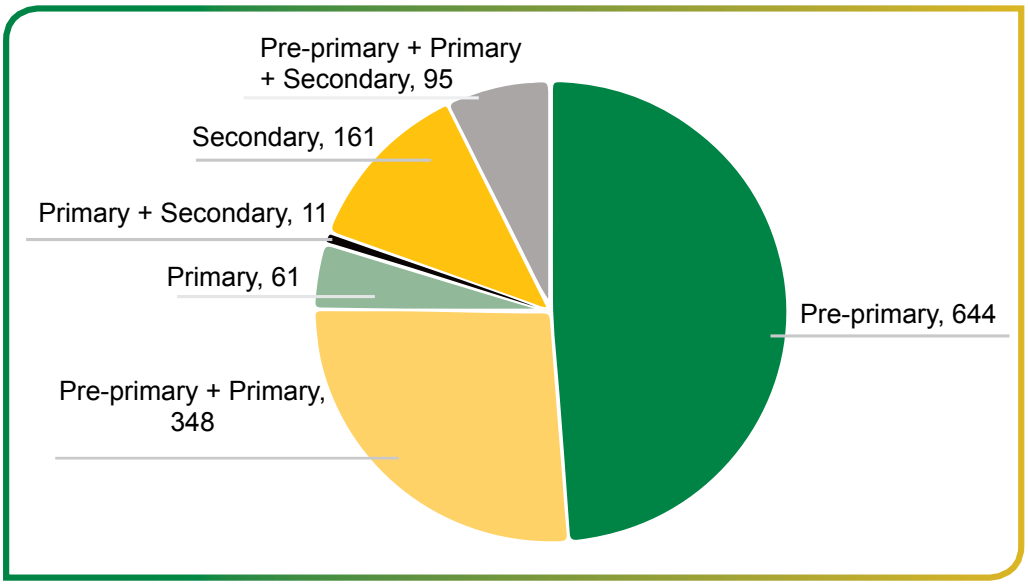
Of course, this broad picture of school supply ignores many factors that may explain why some districts need more schools relative to their eligible population than others. More sparsely populated districts may need to provide a larger number of preschools and primary schools per population compared to more urbanised districts, to ensure that young children do not have too far to walk to school. On the other hand, urban districts tend to be short of ground space to build new schools and so existing schools often have relatively high enrolments. This may help to explain why Mjini, which contains Stone Town, has a lower proportion of schools than its population share.

The map of all schools in Figure 7 shows the high density of public schools (represented by yellow dots) in the Pemba districts. In these four districts, the proportion of public schools is between 60% and 81%. The diversity of school ownership is much greater on Unguja, where the share of public provision varies from 23% in Magharibi to 56% in Kusini. The density of private providers (represented by green dots) in Figure 7 is very high in Magharibi and Mjini, which are the districts closest to Stone Town.

4.2.2 Supply of schools by level offered

It is fairly common for schools in Zanzibar to provide more than one level of schooling (pre-primary, primary, or secondary). In fact, more than one-third of Zanzibar's 1,320 schools are multi-level schools. The distribution of schools by level offered is presented in Figure 8. Stand-alone pre-primary schools make up nearly half of all schools in Zanzibar, which is consistent with a strategy of locating a high volume of preschools close to where young children live to promote accessibility. Of these stand-alone pre-primary schools, about half are community owned while public and private providers account for one-quarter each.

Figure 8: Number of schools by levels offered in Zanzibar

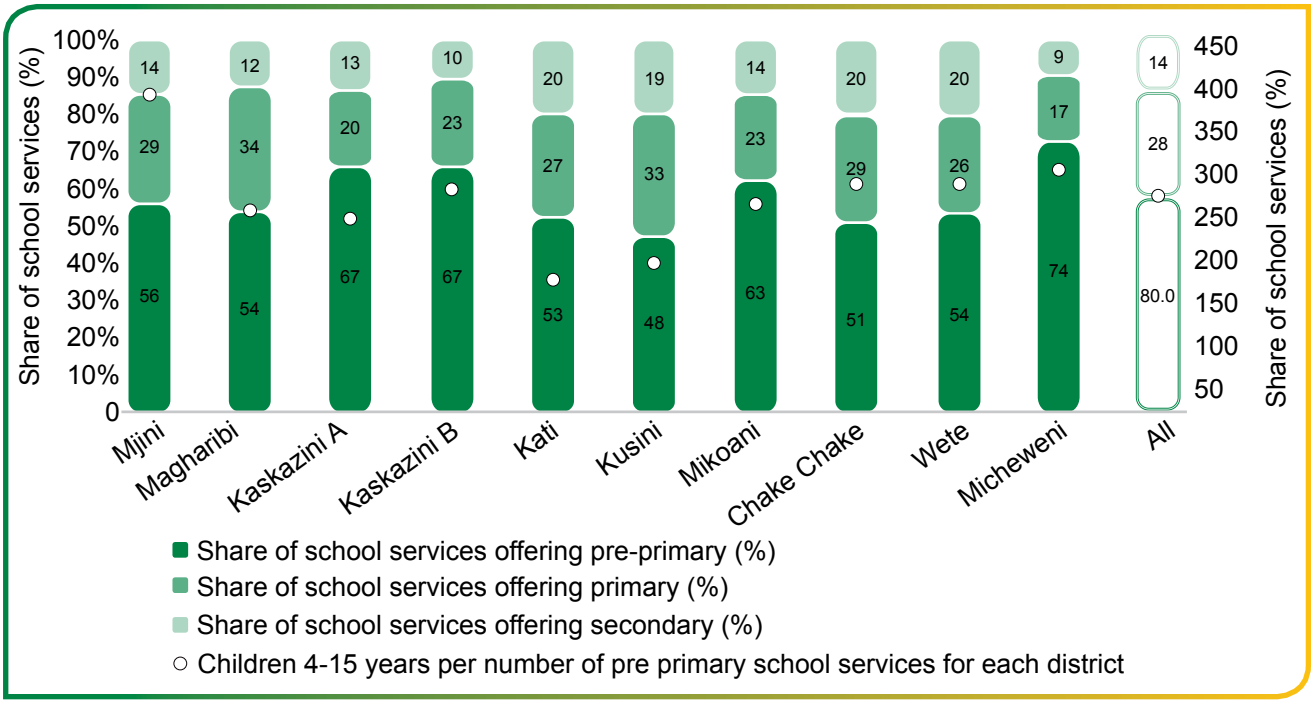


Districts do not all have the same composition of school types, and so a fairer comparison of school supply with the eligible population is to consider the number of schooling services (defined as a level of schooling offered by a school) provided in each district. For example, a school that offers pre-primary and primary is providing two schooling services. On this basis there are 1,869 pre-primary, primary, and secondary services offered in 1,320 schools. The overall balance between levels of service in Zanzibar is 58% pre-primary, 28% primary, and 14% secondary. It is clear, then, that accessibility to schooling services falls as the level rises. Figure 9 shows that the balance between the three levels varies considerably between districts.

Micheweni, Kaskazini A, and Kaskazini B offer a notably high share of pre-primary services, while Kusini has the lowest share. Kati, Kusini, Chake Chake, and Wete also stand out as offering a comparatively high share of secondary services.

There are 261 children aged 4–15 years per schooling service offered across Zanzibar overall (see the dots in Figure 9). There is less variation in this simple indicator of schooling accessibility between districts than when physical schools are considered, but the inter-district pattern remains similar. Mjini, Chake Chake, Wete, and Micheweni have considerably more eligible children per schooling service than the remaining districts. While this is one indication that there may be greater accessibility constraints in these locations, high population density in some districts (for example, Mjini) may mean that providing fewer but larger schools does not restrict access in these circumstances.

Figure 9: Distribution of school services by level within each district (%)



4.2.3 Types of pre-primary provision

The pre-primary level has the most diversity in provider types. The private sector plays a historically dominant role in pre-primary provision, but the public sector has been expanding rapidly in the past few years too to respond to the introduction of compulsory fee-free pre-primary schooling. In 2009, the private sector enrolled 79% of preschool pupils but by 2017 the private sector share had dropped to 60% (see Table2). The location and ownership type of all pre-primary schools are captured in Annex H Figure 2, while Figure 10 below shows the distribution of TUTU centres, MECP-run preschools,[16] and 'other' public and private preschools across districts.

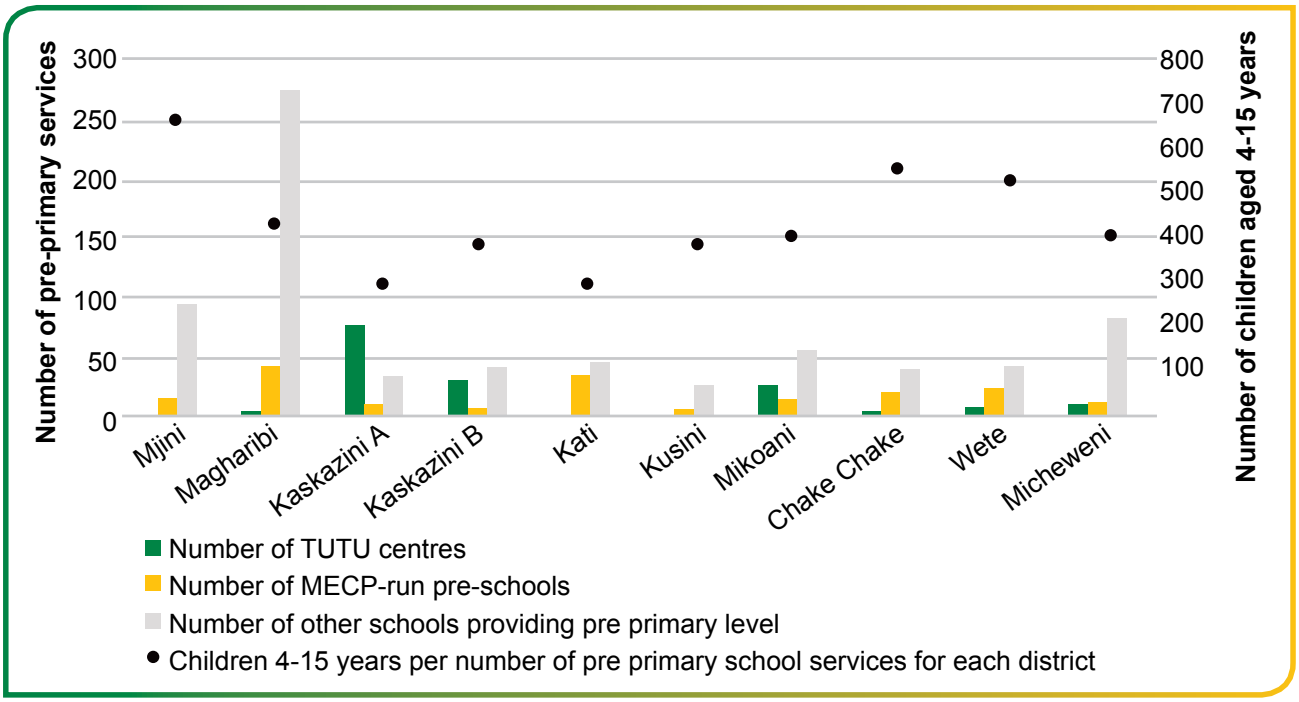
TUTU centres account for 15% of preschools in Zanzibar and these are concentrated in Kaskazini A, Kaskazini B, and Mkoani. Some 83% of TUTU centres are located in these three districts. MECP-run preschools occupy a similar share of provision to TUTU centres but are spread across all districts. MECP-run preschools have greatest presence in Magharibi and Kati, with 41% being located in these two districts.

Of the schools offering pre-primary that are not TUTUs or MECP-run schools, around half are public schools and these account for nearly all 'other' schools offering pre-primary in Pemba's districts. Private provision of preschool is heavily concentrated in Mjini and Magharibi: more than 90% of individually owned private schools offering pre-primary are located in these two districts and 60% of community-owned preschools that are not TUTUs or MECPs are located here too. Taking all private providers together, they own 65% of the schools offering pre-primary.

Comparing the number of preschools in each district with the school-age population (dots in Figure 10) again reveals that Mjini, Chake Chake, and Wete have relatively few preschools considering their population shares.

16 *MECP-run preschools are community owned preschools that were initiated by the MECP.*

Figure 10: Number of schools offering pre-primary by ownership type



4.2.4 Types of primary and secondary provision

There is a clear trend toward greater public provision as the level of schooling increases, and this pattern is very visible when comparing the three maps of schools that offer pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels by provider in Annex H (figures 2, 3 and 4). For schools offering pre-primary, public providers are in a minority (35%), while schools offering primary are mainly public (57%) and those offering secondary are dominated by public providers (77%).

Mjini and Magharibi have much higher shares of private providers of primary and secondary levels in their districts compared with other districts. The private share of schools offering primary is 63% in Mjini and 74% in Magharibi, compared with the next highest 27% in Kusini. The share of private primary providers is lowest in Mkoani and Wete at only 6%. The same broad pattern of public–private splits in providers across districts applies at secondary level too. Again, Mjini and Magharibi have high shares of secondary-level private providers, at 36% and 56% respectively, compared with other districts. Chake Chake also has a relatively sizeable share of private providers at secondary level (20%), while this share is less than 10% in all other districts.

4.2.5 Travel time from home to school

The distance to the nearest school from home can be a barrier to access, particularly for young children and for other types of marginalised children. The findings from a 2015 study on OOSC in Tanzania highlighted the link between distance to school for children living in the poorest households, hunger exacerbated by not being able to return home from school at lunchtime, and dropout (UNICEF, 2015b).

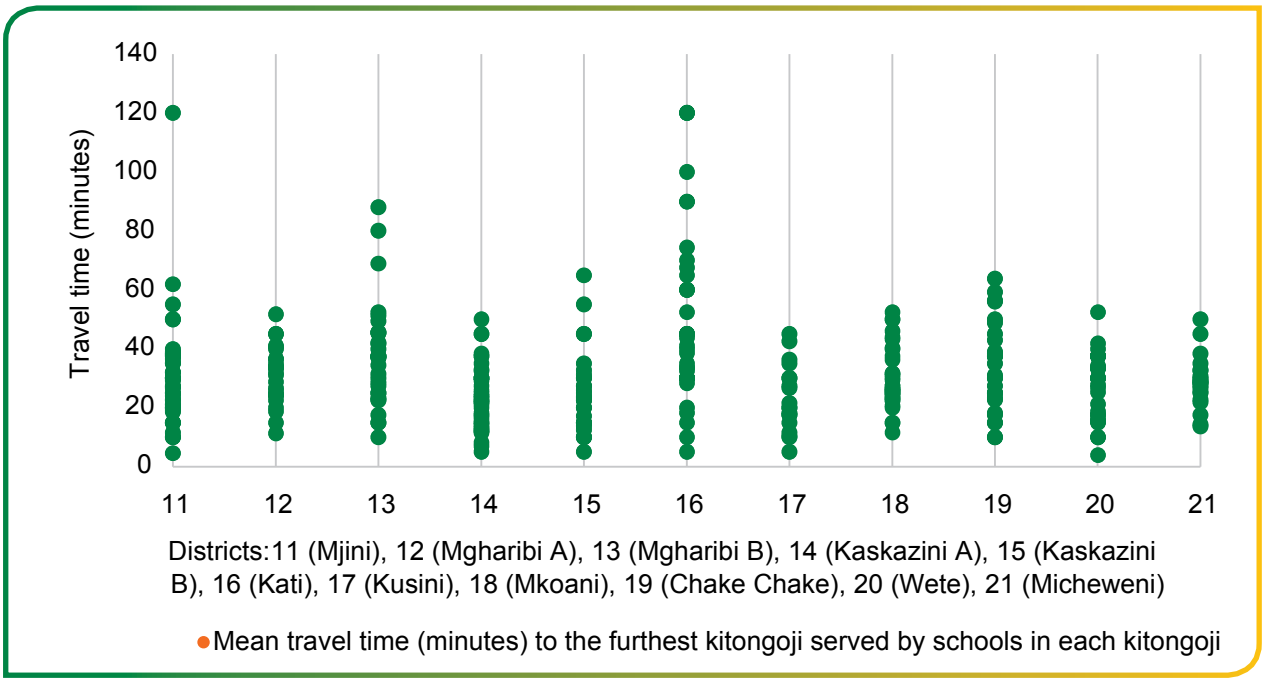
Collecting information from households with children on the distance, or travel time, from home to the nearest school was not possible in this school-level study. Instead, head teachers were asked to estimate the time taken for pupils who live in the furthest kitongoji served by the school to travel to school, using whatever means of transport is typical in their area, including walking. This indicator tries to measure the maximum time it currently takes pupils to get to school from home, but it is an

imperfect yardstick of accessibility for a number of reasons. On the one hand, some parents choose to send their children to schools that are further away than the nearest school, so it may overstate access constraints for those enrolled.[17] On the other hand, it does not capture information about the distance to school of those children who are not enrolled so it may understate access constraints for the target group. In addition, head teachers' estimates of travel time may not be very accurate as some may not be very familiar with the journeys that pupils take.

Across Zanzibar the average travel time from home to school for pupils living in the furthest kitongoji from each school (termed 'maximum travel time') was estimated to be 32 minutes, using whatever mode of transport was identified by the head teacher, including walking. The vast majority of maximum travel times from home to school were less than one hour. Some 90% of schools reported maximum travel time of 60 minutes or less, but this still means that some pupils have to travel for more than an hour each way to school in 10% of schools. Only 3% of schools estimated maximum travel times from home to school of more than 75 minutes.

Kati has the highest average maximum travel time from home to school of all districts at 49 minutes. The district variation is evident in Figure 11, which plots average maximum travel times for schools in each kitongoji. Kati has a far greater number of kitongojis with maximum travel times from home to school of more than an hour.

Figure 11: Travel time from school to the furthest kitongoji served by schools, by district



The results on maximum travel times from home to school captured in this study are broadly in line with information on average travel time to school captured in the latest HBS (OCGS, 2016). As would be expected, average travel time to school reported in the HBS 2014/15 is considerably lower than the average maximum travel time found in this study.

The HBS found that the vast majority of pupils walk to school in Zanzibar: 93% of primary pupils and 77% of secondary pupils. The average travel time to both primary school and to secondary school from home was 19 minutes and, perhaps surprisingly, there is little difference between estimates

[17] *Some head teachers explained this to the study team during school visits, but it was not a question asked formally in the questionnaire.*

for rural and urban areas. Kati is among the districts with the highest mean travel times, but Micheweni has the highest average travel time to both primary and secondary school from home of 23 minutes.

Distance to school is rarely cited in the HBS as a reason for dropout: only 0.4% of children aged 7–16 years who had dropped out gave this as the reason. This suggests that distance to school is not a widespread barrier to access for primary-aged children and above, although the HBS did not report reasons for the group of children that have never entered school, nor did it present information on travel times to school for pre-primary pupils.

It is more likely that distance to school is a barrier to access for pre-primary-aged children for physical and safety reasons. Indeed, the length of travel time may only be one aspect of constraints on physical access to schools. Journeys to school, however short, can require children to walk through areas where parents feel their children may be unsafe, particularly if unaccompanied, such as forests or rivers, or the terrain maybe challenging for some children. The qualitative research for this study found that the potential journey to school is one of the main reasons that parents delay sending their children to pre-primary, and it is a barrier to access for some children with disabilities. Other studies in Zanzibar have found that safety on the journey to school from home is a serious threat for some boys and girls of all ages. Community members, surveyed as part of a recent nationally representative survey of households, reported that the two most common locations where sexual violence against children occur are neighbourhoods and travelling to and from school/ madrassa (UNICEF and RGoZ, 2017).

4.3 School capacity: teacher availability

This section first aims to address the question of whether there is an adequate **volume** (number) **of teachers** to cater for pupils currently enrolled in pre-primary, primary, and ordinary secondary, and also for the wider population of 4–15 year old children (who would potentially be enrolled if there was universal enrolment in basic education). Second, it looks at how the availability of teachers varies across districts to try to understand whether some districts are oversupplied or undersupplied relative to their current enrolment and eligible population estimates.

Teachers do not all have identical training, qualification, and experience profiles, and demand for teachers from different types of schools relates to particular profiles. The second part of this section examines the **profile of teachers** to see if there are capacity constraints and surpluses related to training status and qualifications (i.e. academic subject qualifications).

The extent to which having a sufficient volume of teachers with appropriate profiles enables pupils to be taught in small enough class sizes to foster learning also depends on **how well teachers are utilised**. Issues such as the deployment of teachers within districts, and within schools, are covered in the final part of this section.

4.3.1 Simple measures of teacher capacity (volume)

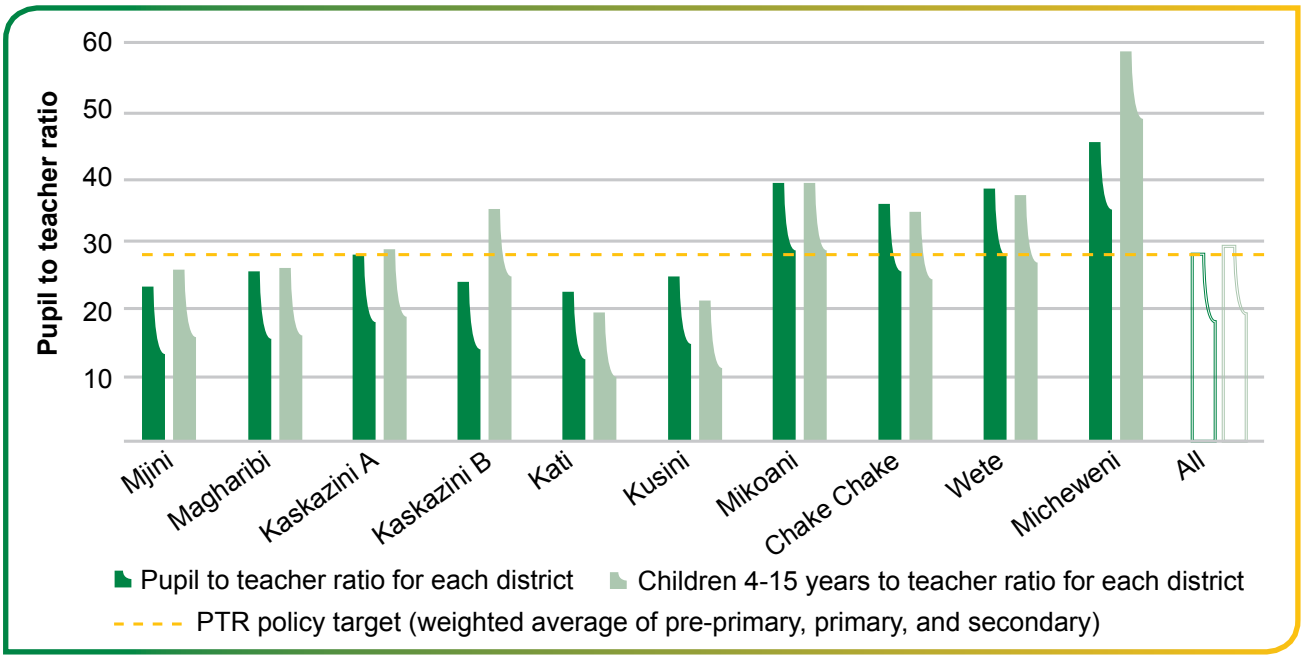
There are 27 pupils enrolled in schools across Zanzibar for every teacher. If all children in the school-age population were to be enrolled, there would be 28 children for every teacher. On this simple basis, Zanzibar is employing a sufficient volume of teachers to meet policy targets for PTRs overall

(based on a weighted average of the PTR policy target for each level).[18] However, teachers are not distributed equally in relation to the number of pupils by level or between districts or within districts, and so teacher capacity shortages and surpluses exist in the system.

Distributions of teachers between districts

The distribution of teachers taking into account pupil numbers is skewed toward Unguja's districts. Figure 12 shows that the PTRs in the four Pemba districts are 35:1 or above, while the six Unguja districts have between 22 and 27 pupils per teacher. Micheweni stands out as having a particularly high PTR at 43:1, and this rises to more than 55 pupils per teacher if the entire estimated eligible population were to be enrolled. Kaskazini B is the other district that would see a sharp increase in the number of pupils per teacher if all eligible children were to be enrolled, but this district could largely cater for these extra children and still keep close to PTR targets.

Figure 12: Distribution of teachers between districts in relation to pupils and the eligible school-age population



Distribution of teachers between levels

Consistent with the expectation of the policy targets, Figure 13 shows that, in every district, the pre-primary PTR is the lowest, the primary PTR the highest, and the secondary PTR lies in the middle.

There is an overall shortage of pre-primary teachers in Zanzibar. In schools that offer pre-primary, there are 20 teachers for every pupil on average across Zanzibar, compared to the policy target of 13. In fact, none of the districts meet the policy target PTRs (i.e. all districts lie above the dotted policy pre-primary PTR target line in Figure 13). On this basis, there is no spare teacher capacity at a district level to accommodate additional preschool children without increasing PTRs further.

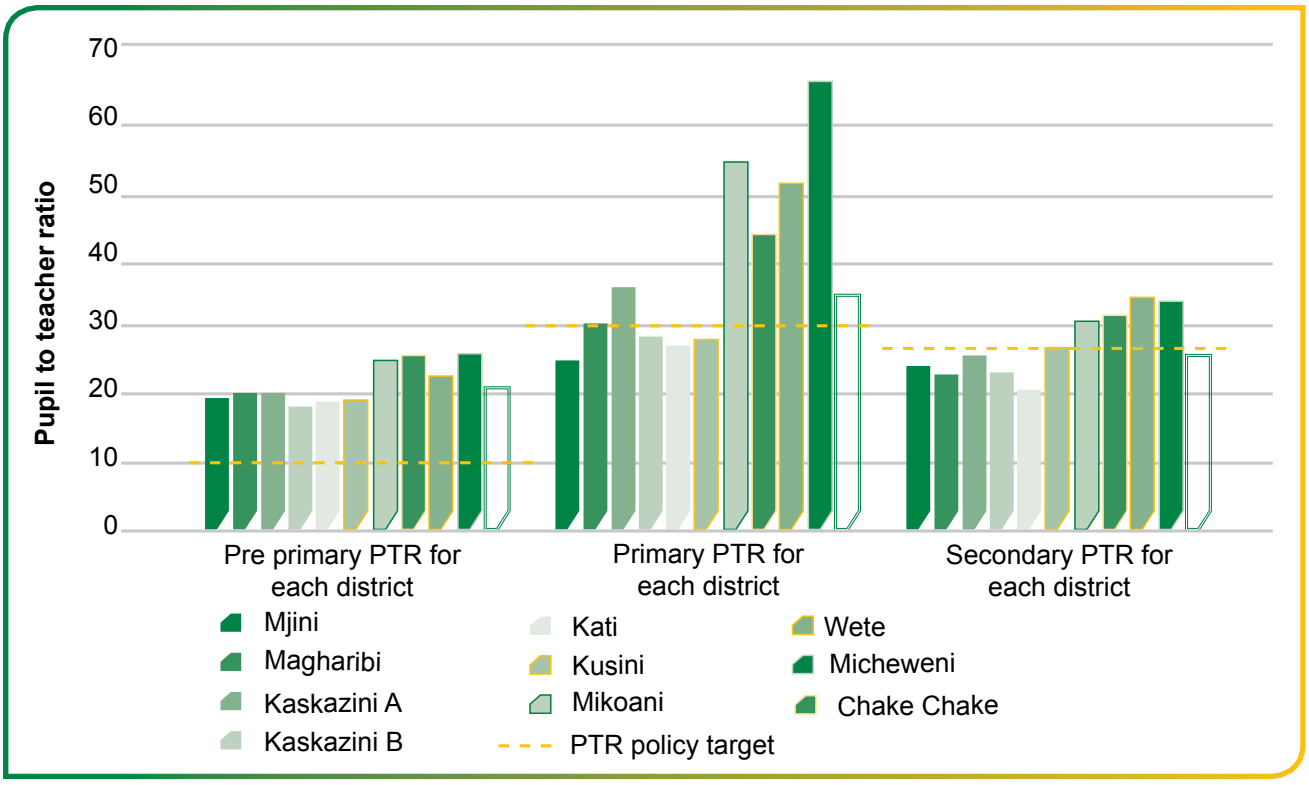
At each level of education, the distribution of teachers in relation to enrolment is skewed toward

[18] *The targets for PTRs are 13:1 (preschool), 31:1 (primary), and 28:1 (ordinary secondary). If these are weighted by the number of years in each cycle (two for preschool, six for primary and four for ordinary secondary), then the average is 27:1.*

Unguja's districts such that PTRs in Pemba's districts are comparatively high. The difference in teacher availability between the two islands is far more pronounced at primary level than at the other levels where the variation across districts is much lower.

Primary PTRs for the Pemba districts vary from 41 to 66 pupils per teacher, while the variation stretches from 24 to 34 pupils per teacher on Unguja. Most strikingly, Unguja's most primary teacher-constrained district (Kaskazini A) is still much better off than Pemba's least constrained district (Chake Chake). The gaps between districts in teacher availability to serve primary pupils are large. This means that although the overall primary PTR for Zanzibar of 33:1 is not far from the policy target of 31:1, there is an acute shortage of primary teachers in Pemba while there is a surplus in all districts on Unguja except Kaskazini A.

Figure 13: Pre-primary, primary, and secondary PTRs for each district



There are more than enough secondary teachers employed in Zanzibar to cater for current enrolment and to meet policy targets. There is an average of 24 pupils for every secondary teacher, against a target of 28 pupils per teacher. Spare teacher capacity at secondary level is concentrated in Unguja's districts, which all have PTRs below the policy target. By contrast, all Pemba's districts have secondary PTRs above 28:1 but still close to the target. Micheweni and Wete have the greatest shortage of secondary teachers, with 30 pupils for every teacher. It is worth noting that the GER at ordinary secondary level was about 77% in 2017 (see Table 2). This implies that if all ordinary secondary school-aged children were to be absorbed into the system, enrolment would increase by about 30%.[19] The available secondary teacher capacity in the system currently is far from sufficient to deal with an increase of that scale.

Considering the eligible school-age population (4–15 years) is much higher than current enrolment in Kaskazini B and Micheweni, the teacher capacity to absorb additional pupils is very different in these two locations. In Kaskazini B, there is scope to absorb additional primary and secondary

[19] *Repetition rates are low in the secondary cycle (around 2%) (MoEVT, 2016).*

pupils and still remain below PTR policy targets. By contrast, in Micheweni, the primary education system is so severely under-resourced with teachers (the PTR is 66:1) that there is no capacity to absorb additional primary children. Micheweni's pre-primary and secondary PTRs are also above policy targets.

Teachers in public schools

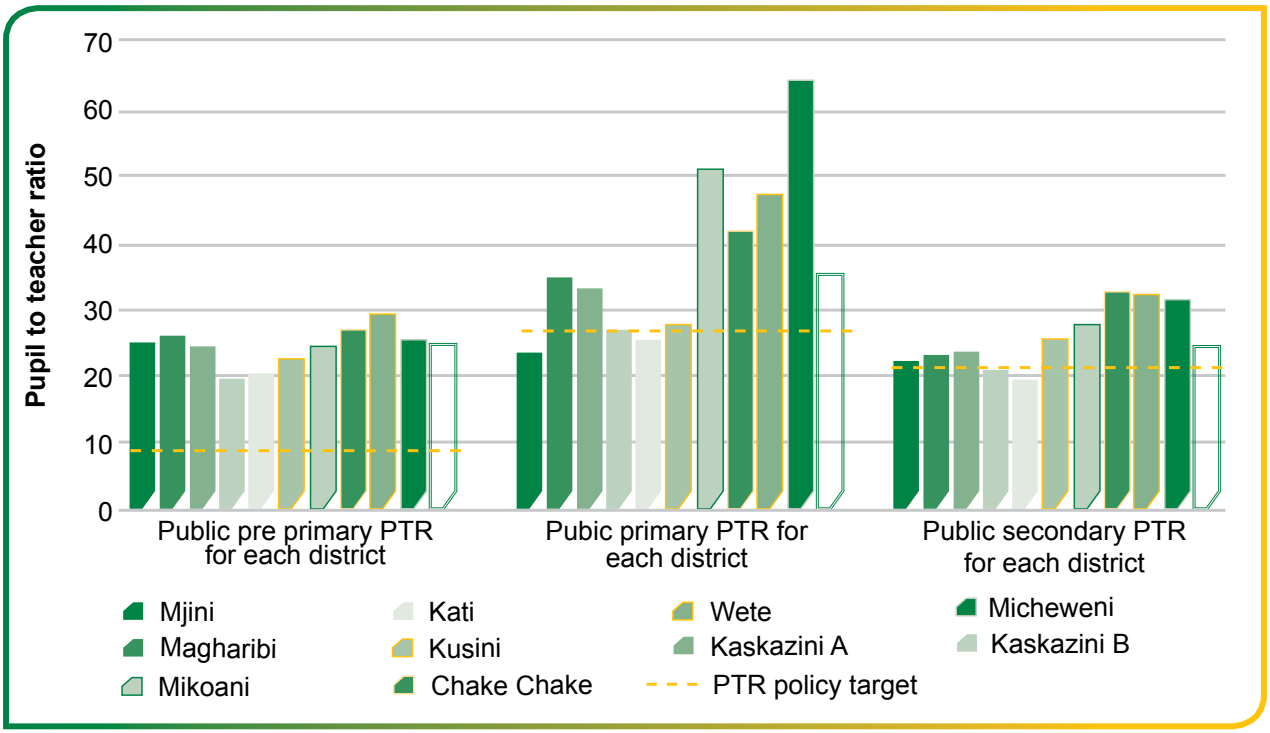
The analysis of teacher shortages and surpluses above considered the whole teaching force in Zanzibar, regardless of whether teachers work in public, private, or community schools. This is important to get a holistic understanding of teacher capacity, in relation to pupils currently enrolled, across the whole system. It is also informative to break this down further to understand teacher capacity in public schools, since government directly manages this part of the system and it is thus more amenable to policy actions, at least in the short term, than other parts of the sector.

There are greater teacher capacity shortages in the public system than in the non-public parts, but the patterns of inequality in public teacher distribution across districts are broadly similar to those in system overall. Comparing Figure 14, which shows **public** pre-primary, primary, and secondary PTRs, with the same chart for whole sector above (Figure 13), many more of the district public PTRs at each level are above the target policy lines. Indeed, none of the overall public PTRs for pre-primary, primary, or secondary meet policy targets, although the public secondary PTR is close.

Public teachers are skewed toward Unguja's districts relative to enrolment, particularly at primary level but also at secondary level. This is a pattern similar to the overall spread of primary and secondary teachers across districts we saw in Figure 13.

Two notable differences between public teacher capacity and overall teacher capacity are found in Magharibi and Kusini. In both of these districts, the public PTR is above the policy target, indicating teacher shortages (for primary teachers in Magharibi and for secondary teachers in Kusini), while there is spare teacher capacity when all types of teachers are considered.

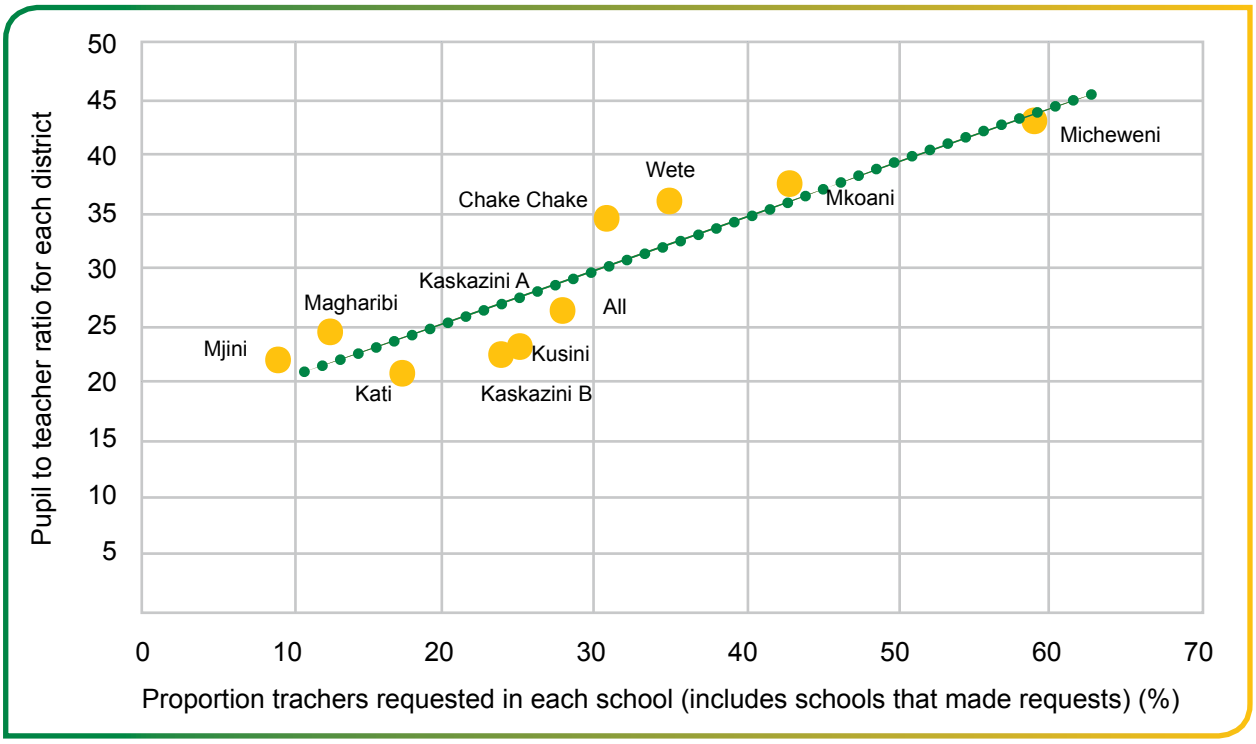
Figure 14: Public pre-primary, primary, and secondary PTRs for each district



Demand for teachers from schools

Schools that face teacher shortages can request additional teachers each year. In 2016, nearly 30% of schools requested additional teachers, which is consistent with the findings above that there are shortages in some schools. Given the teacher shortages in Pemba, it is not surprising to find that schools in Pemba that made requests last year asked for a relatively high proportion of their teachers compared to requests coming from schools in Unguja. Figure 15 summarises the positive relationship between teacher needs (PTRs) and the share of teachers being requested in each school (from the schools which made requests). Importantly, it should be stressed that such requests are rarely met. Last year, 82% of requests for additional teachers from schools went unmet. It is beyond the scope of this study to shed light on the reasons for this, but it may be partly related to constraints in the supply of teachers able to teach particular subjects or it may be more related to the managerial process of recruitment and deployment of public teachers, which involves many parties and is described in one study as 'opaque' (MoEVT, 2016).

Figure 15: Relationship between teacher needs and rate of teacher requests



4.3.2 Professional training and subject qualifications of teachers (quality)

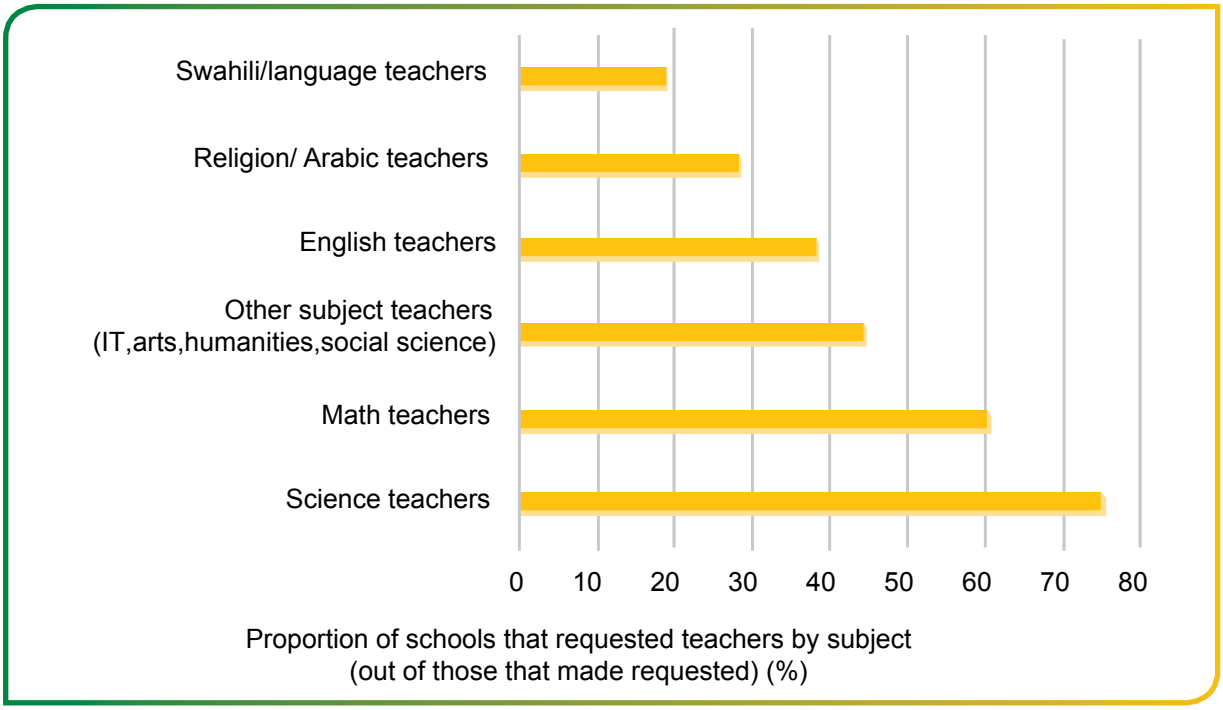
So far the discussion has focused on the number of teachers available to cater for enrolled pupils at different levels. In reality, however, teacher demand is more complex. Pupils need teachers professionally trained in appropriate pedagogy and who are qualified (academically) in the subject matter they are delivering. Teachers specialise in subjects at secondary level, and in practice this happens in many primary schools too (particularly for upper standards) (MoEVT, 2016[20]). Teacher shortages are not just related to an insufficient number, therefore, but also to subject specialisation.

Of the close to 30% of schools that made requests for additional teachers last year, Figure 16 shows the subjects requested. Demand for science teachers is particularly high (76% of schools

[20] *See Section 2.1 on teacher management and classroom availability.*

that made requests), followed by maths teachers. Demand for science and maths teachers is high among schools making requests across all districts. Given that the vast majority of last year's requests were not fulfilled, this may relate to a bottleneck in the supply of maths and science graduates willing to take up a career in teaching or willing to teach in locations of high need. One study that investigated poor examination performance at CSEE, the examination taken at the end of Form 4, highlighted poor teaching of science subjects in particular as a cause of poor science pass rates (MoEVT, 2013). Another study highlighted that, in some schools, pupils are taught maths and science by teachers who are not qualified in these subjects (MoEVT, 2016). Poor examination performance in science and maths reduces the potential pool of pupils who could continue their studies in science and maths subjects and ultimately become teachers, meaning there appears to be a cyclical element to this challenge.

