

From classroom values to ethical action: Students' and teachers' experiences of school-based Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) clubs in selected Dar es Salaam secondary schools, Tanzania

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ABSTRACT

Clubs associated with the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) in Tanzania aim to complement the existing curriculum through participatory activities that foster integrity, accountability, and ethical citizenship. This study explores the activities undertaken in PCCB clubs, students' and teachers' understanding of the link between club and classroom learning, and the factors that facilitated or hindered the implementation of the clubs in secondary schools. Guided by Social Learning Theory, this study adopted an interpretivist qualitative multiple-case design and was conducted in four secondary schools across Kinondoni and Ubungu municipalities in Dar es Salaam. Data comprised four focus group discussions with 24 students who belonged to the clubs and eight individual interviews with four classroom teachers and four club patrons/matrons. Twelve transcripts from 32 participants were analysed using reflexive thematic analysis, with within- and cross-case analysis. Four themes emerged as follows: Moving from curricular values to enacted learning, learning to be an ethical agent, Participation as a means of making values learnable, and A valuable programme based on weak infrastructure. Discussions, drama, debate, peer leadership, songs, and practical examples were cited as extensions of classroom concepts. Challenges included inadequate time, scarcity of learning materials, facilitator preparedness, teacher collaboration, insufficient PCCB cooperation, motivation, and a lack of guidelines to follow. The study concludes that PCCB clubs could serve as meaningful co-curricular activities for discussion, rehearsal, and practice of curriculum values without necessarily establishing causation. The study recommends that schools and PCCB allocate adequate time, strengthen facilitator training, link activities more closely with the curriculum, provide sufficient learning materials, maintain regular collaboration, and encourage wider student participation.

Keywords: Anti-Corruption Education, Co-Curricular, Ethical Learning, PCCB, Reflexive Thematic Analysis, Tanzania, Values

I. INTRODUCTION

Corruption is a governance and development problem because it damages public trust, the quality of service delivery and weakens institutions, resulting in the misuse of resources. So, preventing corruption has to go hand-in-hand with investigations and punishment. Education, public participation, and awareness-raising are recognised as crucial preventive measures by the African Union Convention on the Prevention and Combating Corruption (African Union Convention, 2003). Schools' role in this context goes beyond imparting knowledge of the meaning and consequences of corruption to students. Students' moral judgment, values, integrity and participatory skills should also be nurtured to ensure that they become responsible and ethical citizens.

Moral values like unity, equality, human dignity, accountability, integrity, and respect for human rights are indicators of the national commitment to build a peaceful and united society in Tanzania. Additionally, the values are highlighted in the national curriculum as well as in the Education and Training Policy of the United Republic of Tanzania (2007, 2023 Edition, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2023), which include responsibility, patriotism, respect and ethical behaviour. Ethical education, as a process of developing responsibility, self-discipline, care for others, and moral judgement, is also described by Tanzanian scholars, who do not just refer to the transmission of knowledge of rules and principles (Anangisyee, 2008; Seleman & Mgonda, 2024).

Moral, ethical and anti-corruption education are closely related yet distinct. Moral education instils a general sense of right and wrong and nurtures values such as respect, honesty, fairness and responsibility. Ethical education strengthens students' reasoning about moral issues. It equips them with values for decision-making, while anti-corruption education narrows the focus to values and ethical principles for preventing bribery, abuse of power, favouritism, fraud and other corrupt practices. In practice, these forms of education overlap. For instance, moral education helps students identify as inappropriate an act by a class leader using club resources; ethical education helps them weigh competing interests and draw conclusions about what to do; and anti-corruption education enables students to recognise misuse of resources given in trust and how it can be avoided or reported. Likewise, a school anti-

examination cheating campaign helps to inculcate moral values such as honesty, motivates students to make ethical decisions in their lives, builds personal integrity, and educates them about the potential for a corruption chain reaction.

Moral education is offered in secondary schools in Tanzania, both in the classroom (in the subjects of Civics and *Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili*) and through school rules, assemblies, guidance and counselling, religious education, and co-curricular activities. This multi-disciplinary approach allows for several opportunities to develop students' moral behaviour; however, this is not necessarily consistent. Nyoni (2016) commented on inconsistencies in moral education in relation to student discipline. Komba and Shukia (2023) found that competencies relevant to this might be found in the curriculum documents, but they are not necessarily explored, sequenced, or applied in the classroom. The same is the case with Elinihaki (2020), who found that, in teacher training, moral values were recognised but not always measured by their incorporation into the curriculum.

