350

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An assessment of Botswana Teacher In-service.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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ABSTRACT

The importance of In-service training in Botswana's education system cannot be overemphasised. The formulation of an in-service policy and deployment of resources in the support of the policy, is testimony of the government's commitment to the in-service work. In-service is highly regarded in the education system because, it is hoped that it will transform the practice of serving teachers. The implementation of policy, however, is always a complex matter.

The purpose behind this research study was to investigate how the policy on in-service was understood and represented by trainers in the field of practice. This study arises from the fact that policy analysis is an area that has been overlooked in the study of in-service work. The literature on in-service, in the developing world, has ably dealt with mechanics of policy implementation, with a strong bias towards the acquisition of resources and the procedures necessary for the successful implementation of in-service policy. Investigating the way policy is understood by in-service providers has not, however, been given the attention it deserves in the field of research. The interest in this area of study was, further, given impetus by the argument that intentions of policy texts are likely to be represented differently in practice.

A group of in-service trainers in a particular regional in-service area were selected for the purpose of information gathering. The selection was done on the basis that trainers were key interpreters of in-service policy. As the study depended on their subjective information, semi structured interview questions were designed as they provided trainers with some degree of freedom, to express their understanding of policy unhindered.

The research study, established that policy is understood in keeping with trainers' backgrounds. This means that policy is not necessarily represented according to the intentions of the texts. Two groups of trainers are identified, *viz.*, the poorly grounded and well grounded trainers. Trainers classified as well grounded, demonstrated a higher knowledge of policy and correctly interpreted the policy texts. This is in contrast with poorly grounded trainers who had not well read the policy texts and as a result incorrectly interpreted policy texts.

The study concludes that policy representation is complex and informed by everyday understandings.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

1.1 Background

Botswana assumed nationhood status on 30 September 1966, when the country was declared independent (National Development Plan NDP 8). After independence the population grew rapidly; according to the 1971 census there were 600,000 people, in 1981 it had reached the 900,000 mark, and by 1991, relative to 1971, it had doubled to 1.3 million. The 1991 census results showed that 48 percent of the population was made up of children under the age of 15 years (NDP 8). These statistics held massive implications for the schooling and for the allocation of resources to the education sector.

The formal education sector grew rapidly as a result of this population growth. The NDP (8) showed that there were 670 primary schools in 1997, and the Department of Secondary Education (1977) reported that there were a total of 232 secondary schools of which 26 were senior secondary schools. Government devoted over 20 percent annually of the total national budget to the education sector (National Commission 1993:356) in keeping with its commitment to primary and junior secondary education. These commitments were established through the process of investigation set up by the Commission of Education which reported in 1993.

In its report, this Commission on Education (1993) highlighted the social economic changes that were taking place in the country. These changes came to play a prominent role in influencing the definition of the country's education philosophy which is embodied in the following aspirations (Botswana Government Paper 1994:5);

1.To prepare Botswana for the transition from a traditional agro-economy to the industrial economy that the country aspires to (become)

2.Government considers access to basic education a fundamental human right.

While local conditions certainly shaped the character of this philosophy, there is no doubt, following Muller's argument that globalisation was a major factor in dictating the kind of philosophy which the country adopted. Muller (1998:2) helps us understand how this

happens;

> As the boundaries and barriers of the pre-global world became increasingly permeable, giving enormously expanded access to technology and world markets, as international competitiveness picks up and the increasing pace of change become the order of the day, a further feature of contemporary industrial production comes to the fore.... "neo industrialisation".

Botswana is no exception to these trends, and like other countries in the world, appears to have taken the route of gearing education and training towards economic and social development (Report on Education 1993).

Attempts to realign Botswana's education system with its social economic aspirations, as well as ensuring improved instructional approaches in schools, have been in the forefront of the Government's educational plans. These attempts have been evident in the two Commissions on Education of 1977 and 1993 which were, on different occasions, assigned to review the education system.

In the wake of the implementation of these reforms, questions have been asked of the serving teachers' ability to comprehend and mediate the developments in education. As a result of these questions, efforts to improve serving teachers through teacher in-service training have become a fact of life in Botswana's education system. The promotion of in-service is prompted by the government's recognition of the influential role of teachers and education in the development of the country. The teacher in-service programme has, with this realisation, out-grown its initial reliance on donor agencies.

The Government's determination to come up with an in-service policy as well as its engagement of its human and material resources, has helped in-service work in Botswana to blossom into a fully fledged unit with regional structures effectively covering all parts of the country. Regional In-service Education Officers are scattered throughout the six in-service regions.

It is perhaps fitting to trace, briefly, the history of the in-service programme in order to put it into its proper perspective. Traces of in-service practices can be located way back into the past, but organised attempts at in-servicing teachers only started after the country's

independence in 1996.

At independence the responsibility for in-service work was entrusted to primary teachers' training colleges (Bigala and Vanqa 1993:15). The ability of these colleges to cover the country, however, was limited because there were only two colleges in the eastern part of the country, and moreover, this was a secondary activity for the colleges which saw their main concern as being the provision of pre-service education. Time and resources could also not facilitate the penetration of the remote parts of the country to deliver in-service activities.

