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Teacher Workload, Curriculum Alignment, and Adaptation under Tanzania's 2023 Primary Curriculum: Evidence from Gairo District, Tanzania

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1.0 Abstract: The primary curriculum for 2023 has undergone some changes in Tanzania to promote greater learner participation, practical activities, continuous assessment, and current skills, but there is variation in staffing, materials and infrastructure at schools. The study focuses on teacher experiences and challenges of curriculum implementation in Gairo District, Morogoro Region, with emphasis on workload, professional learning, resource support and curricular alignment, adaptation, teacher morale and perceived benefits. The qualitative secondary analysis consists of 12 different semi-structured teacher interviews from six schools, five subjects and Grades 3 and 4. A deductive coding procedure was used for workload, alignment, learning, coping, morale and fatigue, and an inductive coding procedure was used for workload mechanisms and negative cases in a hybrid thematic analysis. Cumulative work, as described by teachers, is dense timetables, large/combined classes, assessment/examination, remedial teaching, preparation of substitute material, and learning during implementation. This is an individual teacher's report and not a verified teacher's timetable or district estimate; one teacher reported having about 70 teaching periods per week. Informal preparation was uneven, so peer exchange and learning in the school became important. Using resources from other materials, grouping, using personal resources, improvisation, and extra time helped to keep instruction going and may increase the implementation burden on teachers. Occasional level of curricular layering: One teacher mentioned a competency in current planning documents but not in new books and potentially examinable, so it was used in an older book; another teacher reported reading challenging grade 7 material that was related to the "old" curriculum. There are no records to show that two full curricula were generally available. There was no evidence that exhaustion, cynicism, resistance or disengagement were directly associated with repeated reform among the participants. There is some strain on implementation and some vulnerability to morale in the corpus, but no sign of strain on reform. It is a bounded secondary analysis, without a pre-reform measure, so it cannot calculate prevalence or explain why longstanding capacity gaps are due to the reform. Results indicate that documents and assessments are aligned, there is protected learning time, planning is done based on workload, and materials and infrastructure are provided in a realistic way.

Keywords: *curriculum implementation, teacher workload, curricular alignment, teacher adaptation, professional learning, Tanzania.*

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

Along with the official curriculum reform, curriculum is also carried out in the daily work of teachers in their interpretative and practical activities. Teachers have to adapt new competencies, pedagogies, assessment requirements and materials to teaching, and at the same time, they have to handle their timetables, exams, support of students, and institutional procedures. Thus, there are a number of cautions in policy enactment research for thinking of implementation merely as a process of moving a policy from written text to practice in the classroom—the context, the local history, the resources, the professional culture, and the materials at hand all influence how enactment unfolds in practice (Ball et al., 2012).

The Education and Training Policy 2014, 2023 Edition and the revised primary curriculum marked a change in the concept of basic education and a new focus on skills development, practical education and teaching skills in the 21st Century (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology [MoEST] 2023; Tanzania Institute of Education [TIE] 2023). According to the report in Educational Circular No. 5, 2023, the initial implementation in January 2024 was done for the pre-primary, Standard I and Standard III levels in Primary schools (Mosenda, 2024). The “dual curriculum scenario” was used by the same report to refer to a specific type of Form One transition to secondary school that featured both general and vocational streams. It must be noted that such an official usage of secondary education does not necessarily mean that it is representative of teachers' experience in primary education in the Gairo District. This study, however, adopts a different understanding of the related term “double curriculum”—as an idea to be explored through primary-teacher stories.

The real challenge in the center is not reform alone, but how demands in the reform are connected with the capacity of the existing system. Additional materials, professional learning, planning and monitoring may be needed for activities that are learner-centered, for continual assessment, for practical work, and for technology-mediated tasks. This can be labour-intensive where there are limited numbers of teachers, high class sizes, low teacher-to-student ratios, limited classroom space, no electric power, and poor connectivity and/or internet access. Teacher preparation, instructional resources, class size and alignment of materials have been highlighted as consequential conditions for implementing the competence-based curricula in Tanzania (Kasuga & Kalolo, 2025; Makunja, 2016). A national policy note also highlights some of the continuing areas of teacher development, formative assessment, governance and the allocation of education resources (World Bank, 2023).