Figure 16: Type of teachers requested by schools



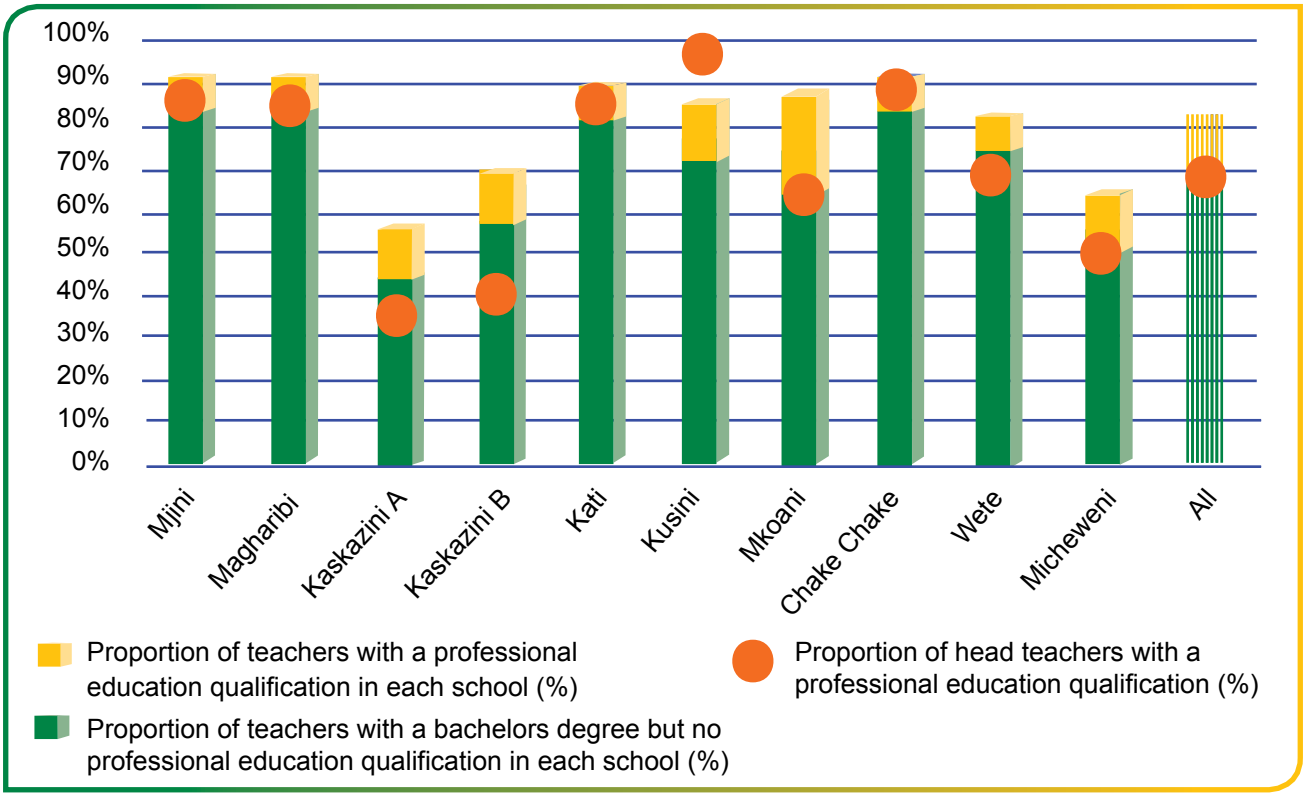
Across schools in Zanzibar, nearly three-quarters of teachers (73%) have a professional education qualification and a further 10% have a bachelor's degree, leaving 17% with neither. At an aggregate level this means that there is a fairly sizeable capacity gap in providing appropriately trained and qualified teachers to schools. There is a lot of variation in this picture between districts (*see Figure 17*).

Micheweni has one of the lowest proportions of teachers with a professional education qualification (49%), and since it also has the most acute shortage of teachers of any district, its pupils are doubly disadvantaged. The other two districts with relatively low shares of trained teachers are Kaskazini A and Kaskazini B, while Mkoani is unusual because it has a very high share of teachers with bachelor's degrees but without professional qualifications (23%).

Districts also vary a lot in the extent to which head teachers have professional education qualifications (the dots in Figure 17). Just under three-quarters of head teachers have professional education qualifications across Zanzibar, but in Kaskazini A, Kaskazini B, and Micheweni less than half of head teachers are trained teachers. By contrast, head teachers in Kusini are almost all trained teachers (97%). Specialist qualifications in education management are available in Zanzibar,

but relatively few head teachers have a diploma in education management and administration (9%). This qualification is rarer still for head teachers in Kaskazini A, Kaskazini B, and Micheweni (4% in each district), while in Mjini 15% of head teachers hold this qualification.

Figure 17: Distribution of teachers within districts by training and qualification (%)



Looking at public teachers and head teachers only, they are better trained and qualified than their community counterparts, but have similar profiles to those who work in the private sector. Still, a sizeable minority (more than 10%) of public school teachers have neither a professional education qualification nor a bachelor's degree.

4.3.3 Teacher utilisation (efficiency)

This section starts with, and discusses in greater detail, the distribution of primary teachers within districts, to cater for enrolled pupils, because this varies more than at other levels. Two shorter sections covering the distribution within districts of secondary and then pre-primary teachers follow.

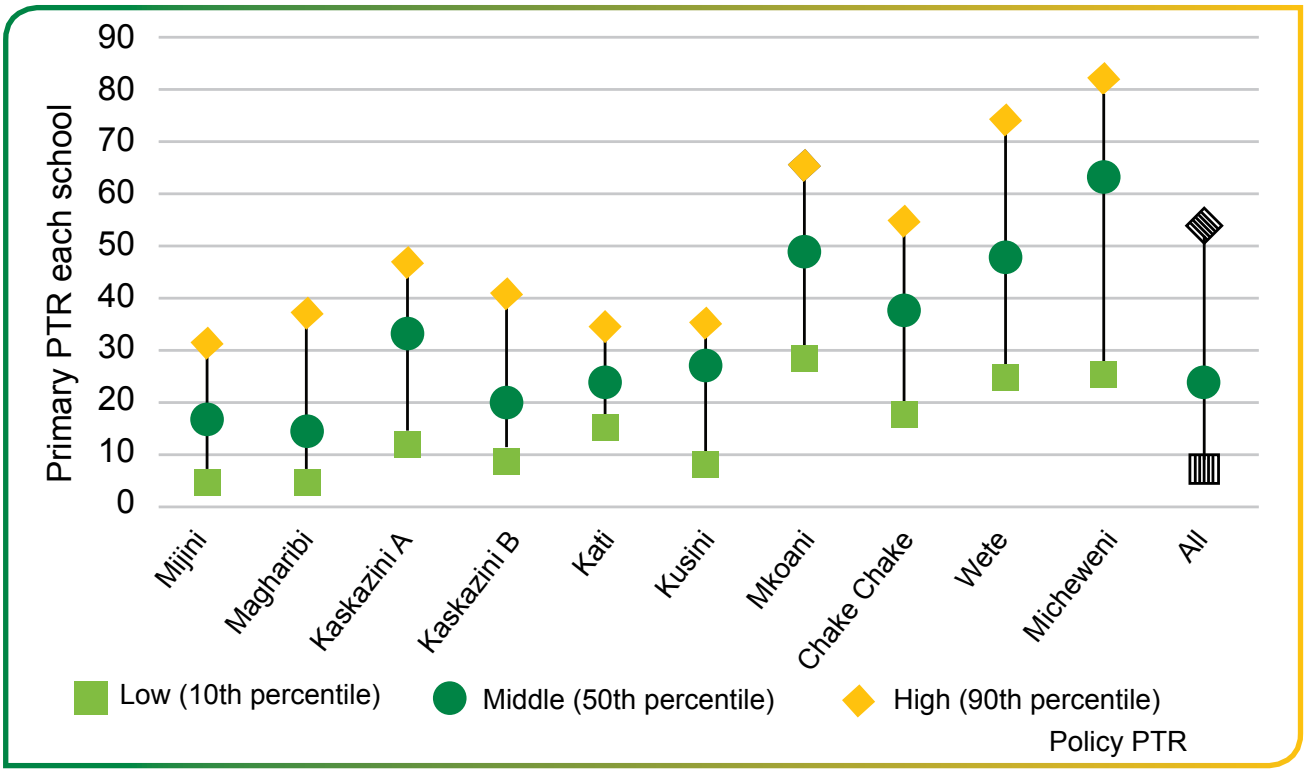
Distribution of primary teachers within districts

Teacher capacity varies across schools within districts because primary teachers are not distributed equally within districts based on enrolment in each school. In fact, there is wide variation in primary PTRs within each district, shown in Figure 18using low, middle, and high markers to indicate the disparity in each district (see Box 2 for definitions of the markers).

Box 2: Definition of low, middle, and high markers in figures showing distributions

- Low marker: 10% of schools have values of the indicator equal to or below this value
- Middle marker: 50% of schools have values of this indicator equal to or below this value, and 50% of schools have values of this indicator above this value
- High marker: 10% of schools have values of the indicator above this value

Figure 18: Distribution of primary PTRs in each district



For three of Pemba's four districts (excepting Chake Chake), almost the entire range of schools have primary PTRs above the policy target and these districts also have the largest spread of PTRs of all districts (also visible in Figure 18). The vast majority of primary schools in these districts have shortages of primary teachers, and for the 10% of schools with the greatest shortages the PTRs are above 83:1 (Micheweni), 74:1 (Wete) and 66:1 (Mkoani)—more than double the policy target PTR.

The spread of primary PTRs within districts on Unguja is narrower than on Pemba, although it is still notably wide. Most schools in all Unguja's districts (except Kaskazini A) have primary PTRs below the policy target, meaning they have spare teacher capacity. In Mjini, almost 90% of schools are below the PTR policy target, and a very high share of schools in Magharibi and Kaskazini B are also operating with more teachers than the policy norm. The 10% of schools in each district on Unguja with the lowest PTRs have a lot of surplus teacher capacity: this advantaged group of schools have primary PTRs below 5:1 in Mjini and Magharibi (the district with by far the largest number of schools), and below 15:1 in the remaining four Unguja districts.

The distribution of primary teacher capacity across Zanzibar can be visualised in Figure 10 in Annex H. On this map, schools that offer primary are marked with larger dots as the PTR increases. Pemba is littered with large dots because of its acute primary teacher capacity shortage, and, while there are some large dots on Unguja, these are much less common due to the surpluses of primary teachers in many schools. Annex H also contains Figure 6, which displays the share of schools offering primary in each district that meet, exceed, or fall below the policy target PTR of 31:1.

School size as a factor in primary teacher deployment

What are some of the reasons for the unequal distribution of primary teachers within districts once enrolment is accounted for? School size appears to be one factor. In all districts except Wete, the deployment of teachers favours schools with smaller primary enrolments. This means that schools

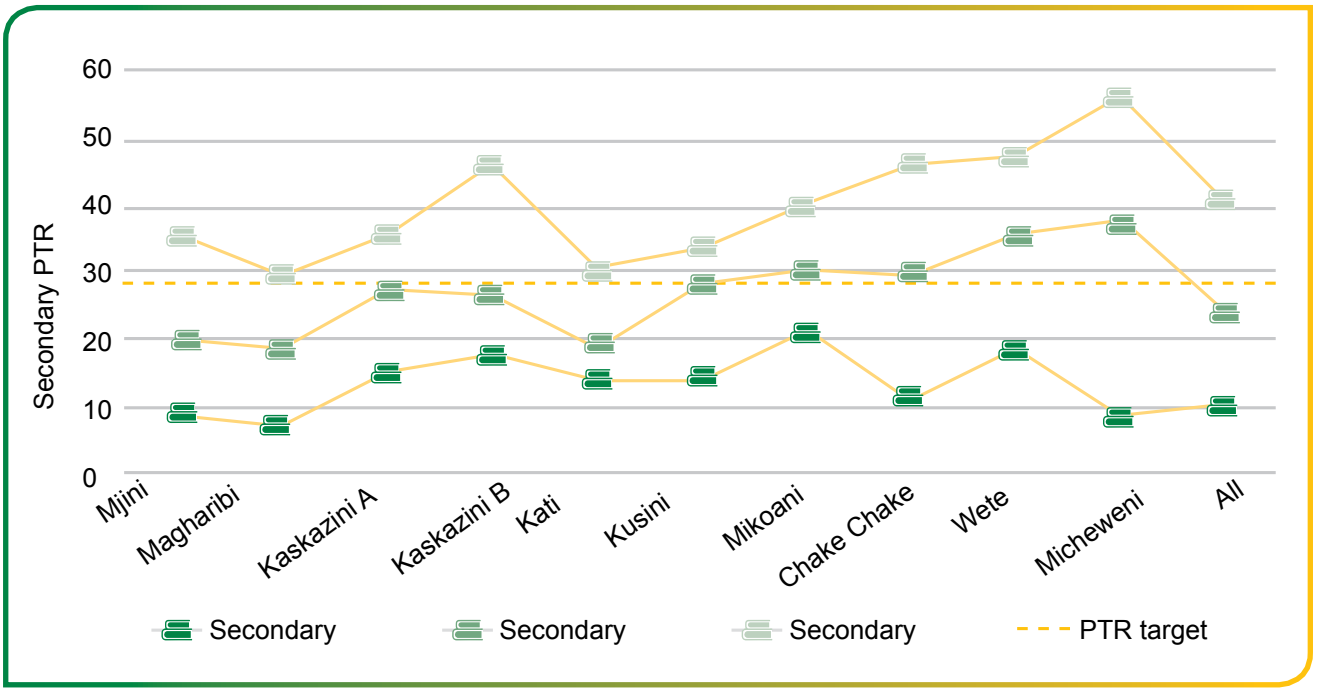
with fewer pupils tend to have lower primary PTRs than larger schools or, put another way, smaller schools typically have greater spare teacher capacity within each district than larger schools. This effect can be seen in Figure 7 in Annex H, where (except for Wete) the primary PTR for each district is higher than the average of primary PTRs for schools in each district. This is consistent with teacher deployment in favour of smaller schools, driven by the need for a minimum of one teacher per grade, in the absence of double-shifting or multi-grade teaching. The correlation coefficient between primary enrolment per school and primary PTRs is 0.61, indicating a fairly strong positive relationship.

Distribution of secondary teachers within districts

Secondary teachers are not distributed equally across schools based on enrolment in any district, meaning there is a range of secondary PTRs across schools in each district (see Figure 19). The spread of secondary PTRs is greatest in Micheweni, Chake Chake, Wete, and Kaskazini B. Considerably more than half of schools offering secondary in Micheweni and Wete have PTRs greater than policy targets, and the 10% of schools with the greatest teacher capacity shortages in Micheweni have PTRs of 54:1 or above (close to double the policy target). By contrast, in Mjini, Magharibi, and Kati the vast majority of secondary schools have spare teacher capacity, i.e. more teachers for every pupil than the policy target. Kaskazini B has an unusually large spread of PTRs in the top half of its distribution of schools, which means that a group of schools in this district have PTRs that are much higher than the policy target (10% have PTRs of 45:1 or higher). Figure 11 in Annex H shows schools offering secondary using dots that are scaled according to the size of the PTR. Annex H also contains Figure 8 displaying the share of schools offering secondary in each district that meet, exceed, or fall below the policy target PTR of 28:1.

Unlike for primary teachers, inequality in the deployment of secondary teachers does not seem to be related to school size. School size is only weakly positively correlated to secondary PTRs.

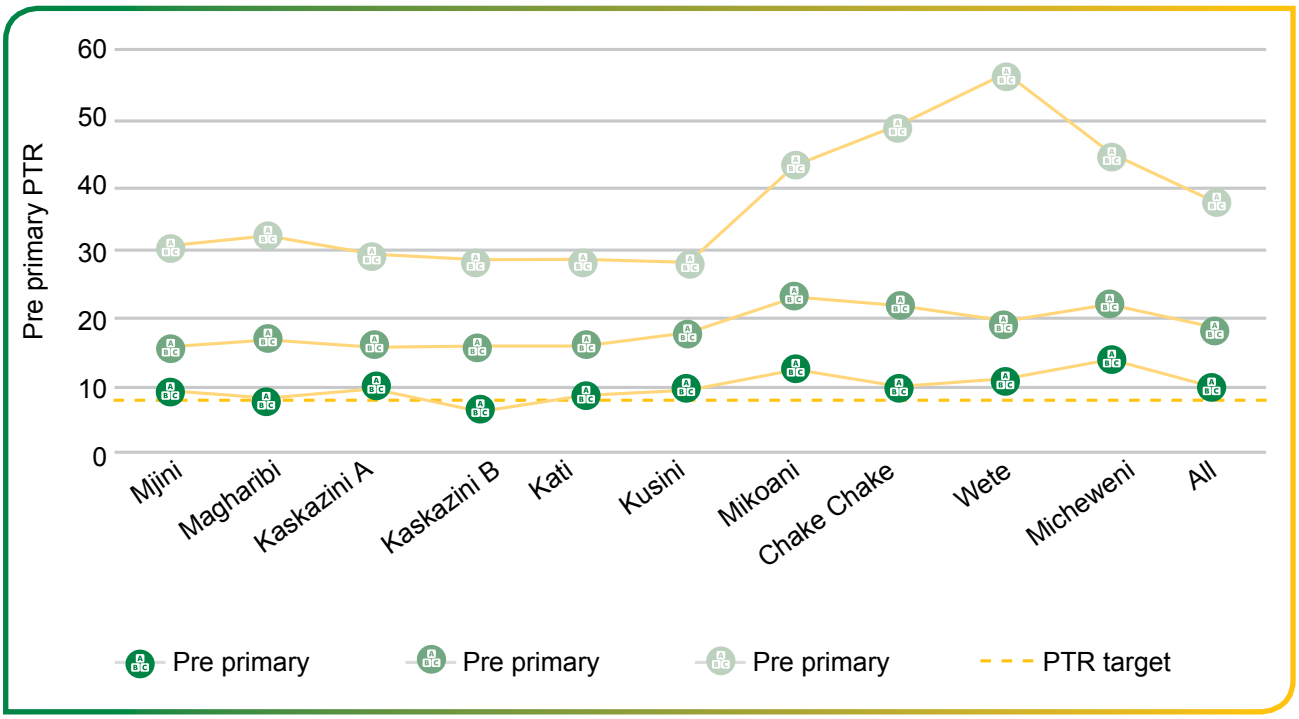
Figure 19: Distribution of secondary PTRs in each district



Distribution of pre-primary teachers within districts

There is a strikingly similar distribution of pre-primary PTRs within Unguja's districts (see Figure 20). The 10% of schools with the greatest pre-primary teacher shortages in each district have PTRs of about 30:1 or above, while at the other extreme the 10% of schools with most favourable pre-primary PTRs in each district have seven to 10pupils for every teacher or fewer. A small minority of schools offering pre-primary on Unguja are meeting policy targets for PTRs.

Figure 20: Distribution of pre-primary PTRs in each district



About half the schools that offer pre-primary in each district in Pemba, those with the lowest PTRs, have fairly similar PTR levels and distribution to Unguja's districts. However, for the other 50% of preschools in each of Pemba's districts, the distribution of PTRs is far more spread out compared with any district on Unguja. Some 10% of preschools in each of Pemba's districts have PTRs above 40: 1, and in Micheweni the groups of schools with the greatest shortages of preschool teachers have PTRs of 54:1 or above. Figure 9 in Annex H shows schools offering pre-primary using dots that are scaled according to the size of the PTR. Annex H also contains Figure 5, which displays the share of schools offering pre-primary in each district that meet, exceed, or fall below the policy target PTR of 13:1.

Similar to the case for secondary teachers, inequalities in the deployment of pre-primary teachers do not seem to be related to school size. School size is only weakly positively related to pre-primary PTRs.

Distribution of teachers within schools

Teachers employed and available for teaching

Not all teachers who are employed in schools are currently available for teaching because of medium-term or long-term leave. Reasons include maternity, sickness, and study. Fortunately, this

does not appear to be a sizeable factor in reducing teaching capacity in Zanzibar. Schools in Zanzibar have an average of 13.0 teachers, while the average number of teachers who were available for teaching during the term of the survey was 12.6 (96% of teachers). There is little variation in the rate of teachers available to teach across districts.

Teaching load

Within each school, the number of teaching hours varies between teachers. This is typically due to subject specialisation and the structure of the curriculum and syllabus. The requirement for subject specialists at secondary level, and the practice of this happening in many primary schools too, limits the flexibility of teacher deployment, and is a potential source of capacity constraint.

Measuring the variation in teaching load between teachers in every school would require collecting information on the teaching timetable of all teachers. This would be extremely time consuming and was not possible in this study. Instead, to give some insight into this constraint, the study collected data on the range of periods taught per week between two teachers with the fewest periods and two teachers with the most periods in each school. Across all schools in Zanzibar, the teachers with the fewest periods have only 69% of the periods taught by teachers with the most periods. This disparity varies from 61% in Magharibi to 84% in Micheweni. Micheweni has a comparatively efficient distribution of teaching loads among teachers in its schools, probably because it has a very high proportion of preschools, where there is no subject specialisation, and a low proportion of schools offering secondary level.

Teachers' accommodation and proximity to their school

The proximity of teachers to their schools is relevant to capacity because long travel times can increase the likelihood of teachers being late, leaving early, or being absent due to travel constraints, all of which tend to reduce their actual teaching hours.[21] While this study is not designed to measure these potential effects on capacity, it did collect some information on where teachers live and work.

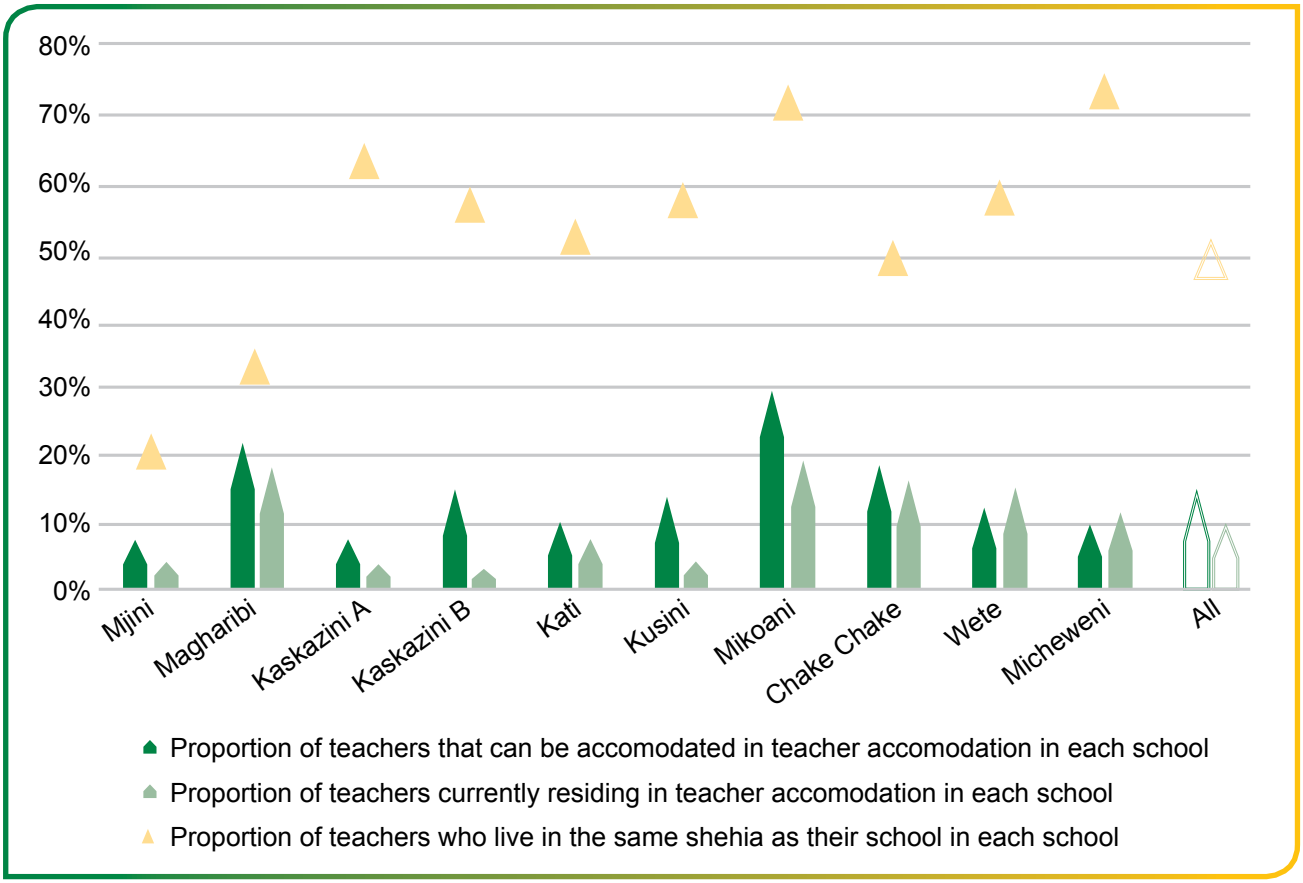
Across Zanzibar, about half of teachers in each school on average live in the same shehia as their school (Figure 21), which implies that they live reasonably close to their place of work. There is a strong urban/rural divide on this indicator such that more urbanised districts like Mjini and Magharibi have a far lower share of teachers in each school on average living and working in the same shehia.

One policy response to the constraint of a minority of teachers having long journeys to school is to accommodate teachers in houses within school premises. There is currently sufficient housing for 15% of teachers in each school on average across Zanzibar (see the middle bars in Figure 21). This varies from a high of 20%–30% teachers potentially accommodated per school in Mkoani, Chake Chake, and Magharibi to 10% or less in Mjini, Kaskazini A, Kati, and Micheweni.

Available teachers' houses are far from fully utilised, except in Wete and Micheweni, where the available stock is accommodating more teachers than it was intended for on average. The most common reasons given for the low uptake in schools where there are underutilised houses are the low quality of houses, followed by insufficient space for families and then family problems. The latter suggests that issues related to the supply of housing are not the only barriers to uptake, but that demand for housing on school premises is also an issue for some teachers.

[21] *This issue was mentioned by some head teachers during initial school visits to discuss study themes.*

Figure 21: Teachers' accommodation and proximity to their school



4.4 Conclusion

The main concluding points that can be draw from the analysis of school capacity in this chapter are set out below.

4.4.1 Accessibility of schools

- Travel time from home to school does not appear to be a widespread barrier to access, but journey times to school are long for some pupils, and qualitative findings from this study suggest that this barrier has not been completely eliminated.
- There are about double the number of schools offering primary level as secondary level, which reflects the high rates of dropout in the secondary cycle. If secondary enrolment and completion were to become universal, then accessibility would likely be a constraint.

4.4.2 Teacher availability

- Zanzibar employs a sufficient number of teachers to meet policy targets, but there is some misalignment between the profile of teachers (the level they teach, their training and qualifications) required in each school and the teachers available.
- There is an overall shortage of pre-primary teachers and none of the districts meet pre-primary PTR targets. Compared with Unguja, districts in Pemba have relatively high pre-primary PTRs, and PTRs are more spread out among their schools. Only a minority of pre-primary schools (less than 20%) have spare teacher capacity, while the majority are operating with teacher shortages.

- Primary teachers are available in almost sufficient numbers to cater for current enrolment, but the distribution across schools is very unequal. A majority of primary schools (close to 60%) have spare teacher capacity, but most of these are located on Unguja. There is an acute shortage of primary teachers in Pemba, and a surplus in all districts on Unguja except Kaskazini A. The distribution of primary teachers within each district is also very unequal, especially in Pemba, leading to extreme teacher shortages in some schools.
- A majority of secondary schools (around 55%) have spare teacher capacity, but this is concentrated in Unguja's districts, which all have secondary PTRs below the policy target. Pemba's secondary PTRs are all above, but fairly close to, policy targets. Within each district there are schools with spare capacity (especially in Mjini, Magharibi, and Kati) and schools without enough teachers (especially in Micheweni and Wete).
- There are greater teacher capacity shortages in the public system than in the non-public parts, but the patterns of inequality in public teacher distribution across districts are broadly similar to those in system overall. Public teachers are skewed toward Unguja's districts relative to enrolment, particularly at primary level but also at secondary level.
- Considering public schools only, there are shortages of primary and secondary teachers in all Pemba's districts, but public teacher shortages at primary level are now found on Unguja in Magharibi as well as Kaskazini A, and at secondary level in Kusini.
- Teacher subject specialisation at secondary level, and in many primary schools in practice, makes teachers less flexible and teacher deployment less efficient. There is demand from schools for additional science and maths teachers in particular, which have largely not been met.
- A sizeable minority of teachers (about 20%) are neither trained (professional education qualification) nor qualified (bachelor's degree), which is an important teacher capacity gap.
- Public teachers are better trained and qualified on average than teachers working in community schools, while they have similar profiles to private school teachers. There is still a sizeable public teacher capacity gap linked to the absence of either professional training or a bachelor's degree for more than 10% of public teachers.

School capacity – infrastructure availability

5

This chapter assesses the physical capacity constraints to absorbing additional children by considering the volume, repair status, and utilisation of key school infrastructure. The main school infrastructure captured in this study are classrooms, toilets, and water for washing hands and drinking.

Box 3: Key findings on school capacity—infrastructure availability

- The current schooling system does not have significant infrastructure capacity to absorb additional children. This is due to a lack of available school infrastructure, as well as to inequality in its distribution across schools.
- Shortage of classrooms is the most serious resource capacity constraint in the schooling system. A small minority of schools have no classrooms at all, and almost all districts have schools that teach at least some classes outside.
- The overall shortage of classrooms is made worse by the unequal distribution across schools, leading to spare capacity in some locations and extreme overcrowding of classrooms in other locations.
- A large minority of schools in all districts (40% overall) have at least some classrooms that are not being used but could be.
- Classroom shortages are much more extreme on Pemba than on Unguja, and the spread of PCRRs within each district on Pemba is very large too.
- Public schools have far greater classroom capacity shortages than non-public schools, which typically have a surplus of classrooms.
- Public classrooms are in short supply on Pemba, but Magharibi has the greatest public classroom constraints and Mjini also faces extreme shortages of public classrooms. Magharibi and Mjini both have a dominant non-public school sector with surplus classroom capacity.
- Average class sizes at primary and secondary level are close to policy targets overall, but inequality in teacher and classroom availability between and within districts means that class sizes vary greatly too.
- Compounding classroom shortages is the huge need for major repairs to classrooms and toilets, as well as the provision of water for drinking in schools that currently lack this basic need.

Continued

Continued

- Across Zanzibar, communities are helping to solve school infrastructure constraints. Mkoani, Chake Chake, and Wete have high needs coupled with a high proportion of schools with incomplete community-led infrastructure.
- Under a scenario of universal basic education enrolment and completion, pressure for additional school places would be concentrated in Micheweni and Kaskazini B. Micheweni is the district that emerges from this analysis as systematically having the most capacity constraints of all districts, at all levels.
- Achieving universal ordinary secondary enrolment and completion would require current enrolment to expand by about 30%. Although there is some spare capacity in the secondary schooling system currently, it is nowhere near sufficient to deal with this scale of increase.

5.1 School capacity: infrastructure availability

This section first aims to address the question of whether there is an adequate **volume of school infrastructure** to cater for pupils currently enrolled in pre-primary, primary, and ordinary secondary and also for the eligible population of 4–15 year old children. It further looks at how the availability of infrastructure varies across districts to try to understand whether some districts are oversupplied or undersupplied relative to their current enrolment and eligible population.

School infrastructure requires regular maintenance to provide a safe environment for learning. Indeed, some school buildings may fall into such disrepair that they need to be replaced. As well as assessing the volume of infrastructure, this section also presents findings on the **condition (or 'quality') of the current infrastructure** since it may be prudent to prioritise repairs over new building works to protect existing capacity. It is important to highlight that the enumerators who collected the data for this study are not engineers and did not apply building standards criteria in assessing infrastructure. The enumerators rather confirmed the information given by head teachers on infrastructure that needed major repairs by applying common sense guidelines discussed in the survey training.

The extent to which having adequate school infrastructure enables pupils to be taught in small enough class sizes to foster learning does not just depend on the volume or quality of infrastructure but also depends on **how well it is utilised**. This is covered in a final subsection below. Education managers at different levels of the system take decisions about where to locate new public works (or rehabilitation) and how aligned this is to need. At school level, head teachers take decisions about assigning classrooms and allocating teachers, which together can have a marked effect on class sizes. The decision to operate a double shift, typically using some or all classrooms twice, enables more pupils to be enrolled for a given class size, and can be considered to maximise utilisation of the physical infrastructure, although there are downsides to this practice too. Double-shifting of classrooms is used in some schools in Zanzibar, typically using different sets of teachers, but there are situations where teachers also double-shift (the qualitative research for this study found cases of this happening).

5.1.1 Simple measures of infrastructure capacity (volume)

Types of classrooms

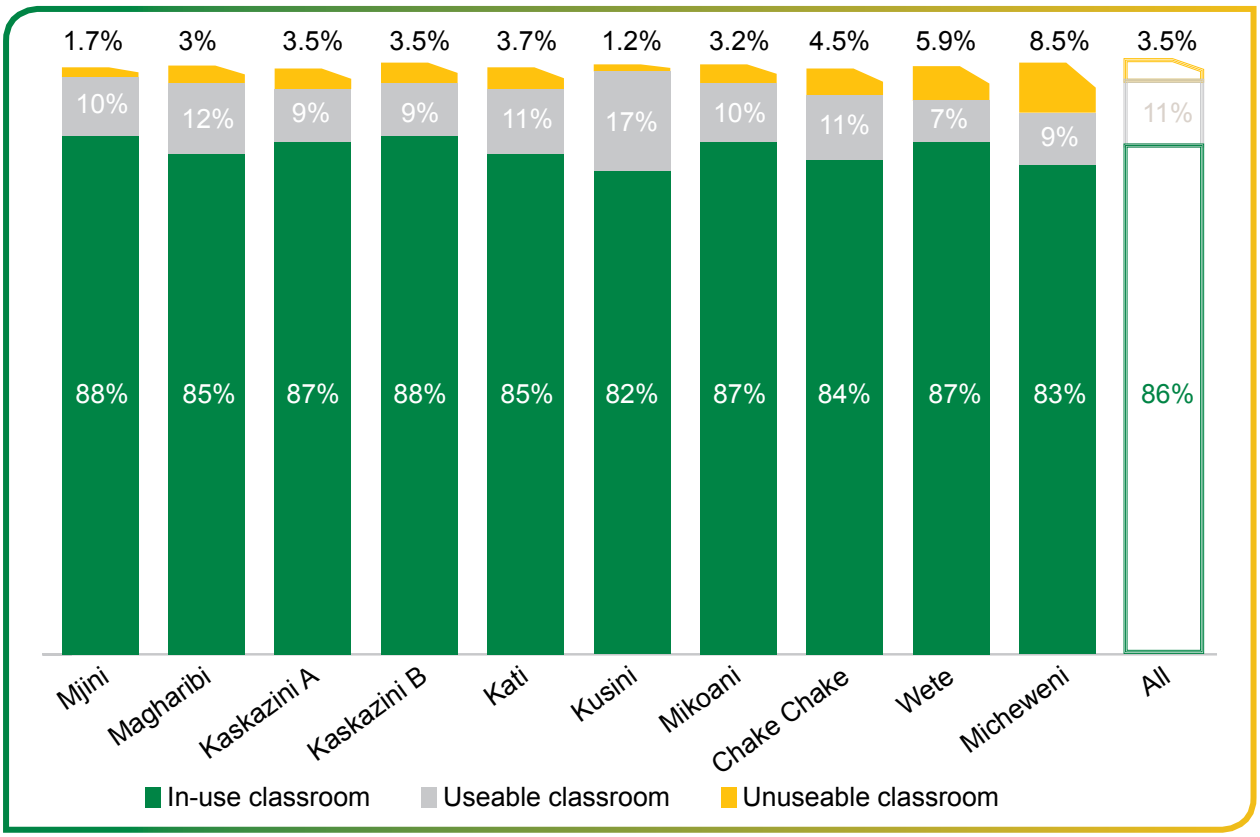
This study classifies classrooms into three different types to shed light on different aspects of physical capacity:

- **In-use** classrooms: those being used for teaching currently;
- **Useable classrooms:** those that are not currently being used for teaching but **could be** used; and
- **Unusable classrooms:** those that are not currently being used for teaching and **could not be** used (for any reason including extreme disrepair[22]).

Combining in-use classrooms with useable classrooms gives **available classrooms,** as these are the classrooms that could be available to be used for teaching in each school. The survey did not directly collect information on reasons why some of these classrooms are not being used, but there were cases where teacher shortages resulted in classes being combined rather than being taught in separate classrooms and also situations where schools had built additional classrooms in anticipation of government approval for additional grades being added.

Figure 22 shows the distribution within each district of the three types of classroom. There is not much variation in the share of in-use classrooms across districts: all are close to the average for Zanzibar overall of 86%. The share of useable classrooms is particularly high in Kusini at 17%, while the share of unusable classrooms is noticeably high in Micheweni at 9%. More discussion on how this relates to spare capacity follows in the utilisation subsection below.

Figure 22: Distribution within each district of classrooms by type (%)

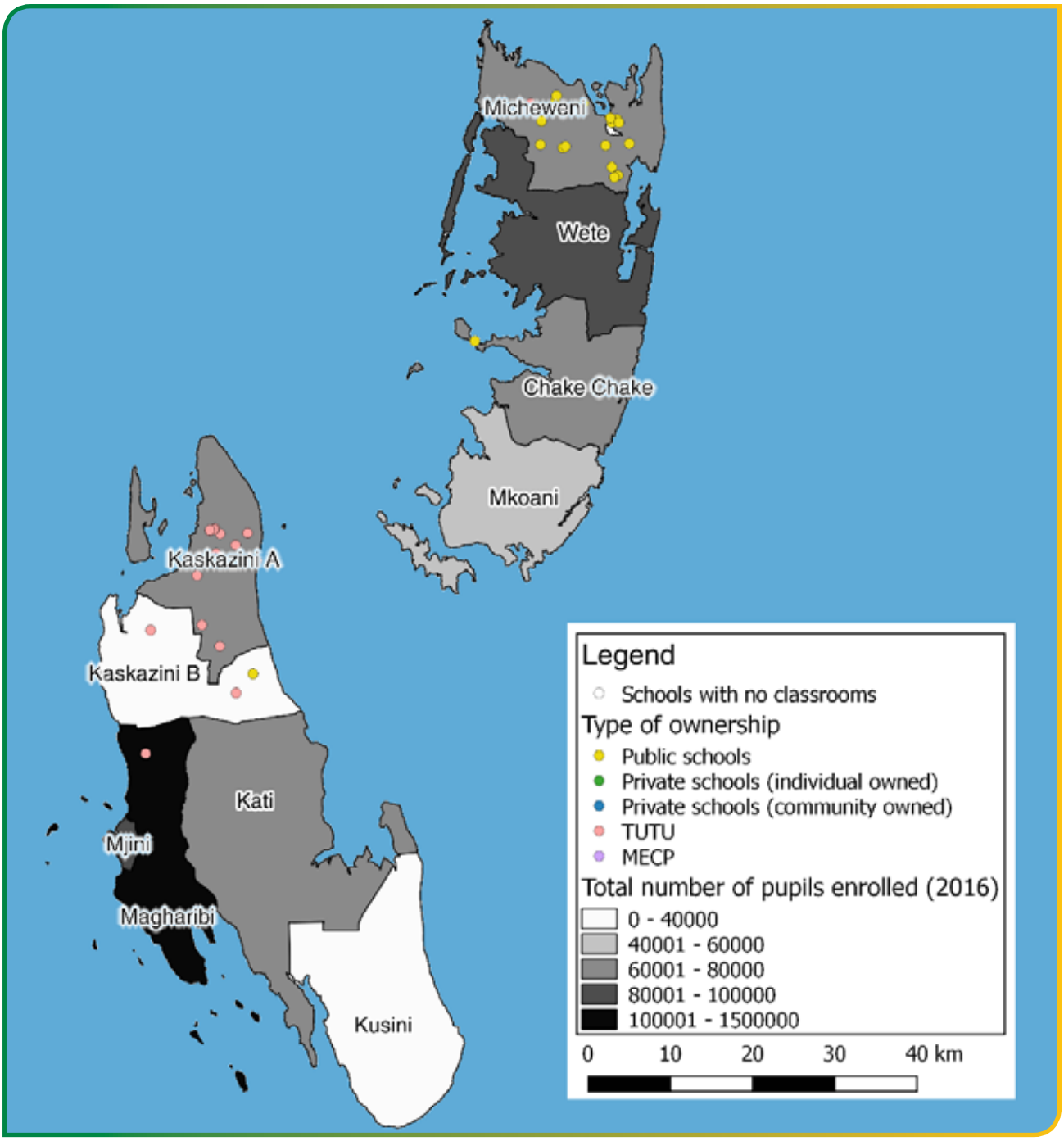


[22] *The head teacher identified the number of unusable classrooms. In principle there could be other reasons, apart from extreme disrepair, that a classroom cannot be used, such as bureaucratic rules or its location. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that most unusable classrooms are in need of major repairs.*

Schools without any classrooms and those that teach classes outside

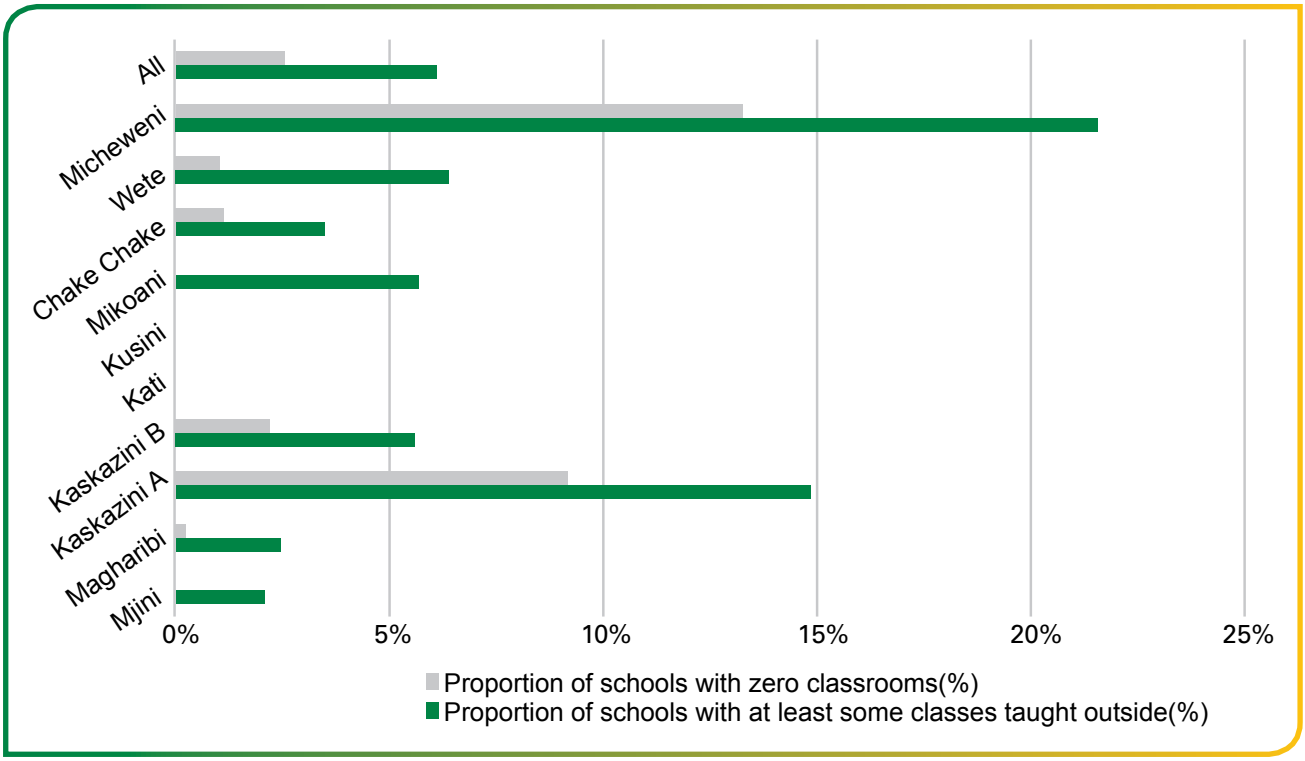
About 3% of schools across Zanzibar lack any classrooms, and these are almost all in two districts – Micheweni and Kaskazini A (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Location of schools with no classrooms



In Micheweni and Kaskazini A, the most northerly districts on each island, 13% and 9% of schools respectively lack a single classroom of any type (see Figure 24). This extreme situation is much less prevalent in the other districts. Kaskazini B has the next highest rate of schools without classrooms at 2%. All the schools that lack this basic physical capacity are preschools, and almost half of them are TUTU centres.