More focused attention was given to teachers in-service following the Report of the National Commission on Education (1977). The Commission was of the view that the recommended education changes could succeed in schools with teachers given necessary support. Bigala and Vanqa (1993:26-28) highlight the point in the following words, "Innovations in the curriculum have meant that major shifts in perspective and changes are to be carried out in the schools and classrooms, such changes cannot take place without much support to those who have to carry out these changes."

The Report of the National Commission on Education placed emphasis on the importance of the establishment of a vibrant in-service programme. In a strong statement, the National Commission (1977:158) expressed the following concern;

> In-service training is not merely a stop gap means of upgrading untrained and unqualified teachers, but rather a continuing means of strengthening and renewing the education system through the development of teachers' competence and sense of professional commitments.

Obviously the comment is intended as a criticism of what had passed for, in the past, as in-service work, while, at the same time, trying to chart a new direction for in-service teacher education. The report further sought to increase the scope of in-service activities so as to include all teachers, both the qualified and unqualified.

The emphasis on teacher in-service is, in addition, under-pinned by the Commission's concern about the general calibre of the teaching force to deal effectively with the proposed changes. This concern is reflected in the Commission's (1977:127) remarks, and is also reflected in the Report of the National Commission on Education (1993:336);

> At every turn in its deliberation on ways to reform and expand education in Botswana, the Commission has had to ask whether sufficient teachers of the right competence and the right motivation can be found to implement the proposals. The Commission is convinced that the quality of teaching is the most important influence on the quality of education provided in schools.

Such strong words from a credible body like the Commission of Enquiry on Education had a strong bearing in the direction of education and in particular the way the in-service programme should be understood.

Following the report, a number of government structures and in-service activities were put in place with the support of external donors. Government accepted the principle of decentralisation of in-service activities as recommended (Bigala and Vanqa 1993:28), thus bringing in-service closer to schools.

Through the support of the British In-service Teams, founded by the British government, six educational centres for the purposes of providing training to primary schools teachers in the remote schools were established (ibid. 29). The delivery of in-service activities was, however, constrained by resources and personnel. In view of this, government efforts were supplemented by USAID (United States of America International Aid) support.

As part of the Primary Education Improvement Project, which was part of USAID, training of in-service providers was started in the local university. This project complemented the project started through the British In-service Team (Bigala and Vanqa, 1993:29). The Ministry of Education in-service education programme workshops targeted ministry personnel including education officers who were in turn required to train others, thus seeking to achieve a multiplier effect (Haseley and Sephuma 1991:108). Teacher in-service activities at this stage were strongly biased towards primary education. The bias might have been driven by the fact that there were many untrained teachers in the primary education sector.

In-service teacher education once more came into the spotlight following the Kedililwe Report on the National Commission on Education (1993). While the Commission recommended major changes in the organisation and the curriculum, it also viewed teachers as having a

critical role to play in the implementation of the recommended changes. The Commission further constructed a picture of an ideal teacher who could bring the realisation of quality education. It was in pursuit of quality education that the Commission (1993:335) reflected explicitly;

> In order to ensure effective implementation of these educational reforms there is need to develop a teaching force that is motivated and competent. A teacher who is motivated, disciplined, patient, articulate, responsible and innovative is likely to make an effective impact in the classroom.

It is in view of this that the Commission (1993) recommended an in-service policy in which objectives were tied to improving teachers' motivation, performance and productivity.

The Commission on Education (1993) must have foreseen the problem likely to arise as a result of the new reforms. The need to intensify in-service programmes was stressed;

> The system is expected to continue to grow both qualitatively and quantitatively and indeed the Commission had made recommendations at the various level which demand an intensified programme of in-service training of both teachers and the supervisors to enable them to cope with demands for improvement towards quality educational provision (Report of National Commission on Education 1993:352).

Though decentralisation had been recommended in the earlier Report (1977) and accepted by government, not much had been done in achieving its implementation. The National Commission on Education's (1993:356) Recommendation 104(d) states;

> With the exception of the training of trainers, all functions of in-service training should be delegated from headquarters to the district or regions within the overall decentralised structure of Ministry of Education.

The two recommendations which form the corner-stones of in-service work by trainers are the Recommendations 104 and 105 (Botswana Government 1993 and 1994). The aspects of in-service emphasised are staff development and School based in service training.

Recommendation 104(c) has its focus on staff development. The recommendation stresses the importance of in-service attention for teachers from the moment they join the teaching

service. A new teacher should thus be assigned to an experienced teacher who would induct him/her, with the support of a school head and the education officer, into the teaching community and assist him/her to grow professionally.

Recommendation 105, on the other hand, attaches greater importance to school based in-service training. School management under this recommendation is to take the lead in the in-service training of a teacher. The "head as instructional leader" is the phrase that the Commission of Education (1993) uses to describe the key role that a school head has to play in the learning process. In the exercise of its responsibility the school leadership should conduct "regular teacher observations and workshops" to address weaknesses and hence cater for the professional development of teachers.

