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The International Journal of Educational Administration and Policy Studies (ISSN 2141-6656) is published monthly (one volume per year) by Academic Journals.

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ARTICLE

Exploring levels of job satisfaction among teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania
Ombeni William Msuya
Exploring levels of job satisfaction among teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania

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Received 18 September, 2015, Accepted 4 April, 2016

A case study on the role of extrinsic factors (hygiene factors) and socio-demographic factors in determining job satisfaction among teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania was undertaken. Biographical variables pertaining to teachers’ age, sex, marital status and work experience were investigated to determine whether they had any significant contribution on the level of job satisfaction experienced. The study employed mixed methods of data collection including the use of instruments such as an interview guide, questionnaires and documentary review checklist. The study found that job satisfaction among teachers in public secondary schools was not homogeneous; socio-economic and demographic factors had a great contribution on varying job satisfaction levels. For example, female teachers’ job satisfaction was statistically significant \( t(84) = 2.62, p = 0.04 \), so was the job satisfaction of young teachers (bellow 40 years) \( t(84) = -2.22, p = 0.01 \). However, age and working experience had a great contribution towards teachers’ job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The study concludes that the socio-economic and demographic factors have potential strength in designing job satisfaction model which accounts for job satisfaction challenges among teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania.

Key words: Job satisfaction, motivation, teachers' retention, quality education service, Tanzania.

INTRODUCTION

Job satisfaction is a crucial element in maintaining quality human resources and life of any organization. In academia, job satisfaction is among the cornerstones for a healthier secondary school. Job satisfaction has been perceived differently by different researchers in the field of human resource and management (Evans, 1997). In the same line Luthans (1994) had describes job satisfaction as an attitude developed by an individual towards the job and job conditions. According to Spector (1997) job satisfaction constitutes an attitudinal variable that measures how a person feels about his or her job, including different facets of the job. However, the most used definition of job satisfaction in literatures is of Locke (1976), who described job satisfaction as a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experiences.

From the earlier mentioned definitions, it is evident that job satisfaction has a great relationship with employees work performance and organizational productivity. Therefore, any challenges around the attainment of teachers’ job satisfaction can demise the attainment of the great goals for secondary education in
Tanzania. Most schools need satisfied and motivated teachers who can work effectively and efficiently for the attainment of school goals and productivity (Noordin and Jusoff, 2009). Due to its relevance to the physical and mental well-being of the employees, as well as its implications for such job-related behaviors as productivity, absenteeism, turnover and employee relations, job satisfaction remains the most important topic today (Spector, 1997).

The goals of secondary education in Tanzania are to provide best knowledge, intuitive minds and basic foundations for higher education that will create a competent citizen who can suit for national development (URT, 2012). Due to the sensitive goals of secondary education, knowledge on cause of absenteeism, regular strikes, boycotting and divide loyalty among teachers in public secondary schools in Mwanga district is of paramount importance. Teachers’ job satisfaction, commitment and retention are crucial for effective school management and academic performance (Smith, 2007).

Most studies (Wu and Short, 1996; Herzberg, 1959) suggest that teachers put more emphasis on intrinsic satisfiers: other studies suggest mix findings of intrinsic and extrinsic satisfiers as the best predictors of teachers’ job satisfaction (Dvorak and Philips, 2001). Their intrinsic satisfaction comes from teaching activities, whereas extrinsic factors have been associated with teachers’ satisfaction including salary, perceived support from supervisors and co-workers, schools’ safety, and availability of school resources among others. However, in order to manage this study, the researcher studied only the extrinsic satisfiers (hygiene factors) and socio-demographic factors.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies of secondary education sector use different factors to measure job satisfaction of teachers. In the study of job satisfaction among teachers from kindergarten through 12th grade in the United States of America, it was found that teachers’ job satisfaction can be contributed by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors (NCES, 1997). The intrinsic factors include salary, perceived support from administrators, school safety, and availability of school resources, among others (Bobbitt et al., 1994; Choy et al., 1993). On the other hand, a variety of extrinsic factors have been associated with teacher satisfaction, including salary, perceived support from administrators, school safety, and availability of school resources, among others (Bobbitt et al., 1994; Choy et al., 1993).