Figure 24: Proportion of schools without classrooms by district (%)



In almost all the schools with no classrooms, teaching takes place outside (in a few cases, schools 'borrow' an inside space).However,this practice is by no means confined to schools that lack any classrooms. Figure 24 shows that teaching takes place outside in some schools in all districts, except Kusini and Kati, presumably due to classroom shortages. Micheweni and Kaskazini A top the districts in terms of the share of schools that have to resort to teaching (at least some) classes outside at 21% and 15% respectively.

Available classrooms (in use plus useable)

There is an overall shortage of available classrooms in Zanzibar. For each available classroom, there are currently 49 pupils enrolled (see Figure 25), more than the **policy targets for class sizes of 45:1 for primary and ordinary secondary and 25:1 for pre-primary**. From an aggregate perspective there is no spare classroom capacity but this situation varies between districts, with some having extreme shortages while others are far closer to policy targets for class sizes.

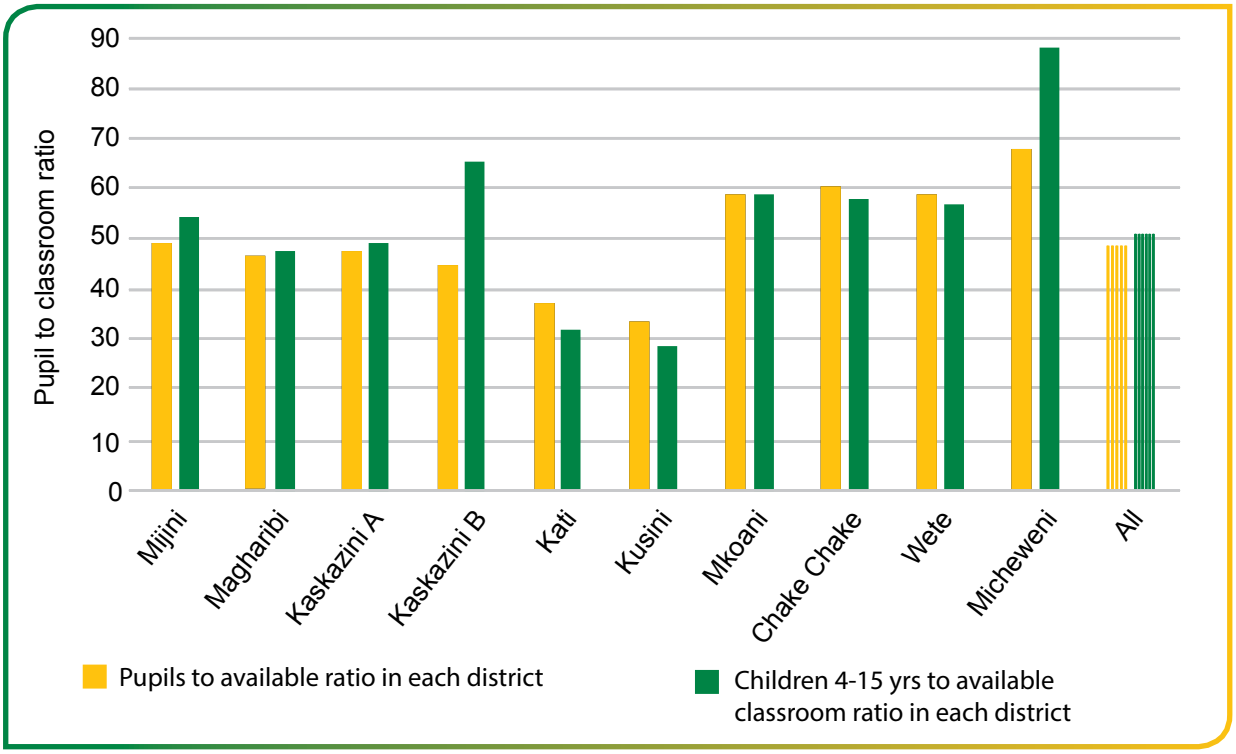
Classroom shortages are much more extreme on Pemba than Unguja (again see Figure 25). On Pemba, district PCRRs range from 58 to 68 pupils per classroom, while Mjini has Unguja's highest PCRR at 48:1. These ratios simply compare the number of pupils enrolled with the number of available classrooms in each district. Double-shifting takes place in about 14% of schools in Zanzibar (26% in public schools) and this helps to alleviate classroom shortages, as will be seen in the section on utilisation below.

Micheweni, along with Kaskazini B, has by far the largest difference between the estimated size of the eligible population (4–15 year olds) and those currently enrolled (Figure 25).[23] Some 30%

[23] *This does not necessarily mean that OOSC rates are highest in these districts, because enrolled children include those of any age that are in pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools, i.e. it includes repeaters and over- and under-age children.*

(Micheweni) and 45% (Kaskazini B) more children would need school places if enrolment was universal. Micheweni in particular does not have the physical capacity to deal with this scale of increase. Without further building works, PCRRs (ignoring any double-shifting) in Micheweni would rise to 88:1, while Kaskazini B would have a ratio of 65:1. The other Pemba districts, and now Mjini, would have 50 and 60 pupils per classroom after accommodating all school-age children. By contrast, Kusini and Kati are relatively well endowed with classrooms in relation to both current enrolment and potential enrolment, having far fewer than 40 pupils for every classroom.

Figure 25: Available classrooms to cater for current enrolment and for the school-age population per district



Available public classrooms

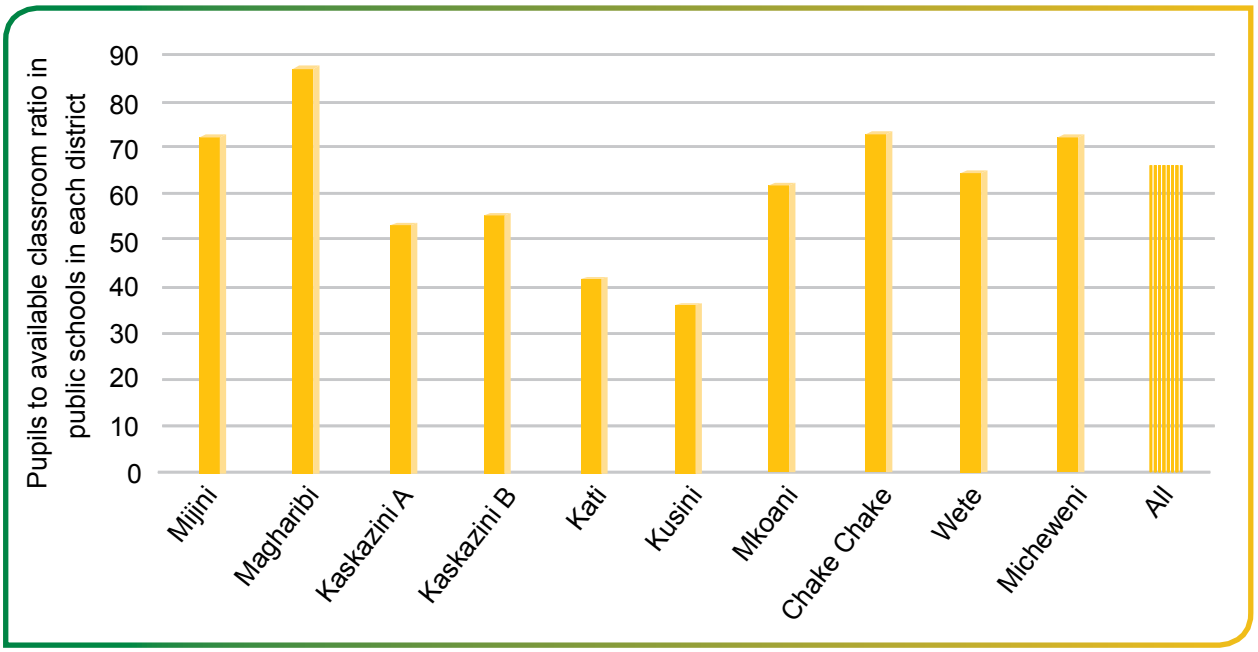
Classroom shortages are much more acute in public schools than in the non-public sector. There are 66 pupils for every available classroom in public schools (see Figure 26 below), compared to 49 pupils per classroom when all types of schools are included (see Figure 25 above).

There is also a strikingly different pattern of public classroom shortages across districts to that found when all types of schools are included (compare Figure 25 and Figure 26). While Pemba's districts still have extreme public classroom shortages, the district facing the greatest constraint is Magharibi, which has close to 90 pupils for each public classroom. Mjini also has a serious dearth of public school infrastructure and shares the same high pupil-to-public classroom ratio (73:1) with Chake Chake and Micheweni. Only Kati and Kusini seem relatively well supplied with public classrooms.

It is worth noting that the public to non-public balance of schools is very different in Magharibi and Mjini compared to Pemba's districts, which is relevant because considerable surplus classroom capacity lies in the non-public part of the sector. Magharibi and Mjini have extreme public classroom shortages, but a large non-public sector with surplus capacity (77% and 70% of schools in

Magharibi and Mjini respectively are non-public). By contrast, among Pemba's districts the share of non-public schools ranges from 19% to 40%, so there is less scope for potential partnerships with the non-public sector in providing additional school places.

Figure 26: Available public classrooms to cater for current enrolment per district

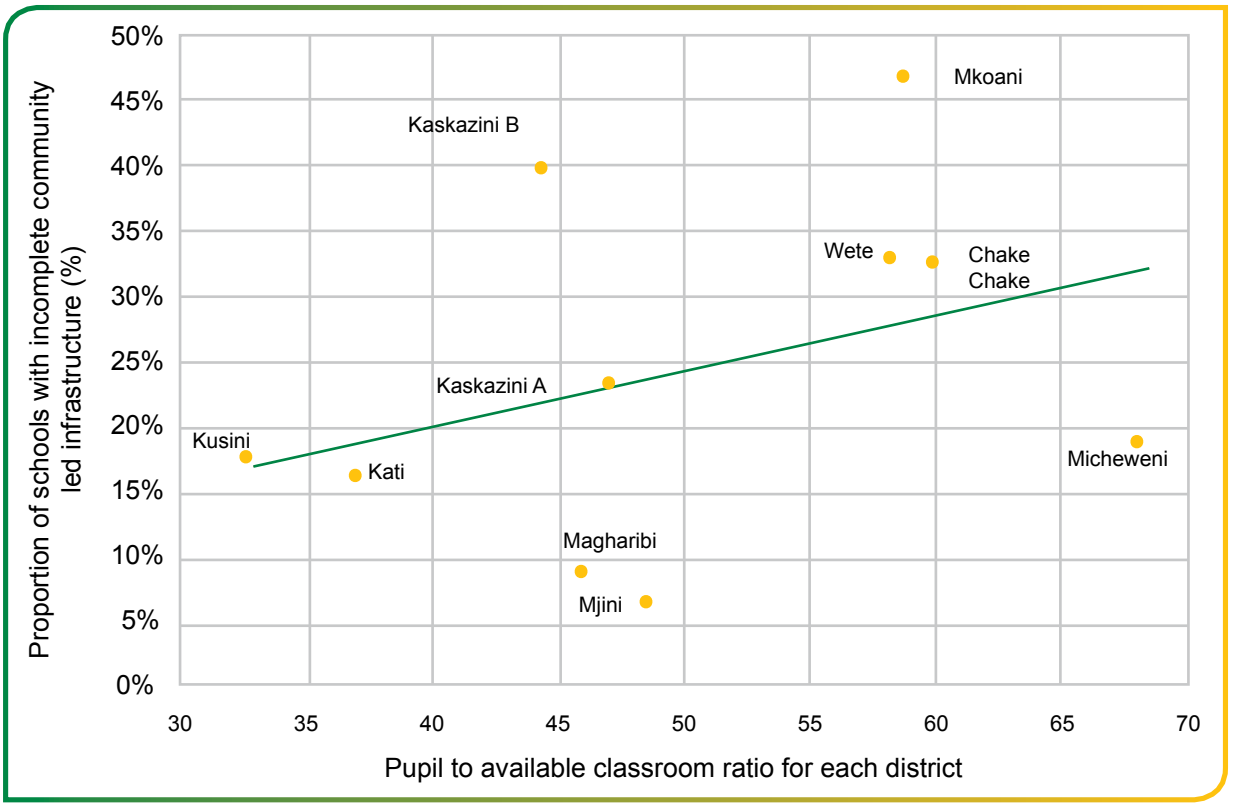


Incomplete community-led infrastructure

Across Zanzibar, communities are helping to solve school infrastructure constraints by partially constructing classrooms, toilets, and other infrastructure, with the expectation that the government will then step in and finish construction. Some 21% of schools across Zanzibar have incomplete community construction projects, and a clear majority of these – around 80% – include classrooms. The share of schools with incomplete projects varies widely by district, from 6% in Mjini to 47% in Mkoani. This variation can be seen in Figure 12 in Annex I, which shows the location of schools with incomplete projects. Figure 27 compares the need for classrooms, proxied by the pupil-to-available-classroom ratio in each district, with the share of schools that have incomplete community projects. Mkoani, Chake Chake, and Wete stand out as having comparatively high needs coupled with a high proportion of schools with incomplete community infrastructure. Kaskazini B has a similarly high prevalence of incomplete community projects across its schools. Keeping in mind that this district would need a lot of additional classroom capacity to cope with enrolling its eligible population (as Figure 25 showed), this may be a sensible priority for public investment.

On average, schools with a community-led project have about 2.5 classrooms incomplete, and this is similar across districts. It is unclear whether incomplete community-built classrooms are currently in use, useable, or unusable, and so it is not possible to gauge how much additional classroom capacity would be created if the community projects were completed. Nonetheless, even if an incomplete classroom is in use, it is reasonable to assume that, by completing it, the quality of the learning environment would be improved. Overall, community-led incomplete classrooms account for 7% of all classrooms (available and unusable), and this varies widely by district, from 1% in Mjini to 23% in Mkoani.

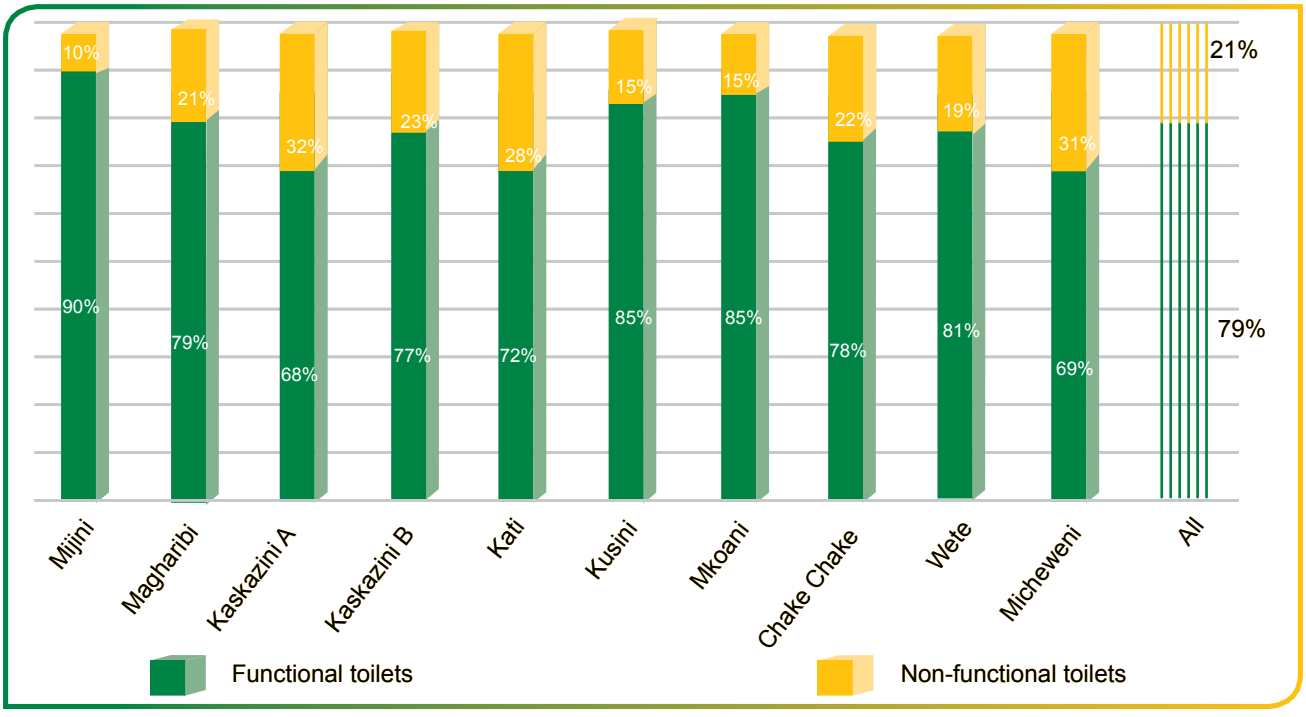
Figure 27: Classroom availability and incomplete community-led infrastructure projects



Types of toilets

This study divides school toilets into two types: functional (those that were useable on the day of the survey) and non-functional. Across Zanzibar, just over 20% of toilets are non-functional (Figure 28). For Kaskazini A and Micheweni, the share of non-functional toilets is even higher at more than 30%. Mjini is in the most favourable situation, with only 10% of its school toilets non-functional.

Figure 28: Distribution within each district of toilets by type (%)



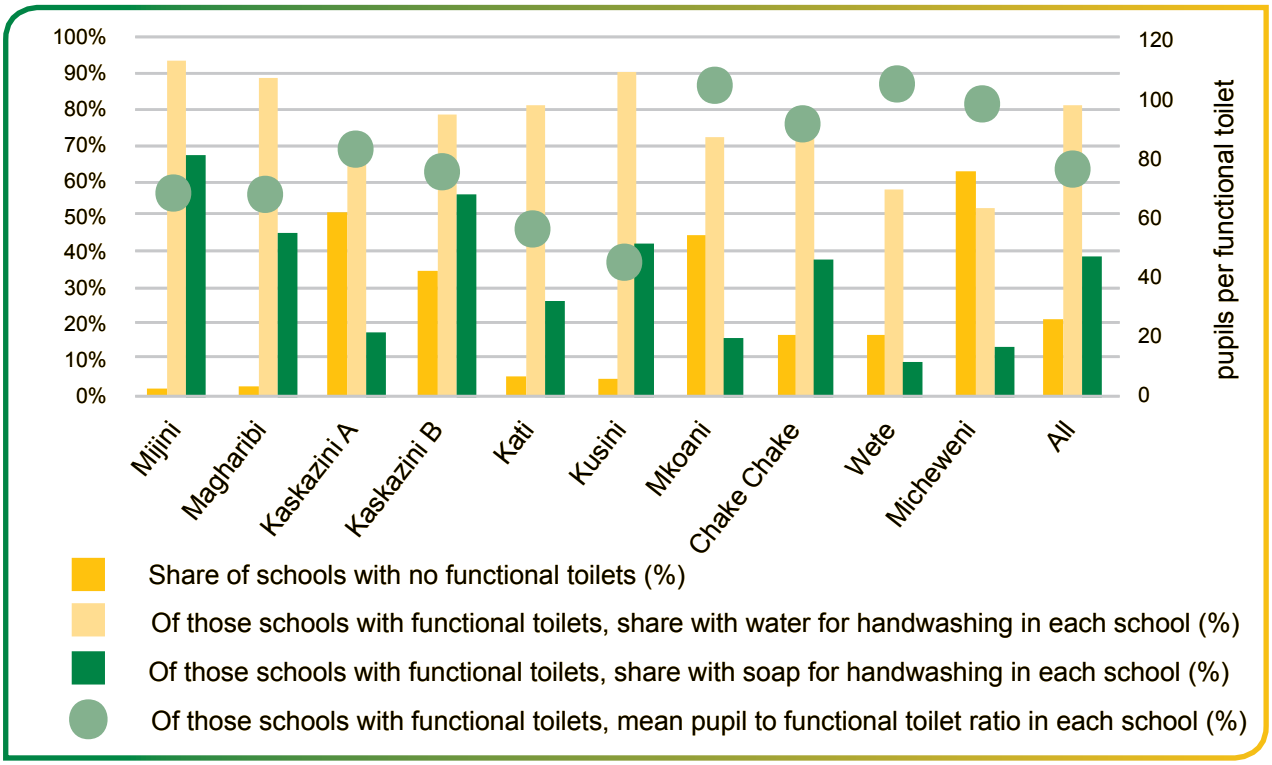
Available functional toilets

There is a serious shortage of toilets in schools in Zanzibar, particularly in pre-primary schools. More than 20% of schools do not have a single functional toilet, raising concerns about unhygienic sanitation practices and potential negative effects on pupils' health. All the schools which lack **any** functional toilets are preschools, and more than half of these are TUTU centres or MECP-led preschools. Four districts (Kaskazini A, Kaskazini B, Mkoani, and Micheweni) stand out as having particularly high proportions of schools without functional toilets (Annex I, Figure 13).

In schools that have functional toilets, they are typically in very short supply. Across Zanzibar there are 76 pupils for each toilet, and the shortage is worst in Pemba where the pupil-to-functional toilet ratio is above 90:1 for schools in each district (see Figure 29). Kusini is the district with the most favourable sanitation situation at 45 pupils for each functional toilet.

The presence of water and soap for handwashing is an essential complement to toilet infrastructure to enable hygienic sanitation practices (UNICEF, 2016b). Figure 29 shows that those better-off districts that have the lowest shares of schools without functional toilets –Mjini, Magharibi, Kati, and Kusini –also have the highest share of water for handwashing where toilets are available. Again, Micheweni is an extreme case with 62% of schools with no functional toilets and only 52% of those schools with toilets having handwashing facilities. The presence of soap in schools with functional toilets is far from universal: only 38% of schools with toilets provide soap, and this varies from 68% in Mjini to 9% in Wete.

Figure 29: Availability of toilets, and water and soap for handwashing, by district



The presence of a source of drinking water in a school is an essential requirement for a safe and healthy school environment, but shortages exist in some districts. Across Zanzibar, 11% of schools have no source of drinking water. Drinking water is only universally available in schools in Mjini, while coverage is between 91% and 96% in the remaining districts, with the exception of Kaskazini A (77%), Wete (80%), and Micheweni (82%). The location of schools without a source of drinking water is shown in Annex I, Figure 14. Some 70% of schools without drinking water are stand-alone

preschools, while 30% are schools which include either a primary level or a secondary level or both (sometimes with a preschool level too).

5.1.2 Repair status of infrastructure (quality)

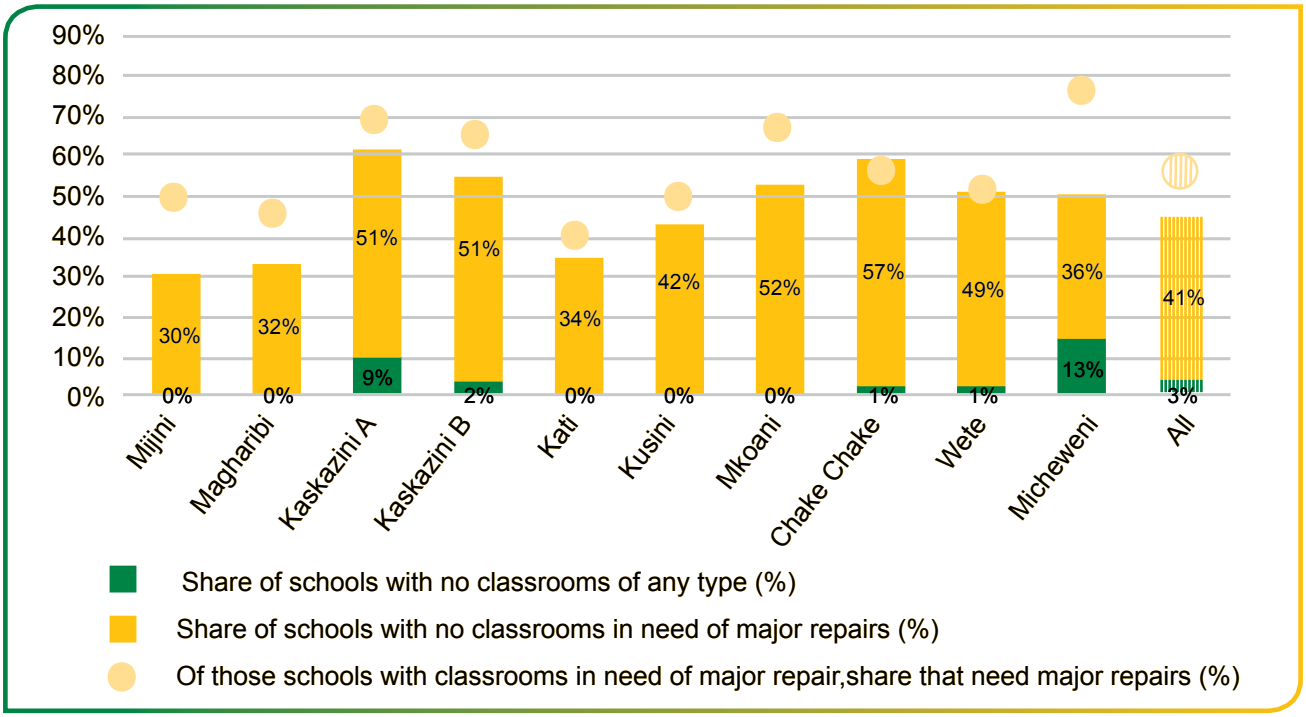
As well as having a sufficient quantity of classrooms to deliver education at appropriate class sizes, it is important to consider the physical state of the existing stock of classrooms. Overall, more than 40% of schools have classrooms in need of major repair (be they in use, useable, or unusable), on top of the 3% of schools that have no classrooms of any type.

All districts have a sizeable share of schools that have at least some classrooms in need of major repair (see Figure 30). Kaskazini A and B and the Pemba districts all have relatively high shares of schools with either classrooms in need of major repair or with no classrooms – between 50% and 60%. The remaining four Unguja districts (Mjini, Magharibi, Kusini, and Kati) have lower but still sizeable shares of schools with classrooms in need of major repair.

For those schools with classrooms in need of major repairs, the average number of classrooms in such a poor state is 3.7. This represents almost 60% of existing classrooms in these schools on average. If unusable classrooms are in this state because they need major repair, which seems likely in most cases, repairing these would add 4% to available classrooms overall in Zanzibar but would add 9% extra capacity in Micheweni (see Figure 22[24]).

Rehabilitating existing classrooms and building classrooms where none exist is arguably a sensible priority compared with investing in new infrastructure in schools that already have some classrooms.

Figure 30: Proportion of schools with no classrooms and those in need of major repairs (%)



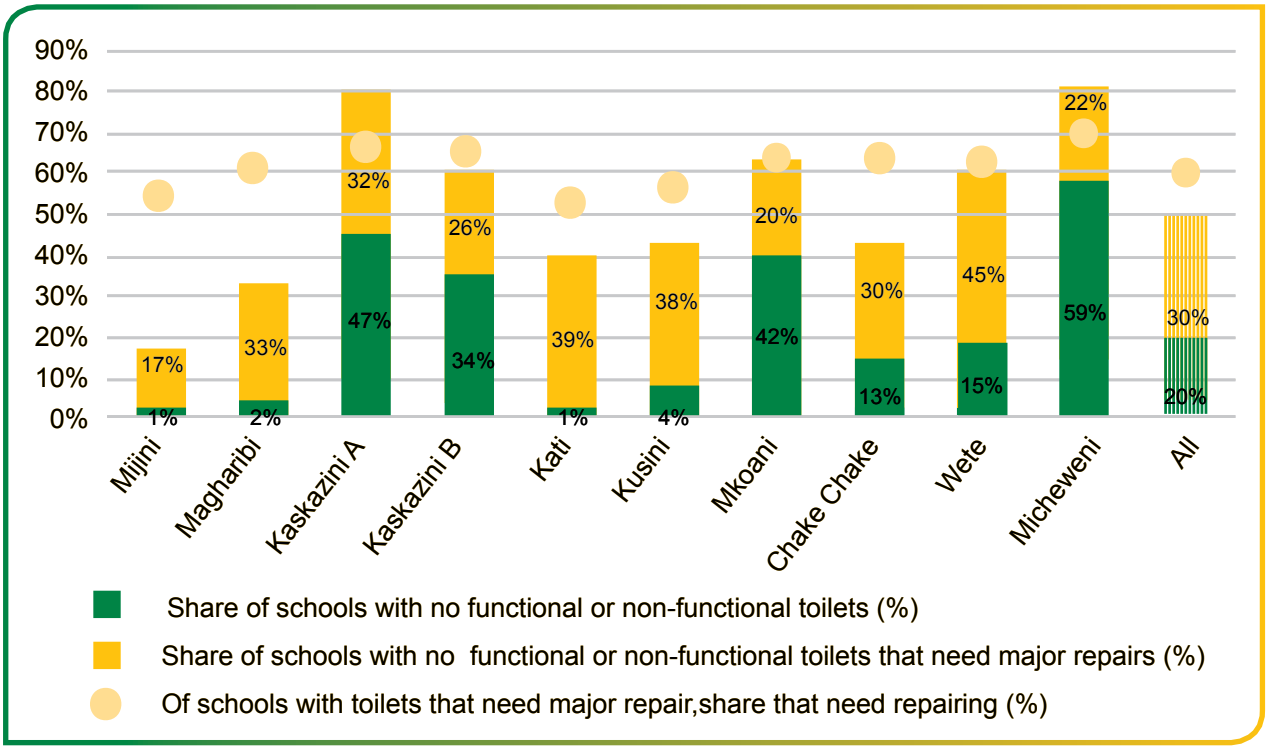
All districts, except Mjini, have a sizeable share of schools that either have no functional toilets or have toilets (functional or non-functional) in need of major repair (see Figure 31). The districts with the greatest share of schools facing these sanitation challenges are Micheweni and Kaskazini A,

[24] *Of every 100 classrooms in Zanzibar 3.5 are unusable, so repairing these would add 4% (3.5/96.5) to available capacity.*

where about 80% of schools are affected. Of the remaining districts, Mkoani, Wete and Kaskazini B also have a high share of schools (around 60%) facing the same challenges. Mjini stands out as having a far lower percentage of its schools requiring major repairs to toilets, but at 17% this still requires attention.

For those schools with toilets in need of major repairs, the average number of toilets in such a poor state is 3.8. This represents about 60% of existing toilets in these schools on average, confirming that the scale of toilet repairs needed is huge in Zanzibar.

Figure 31: Proportion of schools with zero toilets and those in need of major repairs (%)



5.1.3 Infrastructure utilisation (efficiency)

Spare classroom capacity

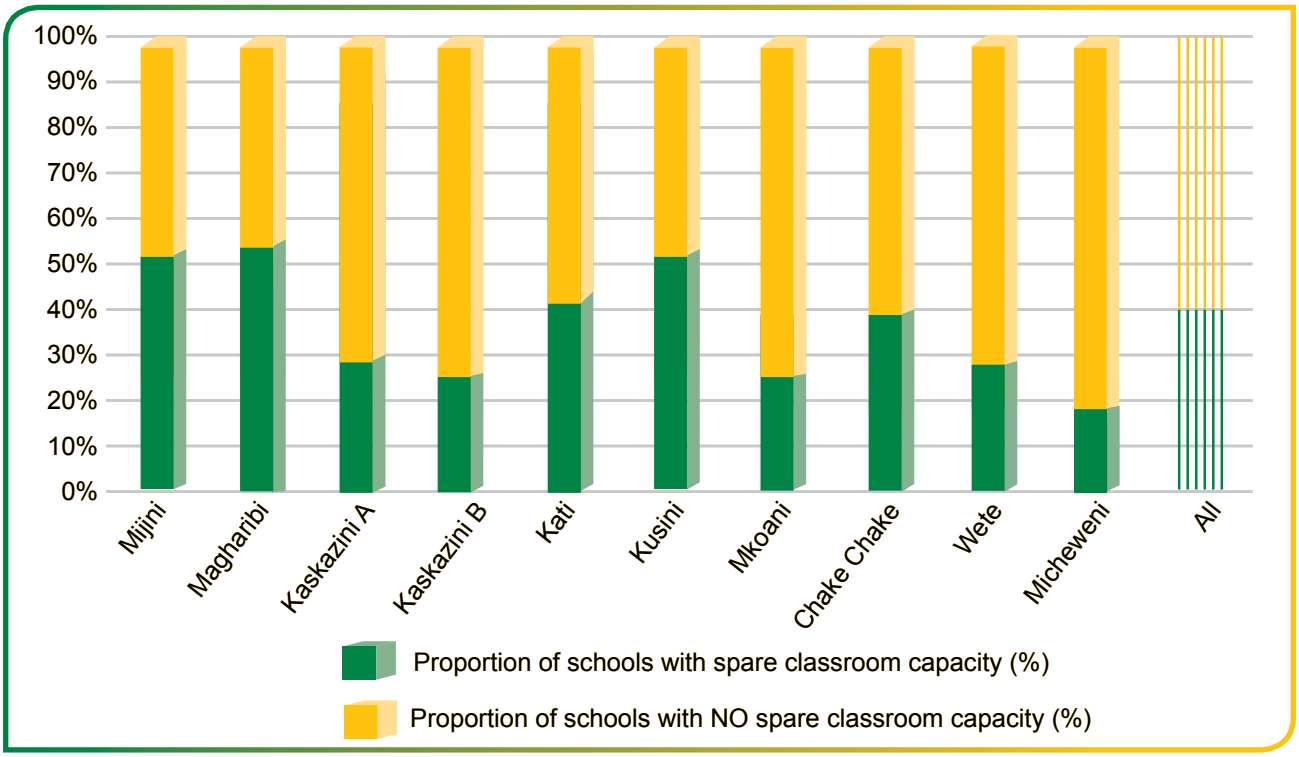
Almost all schools (97%) have classrooms available for teaching, but in these schools 11% of available classrooms are not being used on average (i.e. they fall into the usable category rather than the in-use category). This represents spare classroom capacity that could be used for a variety of purposes, including for ALCs in primary schools if complementary inputs were available (i.e. trained ALC teachers with space in their teaching timetables, instructional materials, etc.).

Spare classroom capacity is not distributed evenly across all schools, but it is relatively common. Some 40% of schools (520 schools in total) have spare classroom capacity, and in the group of schools that have spare capacity almost 30% of available classrooms are not being used on average. The share of primary schools with spare capacity is slightly higher at 45%. The scale of spare capacity varies enormously across the 520 schools from 3% to 88% of available classrooms in each school.

Schools with spare classroom capacity are found in all districts, and Figure 15 in Annex I shows the location of these schools and the scale of spare classroom capacity in each. About half of all schools have spare classroom capacity in Mjini, Magharibi, and Kusini (see Figure 32 below), and

even in Micheweni, which is the district with the lowest rate of spare capacity, close to 20% of its schools have at least one unused classroom.

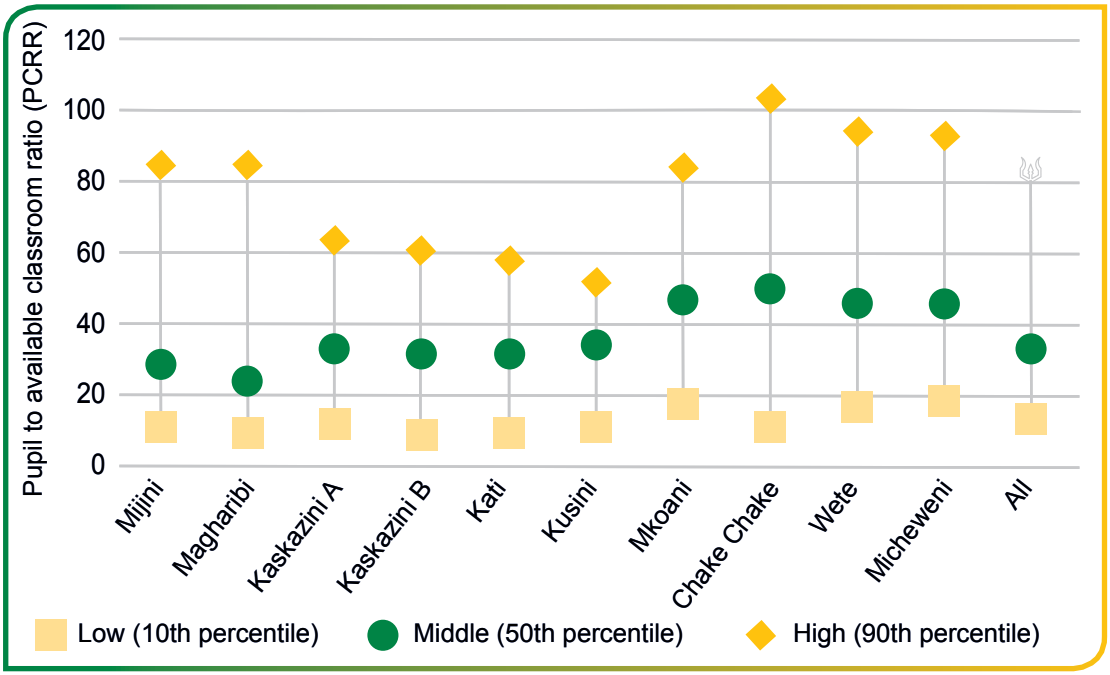
Figure 32: Distribution of schools with spare capacity by district (%)



Distribution of classrooms within districts

Classroom capacity varies across schools within districts because available classrooms are not distributed equally within districts based on enrolment in each school. In fact, there is wide variation in the ratio of pupils to available classrooms within each district, shown in Figure 33 using low, middle, and high markers to indicate the disparity in each district (see Box 2 for definitions of the markers).

Figure 33: Distribution of pupil-to-available-classroom ratios within each district



While the spread of PCRRs is wide in all districts, it is extremely wide in Mjini, Magharibi, and all Pemba's districts. In each of these six districts, the bottom 10% of schools have PCRRs of less than 20:1 (less than 10:1 in Mjini and Magharibi) while the top 10% of schools have more than 80 pupils for each available classroom (more than 103 pupils per available classroom in Micheweni).

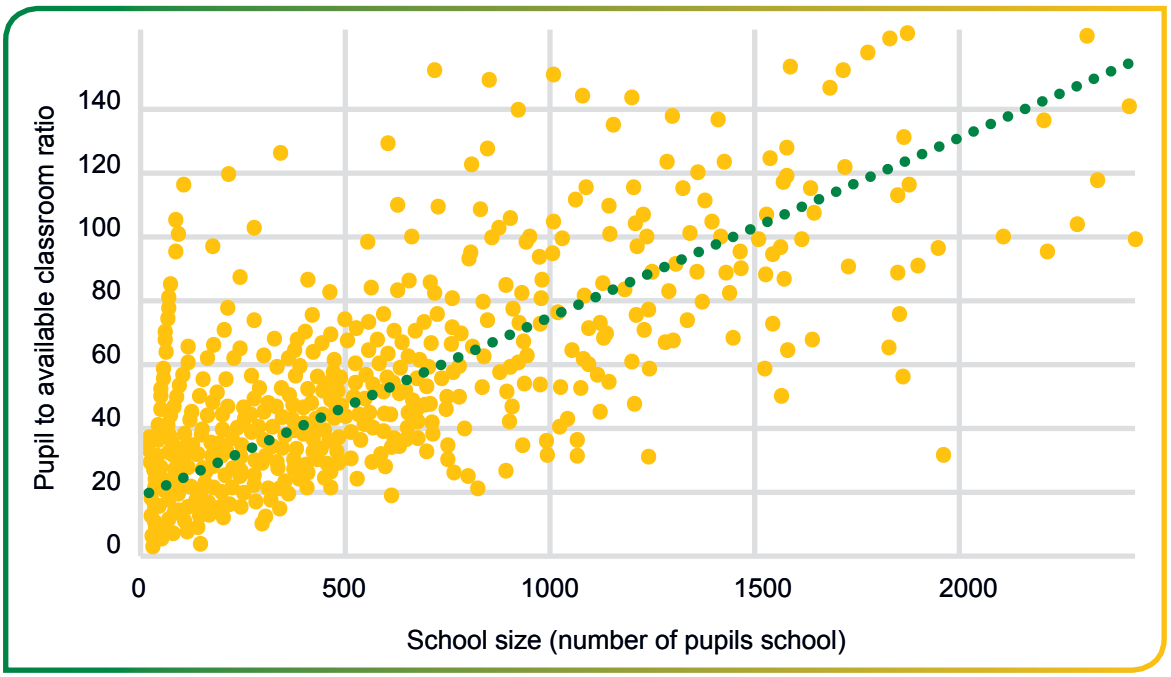
In Mjini and Magharibi, the distribution of PCRRs is very skewed: the bottom half of schools have PCRRs that are fairly low and narrowly clustered (the median is 27 in Mjini and 22 in Magharibi), while the top half of schools are very spread out such that 10% of schools have PCRRs of more than 84:1. Within these districts there are a lot of schools with spare classroom capacity, considering that **policy targets for class size are 45:1 for primary and ordinary secondary and 25:1 for pre-primary**, and a lot of schools that are operating seriously over-capacity. As discussed earlier in this chapter, public classrooms are in very short supply in Mjini and Magharibi, consistent with the picture of disparities within each district seen here. In practice, as will be seen below, double-shifting is being used to reduce the effective PCRRs for some schools in these, and other, districts.

Within each district, it is clear that a sizeable share of schools are operating under extreme classroom capacity constraints, while at the same time there are schools in the same district that have surpluses of classrooms. Annex I's Figure 16 shows the location of all schools and indicates the scale of classroom capacity constraints.

School size as a factor in classroom distribution

What are some of the factors characterising the unequal distribution of classrooms within districts in relation to enrolment? Similar to the situation with teacher deployment, school size is a relevant factor. In all districts, the allocation of classrooms favours schools with smaller enrolments. This means that schools with fewer pupils tend to have lower primary PCRRs than larger schools, or put another way larger schools are more likely to face classroom capacity constraints within each district than smaller schools. The positive relationship between school size and PCRR is summarised in Figure 34 by the upward sloping trend line. The correlation coefficient is 0.79, which denotes a strong positive relationship. (This effect can also be seen in Figure 17 in Annex I, where the PCRR for each district is higher than the average PCRRs for schools in each district.)

Figure 34: Relationship between school size and pupil-to-available-classroom ratio



Note: *The top 1% of schools in the distribution of both variations were excluded from the chart to improve clarity.*

Given that school size is positively correlated with both PTRs and PCRRs, both physical and human capacity constraints are typically concentrated in larger schools, while spare capacity is more likely to be found in smaller schools.

At least to some extent, this unequal distribution of resources in relation to school size is structural. Small schools, unless there is multi-grade teaching or double-shifting (more on this below), need a minimum number of classrooms and teachers equal to the number of grades offered. Unlike teachers, classrooms cannot be moved to schools with greater need, and this constraint suggests that absorbing additional children is likely to be more possible in typically smaller schools. It is worth highlighting that children who are currently OOS may not live close to the schools with spare capacity. Inequality in resource distribution may thus always persist to some extent, unless the way teaching and learning is organised is altered in smaller schools.

