

Long-serving Teachers in Remote schools in Tanzania: Exploring motivational factors in Selected public primary schools in Kilombero District in Morogoro Region

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Abstract

The study aimed at exploring motivational factors for stay in remote public primary schools for a long time among some teachers. A stay of fifteen or so years in Tanzania. The study was conducted in Kilombero district in Morogoro region. The study was motivated by experience in Tanzania. The experience showed that teachers located to work in remote schools tended to make extra mile efforts to re-locate to schools close to or in urban areas. In contrast, some teachers worked in remote schools for over fifteen years without transfer or making any efforts to re-locate to other schools closer to urban areas. The study used multiple case study design. It employed semi-structured interview in collecting data. The study used a sample of 16 long-serving teachers in remote public primary schools in Kilombero District in Tanzania. The study adopted critical case sampling technique. The study was conducted in five selected public primary schools in Kilombero District. A number of factors contributed to teachers stay for years in remote schools. These were: cooperation with co-workers, availability of basic social services, job contract, Marriage, investment opportunities among others. The study concludes that a combinations of factors make teachers work in remote schools for a long time. The implication of the study is that the teacher education directorate in the ministry responsible for educational matters in Tanzania in collaboration with other government sectors to ensure that remote areas have enhanced basic social services. To add, teacher training institutions have to expose to teachers during training circles economic opportunities available in rural areas in Tanzania. Moreover, Head teachers in remote public primary schools need capacity building on instructional leadership to keep teachers in remote schools in Tanzania.

Keywords: Long-serving teachers, *motivational factors, remote schools, motivational factors, public primary schools, head teacher(s)*

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1. Introduction

Experience shows that in Tanzania most teachers are not comfortable working in remote schools. In contrast, the same experience show that some teachers tend to work in remote schools for a number of years without struggling to seek for transfer to urban or to schools close to urban areas. It is well known why most teachers tend to move from remote schools to urban schools. As such, the critical question is; why some teachers tend to work in remote schools for many years amidst a good number of teachers denying placement in such work stations. It is healthy to understand such experiences for governments to make informed decisions during placement of teachers in schools. Indeed, this understanding can help teachers as well to make informed decisions on where to work and why. The actual practice in Tanzania, for example, it is that teachers after recruitment tend to report to their work stations in remote areas. After a short time of working in the schools, they shift to urban schools. Interestingly, some of them quit the teaching profession because the work station is in a remote area.

As it regards, the Tanzania 2050 vision strives towards providing quality education at all levels (URT, 2025). Indeed, enough and quality teachers are one of pillars of quality education (African Union, 2016). The Agenda 2063: the Africa we want emphasizes on quality life and leadership in African continent by the year 2063 (African Union, 2015). The agenda on quality life and leadership may not be achieved without enough and quality teachers in remote schools. Therefore, it is important to ensure that there are enough and qualified

teachers in all parts of countries in the continent of Africa. From this intent of Africa and Tanzania in particular, it is indispensable to understand why some teachers in Tanzania remain to work in remote schools. This will contribute to achieving the Tanzania 2050 national vision on the sector of education, and the achievement of the 2063 agenda.

Further, studies in this area have frequently sought why teachers move from rural to urban schools, and find ways to maintain equitable teacher distribution in rural and urban schools (Boniface, 2020). Despite the efforts to ensure equitable distribution of teachers in remote and urban schools, all over the world, the efforts have been in futile (Grainger & James, 2018). Indeed, some countries introduced initiative for equitable distribution of teachers. These countries are such as Alaska, USA, and most parts of rural African contentment; the efforts of which never materialized (Willis & Grainger, 2020).

As has been noted, some studies have been conducted to uncover the reasons for teachers moving from remote to urban schools. The reasons for moving from remote to urban schools include teacher desire for access to social services, good working environment, quality school facilities, motivation from heads of schools and the government itself, allowances, teaching experience, teachers' level of education, and unmet teachers' expectation (Mkisi, 2020). These are reasons which may result in teachers quitting remote schools. Therefore, teachers move from remote schools to urban schools to seek for such services. If these reasons make teachers quit remote schools, why is it that some teachers stay in remote schools for years without requesting for transfer or planning to move to urban schools as most teachers tend to do? What factors make such teachers continue working in remote schools for fifteen or so years?

One scholar (Brenner, 2021) contends living and teaching in remote schools is a form of recreation from nature, and it provided chances for knowing students and build strong relationships. Further, the scholar claims that teachers working in remote schools have greater autonomy in the classroom, in some instances, there are numerous opportunities for collaboration and leadership. In addition, there are greater varieties of subjects to teacher, instead of the same subject all day long (Brenner, 2021).