Similarly, in-service trainers are expected to supplement the work done at school based teacher in-service training. This, as policy requires, should be done through school visits with the main purpose being that of carrying out "performance audit(s)" of the school in-service work. The in-service trainer would hopefully at the time available confirm, with the people charged with responsibility, that school based in-service is established and functioning.

What all these recommendations meant in terms of practice was codified by the Department of Teacher Education, and as a result, a booklet entitled, *Professional Manual For In-service Education Officers (1998)* was produced. The key policy texts however, continued to be the Report of the National Commission on Education (1993) and the Revised National Policy on Education (1994).

Apart from the two recommendations mentioned, there are other associated recommendations which have a bearing on in-service work. These are embodied in the Ministry of Education projects aimed at enhancing classroom practice.

1.2 Purpose of Study

Bigala and Vanqa (1993:37) say that, "since the inception of in-service training programmes, there has developed a large number of in-service providers especially among the primary school teachers. Their skills and experience should be utilised and re-organised."

The reorganisation and provision of in-service has taken place following the endorsement of

the recommendations of the National Commission on Education of 1993. In-service providers to schools, in the form of education officers, are in the forefront of the in-service policy implementation. These policy agents are directly involved with the training of teachers.

This research study is an attempt to assess how well Botswana in-service policies are understood by practitioners in the field of practice. In the study, government is considered to have played a key role in the initial formulation of the text which forms the basis of the working frame used by the in-service programme. The study focuses on how policy understandings shift from the text to meanings that are present in practice.

Given that a policy text shifts when it moves from origination to implementation, the question to ask, which will also direct this research, is, "How do in-service providers interpret the in-service programme policy in Botswana?"

In pursuit of this question, the research will seek to interpret and explain the in-service policy's conception and application, as it is seen by the in-service providers. Government documents such as the Report of the National Commission on Education (1993) and the White Paper No.2 of 1994 of the Revised National Policy on Education are key to the understanding of the in-service programme. The co-operation and informative responses of in-service providers in the region concerned will thus be of value to this study.

The Report on the National on Education (1993) was the result of a Presidential appointed Commission. In the introductory remarks, the Commission (1993:V1) summarised the concern that had led to the Commission's appointment;

> In the period since 1977, there have been many social economic changes and the education system has grown in size and complexity. The Government, therefore identified the need for a comprehensive review of the education system.

The Commission's wide consultation locally and abroad resulted in a text referred to as the Report of the National Commission on Education of 1993 in which several recommendations affecting the education system were made.

The Government Paper No.2 of 1994 entitled, the Revised National Policy on Education, contains government responses to the Commission's recommendations. Those accepted,

such as the teacher in-service programme, became policy.

1.3 Significance of Research

The importance that government attaches to the in-service programme as a means to aid the realisation of quality education is worthy of note. In addition a great deal of investment, in terms of personnel and material resources, has been put into in-service. How well this policy is understood within the system, particularly by its implementers, is of crucial importance. It is important to recognise, as the work of Ball (1994) shows, that policy is by no means a stable construction, and that differing interpretations of policy, particularly at the levels of implementation, have profound consequences for the success of any large scale reform initiative.

Decisions with regard to in-service have to be frequently made. The conceptualisation of policy by key personnel such as trainers is an aspect of the policy process that will assist in making informed decisions about how a system such as the Botswana educational system is managed.

1.4 Limitations

This study is regionally based. Botswana is, for education purposes, divided into six regions. Nine out of eleven in-service trainers employed in the region of research were interviewed. A region forms one part of the whole country. The findings of this research cannot, therefore, represent the opinions of all the in-service trainers in the country, but are a good indication of trends in Botswana.

The challenge is to approach the generalisation of the results with outmost care. The purpose of the study is guided by Strauss and Corbin's (1990:44) comment that, "the outcome is not the generalisation but a deeper understanding of experience...."

1.5 Organisation

The report is made up of five chapters. The introduction, focuses briefly on the background information of Botswana's education system with special reference to the in-service programme. The chapter further defines the subject of study. The literature review chapter presents the work and ideas on teacher in-service training found in the literature which frame the question guiding the research and this includes Ball's (1994) conceptual framework (1994)

and understanding of policy analysis. Chapter three looks at the methodological issues involved in the research. Chapter four deals with the actual analysis of data as an attempt to answer the research question, "how do in-service providers represent the in-service programme in Botswana?" The last chapter provides a conclusion and makes recommendations focusing on the research findings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The research question that this study attempts to answer is based on the in-service providers' understanding of the teacher in-service policy. The literature, however, does not directly deal with the question as stated in the study, but tends rather to deal with the challenges and procedures associated with the implementation of in-service programmes.

This chapter, is focused on literature concerning teacher in-service programmes in developing countries. This focus is taken with the recognition that Botswana is part of the developing world and as such, an understanding of in-service experiences and practices in other countries is likely to have some influence in the way in-service work is understood in the country. Secondly, the literature review was also helpful to the researcher in the preparation of the interview questions.