Distribution of classrooms within schools

Double-shifting

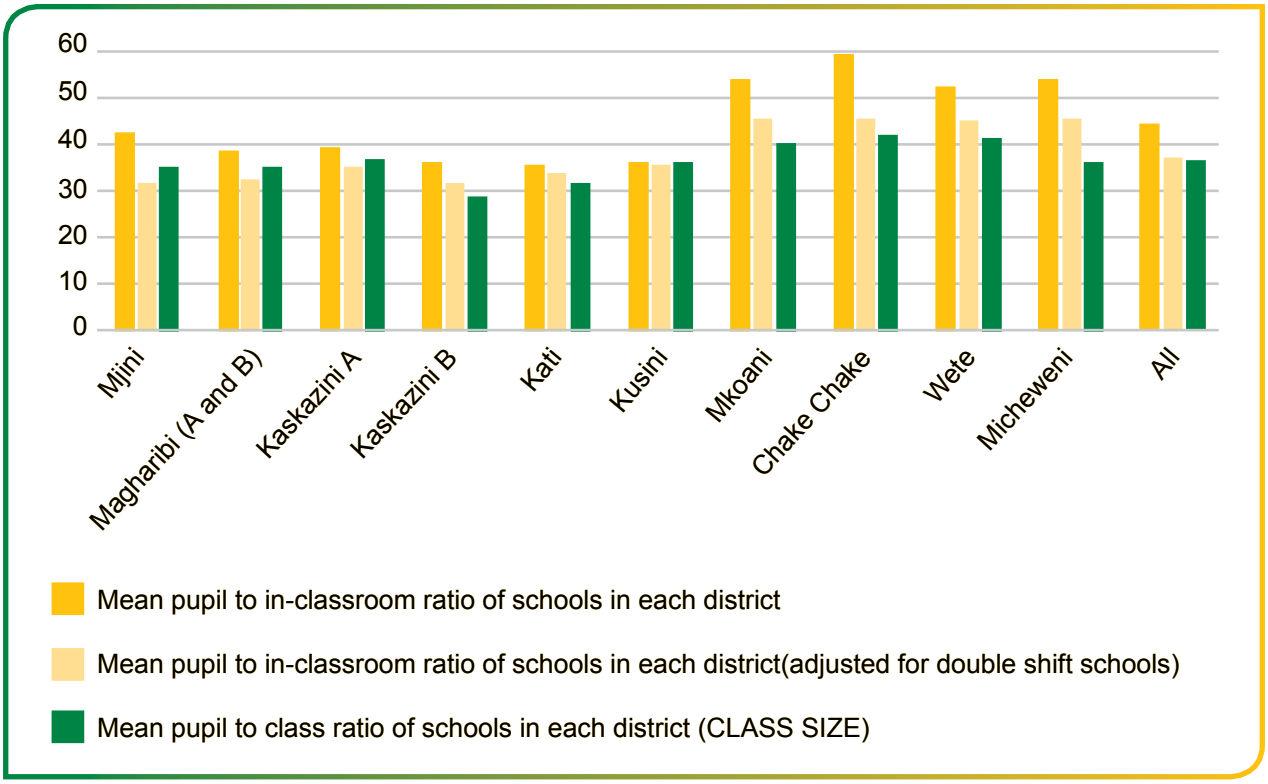
Across Zanzibar, 14% of schools use at least some of their classrooms twice by having a double shift, allowing them to accommodate more pupils. This practice is far more prevalent in the public sector, where 26% of schools operate double shifts. While double-shifting has the advantage of increasing physical capacity – i.e. it improves the utilisation of existing infrastructure –there are downsides to this practice too. Instructional hours are typically reduced in double-shift schools, and school can start very early or finish very late, which can be problematic, particularly for young children or those who have to travel far. While this study did not aim to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of double-shifting in Zanzibar, one relevant finding from the qualitative research is that double-shifting makes it more difficult to monitor and counsel children at risk of dropping out. When there are multiple shifts, community elders find it more difficult to know whether children who are found in the community at certain times of the day are supposed to be at school or not.

The qualitative research also found cases of teachers being tired and overworked because of teaching in multiple shifts. Other studies have given examples of cases where different sets of teachers teach in each shift (MoEVT, 2016), so it appears that double-shifting practices vary. Nonetheless, this does highlight the point that a strategy of expanding capacity via increasing rates of double-shifting of classrooms would need to consider teacher needs. In some schools, at least some teachers are underutilised currently; thus, teaching in a second shift could improve teacher efficiency in such cases. In other situations, however, teachers already have full timetables and additional teachers would be needed if another shift was to be added.

As discussed above, there is spare classroom capacity in the system as not all available classrooms are being used in about 40% of schools. This means that the pupil-to-available-classroom ratio that has been discussed so far paints a more favourable picture than the reality facing pupils because of this under-utilisation. Figure 35 presents the pupil-to-**in-use** classroom ratio (averaged across schools in each district), which ranges from 36:1 in three Unguja districts (Kaskazini B, Kati, and Kusini) to 60:1 in Chake Chake. This ratio is reduced when double-shifting is taken into account (see Figure 35) and it drops substantially in the two districts with the highest prevalence of schools with double shifts: Mjini and Chake Chake. About a quarter of schools in these two districts operate a double shift, while in the districts where this is rarest, Kati and Kusini, rates are 5% and 1% respectively.

Adjusting for double-shifting brings pupil-to-**in-use** classroom ratios down to between 32:1 (Mjini and Kaskazini B) to 45:1 or 46:1 in all four districts in Pemba.

Figure 35: Pupil-to-in-use classroom ratios and class size



Class size

From a pupil's perspective, class size is a more relevant indicator of conditions that matter for learning than the resource ratios discussed so far. In principle, shortages of teachers or classrooms can be the main constraint on class sizes in each school. Overall in Zanzibar, classrooms are in shorter supply than teachers and so available classrooms tend to be a bigger influence on class size than teacher numbers. This is consistent with the finding shown in Figure 35 that the average number of pupils per class of 36 (class size) is very similar to the number of pupils per in-use classroom (after it has been adjusted for double-shifting) of 37. The overall PTR is 27:1.

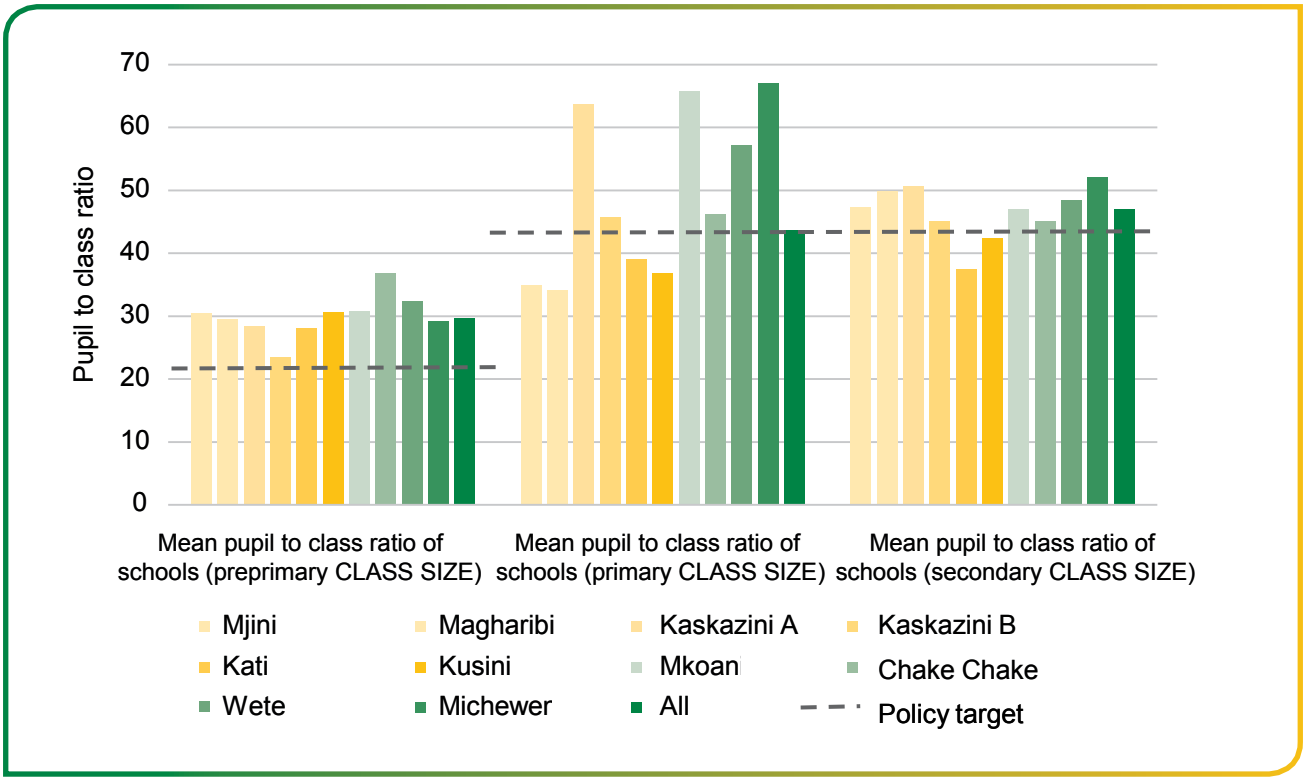
In some districts, notably in Pemba, class sizes are lower than the adjusted pupil-to-in-use classroom ratio, which may be due to classes being taught outside. A contributing factor to the opposite situation, found in some Unguja districts, where class sizes are higher than the adjusted pupil-to-in-use classroom ratio, may be that not all classrooms are used twice in schools that use double shifts.

Although Figure 35 reveals that class sizes do not vary that much on average between districts (from about 30 to 42 pupils), this masks a much larger disparity when the level of education is taken into account. By far the largest variation across districts in average class sizes is among schools that offer primary level (see Figure 36). Kaskazini A, Mkoani, and Micheweni all have average class sizes above 60:1 in schools that offer primary. Given that the target class size is 45:1, it is clear that many primary pupils in these districts are learning in class sizes well above the desired size. Indeed, the 10% of classes that are most overcrowded within each of these districts have 142 pupils or more (Kaskazini A), 120 pupils or more (Mkoani), and 91 pupils or more (Micheweni). Such large class sizes make the teaching and learning process extremely challenging, especially for groups of children with various types of disadvantage, and these conditions are likely to increase the risk of dropout. At the other extreme, for the districts with average primary class sizes well below the policy target (Mjini, Magharibi, Kati, and Kusini), many children are learning in fairly small class sizes.

There are fewer than 10 primary pupils per class in the 10% of schools in Mjini and Magharibi that have the lowest class sizes.

The differences across districts in typical class sizes are much less pronounced among schools that offer pre-primary and those that offer secondary. Compared to a policy target class size of 25:1 for pre-primary, this is not being reached on average in any district except Kaskazini B, but most districts (except Chake Chake) are close to the target. Average class sizes among schools that offer secondary level in each district are fairly closely clustered near the target of 45:1. The exception is Kati, which has class sizes of 37:1 on average across its schools. However, having average class sizes in most districts that are not far from policy targets does not mean that all children are learning under these conditions. There is still a wide variation in class sizes across schools at both levels, although this spread is not as extreme as for primary classes. There are more than 50 pre-primary pupils in each class in the 10% of schools offering pre-primary in Zanzibar that are most overcrowded. Similarly, for the 10% of secondary schools in Zanzibar with the greatest class size constraints there are more than 62 pupils per class.

Figure 36: Average class sizes by level and by district



5.2 Conclusion

The main concluding points that can be drawn from the analysis of school infrastructure capacity in this chapter are set out first below, followed by a general concluding section that draws on both of the school capacity chapters.

5.2.1 School infrastructure availability

- Shortage of classrooms is the most serious resource capacity constraint in the schooling system. A small minority of schools have no classrooms at all, and all districts except Kusini and Kati have schools that teach at least some classes outside.

- The overall shortage of classrooms is made worse by the unequal distribution across schools, leading to spare capacity in some locations and extreme overcrowding of classrooms in other locations.
- Classroom shortages are much more extreme on Pemba than on Unguja, and the spread of PCRRs within each district on Pemba is very large too. Half of the schools located in Mjini and Magharibi have a lot of spare capacity, while the other half has a very wide range of PCRRs and includes some schools with acute classroom shortages.
- Public schools have far greater classroom capacity shortages than non-public schools, which typically have a surplus of classrooms.
- Public classrooms are in short supply on Pemba but Magharibi has the greatest public classroom constraint and Mjini also faces extreme shortages of public classrooms. Magharibi and Mjini both have a dominant non-public school sector with surplus classroom capacity.
- Spare classroom capacity, as well as spare primary teacher capacity, is more likely to be found in smaller schools than larger schools. This may be at least partly related to minimum requirements for the number of teachers and pupils depending on the number of grades offered.
- A large minority of schools in all districts (40% overall) have at least some classrooms that are not being used but could be.
- To alleviate classroom shortages a minority of schools operate double shifts, most commonly in Mjini and Chake Chake. This reduces effective PCRRs and enables class sizes to be smaller than they would otherwise have been (assuming that sufficient teachers are available).
- Average class sizes at primary and secondary level are close to policy targets overall (they are slightly higher than targets at pre-primary level), but inequality in teacher and classroom availability between and within districts means that class sizes vary greatly too. Primary pupils living in Micheweni, Mkoani, and Kaskazini A are especially likely to be learning in very large class sizes.
- Compounding classroom shortages is the huge need for major repairs to classrooms and toilets, as well as the provision of water for drinking in schools that currently lack this basic need.
- Across Zanzibar, communities are helping to solve school infrastructure constraints. Mkoani, Chake Chake, and Wete have high needs coupled with a high proportion of schools with incomplete community-led infrastructure.

5.2.2 Overall concluding points on the capacity to absorb additional children

- The current schooling system does not have significant physical capacity to absorb additional children.
- Current capacity constraints are mainly due to a lack of available resources and inequality in their distribution across schools rather than to problems related to physical accessibility of schools.
- Much of the spare school infrastructure capacity lies in the non-public sector, which is important to consider in developing policy options to create additional school places.
- Under a scenario of universal basic education enrolment and completion, pressure for additional school places would be concentrated in Micheweni and Kaskazini B. While Kaskazini B has some teacher and classroom capacity to absorb additional pupils, Micheweni is the district emerging from this analysis as systematically having the most capacity constraints of all districts, at all levels.
- Achieving universal ordinary secondary enrolment and completion would require current enrolment to expand by about 30%. Although there is some spare capacity in the secondary schooling system currently, it is nowhere near sufficient to deal with this scale of increase.

5.2.3 Future use of the school capacity dataset from this study

The physical maps of all schools in Zanzibar produced by this study should be useful to managers in the education system at multiple levels for a variety of purposes. At a practical level, these maps should make monitoring schools easier, and be helpful in distributing resources and support.

The school capacity dataset is an extremely useful tool. The analysis of school capacity in this study has been focused at district level, which is helpful in drawing broad conclusions about the geographical distribution of capacity and gives some insights into potential strategies to increase school capacity. However, the real power of this data set for decision making and practical planning, including locating new schools, lies at lower geographical levels. This type of planning would require detailed school demand projections broken down below district level (ideally to shehia level), which could then be matched with the supply-side information in the school capacity dataset.

School demand data would need to take into account projections of the school-age population, estimates of the number of OOSC, planned timing to absorb OOSC into the school system, as well as current enrolment and pupils' age profiles. Care would need to be taken to ensure that plans are made to address both short-term and medium-term demand for school places. In the short term, if OOSC are to be absorbed quickly this will likely require a temporary bulge in school capacity as the system serves multiple cohorts (there are currently many over-age children in the system who started school late). In the medium term, as almost all children enter school at the official age, the projected school-age population should be close to the number of places required (assuming repetition is low, and universal enrolment and completion of basic education).

6 School inclusiveness

Building on the physical capacity of schools to accommodate children that are currently OOS, this section explores the various mechanisms adopted by schools to meet the needs of children with special needs, including children that were previously OOS. Our research explored prevalent practices in Zanzibar including the provision of teaching and learning material for special needs children, school counselling activities, presence and participation of SMCs, and the establishment of ALCs. This section analyses the degree to which schools in Zanzibar are currently inclusive for children with special needs.

Box 4: Key findings on school inclusiveness

- On average, schools offer fragmented, inconsistent, and inadequate support for children with special needs, which includes girls, children with physical disabilities, children struggling to cope with the content of schooling (including slow learners), children that have previously dropped out of or started school late, and children that are vulnerable due to a range of social and economic reasons.
- A large share of children with disabilities (sight, hearing, or motor) are excluded from school, and such children form around 1% of total school enrolment.
- The lower share of girls with disabilities in the overall enrolled female student body relative to the same for boys indicates that girls with disabilities are more likely to be excluded from school than boys.
- The provision of teaching and learning materials for special needs children is far from adequate: of schools that enrol children with disabilities, only 7.6% have material for sight-impaired children, 2.5% have material for hearing-impaired children, 30% of all school entrances and in-use classrooms are accessible, and 15% of functional toilets are accessible.
- The provision of teaching and learning materials for special needs children is far from adequate: of schools that enrol children with disabilities, only 7.6% have material for sight-impaired children, 2.5% have material for hearing-impaired children, 30% of all school entrances and in-use classrooms are accessible, and 15% of functional toilets are accessible.
- Teachers lack training for inclusive education. Less than 20% of schools have at least one teacher with some training on how to identify and teach children with disabilities, and only 8% of all schools reported having at least one teacher trained in GRP.

Continued

Continued

- The ratio of female-to-male pupils in school is approximately 1.05, meaning that there are more girls enrolled than boys. On average, this ratio tends to improve from pre-primary to primary level, and then worsens from primary to secondary level.
- There is little gender inequality in the Standard 7 and Form 4 pass rates overall. For Form 2 pass rates, however, girls outperform boys, while boys outperform girls in passing the Form 4 examination and qualifying for Form 5.
- Approximately 16% of all primary and secondary schools reported having at least one pregnancy or early marriage case during the last three years. In the absence of proper support structures, early marriage and pregnancy cause girls to drop out – 75% of pregnancy cases during the last three years resulting in the pupil dropping out from school.
- Almost a quarter of pre-primary and primary schools still collect contributions from parents, suggesting that the fee-abolition policy is not being implemented fully. Almost all secondary schools require parental contributions.
- While a larger share of public pre-primary schools operate feeding programmes compared to private or community schools, only 57% of all public pre-primary schools had a school feeding programme, highlighting a gap in the implementation of this programme.
- About half of all schools have a counsellor but only 18% of all schools have counsellors with dedicated time for counselling activities. Counsellors are often without any training or professional qualification specific to their role as a counsellor. Counselling services were requested by pupils in only 4% of all schools during the last school year.
- Two-thirds of all schools have an SMC. A small share (about 15%) of SMCs discussed inclusive education for girls or for children with disabilities at their last meeting. A third of all SMCs reported doing something in the last school year to bring OOSC to school. This suggests that SMC operations are, on average, not addressing the issue of school inclusiveness and OOSC.
- The scale of ALC operations is very small as ALCs only exist in 27 schools, or 5% of all primary schools, and enrol 0.18% of all primary-level enrolment in Zanzibar in 2017. In addition, about 5% of all schools also offer some remedial learning support to pupils, although the distinction between ALC and remedial classes is not always clear within schools.

6.1 What do we mean by school inclusiveness?

Before discussing the status of school inclusiveness in Zanzibar, it is important to set out what 'school inclusiveness' or inclusive education encompasses. Inclusive education ensures that every child receives a high-quality education, regardless of attributes such as gender, physical and social attributes, intellectual status, linguistic background, or special needs (UNICEF, 2009). Inclusive schools attempt to create environments that address the specific needs of the diverse student body. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2007)organises such needs into three categories:

- Students with disabilities or impairments viewed in medical terms as disorders attributable to organic pathologies (e.g. in relation to sensory, motor, or neurological defects). The educational need is considered to arise primarily from problems attributable to these disabilities.
- Students with behavioural or emotional disorders, or specific difficulties in learning. The educational need is considered to arise primarily from problems in the interaction between the student and the educational context.

- Students with disadvantages arising primarily from socioeconomic factors. The educational need is to compensate for the disadvantages attributable to these factors.

Inclusion, therefore, can be viewed as the process of addressing and responding to the diverse needs of all learners, and may involve changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures, and strategies to fulfil the responsibility of the regular system to educate all children (UNESCO, 2005). Schools should not only have fair and non-discriminatory rules for enrolment but should also have strategies in place to address barriers that prevent children from participating and being successful once enrolled.

Inclusive education is a policy priority in Zanzibar as per the 2006 Education Policy, which states that 'inclusive education shall be provided to ensure that children with special needs get equal opportunities, barriers to learning are addressed and the diverse range of learning needs are accommodated' (MoEVT, 2014). Since 2010, the Inclusive Education and Life Skills Unit within the MoEVT has been responsible for implementing the inclusive education policy. The core approach is integration, meaning that students with special education needs such as learners with disabilities learn in regular classrooms, supported by appropriate materials and pedagogies.

Commenting on an exhaustive list of special needs cases for children in Zanzibar is outside the scope of this research exercise. Our research, and consequently the sections that follow, focuses on school inclusiveness for a subset of children with special needs, which includes girls, children with physical disabilities, children struggling to cope with the content of schooling (including slow learners), children that have previously dropped out of or started school late, and children that are vulnerable due to a range of social and economic reasons.[25] While the discussion that follows discusses each special needs group separately, it is important to highlight that these disadvantages do not work in isolation: rather, children often belong to several of these groups at the same time, due to which they suffer from the effects of compounded disadvantages.

6.2 Study objective and data sources

In the rest of this chapter, we discuss both the characteristics of these various groups of special needs children as well as the current provisions within schools to address their needs. This chapter responds to key objectives stated in the original project ToR (see Annex A) on analysing the institutional capacity of schools to enrol and retain OOSC by determining:

- Schools' level of inclusiveness and gender sensitivity;
- Schools' counselling services and capacity to provide counselling support for vulnerable and marginalised children;
- Schools' management capacity and school/community relationship and involvement in controlling dropout/enrolling/reintegrating OOSC; and
- Schools' preparedness to reintegrate OOSC at each level.

This chapter largely draws on the results of the quantitative school census conducted by the OPM research team to analyse the themes of interest, and is backed by some findings from the qualitative component of the research as well. It also relies on additional secondary sources where necessary.

[25] *This may include children that need support from the school specifically from a child safety and child protection perspective. However, given the sensitivity around these issues, our research did not explore these issues in depth at the school level.*

Throughout the chapter, we have relied on two ways of comparing performance indicators between groups to assess the extent of inequality:

- **Absolute gaps:** calculated by subtracting the value of the performance indicator for one group from that of another group. For example, if the pass rate for girls is 90% and the pass rate for boys is 100%, the absolute gap is 10 percentage points.
- **Parity index:** calculated by dividing the performance indicator for one group by that of another group. Taking the example from the bullet above, the gender parity index (GPI) = Girls' pass rate/ Boys' pass rate = 90/100 = 0.9. If the parity index = 1.0 then there is perfect equality. For all GPIs, the value of the indicator for girls has been taken as the numerator.

6.3 Disability

Given the difficulty in identifying and correctly diagnosing many types of physical and mental disabilities, and our reliance on the head teacher as the main respondent for these questions, we collected information on the more easily identifiable types of physical disabilities, which we took as those involving sight, hearing, speech, and motor skills.[26] As a result, other disabilities such as learning disabilities, though relevant, have not been discussed in this section.

In many cases, head teachers maintain clearly written records of the student population with various types of disability. In the absence of such records, the data collectors worked with head teachers to come to a clear understanding of the different disability categories and an associated pupil estimate for each. Since head teachers are not the teachers that routinely engage with all the pupils enrolled in their schools, particularly in larger schools, these statistics should be taken as approximations.

The total number of students with physical disabilities currently enrolled in schools across Zanzibar is 5,006 (see Table 8).[27] This represents just 1% of all students in schools. The latest population census (from 2012) estimates that about 3–4% of children aged 0–19 years have a disability. Assuming that this age group should form a similar share in the student population, this suggests that rates of exclusion are considerably higher for young people with disabilities than the averages presented for the general school-age population. In addition, the lower share of girls with disabilities in the overall enrolled female student body relative to the same for boys indicates that girls with disabilities are being disproportionately excluded from school, specifically in the pre-primary and secondary levels.

Table 8: Number of pupils with disabilities, by school level and gender

Subsector	Total students	Number of students with disability	Number of boys with disability	Number of girls with disability	Share of students with disability	Share of boys with disability	Share of girls with disability
Pre-primary	77,747	597	363	234	0.77%	0.96%	0.59%
Primary	264,177	3,065	1,469	1,596	1.16%	1.11%	1.21%
Secondary	124,079	1,344	641	703	1.08%	1.13%	1.05%
All levels	466,003	5,006	2,473	2,533	1.07%	1.09%	1.06%

Note: *This table presents percentages based on the total enrolment across all schools, including schools where the number of children with disabilities is zero.*

[26] *These questions are based on the Washington Group's Short Set Disability Questions, located here: www.washingtongroup-disability.com/washington-group-question-sets/short-set-of-disability-questions/*

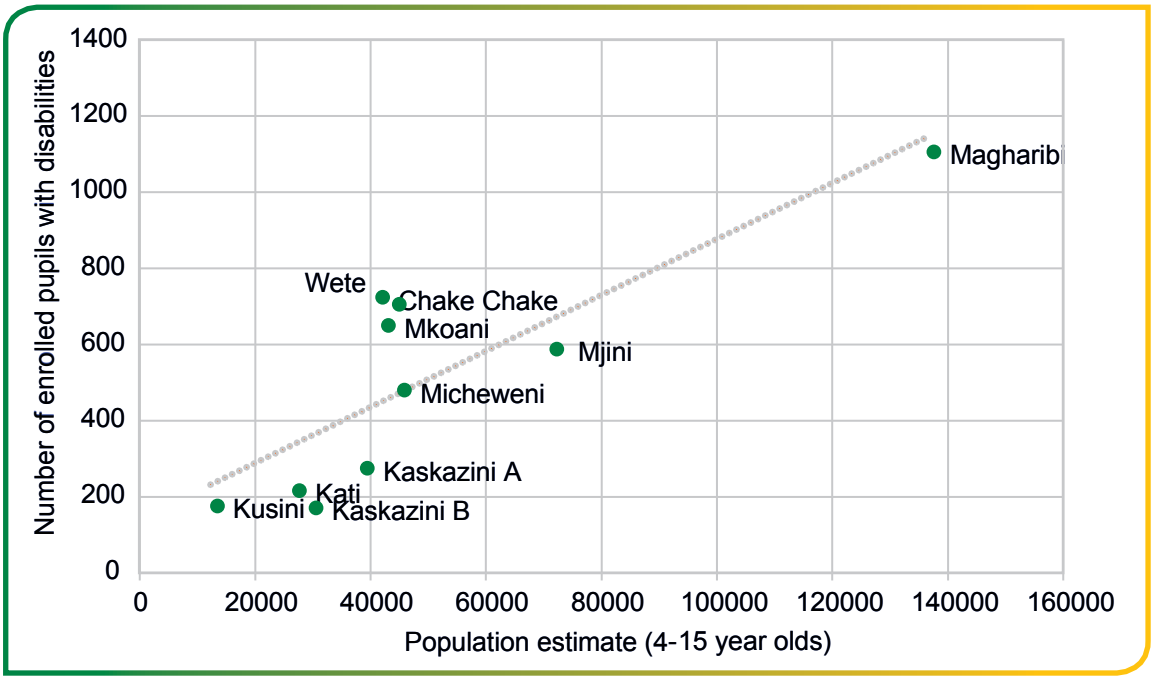
[27] *The estimate based on the 2014 EMIS data is 6,100 pupils with disability. This difference could stem, in part, from the fact that we have focused only on physical disability, while the EMIS also collects data on mental disabilities.*

Our findings suggest 42% of all schools had at least one child with physical disabilities enrolled during the 2017 school year. Annex J.1 illustrates the location of schools with and without children with disabilities. It indicates that there is a reasonably good spread of schools where children with disabilities are currently enrolled across districts, and also that children in a particular geographical location do not appear to be overwhelmingly excluded.

Figure 37 below indicates the correlation between the estimated population of school-aged children (4–15 year olds) and the total number of enrolled children with disabilities, by district. Assuming that disability is distributed equally within the population, we would expect districts with larger populations to have a larger number of children with disabilities enrolled.

There is a clear positive correlation indicated below, which shows that the most populous districts do tend to have a larger number of children with disabilities enrolled. However, the cluster of districts below the trend line indicates that a proportionally smaller number of children with disabilities are enrolled in Kaskazini A, Kaskazini B, Kati, Kusini, and Mjini, and that children with disabilities are being excluded in these districts.

Figure 37: Correlation between estimated number of 4–15 year old children and number of children with disabilities enrolled, by district



Note: *the population estimates are the authors' own, using data from the 2012 census (see Section4.1.3).*

Among the children with disabilities, sight impairments are the most common form of disability, followed by hearing impairments, speaking impairments, and motor impairments, summarised in Figure 38 below. 'Other' disabilities include specific instances of disabilities such as dwarfism, albinism, bone issues, hydrocephalus, etc., which constitute about 15% of all disabilities.

Schools that report having children with disabilities often do not have the resources required to teach these children. Figure 39 below plots schools with enrolled hearing- or sight-impaired children and shows whether they have appropriate resources for those children. If a school has resources for sight-impaired children the school is indicated by a blue dot, while if a school has resources for hearing-impaired children the school is indicated by an orange dot. Red dots indicate schools that have an enrolled child with a hearing or sight impairment but no associated resources.

Figure 38: Proportion of children, by disability type (%)

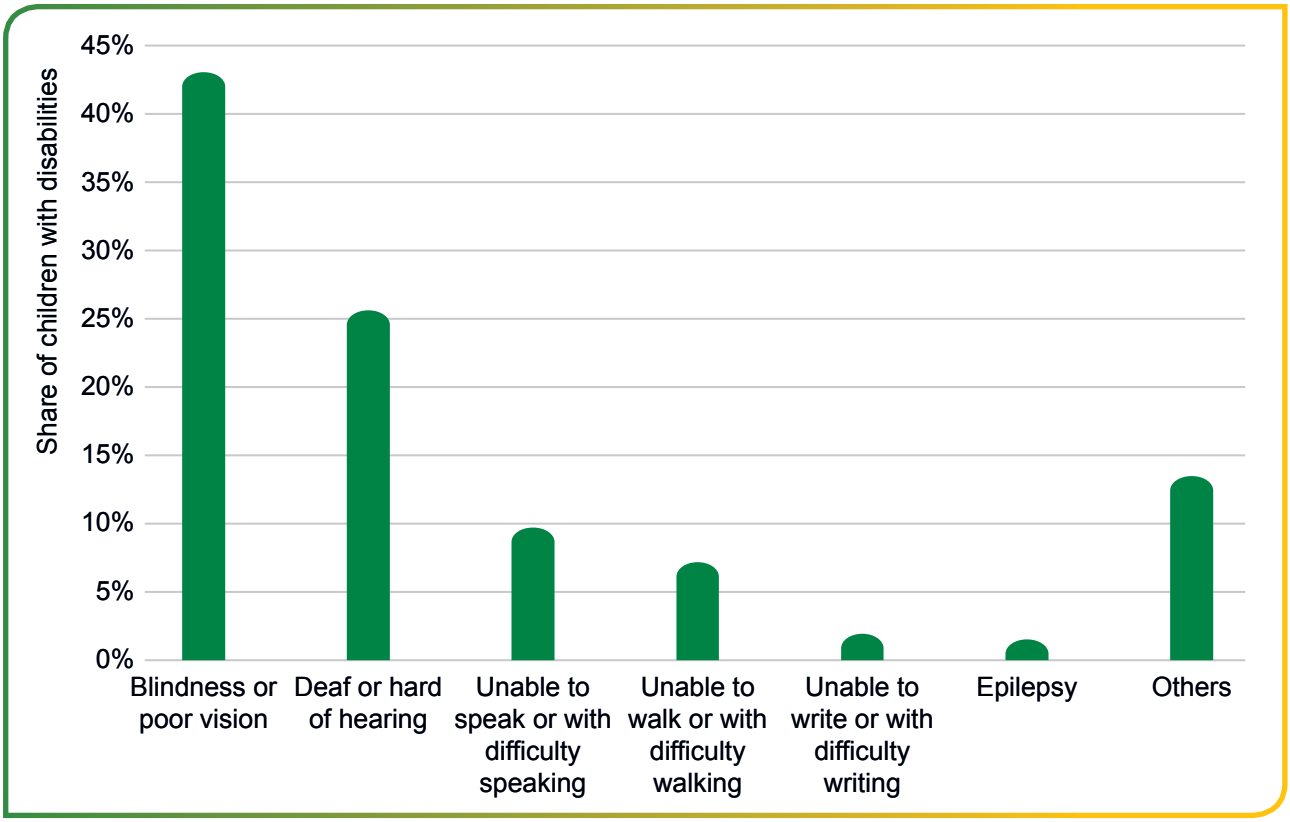
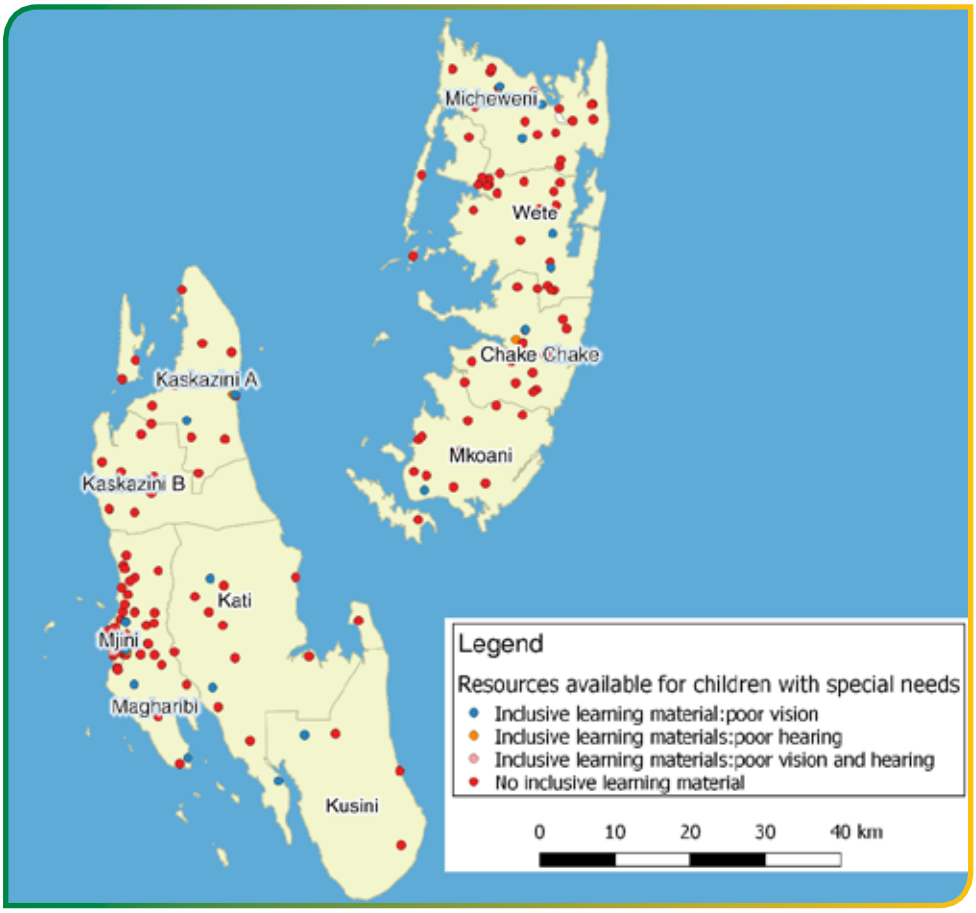


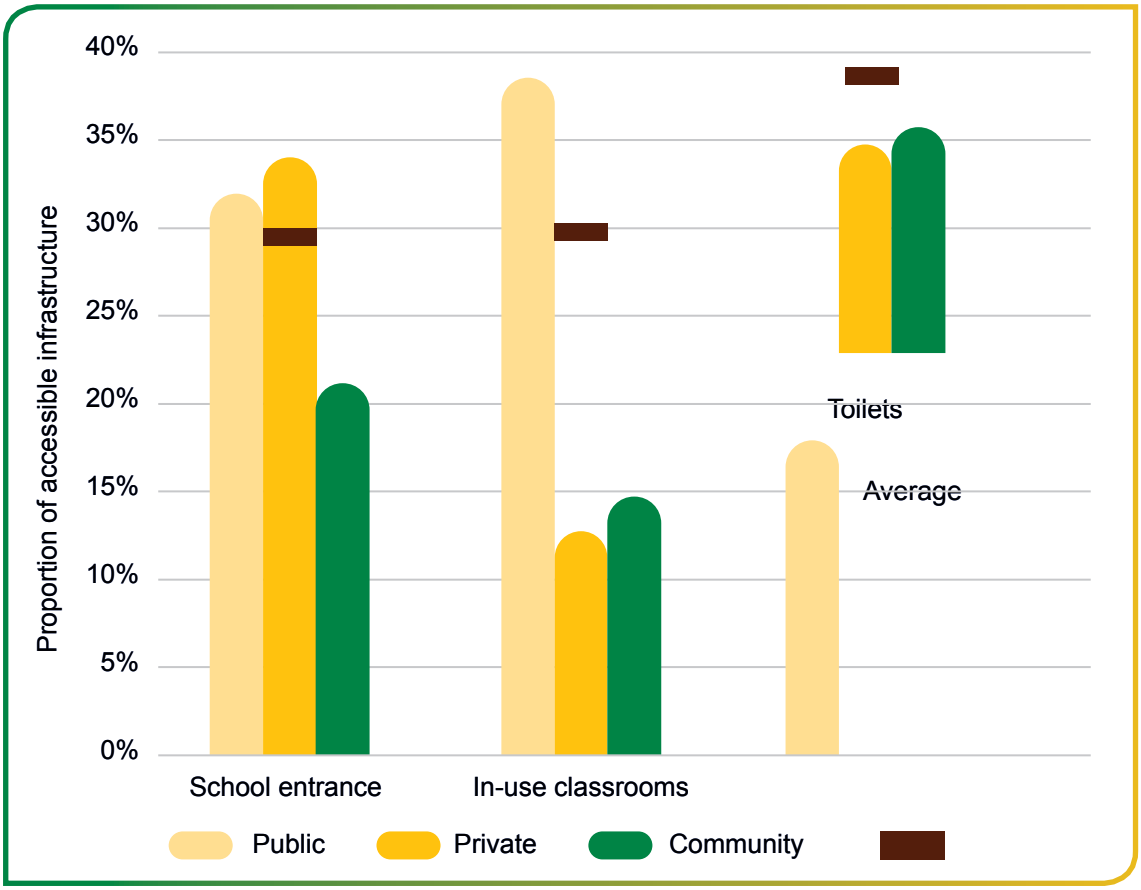
Figure 39: Geographical distribution of available resources for children with hearing and sight disabilities



This map shows that the provision of teaching and learning materials for children with disabilities is far from adequate, as red dots are the most prevalent. Across all the schools in Zanzibar with pupils who are blind or have poor vision, only 7.6% (21 of 276 schools) have any special teaching or learning material such as recorded tapes or books with large text or braille. The provision of resources for hearing-impaired children is even worse, as only 2.5% (seven of 276 schools) of schools with enrolled hearing-impaired children have any material to cater especially to their needs. The provision of teaching and learning materials is varied, with public schools catering better to the needs of sight-impaired children and private schools catering better to the needs of hearing-impaired children, albeit marginally. Only two schools have resources for both sight- and hearing-impaired children; shown in purple on the map above, both of these schools are in Mjini.

The accessibility of school infrastructure is important as it allows enrolled children with motor impairments to be comfortable within school without dependence on others. The presence of an accessible school may also encourage other OOSC with motor impairments to start school, since access ceases to be an additional obstacle. While less than 3% of all schools have an enrolled child with a walking impairment, infrastructure is accessible in a much greater share of all schools, although not all. Approximately 30% of all school entrances and all in-use classrooms are accessible for children that are unable to walk or have difficulty walking, but only 15% of all functional toilets are accessible. Districts with a relatively larger share of children with disabilities enrolled – i.e. Chake Chake, Wete, and Micheweni – have greater proportions of accessible school infrastructure. In addition, public school infrastructure appears to be more accessible compared to privately owned schools (both community and individually owned), particularly in regard to the accessibility of classrooms and toilets (Figure 40).

Figure 40: Proportion of accessible infrastructure, by school type (%)



To maximise the learning gains for children with disabilities, it is important that there are agreed standards and that teachers are trained and equipped with techniques to teach this group of children effectively. Less than 20% of the school-level respondents reported that at least one teacher at the school had received some training on how to identify and teach children with disabilities, and this was mostly reported in public schools (almost three-quarters of all cases). The provision of inclusive education training appears to vary greatly across schools, even within the same district, since there were differences in the nature, duration, frequency, and timing of training sessions. For example, while about 40% of all respondents said this training was one-off, approximately 10% reported this as being something regular and taking place at least three times every year. The reported duration of this training varied from less than a week (about 60% of the cases) to over three months. This suggests that schools have very different expertise in educating special needs children effectively, and that the system, and especially the children, could benefit from a consistent, revised approach.

6.4 Gender

Equity from a gender perspective means that schools must be able to support all children to succeed, without any gender-based bias or discrimination. This means that both girls and boys should have equal opportunities to access school and to learn once in school.

Gender-based school inclusiveness interventions in Zanzibar tend to focus on bringing the schooling experience of girls (in terms of access, retention, and quality) on par with that of boys. This section will evaluate a range of individual and school-level characteristics to understand whether or not schools are inclusive toward girls, and how this varies by school location, ownership status, or level.

6.4.1 Gender disparities in teaching staff

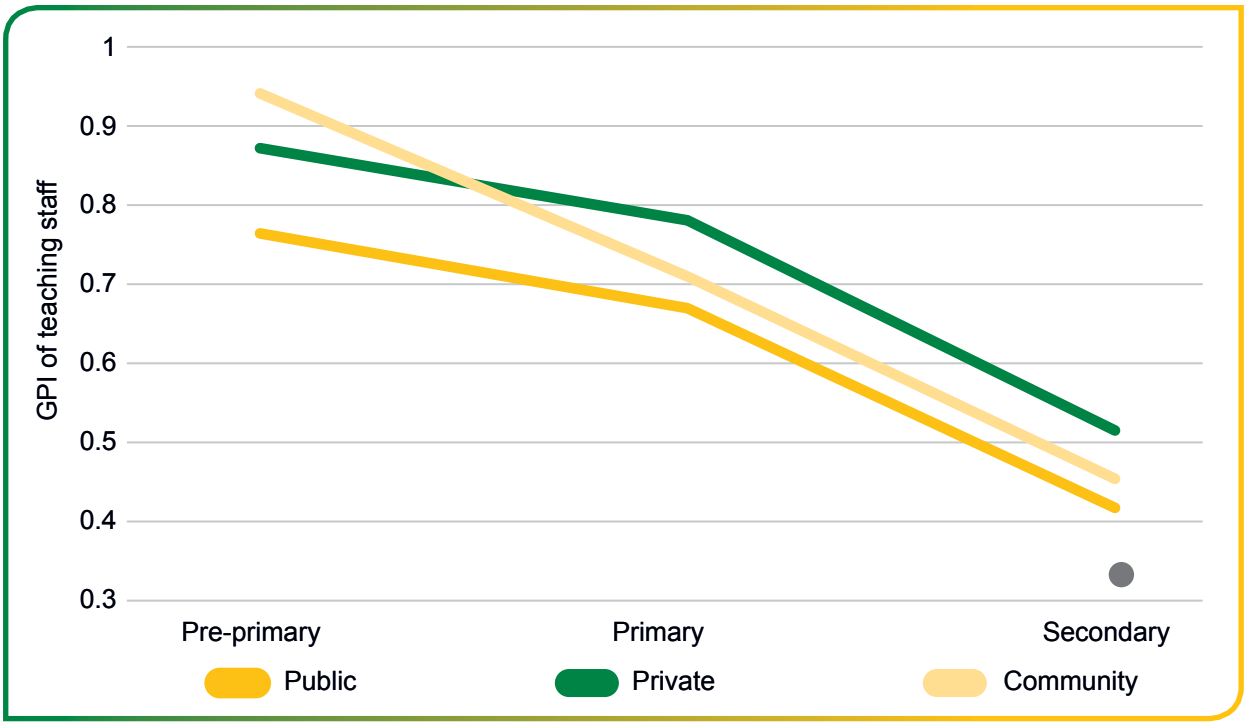
The average ratio of female teachers to male teachers (the GPI of teaching staff) is 0.8, which suggests that on average there are 25% more male teachers than female teachers in schools across Zanzibar. The argument in favour of more female teachers is that teachers may serve as role models for young girls, who as a result will be motivated to stay in school for longer (Kirk, 2006). In addition, as girls get older, having female teachers in school can create an environment where girls feel comfortable discussing personal problems, which might otherwise cause girls to drop out (Rihani, 2006).