School-based PCCB clubs can help to create a connection between what students say as their values and their actions. Debates, Seminars, peer education, drama, awareness-raising, and educational visits may be part of the Club activities. Students can use these activities to discuss dilemmas, see positive role models in peers and adults, practice communication and/or leadership skills, and practice abstract values in real situations in their schools and communities. For example, a drama on bribery can help students understand the concept of bribery and, at the same time, instil the values of honesty, fairness, courage, responsibility, and respect for others' rights. Co-curricular activities, in general, if they are well organised, can help to develop interpersonal skills, engagement and socialisation (Mahoney et al., 2003). Tanzanian research has identified the need for moral education and raising awareness about corruption. However, there is a lack of evidence of how PCCB clubs are implemented in schools and the experiences of the students and facilitators. This research aims to overcome this implementation and pedagogical gap.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Education is viewed as a key component of corruption prevention; however, the mere existence of an anti-corruption club is not sufficient to ensure students' ethical learning is of quality, widely accessible and sustainable. PCCB clubs are expected to supplement the curriculum on moral/values/ethical guidance in Tanzania. However, the school context and the link between club and classroom learning, as well as the context of the implementation, are under-represented.

The majority of previous studies are based on moral and civic education, curriculum integration, public sector awareness initiatives, or anti-corruption policies in general (Kira & Komba, 2015; Majule & Mtei, 2024; Mgonda, 2020). Currently, little is known about how club-PCCB is run in Tanzania and its impact on learners' corresponding ethical actions in the school and community. A programme's formal presence, therefore, should not be taken as proof that the programme is of good quality and that it is spread across the whole country. Therefore, four active PCCB clubs in Dar es Salaam will be viewed as bounded school cases for analysis in this study. It will be oriented towards the activities implemented, the link between the club and classroom learning experienced by participants, and the opportunities and constraints in implementing the club and its educational contribution.

1.2 Research Objectives

- i. To explore values and ethical education activities implemented through PCCB clubs in the participating secondary schools
- ii. To examine how students and adult participants understand the relationship between PCCB club activities and the classroom teaching in Civics and *Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili*
- iii. To identify opportunities and adults who participated in the PCCB club activities and how this relates to teaching and learning of Civics and *Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili* in the classroom.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Review

This study was based on Bandura's (1977) Social Learning Theory, which holds that learning results from interactions among people, their actions, and their social environment. Observational learning depends on attending to a behavioural model, retaining the observed behaviour, having the opportunity to reproduce or perform it, and being motivated to do so. Accordingly, moral learning in school may occur through teacher explanation, peer and adult modelling, discussion of moral issues, practice, feedback, and recognition. The theory can be applied to the PCCB club because the planned activities are social and interactive. Ethical issues would be modelled and practised through drama, discussed and debated, and would include peer models alongside students' own leadership, all stimulated by authentic and motivational visits, guest speakers, awards, or public ceremonies.

The theory focuses the research on its implementation, since observational and practice opportunities depend on holding meetings, participating in them, and on competent facilitation and the use of materials. The theory of social learning was applied interpretatively rather than as a theory to be tested or validated. It helped to understand participants'

narratives about modelling, rehearsing, participating, practising, and being motivated. Coding was largely inductive and semantic, though theoretical considerations were also used to interpret emerging data. No assumptions were made about the likelihood of imitation or behavioural change due to exposure to observed behaviour. It also took into account the stories of participants who held a contrary opinion of the clubs to an expected positive one.

2.2 Empirical Review

2.2.1 Prevention and Education

The literature presents a sound rationale for viewing values, ethics and anti-corruption education as means of prevention. However, there is less consensus on the relationship between learning experiences and subsequent behaviour. Public education and opportunities for public values within organisational culture and practice are seen as part of the prevention framework by both the African Union (2003) and the Organization for Economic Community Development [OECD] (2018). This represents a broader strategy to combat corruption than detection and punishment alone. However, such schemes are better suited to setting out the functions that should be performed in education than to outlining the outcomes of specific education programmes.

There is a relationship between a structured extracurricular environment and the organisation of cooperation, accountability, adult mentorship, and regular participation. Extracurricular activities are associated with the development of interpersonal skills and educational achievement (Mahoney et al., 2003). This evidence offers a good indication of the effectiveness of club education but is not specific to anti-corruption education. It is important to differentiate carefully: conceptual and civic content can be taught in the classroom; opportunities for discussion, modelling, rehearsal, and communication can be created in a participative environment. How effectively these opportunities are utilised and sustained will vary depending on the quality and consistency of implementation.

2.2.2 African Evidence: Differences in the Implementation of the Same Programmes

While schools have come to be seen as key contexts in which to address corruption, the literature from various African countries has focused on various aspects of intervention, rather than a single, uniform approach. Pressure on instructional time, lack of materials, lack of teacher training and lack of policy guidance were among the significant challenges noted in Zambia by Mashabe (2024) in the implementation of anti-corruption education. The study was purposively oriented towards the implementation of the curriculum and not towards the daily operation of co-curriculum clubs; however, the results of this study are important for co-curriculum clubs as both depend on similar institutional conditions. Similarly, Nyanga'au et al. (2025) noted that integrity clubs in Kenya can positively influence pupils' moral development. However, their success is hindered by poor implementation and teacher involvement, limited resources, and weak administration.