The chapter deals with the literature of in-service work in Botswana, the education challenges experienced in developing countries and then uses of in-service education, and in-service policy studies as spelt out in the literature of developing countries.

2.1 Botswana and In-service Work

Literature on the study of Botswana's in-service education and training is limited. What has been found are narrative descriptions about in-service developments in the country and very little on policy analysis of in-service training progamme.

Mcdevitt (1998), for example, carried out a small evaluative study of an initiative which used the cascade principle. This was an in-service strategy adopted in the Botswana In-service and Pre-service Project because of its multiplier potential in the training of trainers. The aim of the project was to meet the identified need of mixed ability teaching in Botswana schools. According to Mcdevitt's (1998) findings, the cascade was not successful in achieving its intended goal, *i.e.* of disseminating the practice of mixed ability teaching in schools. From his findings, Mcdevitt (1998:428) reached the following conclusion;

> One of the ironies of the situation, then is that the cascade may succeed as a training mechanism, but fail in its primary goal as means of disseminating ideas of changing behaviour patterns.

Another research project was carried out by Prophet and Sims (1997). They presented a paper on their study at the Teacher Education Biennial Conference in Botswana. The two researchers were interested in the impact that the in-service teacher centre together with in-service officers had on the schools within the vicinity of the centre.

Prophet and Sims (1997) used what they referred to as a tracer approach as a method of research. Basically, this meant finding out whether innovations were practised in schools, and if this happened, whether they could be traced to in-service work done by the centre together and the in-service officers. What they found was not encouraging and could be summarised (Prophet and Sims 1997:14) as follows;

> Given the scale of commitment by the Ministry of Education to the professional development of teachers through in-service provision, it was rather salutary to observe how little impact this was currently having with the schools that we visited even though they were all within easy reach of their (teacher education) centre.

A review of in-service education in Botswana was produced by Bigala and Vanqa (1993). This review was supplemented by suggestions for improvement of in-service work as well as the financial implications that would arise. Some of the suggestions appear to have been included in the Report of the National Commission of Education (1993). For example, Bingala and Vanqa (1993:36) recommended;

> The objective of in-service education programmes should be to establish in-service training of the present teachers as a continuous function, as an activity that should not be confined to vacation periods only. In-service workshops for teachers often have been decided at a spare moment.

Related also, was a document by Haseley and Sephuma (1991). Haseley and Sephuma (1991) too, reviewed the developments of in-service education and training in Botswana. The general goals of an in-service programme were reflected (Haseley and Sephuma 1991:102) as;

> The innovations have often entailed major shifts in perspective and changes in the way education was to be carried out in schools. It soon became clear that such changes were not automatic and would not occur without the provision of much support to those who had to implement the changes.

In addition, Haseley and Sephuma (1991:102) pointed out that since its inception, the in-service programme had not been investigated. They made the suggestion that there was a need to evaluate the impact the programme had on teaching and learning.

While this work, particularly the latter few papers, suggests that the failure to implement in-service has its origins in the shortage of resources, there is not recognition, yet, in this literature of the complex distance between policy origination and policy implementation. None of the studies moreover conceives of in-service implementation policy as an object of study.

2.2 CHALLEGES IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS IN DEVELOPING WORLD

A review of the wider international literature presents, unfortunately, similar problems to those detected in the Botswana literature. The literature has dealt at great length with problems associated with developing countries' education systems. These are problems which might have made in-service education a desirable component of the education system, and also to have had an impact on the understanding and interpretations of teacher in-service programmes by providers.

In their analysis of the strategies adopted by the countries of South and South East Asia, to meet the demand for teachers, Tarvin and Faraj (1990) make reference to some of the challenges that resulted from the rapid expansion of education systems. They show that the rapid expansion of the systems had repercussions on teacher supply as teacher training colleges struggled to keep up with the increased demand. Thus schools experienced an acute shortage of teachers. Tarvin and Faraj (1990:92) observe that, faced with this critical situation, the education systems were forced to accept unqualified teachers in schools. This had a negative impact on the standards of teaching and learning. This appears to have been a common experience in many developing countries (Esu 1993:189, Passi 1990:441, Eisemon 1988:28). Murphy (1985), too, in his thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, asserts, that because of the explosion of school enrolments, many developing

countries, particularly in Africa, employ a high proportion of untrained and unqualified teachers (Murphy 1985:24).

Blame on the falling standards of teaching and learning as it appears, cannot be placed only on unqualified teachers. A report by Tarvin and Faraj (1990:92-93), in the same paper mentioned above, reveals governments' concerns with regards to the products of training colleges. For example, Tarvin and Faraj (1990:92) illustrate, by pointing out that some teachers, although they had gone through training, were found to be inadequate with respect to both their teaching approaches and their command of the content of their subjects. This, therefore, impinged on the quality of education that some students were getting.