In the same line, some studies on teachers’ job satisfaction from Pakistan have pay levels and other material benefits which are sufficient to meet basic human needs (food, housing, clothing, transport, healthcare, education and training) as key to teachers’ job satisfaction level (UNESCO, 2003). Furthermore, UNESCO report on the ‘Status of teachers in Pakistan’, published in October 2003, points out that non-transparent appointment practices, politicization, poor management, lack of transport and security are amongst the major problems that are faced by teachers.

Moreover, some literatures have associated socio-demographic factors (sex, gender, age, education level and working experience) with teachers’ job satisfaction. As observed by Salami (2001), there are general beliefs that employees’ attitude and characteristics are influenced by sex and gender. It is therefore this attitude which can influence employees; commitment to work. In addition, Khan and Khan (2011) concludes that different personnel attributes like experience, income, age, marital status and education drastically influence employee’s job satisfaction.

Need and significance of the study

Teaching profession is facing problems related to teachers’ job satisfaction in Tanzania. Teachers have been complaining on unfair promotion and favoritism from the educational officials as well ineffectiveness of Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU) (Sumra, 2005). There is a long time general perception that teachers in the Tanzanian government school are dissatisfied with their profession. Moreover most public secondary schools experiences teachers’ absenteeism, a lack of professional achievement and involvement and burnout that can lead to the non-adaptation of students, in other words, truancy, negative attitudes towards schools, dropping out, behavioral disorders and so on (Sikorski, 1996). This was supported by Sumra (2005) who observed that many graduate teachers are not staying long in the teaching profession in Tanzania because of bad working and living conditions in public secondary schools. Most teachers opt for other paying jobs because teaching doesn’t pay them well (Ngimbudzi, 2009). In addition, to the present, there is no meticulous study of teachers’ job satisfaction in public secondary schools in Tanzania to assess the levels of job satisfaction experienced by teachers. If the claim is true that the government school teachers are dissatisfied, what then is this dissatisfaction? In what aspects are they satisfied? Therefore, it was necessary to probe into this matter through a careful study.

Objectives of the study

1. Exploring the level of job satisfaction among teachers working in public secondary schools in Tanzania.
2. Discovering factors contributing to job satisfaction
among teachers; and
3. Determining job satisfaction differences by age, sex and working experience among teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania.

**METHODOLOGY**

A case study design was used to allow the use of multiple methods which brought rich information for an in-depth understanding of the level of job satisfaction among teachers from these public secondary schools. A combination of data collection techniques such as questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, structured interviews and documentary review were used to collect data. A total of 86 participants were selected among teachers with different sex, age, marital status, educational level and work experience from Mwanga District, in Kilimanjaro Region. Data were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source data were generated through questionnaires (84) and interviews (10 people) from 6 teachers and 4 officials from District Education Office while the secondary source data were obtained from official documents like teachers’ attendance registrar (books), disciplinary log books, letters for warning and job termination letters (indicate the names of documents) through documentary review checklist. Data collecting instruments were validated and tested for reliability. Official permission for data collection was sought from the District Executive Director as a relevant authority. Participants of this study were contacted for their consent and participants’ names were kept anonymous.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

**Level of job satisfaction among the teachers**

General Job satisfaction score of the respondents was between 4.12 and 3.65 average mean score on the 4-point Likert scale with standard deviation of 0.788. This indicates that the respondents were generally satisfied with their job. The individual mean on each statement in the measure indicated that the only statement that had a mean score greater than 4.00 was statement/question What can you say about your current job? (Table 1):

This indicates high job satisfaction in this particular district, which may require further studies in other public secondary schools in Tanzania before it can be generalized.