In all these scenarios, a commitment to ethical education is unlikely to have an impact unless enough time is allocated, educators are trained, learning materials are provided, there is an effective organisational process, and students have opportunities to engage in ethical education. However, caution is needed when transferring lessons from other African countries to Tanzania, as the curriculum's structure is different, as are the schools' governance and engagement with anti-corruption institutions.

2.2.3 Tanzanian Moral Education, Curriculum and PCCB Education

The need to create moral attitudes is agreed upon in Tanzanian literature, but there is disagreement on what form it should take and where it should be developed. In moral education, Anangisye (2008) said that personal responsibility, self-discipline, moral judgement and morals learnt in the indigenous educational system are involved. Similarly, Seleman and Mgonda (2024) call for the culturally-sensitive interaction between indigenous and formal moral education. Elinihaki (2020) states that there is a recognition of moral values in teacher education, but a lack of coherence in their integration in the curriculum. Similar challenges of integrating moral and ethical values in general studies in the advanced secondary schools were reported by Kira and Komba (2015).

Analysis of the curriculum is used to confirm the distinction between intent and actual. Komba and Shukia (2023) noted that competencies are represented in formal documents, but are not consistently sequenced and taught in the classroom. Mgonda (2020) identified the following methods of moral education in Tanzanian secondary schools: School rules, Religious instruction, Voluntary clubs and Character assessment. While these studies do not demonstrate the superiority of clubs over the classroom, they do provide evidence that clubs are effective. Rather, they demonstrate that clubs can be used to complement classroom learning to help participants participate, learn to be leaders, and rehearse.

There is a dearth of research focused on the area of PCCB education. Hoseah (2014) recommends that in addition to anti-corruption agencies enforcing the law, public education should be implemented. In public sector health, Majule and Mtei (2024) argue for awareness raising but not for the role of the clubs nor for awareness and behaviour.

With respect to this, the best evidence relates to the need for public education in general but is not instructive of secondary-school clubs.

2.4 Analytical Synthesis and Contribution

For each gap, the literature review was used to identify related gaps. Implementation-related: this is the gap between the clubs and their operations, and the local resources, timetable, facilitation, coordination, and external support that impact their operations. The second is pedagogical and concerns how students and adults connect co-curricular activities with the classroom. The third is evidence-related and concerns the gap between what is perceived as learning and what is observed as behaviour change. This paper aims to directly address the first two gaps while treating the third as a boundary for interpretation. It compares student and adult accounts across four operational schools and examines supportive and contradictory evidence. The anticipated contribution is an analysis of the relationships among participants and the linking of curriculum content, participatory practices, and ethical agency.

III. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

To understand and interpret PCCB clubs, the students, the class teachers, and the patrons/matron of the clubs were included, and an interpretivist qualitative approach and a multiple case-study design were used. All the schools were treated as case-bounded units. The design was suitable because the study was not concerned with measuring predetermined variables or causal relationships, but rather with understanding contextualised interpretations and the processes of implementation.

Within- and cross-case analyses were conducted. The researcher examined the activities of PCCB clubs, their relationship to classroom learning, perceptions of ethical learning, enabling and constraining conditions, and contradictions between the roles played by participants in each case. The outcomes of within-case analyses of the individual cases were then compared to identify similarities and differences across the four cases. A multiple case study design was used to allow an in-depth study of PCCB clubs and students' moral behaviour in their real-life school contexts. The selected schools were treated as separate cases; thus, both within-case and cross-case analyses (Yin, 2018) were used.

3.2 Study Setting and Case Boundaries

This study was conducted in the Kinondoni and Ubungu Municipalities of Dar es Salaam Region, Tanzania. In each municipality, two schools were selected. Secondary schools in Dar es Salaam, chosen as urban and educational centres, served as the study sites. To explore four cases in depth within the available time, the fieldwork was restricted to two municipalities.

At the time of recruitment, all cases were club-based under the PCCB model. No school names are provided, and deductive identification of cases is minimised by not providing the name of the municipality where the case was identified. Descriptions of each case are limited to prevent schools from being identifiable and to prevent the description of location, governance, enrolment, and club characteristics from being combined. This confidentiality restricts the amount of contextual information available to readers and is a limitation.

Table 2

Cost Structure and Achieved Dataset

Case	Club status	Student data	Classroom teacher	Club patron/matron	Transcripts
A	Active	One focus group (6 students)	1 interview	1 interview	3
B	active	One focus group (6 students)	1 interview	1 interview	3
C	Active	One focus group (6 students)	1 interview	1 interview	3
D	Active	One focus group (6 students)	1 interview	1 interview	3
-	-	24	4	4	12

3.3 Sampling and Participants

The case and participants were purposefully sampled because they could provide details of the activities of the PCCB clubs. Schools were eligible if they had a functioning club, were interested in participating in the study, and the club was relevant to the research questions. The sample comprised 32 people, including 24 club members, 4 classroom teachers who teach *Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili* and Civics, and 4 club patrons/matrons.