Similar observations, about the products of training colleges, are made by Esu's (1991) research study in which he examined the status of the in-service education for teachers in Nigeria. In paraphrasing the findings of previous studies by Esu (1987) and Afoloyan (1982), Esu (1991:189) maintains "The conventional process of teacher training has been slow and has its inherent problem of a lack of sufficiently qualified teacher trainers". This casts a shadow on the quality of graduates from the colleges.

Also, a report of the proceedings of the UNESCO organised conference on Development, demonstrated (see de Grauwe and Bernard 1995:122) that the problem of producing well qualified teachers was common in the developing world. An example cited is that of Cambodia, where "efforts to raise the quality (education or teaching) have recently targeted teachers, who even when trained, do not always have the necessary skills."

The challenges highlighted include, insufficient number of trained teachers to meet demand in schools, concern over poor classroom practices and supply of poorly trained teachers.

2.3 Uses of Teacher In-service Education

Teacher in-service education in developing countries is cited as having many uses. These (Esu 1991:192) include introducing teachers to new educational concepts, guidance and counselling, special education, new system of education and curricula. Uses, such as the professional development of teachers, a change in the methods of teaching and learning, and educational developments, as reflected in the literature, will be discussed.

2.3.1 Professional Development of Teachers

The practice of in-service education as an alternative strategy to the professional development of serving teachers is documented in the literature (Chisimba and Kibria 1982:96, Hofmeyr and Jaff 1992:175, Bagwandeen and Louw 1993:1). Murphy (1985:24) reaffirms this by stating;

> Planners in developing countries have realised that INSET is the best means of solving the problem of poorly qualified teachers in countries where the population is exploding and attempts are being made globally to eradicate illiteracy and offer citizens a basic education.

Chisimba and Kibria (1982:96) contend, by drawing on the support of the World Bank (1980), that the generally held view is that in-service training improves serving teacher's performance. While Esu (1991) supports the idea that in-service education serves to enhance teachers' professionalism, he (Esu 1991:192) maintains, on the basis of the research study conducted in Nigeria, that in-service is used for other purposes in the education system.

A comparative perspective is offered in Tarvin and Faraj (1990) in their work in South and South East Asian countries. In-service teacher training in these countries was viewed as a strategy to enhance teacher competence and, also to raise teacher morale among the uncommitted. In the explanation of this view, Tarvin and Faraj (1990:98) state;

> It is believed that upgrading the qualifications of teachers through improving pre-service and expanding in-service programmes will improve morale. A teacher who feels that he or she is competent will be less frustrated by the professional demands of teaching.

In-service work is equated with pre-service work in promoting teacher competence and confidence in the performance of duties. The teacher training programme in Zimbabwe offers an example in which in-service was adopted to attend to the change of the dynamic expansion of the education system. Dorsey (1989:40) makes reference to an in-service approach aimed at training unqualified teachers while they are in their teaching posts.

4000

The most recent study, with the focus on the development of teachers, was conducted in Malawi by Kunje and Stuart (1999). After the Malawian system put in place the school based training programme to cater for the large number of unqualified teachers attracted into

schools, Kunje and Stuart (1999) were interested in examining their progress. Their findings revealed that significant progress was made where teachers were willing and able to reflect on practice when given encouragement and support.

2.3.2 Change in Classroom Practices

Teaching and learning practices have been a source of concern in the education systems in many of developing countries. This observation is succinctly expressed by Rowell (1995:3);

> For many years, observers in the schools of developing countries have noted the prevalence of didactic classroom practice which supports teacher dominance over passive learners.

The literature discounts the view that classroom practices are determined by insufficient resources but argues, instead, that these practices are shaped by "the emergence of a teaching and learning tradition that is not supportive of student participation and inquiry" (Rowell 1995:3).

The literature, bears many examples of countries of the developing world in which in-service was adopted as a strategy to address classroom practices. As part of educational reforms in South and South East Asia, Faraj and Tarvin (1989:567) talk of an approach where an in-service programme was used, among other things, to change the methodology of teaching and learning.

Mohapeloa (1982) makes similar reference to attempts by the Ministry of Education and other educators to bring about change in classroom practices in Lesotho. He, further makes the following observation;

> Although one still encounters rote learning, efforts continue to be made to bring about learning that results from reasoning and understanding. Teachers, individual schools and groups of schools are engaged in their work of reorientation of teachers and modernisation of procedures (Mohapeloa 1982:146).

However, Mohapeloa (1982) doubts whether teacher in-service programmes will achieve positive results. This, he attributes to unfavourable conditions, such as the acute shortage of supportive resources in schools. Mohapeloa (1982) contends that unfavourable classroom conditions brought about by insufficient resources demotivate teachers. In such a situation, it

will appear, an in-service programme aimed at changing classroom practices cannot succeed. Improved resource status in schools, therefore would facilitate the success of teacher in-service.