These findings are consistent with previous studies on general satisfaction (Chen and Sego, 1998; Hartmann and Bambacas, 2000) and contrary to Khalid et al. (2012) study who found out that teachers in private schools in Pakistan had more general job satisfaction than teachers in public schools. High job satisfaction in public schools may be contributed by the reliability for various working conditions. This study confirms the previous study by Kinaki (2000) and Zdayl (1990) which found a greater level of job satisfaction from “Job Security” for teachers in public schools compared to their counterparts in private schools.

Moreover, this study indicates that teachers are satisfied with the social benefit (SB) dimensions of job. These dimensions include recognition for work accomplished, relationship with co-workers and job security. The findings are consistent with Herzberg’s Two-Factor Theory in which recognition, responsibility and work itself are referred to as satisfiers and with Woods and Weasmer (2002) who claim that workers’ job satisfaction is derived from collegial relationship (co-workers). However, these findings contradict this theory in that participants expressed satisfaction with co-workers and job security, which according to Herzberg’s (1959) study, were regarded as dissatisfiers (Herzberg et al., 1959; Robbins and Judge, 2008).

Furthermore, research findings indicated that teachers were satisfied with the support from the management. These findings are consistent with the previous studies of Peggy and Bonnie (1994) and Wood (2008) on teachers’ job satisfaction. Conversely, these results are inconsistent with Herzberg’s Two Factors Theory in which he argues that administration and supervision are sources of job dissatisfaction (Herzberg et al., 1959; Robbins and Judge, 2008). In this study, respondents indicated that they were happy with the support and care from the school administrators and immediate supervisors. It would be good to observe the consistency of these results if they were asked to indicate their satisfaction with other levels of administration other than the school administration.

**Factors affecting job satisfaction among teachers in public secondary schools**

**Job security**

Through informal and semi-structured interviews, the study revealed that teachers were comfortable with job which had high job security. Majority of the teachers were satisfied with job which was legally binding between the employer and the employees. Working in government owned secondary schools, for many teachers, had more meaning. Moreover, teachers were happy to work in public secondary schools due to high assurance of permanent and pensionable contracts.

**Possibility for academic growth**

Majority of the teachers were happy working in public secondary schools due to the availability of academic career development scheme. Teachers were confident with the available scheme for funding academic works such as publications, in-service training and further academic studies. It was found out that, majority of the teachers were getting opportunities to be enrolled in
Table 1. Teachers’ job satisfaction scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean scores</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What can you say about your current job?</td>
<td>3.050</td>
<td>0.6993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What can you say about your salary?</td>
<td>2.783</td>
<td>1.1122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can you assess the working conditions at this school?</td>
<td>2.850</td>
<td>1.0222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What can you say about your work benefits (Health insurance, life insurance, etc)?</td>
<td>3.150</td>
<td>1.1472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your perceptions regarding opportunities for promotion in your job?</td>
<td>3.733</td>
<td>0.9543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can you rate the job security in your current job?</td>
<td>3.483</td>
<td>1.2281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can you assess your recognition for work accomplished?</td>
<td>3.680</td>
<td>0.9828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can you rate your relationship(s) with your supervisor(s)?</td>
<td>3.733</td>
<td>3.883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your relationship with your fellow workers?</td>
<td>3.883</td>
<td>3.733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your relationship with your subordinates (if applicable)</td>
<td>3.267</td>
<td>3.267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can you assess the support for in-service trainings and other upgrading seminars and educational programs?</td>
<td>3.366</td>
<td>3.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How about the opportunity to utilize your skills and talents?</td>
<td>3.417</td>
<td>3.417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How about the opportunity to learn new skills?</td>
<td>3.167</td>
<td>3.167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 86; Source: Field Data, 2015: Analyzed through SPSS Version 17.0.

Master's degrees while others were joining short courses within the country and abroad. Moreover, teachers aged from 50 years and above lamented over-mistreatment from their immediate supervisors when they were asking for opportunities for further academic growth, or their supervisors were granting academic scholarships to their affiliates.