Six members of each school club, one classroom teacher, and one club patron/matron were sampled in each school. School leaders helped identify suitable participants but were not present during data collection. This helped

gather data and recruit students who met the study's basic criteria. Information power was used to determine the sample size, which was selected based on the study's aim, purposive participant selection, the quality of the dialogue, and the case-based analysis approach (Malterud et al., 2016). The focus of the study was clear; the participant population had experienced something; participants held several roles; there were four bounded cases; and there were opportunities for cross-case comparison. Demographic and employment details for individual participants were not made available, as each case comprised six students and two adults (teacher, club patron/matron), and the combinations could be identified.

3.4 Data Collection and Translation

Data were collected manually during the period from 15th June to 15th July 2026. The investigator was not employed, supervised, or under administrative control of PCCB, schools involved, or participants. Semi-structured guides were created for each of the student focus groups, classroom teacher interviews, and club facilitator interviews. Guides were created based on research questions and literature and were guided by activities, curriculum connection, perceived influence, institutional support and constraints around implementation. Wording and sequencing were clarified so as not to change the topic.

In the student focus group, one classroom teacher interview, and one club facilitator interview were conducted in each case. The focus group and interviews were conducted in the school in a private and quiet environment. The conversation among students was carried out in the absence of teachers, leaders, and matron/patron, and adults were interviewed separately. The sessions were planned to avoid interfering with teaching.

The participants were able to speak Kiswahili, English or both languages, as the language of their choice. Notes were taken on the emergent analysis, interruptions, interactions between the participants, and participants' context, with their consent. The Kiswahili data have been translated into English during the transcription process. The quotes were translated into English and were also translated in a way that conveyed the original context and meaning.

There were sometimes repeated words, lines, or parts of lines, or incomplete statements or speaker turns—formatting changes were made to correct errors without altering the meaning. The focus for analysis was on meaning units, and inferences were not drawn to fill in the gaps. Any repeated statements made in the focus groups were not used as additional answers or as prevalence evidence. No repeat interviews were conducted, but clarifications were requested where appropriate during the first interview.

3.5 Researcher Reflexivity

The researcher had pre-existing knowledge of the anti-corruption strategy in education during data collection and analysis. This viewpoint may have skewed the analysis of the results. The researcher utilised reflexive field notes and analytic memos to mitigate this by recognising his own assumptions, distinguishing participants' endorsement of the clubs from evidence of their impact, and examining negative, uncertain, and contradictory accounts. Since the researcher had no stake in PCCB and participating schools, this minimised the possibility of conflicts of interest. Thus, themes were treated as analytical constructions rather than objective discoveries. The study was reported and coded according to the 32 items of the Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ), with emphasis on researcher reflexivity, study design, data analysis, and illustrative quotations (Tong et al., 2007).

3.6 Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke's reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019, 2021a, 2021b, 2023) was used to analyse the twelve transcripts. The coding was primarily inductive and semantic, based on the participants' descriptions, but responsive to the research questions. The analysis comprised six stages. The transcripts were read comprehensively, and activities, facilitation, connections to the classroom curriculum, reported actions, resources, time, participation and uncertainty were noted. Second, coding of meaningful fragments was flexible, allowing multiple codings of the same fragment. Initial codes included curriculum relevance, not theory, embodied, co-produced, honesty, rights-based action, weak outside links, poor collaboration, and limited reach.

Third, a case summary was provided for each school, and the codes were categorised into activities, links to topics taught in the classroom, perceived ethical learning, support, constraints, and contradictions. Related codes were grouped into candidate cross-case patterns. Fourth, candidate themes were compared with coded fragments, the complete transcript, a case summary, participants' roles, and negative or contradictory data. Fifth, themes were determined using a central concept and topic description to differentiate them. Sixth, an analytic narrative was constructed by employing illustrative quotes and limiting inferences. They achieved quality by presenting coherent ideas, a single account of the analysis, case comparison, taking a stand as researchers, and data that contradicted the evolving analysis.

Table 2*An example of an Analytic Pathway*

Illustrative extract	Initial code	Pattern	Final theme
“Role play, because it is not easy to forget.”	Memorable embodiment	Creative participation supports retention	Participation makes integrity learnable
“I no longer copy assignments from classmates.”	Everyday honesty	Reported ethical action in school life	Learning to act as an ethical agent
“We rarely meet PCCB officers because they are busy.”	Weak external contact	Uneven institutional support	A valued programme resting on uneven infrastructure
Club members assist with classroom questions and materials	Club members assist with classroom questions and materials	Movement between club and classroom	Movement between club and classroom

3.7 Participant Protection, Ethics and Anonymisation

Permission and ethical clearance were obtained prior to fieldwork. Parental/guardian consent was requested to allow students to participate, and student participants' assent was obtained. The participants were informed that their participation was voluntary, that they did not have to answer any question and could stop at any time without any consequences, and that it was not connected to their school or PCCB assessment. The individual schools were anonymised as Cases A – D. In the cases of students, student identifiers were used, with the case and participant number (e.g., A-S2). At the same time, adults were identified by case and role (e.g., A-S2). School name, source files, and multi-collating of data that would allow for deductive identification were omitted. The recordings, transcripts, consents and field notes were kept and accessed only for research purposes.