A similar point of view, but yet more critical, is expressed by Heyneman (1984). Although he acknowledges the growth that developing countries had achieved in their education systems, this, he feels was done at the expense of quality. The argument advanced is that not much research has been done to assist these countries to meet their educational challenges. Attempted corrective measures such as deschooling, changes in the curriculum and methods of teaching and learning will not have any positive effect. Conditions in developing countries are so bad that, "in situations of school poverty, where, typically, the teacher has access to only one book, it is hard to imagine that any pedagogy is feasible other than memorisation" (Heyneman 1984:95-96). A gloomy picture similar to this is likely not to accommodate an in-service programme.

The more recent studies, like those of Brown and Reid (1990) continue, however, to find fault with traditional methods of teaching. In a case study of an INSET programme done in Malawi, Brown and Reid (1990:96) point out that teachers' beliefs, also, should become targets of in-service. Brown and Reid (ibid.p96) make the following observation;

> The didactic approach has become the dominant pedagogical model in the schools to such an extent that many of our Malawian colleagues agreed that not to teach didactically may lead to children bringing charges of in competence.

The didactic method as reflected has become accepted by both teachers and students. Like previous authors, Brown and Reid (1990) acknowledge the difficulties that teachers are likely to encounter with the introduction of learner centred strategies where resources are not available for support.

But, be that as it may, in-service work is still generally accepted in the literature as the appropriate strategy to correct teaching and learning practices.

2.3.3. Curriculum Changes

A general statement about the considered appropriateness of inservice training, is presented by Murphy, as cited in Fakudze (1995:5). He highlighted the role of teachers as critical to the implementation of curriculum changes. Murphy concludes by stating that teachers, as the key agents of change, require INSET programmes to enable them to effect planned reforms. Accordingly, Faraj and Tarvin (1989:568) in a study conducted in South and South East Asia, make reference to major changes in curricula aimed at improving the quality of education. Documented, also was the move by these countries to emphasise certain aspects of the curriculum, such as science and technology, which were deemed necessary for economic development. The introduction of planned changes had implications for the teacher in-service programme. Ibrahim (1993), in his study aimed at assessing the effectiveness of the in-service programme in Malaysia, documented a similar experience in which an in-service programme was used as the main strategy of orientating teachers on the new curriculum.

Bagwandeen and Louw (1993), have also cited many uses that in-service could be put to in order to support the education system. The importance, generally attached to these uses, is enabling the teacher to be more effective. In this view, in-service work should assist a teacher to know and assess the current education technology, and in addition, it should contribute towards assisting staff to effectively implement the curriculum.

Any in-service programme adopted should be part of an ongoing process. According to Faraj and Tarvin (1989:567),

> Ad hoc in-service programmes can be distinguished from on-going in-service programmes, which provide teachers the means to upgrade continually their qualifications or to enrich themselves personally or professionally.

Faraj and Tarvin (1989) understand ad hoc in-service programme as something put into place with only a goal as remedy an identified curriculum problem. The problem with this literature, however, is its failure to look at in-service training as a policy arena.

2.4 Policy Representations of In-service

As is evident, the literature in the field focuses on application. How, however, does the literature regard an in-service teacher programme in its policy guises?

A few works are more analytical and point to policy implications. For example, in Zambia,

Chisimba and Kibria (1982) conducted an in-service study in which the purpose was "to assess the needs of primary school teacher educators so as to determine strategies for organising in-service training programmes at the University of Zambia" (ibid.p97). In their studies, Chisimba and Kibria (1982) were more concerned about the past procedures adopted when implementing an in-service programme.

Esu (1991) did a similar study on in-service work in Nigeria which produced corresponding results. In his study, he came up with the characteristics of a model in-service programme that relied upon assessed needs of participants. Esu (1991) further stresses this point in conclusion, by stating, "the assessed needs do not only give direction for the selection of in-service programmes (content) but determine their goal. They also provide a guide for evaluation of the programme." Secondly, he emphasised the involvement of participants in the planning of in-service activities, and suggested that the context should be supportive to teachers as means of contributing towards their development. Furthermore, he pointed that the in-service content should follow a developmental model, thus, encouraging good teaching and school development. Last, he pointed out the need to regularly evaluate the programme. Although the points raised in his paper provide an insight on issues involved in the implementation of an in-service programme, like the previous paper, Esu's (1991) article falls short of answering the question as presented in this study.

As with Esu, the study done by Ibrahim (1993) in Malaysia fails to provide light on what happens to the meaning of an in-service policy during the course of its implementation. The purpose of his study was to make an assessement of the programme that the Ministry of Education adopted to orientate teachers on the new curriculum. Although Ibrahim (1993) showed interest in the trainers' mediation of the in-service courses, his concern did not extend to understanding the trainers' interpretation of the programme. He instead, argues that providers in the districts were denied the freedom to determine the course contents and methods of delivery. But he did not pursue what this freedom would have meant in terms of understanding the in-service programme. Secondly, he points out that the actions of authorities encouraged the understanding amongst providers that what had been prepared was based on the assessed needs of participants. Trainers, therefore, saw no reason to tamper with the official document. And, in terms of this, Ibrahim (1993:21) further explains that "indeed about half of the key providers felt that altering the course contents was an unnecessary risk to take." The concern was about the efficient and effective methods of the

delivery of the prepared text rather than what happens to policy in the field of practice.