In Tanzania, a scholar (Kamundi, 2021) contends most of teachers in remote public schools are males (76.3%), aged between 23–30 years (65.1%); and the majority are below 36 years (89.4%). The education level of the teachers is bachelor's degree at 58.6%. Most of these teachers have stayed in their rural schools for between 1–10 years at 63.8%. The reason for such degree holder teachers working in remote schools is attributable to a rampant predicament of unemployment in Tanzania today. This means the teachers stay in remote schools because of the problem of unemployment, or they can quit instantly (Boniface, 2016, 2020). However, teachers can remain in the rural school as long as the administration was cooperative, understanding, appreciating, recognizing their efforts, caring and treating them with dignity (Kamundi, 2021). This implies that instructional leadership is critical for retaining teachers in remote schools.

In addition, one scholar (Boniface, 2019) opines that empowering, listening and cooperative leadership; habitability; friendliness outside school environment; investment potentialities; a supportive and peaceful school working environment; patriotism and profession commitment were found to favor these teachers to stay in remote schools in Tanzania context and most Sub-Saharan Africa. Of the listed factors, the most important one is investment opportunities through agriculture (Crop cultivation and animal keeping). Investment opportunities like these are rare in urban areas. Therefore, investment opportunities had significant contribution to their stay in remote schools for many years of public services in schools. This implies that the opportunity to investment and experience to rural and remote schools and communities resulted in positive attitudinal changes towards applying for rural and remote school teaching and sustaining for some years upon graduation. Under such circumstances, there was a need to equip teacher college leavers and university graduates with information related to areas where their demands were going to be accomplished (Young, Grainger & James, 2018).

Previous studies have been looking into influencing factors to retaining teachers in remote schools in their general sense; in contrast the present study intends to find out motivational factors influencing teachers work for some years in remote schools in Tanzania. As has been noted earlier, there has been influx of teachers in urban schools from remote ones. In the meantime, there are some teachers who work in remote schools for some years and they have been there for not less than fifteen years. It is the presence of such teachers that makes this study desirable to understand motivational factors to explain why these teachers make decision to work in remote schools for such long time in Kilombero district in Morogoro region in Tanzania. This study is important for keeping teachers in remote schools. If it is not conducted the students in remote schools may continue to suffer from shortage of teachers in the schools; thus, affecting the quality of education offered in the schools. Indeed, from absence of teachers in remote schools, we may not be able to achieve the 2050 vision, and the agenda 2063

which strives toward achieving quality life and leadership in Africa. This study is critical because it will act as a compass to quality education in some parts in Kilombero District in Morogoro region in Tanzania. This is because the stay of teachers in remote schools for many years without transfer may vary from those of previous year studies; thus, unearthing contextual motivational factors and at the same time solidifying the existing literature on this area.

2. Purpose of the study

The study aimed at exploring motivational factors for remote school long-serving teachers in public primary schools in Morogoro.

3. Literature Review

This part presents a review of related literature into two main parts which are the theoretical and empirical literature review. In the theoretical literature review, the concept of Long-serving teachers and teachers lived experiences in remote schools are presented. This part also presents a theory underpinning the study. On the empirical literature, the motivational factors for teachers serving in remote public primary schools for so long are presented and discussed.

3.1. Theoretical literature review

3.1.1. Long-serving teachers

Long-serving teachers have been conceptualized as teachers who have stayed for some years in one school without seeking for transfer to other schools. These teachers are not necessarily more effective than younger teachers in terms of time of working in a school. Sometimes veteran teachers were more likely to experience diminishing commitment to the profession and effectiveness in terms of pupil attainment and performance, although this contrasts with some teachers whose commitment increased over time (Skerritt, 2019).

The ideas and values of long-serving teachers were important because of the current age-profile of the teaching profession. In most cases, teaching profession has been declared as among the profession with high rate of retirement compared to the rate of recruitment. Staying in one school for some years could have impact to the school and the teachers themselves. This implies that these teachers may engage in moonlighting (Vedastus & Nkwama, 2017)

Long-serving teachers in most of the developing countries decided to stay in the career because of their education qualification. Some had little education qualification and due to high unemployment rate, they fear moving to other careers or schools as it might be difficult for them to stay. However, some stay because they have passion for the profession. This is to say they feel contributing to society and in the teaching profession. There is an internal desire for contributing in the profession from childhood such teachers do not deviate from their career because it was their childhood dream (Jungert, Alm, & Thornberg, 2014).