The GPI of teaching staff actually falls as school level increases (see Figure 41). Across all school levels and school types, community pre-primary schools have the greatest gender parity among teachers while public secondary schools have the lowest.

In addition, the four districts in Pemba consistently have lower GPIs than the Unguja districts. This means that girls in higher grades, particularly in Pemba, might have access to a smaller number of female teachers for support and mentoring.

The presence of a female teacher alone might not be enough to ensure a positive, gender-sensitive environment for female students. Rather, teachers need to be trained and experienced in GRP approaches for female students to benefit from their instruction and mentoring (Rihani, 2006). Only 8% of all schools reported having at least one teacher trained in GRP over the last two school years (2015–2017). On average, about one-third of the teachers at such schools received this training.

Figure 41: GPIs for teachers, by school type



The total number of training sessions on GRP and total days of training varied markedly across districts and school types (see Annex C). As this question relied heavily on recall, the information is likely to be inaccurate and should be looked upon as an indication of what is happening in various schools and districts rather than as a statistical estimate of the extent to which different schools and districts have been exposed to such forms of training. For example, there were instances where respondents were unable to separate the specific GRP training from general pre-service and in-service training sessions. In such cases, the total duration of the GRP training is an overestimate and does not accurately represent the proportion of time actually dedicated toward GRP training. A close review of the monitoring information from such training, such as attendance sheets, might provide a more accurate picture of relative exposure to training across districts.

6.4.2 Gender disparities in pupil enrolment

Assuming the rate of population growth stays constant over time for girls and boys, the GPI of 4–15 year olds in the population is 0.998 using 2012 census estimates. Since the GPI of pupil enrolment is approximately 1.05, this suggests that there are relatively more girls enrolled than boys in school across Zanzibar. On average, this ratio tends to improve from pre-primary to primary level, as the distance from parity reduces, and then worsens from primary to the secondary level (see Table 9).

An improvement in enrolment GPI from pre-primary to primary can be caused by one of two things: a relative decrease in the numerator (i.e. fewer girls moving from pre-primary to primary or entering primary than boys) or a relative increase in the denominator (i.e. more boys entering the primary level than girls – either due to new enrolments or due to higher transition rates from pre-primary). The qualitative research provides insights into what could be driving changes in gender parity at the school level. Table 9 disaggregates these trends by district to understand how district-level trends differ from the average.

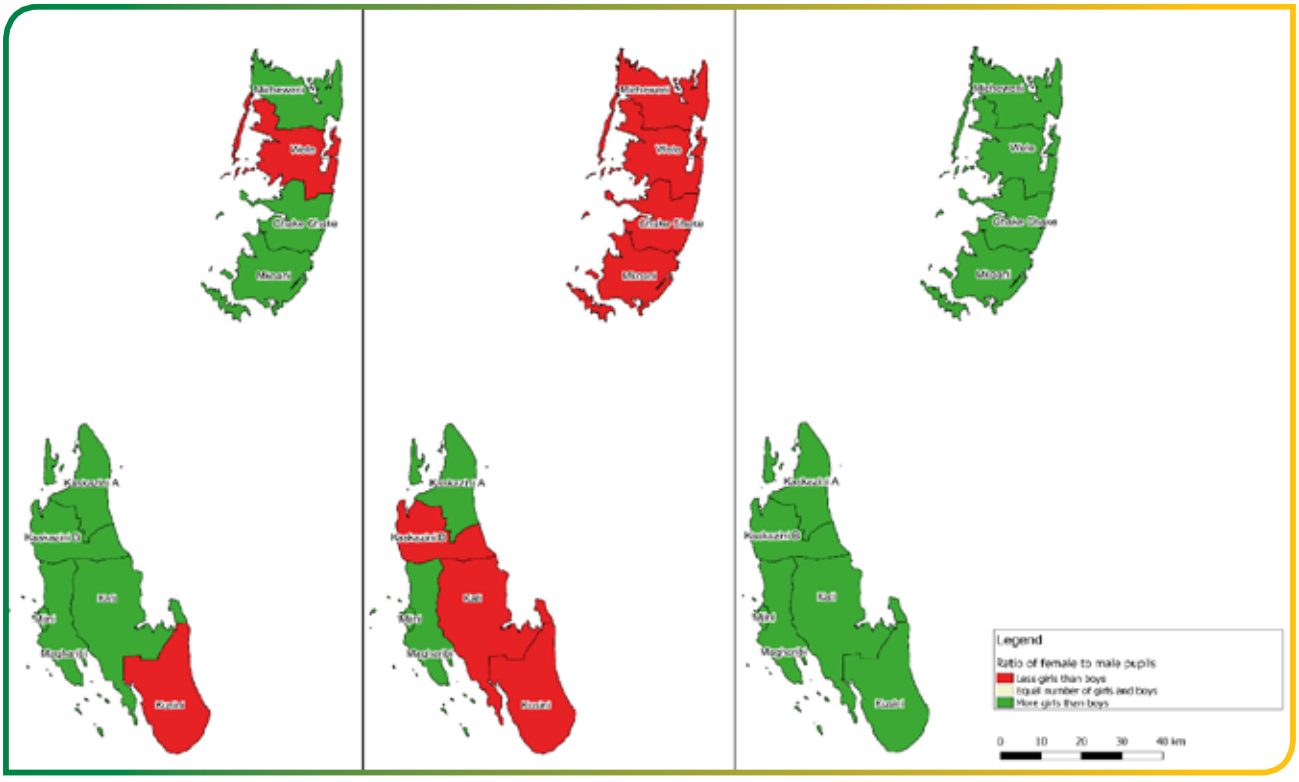
Table 9: GPI for pupil enrolment, by school level and district

	All	Mjini	Magharibi A	Magharibi B	Kaskazini A	Kaskazini B	Kati	Kusini	Mkoani	Chake Chake	Wete	Micheweni
Pre-primary	1.05	1.06	1.07	0.99	1.16	1.06	1.05	0.98	1.08	1.04	1.00	1.09
Primary	0.99	1.02	1.04	1.03	1.00	0.96	0.97	0.91	0.93	0.98	0.97	0.97
Secondary	1.18	1.21	1.15	1.18	1.30	1.32	1.19	1.05	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.08

Note: *Red text indicates districts where the GPI for pupil enrolment deteriorates from one level to another, i.e. it gets further away from perfect parity (at GPI = 1.0).*

Across districts, the GPI worsens from pre-primary to primary in Magharibi B, Kusini, and Wete (shown in red above). In the remaining districts, the GPI improves from pre-primary to the primary level (shown in black above) as the index nears parity. The direction of the shift in most cases suggests that girls form a relatively smaller share of primary enrolment compared to boys than at the pre-primary level. The GPI worsens from the primary level to the secondary level (shown in red, row 3) in almost all the districts, as the absolute distance from parity increases, indicating that girls form a relatively larger share of secondary-level enrolment than boys.

Figure 42: GPI of pupil enrolment across levels, by district



Note: *The school level increases from left to right, i.e. the first map refers to pre-primary, the second to primary, and the third to secondary.*

Figure 42 above illustrates the change in enrolment GPI across districts at the pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels (from left to right). Green represent instances where the GPI of enrolment is greater than one (i.e. more girls are enrolled) for a particular district while red indicates instances where the opposite is true. Three districts – Mjini, Magharibi, and Kaskazini A –consistently have a

greater proportion of girls enrolled compared to boys at each level of schooling. For the remaining districts, the GPI favours boys at least once, usually at the primary level. At the secondary level, all districts have a higher proportion of enrolled girls than boys.

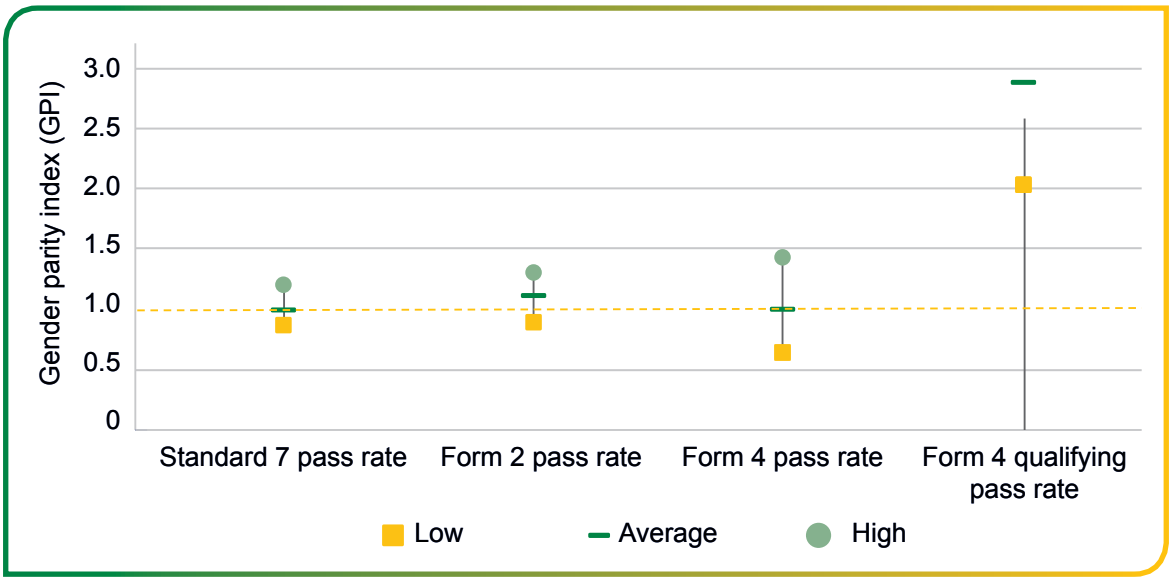
These trends also vary within districts by school ownership status. While public schools follow the general trend discussed above, the GPI in enrolment generally persists toward parity in community-owned schools and private schools, particularly at the secondary level. This could mean that community schools and private schools perform relatively better in retaining boys or are less likely to retain girls. This could be due, at least in part, to girls shifting to public schools at the secondary level – since public schools always accompany such decline with an increase in female enrolment (see Annex C).

6.4.3 Gender disparities in pupil exam pass rates

Data on student learning outcomes relies on standardised examination pass rates at the primary (Standard 6 and Standard 7) and secondary (Form 4) levels. A breakdown by school type indicates that while about 90% of public primary schools are represented in the national end-of-primary exams, only 30% of private schools choose to take the exam. Similarly, while 80% of public secondary schools take the Form 4 exam, only 65% of private schools and 50% of community-owned private schools take the exam. This, along with regional disparities in exam pass rates, is discussed further in Annex J.3.

Figure 43 displays the range across districts of the GPI for pass rates in the Standard 7, Form 2, and Form 4 examinations. In addition to overall pass rates, for Form 4 the proportion of students with high-enough grades to qualify for Form 5 – labelled the 'Form 4 qualifying pass rate' – are included. The GPI in pass rates varies across exams. There is little gender inequality in the Standard 7 and Form 4 pass rates overall. For Form 2 pass rates, however, girls outperform boys, while boys outperform girls in passing the Form 4 examination and qualifying for Form 5.

Figure 43: Range of GPIs in examination pass rates across districts, 2013



Source: *EMIS/Statistical Abstract 2013.*

Note: *(1) The Form 4 results are for government and private school students combined. (2) The dashed line marks perfect gender parity (1.0). Obtained from the ESA (MoEVT, 2016).*

Table 10 shows the pupil pass rates for three sets of end-of-primary exams, i.e. Standard 6 in 2013 and 2016 and Standard 7 in 2015.[28] While boys performed better than girls in all four districts in Pemba in 2013, the difference does not persist over time. By 2016, girls out perform boys across all districts.

Table 10: GPI in examination pass rates by district, 2015 and 2016

	Standard 7 pass rate (2013)	Standard 7 pass rate (2015)	Standard 6 pass rate (2016)
Mjini	1.05	1.11	1.07
Magharibi A	1.03	1.07	1.10
Magharibi B	1.03	1.06	1.05
Kaskazini A	0.88	1.12	1.07
Kaskazini B	1.05	1.09	1.07
Kati	1.17	1.17	1.07
Kusini	1.22	1.05	1.06
Mkoani	0.93	1.15	1.08
Chake Chake	0.94	1.06	1.09
Wete	0.97	1.03	1.07
Micheweni	0.95	0.99	1.05

Source: *EMIS/Statistical Abstract 2013, as presented in the ESA for Standard 7 pass rates (2013). Original data obtained for Standard 6 (2016) and Standard 7 (2015).*

Note: *The red text marks instances where GPIs<1.0, indicating that boys' performance is better than girls'.*

The ESA also notes that the variation in the GPI for pass rates across districts increases with the level of the examination. The difference between the relative performance of boys and girls is large for the Form 4 pass rate in 2013, but the gap is extreme for the Form 4 qualifying pass rate in the same year. In one district, no girls passed well enough to qualify for Form 5, yielding a GPI of 0 (Kaskazini B), while in another district the pass rate was 2.6 times higher for girls than boys (Kati). Due to the unavailability of gender-disaggregated data for the Form 4 examination in 2015 and 2016, we have been unable to add to this analysis conducted in the ESA. Should the data become available, this will be an important analysis to conduct to develop a more definitive understanding of changing trends in gender disparity over time across districts and examination levels.

6.4.4 Infrastructure

About three-quarters of all schools have separate, functioning toilets for girls, with a greater share of public schools meeting this criterion. Encouragingly, the proportion of schools with a separate functional toilet for girls increases with higher schooling levels. All such schools have been mapped in Annex J.2, which shows that across all districts there are still secondary schools without any toilet facilities for girls. At the secondary level, approximately 93% of all schools have a separate toilet for girls. Only about 10% of secondary schools reported having specific facilities for maturing girls. The available facilities mostly included the presence of sanitary waste disposal facilities inside toilet cubicles, right outside the girls' toilet, or elsewhere in the school. Estimates suggest that one in 10girls in sub-Saharan Africa miss school due to menstruation (World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF, 2013). The low prevalence of facilities for maturing girls highlights an important area for girl-friendly improvements in school infrastructure.

[28] *In 2015, two parallel systems were in operation, with the result that students in both Standard 6 as well as Standard 7 sat end-of-primary school examinations. After 2015, the Standard 7 exam has been phased out and fully replaced by the Standard 6 exam.*

6.4.5 Pupil pregnancy and early marriage

A total of 149 schools surveyed reported having a pupil pregnancy or child marriage during the last three years, with a majority of these cases being from public schools. Approximately 16% of all primary and secondary schools in the survey reported having at least one pregnancy case during this time frame, with the average number of pregnancies being two per such school. This totals 205 reported cases of pregnancies during the last three school years.

While the reintegration of pupils who have given birth is permitted in schools under the Spinsters' Act (see Section 2.3.4), in practice very few girls who give birth return to school and there are no specific programmes or services that actively support reintegration for young mothers. This notion is supported by the finding that three-quarters of pupils who were pregnant during the last three years dropped out.

In addition, 13% of schools reported having at least one case of early marriage during the last three school years, with an average of about two cases per such school. Across both islands, this totals 161 cases of child marriages during the last three years. There is no law or policy on child marriage but in practice married girls below the age of 18 are often expected to drop out, as supported by the qualitative findings discussed in Chapter 7.

Annex J.2 plots all schools that had an instance of child marriage or pregnancy during the last three years. Instances of early marriage appear to be more common in Pemba, while pregnancy cases were more common in Unguja, particularly in Magharibi and Kati. These numbers need to be evaluated carefully, since they largely represent public schools in our sample. A majority of the private and community schools reported no instances of pupil pregnancy or marriage. This may be a reflection of the cultural sensitivity around collecting accurate information on these indicators. Secondary sources suggest that, in Zanzibar as a whole, 3.5% of girls are married before the age of 15 and 2% of girls have given birth before the age of 15 (UNICEF Tanzania, 2015 – discussed in Section2.3.4). This suggests the true numbers are likely to be higher than has been collected through schools, and that policies and perceptions around early marriage are important to address to make schools inclusive for maturing girls.

6.5 Poverty

6.5.1 School fees and parental contribution

As of 2015, primary and pre-primary education is meant to be free in Zanzibar. This includes restricting voluntary contributions, which schools were previously allowed to collect from parents for the routine functioning of the school. This policy currently excludes secondary education.[29] In a context where 43.5% of the population lives below the international poverty line of US$1.90 per person per day, and where 24% of the 'poor' population aged 15 or above is uneducated (Belghith et al., 2017), removing the financial burden associated with education has high potential for positive impact on enrolment and retention, particularly within the poor sub-population.

Despite the policy, however, in practice parents still have to bear some costs in order to educate their children. Table 11 shows the percentage of schools of each type where parents still make a monetary contribution. As expected, large shares of secondary schools still require parental contributions. Surprisingly, however, almost a quarter of public pre-primary and primary schools still appear to be collecting contributions from parents.

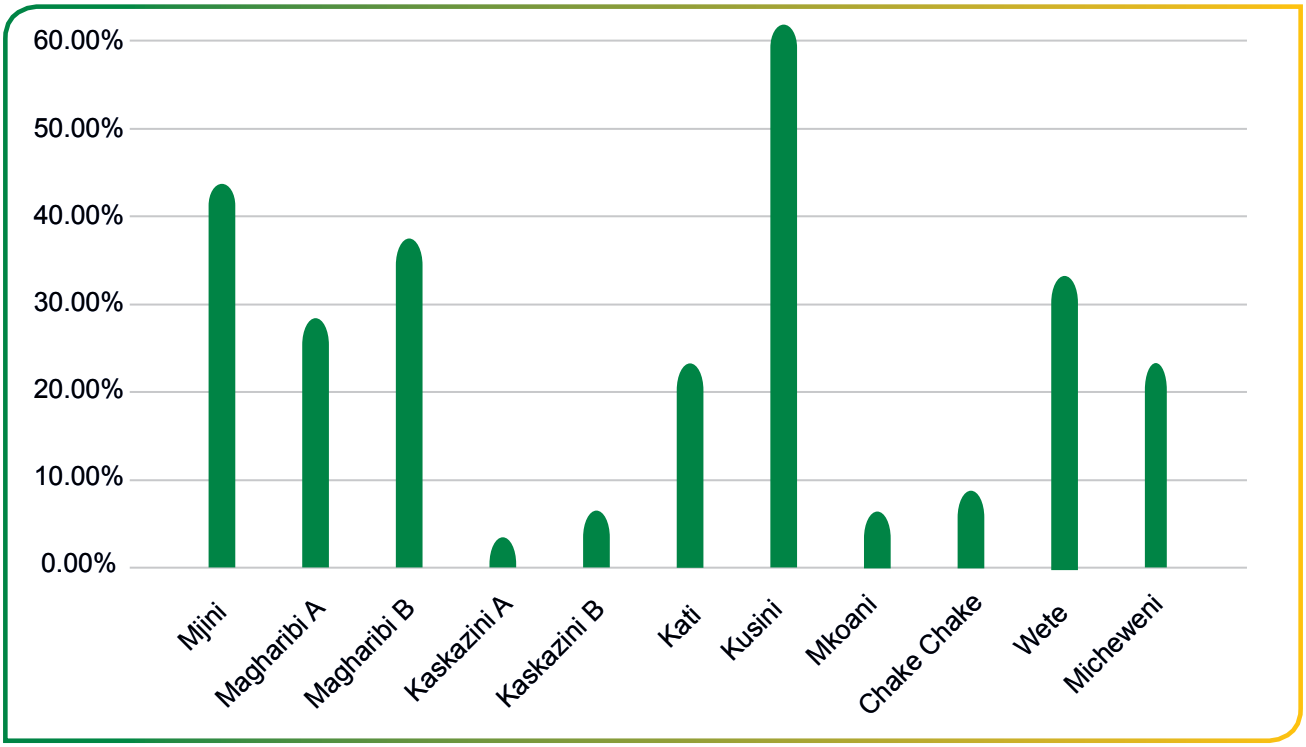
[29] *The abolition of school fees at the secondary level was announced in September 2017, and is expected to come into effect from July 2018 (see Section 2.3.1 for details).*

Table 11: Percentage of schools where parents make a monetary contribution, by level and type

	Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary	Total
Public	24.3	22.8	96.6	50
Private	87.8	97.7	100	93
Community	67.5	100	100	72
Total	62.5	54.5	97.4	67

The percentage of public primary schools where parents make monetary contributions varies starkly across districts, as shown in Figure 44 below. It is less than 5% in Kaskazini A, while it is at a high of 62% in Kusini.

Figure 44: Percentage of public primary schools collecting parental contribution



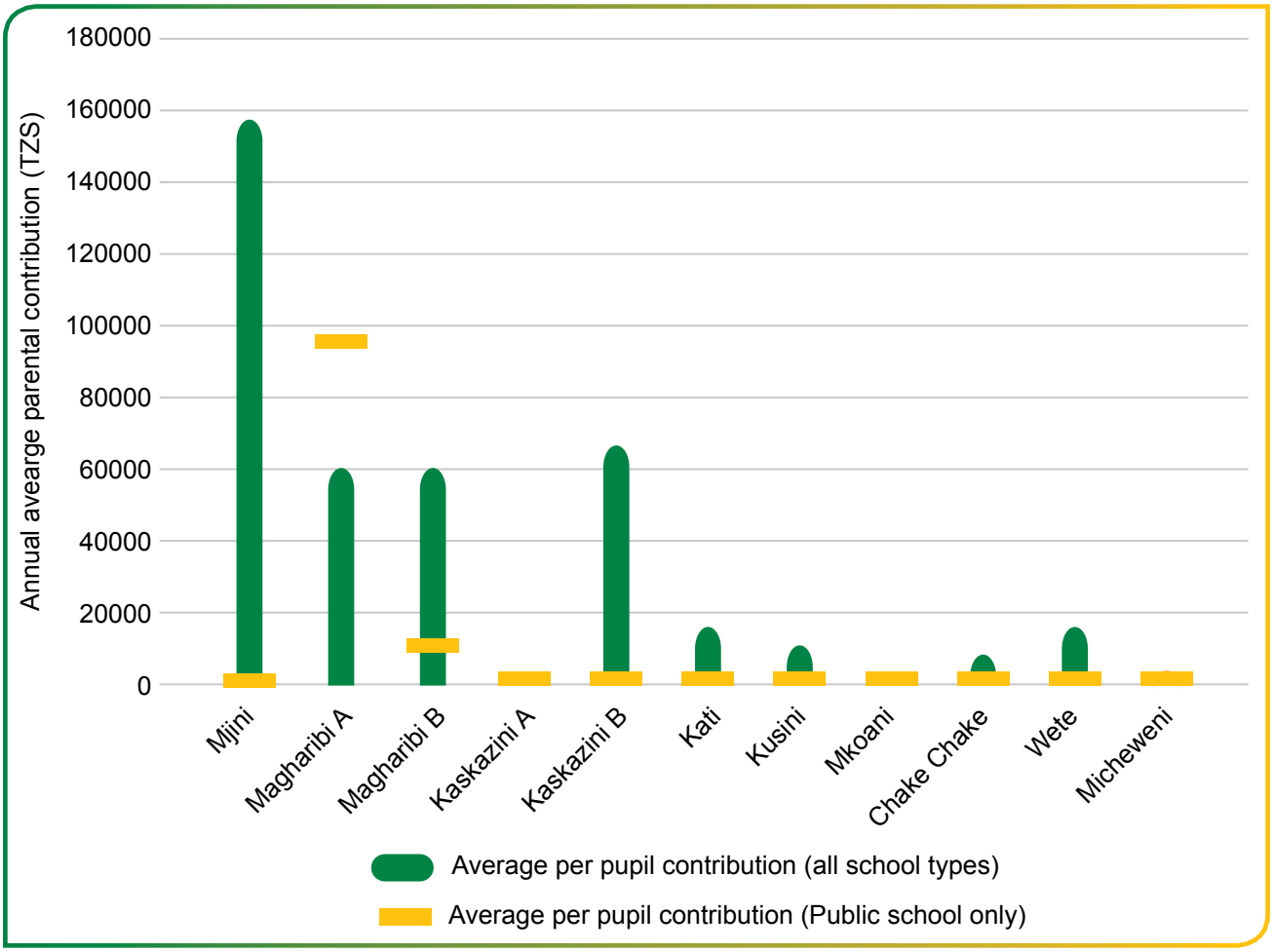
The average annual primary level contribution is TZS28,050 for the whole year, although Mjini, Magharibi A, Magharibi B, and Kaskazini B are among the most expensive districts at the primary level by several orders of magnitude. This stems from there being a larger share of private schools within these districts.

For Magharibi A, the average per pupil contribution for public schools needs to be interpreted carefully since there is one school that has a very high contribution – TZS281,102, which is driving up this estimate for public schools. When restricting to public primary schools, and removing this outlier from Magharibi A, the average annual parental contribution falls to TZS3,048, which is in line with previous estimates of approximately TZS3,000 per child per year (ESA, 2016). Without normalising for this outlier, the average annual parental contribution in public primary schools is TZS6,236.

Of the two-thirds of all schools where parents made a monetary contribution during 2016, the amount paid per child varied by school level, type, and district. For example, Kaskazini A, Micheweni, and Mkoani have the smallest prevalence of parents making contributions to the

school. This is largely driven by most pre-primary and primary schools in these districts not requiring parental contributions to be made to the school.

Figure 45: Average annual per pupil contribution in primary schools, by district



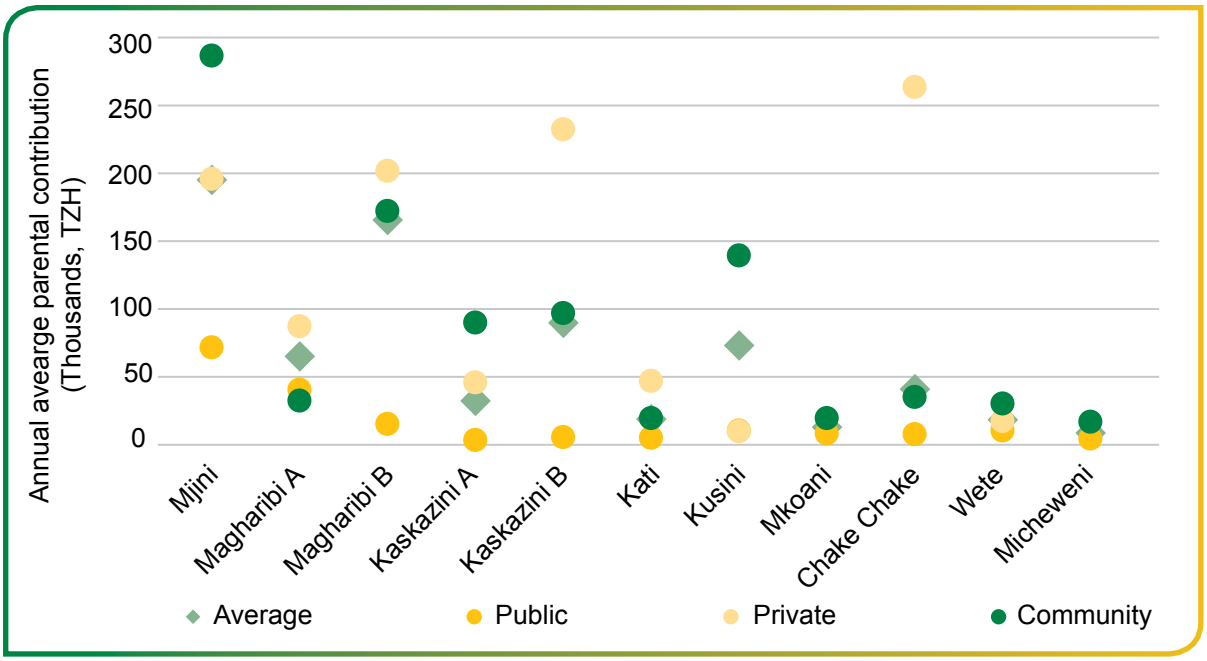
Note: *the average per pupil contribution only includes schools where parents make a contribution. For Mjini, an international school is driving up the average (all school types), which falls to TZS148,401 once that school is removed.*

Parental contributions totalled over TZS 2 million per school on average during the 2016 school year, with the per pupil contribution averaging TZS91,440 per year, when restricting to schools where parents are required to make contributions. Average per pupil parental contribution was the lowest in public schools, ranging from a high of TZS71,443 in Mjini annually to a low of TZS4,469 in Micheweni. According to the HBS 2014/15 estimates, the median monthly household expenditure **per capita** in 2014/15 was TZS50,946. The annual average parental contribution constitutes 15% of this outlay.

Community schools, on average, required more per pupil contributions than public schools, but less than those required by individually owned private schools, though this is not always the case (see Figure 46). For example, in Kaskazini B and Chake Chake, the difference between the average private school fees and the average community school contribution was greater than TZS10,000 per year.

Overall, Mjini and Magharibi B were the most expensive school districts during the 2016 school year, while Mkoani, Wete, and Micheweni were the least expensive districts, as shown below.

Figure 46: Average parental contribution per pupil in 2016, by district and school type



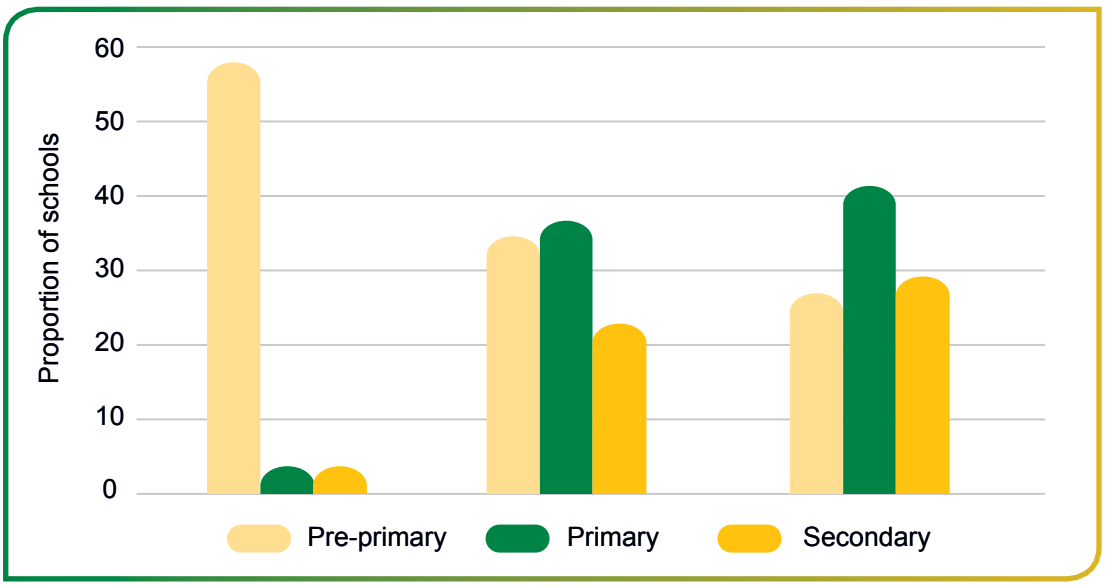
Note: *public and private school levels overlap perfectly in Kusini.*

Our findings suggest that, despite making significant progress in reducing school costs for parents, the fee-abolition policy has not been as successful in removing the financial burden on parents as anticipated. The effects of this are likely to be particularly negative for children from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds.

6.5.2 School feeding programmes

Through the provision of essential nutrients, school feeding programmes have been proven to improve school uptake as well as retention, particularly for children from poorer economic backgrounds (Ahmed, 2004;Sabates **et al**., 2010). They are therefore a potential avenue for improving school inclusiveness for such children.

Figure 47: Proportion of schools with a feeding programme, by level and type (%)

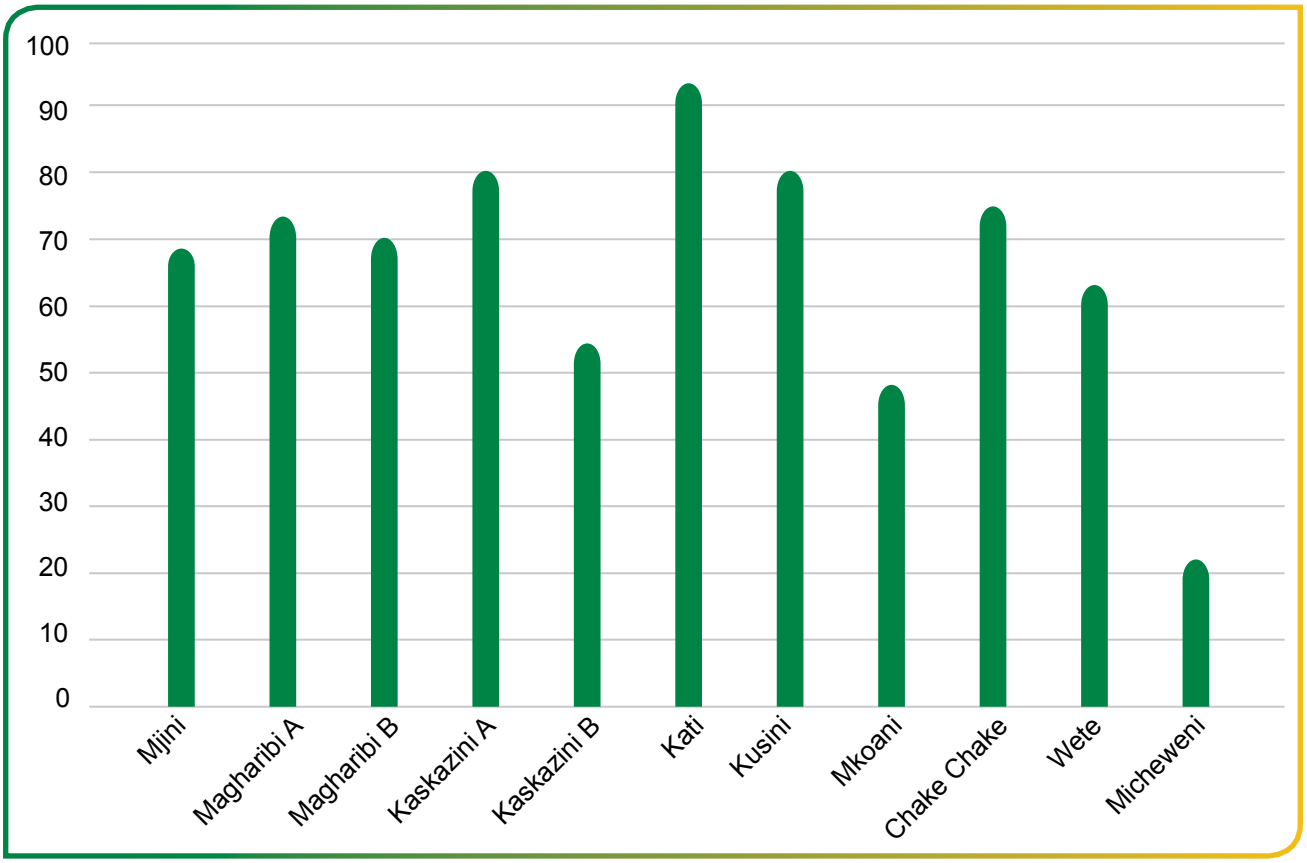


A little over one-third of all schools in Zanzibar have a functioning school feeding programme where children are given meals during school hours. School feeding programmes exist largely at the pre-primary level, although some primary and secondary school children also benefit from such programmes, as shown in Figure 47. These programmes are usually funded by the government (47%) or via parental contributions (37%).

The MoEVT supports the provision of nutrient-enriched porridge to all pupils enrolled in public preschools. In practice, only 57% of all public pre-primary schools reported having a school feeding programme, highlighting a gap in the implementation of this programme. In contrast, only 35% of private pre-primary schools and 26% of community owned pre-primary schools have a feeding programme during the current school year.

A closer look at the data reveals significant district-wise disparity in the provision of school meals to children specifically within public pre-primary schools. Figure 48 illustrates that pre-primary children in Micheweni, Mkoani, and Kaskazini B are particularly disadvantaged in terms of access to school meals, with only 22% of all public pre-primary schools in Micheweni, 47% in Mkoani, and 53% in Kaskazini B offering feeding programmes in the current school year.

Figure 48: Proportion of public pre-primary schools with a feeding programme, by district (%)



6.6 Support for vulnerable and at-risk groups within schools

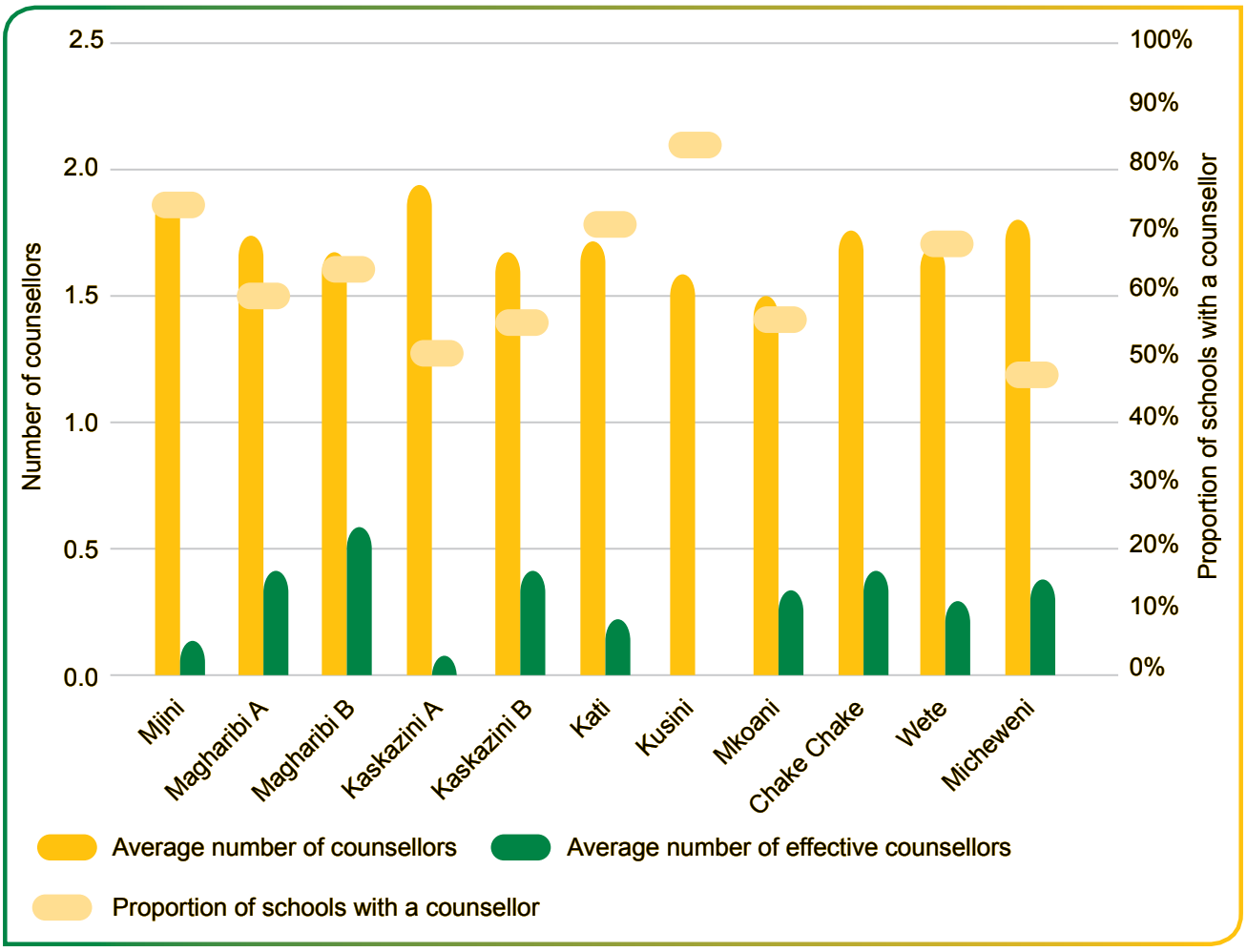
This section explores the support and management capacity within schools to keep vulnerable groups of children in school once they are enrolled through support systems like a qualified school counsellor and the opportunity for students to talk about their problems in a safe, private

environment. It also looks at the school/community relationship, involvement in curbing dropout, and enrolling OOSC through various parent–teacher bodies.

6.6.1 Support through counselling services

Only about half of all schools have a school counsellor, although this varies across districts (see Figure 49) from as high as 70% of all schools in Kusini to as low as 35% in Micheweni. While on average schools with counsellors have 1.5–2 counsellors each, this number drastically reduces when we define an 'effective' counsellor as one who has dedicated time in his/her weekly schedule for counselling activities. This is important because it indicates that, although schools may have a 'counsellor', counselling activities are unlikely to be extensive since the counsellors either have to find extra time during the school day or after school to perform these duties.

Figure 49: Average number of counsellors, by district



Note: *average number of counsellors and effective counsellors excludes schools without any counsellors.*

Only about 18% of all schools have counsellors with dedicated time for counselling activities, bringing the effective number of counsellors within these schools from 1.8 counsellors per school to a low of 0.31. Figure 49 shows that the number of effective counsellors per school varies by district from zero in Kusini to the highest value of 0.56 counsellors per school in Magharibi B. Overall, counselling services within schools appear to be lacking.

While counsellors may be important for children at all levels of schooling, in Zanzibar the policy focus is on ensuring that primary and secondary schools have a counsellor. Resultantly, 84% of all

primary and secondary schools have at least one counsellor, while the proportions vary by school ownership type, as shown in Figure 50 below.

Across all districts, pre-primary schools form the greatest share of schools without a school counsellor, regardless of school ownership type, while secondary schools (particularly public and privately owned ones)almost always have a counsellor. Counsellors are usually female, and 90% of all schools with counsellors have at least one female counsellor. Across school levels, the relative share of female counsellors decreases from pre-primary to secondary school.