Lubben (1994), on the other hand, conducted a study in Swaziland with the objective of making a comparison between the trainers and non specialist physics teachers' in-service needs. Like other reseachers, Lubben (1994) was critical about in-service providers and administrators who usually plan and organise in-service programmes based on the assumption that participants' needs were known to them. The study does not provide insight into the role that providers themselves play in the policy formulation. A similar comment can be made about the study by Rogan and Macdonald (1995) which provides important information towards the understanding of the implementation of an in-service programme in a developing country, but, similarly, does not look at implementation as an area of policy development.

Generally, literature in the field is prescriptive with respect to the implementation strategies to adopt, to change the attitudes and behavioural practice of recepients, and this approach is well documented in the work of Kennedy (1987), Kouraogo (1987), Lamb (1995) and Hayes (1995). Their literature, mainly suggests and prescribes what in-service providers should do in the field of practice.

While the information presented in the literature offers interesting perspectives about in-service, such as some useful guidelines on good in-service practices; bringing effective change through in-service; determining appropriate in-service needs as well as establishing a regular evaluative process, it has, however, been found to be wanting in terms of helping us understand the problem as presented in the current study. The argument as presented focuses on the fact that policy changes from text to practice, this serves as the problem that the study sets out to investigate. It was then, due to the inadequacy of the literature on in-service to offer direction in the study of policy, that the researcher turned to an examination of the general policy literature. This literature is complex but offers a way of understanding the shifts which take place in the process of policy implementation, and, possibly why in-service has up to now been largely unsuccessful.

2.4 The policy Literature

This study, as previously made clear, is focused on the Botswana In-service programme, especially, on how the in-service programme is understood and interpreted by the in-service trainers. The programme in which those trainers are involved, is a government initiated intervention intended to improve the education system in the country. In the dicussion which follows a short review of literature about policy interpretation is undertaken. This review focuses on the work of Stephen Ball (1994).

In a recent observation, Seddon (1996) states that the subject of policy analysis has, in recent years received greater attention in the literature. The discussion has shifted towards understanding policy as a dynamic area of contestation and suggests repositioning (Seddon 1996:197).

Ball's (1994) approach to policy study, has been arrived at with the understanding that traditional social theories, do not fully examine the policy process. For example, de Clercq (1997) suggests that much of policy analysis has treated policy formulation as a separate entity from policy implementation. In pursuit of this line of thought, Fullan (1989) comments, as de Clercq (1997:229) also suggests, that, "implementation is a process of policy clarification and less about putting pre-defined policy into practice than making further policy." This was a powerful statement which closed the gap between policy making and implementation. Similarly, Bowe *et al* (1972:7) argue that;

> Who becomes involved in the policy process and how they become involved is a product of a combination of administratively based procedures, historical precedence and political manoeuvring, implicating the state, the state bureaucracy and continual political struggles over access to the policy process, it is not a matter of implementors following a fixed policy text and putting the Act into practice.

Policy formulation, therefore, should not be understood as the prerogative of the state but should instead be viewed as a continuous process.

A further criticism of attempts at traditional social policy studies centred on the restrictive framework imposed in examining policy. Seddon (1996:198), for example, points out that a policy study should aim at capturing the details and complexities that inhabit the policy process. The "big picture", according to Ozga (1990) is missed through the rigidity of

traditional theories (Seddon 1996: 198).

It is in consideration of this background, as reflected above, that a conceptual framework, suitable to illuminate this study, might be found in Ball's (1994) understanding of policy analysis.

What follows is Ball's (1994) suggestions about how a policy study could be competently approached. The presentation has adhered to the outline structure as developed by Ball (1994).

2.4.3 Policy Analysis

In a departure from more conventional approaches, Ball (1994) describes policy as a complex social phenomenon which could not be explained adequately through the use of a single theory. In the pursuit of this line of argument, Ball (1994:14) states, that a study of policy process from origination to the field of practice is broad and full of complexities, and cannot be successfully explained through the use of a single theory. He, further, suggests that;

> The challenge is to relate together analytically the ad hocery of the macro with the ad hocery of the micro without losing sight of the systematic bases and effects of ad hoc social actions: to look for the interactions embedded in chaos (ibid; p15).

The two key concepts of "policy as text" and "policy as discourse" that Ball (1994) proposes, offer guidance to how the study of policy should proceed. The crucial role that the two concepts play in the research is reflected in Ball's (1994:15) argument in which he states, "For me, much rests on the meaning or possible meanings that we give to policy, it affects how we research and how we interpret what we find." But, Ball (1994) quickly adds that these concepts are implicit in each other, thus, implying that in a study of a policy process, they should not be examined, as separate entities. It is Ball's (1994) assumptions about what contributes to policy, and policy process (Clercq 1994:128) which will be used in an attempt to explain the in-service programme under study.