The notion of teacher workload scholarship is helpful in looking at this interplay. According to Hargreaves, (1994), intensification refers to the increase and reduction of work in the profession due to changing expectations. Street-level bureaucracy, as illustrated in Lipsky's (1980) description of the discretion of the front-line worker, also demonstrates the challenge of making policy workable within the constraints of limited capacity. Teachers' improvisation, peer consultation, grouping and utilization of additional time can thus be seen as professional agency, and as an indication of costs having been transferred to the frontline actors. Fullan (2007) also emphasises that the early implementation challenges are not rare in the process of change in education, and should not be misinterpreted as being a state of "fatigue.

These are different aspects of implementation but not mutually exclusive. Workload is the amount, concentration, difficulty or size of the workload. For this purpose, curricular layering is defined as content, content components, grade-level requirements, and/or examination requirements that remain "in place" beyond the current planning documents. There needs to be more evidence to show that reform fatigue is caused by repetitive or overlapping reform cycles: participants would have to demonstrate a specific connection between fatigue and either repeated or overlapping cycles of reform. Vulnerability to fatigue does not exist in isolation, but rather may be conducive to fatigue and be related to a high workload, low motivation or difficult living circumstances.

There is limited evidence regarding the experience of these dimensions in a primary school in a rural/ resource-constrained setting. It fills that gap by undertaking a secondary analysis of the teacher interview records of Gairo District in Morogoro Region, which were collected for a case study. The article tries to fill that gap by conducting a case-bound secondary analysis of the teacher interview records collected during a case study research in Gairo District, Morogoro Region. It makes an empirical and conceptual contribution. As a practical exercise, it records the amount of work done, inequalities in preparation, compensatory labour in relation to materials, adaptation and positive experiences. In principle, it is a test of implementation claims based on the records, and it records supporting, conflicting or missing evidence.

Similarly, recent research on the implementation of the primary curriculum transition in Tanzania reveals that resource availability, access to ICTs, teacher preparation, professional learning, teacher collaboration, and institutional support are factors influencing the implementation of the primary curriculum transition (Belege, 2026; Mlenge et al., 2025). These findings do not give a national or regional perspective of the teacher's experience; rather, this is the focus of the present analysis.

2.1 Tanzania's Curriculum Transition and the Problem of Local Enactment

Implementation of the 2023 policy and curriculum documents will be a phased process that is locally determined. The primary curriculum is aimed at standards I–VI and is related to the education structure and competence-oriented approach of the revised policy (MoEST, 2023; TIE, 2023). Readings about transitioning into the upgraded curriculum reveal different cohorts and levels starting the transition at different times (Mosenda, 2024). This can result in schools being held liable for students taught under multiple curricula even if the teacher hasn't taught two full curricula in the same class.

In this study, the following three types of old/new relationships are differentiated for analytic precision: The first is sequential transition, in which teachers discard old practice for new practice. The second is continuity, in which teachers view the better curriculum as an extension of what they already know. The third is curricular layering, where existing schemes, syllabi and textbooks are collected together at the same time, as are the residual requirements on students from previous grades and their examination expectations. Only the third comes close to the notion of a "double curriculum," and even then, it doesn't have to be two full courses; it could be two separate curricula.

There are also fewer opportunities for overstatements of cause and effect. A shortage of staff, big classes, small classrooms, poor connectivity and lack of books or devices may come prior to the reform. So the question is not whether all of these constraints were made by the 2023 curriculum, but rather, how the curriculum's expectations meet these constraints to affect teachers' work. The analytic approach to the study views implementation as an interaction between demands from the reform and capacity within the context, with the mediation of professional learning and teacher discretion.