Figure 50: Proportion of schools with a counsellor, by level and type (%)

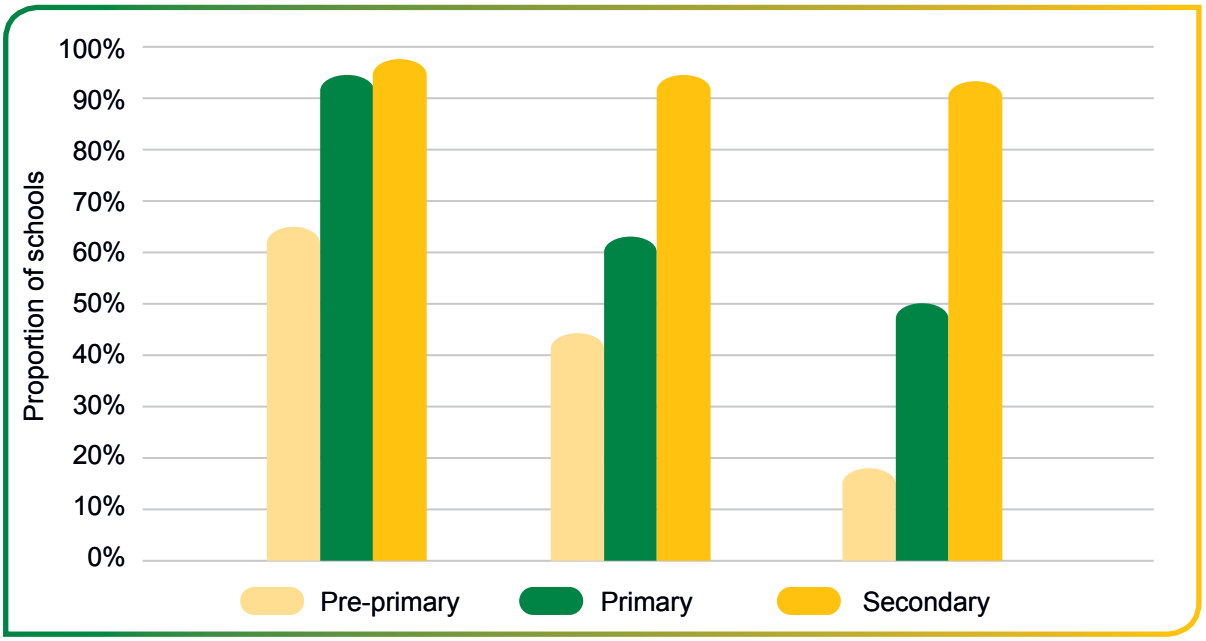
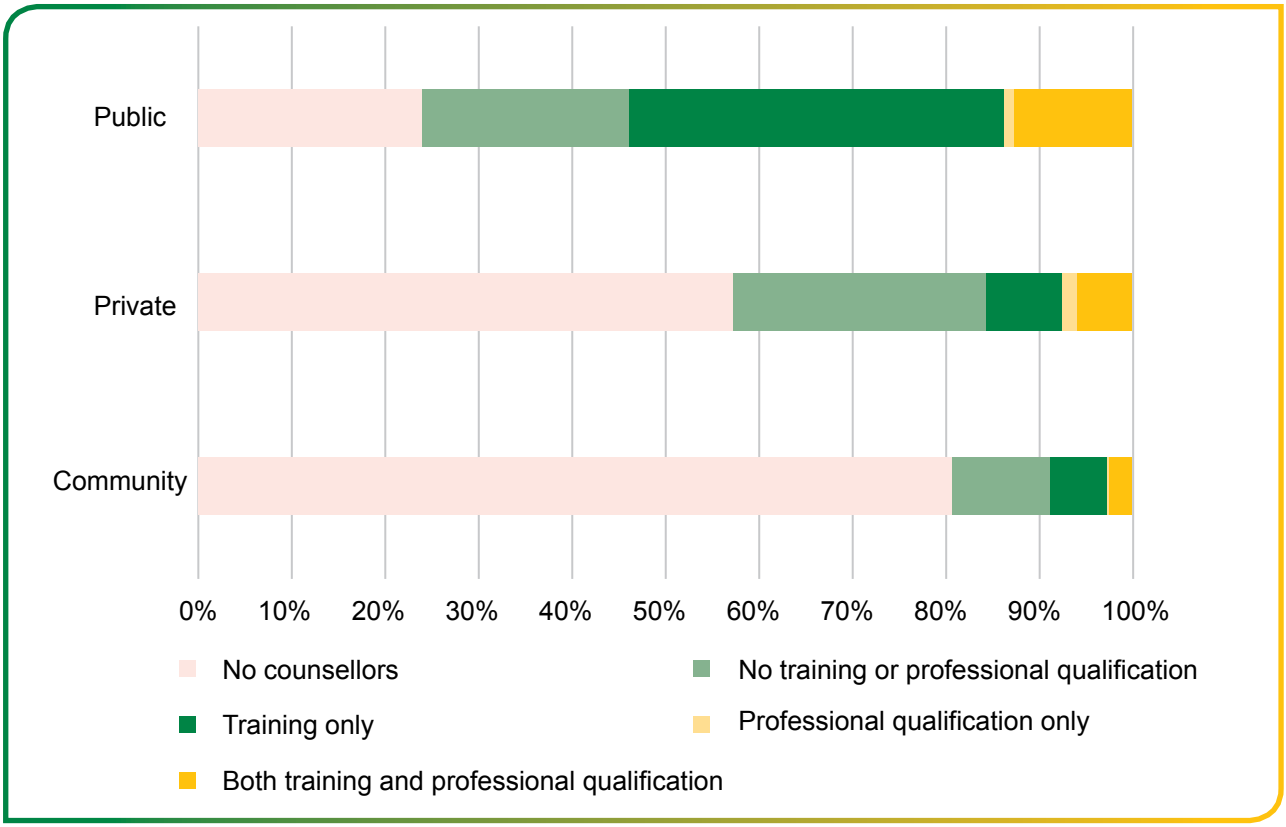


Figure 51 illustrates the qualifications of school counsellors by school type, ranging from no qualifications to school counsellors having both a professional qualification as a counsellor and having received some training as a counsellor. The data does not distinguish between counsellors with Bachelors' degrees that also have a module on counselling and Bachelors' specifically in guidance and counselling. Since head teachers were asked to respond to the question asking about 'any professional qualifications' as a counsellor, it is likely that the data only covers the latter group.

Across all school levels public schools have a school counsellor more often than private and community schools, as well as having a higher proportion of trained or qualified counsellors, as indicated above. Figure 51 shows that, even in cases where private and community schools do have a counsellor, a significant portion of their counsellors are without the training or professional qualifications that would equip them to be effective in the role.

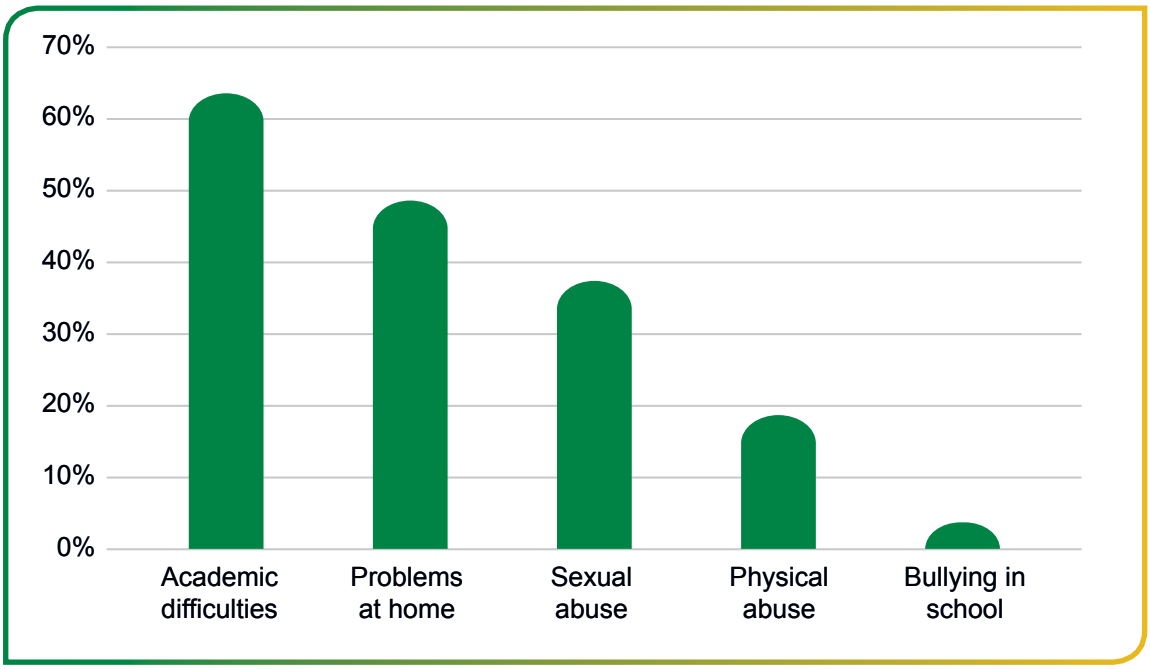
For supporting groups of vulnerable and marginalised children who are at risk of dropping out of their schooling, counselling services need to be such that students can access them as and when they need. This is separate from cases of purely teacher-initiated counselling, which is usually informal and in response to behavioural misconduct. The scale at which pupil-sought counselling is happening is very small, as counselling services were requested by pupils in only 4% of all schools during the last school year. Our qualitative research also found that teachers and head teachers usually report counselling students when they do not come to school or when they actually drop out from school. Some parents and community members also corroborated this.

Figure 51: Qualifications of counsellors, by school type



Although the sample for issues discussed during pupil counselling sessions is quite small, it indicates that counselling sessions, at least in some schools, are rightly being used to discuss a range of personal and academic problems in line with what is specified in the official school counselling guidelines (see Figure 52).

Figure 52: Issues discussed during pupil-requested counselling sessions



There is usually no earmarked place for counselling activities within schools, which means these sessions tend to take place in a classroom or teachers' lounge. The extent to which these

alternative venues provide a safe, private environment, which is essential for effective counselling, is unclear.

Overall, it appears that counsellors are inadequately qualified and usually lack the time for counselling activities. Counselling sessions, when they take place, are not always consistent in terms of access, frequency, and location. This is somewhat unsurprising given the ambiguity in the school counsellor guidelines (discussed in Section 2.2.2) around the details of implementing pupil counselling activities within schools. Moreover, less than a quarter of all schools with a counsellor had a copy of the MoEVT counselling guidelines available, which further highlights the likely gap in the provision of intended pupil counselling within schools. Similar constraints related to school counselling activities have been previously highlighted in the Education Policy (2006) and GPE Programme (2014–2016).

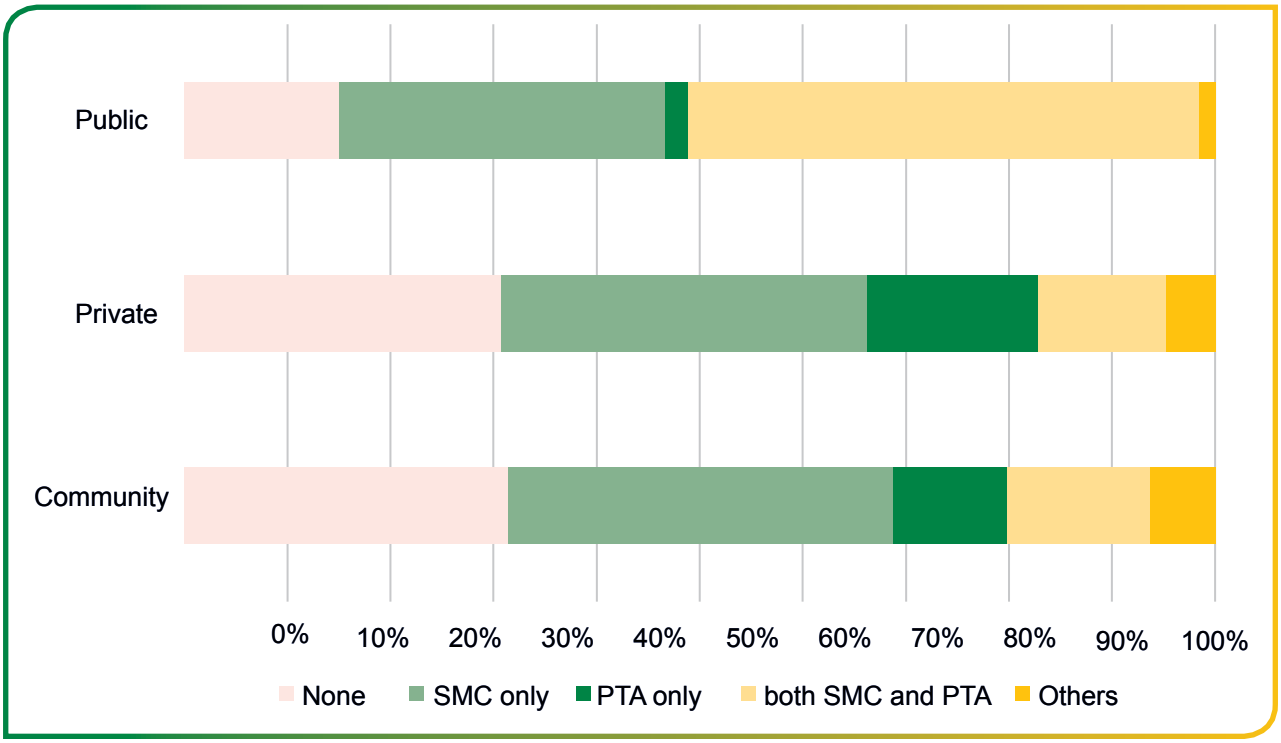
6.6.2 Support through community involvement

Types of committees present

Schools across Zanzibar have different committees and bodies through which parents and community members are given an opportunity to engage with issues related to school operations, school quality, and access. The primary body for this purpose is intended to be the SMC, established under the Education Act (1982), as discussed in Section 2.2.3. Schools also have additional bodies such as the PTA and a range of academic committees that work in addition to, or in place of, SMCs.

Figure 53 indicates that, while SMCs are the most common parent–teacher body, a small share of schools only have PTAs. A larger share of public schools have both an SMC and a PTA than they do an SMC alone.

Figure 53: Prevalence of parent–teacher bodies by school type



In about a quarter of all schools there is no platform for parents and community members to engage with the school administration. This is twice as common in private and community schools than in public schools, and more common at the pre-primary level than at higher levels.

In schools where multiple bodies for parent–teacher interactions exist, it is important that the roles and responsibilities for each are clearly defined, particularly with relevance to reaching and retaining vulnerable groups of children.

SMC: location, membership, and degree of activity

All schools in Zanzibar are required to have a functional SMC. In practice, however, SMCs only exist in two-thirds of all schools including TUTU and MECP schools. TUTU centres form the largest share of community schools without an SMC, as less than a quarter of all TUTU centres have an SMC.

SMCs typically have about 10members, though this ranges from three to 23 members. About 40% of all SMC members are female. The GPI of SMC membership is greater than one in a quarter of all schools. Generally, SMCs largely consist of parents, followed by teachers, community or religious leaders, and current or former pupils.

In line with policy, head teachers most frequently fill the secretary role in an SMC (88% of the time), while the chair in the SMC is most often a parent (77%) or a community leader (11%), and is usually male (86%). In a very small number of schools (3%), the head teacher is not involved in the SMC at the school at all.

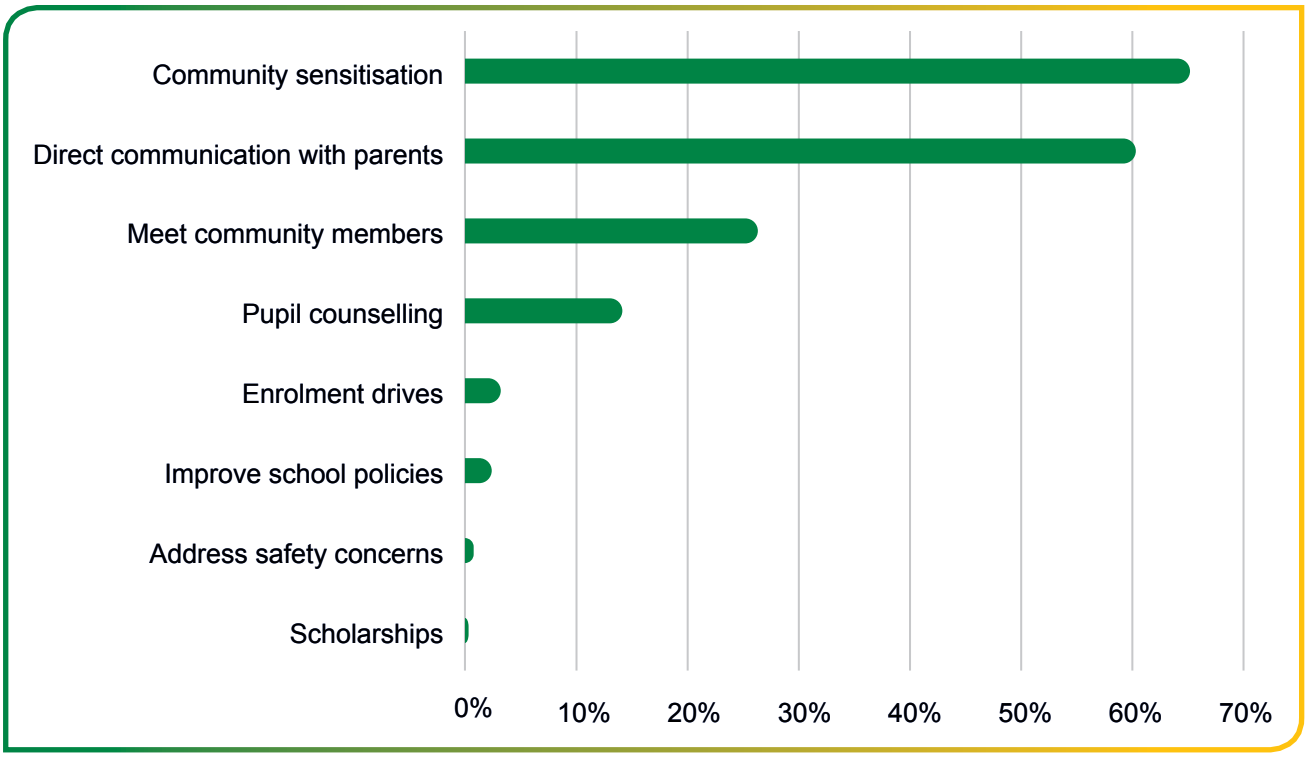
The degree of SMC activity can be judged by indicators such as the number of meetings and attendance at recent meetings. Almost all SMCs had at least one meeting in both 2016 and 2017, although the number of meetings range from once a year to once a week, but average at four meetings in 2016 and three meetings in 2017 (up to June 2017, when data collection happened). There are no sharp trends in SMC activity by district, school ownership status, or by the type of SMC chair, suggesting that this might have more to do with community-level characteristics. Attendance at the last SMC meeting has a broad range – from 25% to 100%. However, two-thirds of the SMCs had an attendance rate of 90% or higher, with an average of seven members present.

SMCs had good record keeping of the SMC meetings, as over 90% of all schools reported having written-down minutes of SMC meetings. These minutes were available and up to date on the day of the interview in three-quarters of the schools. Record keeping was better in public schools than private schools, and the worst in community schools, with only about half of the community schools able to show minutes of the latest SMC meeting.

SMCs can be a useful platform for improving the inclusivity of education, as they can help bridge the gap between communities and schools. For this to happen, however, SMCs need to be aware of issues related to the exclusion of certain groups, and must work actively to bring them to school. Although many schools have SMCs, only a small share (about 15%) reported discussing inclusive education for girls or inclusive education for children with disabilities at their last meeting, while about a quarter reported discussing enrolling OOSC during 2017. Overall, there does not appear to be any strong correlation between the pupil dropout rate or disability ratios in enrolled children and the frequency with which such issues are discussed within schools, suggesting that SMCs might not be fully familiar with the needs of children within schools.

About a third of all SMCs reported doing something in the last school year to bring children that have dropped out or children that have never been to school, to school (see Figure 54). The most common activities reported include community sensitisation activities and direct engagement with parents and community members. Interestingly, scholarships and safety concerns were rarely reported as part of SMC strategies to help address the OOS problem, even though these reasons were reported by parents as barriers toward educating their children (see Chapter 7).

Figure 54: SMC activities to bring OOSC to school during 2016



Note: *Respondents were allowed to select as many activities as applicable, due to which these responses do not aggregate to 100%.*

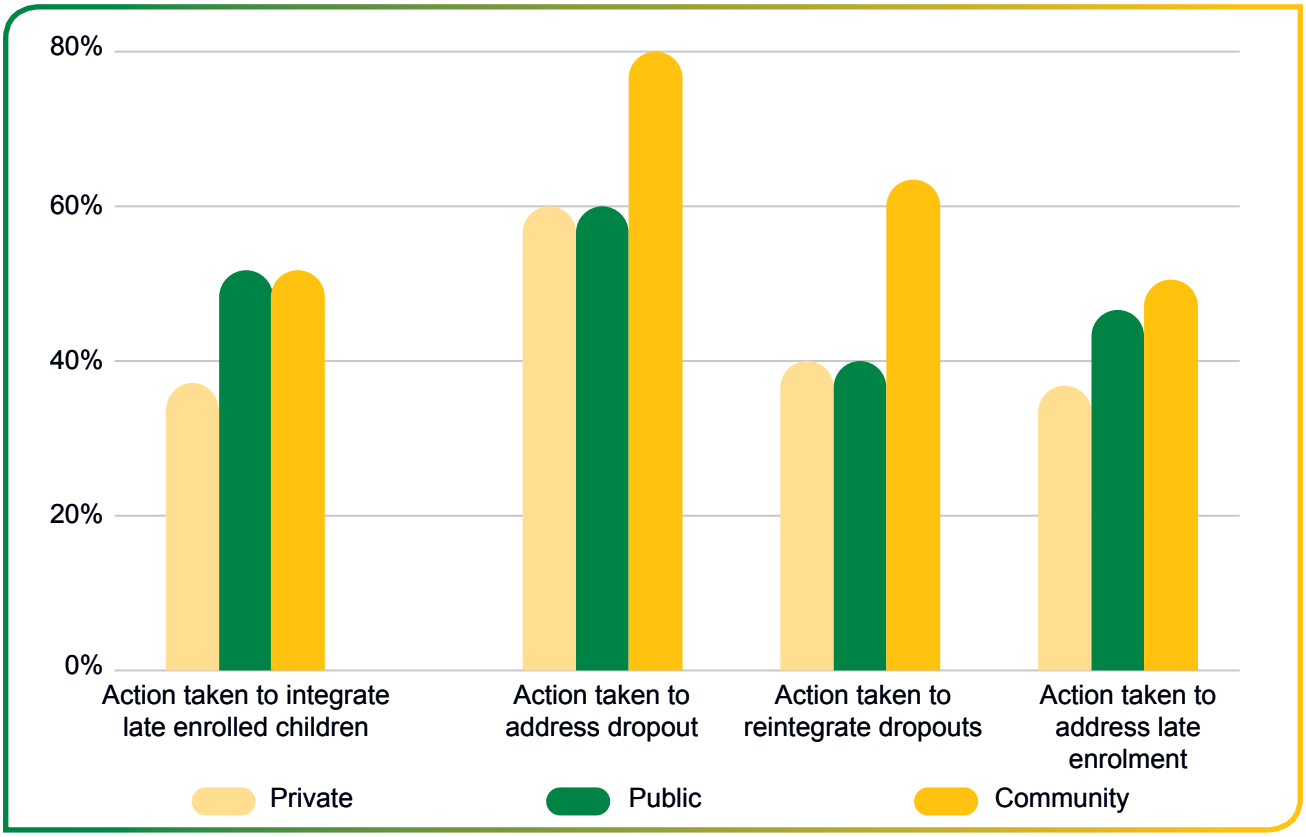
During the qualitative research, a number of respondents noted that SMC members played an active role in terms of engaging with students who had dropped out as well as their parents to encourage return children to school. However, this was not always the case. On the whole, while initiatives by SMCs are commendable, they are **ad hoc** and on their own are insufficient to address the issues of retention or reintegration of OOSC.

6.6.3 Other forms of support

In addition to the SMC-led activities to bring OOSC to school, some schools reported other community-based initiatives for this purpose. Interestingly, these two types of community-based support often overlap, with only an additional 4% of schools having community initiatives but no SMC-led initiatives. In all other cases, there was an overlap. The initiatives consisted largely of community sensitisation and direct communication with parents, as with the SMC-led activities.

Figure 55 illustrates the relative share of schools, by school type, which reported taking action during the last school year to address and integrate dropouts and late-enrolled pupils. It shows that public school administration was consistently the most active across all four categories, followed by community schools, and private schools.

Figure 55: Percentage of school administrations who took action to reduce OOSC in 2016, by school type



Community sensitisation, direct communication with parents, and SMC-organised meetings with community members were the most common strategies school administration reported for actions taken by the school to address pupil dropout and late enrolment.

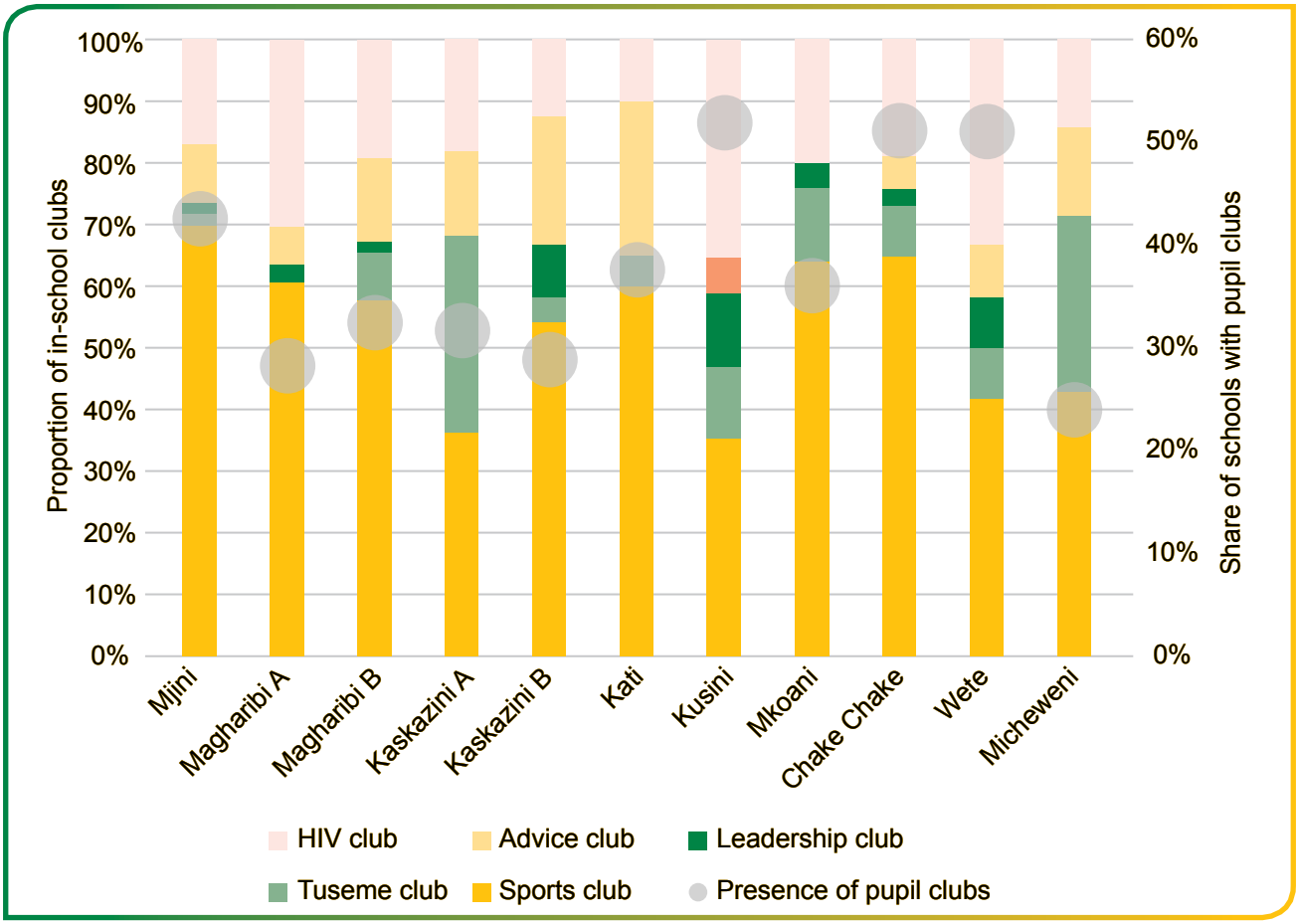
Schools adopted similar strategies to reintegrate dropouts and to integrate late-enrolled children during the previous school year. This largely consisted of pupil counselling, family counselling, and extra teacher support. For dropouts there was a greater focus on counselling activities, while for late-enrolled children there was a greater focus on extra teacher support. Remedial or extra classes and ALCs were rarely the routes employed by schools for the purpose of integrating previously OOSC: about 7% of the schools reported setting up extra classes for such children while even fewer schools (about 2%) reported turning to ALCs to cater for their needs.

One-third of all schools also have different clubs for pupils and this varies by district, as indicated by the secondary axis in Figure 56. These clubs are largely extra-curricular in nature, such as the environment club, sports club, and better health club, though a smaller share are directly aimed at providing support to children, such as the advice club, HIV club, and Tuseme club.[30] Figure 56 illustrates the relative prevalence of different pupil clubs by district, and only focuses on a subset of all available clubs. Strictly academic clubs have been excluded from this analysis. The presence of pupil clubs varies by district, from a high of over 50% in Kusini to a low of less than a third in Magharibi A.

While the largest proportion of available school clubs are sports clubs, the prevalence of other pupil clubs varies by district. Such clubs are far more common in public schools than in private or community schools.

[30] *Tuseme is a youth empowerment programme and these clubs intend to train girls to identify and understand the problems that affect them, articulate these problems, and take action to solve them.*

Figure 56: Relative prevalence of different pupil clubs, by district (%)



We did not collect information on the pupil participation level within different groups, due to which we cannot rank clubs based on the scale of their operations. However, it is clear that pupil clubs present a potential means of providing support to vulnerable groups while they are in school and that there is room to further expand their coverage.

6.7 Alternative and remedial learning

This section discusses features of the alternative and remedial learning system, as it currently operates in Zanzibar.

ALCs in Zanzibar are classes offered at primary schools for children who need extra support. Such children might be over-age children who have started school for the first time, or they might have returned to school after a period of being OOS. These classes are at the pre/primary level, and focus on teaching foundational skills so that children can be integrated into regular primary level classes as soon as possible. There is no fixed duration for how long a child is expected to stay in an ALC, and the decision to retain a child in the ALC or to integrate the child in a primary class is made by the ALC teacher. Transitioning out of ALC can even happen during the school year.

In addition to ALCs within primary schools, there are alternative learning centres where students (aged 15–22 years) are provided with pre-vocational skills. There are two such centres operating in Zanzibar and these are discussed separately in Section 6.7.2.

All other forms of extra support offered to help children catch up with their peers, particularly children that are slow, disabled, or at risk of dropping out, have been grouped under remedial

learning and are analysed in the section that follows. Such classes may require students to pay for them. Tutoring sessions organised to prepare children for upcoming national examinations are not included in our definition of remedial classes as they tend to cater to all the learners in a particular grade.

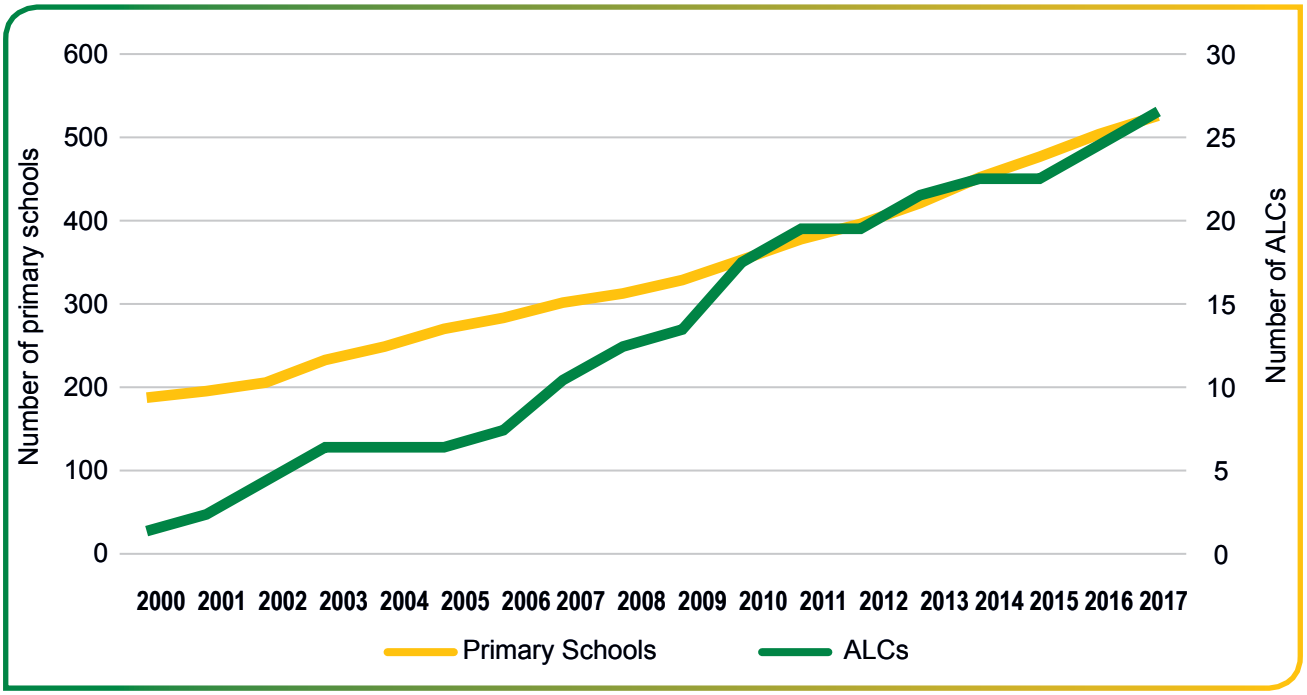
As discussed already, a very small share of schools set up extra classes to address the needs of children who have recently started school for the first time or returned to school after a period of dropping out. An even smaller share turn to ALCs for this purpose. The sections that follow set out the state and coverage of various forms of alternative and remedial learning opportunities across schools in Zanzibar.

6.7.1 ALCs

ALCs exist in 27 schools, or 5% of all primary schools in Zanzibar.[31] All but one of these ALCs are at a public primary school.[32] Figure 57 charts the growth of ALCs and primary schools over time from the time the first ALC was set up in 2000. While there has been consistent positive growth in both, the absolute number of ALCs relative to the number of primary schools remains quite low.

As discussed above, ALCs mostly cater to children who have returned to school after a period of having dropped out or to over-age children who have never been to school before. In addition, five of the schools with an ALC also transfer children falling behind academically in regular classes to the ALC. This suggests that the ALC tends to function as a remedial class at times as well. A small number (four) out of all schools with an ALC also have a functioning remedial class, indicating that the two are not always substitutes at the school level.

Figure 57: Growth in ALCs versus primary schools over time



[31] *We were only able to survey 26 of these 27 ALCs since the relevant teacher was on extended leave in one of the schools so could not be interviewed.*

[32] *One secondary school, Mwanakwerekwe B, reported having an ALC. The school had recently been upgraded from a primary school to a secondary school. However, the class had no children enrolled in the 2017 school year, and since our analysis focuses on 'functional' ALCs, this school does not feature in our analysis.*

ALC teachers

While all schools offering an ALC have only one, almost always taking place in a dedicated classroom, the number of teachers ranges from one in most schools to a maximum of four ALC teachers. This means that teachers either teach ALC children together or alternate taking lessons. In instances with multiple ALC teachers present on the day of the survey, we interviewed the ALC teacher who was teaching the class during the 2017 school year. These teachers usually have a certificate or a diploma in education, although approximately 10% reported having no professional education qualifications. This is comparable to the professional education qualifications possessed by most primary-level teachers, which is encouraging, as it means that schools are not systematically selecting less-qualified teachers to teach ALCs.

ALC teachers have received training support in 21 of 26 schools (80%) with functional ALCs. On average, two teachers per school have been trained specifically on how to teach the ALC. However, the utilisation of these teachers across schools is not optimal, with the result that four schools have untrained teachers teaching the ALC while another three schools have trained teachers that are currently not teaching. This suggests that there is some spare capacity within the system to utilise these additional trained teachers that are not currently teaching an ALC, assuming their time teaching regular classes can be easily redirected toward other teachers.

Teachers of ALCs have had different exposure to training: some recalled only a single round of training while others recalled as many as seven instances of being trained on teaching ALCs. The difference between Unguja and Pemba districts is marked – in Unguja, schools have an average of 2.2 trained teachers while this is 1.5 in Pemba. This highlights the fact that schools in Pemba not only have fewer ALCs but also receive less support at the teacher level to help equip them for teaching children in these classes.

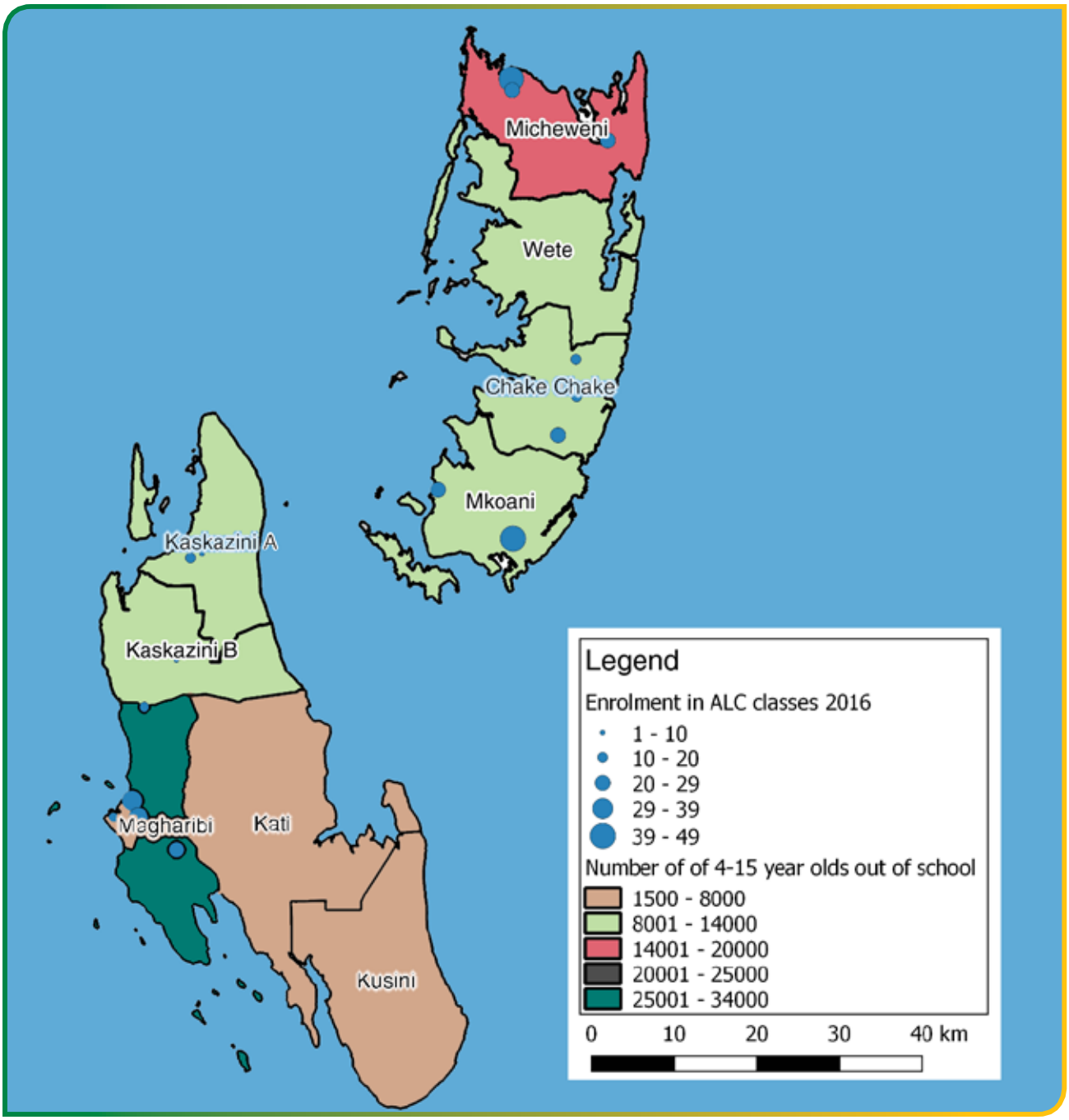
Our qualitative interaction with ALC teachers in schools revealed that teachers generally feel under-supported in teaching ALCs, since the needs of children in these classes are different from children in regular classes and the training offered to them is neither regular nor very in-depth. Moreover, training in the absence of a specific ALC curriculum leaves decisions on issues such as progression and retention up to individual teachers, which leads to inconsistencies within the system.

ALC location and enrolment

Given that ALCs are designed to support late entrants and OOSC who have recently returned to primary school, Figure 58 illustrates the location and enrolment of ALCs in 2017 against the total number of OOSC in each district.

The map below shows that ALC coverage is varied, and incredibly limited on the whole, with few schools offering ALCs. The size of the dots is proportional to ALC enrolment during 2017, which shows that the scale of ALC operations is largest closest to town (i.e. in Mjini and Magharibi), while enrolment tends to be smaller inland, particularly in Pemba. In addition, districts like Kati, Kusini, and Wete have no ALCs at all.

Figure 58: Location and size of ALCs in 2017



In total, across all districts 483 pupils were enrolled in ALCs in 2017 by the time of the data collection, while 443 pupils were enrolled in ALCs during 2016 (see Table 12). Class size does not appear to be expanding significantly from one year to another, despite an increase in the total number of ALCs. Overall, the scale of ALC operations is extremely small: ALC enrolment equals 0.18% of all primary-level enrolment in Zanzibar in 2017, or 0.22% of the projected primary school-age population[33] in the same year.

[33] *Census estimates from 2012 suggest there were 207, 404 6–11 year olds in Zanzibar. Using an annual growth rate of 2.8%, the equivalent estimate for 2017 is 213, 211.*

Table 12: Total ALC enrolment in 2016 and 2017, by district

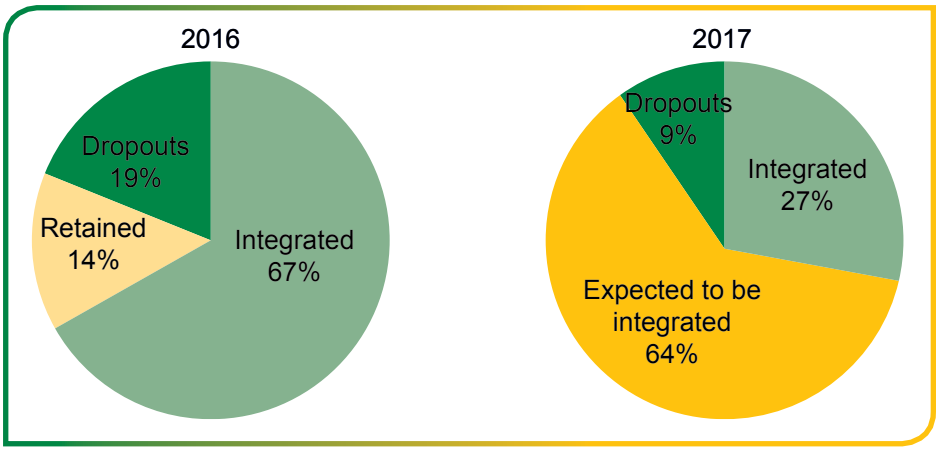
	Total 2016 enrolment	Boys – 2016	Girls – 2016	Total 2017 enrolment	Boys – 2017	Girls – 2017
Mjini	161	114	47	150	107	43
Magharibi A	11	8	3	6	2	4
Magharibi B	26	20	6	28	12	16
Kaskazini A	23	23	0	65	62	3
Kaskazini B	6	4	2	39	34	5
Kati	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kusini	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mkoani	70	44	26	40	32	8
Chake	47	43	4	74	66	8
Wete	0	0	0	0	0	0
Micheweni	99	55	44	81	42	39
Total	443	311	132	483	357	126

Pupil retention, dropout, and integration

Data on pupil retention, dropout, and integration relied heavily on respondent recall since ALC teachers and schools do not always maintain written records containing this information. In addition, given the fluid structure of ALCs, which allows progression during the school year as well as at the end, this recall is likely to have led to noise in the data.