In many developing countries like Tanzania, remote schools are the most neglected schools. The schools go through countless challenges particularly those related to supportive services such as lack of good roads to schools, student meals, care, power, potable water, well-equipped schools and other essential infrastructural facilities. Most of these schools experience periodic floods and pose threats to good teaching-learning process among students living and studying in remote schools. During flood times, teachers and pupils struggled crossing flood water and often sleep outdoors. Additionally, these schools did not have proper housing facilities and basic amenities. This isolation of remote schools poses a great challenge in the field of education (Lingam, 2018).

3.1.2. Teachers lived experiences in remote schools

Teachers working in remote schools lived experiences is different from those in urban schools. For example, Quejadal and Orale (2018) affirmed that lived experiences of teachers in isolated schools was the same in most countries. School, students, and community members live in abject poverty. Schools had insufficient teaching-learning resources. Further most of students had no reading culture and were at best slow learners. Families were unable to provide school material and food for their school going children. In some occasions, teachers need to ride a motorcycle and walk for some kilometers in muddy roads to reach a school. Also, teachers working with a remote school face challenges such as limited telecommunication equipment on the part of the students, and a stable network. In addition, the internet service was costly. Other challenges are: students' low discipline and motivation in completing the assignments, low school attendance, lack of parent support, low government support and head of schools experiencing some challenges in managing remote schools. These unpopular

experiences are not existent in urban counterpart schools. In urban schools, over staffing, quality, availability of materials, facilities, infrastructure and physical access to the school were renowned challenges (Ujianti, 2021).

3.1.3. Theoretical basis

Two-factor theory was developed by Herzberg (1959) who introduced the two factors namely Motivators and Hygiene. These two factors play a crucial role to workers especially job satisfaction at work place. Among the motivators factors include recognition, achievement, possibility of growth, advancement, responsibility, and the work itself. On the other hand, hygiene factors include salary, interpersonal relations at work, supervision, company policies and administration, working conditions, factors in personal life, status, and job security (Palmer, 2021). In these assumptions, teachers who are working in remote schools have motivators that pull them to work in these areas and this was a reason for choosing this theory in this study. Indeed, it is obvious that working environment may not be good in remote schools in developing countries like Tanzania.

4. Empirical Literature Review

This part covers on literature related to long-serving teachers in remote schools. The section navigates on factors seem to influence teachers to work in remote schools for a number of years without seeking for transfer. The literature is from all over the world.

In relation to this, Javilla and Fabella (2019) conducted a study on Lived-Experiences of Mobile Teachers in Remote Schools in Antipolo City. The purpose of their phenomenological study was to explore the lived experiences of mobile teachers in remote schools in city schools' division of Antipolo specifically in district II-F. The study was limited to six (6) informants who were teaching for three or more years. The theories guiding in this study were Work as Calling Theory (2018), Work Adaptation Theory (1984) and the Cultural Learning Theory (2010). The study followed the theory and methods of the phenomenological research model proposed by Giorgi (2009) that allowed informants to provide personal perspectives and reflections on their experiences. Interviews conducted to gather perceptive data from informants were transcribed, examined, coded, and broken down into themes emerged throughout the research process. It was revealed that the teachers wanted to remain teaching in their respective schools regardless of the challenges that they met in the schools. They had a sense of satisfaction, commitment and meaning of teachers' life. This study seems to reflect the current study but it examined teachers who had stayed in remote schools for three years and it was conducted in Tanzania setting. The current study intends to examine teachers who worked in remote schools for fifteen or more years.

Moreover, Gomba (2015) conducted a study on Why Do They Stay: Factors Influencing Teacher Retention in Rural Zimbabwe. The aim of the study was to find the factors that influenced teachers to remain teaching in rural Zimbabwe. Participants in this study were teachers, having taught in the rural areas for at least ten years. Data were collected through interviews which were audio-taped and transcribed. The results from this basic interpretive qualitative study showed that teachers remained in the profession because of need to support their families, job security, unmarketable, support from colleagues and administration, and self-sacrifice leadership by principals. This study had some similarities with the current study because it highlighted the factors that influenced some teachers to remain working in remote schools for several years though the study was not conducted in Tanzania settings and it focused on teachers who worked in remote areas for only ten years. The current study focused on teachers who worked in remote schools for fifteen years or so. This different in location and duration in working in remote schools makes this study important and worth conducting it.

Furthermore Handal, Watson, Petocz and Maher (2018) conducted a study on choosing to teach in rural and remote schools: The zone of free movement. In this survey study, one hundred and ninety-one secondary teachers from 27 rural and remote schools in the State of New South Wales, Australia, participated. The findings reveal several factors making possible their attraction to rural and remote schools not only by the opportunity to secure a permanent position, but also it was because of the attraction of a rural atmosphere, a stronger sense of collegiality and gaining experience/exposure in rural education. The study also revealed constraint factors in teaching in a rural or remote school included several logistics and instructional reasons. The study also adds that the choice to work in a rural and remote school was influenced by a set of interacting possibilities and constraints creating a zone of decision-making free movement. This study differs from the current study as it was not conducted in Tanzania setting and it did not indicate specifically the duration in which these teachers remained in remote schools, but it was useful as it built the foundations of the current study in examining the pull factors for long-serving teachers in remote areas.