**Employee relations**

The findings showed that work relationship between employees themselves, and employees and their supervisors contributed to their job satisfaction and practices. The findings obtained through interviews revealed that teachers were happy working with supportive working mates and involving leaders. Moreover, job satisfaction of employees is positively contributed by whole-hearted relations, group solidarity, and status.

**Working conditions**

The findings showed that teachers in this particular district were not satisfied with the working conditions. Their dissatisfaction was also shown through the low standard deviation of 1.02 and the mean score of 2.8 from the statement in the questionnaire:

How can you assess the working conditions at this school?

Furthermore, teachers were complaining on the unavailability or inadequate teaching and learning resources. The researcher witnessed teachers in most offices sharing the available office furniture. Some offices were lacking computers, printers and internet connections which are primary facilities for teachers to pursue their daily activities. The situation was also critical in classrooms where many students were seated outside while the lesson was on progress.

**Role of biographical and social factors on job satisfaction**

This study involved male and female secondary school teachers with different marital status, age and working experience (Table 2). A number of previous research evidences have stated that the socio-demographic factors may affect on job satisfaction (Bas and Ardicin, 2002; Yunki, 1999). This study had found sex, age, marital status and work experience as the main contributors of job satisfaction among teachers in secondary schools in Tanzania.

**Sex and job satisfaction**

Previous studies show how men and women experience opportunity structures in work organizations in unique ways (Fernández, 1993; Yunki, 1999). There were significant differences between male and female respondents with regard to job satisfaction facets in these schools. An independent t-test comparing the mean scores of the female and male respondents on job satisfaction facets found a significant difference between
Table 2. Frequency and percentage for socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>63.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (Years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>69.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;41</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 20</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>67.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field data 2015.

The mean scores of two groups in working conditions and relationships with subordinates (t(84) = 2.62, p = 0.01), (t(84) = -2.29, p = 0.03) as shown in Table 3. The mean scores of females were significantly higher (m =3.24, sd = 1.00) than those of males (m = 2.57, sd = 0.93). Also, the mean scores of females were higher (m = 3.68, sd = 1.21) than those of males (m =2.97, sd = 1.15) for the relationships with subordinates.

These findings indicate that females are tolerant and have good interpersonal relationships with their work mates. This is in line with some previous findings that showed subordinates tended to listen to dynamic and assertive female managers, who conducted themselves professionally, spoke with authority and confidence and based their communication on sound experience, good knowledge and up-to-date facts on matters of concern (Jonkheid and Mango, 2008).

Marital status and job satisfaction

The independent sample t-test was also computed to determine whether academic staff differed in their job satisfaction in relation to their marital status. The findings showed a statistically significant job satisfaction difference on working conditions between single and married teachers – (t(84) =2.49, p = 0.04). The mean of teachers who were single was higher (m = 3.22, sd = 1.11) than that of married teachers (m =2.69, sd = 0.94) (Table 4). These findings might have been contributed by the socio-economic/ responsibilities (taking care of the family) among the married teachers, which require steady job condition for meeting critical family responsibilities.

Age and job satisfaction

The independent-sample t test comparing the young and aged teachers on job satisfaction facets was found statistically significant on promotion and job security - (t(84) = 2.22, p = 0.04), (t(84) = -2.64, p = 0.03) respectively (Table 5). The mean scores of young teachers (aged below 40 years) were significantly higher (m =3.79, sd = 1.08) than those of older teachers (40+ years) (m = 3.65, sd = 0.91) on promotion. In contrast, older teachers’ (41+ years) mean score (m = 3.54 sd = 1.23) was higher than that of young teachers (aged below 40 years) on job security—(m = 3.31, sd = 1.23).