2.2 Conceptual Framing

Analysis combines the three components: policy enactment, teacher intensification, and street-level discretion. Policy enactment brings into focus what teachers do when they are confronted with reform, more specifically in particular contexts, rather than following a scripted agenda (Ball et al., 2012; Bowe et al., 1992). Teacher intensification is the cumulative effect of increased task demands, decreased time per task, and decreased time for reflection (Hargreaves, 1994). Street-level bureaucracy illuminates the discretionary practices that fill the spaces between policy, resources and learners (Lipsky, 1980). Combined, these viewpoints enable the analysis of burden and agency without romanticising coping or explaining all the problems with the reform.

Reform fatigue was used as a sensitising concept that had a high level of evidence. A direct support would have to be an account that would have to involve exhaustion or cynicism, resistance, withdrawal, and/or decreased commitment to repeated, continuing, and/or overlapping reforms. Other indicators like overtime, low motivation, sacrifice or low morale were coded as adjacent indicators. This separation shields against any assertion of fatigue that might be made in advance on any account of hard teaching.

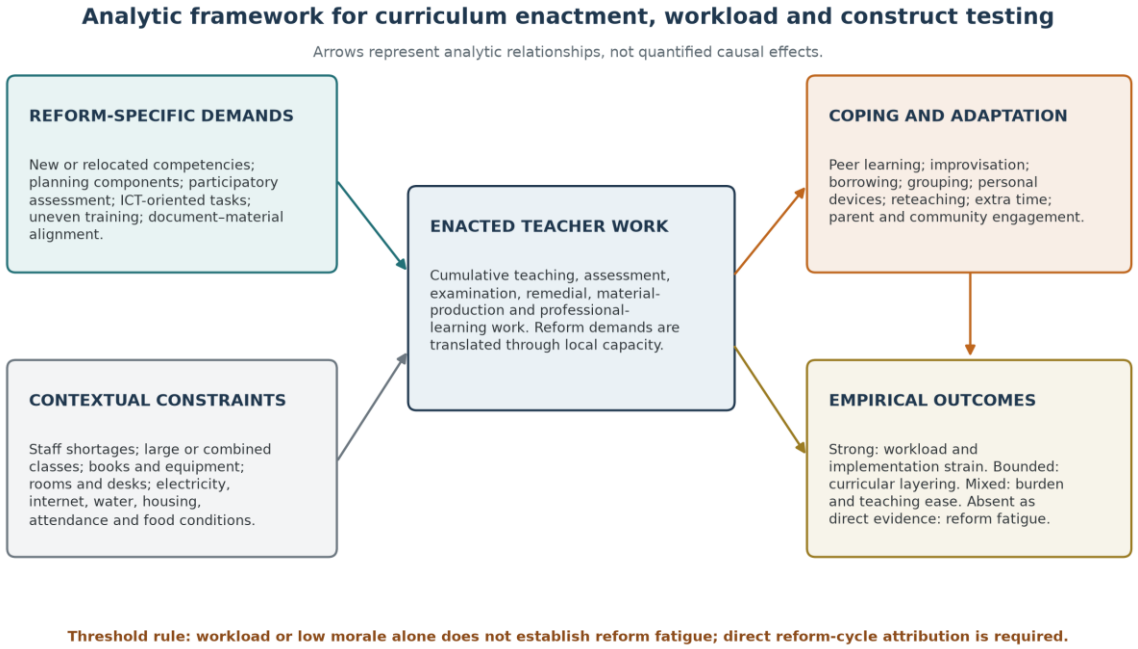


Figure 1. *Analytic framework for curriculum enactment, cumulative workload, coping, and construct testing. The relationships are interpretive and are not presented as quantified causal effects.*

2.3 Study Aim and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception, experience and management of the implementation of the improved curriculum in Tanzania in 2023 by the primary teachers in Gairo District, focusing on workload, professional learning, resource alignment and adaptation, teachers' morale and perceived benefits of the new curriculum.

RQ1. What do teachers say regarding the relationships between aspects of implementation, workload, professional learning, resources and curricular alignment in Gairo District?

RQ2. What do teachers report about implementation strain, the morale of teachers, continuity, ease of instruction, and benefits to learners in these circumstances?