IV. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

4.1 From Curricular Values to Enacted Learning

The participants saw the PCCB club as a bridge between knowledge of ethics and its application. Content correspondence was central to this connection. *Historia ya Tanzania na Maadili* is the subject area where students learn moral values, and “the club gives us opportunities to use the moral values,” as A-S2 said. Teachers also perceived the club as related to themes addressed in the curriculum on corruption, Tanzanian values and ethics, integrity, accountability, rights, and civic responsibility. Thus, the clubs were seen not as a curriculum per se, but as a place to examine the concepts from a different perspective.

The practical aspect of club learning was significant for differentiation. However, the D-Teacher said that clubs “provide more practical learning” as opposed to theoretical classroom learning. Practical learning in the club, says A-S3, “reminds us of what we have learned in class.” C-S2 spoke about depth of learning and learning through practice, and B-S6 appreciated the opportunity to discuss something for a long while. Therefore, complementarity meant application, re-examination, retention, but not repetition. The expertise was also transferred from the club to the classroom teaching. When dealing with the theme of corruption, ethics, or integrity, D-Teacher said that he/she used the club members as assistants to help spread the knowledge, making the class active. C-S1 spoke about the relationship between the material and explained that sometimes the teachers used the leaflets given by the club. They suggested transfer of learning from co-curricular to formal contexts, through the students and the material.

This was not always a partnership amongst the adults. According to the C-Facilitator, we do not work together face-to-face; the D-Facilitator said that generally, the teachers had their own jobs to do. The B-Teacher did not incorporate club learning into classroom teaching, and the A-Facilitator indicated that he/she did not know if there was any curricular connection. Therefore, the theme represents a student-mediated and thematic, but not institutionalised, relationship. The findings offer three avenues for understanding the complementarity of the curriculum. The content match indicated that the topics of the two subjects covered related issues such as corruption, integrity, accountability, rights, and national values, as part of the club activity. The club activities that were given for discussion, performance, examples, and visits were pedagogically extended to contrast with classroom theory. The student-mediated transfer suggested that students participated in lessons and sometimes used the club leaflets in classroom learning. The material-mediated transfer suggested that students contributed to the lessons. The third pathway was how the complementarity might be felt, even if there was not a lot of direct interaction between the adults, as the following Figure 4.1 explains.