Job satisfaction due to promotion might have been contributed by a large sample of participants being young teachers (below 40 years) who were enthusiastic with promotions, while that due to job security by older teachers might have been contributed by their fear to confront new challenging job opportunities outside their
familiar former employer in the era of free labor market ideology. These findings are consistent with previous studies (Griffin and Bateman, 1986; Mannheim et al., 1997) that report a positive relationship between age and job satisfaction in public secondary schools. Bateman and Strasser (1984) argue that older employees tend to be more satisfied and more committed to the organization due to the adjustment and investment processes. These findings are very important for school management to design the retention programs for each category of teachers.

**Work experience and job satisfaction**

Furthermore, the findings from independent-sample t test comparing teachers’ working experience and job satisfaction facets was statistically significant on in-service trainings and new skills ($t(84) = 2.81, p = 0.04$), ($t(84) = -2.51, p = 0.05$) as shown in Table 6. The mean score of teachers working for less than 20 years was significantly higher ($m = 3.45, sd = 1.15$) than the mean score of teachers working for more than 20 years ($m = 3.17, sd = 0.94$) on in-service training facet, while the mean score for teachers working for more than 21 years was significantly higher ($m = 3.33, sd = 0.78$) than that of teachers working for less than 20 years ($m = 3.13, sd = 1.33$) on new skills facet.

The contribution of in-service training facet on less experienced teachers (< or = 20 years) might be resulting from the need to be oriented and accustomed to organizational policy and practices. The more experienced teachers (21+ years) were satisfied with

---

**Table 3. Comparison of male and female employees towards job satisfaction.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job satisfaction dimension</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working conditions</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships with subordinates</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>-2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>-2.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for promotion</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with co-worker</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>0.968</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field data 2015.

**Table 4. Comparison of marital status towards job satisfaction.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job satisfaction dimension</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working conditions</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>2.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships with subordinates</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>-0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>-0.252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for promotion</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with co-worker</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>0.768</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field data 2015.

**Table 5. Comparison of age (years) of employees’ towards job satisfaction.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job satisfaction dimension</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Older</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>-2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships with subordinates</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>0.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>0.652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for promotion</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship with co-worker</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>0.668</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field data 2015.
opportunities for new skills. These findings are in line with Ntambala (2011) who found that the introduction of new science and technology in teaching and learning stimulated the long experienced teachers to seek new knowledge.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the present study have provided answers to all research questions and suggest that teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania generally have higher job satisfaction. These findings complement the Herzberg’s (1959) two factor theory. The motivators and hygiene factors were confirmed to have great contribution on job satisfaction among teachers in public secondary schools in Tanzania.

The socio-demographic variables such as sex, age, marital status and working experience appear to represent antecedent conditions of the general job satisfaction in public secondary schools in Tanzania. These findings have practical implications for various levels of the school management. The teachers’ job satisfaction aspects are not homogeneous; therefore, there is a need for the school management to use different management styles and motivational strategies to rise to the same level of teachers’ job satisfaction for optimum organizational effectiveness.

Moreover, teachers’ job satisfaction aspects in public secondary schools in Tanzania are not homogeneous; therefore, there is a need for educational officers and government to use different management styles and motivational strategies to maximize teachers’ motivation.

This study was limited itself to teachers who are working in public secondary in Mwanga District in Kilimanjaro region; therefore, there is a need to conduct a comparative study on job satisfaction among teachers working in public and private secondary schools in Tanzania. The sample for the study should be increased to involve more teachers from public and private secondary schools in order to get rich data from different contexts and cultures.

Table 6. Comparison employees’ work experience towards job satisfaction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job satisfaction dimension</th>
<th>Mean &lt; 20 Years</th>
<th>Mean ≥21 Years</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In-service training</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>-2.81</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships with subordinates</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>0.329</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>0.452</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for promotion</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>0.722</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New skills</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>-2.51</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field data 2015.

Conflict of interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

REFERENCES


International Journal of Educational Administration and Policy Studies

Related Journals Published by Academic Journals

- African Journal of History and Culture
- Journal of Media and Communication Studies
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