Tran and Smith (2020) conducted a study on What Matters Most for Recruiting Teachers to Rural Hard-to-Staff Districts: A Mixed Methods Analysis of Employment-Related Conditions. This study reports on findings from a convergent parallel mixed methods analysis examining the perspectives of college students concerning their teaching considerations at a rural district with severe teacher-staffing problems. Based on a framework of multiple attribute utility theory, a utility analysis was used to compare the relative importance of working characteristics for a sample of college students at a regional southeastern university. A heterogeneity analysis was then conducted to explore subgroup findings. Lastly, qualitative data were collected from survey and interviews and were integrated with the quantitative results to identify points of convergence and divergence. Across different modes of analyses, administrative support, strong connection with students, and self-confidence were identified as most salient for respondents' consideration of teaching employment at the hard-to-staff district. Results from their study suggest that these areas warrant prioritized attention in policy discussions. This study was not conducted in Tanzania context but it is useful as it assesses factors for retaining teachers in remote schools.

Apart from the above studies, another scholarly work provides reasons for teachers staying in rural schools. These reasons include having an interest in rural teaching, the lifestyle, community, opportunities for professional growth, the perception of good support and good school leadership, the small class sizes, and protective factors. In addition, teachers were also influenced by incentives and resourceful reasons as well as personal circumstances. The study suggests that these positive reasons need to be publicized and capitalized on to encourage teachers to take up a rural appointment and stay there for some while (Downes & Roberts, 2018). This study seems to be relevant as it assesses the factors for long-serving teachers in remote schools, but the study was conducted in Australia. It was based on systematic literature review.

Apart from the above studies conducted relating to motivational factors influencing long-serving teachers worked in remote schools, Swai (2013) conducted a study on the Effects of Incentive Initiatives on Teacher Retention in Tanzania. This study was conducted in Rukwa region. This study examined the effects of incentive program for teachers in the Rukwa region on retention rate in comparison to a neighboring region, Kigoma. The societal model (3C's) for teacher retention proposed by Sher (1983) was used in this study. The study employed a mixed research design using a sample of 24 teachers. Sixteen educational officers making a total of 40 participants included in the study from both Rukwa and Kigoma. Descriptive analysis was used to analyze data. Monetary motivation was more effective in retaining teachers in remote schools. Additionally, the study found that other motivational factors were bicycles for transportation, beds with mattresses and kitchen utensils among others. This study focused on one of motivational factor making teachers remain in remote schools for some years, but the study was not conducted at primary school level. It was conducted at secondary school level. Also, the study was comparative in nature and this makes it different from the current study which aims at finding out motivational factors specifically at primary education cycle in Kilombero District.

Another study was an explorative study aimed at determining the aspects that contributed to rise in attrition of teachers in Bhutan. The findings of this study showed that among factors that made teachers to remain in remote schools for some years includes wages and incentives, working environment, teacher's placement, leave and leave encashment and light workload (Dorji, 2020). All these factors are difficult to be obtained in urban areas so teachers tended to remain for some years. This study seems to explore factors that influencing long-serving teachers working in remote schools, but not in Tanzania context specifically on public primary schools in Kilombero District. In remote area schools have low enrolments rate compared to urban schools; therefore, the work load in remote schools is lighter compared to urban schools.

Also, Mwenda and Mgomezule (2018) conducted a study on the Impact of monetary incentives on teacher retention in and attraction to rural primary schools in Salima District in Malawi. This study sought to examine the motivational factors. The study examined the extent to which a rural allowance makes primary school teachers remain for some years in remote schools and attract them from urban to the rural schools in Salima District. A Likert Scale questionnaire was used to collect data from 333 participants, comprising 250 teachers from remote schools and 83 teachers from urban schools. The study found that rural allowance was a motivational factor that sustained teachers in remote schools for some years. Although, the allowance for rural teachers was inadequate to sustain those who were serving in rural schools in order to make them remain there and attract teachers in urban schools to go to remote schools. The study was quantitative one and it sought to establish the influence of monetary motivation in retention and attraction of teachers in remote primary schools in Malawi. However, the current study is qualitative and seeks to establish motivational factors retaining teachers for a long time in remote public primary schools in Tanzania.