CLASSROOM CURRICULUM + PCCB CLUB ACTIVITIES

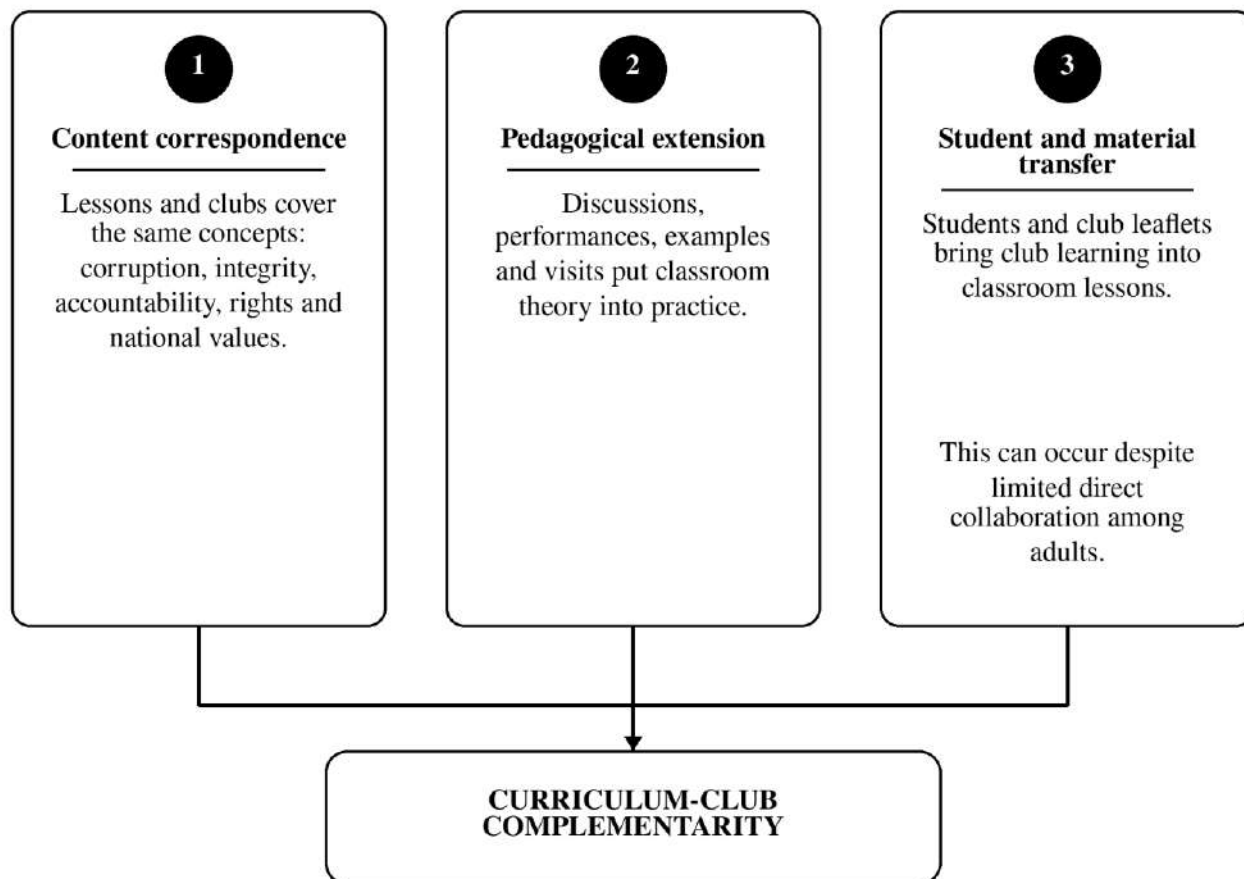


Figure 1

Pathways of Curriculum-Club Complementarity

The figure above provides a summary of 3 aspects where PCCB clubs support classroom teaching. The third route illustrates how complementarity can take place even when adults do not collaborate directly with one another. Pathways are not causal pathways, but are participants' experiences.

4.1.1 Learning to Act as an Ethical Agent

The participants felt that the club experience was helping them to see and act with integrity in their daily life in the school. I no longer take copies from classmates", A-S6 had said. When I lose something at school, I look for it, and if I find it, I return it, A-S4 said. B-S1 discussed the situation of the lost pen to get the owner's name. So, the integrity was seen as behaviour, not anti-corruption slogans. The ethical agency implemented the notions of rights and responsibility. "Being involved in that participation, it helped build my courage to help those who are oppressed and denied their rights," A-S1 said. The D-S1 associated the participation with the knowledge about personal rights, and D-S3 said that the club "has made me more accountable." The other student talked about how club learning enabled him or her to understand the idea of fair leadership and to end favouritism. So the accountability was referred to as conduct in relationships and responsibilities.

The theme of 'care and social solidarity' was extended by the student accounts. Other common responses included helping him/her to "have love and care for others", and "peace and cooperation" was mentioned by C-S2. So the sense of integrity and honesty was interpreted as caring, treating fairly, and social cohesion. The participants identified themselves as "public facing ethical agents." Both of them, C-S1 and D-S5, stated that they were "ambassadors" of the club, which has made C-S1 "an ambassador against corruption. The teacher indicated that the members were ambassadors in the school and community. The ambassador identity shifted the role of student into that of an educator and communicator, as opposed to a passive learner.

This is not to say that the club involvement led to changes in the participants' behaviour. C-Teacher stated that the impact of the influence was hard to see directly. The data does not contain longitudinal data, a comparison group,

or direct observation of behaviour data. So the theme is a description of the perceived image and the reported ethical behaviours, which leaves the possibility of factors other than self-selection, social desirability and adult perception. The ethical agency theme took the notion of integrity and added the notions of integrity in everyday activities, advocacy of rights, caring for others, working cooperatively, accountable leadership and ambassador identity. It entails the manifestation of a relational perspective on moral education, as captured in the Tanzanian literature, which highlights the interrelationship between responsibility, moral judgement and indigenous-formal moral education (Anangisy, 2008; Seleman & Mgonda, 2024). Therefore, within the context of the relational framework, anti-corruption education can be made intelligible to learners.

4.1.2 Participation Makes it Learnable.

Ethical learning was achieved through creative, social, and student participation. “We are fighting corruption in drama and writing songs” is B-S3’s slogan. A-S6 responded that he/she liked “Role play, because it is not easy to forget.” Other Case A students enjoyed debate as “helps to find solutions to problems”, and C-S3 commented that it helps to understand more. Therefore, the activities were seen as a way to draw attention, memorise, interpret, and solve the problem, rather than for decoration. Additionally, the involvement meant the transfer of teaching power. Students guided each other under the supervision of the patron teacher, as A-S6 said. Under the supervision of the adult students’ leaders, activities were facilitated. Inside the Case D focus group, some participants emphasised student self-direction and others emphasised teacher direction. The results, therefore, indicate that student leadership and adult supervision were linked in various ways in schools.

The external actors and sites were also valued due to their authenticity. One student said that the court visit allowed him/her to see the procedure that safeguards the rights and tackles the problem of corruption. The participants requested visits to the PCCB offices, seminars with PCCB officers, national events, and more study tours to the PCCB offices. An adult participant commented that the activities were more interesting with a guest speaker. So, external encounters were envisioned as a relationship between the school discussions and the public institutions. The involvement was weak, however. Some students found the club boring, as they responded in the Group A case study. The students requested more interactive activities, competitions, trips, seminars, certificates, awards and entertainment. So that the club is not merely participatory because of its existence, it is important to note that the club has to become participatory. This depends on how activities are designed, students’ contributions, recognition, and external encounters.