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

A qualitative secondary analysis design was employed, making it appropriate for the study to seek to interpret systematically documented experience, while at the same time being careful to consider the original purpose, context and limitations of the documents (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis method used was semi-structured teacher interview records for secondary analysis. Since an interviewer did not necessarily conduct the interviews, the analysis was constrained by the information in the records and was not able to convey the degree of interviewer probing, nonverbal cues, or unrecorded context.

3.2 Participants

The total population of 12 teachers in primary Schools in Gairo District, Morogoro Region was recruited from six school clusters in this study. The records were anonymised as T1–T12, two records per cluster. These records included Arts and Sports, Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili, English, Mathematics and Science teachers in Grades 3 and 4. The subject, grade, qualification and gender were the only descriptors available.

Table 1: *Profile of the 12 interview records*

Descriptor	Categories represented	Number of records
Subject	Arts and Sports; Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili; English; Mathematics; Science	3; 3; 2; 2; 2
Grade	Grade 3; Grade 4	6; 6
Recorded qualification (normalised)	Certificate; Diploma; Degree	7; 3; 2
Gender descriptor	Male; Female	9; 3
School coverage	Six anonymised school clusters	Two records per cluster

Note. Counts describe the analysed records and are not prevalence estimates for Gairo District or Morogoro Region. Qualification labels reproduce the level recorded in the source materials without inferring equivalence beyond the records.

3.3 Analytic Procedure

The analysis was conducted in a hybrid thematic style, that is, based on the approach by Braun and Clarke (2006). Each record was read in full, and the code number T1 - T12 was used to anonymise the record. Secondly, deductive codes were used to analyse the study aim and questions: workload, implementation burden, old/new alignment, professional learning, coping, morale, perceived benefits, and reform fatigue as a sensitising construct. Third, specific mechanisms were identified in the data, such as timetable density, subject multiplicity, large and combined classes, marking, administration of examinations, remedial teaching, substitution of material, peer learning, grouping, and extra time work. Fourth, coded extracts were cross-coded to make comparisons between records and to arrive at candidate themes. Fifth, negative cases and the whole corpus were used for testing the candidate themes. Sixth, an evidence-status matrix identified direct evidence, analyst interpretation, contradiction and absence.

This process was done on purpose, distinguishing between demands for reform and constraints. Demands that arose in the various stages of reform were for unknown or shifted

skills, planning units, ongoing assessment, technology requirements, training, and mismatched existing materials/documents. The following contextual constraints were identified: Staffing, class size, rooms, desks, attendance, food, housing, water, electricity and connectivity. The analysis focused on the relationships among these categories rather than trying to explain why they fit into the context as described by the teachers rather than as a result of the reform.

3.4 Translation, Anonymity, and Evidence Handling

Most of the interviews conducted were in Swahili. The quotations used in this manuscript were translated as analytic quotations into English for meaning, with comparison to the records that were available in parsed form. The manuscript does not contain any quotations in Swahili. Participant codes are reported only in public reports; school and/or filename names are not reported in the manuscript.

The confirmation bias was mitigated by employing two checklists. First of all, the term "double curriculum" was not referred to as a participant term or as a condition that has been established throughout the district. Second, reform fatigue was only coded when the record specifically referred to fatigue-like reactions to repeated or overlapping reforms or when fatigue was a direct consequence of other reform indicators. Overtime, sacrifice, low motivation, or difficult living conditions were reported and were included as a strain or as a vulnerability of morale unless the participant made that connection to the reform.

3.5 Permissions and Ethics Position

Records were made available for second use in secondary qualitative analysis after institutional and local permission and consent were gained and participant consent was obtained. These permissions and consent outline the reported means of accessing and analysing the provided material.

4.0 FINDINGS

The six themes were developed. The themes are introduced in the order of increasing degrees of support of workload mechanisms, and increasingly cautious evaluation of the constructs in the title. Participant codes do not reflect statistical prevalence, but merely provide evidence locations in the corpus.