In the same way, Towers and Maguire (2017) conducted a study on Leaving or staying in teaching: A vignette of an experienced urban teacher leaver of a London Primary school. The study used identity theory where data from a single case study of experienced urban teacher was drawn from qualitative research. Motivational factors for long-serving teachers in remote schools was the existence of supportive structures that encourages many teachers to stay and contribute to the achievement and well-being of the pupil. This study correlates to the current study as it examines the factors for long-serving teachers in primary school but the focus of the former study was on urban schools rather than remote schools and it was not conducted in Tanzania context. Also, the former study combines reasons for long-serving teachers to leave the profession, but the current study seeks the sustainability of teachers in remote schools for more than fifteen years.

Moreover, Kukla (2015) studied on Leavers, Movers, and Stayers: The Role of Workplace Conditions in Teacher Mobility Decisions. Their study explored whether three workplace conditions were related to teacher turnover or sustainability. The modeling strategy incorporated a series of binomial and multinomial logistic models to estimate the effects of administrative support, classroom control, and behavioral climate on teachers' decisions to quit teaching or stay in schools. Two out of three workplace conditions were strongly associated with mobility and sustainability decisions of teachers. In contrast, experienced teachers were strongly influenced by workplace conditions. Workplace conditions made them to stay for some years. Further, workplace conditions had differential effects on movers and leavers. This implies that workplace conditions as a motivational factor play a significant role in attracting teachers toward remote schools. This study seems to relate with the current study as it seeks to understand the influence of work conditions in retaining or letting teachers go in some schools. However, the previous study does not show for how long the participants stayed in remote schools where as the present study is interest with participants who stayed in remote schools for fifteen or so years.

Furthermore, Lock, Budgen, Lunay and Oakley (2012) conducted a study on Welcome to the outback: The paradoxes of living and teaching in remote Western Australian schools. This study investigated aspects of teaching in remote schools. Using an interpretive approach with structured and semi-structured interviews. The study covered three specific areas. First, demographic information to provide background details about each respondent and the context in which he or she was working. The second area looked at the affective factors for the respondents. These questions included finding out what attracted people to apply for positions and remain for some years in remote communities, and what they liked and disliked about living in a remote community. In this study, community involvement was noted as among of the motivational factors that make teachers to stay in remote schools for many years. This factor makes experienced teachers to developing a sense of belonging and feel part and parcel of the society. Community members knowing the importance of providing on-going support for teachers, with the latter expressing appreciation for the way in which they were made to feel welcome. This recognition may be observed in a way in which the community placed the importance in supporting the school and vice versa; schools regularly being the site of community occasions. Thus, the linking of school and community appears to be jointly beneficial and contributing to developing among teachers a sense of being part of something worthwhile. In some examples, school community members openly promoted themselves to newly arrived teachers, and in doing so highlighted their own resources or actively created the opportunities to encourage new teachers and the experienced ones to remain and stay for some years. This study was not conducted in Tanzania context although it has been successful in identifying motivational factors for long servicing in remote schools especially the community as being important force enhancing teachers willing to stay.

5. Materials and Methods

This study was conducted at Kilombero district in selected public primary schools using qualitative research approach with a multiple case study design. The study included 16 participants who were long-serving teachers in remote schools, specifically those with fifteen years or more fully engaged in teaching in remote schools. Typical case sampling technique was used to select the participants of this study. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data collected from the participants. The analysis was supported by Atlas.ti.7.

6. Results

6.1. Motivational Factors for Long-serving Teachers in Remote Public Primary Schools in Tanzania

This section covers on motivational factors making teachers continue to work in remote schools for a number of years without moving to urban area schools or close to urban areas. The following are factors revealed from this study.

6.1.1. Avoiding Irresponsible teachers from families in power/affluence

It was revealed that most of teachers working in urban schools were teachers from well to families or woman married to powerful people in society. These teachers seem not to take full responsibilities in their day-to-day profession. This habit from the teachers made some teachers who take full responsibility in their job feel uncomfortable working with people from such a background. It is not easy to handle them in a work place because of the family and economic backgrounds. As such, some teachers who are really committed to their job feel that it is better to leave them alone in the urban schools to avoid misunderstandings when such teacher misbehave in schools. As one of the participants said: *at the beginning I thought of working in urban schools, but there are wives of people in authority and children of those who are in high position. Therefore, I decided to move from urban school to a remote school to pave the way for people with such backgrounds. I did not want to work with such people to avoid disturbances in my profession (T5, 11th February, 2022).*