Figure 59 presents a comparison of retention, dropout, and integration rates for children enrolled in ALCs during 2016 and 2017. Although the percentages themselves are perhaps not very informative (due to the aforementioned high risk of recall error with these questions), the trend across all districts is encouragingly in the direction of children largely graduating from the ALC and being integrated into a regular class. Even though our survey took place halfway through the 2017 school year, it is interesting to see that some of the 2017 cohort had already been integrated by that time. However, the presence of dropouts from ALCs in both 2016 and 2017 suggests that there is a need for additional support mechanisms within schools to help retain children in school as the ALC on its own is not sufficient in eliminating dropout.[34]

Figure 59: Comparison of 2016 and 2017 ALC retention, dropout, and integration rates



[34] *The difference in transition, retention, and repetition rates for girls and boys does not follow a consistent trend, even within districts. In addition, this data is available for a very small share of the total ALCs. As a result, this data has not been presented here but is made available in Annex C.2.*

6.7.2 Alternative learning centres

In addition to the ALCs in regular schools, there are two alternative learning centres for youth where children aged 15–22 years are given pre-vocational skills. One centre, Kituo cha Elimu Mbadala (Rahaleo), is located in Mjini while the other centre, Kituo cha Elimu Mbadala (Wingwi), is located in Micheweni.

The two centres differ greatly in terms of their scale of operations. Rahaleo started operating in 2006 and operates in two shifts, while Wingwi started operations in 2017. Together, the two centres enrolled 614 pupils in 2017, of which girls form a much smaller share (see Table 13).

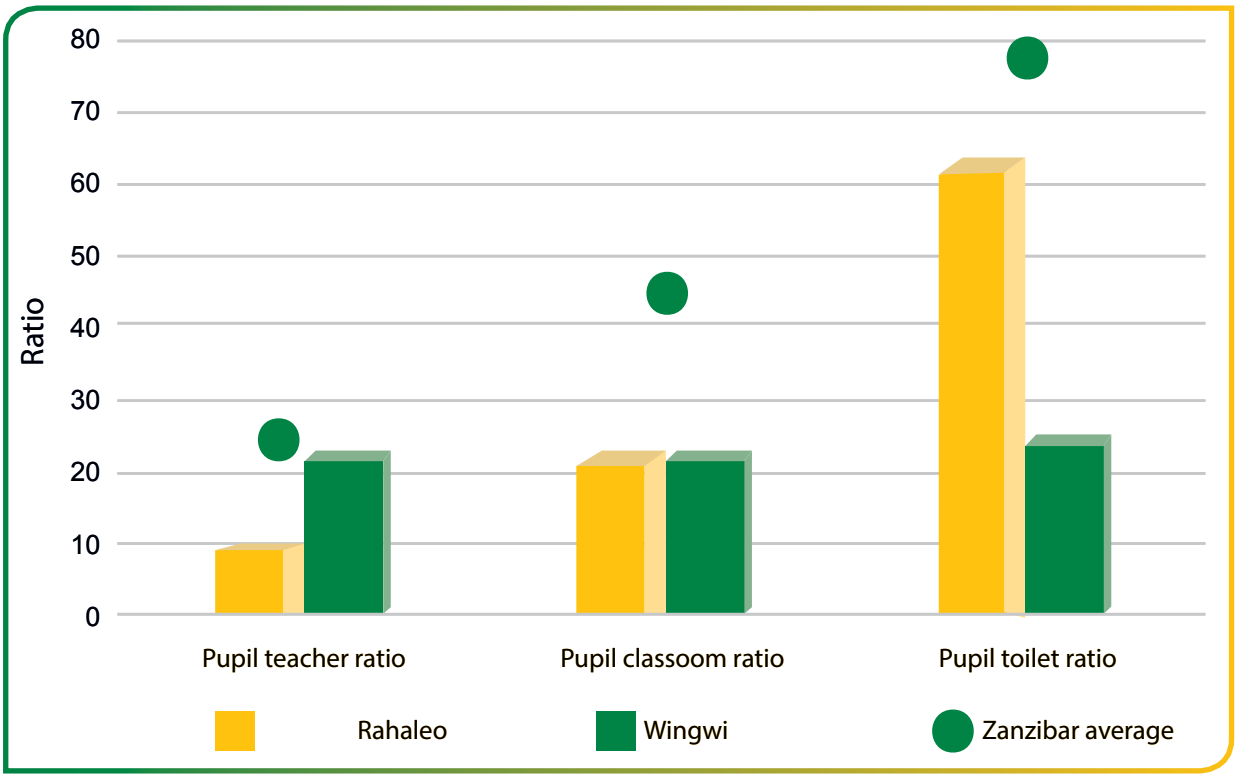
Table 13: Total enrolment in Rahaleo and Wingwi alternative learning centres, by gender

	Total 2016 enrolment	Boys – 2016	Girls – 2016	Total 2017 enrolment	Boys – 2017	Girls – 2017
Rahaleo	359	248	111	319	257	62
Wingwi	n/a	n/a	n/a	206	164	42
Total	359	248	111	614	421	104

Figure 60 charts the PTR, PCRR, and pupil-to-toilet ratio for the two alternative learning centres against the national average for Zanzibar. Although the alternative learning centres cannot be directly compared to ordinary schools since they function as vocational centres instead of regular schools, it is still a useful exercise to contextualise the capacity at these centres.

While Rahaleo has far more teachers than Wingwi, the PTR for both is below the national average. Wingwi appears to rely heavily on volunteer teachers, as almost half of all teachers are volunteers, which raises questions about the sustainability of the operations within this centre. In terms of infrastructure capacity, as indicated by the PCRR and pupil-to-toilet ratio, the two centres are not overcrowded compared to regular schools.

Figure 60: Comparison of Rahaleo and Wingwi alternative learning centres



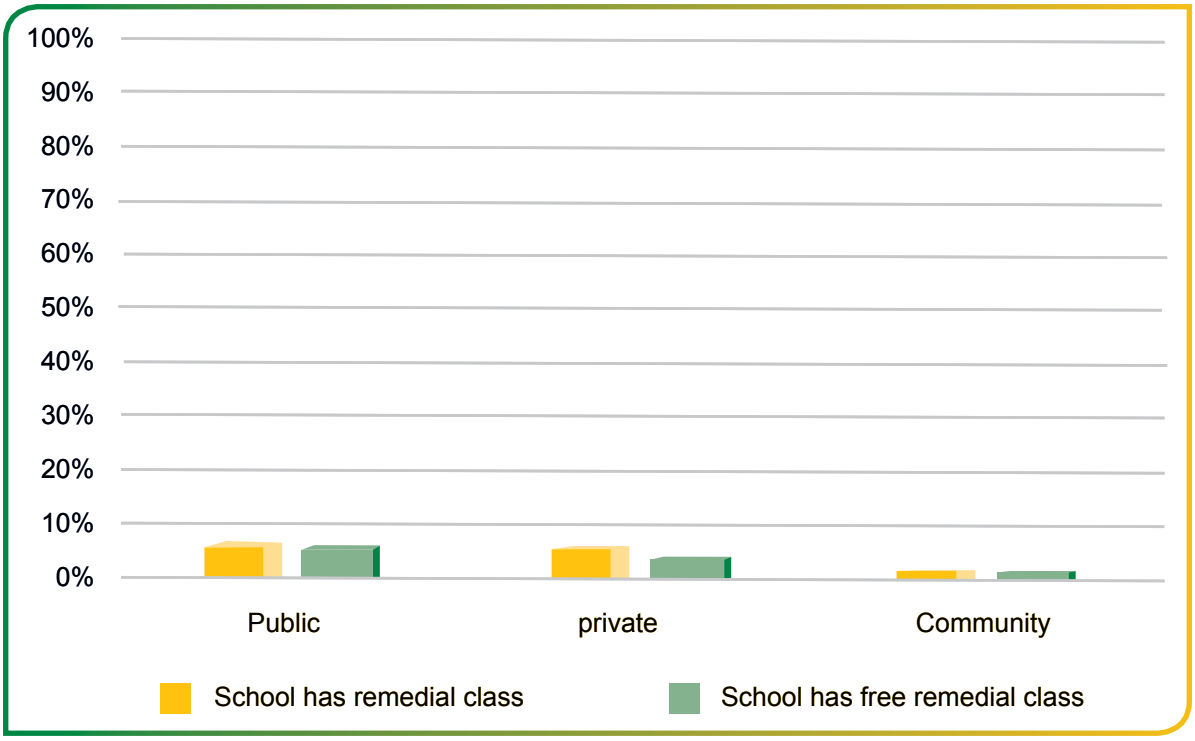
Alternative learning centres are specifically designed to cater to the children who are too old to join ALCs in a primary school and who otherwise might never go to school. Even though these centres are inclusive by definition, they appear to be falling short of other inclusiveness standards. For example, only Rahaleo has a school counsellor or SMC. In addition, both centres have a negligible number of children with disabilities enrolled in 2017. Moreover, both centres charge fees, which suggests that it might not be possible for children from poorer households to access them, further compounding their disadvantage.

Like ALCs within schools, the reach of the alternative learning centres, and the alternative education system within Zanzibar, is limited. Given the low PTR and PCRR at both centres, it appears that there is some spare capacity within them to accommodate additional students.

6.7.3 Remedial learning opportunities

A very small share (5%) of all schools offer some remedial learning support to pupils. Some of these schools require payment from children, so only 4% of all schools in Zanzibar offer free remedial classes. Figure 61 illustrates that only a very small share of community schools offer remedial classes. In addition, all the remedial classes being offered at community schools and almost all the remedial classes being offered by public schools are free.

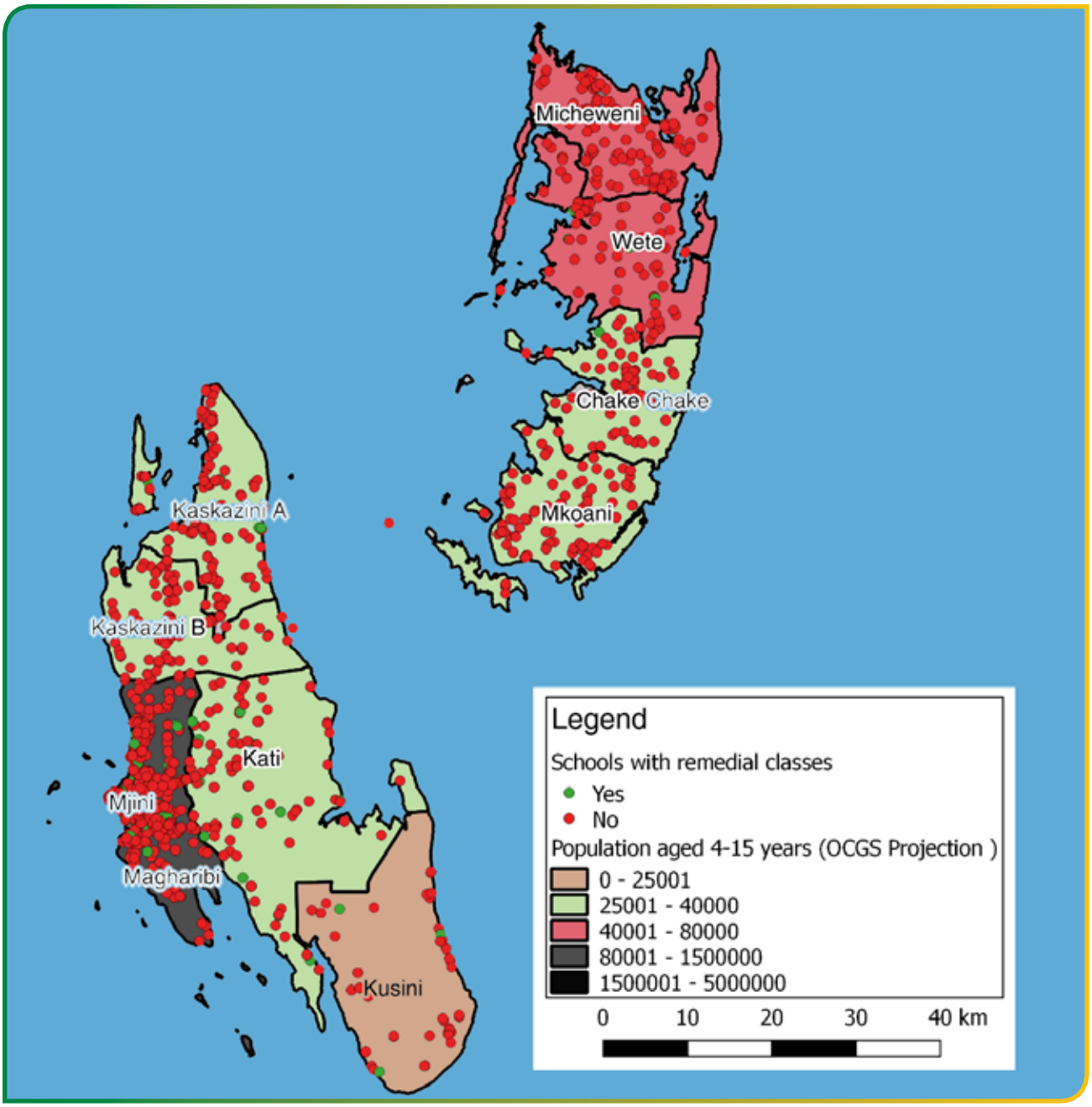
Figure 61: Proportion of schools offering remedial classes, by school type (%)



In contrast, paid remedial classes appear to be concentrated in private schools. In individually owned private schools, only 65% of the remedial classes are free for pupils to attend. This suggests that children who need additional learning support within private schools might be disadvantaged disproportionately if they are unable to fund the costs associated with this extra support.

Remedial classes are not uniformly distributed across school districts. Figure 62illustrates the location of all schools with a remedial class against the district-level school-age population. Green dots mark schools that have a functioning remedial class in 2017 while red dots indicate schools that do not offer such a class.

Figure 62: Geographical distribution of free remedial classes



Overall, very few schools offer remedial learning support to their pupils (indicated by green dots), and this does not appear to be highly correlated to the school-age population within each district. While Magharibi B and Kati have the most number of schools with remedial classes, Kati and Kusini have a greater share of total schools offering remedial classes during the current school year. Even then, this is merely 12% of the schools in Kati and 8% of the schools in Kusini. Moreover, three districts – Kaskazini B, Mkoani, and Micheweni – offer no remedial learning opportunities to children, with two of these three districts being in Pemba.

This suggests that children have limited opportunities, once enrolled in school, to benefit from extra support if they are struggling to keep up with their peers. This is particularly problematic in instances where pupil learning is below par and schools are unable to offer the support children need to improve.

6.8 Conclusion

On average, schools in Zanzibar offer fragmented, inconsistent, and inadequate support for children with special needs, which in the current context includes girls, children with physical disabilities, children struggling to cope with the content of schooling (including slow learners), children that have previously dropped out or started school late, and children that are vulnerable due to a range of social and economic reasons.

Current interventions to make schools inclusive for at-risk and marginalised children include school counsellors, SMCs, school clubs, ALCs, and remedial classes. However, the implementation and depth of these initiatives varies between schools, and without concerted financial and technical support from the MoEVT, and without a uniform system to identify and support at risk or excluded children,these initiatives fall short of the desired objective of identifying and integrating OOSC or children at risk of becoming OOS into school.

Disability: Our qualitative and quantitative research strands confirm that children with disabilities continue to face significant barriers in access to schooling. Enrolment statistics suggest that children with disabilities, especially girls, are disproportionately excluded from school. Within schools, children with disabilities often face problems as very few schools have accessible infrastructure, tailored learning resources, or teachers trained on how to teach children with disabilities.

Gender: Encouragingly, girls are not disadvantaged relative to boys in school access and learning outcomes; indeed, the GPI in pupil learning outcomes indicates that girls tend to outperform boys, at least at the primary level. This suggests that efforts to improve school inclusiveness need to pay equal attention to boys and girls. However, girls are disproportionately more likely to drop out due to early marriage or pregnancy. Dropout rates among pupils that have an early pregnancy are high, being reported to be at 75% among schools that had a pregnancy case during the last three years.

Poverty: Public primary and pre-primary schools are not universally free, as is intended under the 2015 free education policy. Under the policy, the MoEVT took on responsibility to disburse additional funds to schools along with resources. Evidence suggests that the provision of these materials and funds is not always timely, as a result of which schools continue to collect parental contributions to continue operations. In addition, provision of free school meals to public pre-primary school pupils only happens in 57% of all public pre-primary schools, highlighting a gap in the implementation of this programme.

Support services within schools: In-school support offered to children in the form of counselling sessions, SMCs, and pupil clubs is limited both in terms of scope and success. Counsellors often do not have the appropriate training, guidelines, or designated time to identify and support at-risk children. In addition, SMCs operate on an **ad hoc** basis, and often do not take action to address problems associated with at-risk or excluded children.

ALCs and remedial classes: The scale of ALC operations is very small as ALCs only enrol 0.18% of all primary-level enrolment in Zanzibar. ALC teachers usually lack the necessary training, resources, and support to effectively teach children in these classes. Due to an absence of a clear ALC curriculum or guidelines around enrolment and promotion, the ALC experience varies from one school to another. Although ALCs are designed to cater to children that are over-age and have recently started school, in practice they often double as a way of improving learning among slow learners, meaning they have a remedial component to them as well. Within schools, there is also some confusion on the role of ALCs versus remedial classes.

7 Factors affecting the OOS status of children

7.1 Introduction

Box 5: Key findings on factors affecting the OOS status of children

- Almost all children of school-going age attend school at some point, even if pre-primary education is delayed for some children because of their young age and the long distance to travel to school.
- The key exception concerns children with disabilities, as schools are ill equipped to cater to these children. There is also a sense of shame among parents and children, limiting their opportunities.
- The dynamic nature of childhood was obvious in each of our field sites. Regardless of the schooling status of children, almost every child also bore significant other responsibilities on a daily basis.
- A number of push factors contribute toward children dropping out from school:
  - Associated education costs (such as uniform and food) till primary level as well as fees and associated costs at the secondary level cause problems for enrolled children to remain in school.
  - The general level of engagement among the parent generation is also low, which reflects their own low levels of education, so they are not always focused on the education of their children.
  - Parents and community members are concerned about the perceived utility of education, as they wonder whether schooling will lead to gainful employment.
  - The quality of schooling is also perceived to be low in many communities, discouraging children from remaining in school. The rapid influx of children to schools without the prerequisite resources to cope with this increase has put further pressures on the school system.
  - Students are at risk of experiencing sexual and physical violence at schools, which affects the ability of students, especially girls, to attend school regularly.
  - Most girls who get pregnant leave school, even though the policy has changed to encourage them to return to school.
  - A significant number of children who have dropped out come from single-parent families or families where the parents are not the primary carers for the children.
  - Many dropouts attribute corporal punishment by teachers as a key reason for their leaving schools. However, authority figures such as parents and teachers report a preference for the use of corporal punishment to maintain discipline.
  - Finally, Form 2 exams serve as a crucial marker for education success, with students who fail these exams usually unable to complete their formal schooling.

Continued

Continued

- Many of these push factors are also closely tied to the key pull factor of income-generating activities that attract school-age children, taking them away from the school system. Tourism, fishing, and farming provide opportunities for these children to make a living for themselves and support their families, which can prove too attractive to pass up.
- The same push and pull factors lead to some students being absent regularly, and it is conceivable that such children could ultimately drop out from school. Seasonal activities (such as farming or tourism) and imitation of dropouts also contribute to higher potential for dropout.
- There are some important gendered findings as well. While enrolment appears similar for boys and girls in pre-primary, at the primary and secondary levels there are different factors leading girls and boys to drop out. For example, at the primary level girls drop out since they are expected to carry a greater burden of household work or due to the expectation that girls will soon marry, while at the secondary level boys are more likely to participate in income-generating activities. Girls also dropout at this level, though at a much lower rate, because of household work or because they get married or become pregnant.

In this chapter, we assess and analyse the key factors contributing to students dropping out of pre-primary, primary, and secondary education, especially in areas where the OOSC rate is expected to be highest in Zanzibar. This analysis contributes toward informing future strategies aimed at preventing dropout and reintegrating OOSC into the education system.

This chapter is informed primarily by the qualitative research carried out as part of this assignment. Consistent with our approach throughout the report, our research made a clear distinction between three groups of children in our common understanding of the term 'OOSC':

- **Never been to school**: Children who have **never** attended **any** school at **any** level;
- **Dropouts**: Children who once attended school regularly (for more than three months) but have not been to school for three months or more;and
- **At-risk children**: Children who attend school generally but who face various challenges that often prevent them from attending school regularly, and put them at high risk of ultimately dropping out.

During the school visits we carried out in March 2017 as part of the inception stage of this assignment, it became clear that most stakeholders, especially at the regional and local levels, referred to absenteeism in general and absentees in particular when we were discussing dropouts and the OOS status of children. As such, even though the key focus of the research was on children who have never been to school or dropouts, the research investigated the relationship with absenteeism, particularly because of the anticipated potential links between absenteeism and eventual dropout and OOS status.

The use of the term 'children' in this chapter is in reference to school-age children, unless otherwise noted. We considered children between the ages of four and 18 as forming the majority of school-age children, but we were not strict in our interpretation as we wanted to capture the realities of children either under the age of four or over the age of 18 who were currently a part of the formal education system.[35]

The next section will provide a brief overview of the four sites where we carried out our fieldwork to describe the context that informs this research. Section 7.3 will then present the analysis of the

[35] *We note that the quantitative survey used the age bracket of 4–15 but we wanted to use a wider age group to capture the experiences of overage students, which we expected to be numerous, through this research.*

key factors affecting the OOS status of children in Zanzibar. The analysis has been disaggregated according to the reasons for why children never attend school, drop out, or are at risk of dropping out. Where possible, we have also differentiated between push and pull factors, although we note that these reasons are often interrelated. This chapter will conclude with some potential recommendations to address the reasons shaping OOS status.

7.2 Community profile

As discussed in Section 3.3, our research team visited four different communities in Pemba and Unguja as part of this assignment. In this section, we provide a brief overview of each community, and then present some analysis of key issues that we assessed in these communities.

Site A

This community is in a relatively rural part of Pemba, and the village is considered to be one of the poorest in the district. The community is close to the sea, and houses are clustered together. The research team noted the presence of a large number of children in the community. A majority of the mothers we interviewed are single parents, as their husbands had passed away and now they take care of their children by themselves.

Given the proximity to the sea, the community relies on fishing as their primary source of income. Some of the community members are also involved in seaweed farming. In addition, some people raise livestock, while a few are businessmen. A number of people also work to make brick and concrete. The area is very dry, so is not suitable for agriculture, and very few people work as farmers.

The parent generation was largely uneducated because they did not have schools in the community in the past. There is now a public pre-primary school that caters to about 150 students, but the school is about 2.5 km away from the community as it serves two shehias. The primary and secondary school, which is also in the same area, serves over 1,400 students, and most children from this community attend this school. There is a religious college that teaches a few technical subjects as well in a nearby community, and some children from our research community attend this college as well.

The poverty in this community manifests in a number of ways. Most notably, the children appear to be severely malnourished, and informal observations made it clear that children of a certain age seemed to have low growth for their age. The children seemed weak and underfed, making it even more difficult for them to travel significant distances to attend school.

Site B

This community is in the furthest shehia from Pemba Town, in terms of distance, among our research sites. The community is close to the sea, though, and the local school is also in the same community.

Like the first community, a lot of people here rely on fishing to earn a living. However, many people work as casual labourers in clover farms as well. In addition, farming is a key income-generating activity, with people cultivating fruits and vegetables such as cassava, bananas, and tomatoes. Other activities include working to make brick and concrete, engaging in small businesses, and raising livestock. The employment profile of community members is more diverse than in Site A. This community is also poor, but not as poor as Site A, as cloves have served a lot of households in the region. Many people either work as casual labourers or own some clove farms to make a living.

The general education awareness in the community can be considered to be high. Although not all parents are literate themselves, they are aware of the importance of educating their children. A number of education-related programmes have been implemented by government as well as non-government organisations in the region, so parents have been sensitised about the need to educate their children. Some community members have risen to high government positions, thus serving as role models for the area.

The availability of pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools in the community has made it easy for children to attend school at all levels, as they do not have to walk long distances for their education. The local pre-primary and primary school has over 2,500 children and the secondary school has about 500 children. A TUTU centre has also been recently established in the community, and it is now serving about 70 pupils. There are other pre-primary schools in the adjoining community, but only few children from this community attend those schools.

Site C

This community is not far from town but it still appeared rural in its setting. The houses are generally very scattered, and the roads in parts of the community are very rough. Nonetheless, proximity to the centre has allowed most households to access important services like tap water, electricity, and transport. Most of the people in this community are internal migrants from Pemba as well as from mainland, with only a few people originally from Unguja.

Most of the people in this community work as farmers or spice tour guides. The farmers usually have farm plots where they cultivate coconuts, cassavas, and other agricultural products, and they have a few livestock as well. The government owns big spice plantations in the region, and a number of people, especially children and young people, take tourists to visit these plantations. Some of the community members travel to nearby tourist towns to work in hotels or as casual labourers. The community is poor to the extent that some parents depend on their children to work on spice tours and bring in money to sustain household income.

The general education situation in the community is poor, as many of the parents did not go to school themselves and so do not regularly encourage children to go to school either. The community has a public primary school and two private primary schools, and they also have access to two secondary schools in nearby communities. Most of the pre-primary and primary students in the community attend the public school, and only a few attend the other two private schools. When the students complete their primary schooling, they have to walk about 1.5 km to reach one of the two secondary schools closest to the community. Moreover, one of the two secondary schools is actually a designated school for high-achieving students, so very few children from this community attend this school.

Site D

This community is close to the main road, and less than an hour away from the main town. The community is directly affected by tourism on a regular basis, to the extent that a number of foreigners live in or near the community.

Tourism provides the most significant livelihood opportunity in the area. Many of the residents work as tour guides or in hotels, while some are involved with fishing. Some of the residents have their own small businesses, and very few people rely on farming in this community.

The general education situation in the community is considered to be poor. Most children only stay in school till they complete primary education. Moreover, most parents do not prioritise education, and children are often late to school as a result. There is one school in the community, which teaches at the pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels, but it can only accommodate students up to Form 2. The school caters to about 600 students at these levels, and students who pass the Form 2 examination go to neighbouring areas to continue to Form 4. There is no secondary school in this community for children to attend Form 3, so they go to the neighbouring secondary school in the adjoining community, which is about 5 km away.

There is an international private school in the region as well, but this is extremely expensive and only very few children from the richest households attend this school.

General observations

A number of common themes have emerged from our field sites. Our sampling purposely focused on selecting communities that were likely to have a high number of OOSC. As a function of this selection, three of the communities we visited were close to the sea and their main economic activity was fishing. The other community was far away from the sea and its main economic activity was spice tour guiding, along with some farming. Poverty was a common theme in all the sites, although the degree and intensity of that poverty differed slightly in different places.[36] Respondents reported different initiatives that have been implemented to reduce poverty so that they can improve the situation of OOSC. The TASAF was one such initiative, which provided cash transfers to poor and vulnerable households under the poverty line, and this initiative was mentioned by beneficiaries in two of the four sites visited.

All the schools we visited lacked human and material resources to provide education services to children in the area. Most respondents across all field sites cited lack of teachers and infrastructure, including classrooms and desks, as impeding the functioning of schools.

The dynamic nature of childhood was obvious in each of our field sites. Regardless of the schooling status of children, almost every child also bore significant other responsibilities on a daily basis. Most children helped their families with various work activities at home, and many children were engaged in some form of income-generating activity in their daily lives. There was a gendered element to the nature of this work, as girls were usually expected to help with household work while boys were more likely to be involved in income generation. In addition, children were also expected to balance their schooling and/or their economic activities alongside attending madrassahs for their religious education. Even at school, children were not only getting an education but were also contributing to the general upkeep of their schools through various activities. The concept of alternative punishment has taken strong hold in schools, which has meant that, in addition to children being involved in cleaning the premises, gardening, and fencing, they are also made to bring sticks and brooms to the school when they are being punished.[37] This is to generate funds for teachers and their schools by selling these bundles of sticks or brooms locally. A typical child in any of our field sites could thus be expected to lead an active, engaged life full of different commitments and activities in addition to their schooling profile.

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[36] *The next section will analyse further the implications of the difference in poverty on the OOS status of children.*

[37] *At the policy level, there is a clear articulation among a wide range of stakeholders that schools should be using positive punishment, but the implications of this policy in practice are not clear, particularly at the local level.*

7.3 Key reasons for OOS status

Having established the profile of the field sites, this section provides a detailed analysis of the key reasons behind the OOS status of children in Zanzibar. In particular, we assess the situation and present the explanation for why children have never been to school, have dropped out from school, or are at risk of dropping out from school. Where possible, we disaggregate these findings by gender, and we conclude the section by disaggregating the findings briefly based on the different education levels in the school system (i.e. pre-primary, primary, and secondary).

7.3.1 Never been to school

Current situation

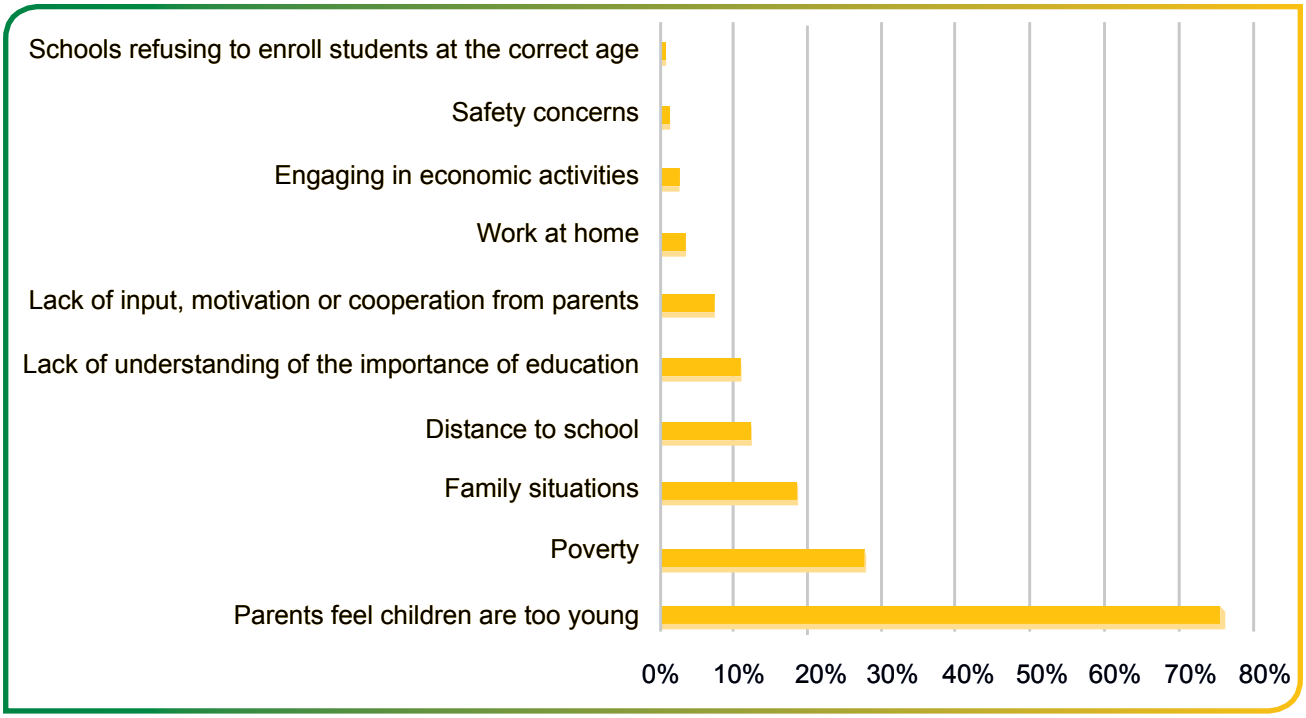
The general situation of school enrolment has improved significantly in recent years in Zanzibar and it is rare to find children of school age who have never been to school. In all our four sites, our respondents claimed that they do not have any children who have never been to school.[38]

In reality, there are some children of school-going age who have never been to school, but our respondents noted that these children were not in school **yet.** For instance, in Site A there were a number of children who have never been to school, but our research revealed that these children were aged between five and eight years and they were not in school because the school was still quite far from the community for children that age, so parents did not want their children to attend pre-primary till they were older. In Site D, these children, especially between four and seven years old, attend religious schools instead at that age, but expect to transition to regular schools in due course. In this community, since schools were not close by, children not only had to walk a long way but also had to walk through a small forest, which could be dangerous for very young children. According to a sheha, many school-age children enrol in school but only a few end up attending regularly in the first year itself. However, these children return once they are old enough to get to the pre-primary school on their own. Children might thus not attend because parents consider them to be too young and so they feel that the schools are too far for those children, but almost all of them attend school in due course. Our respondents thus referred to such children not as 'never been to school' but as 'too young to attend now'.

According to the quantitative school survey (see Figure 63), it is well understood at the school level that parents feel their children are too young to start attending school, as this was the most commonly cited reason for why children start school late. In addition, poverty and a range of other familial characteristics such as lack of support from parents and the need to work at home contribute toward children starting school late.

[38] *There are certain exceptions, however, and these are discussed in greater detail in the next sub-section.*

Figure 63: Reasons for late enrolment to school



Note: *this graph is based on quantitative interviews with school administration, primarily head teachers.*

Respondents credited this trend of almost complete school enrolment (except for children who are too young or live too far from pre-primary schools) to recent policy changes that have made pre-primary compulsory and free in Zanzibar. According to a new policy, as discussed in Section 1.3, it is now compulsory for school-age children to attend two years of pre-primary, six years of primary, and four years of ordinary secondary. In addition, school fees and contributions have been abolished through the primary level and replaced by capitation grants to be provided by the government.[39]

A public school teacher explained the implications of this policy in this way:

> *"Since 2016, all children come to start pre-primary school because of the free education programme policy, launched by the president. Before that, the majority of children did not come for enrolment, especially for pre-primary."*

This view was corroborated by private school teachers as well:

> *"Parents take their children to public schools now because of the free education programme. Before this policy, you could find some school-aged children roaming around in the street, but now all of them are going to school."*

The reach of this policy has also meant that some children have moved from private schools to public schools, as it is now free to attend these schools.

A number of respondents noted that the provision of food (usually porridge), especially for pre-primary children, has had a significant impact to motivate them to attend school. While this effect was noted in all sites, it was pronounced in the most impoverished communities as there the children would come to school because they would get some food. A teacher from an impoverished community highlighted that if their school was unable to provide porridge even for one day then they noticed a significant drop in school attendance among pre-primary children the next day. The

[39] *Recent developments in Zanzibar suggest that the government is preparing to abolish fees at the secondary school level as well from the 2018-19 school year.*

provision of porridge to all pre-primary children was not always regular, and the quantitative survey shows that school feeding programmes operate in about 40% of all pre-primary schools, although this varies by district. However, all schools visited by the qualitative team reported providing porridge to all pre-primary children, and the team observed children getting porridge during break time. For the other schooling levels, there was no regular school feeding programme, although in some schools head teachers reported that different projects have provided short term feeding programmes. According to a head teacher:

> *"Millennium project helped to build a kitchen in this school. During this project, children were given lunch, but when the project was phased out we stopped providing food in school immediately. Children were not paying for this food, but the cost was covered by the project."*

It was clear in our field sites that the potential to receive this food encouraged children to enrol in and attend school. We were not able to determine why there was a variation in terms of which pre-primary schools provided food to their children, as all the sites visited were providing children with food.

These changes have thus meant that poverty alone, despite being very pervasive across our research sites, has not been a core impediment preventing children from at least enrolling to attend a school.

Disability

Although the general situation in terms of school enrolment has improved considerably, there is one key constituency that continues to face difficulties in terms of accessing schooling, at all levels. According to a sheha:

> *"There is a big challenge for children with disabilities, as the learning environment is not supportive (for them) in our school. (We have) no supportive infrastructure, no teaching aid, and no special teachers for special children."*

Another sheha noted further the challenge concerning infrastructure in this way:

> *"There are problems with good infrastructure for children with disabilities, particularly because toilets in most schools in Zanzibar are not supportive of the disabled…"*

The parents of children with disabilities often want their children to go to school and learn but this difficulty in school access limits them. A community leader explained the situation in a group discussion:

> *"There are few disabled (children) but their parents are making efforts to bring them to schools. But there is no supportive environment, for example we do not have head phones for the deaf, we do not have qualified teachers to teach special students, and so on."*

The quantitative findings on school infrastructure (see Section 6.3) support these findings: very few schools have accessible infrastructure for children with disabilities, and even fewer have learning resources for hearing- or sight-impaired children.

In addition to the problems of material and human resources, some parents do not send their children with disabilities to school because of a sense of shame. According to a sheha:

> *"In this community, there are no children with disabilities who are going to school. This is because their parents do not like them to get out of the house, as they feel bad that their child is disabled. They think that other people in the community will treat them badly, because of their disability."*

This quote demonstrates that the challenge to ensure children with disabilities attend school is complex, and goes beyond ensuring the provision of disabled-friendly infrastructure, resources, and teachers. The sense of potential shame that parents, and possibly children, face will require a coordinated approach that addresses underlying conceptions (and misconceptions) about how children with disabilities are treated in society.

Older children

There was some confusion among respondents about what would happen to children who do not begin pre-primary education at an appropriate age. In the past, as discussed earlier, many young children attended religious schools (madrassahs) until they were old enough and strong enough to travel to a school. According to a sheha, in the past schools would accept 7–8 year old students to go to Standard 1directly without going through pre-primary. However, at the community level there was an understanding that there was a recent policy change that made pre-primary compulsory. A sheha reported that if an eight year old child came to school, teachers would not accept him/her in regular classes.

A parent of a dropout student in another shehia articulated this concern thus:

> *"There are some children who have never been to school because of the policy that (children) more than seven years old are not accepted for pre-primary. The government should review the age limit and they should accept all children up to 12 years old, and this will absorb those children who did not have the opportunity to go to school."*

As the quote shows, there was thus some confusion about how the new policy of compulsory pre-primary education would play out in terms of age appropriateness of older children to enrol at that level. The local understanding is that the new policy requires children to be between four and seven years to begin pre-primary education, or at least that it might not be appropriate for children over the age of eight to be in a pre-primary class. Yet these children cannot directly begin Standard 1 either, so how could such children be accommodated? Since the policy is new, the implications remain unclear for now. It should be noted, however, that none of the few children we encountered over the age of 12 who had never been to school showed any interest or willingness to begin school at that age, so it is important to address this issue immediately so that children do not miss out on schooling entirely.

Gender and equity

As stated above, there are very few children from our research sites who have never been to school. Although we explored explicitly to check whether there were any gender or equity considerations in terms of which children never attend school, we found no evidence to suggest this to be the case. For children with disabilities, for instance, our qualitative exploration did not uncover any systematic situation where either disabled boys or girls were more likely to have never attended school.

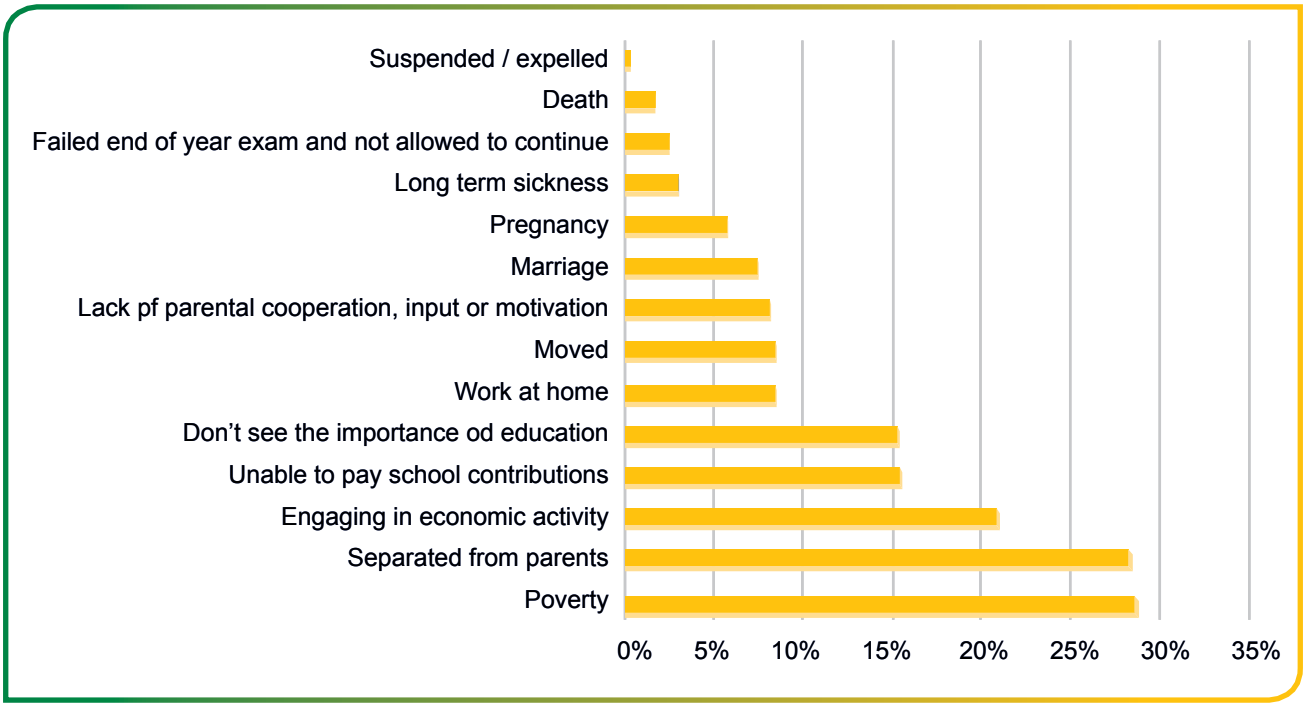
7.3.2 Dropouts

The major reason for the OOS status of children, and the key focus of this assignment, is on school dropouts. Particularly with the implementation of the policy to provide free education at the pre-primary and primary levels in Zanzibar, the school system's biggest challenge now is to retain these children who are enrolled in school. In this section, we present our findings to discuss the key

reasons for school dropouts in Zanzibar. These findings are presented in two subsections: push factors and pull factors. Push factors concern those factors that push enrolled children out of the school system while pull factors concern those factors that pull enrolled children to other sectors instead of school. The net effect remains the same: that school-age children who enrolled are no longer in school.

Figure 64 presents a summary of the reasons cited by school administration for why children drop out. They largely relate to poverty and the associated need to work, children living separately from parents, often in locations where there is no school supply, and lack of parental knowledge, support, and motivation to get children educated. The qualitative findings generally corroborate the overarching trends reported across Zanzibar by school-level respondents.

Figure 64: Reasons for dropout



Note: *this graph is based on quantitative interviews with school administration, primarily head teachers.*

7.4 Push factors

A number of push factors help explain the situation of school dropouts in Zanzibar. These factors should not be understood in isolation but as being interconnected to each other, as a number of them reinforce each other and their effects.

7.4.1 School fees

Although school fees as well as contributions have been abolished up to the primary level in Zanzibar, as at the time of writing in 2017 public secondary schools still charge fees from children. The exact fees differed in each district, and often even within the same district, but our respondents were unanimous in reporting that secondary schooling was not free and that this caused a lot of problems.

For instance, according to a sheha:

> *"The cost for secondary school differs, but based on the Ministry standard, it ranges from TZS 12,000 to 15,000…For secondary school, parents have to pay school fees."*

In another community, a secondary school teacher detailed the cost of attending different levels of secondary school:

> *"Form 1 costs TZS 10,000, Form 2 15,000, Form 3 20,000, and Form 4 25,000. This is the formal payment, and other payments have to be made based on the needs and agreement made between parents and teachers."*

The quantitative survey supports this notion, as it suggests 97.4% of all secondary schools in Zanzibar still require parental contributions.