4.1 Cumulative Workload Was Generated by Multiple Mechanisms

Workload is said to be a cumulative load rather than being caused by the one particular task. The timetable overfilling, subject teaching and grade crossing, large/combined classes, assessment, examination administration, remedial teaching, correction and production of substitute materials happened in the same working week. T5 painted the most vivid picture of how the timetable would be organised, and linked a small teaching staff to a very full timetable.

We have an accumulation of lessons, for instance, about 70 periods per week, "because of few teachers." — T5, English analytic translation

The numerical amount is not an actual time or district's estimate. The importance of it is in the mechanism it represents, where staffing levels were too low to allow for many of the teaching tasks to be fulfilled by other staff. One of the same players described how they used these moments, which were mostly available at their discretion, to not allow competencies to be completely ignored.

We make up time when we need to; even if I can get about 20 minutes, I give them at least an introduction to the competency. — T5, English analytic translation

Similarly, T10 correlated the issue of multiple subjects with a small staff and the lack of coverage for competency, and T12 related to the class size of 120 learners, making it hard to reach and assess the learners. T9 introduced an organisational mechanism: that of examination weeks, which replaced regular teaching, not just for students taking the examination but also for those who do not sit it, as it was used to free up teachers' time for preparation, setting up, supervising, and marking.

The work becomes the examination preparation (even if the class does not do the examination) during an examination week (Monday to Friday) — T9, English analytic translation.

These accounts are in line with the workload pressure but not a measurable increase in pressure because of the 2023 curriculum. No time diaries, verified timetables, payroll and pre-reform base are included in the records. Rather, they demonstrate how implementing the curriculum takes place in a cramped school organisation, with old promises intertwined with new ones.

4.2 Teachers Were Learning While Implementing

Formal preparation was not even. Some of the participants answered that no training in implementation was conducted; others shared that they were given feedback from colleagues who had been trained; others reported short durations of the training sessions, which they felt were not enough. Difficult competencies were repeatedly used as the topic of school-based professional learning (SBPL), which was frequently referred to as MEWAKA or teacher continuous professional development, to interpret and share strategies. In Tanzania, the critical need for coherent and strategic in-service support is also evidenced in research about the implementation of the competency-based curriculum (Msamba et al., 2023). Professional learning was therefore not only a support for

implementation, but also a component of the work needed to support implementation of the curriculum.

"When English teachers receive training they provide feedback in the staff office; I am implementing according to my own experiences." — T5, English analytic translation

"When we were brought to the ward centre all we were told was that, but not much else and not often, two or three times would be better." — T6, English analytic translation

The writing of T7 captured the sense of on-the-job learning as a new teacher.

"As I am starting to work in July 2025, I am learning at work." – T7, English analytic translation

There were no indications that teachers were negative towards professional learning in the records. Rather, the opposite was true, with peer learning typically being embraced as a means to address uncertainty. The challenge was the learning of implementation knowledge in the midst of an active teaching task, where, in some cases, the time allocated for collaboration was interrupted by the demands of exams and staffing. The evidence thus indicates ongoing professional learning activities, not tiredness because of professional learning.

4.3 Curricular Layering Was Real but Localised

The best evidence to support the concept of a "double curriculum" was T2. The participant talked about a competency listed in the current planning documents, but not in the new books. An older colleague recommended using an old book, as there was a possibility that the competency might be tested in an exam.

"In the scheme and syllabus, a competency may be listed that does not occur in the new books, so if it does appear in the exam, then a competent teacher can suggest using an old book to teach it." — T2, English analytic translation

This is key evidence of misaligned documents between documents and use of multiple planning documents at the same time, and using current planning documents with older instructional materials. Not all of the participants had to teach two full curricula. T7 shared another case, where the teacher was involved in school-based learning for both the improved curriculum in Grade 4 and some challenging Grade 7 material which was referred to as the 'old curriculum'.