6.1.2. Shortage of Teacher in Remote Schools

It was revealed that some teachers resolved to continue working in remote schools because such schools had children who had interest to learn; however, there were inadequate teachers. In this situation, the teachers were obliged to continue teaching in those schools to help the children who were eager to learn despite community members lacking interest to support children in teaching-learning process. To corroborate this one participant had this to say: *Mmmmmh!! This is a remote school, when I reached here, I learnt that the pupils wanted to learn, but the society does not assist them to acquire their education. During this time, we were only two teachers with two classes and later one teacher was added (T4, 11th February, 2022).*

6.1.3. Affordable Living Costs

It was revealed that in remote schools in the studied district life was cheaper by far compared to urban places. This was one of the forces that attracted some of the teachers to work in remote schools for many years. Cheaper life was an attraction to teachers with urban life background. The teachers had a feeling that the life was cheap and therefore it was better to remain there to experience enjoyable life. As one participant remarked: *I like to stay here because I grew in urban area; thus, I am so familiar with urban life. My experience with urban life made me decided to stay in remote areas because life is cheap ... (T1, 11th February, 2022)*

6.1.4. Basic social services

Availability of social services. For example, some of teachers felt that transportation was an important determinant which kept them working in remote public primary schools. Transportation service retained some of the teachers to continue working in remote schools. One of the participants had this to say: *Availability of transport of going wherever I want, this is not a problem to me I can go wherever I want like Bomani, to my residence Mbeya and Dar es Salaam (T1, 11th February, 2022).* Another participant had this to say: *Additionally, the environment are conducive and other important services are available like transport facilities (T7, 11th February, 2022).*

Another example was that some teachers were attracted by the presence of markets and other social services in remote areas. A number of social services available in remote areas contributed to retaining teachers in the schools. As one of participants aired an opinion: *Environment was not so bad and all human basic needs were available, so environments attract me a lot. The availability of market is among of the basic needs available (T6, 11th February, 2022).*

6.1.5. Perseverance

It was revealed that perseverance of one of the factors that made teachers keep working in remote schools for many years. Some teachers felt that there was nothing attractive in remote schools. As such, what made them continue working in such schools was perseverance and nothing else. Some teachers were not comfortable working in remote schools, but they remained there because to tolerance. As one of participants said: *In fact, nothing attracts me in remote areas. I stay here because of tolerance; the environment is so difficult. Most of the*

services are not available, for example water services. The situation becomes worse during dry season. We experience relief during rainy season (T2, 11th February, 2022).

6.1.6. Harmonious relationship with community members

Good cooperation among teachers in a school and their leaders contributed to retaining teachers in remote schools. Some teachers felt that what made them stay in such schools for such a long time was the cooperation between themselves and the school leadership. One of participants voiced that; *Aaaaah! It is just cooperation among leaders and teachers that I have, I mean staff (T1, 11th February, 2022).* Another participant claimed that: *Aaaaah! Am satisfied to work in this environment I get great cooperation from the society in different educational and social issues. I got transfer from Msalise to Mkombozi, the natives went straight to District Executive Director to bar the transfer. Therefore, I came back to Msalise primary school... therefore this is one of factors that makes me to stay here as a civil servant I always ask myself who else will work here if not me (T9, 11th February, 2022)*

It was further revealed that strong ties between the teachers and the community members contributed to teachers holding up working in remote schools. The community members respected the teachers and made them feel safe despite that they lived in a remote area. As one of the participants explained: *What makes us cling in a remote school is society, that is, its cooperation with us as teachers is good. The relationship between us and the natives is well established. There is a good social relationship among us and community members in these areas compared to other areas. In other areas you can find that teachers are beaten by community members, or at times infuriated (T7, 11th February, 2022).* Another participant said: *Aaaaah! That makes me not to move... Indeed, am familiar with this environment from the school of first appointment to where I am transferred to the environment is not different, both schools are in remote areas, but we live in peace and harmony with the society (T10, 11th February, 2022)*

6.1.7. Economic activities available in remote areas

Some teachers could see opportunities relating to agricultural activities which attracted them to remain in the remote schools. It is obvious that agricultural activities such as farming contributed to retention of some teachers in remote schools. As one of participants said: *The other thing for us who are committed to work we get engaged in farming activities as compared to urban areas (T7, 11th February, 2022).* Another participant reported: *The other thing is investment opportunities. You may find that someone has permanent habitants and sometimes they own farms (T12, 11th February, 2022).*

6.1.8. Supportive school leadership

It was revealed that some teachers decided to continue working in remote schools because of kindness and extra mile support from the head teacher. The head teacher cooked for them and used his/her own money to sustain the teacher's life. In addition, teachers who grew in remote areas had a greater chance to adapt working in remote schools compared to their urban background counterparts. As one of the participants said: *I was born in remote areas and once appointed to work in a remote school I see it is better to work in remote schools. Also, I used to live with head teacher whose wife cooked for me. The kindness of head teacher especially on using his money for me attracted me a lot (T8, 11th February, 2022).*