The pathways are in line with the Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977). The attention that may be gained by drama, songs, debate, or participation of guests may help support memory; the repetitions and discussion may help support memory; the opportunity for role play, peer education, leadership, and reported everyday actions may help provide the opportunity for reproduction; the trips, recognition, public events, and ambassador identity may help support motivation. The results also reveal some of the limitations of the simple theoretical map. This does not mean that these processes were occurring, nor was there direct observation of the learning and subsequent behaviour.

The participation arose as an envisaged learning process. The drama, songs, discussion, debate, and peer leadership were received well, as they helped embed the ethical questions for discussion. This is similar to evidence that structured extracurricular activities can help develop interpersonal competence and engagement (Mahoney et al., 2003). The students, however, are asking for greater interaction and for outside opportunities to develop – which suggests that for the participatory nature to be created, the design and facilitation of the activities must be in play, rather than the label of ‘club’ itself.

4.1.3 A Valued Programme Resting on Uneven Infrastructure

It was the sum of the formal support and fragility of the clubs that they needed. The schools offered time periods and adult facilitators, and in some cases, schools allowed attendance of external events, as reported by participants. As B-Facilitator reported, the time period was officially added to the timetable, and as C-Facilitator, the time period and permission to attend events were given. It gave the clubs the ‘legislative authority’. However, there was not always an adequate or safeguarded allocation of time in the formal allocation. There were overlaps with other schedules as reported by D-Facilitator; sometimes there was not enough time, as D-S2 reported. The meeting might be postponed due to the examination period and school events, as mentioned by C-Facilitator. Conversely, when it was D-Teacher, the time was deemed adequate, and when it was B-Facilitator, the 80-minute period was sufficient. Accordingly, the time seemed different depending on the roles and schools.

The resources and outside assistance were also unequal. Case ‘A’ students reported there were no posters or books. C-S4 replied that they lacked materials, television, and a projector, and C-S3 indicated that they had only had rare meetings with PCCB officers. The C-Facilitator also mentioned a lack of materials and interaction with PCCB officials, giving convergence in the case. Other adults also requested training and operational instructions, as well as enhanced PCCB follow-up. B-Facilitator: On the other hand, there was a leaflet available, and D-Facilitator: there was no such big problem. So the evidence was against the universal claim of the resource deficit.

Another problem with the collaboration was. In some instances, the teachers incorporated aspects of the club knowledge and/or materials into their lessons; in several instances, the facilitators described the work of the adults separately from the club knowledge and/or materials. D-S1 asked the teachers to work together more. Therefore, curriculum complementarity was to some extent reliant on individual student initiative rather than a sustainable school-wide process. Reach of the programme was also limited. There was a difference between the large number of students in the school and the small number of students who participated in the club, as D-S1 said. As D-Teacher, not all students learned through the club. Therefore, the precise percentage of the membership is hard to determine, but these reports call into question the notion that attendance at clubs means that the entire student body is reached.

There was variation in perceptions of support even in the same case. For Case C, some students indicated that they were supported by the teacher and received two periods of support, and one student indicated that they were not getting any support. So the divergence can be due to various experiences or standards of “adequacy”. The allocation of the time period or leaflets could be seen as the support from an administrative point of view but falls short of the students’ expectations for support in terms of the equipment provided, visits, interaction and protected time.

Table 3

Cross-Case Evidence Matrix

Case	Curriculum connection	Participatory examples	Reported support	Constraints or contradictions
A	Students linked the club with <i>Historia you Tanzania na Maadili</i> ; facilitator was uncertain about formal integration.	Role play, debate, peer guidance.	Adult supervision and club activity.	Insufficient posters/books; some students perceived boredom
B	Students described extended discussion; teacher had not integrated club experience into lessons.	Drama, songs, discussion.	Formal timetable period; leaflets; 80 minutes viewed as adequate by facilitator	Integration depended weakly on classroom teacher initiative.
C	Teacher reportedly used club leaflets; facilitator reported no direct collaboration.	Discussion and student leadership; interest in visits.	Timetable allocation and some teacher attendance.	Limited materials and PCCB contact; students differed on whether support existed.
D	Teacher used club members as classroom assistants; facilitator reported separate staff roles.	Student leadership with varying adult guidance	Timetable allocation and adult facilitation.	Schedule overlap, insufficient time for some, limited membership reach; teacher and students differed on adequacy

Note. Entries are not meant to be comprehensive, and should not be interpreted as the number of entries.