The course is taught according to the old curriculum, and we learn challenging subjects, particularly in grade 7." — T7, English analytic translation

The contrast cases were used to limit the interpretation. T10 reported being advised to drop old practices and start new practices, suggesting a sequential approach instead of delivering these practices simultaneously. There was good continuity in teaching and assessment in T8. T9 reported that the curriculum was familiar because of the improvement of training that was carried out earlier. T6 presented the situation of less note-taking in the context of learner-centred practice. Such a defensible finding is localised curricular layering, not a district-wide double curriculum, and primarily, one case of misalignment (direct material) and one case of residual grade (adjacent).

4.4 Resource Shortfalls Became Compensatory Teacher Labour

Subject-specific materials, rooms, desks, electricity, internet access, books and computers were inconsistently available. The workload implication was felt in the bridging that took place by teachers. They created images on boards, organised pupils, made aids, borrowed books, searched for materials, created some extra time to explain what could not be demonstrated and used personal phones.

"So we teach a lot of subjects, and I do not really have enough time to teach some skills. We also do not have many books; when I need to show a student an image on the computer, I have to draw it on the board, and that is hard.

"Some lessons need ICT equipment, but the teacher is not able to show the video and only uses words to explain. — T9, English analytic translation

T12 highlighted the relationship between material and spatial shortages and reach and participation in the assessment.

"There are 120 pupils, but you cannot reach all of them, or assess all of them. Some pupils sit on the floor with their knees as their desk and write on their knees." — T12, English analytic translation

The accounts reveal an intensification of work on the resources, with teachers being the compensating mechanism between the expectations of the curriculum and the capacity of the local community. There is no proof that the shortages started in 2023, as a result of the reform. The finding, rather, is that "reform expectations" can reveal and exacerbate "longstanding capacity gaps.

4.5 Coping Sustained Implementation but Could Normalise Uncompensated Work

Collaboration and improvisation, grouping, borrowing, personal devices, reteaching, additional sessions, parent involvement, and community support were used. There was a solid sense of agency with these practices, and they supported instruction. Peer learning allowed staff to share experiences; participation was shared across groups in large classes; many practical activities were made possible by the use of local materials; and additional time allowed for teachers to go back to review incomplete learning.

But coping also required adjustments from teachers. The improvisation needed to be prepared and sometimes even individual resources. Additional sessions were added to the working day. Relational & administrative requirements were added, with parent follow-up & attendance. T11 made commitment to a commitment that was clear in terms of risking the normalisation of unpaid work.

"Teaching is voluntary work: it demands sacrifice, hard work, extra effort, and extra time; it is not work for money because you will be paid for that later; you have to trust God and put in the effort, sacrifice, and time." — T11, English analytic translation

"There is no support except for MEWAKA, and no motivation in other areas" — T11 (English analytic translation)

The data thus lend themselves to a double interpretation of coping. It can be a fruitful way of professional agency, but can also be a manifestation of under-support where it can present itself as an 'extraordinary' effort required as a 'normal' aspect of 'good teaching'.

4.6 The Corpus Supports Strain and Morale Risk, Not Reform Fatigue

None of the participants reported being tired of repeated reforms, exhausted by reform cycles, cynical about the 2023 curriculum, resisting due to earlier reforms, or disengaging from reforms. There was no supporting record for the direct code for reform fatigue. A few references did mention that there were concerns close by: staff wanted some incentive to do more work; sacrifice was mentioned; or challenging living and/or working conditions were associated with low morale.

"There should be motivation for those of us working under difficult circumstances; few of us work beyond the normal time, even more." — T5, English analytic translation

"There are things that can break a teacher's morale; for instance, there is no house for a teacher, there is the struggle for water, and there is no internet." — T9, English analytic translation

These can be statements with respect to occupational strain and vulnerability to morale. They do not equate fatigue and disenchantment with further reforms. Positive and continuity cases serve as reinforcing cases of that boundary. There was no significant challenge other than continuous improvement reported by T3. At T6, one reported less effort in note-taking, and at T9, most of the curriculum was familiar following previous training.