6.1.9. Complying to job contract

It was revealed that some teachers worked in remote school because they complied with the employment contract. As long as the contract demanded them to work wherever the employer posts him/her; then, they decided to honour the contract and work there for all that long in remote schools. One of the participant voices was heard: *Mmmmh! In fact, nothing attracts me it's because I have been appointed to work in this area. I was transferred to this school. Given the job contract, I am required to work wherever in this nation and I am ready to work in any location in this nation. In most cases, once you are posted in a remote school it is not easy to be re-located from these school to urban ones because always the schools have shortage of teachers (T11, 11th February, 2022).*

6.1.10. Marrying native resident

It was revealed that some female teachers who tied a knot with residents in remote areas could not quit or get transferred to other schools. As such, some teachers who tied the knot with people who were residents in remote schools could not move to other schools because of marriage. As one participant had this to say: *One and foremost is marital status. Once a female teacher marries a native man cannot move (T4, 11th February, 2022)*

7. Discussion

This part discusses the findings. The discussion of the findings is based on the findings presented in the preceding section. The discussion is based on these findings: Avoiding irresponsible teachers from powerful families; Shortage of Teacher in Remote Schools; Affordable Living Costs; Basic social services; Perseverance; Harmonious relationship with community segments; Economic activities available; Supportive school leadership and teacher background; Complying to job contract; and marrying a native resident.

Some teachers moved to remote schools as a coping strategy in their profession to avoid stress induced by irresponsible teachers from powerful families located in urban schools. This implies that most teachers working in urban schools come from powerful families. From their background, they are not working hard enough in their profession such that they turn to be burdensome to some of the teachers who are results oriented in their profession. Further, it signifies that the teachers in urban schools who are mostly children from well to do families or wives of powerful or affluent people are irresponsible in their jobs; consequently, turning to be embarrassment to other teachers in their work stations. Moreover, it seems people in authority and affluent families in Tanzania are above the law in practical terms.

In another situation, shortage of teachers in remote schools make it difficult for teachers to get transferred. This implies that a teacher posted in a remote school is disadvantaged on the part of transfer because whenever one applies for transfer as an educational leader has to think twice before one makes a decision on whether to accept the request for transfer or deny it. Shortage of teachers always is likely to make an educational leader to reject any form of request for transfer to another school. Indeed, it follows that the teachers with that understanding may not even dare to lodge for request for transfer because they can predict the feedback from their educational leaders; therefore, keeping working in the schools is the only accessible option to some teachers, particularly for those who are not corrupt.

Furthermore, teachers work in remote schools because living cost is affordable. This implies that some teachers decided to remain in remote school because their spending per month is low; consequently, they can save their salaries. From their saving of salaries, their income over time may become stable, and they may have more job satisfaction in terms of income because they can save from low spending. At times, teachers harvest bumper food crops and spend very little money from their salaries. This is one of contributing factors for some teachers remaining working in remote schools for a number of years. The finding is similar to those of Boniface (2019) who report that teachers tended to remain in rural schools for a long time because of investment opportunities relating to agriculture.

In some situations, teachers are satisfied with social services available in remote areas. This infers that if remote areas are open to social services teachers can work in such places for a long time. As such, social services available in remote schools contribute to retaining teachers in public primary schools in Tanzania. Mkisi (2020) reports that lack of social services contributed to teachers moving away from remote school. Social services are important for enhancing quality of education in Tanzania and elsewhere in the world.

In some instances, teachers stay in remote schools not because there is something attractive from the area, but because they tolerate living in difficult environment. This implies that not all teachers in remote schools have certain pull factors, but rather tolerance keeps them abreast in such working station. Nothing is from without. This is to say tolerant teachers do not just happen, but are made. These teachers have a certain understanding of the world which make them choose to tolerate rather than quit remote areas. To understand why some teachers, choose to tolerate it is a subject of research. Researchers with interest can delve into this matter to understand the background and/or experience of such teachers

Indeed, some teachers stay for a long time in remote schools because of harmonious relationship with community members (segments) in their residences and work places. This implies that teachers can choose to stay for a long time in a certain remote school because of friendly relationship with some of community members in the area. Community members in the area includes the workmates in the school. In a situation where a teacher relationship with other teachers or with the leadership gets spoiled; then, the respective teacher may choose to quit the school or place. Lock, Budgen, Lunay and Oakley (2012) posit that sense of belonging in the community among teachers made such teachers stay in a rural school. To add, Handal, Watson, Petocz and Maher (2018) claim that friendliness in a rural school can cause teachers stay for a long time. As established by Two-factor theory by Herzberg (1959) that workers are comfortable to work with organizations considering positive interpersonal relations. The same situation applies to remote working environment. If it is accorded with

harmonious interpersonal relations with community members, teachers are likely to stay for a long time in such a remote area.