Peer diffusion can also help to promote learning beyond membership, but can also mask limited access. Members were assigned to be classroom helpers and ambassadorial students to share their knowledge with other classmates in the classroom. Meanwhile, Case D participants reported low participation of members. Schools must not assume that peer influence will make up for limited participation. Future studies should focus on who joins the club and becomes an ambassador; how non-members are reached with messages from the club; and the inclusivity of club membership for gender, disability, socioeconomic status and achievement in school.

The implementation findings highlight the importance of keeping in mind that programme presence is not a measure of programme quality. While there was a formal platform in the form of timetabling and assignment of adults, there were others, such as protected time, materials, facilitation training, collaborative working, external PCCB liaison, recognition and diversity of members, that influenced what the participants experienced. This aligns with Tanzanian evidence highlighting a mismatch between what the curriculum intends to teach and what it actually teaches in practice (Komba & Shukia, 2023) and with regional evidence that suggests that capacity, teacher materials, time and policy support are all key determinants for the success of anti-corruption education (Mashabe, 2024).

It was analytically important that there were divergences between students and adults. Administrators or facilitators may consider time allocation, leaflets and/or allocated staff as evidence of support, and students may consider whether support allowed for engaging and regular activity. Thematic analysis, which is used reflexively, does not resolve such contrasts through majority voting. Rather, they demonstrate a different local assemblage of implementation, which is differently visible from each participant's position.

4.2 Cross-Theme Interpretation and Study Contribution

This research puts PCCB clubs on a new map as a co-curricular space which may establish an association between the moral and the social practice. They played a unique perceived role, not just providing extra anti-corruption information. Teachers reported classroom ideas being discussed, enacted, practised, linked to institutions and introduced

to the classroom by students and materials. Knowledge thus flowed in a variety of directions – curriculum to club, club to classroom, between participants, and in the participants' own narratives, school and community life.

This is the main contribution of the study: an empirically grounded account of how participants link curriculum content, participatory club practices, and everyday ethical agency across four operational (PCCB) clubs. The study supports a tempered programme theory: classroom concepts can be spread and reinforced with participatory activities and shared with students and materials, but the intensity and extent of these activities will rely on the local infrastructure. There is evidence to support this interpretative account rather than a statement that PCCB clubs lead to ongoing ethical behaviour and decreased corruption.

V. CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

In four anonymised school cases, PCCB clubs were perceived as important opportunities for shifting focus from curriculum-oriented values to ethical learning in a participative way. Participants related club activities to real-life experiences, contributing in the classroom, being honest in everyday life, being rights-conscious, caring, cooperating, as leaders, and as anti-corruption ambassadors. Integrity education was social and embodied through drama, Song, Debate, Discussion, Peer facilitation, and desired institutional encounters.

The number of clubs and their perceived contribution was not automatic and uniform. Inequitable materials, facilitator training, coordination, protected time, outside contacts, motivation, and membership developed alongside a timetable that was supported and facilitated by adults. The uneven materials, facilitator training, coordination, protected time, external contact, motivation, and membership co-existed with a timetable supported and facilitated by adults. Sometimes student reports merged with adult reports, and sometimes learning constraints were not mentioned by adults. This study's value lies in the pedagogical and implementation processes described that allow PCCB clubs to supplement classroom learning. It shows evidence of experience, meaning and perceived impact, but does not evidence reduction in corruption or sustained behavioural change in clubs. Therefore, the quality, continuity and inclusiveness of learning opportunities should be considered if these clubs are to be strengthened and not considered 'formal establishment' alone.

5.2 Recommendations

Schools should keep a set club time, and should keep track of cancellations or time-shifts. Debates, Drama, Songs, discussion, peer education and role play should be used in club plans to assign specific learning purposes for each activity instead of simply using the available activity as an isolated component. Classroom leaders should make regular arrangements for communication between appropriate classroom teachers and club patrons/matrons. A simple termly plan can help to pinpoint areas for the curriculum, club activities, materials and opportunities for students to offer to the classroom or assembly learning. Schools should review programme reach – who is attending and how those who do not attend are being supported in club learning. Opportunities for students to participate and be leaders should be available to students from diverse backgrounds and abilities.

Student leadership should be used with adequate adult support; space should be made to consider moral issues and reflection should be included; and facilitators need to find out frequently which activities are meaningful to students. Classroom teachers may reinforce transfer with club examples, materials, and student presentations, if applicable, on topics related to the curriculum. Awards through certificates, competitions, or public events should be for substantive participation and learning, not attendance. It is also important that facilitators take notes during the meetings about the frequency, type of activity, the level of participation and immediate reflections that can help improve things locally.

PCCB and Education authorities should offer short and sweet operating instructions, age-appropriate materials, and periodic facilitator development. All external contacts should be realistic, planned and can take the form of a school visit, cluster seminar, virtual contact or co-ordinated public event where a face-to-face visit is not possible. Programme monitoring should be able to differentiate between the existence of a club and the quality of its implementation. Some helpful indicators are protected time, diversity of activities, student leadership, linkage to the classroom, preparation of facilitators, external contact, and extending beyond the core membership.

Declaration of Interest

The authors declare that they do not have any known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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