"Not seeing difficulties; we are just continuing to get better, we were already prepared on how to teach a large class." — T3, English analytic translation

"Previously, the teacher spent a lot of time writing notes and explanations; now we must explain a little, and pupils understand and work with it." — T6, English analytic translation

"This curriculum did not bring anything new to him, who had participated in the previous project, since only a few things had been improved." — T9, English analytic translation

The conclusion is thus not symmetrical. Implementation strain is directly supported; there is support for morale risk in a subset of accounts, but not in the context of the reform; in this corpus, there is no evidence of reform fatigue. The absence of this does not mean that fatigue is not present in the Gairo District. It does indicate that the construct isn't an interview schedule or records.

5.0 DISCUSSION

5.1 Workload as an Interaction Between Reform and Capacity

The results indicate that the teacher workload was a result of interaction, not from the effect of a single reform. The new assessment practices of participation, new skills, changes to planning, technology expectations and ongoing professional development came on top of already busy teachers' schedules, high pupil numbers, stress surrounding exams, lack of materials, and limited infrastructure. This is consistent with the enactment theory of policy – reform has a material and organisational nature and meaning in which it is translated (Ball et al., 2012). It is also a reflection of the intensification of the teachers, since there are several demands that accumulate and squeese the available time (Hargreaves, 1994).

This analysis is novel in that it specifies the mechanisms of accumulation that it outlines. There was no increase in workload, only in terms of increased periods. It involved examination-week displacement, assessment in large groups, correction, remedial work, professional learning as the changes are implemented, as well as creating replacement materials. It is pertinent to remember the World Bank (2023) reference to teacher capacity and to formative assessment, which can under no circumstances be viewed as separate from the allocation of staff and resources necessary to implement it.

The negative ones are also significant. A few teachers had continuity, ease of teaching or positive outcomes of teaching. These accounts demonstrate that this approach can help minimise specific forms of labour (e.g. extensive amounts of note taking) when teachers are familiar with the approach and when materials or practical activities facilitate the approach as expected. There are therefore different workload effects by subject, grade, preparation, resources and organisation of the school. It would be less accurate to

talk of uniform claims of workload increases in relation to reform.

5.2 Curricular Alignment and Localised Layering

Curricular layering is an issue with limited evidence, but where that evidence has been found, it is relevant to policy. We have a planning problem here, and it was problematic because there were differences between what was in T2's planning documents, the new textbooks, older textbooks, and what was expected in the exam. There may be some old curriculum work left over for T7 in the same time period as indicated in the assigned work. While these cases warrant a localised curricular layering, a claim of having two full curricula operating in a district is not supported.

This bounded interpretation also helps make sense of the connection between official interpretation of transition language and local evidence. "dual curriculum scenario" was mentioned, but not as a formal diagnosis of the case of primary schools (Mosenda, 2024), secondary streams in Form One. The current analysis so does not use the jargon of government to create an empirical result. It poses the question of whether there are old/new demands in local accounts and answers it tentatively: yes, but only in particular material and grade combinations; no, as a general experience of the teacher.

The policy implication is down to earth. The systematic audit of alignment of curriculum, syllabus, schemes of work, textbooks, teacher guides and examinations should be included in the transition management. The teachers are not expected to identify this lack in the new materials, nor should they have to use older books without being directed: if a competency is not included in it, but is still required for examination, it should be included in the new material. Grade- and subject-specific transition matrices may be able to differentiate retained, relocated, revised, and discontinued content.

5.3 Why Strain Should Not Be Renamed Reform Fatigue

The most far-reaching conceptual finding of the study is the fact that there is no evidence of direct reform fatigue. Overtime, sacrifice, low motivation, housing issues, weak connectivity, fatigue—any of these could have been called "fatigue. That would cloud unique phenomena and misrepresent the participants' statements. The problems of implementation and a drop in performance can accompany change, as Fullan (2007) points out, but a problem does not necessarily lead to cynicism or retreat. The present corpus has significant amounts of commitment and positive appraisal, as well as strain.