The need to pay these school fees serves as a critical reason for children to drop out when they reach secondary school. According to the parent of a secondary school dropout:

> *"Teachers are hindering our children from getting education if they do not have school fees. They tell them to go back home until we get the money for school fees, and that the children should only come back to school when they have money."*

Almost all children who dropped out from secondary schooling as well as parents, teachers, head teachers, and other respondents consistently noted the need to pay school fees as a major reason for dropout in their communities. It should be noted that the reasons for children dropping out are likely not singular, as a number of factors often combine to lead to dropout, but it was clear that school fees were an important cause for dropout in the secondary level.

In this context, we note that recent developments suggest that the RGoZ has announced that secondary schooling will also be free from the 2018-19 school year. If this policy is implemented, it could significantly affect secondary school enrolment in the country, as discussed in Section 2.3.1.

7.4.2 Associated costs of education

So far, we have established that pre-primary and primary schooling tends to be free, whereas secondary schooling accrues certain fees that children and their families are expected to pay. Regardless of the level of education, however, most parents reported that the associated costs of attending school were quite high, and these costs were restrictive enough that their children had to drop out.

The nature of these associated costs was quite diverse, depending on the school, its location, and the wider community. There were some primary schools that reported that they provided even books, stationery, and uniforms to their children so that the children had to bear no financial cost to attend school. However, most schools and parents reported a number of schooling expenses that were prohibitive for children. It was also reported that TASAF provided support to meet the schooling needs of children from poor and vulnerable households, with respondents reporting that the focus of TASAF support was toward education and health. Some noted that there are conditions for a household to benefit from the TASAF programme. For instance, if the children from beneficiary households stop attending school or are long-term absentees, then the households could be dropped from the programme. From this view, it is clear that TASAF helps to improve the OOSC situation both by providing funds to households to cover costs **and** by providing an incentive for children to stay in school. According to some respondents, TASAF's support has also improved the performance of students. In the words of a sheha:

> *"There are changes in this school, especially after the coming of TASAF. Students are studying well now, their physical appearance has also changed, especially for those who live in poor households, as they now have uniforms. As a result, performance has also improved. For example, some years back this school was not producing students who went on to attend special schools for Form 1 but this year the school has provided two (such) students."*

Despite this support, a number of associated costs continued to constrain some children's access to education.

Uniform

The cost of school uniform was a key impediment to the education of children. The parent of a dropout student in Site 4 reported, 'I don't have the financial capacity to purchase uniform, (as) these uniforms cost TZS 12,000 per pair and I have four children.' Another parent corroborated this story:

> *"My child dropped out because he wanted a new uniform but I couldn't afford to buy it. So my child decided to leave the school, as his old uniform was not good but I did not have the money for a new one."*

It is important to note that some schools do not have an explicit policy to require children to wear uniform. Nonetheless, children often refuse to continue their schooling when they do not have uniform because of a sense of shame, as noted by a primary school teacher:

> *"There are enrolled students who are registered but they did not report to school after registration, and this is because they did not have uniforms. The school accepts students without uniforms, but students and their parents feel shy to come to school without uniforms, while their fellow students have uniforms."*

During our research, we observed that there was no clear, singular policy governing school uniform across the school system. In one community, some parents said that they are not allowed to send their children to school without uniform, but we observed more than 10 students without uniform in the primary school in that community.

In some of the communities we visited, some international as well as national and local institutions were providing support to ensure that children could acquire the uniform they need to attend school. In one site, for instance, there were three different initiatives to help poor households. First, Save Our Soul identified children from poor environments and helped the poorest households with buying uniform and stationery. Another group called the Most Vulnerable Children Committee are also providing uniforms to poor children. A third committee, at the local level, comprising the head teacher, the health focal person, the sheha, and two children, together identify children from poor households and inform the SMC not to turn such children away from school even if they have no uniform. TASAF was also identified and acknowledged to have made a significant contribution in helping parents to cover associated costs through its cash transfer.

Food and transport

Food is the other major associated cost of schooling, and a number of respondents suggested that their inability to feed their children properly affected their schooling status. According to a community leader:

> *"Some children who are coming from far do not have a place to get breakfast and their parents do not have money to give to children to bring to school. Therefore, they never like going to school because there is nothing to eat in school."*

As was explored in Section 6.5.2, some schools in our sampled areas had school feeding programmes and these had been instrumental in increasing enrolment and reducing dropout. Many of these programmes focused on pre-primary children, so the issue of dropout was less of an issue for that age group. However, as mentioned above, in some communities if the availability of food (which was usually porridge) was hindered even for one day then the rate of attendance decreased significantly the next day, demonstrating the high value these children place on food. A pre-primary head teacher emphasised this point thus:

> *"Attendance is good in pre-primary, and I think it is due to the provision of porridge to our pupils. They sometimes come to school even without being escorted by their parents because they know that they are getting porridge in school."*

The issue of food was often related to distance from school. In some communities, those children who lived near the school were allowed to visit their homes between classes, so they could eat snacks from home. However, those children who lived far from school did not have enough time to travel home between classes, meaning that most of them then remained hungry throughout the school day. The long school hours meant that children often remained hungry for most of the day. A parent of a dropout student summarised it thus:

> *"There are dropouts because of poverty. They go to school in the morning without breakfast, and they come home without having eaten anything."*

If parents could afford food and snacks for their children, it is conceivable that students would not be hungry and thus more eager to continue with their schooling. However, when parents cannot afford to provide food for children while attending school, some of them end up dropping out.

The fees and associated costs of schooling lead to school dropout particularly in the poorest communities with limited access to disposable income. In the communities where tourism activities are more prominent, for instance near the ocean or near spice farms, there is greater availability of disposable income, which could help offset the problem of school expenses. However, our findings suggest that a number of respondents cite their poverty as a key reason for why their children are not in school,[40] even when they have some access to the cash economy. Some respondents suggested that the lack of funds thus served as an easy excuse for parents and children to defend themselves and justify their OOS status. It is thus difficult to ascertain precisely the extent to which these costs and associated costs directly lead to school dropouts. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that, even in tourism-heavy areas, there are many children who have dropped out who had faced significant challenges because of the costs and associated costs of schooling when they were in school.

7.4.3 Low engagement among parents

This generation of children who are in school or have experienced the schooling system in the last 10years are among the first generation to undergo mass schooling in Zanzibar. Most of the parents of these children either never attended school or did not complete school; very few of them actually completed the school system without dropping out.

[40] *The fact that poverty is still a factor for children being excluded from school is discussed in Section 1.5.*

Our research team was inundated with responses that this reality has strongly dictated the terms of the schooling of children. The lack of awareness among parents about the need to educate their children was cited as one of the main reasons for why children have dropped out in their communities. This 'lack of awareness' should be understood more broadly though, to encompass not just a lack of knowledge but also a lack of engagement with and perhaps prioritisation of the education of children.

> *"The level of education in this community is low. Children are not going to school because parents did not go to school so they follow the same pattern."*

A number of our respondents confirmed this view during our interviews, discussions, and observations. According to a parent of a child who dropped out of secondary school:

The parent of a primary school dropout echoed this sentiment:

> *"The level of education is bad, as few of us graduated school at Standard 7, so most of the parents did not go to school. Thus, there is very low awareness in this community."*
>
> *"The majority of parents went to school, but did not complete school. Instead, they went to work on spice farms as tour guides, so the dropout problem started from us parents, and is now inherited by our children."*

This quote demonstrates an acute awareness even among the parents of the dropout children that the children are simply following the same pattern that the parents exhibited when they were in school. The sense of regret as parents discussed this issue suggested that they would have preferred their children to have continued with their schooling, and yet there was a resignation that dropping out was perhaps inevitable.

It could be a positive sign that parents now are usually interested in sending their children to school, though more remains to be done by parents to ensure that these children then stay in school. According to a school teacher in another community:

> *"Parents do bring children to school but they do not follow up on their progress in class, or if they are even coming to school or not."*

This sentiment was echoed in a different way by teachers in another community:

> *"There is low awareness [among parents]. For example, when we call parents to come to school, in case we want to discuss something regarding school and children, only one in 10 parents would come. This makes it difficult for us, because we have issues that we would like to discuss with parents about their children…"*

This lack of engagement, according to the teachers, affects the performance and even presence of children within the school system. Another teacher in the same discussion mentioned a further complication:

> *"There is less awareness among parents. After school hours, [some]parents do not allow their children to do revision and homework. They give them other activities, and tell their children that all school exercises should be done in school."*

This quote highlights an important tension between awareness and political-economic reality. Almost all our respondents noted this lack of seriousness on behalf of their parents as being symptomatic of a lack of awareness or general unwillingness to educate their children. At the same time, it appears that the parents, who are often poor themselves, need their children to help them with various activities, whether they be at home or to generate income. It was rarely the

case that parents simply did not feel that education was important, and most parents encouraged their children to attend school. As such, the explanation that 'lack of awareness' has led to school dropout, which was reported to us many times, should nonetheless be understood within a wider context of schooling and income generation in Zanzibar.

7.4.4 Free education, education quality, and infrastructure

There is a significant debate in the education field about the trade-off between access and quality (Taylor and Spaull, 2015). As noted earlier in this chapter, there is little doubt that the implementation of free education at the pre-primary and primary school levels has tremendously increased education access in Zanzibar. However, a number of respondents noted that this expansion has come at a price. For example, according to a sheha,

> *"These days parents take their children to school. Recently, there were up to 100–200 students in one classroom, and some of them are sitting down without desks, and classrooms are not enough in some schools. The increase is due to the free education policy as announced by the president."*

> *"This is now a big problem in our shehia, and maybe the problem will become bigger and bigger in the future because the enrolment rate is going high…"*

The head teacher of a primary school in another community further articulated this impact on school infrastructure:

> *"The quality of education is bad because there is a big population and few schools. Even if parents decide to bring all children to school, there is not enough infrastructure to accommodate all the children in this community."*

These pressures on the school system are not limited to the physical infrastructure alone but extend to the teachers as well. Some of the schools have been forced to operate multiple shifts to meet the higher demand for schooling. The lack of teachers has meant that some teachers have had to teach in these extra shifts, but they are often tired and so cannot perform at the same level across all shifts. The shortage of teachers has also affected the number of subjects offered, which has contributed to the perception that education quality is diminishing. According to some Form 3 students:

> *"Those things [i.e. the decreasing quality of education]makes us stop coming to school, or we may come to school but we don't have [enough] teachers to teach us so it is better to go on with other things."*

At a logistical level, the need to operate multiple shifts can make it more difficult to monitor the presence of OOSC in the community. Some respondents noted that it is difficult for the community to collaborate with teachers to make sure that children are going to school because when they find children OOS in morning hours, the children tell them that they are in the evening shift even if actually they were supposed to go to the morning shift.

The provision of free education till primary level has expanded school access, as the qualitative research has shown, and as the EMIS data suggests (see Table 2). The qualitative research finds that this has resulted in increased pressures on the existing schools. The lack of desks, classrooms, general infrastructure, and teachers has led to a growing perception that education quality is decreasing, and respondents suggest that this has increasingly contributed to increasing numbers of dropouts.

7.4.5 Utility of education

In addition to education access and quality, some respondents also questioned the utility and relevance of the education they receive in their community in explaining the reasons for dropout. There was a sense that education would not necessarily lead to tangible gains, and so they did not feel that investing in education would yield dividends. On the other hand, as will be discussed in Section 7.5.1, the alternatives to education were seen to bear dividends almost immediately. Children and young people were often getting more money by working as tour guides, and community members including students themselves thought that education returns could not pay as much as they could get in tourism, so children and parents were less concerned about continuing their school attendance.

The lack of clear role models in terms of community members who had pursued education and then secured gainful employment has therefore affected the aspirations of children. According to three Form 3 students, who were themselves still in school:

> *"Some people are discouraged with unemployment status. For example, some people see that even if they send their child to school it is difficult to get employment, so the parents try to stop the child from going to school."*

This quote and the discussion highlight that education cannot only be expected to be aspirational but should also meet the immediate and tangible needs of the students and their families. When communities surmise that the education system is not compatible with their expectations, particularly concerning employment, their investment in education could decrease substantially, leading to dropout.[41]

7.4.6 Sexual violence in schools

The well-being of children, especially girls, who attend school has not always been safeguarded, which has led to some of them being abused either in school or on the way to school, as discussed in Section 2.3.2. It is likely that this leads to pupils dropping out. Instances of rape were reported as a cause of dropout in every community we visited, although this was most pronounced in one community.

As has been touched on before, some children have to walk long distances to attend school. During a discussion with primary school teachers, a teacher noted:

> *"In pre-primary, they [girls] still have a desire to come to school…but for higher grades, due to different circumstances such as getting worried of being raped, a child may drop out."*

When probed further, the respondents noted that some girls had been raped in this community, particularly at higher grades. The teachers had identified that these girls were at risk of dropping out, so they had transferred the girls to a school in another community, but this had not been enough to prevent them from dropping out. One of the shehas also noted that they had reported some of these incidents to the police, but to no avail. Another sheha went further to claim that they had reported it to the police and the District Welfare Officer to inform them about the problem, but there were no follow-ups on the matter:

> *"The government does not cooperate with us. I wrote a very strong report about rape incidents in my shehia but the government did not take any action. If the government were serious about this harassment, they would have been working with us to eliminate these problems affecting our children."*

[41] *Froerer (2011) documents a similar pattern of schooling disengagement in parts of northern India.*

It is not difficult to imagine how rape could directly lead to some children dropping out. However, the implications of abuse, especially if left unaddressed, could go further, as the threat of abuse and rape alone could be enough to discourage others from continuing school in the same areas.

7.4.7 Pregnancy

A number of respondents noted that pregnancy was a key reason for dropout of girls from secondary school. National estimates indicate that 2% of girls give birth before the age of 15, suggesting that this barrier is significant (see Section2.3.4). According to a sheha:

> *"Some drop out of school because of early age pregnancy. Some girls get pregnant from their fellow boy students, i.e. a boy from a school makes the girl pregnant…When a girl becomes pregnant, she stops school."*

The quote highlights that girls are more likely to drop out because of pregnancy, whereas boys rarely face such choices.

The quantitative survey shows that approximately 16% of all schools reported having at least one pregnancy case during the last three years. This totals 205 cases reported of pregnancies during the last three school years. Three-quarters of these students dropped out as a result of the pregnancy.

It should be noted again that education policy in Zanzibar has been amended to encourage pregnant girls to return to school after giving birth. In the past, it was difficult for girls to return but now the policy actively encourages pregnant girls to return to school, although the extent to which this policy is understood and implemented at the local level varies (see Section 2.3.4).

The issue of pregnancy is further complicated because, according to our respondents, many of the pregnancy cases are a result of rape. Under such circumstances, girls face the dual stigma of rape and pregnancy, making it even more difficult for them to continue schooling:

> *"Some of them got pregnant, so they feel shy to go back to school. They fear that they will be isolated by others, so they think it is better to stay home. For example, one of the Form 4 students dropped out because she was raped and got pregnant, so she decided to leave school."*

The change in policy to encourage pregnant girls to return to school is encouraging, but the issues around pregnancy are complex and significant societal change, acceptance, and support are necessary before pregnant girls feel comfortable to return to school regularly.

7.4.8 Family circumstances

In every community we visited, respondents noted that family problems played a critical role in increasing the prevalence of school dropouts among children. A number of children grow up in single-parent households because of separation or divorce among parents, or sometimes when one of the parents migrates elsewhere.[42] In such situations, children receive less care and some later drop out from school.

[42] *Almost one-third of adolescent girls and 16% of boys in Zanzibar live in single-parent households, and 29% of girls and 19% of boys aged 15 to 17 live in households without both parents. Eight percent of adolescents aged 10–17 years have only one parent alive and less than 1% are double orphans. These findings may reflect a variety of circumstances and living arrangements for adolescents in Zanzibar (in particular adolescent girls), including those related to accessing education, seeking employment (such as domestic labour), and child marriage, each of which generally affects boys and girls differently. Adolescents who do not live with either parents or who have one or both parents who have died are often in need of additional support and protection (Population Council, 2015).*

A teacher from a private school articulated this issue:

> *"There are dropouts due to marriage problems. After separation between mother and father, the child remains without someone to care for them. The child often has to be involved in child labour as well."*

This quote demonstrates the inter-connectedness of the many different reasons that can combine to contribute to children dropping out. The research team observed, in retrospect, that about half of the dropouts we encountered during our fieldwork were either living in single-parent households or living with their grandparents. Although this was not always identified as a reason for dropout, then, we can conclude that this is a significant component of the profile of a dropped-out child.

This situation was also seen to exacerbate the effects of rape and pregnancy on children. According to a school teacher:

> *"One child who was raped did not live with her parents. She was afraid to tell her guardians when these things happened, so she stayed quiet. As you know, to live with your real parent is different from the life you have with a guardian."*

The wider context and circumstances of the family thus play a significant role and can accentuate the effect of many other reasons that contribute to children dropping out.

7.4.9 Corporal punishment

The effect of corporal punishment on the dropout status of children is contested, but diverse respondents proposed very different reasons for how corporal punishment leads to dropout. Perhaps most significantly, many children reported corporal punishment from teachers as a key reason for school dropout, even though parents and teachers saw such punishment as necessary to maintain discipline.

According to the Violence against Children Survey (2011b), more than two-thirds of girls and boys experience physical violence before the age of 18. Of those who reported experiencing violence before the age of 18 (which includes being slapped, pushed, hit with a fist, kicked, whipped, or threatened with a weapon), seven out of 10 girls and six out of 10 boys reported physical violence by a teacher.

Almost all our respondents made note of a policy change that prevents teachers from beating their students. Teachers were now expected to provide alternative punishments. For instance, students who were to be punished had to work in the school garden, clean their classrooms, or sweep public spaces. Other forms of punishment included bringing sticks or brooms from home or paying a fine to the teachers if they failed to bring these things. The school and community level understanding of the policy on corporal punishment was that only the head teacher was allowed to beat the students, and even they were limited to 'using the stick three times'. In practice, the research team noticed incidents of corporal punishment from teachers besides the head teacher, and more often than three times. Nonetheless, there was a clear acknowledgment across different stakeholders in different communities that the terms of engagement for corporal punishment had changed.[43]

There was a clear agreement between most head teachers, teachers, parents, community leaders, and shehas that this change was contributing to poor discipline and, ultimately, a higher rate of dropouts. According to a head teacher:

[43] *Corporal punishment remains lawful under the Education Act (1982), although it is curbed as a disciplinary measure under the Children's Act (2011), as noted in Section 2.3.5. Stakeholders at the national level noted that schools should be using positive disciplining, but we did not find any evidence that there was an understanding of positive discipline at the local level.*

> *"Human rights make discipline in school very bad because we cannot use corporal punishments, as this kind of punishment is restricted by the government. Therefore pupils make mistakes but they cannot be punished. The government says it is not [respectful of] human rights to beat children with sticks, but if we do not beat those children they will keep making the same mistakes as they know they will not be beaten if they do something wrong."*

This quote shows that respondents are aware of the reasoning behind preventing corporal punishment but do not agree with this approach. A group discussion among teachers reached the same conclusion:

> *"There should be corporal punishment because without this punishment it becomes harder to control these children, especially primary and secondary children."*

The research team encountered this sentiment about corporal punishment in every community. According to a sheha:

> *"Corporal punishments should be there, and students should be punished. There should be no money-related punishments, as through this alternative punishment students are not threatened. So we should use sticks in school to maintain discipline."*

These respondents made the tenuous connection that the general discipline deteriorates in the absence of corporal punishment, which can ultimately lead to children dropping out as they do not care about the authority of the school any more. However, most of the children who dropped out, as well as parents of dropped-out children, had a different interpretation of the situation. Most dropouts we interviewed claimed that corporal punishment, even if it was only three of four 'sticks', was their least favourite thing about school. For instance, according to a dropped-out child:

> *"I used to get very heavy corporal punishment when I was studying. I was also asked to take brooms and other things to school as part of the punishment."*

It appears, then, that corporal punishment is still routinely used in schools. According to another child, students at their school were asked to bring brooms to school as alternative punishment, but if they did not take brooms with them then the teachers gave them corporal punishment.

Although most respondents spoke about corporal punishment in a nostalgic, positive way, some parents did challenge this narrative. According to a parent of dropout children:

> *"There are dropouts because of corporal punishment. For example, I have two children who stopped going to school. The first one stopped school because he was given sticks by teacher."*[44]

Other parents supported this narrative, claiming that children are punished severely, which means they stop going to school.

There is then a clear discord between the understanding and interpretation of the role of corporal punishment in schools. Our respondents perceived that the policy has changed at the national level, and there have been changes to some extent on the implementation of this policy, with alternative punishments becoming increasingly common. However, this has not meant that corporal punishment has disappeared entirely; indeed, it appears that the interpretation of the policy is that only head teachers are allowed to beat children. Most school authorities, community leaders, and

[44] *The respondent noted that the second child decided to stop school, but did not elaborate on their reason for doing so.*

even parents see this change as being a negative move, compromising discipline among school children. However, some dropout children and their parents claim that severe corporal punishment is precisely the reason they dropped out.

7.4.10 Form 2 failure

Zanzibar's education policy implementation regarding promotion from Form 2 to Form 3 appears to be a major cause of school dropout among children at that level. According to the policy, compulsory education includes four years of ordinary secondary education or automatic promotion between Form 2 and 3. However, in practice this is yet to be implemented and students need to qualify through examination to continue to Form 3. Students who do not pass the exam have to choose to either enrol in vocational schools or pursue education in private schools.

According to numerous respondents, this accounts for a significant number of dropouts. For instance, in one of the communities 13 of 29 students failed their Form 2 exams, leading to them dropping out before completing ordinary secondary schooling.[45] A sheha articulated this situation:

> *"This [Form 2 failure] is a very big problem. The majority of children fail and stop after Form 2 failure. These are also the ones leading peer groups, which leads to others dropping out from school as well."*

The challenge, then, is not just that these children are not completing school but that they could also influence other children in school. A group discussion among teachers revealed that these children who fail could not return to school even if they wanted to, because the policy does not allow them to go back to school. The policy says that once a student fails Form 2, they should find another way to study, like vocational training or private school. Even teachers think that parents cannot take them to school because if these children have failed Form 2 in public school, can they really afford to attend private school and pass?

The discussion among teachers in another community revealed exactly the same dynamics:

> *"More than 95% of students who fail Form 2 do not proceed with other studies. They get married, or start doing other jobs. Very few of them proceed with their studies."*

The reasons for failure in Form 2 are complex and varied but many of the same reasons for dropout discussed in this report contribute toward this failure. This issue is complicated further by the fact that students not completing schooling after failing Form 2 are not even considered to have dropped out in local discourse. During our fieldwork, we had to explicitly inquire about what happened to children who fail Form 2 to get a sense of the reasons for dropout at that level. Students, including those who had failed Form 2, as well as parents, teachers, and head teachers themselves, referred to this group as having 'completed school' even though they failed Form 2 and did not continue to Form 3. The core of the local discourse on dropouts therefore sidesteps this issue of Form 2 failure entirely.

7.5 Pull factors

In addition to the push factors discussed so far, there are some pull factors that attract students and their parents and contribute to the children dropping out of their schooling.

[45] *In January/February 2018, after the fieldwork for this study was completed, there has been a shift in thinking about Form 2 failure. Almost 5,800 students failed Form 2 in 2017/18 but the Ministry of Education has issued a clarification that these students will be allowed to return to Form 2 again this year. The impact of the implementation of this directive remains to be seen.*

7.5.1 Income-generating activities

The most important pull factor for children to drop out from school concerns the ability to participate in income-generating activities. This correlates directly with many of the push factors as well, given the opportunity cost of schooling. In other words, when children are attending school they are often missing out on other activities they want to pursue. Understandably, some children end up dropping out from school to pursue these activities instead.

The situation of OOSC is most pronounced in areas with high tourism activity and this is no coincidence. These areas present opportunities for children to make money by performing a wide range of roles, such as giving tours and fishing. In a context where children and their families face difficulties making a living, these opportunities are attractive to them at the expense of schooling opportunities.

This situation was attested to by respondents at all levels in each of the communities we visited. For instance, according to a sheha:

> *"The education situation here is totally bad because of the fact that most of the youths, and even children over the age of 10, concentrate on spice tours. They get up to US$5 per day, so they don't see why they should go to school."*

A number of children who dropped out, as well as parents, confirmed this. According to a primary school dropout:

> *"When I wake up in the morning, I go to the spice farm to wait for tourists and take them around the spice farms. We are paid up to US$10 as tips for taking them around per day. When I come back, I go to play football in the evening."*

Another dropout from a different community relayed a similar story:

> *"I don't like to go back to school because I have started my new life. I started working when I was studying, so I decided to leave school directly to work so that I can earn money."*

In addition to income-generating activities, some children leave school to help out their parents and work on the farm as well. These are not necessarily pull factors in isolation, as they might not necessarily prefer to carry out these activities, but it is their compulsion and they choose such options over going to school.

The participation of some children in income-generating activities has contributed to influence even more children in school. While those that remain in school can often feel like they are receiving no tangible benefit from their schooling, they observe their friends who dropped out making money and having disposable income, which can attract them toward these activities. According to the same dropout student:

> *"This is what discourages students who are in school at the moment. If they see their fellow children who stopped going to school working and getting money, then they wish to stop and work as well."*

The potential to earn cash (pull factor) coupled with the perceived inadequacy of the education system (access, quality, and relevance, which are all push factors) thus leads to an environment where a lot of children are at greater risk of dropping out from school.

Local authorities and schooling communities have sought to limit this process by passing laws to prevent students from walking around the beach and sea areas during class hours. In one community, the shehia leadership under the sheha collaborated with the school management through a village development meeting to prohibit children from engaging in tourist activities during

class hours. According to these arrangements, if a child is found at the beach during class hours any adult is allowed to punish the child. A number of communities had also formed 'Police Jamii', which is akin to a village task force, to make sure that students are not roaming around during class hours. Despite these efforts, the opportunity to earn a living, even at a young age, is extremely enticing within the context in which these students find themselves, thus increasing the prevalence of school dropouts.

7.5.2 Religious education

Religion plays an important role in Zanzibari society, with an overwhelming majority of the population being of Muslim faith. Almost all children attend madrassahs for their religious education, regardless of whether they attend regular school. Our teams regularly observed that school students from a very young age would attend madrassahs before or after school hours on weekdays, as well as on weekends.

In some cases, parents noted that they are more attracted to religious education and so prefer that their children attend madrassahs instead of regular schools. According to one such parent:

> *"Parents believe that the normal education given is not religion friendly. They want their children to get a faith-based education and therefore they take them to madrassahs, not schools."*

Some respondents mentioned that parents prioritise religious education over regular schooling. For instance, even though there are no punishments if a child does not attend a madrassah class and there are expected punishments if they miss regular school, some parents still dedicate their efforts to encouraging their children not to miss attending a madrassah more than a regular school. We note that this is not a significant widespread issue, and this finding did not come up at all in the quantitative survey, but the qualitative findings do suggest some parents are pulled toward faith-based education over regular schooling.

Gender implications

Throughout this analysis of school dropouts, a running theme has been around gendered notions, expectations, and experiences associated with schooling. Some of the implications have been obvious, such as the concerns related to rape and pregnancy. However, we note here some of the other observations regarding how gender affects dropout trends.

At the pre-primary level, our findings suggest that there is no real differentiation between the enrolment (or dropout) of boys and girls. The importance of education appears to have been well established, and if parents send their children to school there appears to be no difference between attendance for boys and girls. We found no instance of households where girls were dropping out from school while boys remained in school. This is further supported by the quantitative findings, which show that girls usually constitute an equal, if not higher, proportion of the enrolled pre-primary population.

The problem of dropout at primary level does not appear to be extensive, though respondents cited different reasons for why girls and boys drop out at this level. Girls are expected to contribute significantly toward household labour, especially in comparison to boys. Some respondents also noted that some parents do not want to educate girls because they are expected to marry soon, so not all girls might complete primary schooling. At the same time, some boys do dropout from primary schools to look for employment opportunities, but this is also relatively rare.

The rate of dropout is considered to be higher at the secondary level for both boys and girls, though the reasons are very different. The main reason for dropout at that level concerns the pursuit of employment opportunities, and boys are expected to be affected far more than girls. As one parent noted, the majority of dropouts are boys because they see that it is better to work for tourists to earn money. The reason for the dropping out of girls is expected to be related to marriage, as they are considered to be ready for marriage at that age.

A number of respondents did, however, connect the reason for dropout of girls to the reason why boys drop out. For instance, according to a community leader:

> *"Girls follow boys when these boys get money from tourism and from spice farming. So they start engaging in love, because they want some money from boys."*

A group discussion among shehas further noted that students 'engage in love' because boys have money after working, and these boys convince girls with their money. At the same time, respondents argued, girls are in a hurry to marry because of poverty.

In every community we visited, there were a lot of comments about girls falling in love with boys because they want money. Even though girls did not usually quit to work directly in the tourism industry, people tied their dropout status to the boys who leave school to earn a living. As such, the reasons for dropout were slightly different at different levels of schooling, particularly in relation to gender.

7.6 At-risk children

This research also sought to assess the situation of children at risk of dropping out from school, using school absenteeism as an indicator to identify such at-risk children. Perhaps predictably, we found that the reasons for children to be at risk of dropping out were similar to the reasons why children eventually do drop out. The rate of enrolment has increased tremendously, but attendance can be irregular because of a number of reasons including low school capacity in terms of infrastructure, poverty, lack of teachers, work pressures at home, and potential to engage in income-generating activities. All these factors can discourage children from coming to school. According to our interviews and discussions with head teachers and teachers, all dropouts usually start as absentees. They first miss school a few times, but later this pattern becomes chronic and they stop going to school.

Instead of repeating each of these issues again, we discuss here three key issues to consider in relation to school absenteeism among children: seasonal requirements, imitation of dropouts, and alternative punishments.

7.6.1 Seasonal issues

A number of responses argued that school attendance drops significantly during peak tourist season, when children have additional opportunities to earn money. For example, according to a discussion among school teachers:

> *"During spice season, we do not get students in class. This is because all children go to guide tourists in spice tours, and their parents do not stop them either."*

As such, a number of children are involved with spice tours but only on a temporary basis, and attendance is expected to drop during that time.

On a related note, school attendance also decreases during harvest season, including to harvest cloves in some areas. A sheha argued that children can work on farms during the harvesting season and get paid for their labour, so their interest in schooling decreases significantly at that time. A primary school head teacher estimated that about 25% of children do not attend school during clove harvesting season in his school.

7.6.2 Imitation

The influence of children who dropout from school is felt by children who remain in school. Even if the dropouts do not attend school anymore, they are from the same communities and are friends with the same children so it is difficult to prevent this influence. According to a sheha:

> *"There is absenteeism [in the school]and this is because they [school students] are convinced by their peers who have stopped coming to school. See, those who stopped going to school are working and getting money. So they [school students] start to be absent so that they can go with their fellows [i.e. dropped-out friends]who stopped school and are working on spice tours."*

Once again, the same reasons that lead to dropout can thus be seen to influence school children, who begin to miss school when they look to imitate their friends and pursue income-generating activities. A secondary school head teacher noted that children even try to hide the real reason for their absenteeism:

> *"There is a lot of absenteeism. They [students] give many fake reasons like 'I was sick' but in reality they don't come to school so they can carry out spice tours."*

It appears, then, that it is difficult for schools to address the issue of low attendance, as children find ways to miss school to pursue other activities.

7.6.3 Alternative punishments

The trend of giving alternative punishments to children has become very prominent in most schools in Zanzibar. However, according to our respondents these alternative punishments can actually burden children to the extent that they skip school to avoid fulfilling these punishments. For instance, if children are asked to bring either brooms or pay a fine as part of their punishment, children and their families who cannot afford to pay immediately for these alternative punishments often skip school until they are able to do so. As such, even though corporal punishment can lead to higher dropout rates, alternative punishments can actually increase absenteeism, which can also eventually lead to children dropping out.

These reasons confirm that school attendance can provide a marker, and perhaps an early warning mechanism, for potential dropouts in the community.

7.7 Conclusion

The qualitative research has helped to shed light on the status of OOSC in Zanzibar. In general, almost all children of school-going age attend school at some point, even if pre-primary education is delayed for some children because of their young age and the long distance some of them have to travel to begin school. The key exception to this situation concerns children with disabilities, as schools are ill equipped in terms of classrooms, resources, infrastructure, and trained staff to cater for these children. There is also a sense of shame among parents and children, which limits education opportunities for children with disabilities.

Recent policy changes have meant that pre-primary and primary education are compulsory and free, and the effects of this policy have been felt clearly at the local level. School access has improved tremendously as a result. Nonetheless, a number of push factors contribute toward children dropping out from school. Associated education costs (such as uniform and food) till primary level as well as fees and associated costs at the secondary level cause problems for enrolled children in terms of them remaining in school. The general level of engagement among the parent generation is also low, given their own low levels of education, so they are not always focused on the education of their children. The quality of schooling is also perceived to be low in many communities, discouraging children from remaining in school. The rapid influx of children in schools without the prerequisite resources to cope with this increase has put further pressures on the school system. Parents and community members are also concerned about the perceived utility of education, as they wonder whether schooling will lead to gainful employment. Sexual violence in schools also affects the ability of children, especially girls, to attend school regularly. Most girls who get pregnant leave school, even as the policy has changed to encourage them to return to school. A significant number of dropout children come from single-parent families or families where the parents are not the primary carers for the children. Although authority figures such as parents and teachers prefer the use of corporal punishment to maintain discipline, many dropouts attribute this as a key reason for their leaving school. Finally, Form 2 exams serve as a crucial marker for education success, with students who fail these exams usually unable to complete their formal schooling.

Many of these push factors are also closely tied to the key pull factor of income-generating activities that attract school-age children, taking them away from the school system. Tourism, fishing, and farming provide opportunities for these children to make a living for themselves and support their families, which can prove too attractive to pass up.

The same reasons that ultimately lead to dropout can be observed among children who can be considered to be at risk of dropping out. Students who are regularly absent from school are missing because of the same push and pull factors, and it is conceivable that they could ultimately drop out if they are not regular in their studies. High absenteeism can be observed particularly in relation to seasonal activities (such as farming or tourism), and students often imitate others who have recently dropped out, making them vulnerable to eventual dropout themselves.

8 Recommendations

The findings from our study lead to a set of policy, strategy, and planning recommendations that are set out below. These are not intended to comprehensively address all barriers to schooling faced by pupils at risk of dropout and OOSC but are instead recommendations that flow directly from this study's thematic findings. These recommendations focus on the MoEVT, and it is expected that MoEVT will lead the process to liaise with other relevant ministries as well.

There are a number of policies in Zanzibar that address some key issues and concerns related to the OOS status of children. For instance, policies related to corporal/alternative/positive punishment, Form 2 failure and dropout, pregnancy and early marriage, violence against children, and costs and associated costs of primary and secondary schooling have already been developed. However, there is a big gap between policy intent and implementation.

We propose a set of recommendations to address this gap between policy and intent:

- The MoEVT, in partnership with other relevant line ministries, should ensure that each policy is clear on its intent.
- The MoEVT should then provide a clear directive on each policy to schools as well as shehas to communicate the policies clearly. These directives should explain each policy in detail, and all schools should be required to display these policies publicly so that everyone is aware of them.
- The MoEVT should ensure that its pre-service and in-service training for teachers includes a component on these relevant policies, to ensure that head teachers, teachers, SMC members, and community leaders understand their role in handling difficult situations concerning these policies.
- The MoEVT should consider using mass media (such as radio and TV) to provide some 'soft messaging' around the design and intent of these key policies, so that parents and community members are also aware of these policies. If feasible, additional training and support to parents and community members on these issues can further increase the effectiveness of these policies.
- The reporting and redress mechanisms for each of these policies should be made clear, should any stakeholder have any complaint or misgivings about the use and interpretation of these policies. This will provide a feedback mechanism to adapt and improve both policy intent and implementation further.

In addition to these policy-level recommendations, we propose a few other options to address specific issues arising from this OOSC study.

Children with disabilities remain a key group who are most likely to never attend school. The MoEVT should coordinate with the National Council for People with Disabilities and the Department of Disability Affairs to first map out the location of all children with disabilities, and then provide the necessary human and material resources, training, and support to nearby schools, community leaders, parents, and community members to facilitate bringing such children to school and providing them with a supportive environment to ensure their quality education. School staff and community members should be engaged to spread awareness about the importance of educating all children, to encourage parents of children with disabilities to send their children to school, and to advertise the provisions available within schools to meet the needs of such children.

The current schooling system does not have significant infrastructure capacity to absorb additional children due to overall shortages, coupled with an inequality in the distribution of resources. In planning for universal basic education enrolment and completion, the MoEVT and development partners should work together to develop a transparent prioritisation strategy for investment in school infrastructure and human resources. The list of critical potential investments within schools is long, and so a strategic response is essential. The focus of investment should be on schools with the greatest shortages, while maintaining basic standards across all schools. The MoEVT should also ensure that all development partners align their school infrastructure investment strategies with the overarching prioritised investment plan.

Given the MoEVT's recent announcement that school fees will shortly be abolished at the secondary level, and the new directive that all students who have failed Form 2 will be allowed to repeat Form 2, an increase in secondary school enrolment is extremely likely. Although there is currently some spare capacity in the secondary schooling system it is not sufficient to deal with this scale of increase, as achieving universal ordinary secondary enrolment and completion would cause current enrolment to expand by about 30%. There should be a clear plan to ensure that secondary schools have the resources and support needed to deal with the expected increase. A micro-planning exercise using this study's supply-side data together with demand-side data at the lowest geographical unit possible can serve as a powerful tool for resource planning at all levels of the system, particularly at the secondary level.

Classroom capacity constraints are severe, and more severe in public schools compared to private school. In areas where the private sector is well established, information from this study could be used to understand the extent to which these schools have spare capacity to enrol additional children, keeping in mind that the costs and issues associated with private school education could be different to the public school system.

The current operations of the ALC system place a lot of burden on individual teachers and schools, who are often already operating in resource-constrained environments. The MoEVT, therefore, needs to continue working with the Inclusive Education Unit to supply a clear ALC curriculum and shared learning objectives for ALCs, and to train teachers and provide them with ongoing support on pedagogical and curriculum approaches for ALC children. ALC teachers should also be provided with training to help them identify and counsel school children at risk of dropping out, so they can be retained to complete their schooling.

There is a broader need to develop a system to identify at risk or excluded children and to support their integration through individual and family support. Zanzibar has a well-developed system of local government which can be drawn upon to support this process. For example, shehas and

school head teachers can be drawn upon to compile and maintain a record of OOS children in their locality and to encourage parents to send their children to school. Within schools, SMCs, school counsellors, and ALC/remedial teachers can be given the explicit responsibility to bring these children to school and to provide them the academic and emotional support they need to stay in school.

Given the problem of distance and late enrolment in pre-primary education, the MoEVT should engage community volunteers (if not paid staff) to accompany young children from target vulnerable localities to pre-primary centres. A review of demand- and supply-side data would also help establish if and where more pre-primary schools need to be built to ensure that each community has easy access to them.

The MoEVT should provide flexible schooling hours, particularly in schools near tourist areas and fishing areas/communities, so that children do not have to choose between education and economic activities. The curriculum should be made more relevant to people's lives, including a focus on skills that can translate into income-generating activities, perhaps by expanding vocational education options.

The MoEVT should use data to understand and address teacher allocation issues at each level of schooling and explore mechanisms to incentivise districts to use the transfer and new appointment systems to narrow inequalities in pupil-to–teacher ratios at each level. The MoEVT should also plan to increase the supply of maths and science teachers, as well as ensure that current maths and science teachers are distributed equitably across schools and regions.

Conclusion

These recommendations make use of our research findings to provide suggestions that we believe will contribute toward addressing the issues related to the OOS status of children in Zanzibar. The MoEVT, with the support of and contributions from other government ministries as well as national and international partners, could use these recommendations to strengthen existing programmes as well as envision new ones so that the shared mission of ensuring that all children in Zanzibar get access to quality education at all levels is achieved in the immediate future.

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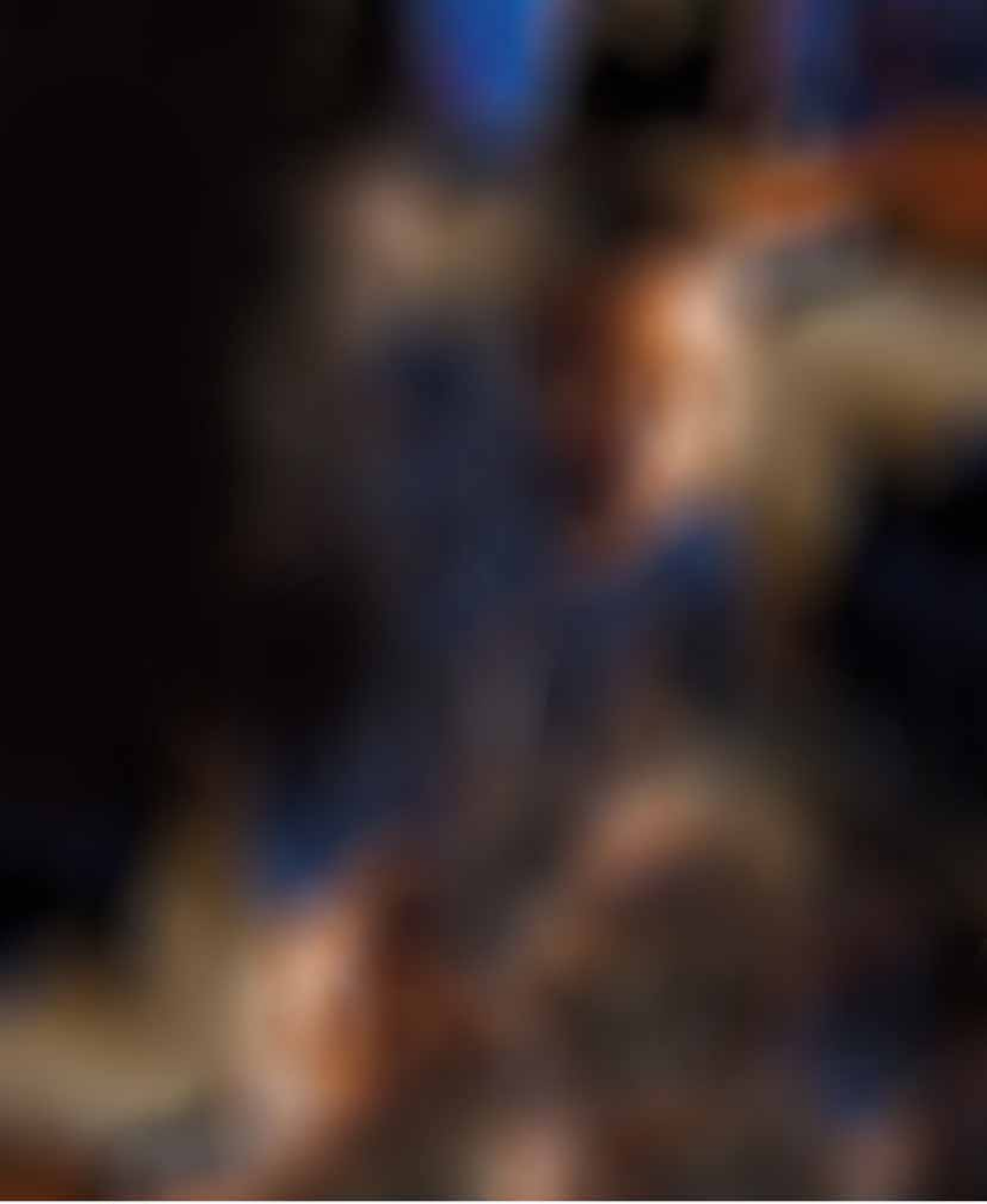

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