In another development, economic activities available in the remote areas are an attraction to some teacher, particularly those related to agriculture, for instance farming, animal husbandry and others. This implies that some teachers stay in remote schools because investment opportunities in the agriculture sector. From the economic activities, they can earn more money and top up to their salaries, thus, creating economic stability in their life. This situation may make some teachers continue working in remote schools for many years. Boniface (2019) reports that some teachers stay in remote schools because they engage in crop production, which supplements their income from their salary. As pinpointed in the Two-factor theory by Herzberg (1959) that opportunity for growth may result in job satisfaction. The same applies to investment opportunities resulting in achievement and growth in terms of economy.

In some situations, supportive school leadership contribute to a teacher stay in a remote school. This implies that when head teachers show kindness and provide necessary support to teachers as they arrive in such schools makes the teachers feel that life is livable. They reflect and find a reason to stay in such remote schools. This means that head teachers in such schools have to be extra careful in the way they treat their subordinates when they arrive in the schools. Scholars (Boniface, 2019; Brenner, 2021) establish that cooperative leadership plays a pivot role in keeping a teacher in a remote school. As highlighted in Two-factor theory by Herzberg (1959) that interpersonal relations at work and supervision are critical in job satisfaction. The same applies for satisfaction with working in remote schools. Positive interpersonal relations at work place and how supervision is undertaken by the head of school may contribute to retaining teachers in the given school.

In addition, some teachers continued to work in remote schools to comply to job contract. This response is obvious and was expected because of employee-employer contract. Though it is expected, but the majority of the teachers are not ready to work in remote schools despite the existence of clauses demanding them to work anywhere they are posted in Tanzania. This infers that most of teachers and leaders in authority are not ethically competent. This is because is a common place practice to see that a teacher is posted in a remote school, but after a few months or years is re-located to another school. Sadly, the teacher is sometimes re-located to a school with more than needed teachers leaving a school with shortage of teachers suffering from the same. Indeed, such teachers are obedience and/or disciplined. Being the case, we have a good number of teachers and educational leaders who are not disciplined because they collude with undisciplined teachers to move on other schools leaving remote schools suffering from shortage of teachers. As reflected in Two-factor theory by Herzberg (1959) that company policies may result in job satisfaction. The same applies to teachers who remained in the remote schools because of the contract. Though it is not satisfaction, but compliance to job demands. This calls for the theory to consider this exceptional response to job setting.

Moreover, marrying a native resident is one of forces that make some teachers remain working in remote schools for a long time. This implies that some of teachers stay in remote schools because of commitment to their marriage. They have tied a knot with permanent residents of remote areas, and they cannot quit their families to go somewhere else. Thus, commitment to marriage contributed to teachers stay in remote schools. This is in line with Two-factor theory by Herzberg (1959) which in hygiene factor mentions about personal factors which may influence job satisfaction. The same to stay of a teacher in a remote school may be caused by personal factors such as marriage.

Among the motivators factors include recognition, achievement, possibility of growth, advancement, responsibility, and the work itself. On the other hand, hygiene factors include salary, interpersonal relations at work, supervision, company policies and administration, working conditions, factors in personal life, status, and job security

8. Conclusion

Various factors contribute to teachers stay for some years in remote schools. Factors retaining teachers in remote schools vary from one teacher to another. The factors range from those related to social services, relationship, economic, background of a teacher in question, job legislations, and school leadership. Teacher retention in remote schools is an outcome of a combination of factors. Without doubt, the factors are likely to have different degree of teacher retention in remote schools.

9. Policy implications

The education leaders in Kilombero are required to ensure that teachers in remote schools are well treated. This is particularly important for head teachers in respective schools in Tanzania.

The government (the District Executive Director) has to ensure that it (she/he) makes analysis to identify and to provide social services required in respective schools in order to retain teachers in remote schools in Tanzania.

It is important for village leaders and/or ward development committees in Kilombero District to create awareness among dwellers in remote schools to forge a harmonious relationship with teachers posted in their localities. This will make them work for a long time in their schools; thus, benefiting the children in the schools.

Head teachers in remote schools need instructional leadership skills to keep teachers in their schools.

10. Area for further research

Further research is needed to determine the leading factors contributing to teachers' stay in remote public primary schools. Understanding the leading factors, it will contribute to placing priorities in bid for keeping teachers in remote schools to minimize the unpopular effects of a nation out of teacher movement from remote schools to urban ones.

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