Questions to test reform fatigue would better be expressed as: How many reforms have there been? How often? How emotionally fatigued are people about the reforms specifically because the policy changed? How long will they have to wait for reform consolidation? How much do they trust reform processes? How much do they see as cynical about reform? How much do they see as resistant to it? How much do they see as disengaged from it? Designs that are longitudinal or repeated-interview might be able to separate the problem of implementing things from the build-up of fatigue to change. This is, therefore, not a statement of "does not exist," but rather a statement of "not demonstrated in these records."

5.4 Coping, Agency, and the Risk of Hidden Labour

The ways in which teachers deal with the work situation are examples of what is called "street-level discretion" (Lipsky, 1980). The process of peer learning, improvisation, grouping, borrowing and additional time assisted in translating the sweeping policy aspirations into usable lessons. All these practices are not solely to be seen as deficits. They also embody the knowledge of the situation, professional cooperation and adaptation to learners.

Meanwhile, by celebrating resilience, the institutional responsibility is masked. Substitute materials, teaching outside the scheduled hours, and/or using moral sacrifice may be more labour-intensive than it is recognised and rewarded. School-based professional learning also needs to be safeguarded: it's not free time that can be displaced for as far as you can, but rather the implementation infrastructure.

5.5 Implications for Policy and Practice

There should be a meeting of the minds on how to manage curriculum transition, with the matching of documents and assessments. TIE and assessment authorities/implementing agencies should consider if competencies are consistently reflected in approved textbooks, teacher guides and assessment expectations in current syllabuses and schemes. If old materials are still required, official guidance should explain: why they are still required; for what grade/subject; for how long?

Second, professional learning must be staged, periodic and near the classroom problems. For some participants, one-off or cascade sessions were inadequate. School-based learning was useful but was reliant on other colleagues' skills and competed with other responsibilities. Time for collaborative learning, subject-specific facilitation and follow-up support would minimise the need to learn by trial, informal feedback or by response to crisis.

Third, workload reviews should not just be confined to the teaching time. Workload planning should include the time spent in preparing for exams, marking, continuous assessment, providing remedial support, producing materials, corrections and professional learning. The subject coverage/class size factor needs to be taken into account, as well as the overall teacher numbers, when making staffing decisions.

Fourth, readiness of materials should be considered as a part of the design of implementation. Curriculum expectations that include the use of video, digital content, assessment through practical equipment or individual assessment will need electric power, connectivity, devices, books, rooms and desks to be provided in a realistic way. Where it is not possible to be fully provided for immediately, there should be pedagogically appropriate low-tech alternatives provided as guidance to support the teacher, not be the responsibility of each individual teacher.

Last but not least, there needs to be a difference between workload strain and vulnerability to morale and fatigue from reform. Teacher feedback forms and follow-up interviews can be brief and ask directly about repeated change fatigue and disengagement, as well as capture positive teaching and learning experiences. This would enable differentiated support to be given without pathologising and failing to address true overload of change.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The improved curriculum was introduced by primary teachers in Gairo District, with some having more capacity than others and some having more workload. They were working on both assessment and remediation, as well as professional learning and compensation for material and infrastructure shortages, and teaching. Peer collaboration and improvisation have helped to maintain implementation, although additional time, personal resources and sacrifice are needed to normalise hidden labour.

This "layering" of the curriculum only occurred in a limited sense. There was one report of a misalignment in the current document, textbook, older material, and examination; and one report of the presence of old-curriculum material, with some improvements to the curriculum being taught. A claim that all teachers in Gairo (or Morogoro Region) adopted 2 full curricula is not warranted for these cases, but rather requires a consideration of curricular alignment.

Most significantly, the records didn't conclusively show that there was fatigue with reform. They exhibited both workload stress, implementation stress, and morale issues, as well as continuity, instructional ease, optimism, and reported benefits for the learners. Such mixed evidence needs to be kept in an interpretation that is defensible. Instead, the policy priority in the near term is to minimise unnecessary burden in implementation by aligned documentation, continuous professional learning, realistic provision of materials and transition management that minimises workload.

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