I. Policy as Text

The unstable state of the meaning that a policy text intends portraying is explained in the work of such authors such as de Clercq (1997:131), who, for example, in the remarks she attributes to Ball, states that "a text creates circumstances in which a range of policy options

is available." The possibility of a policy assuming unintended meanings through interpretations is implied. This is also evident in the work of Bowe *et al* (1992:10) who view the initial policy text as a working document. A similar message can be construed from Ball's (in de Clercq 1997: 131) statement, *viz*, "The meaning of policy text will be affected, deflected and inflected by existing social inequalities as all stake holders contest, mediate and react to the policy text."

The in-service trainers are, in this study, considered to be stake holders at the regional level. Since the study aims at investigating their understanding of the in-service policy, such comments are found to be most appropriate.

The meaning that a policy text intends forwarding, as Ball (1994), and also Bowe *et al* (1992) observe, is not always clear. This arises, according to Ball (1994:16), for example, because a policy text is, "...encoded in complex ways...." This state of the document, leaves it subject, during the policy process, to be, "...decoded in a complex of ways...."

Since policy texts lack clarity in spelling out their intentions, this is likely to lead to different kinds of understanding. Bowe et al (1992:11), for example, state, with regard to this issue;

> Making sense of new texts leads people into a process of trying to translate and make familiar the language and the attendant embedded logics. In this process they place what they know against the new.

It is assumed that, because of the varied experiences which in-service trainers have, the in-service programme that they have to put in practice, as Bowe et al (1992) explain, is likely to be understood in different ways. This view, is repeated by Ball (1994:16) when he states, "...actors interpretations and meanings (are done) in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context."

The result, as Codd in Ball (1994:16) observes, would be, "for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of reading." Ball (1994) takes a step further, to bring to the attention of those involved in the study of policy that, restricting the meanings of policy texts cannot be successfully done. In this, Ball (1994:16) explains;

> ...authors cannot control the meanings of their texts - policy authors do make concerted efforts to assert such control by the means at their disposal, to achieve a

'correct' reading.

Accepting the notion that authors of policy texts are not able to establish total authority over the meanings of their texts, this has implications for the current study in which we examine the trainers understanding of the in-service programme.

It is also important to recognise Ball's (1994) point of view, in which he broadens researchers' understandings about the intricacies involved during the policy processes. The complexities involved only help to cloud the meaning of texts. Ball (1994:16) argues;

> It is crucial to recognise that the policies themselves, the texts, are not necessarily clear or closed or complete. The texts are the product of compromises at various stages at passed through a number of hands.

Ball (1994) further warns that because policy shifts in the field of practice, it will not be possible to predict what results will be achieved from the policy intervention. Ball (1994:18) presents a warning as follows;

> The point is that we cannot predict or assume how they will be acted on in every case in every setting, or what their immediate effect will be, or what room for manoeuvre actors find themselves. Action will be constrained differently (even tightly) but it is not determined by policy. Solutions to the problems posed by policy text will be localised and should be expected to display ad hocery and messiness.

What is of particular importance in the passage, is the role of policy actors. This has implications for the trainers' interpretation of the in-service policy.

Pertinent also, to the current study is the suggestion that policies are open to creativity. This, happens in relation to constraints, circumstances and practicalities. This being the case, responses and understandings of policy are likely to differ accordingly. Ball (1994:19) explains as follows;

> iven constraints, circumstances and practicalities translation of the crude, abstract simplicities of policy text into interactive and sustainable practices of some sort involves productive thought, invention and adaptation. Policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available

> in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set. A response must still be put together, constructed in context, offset against other expectations. All this involves creative social action.

The appropriateness, of Ball's (1994) advice, that policy study should be done in relation with other policies currently in existence is worthy of note. This, Ball (1994:19) expressed in the following manner, "... the more ideologically abstract any policy is, the more distant in conception from practice..., the less likely it is to be accommodated in unmediated form in the context of practice...."

II. Policy as Discourse

Ball's (1994) understanding of policy as discourse, broadens the process of policy analysis into what he termed the big picture. The influential word, discourse, is attributed (Romero 1998) to Foucalt whose work has had a strong impact on the policy literature, and that, the use of the term discourse, Romero (1998:21) explains;

> The usefulness of this concept is to be found in its recognising the social creation of 'preferred' meanings and in the production of subject and institutional positions. Discourse figures within a play of exclusions and inclusions.

In addition, Romero (1998:21) talks of a discourse community which is a community characterised as sharing and creating ways of interpreting its experience, and from which the world is understood. Perhaps, Ball (1994) had similar ideas, when he states that in policy study, researchers need also to pay attention to the social processes at work when it comes to policy formulation. Ball (1994:21) explained;

> Thus we need to appreciate the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of truth and knowledge as discourses.

Watkins (1990), also, makes a point about power distribution and control which has implications for the understanding of policy as discourse. In reference to Cobb and Elder's (1983) comments, Watkins (1990:317) explains, "The terrain on which decision making bodies operate is not one in which all participants would or have equal access to power."

What is highlighted in these comments is the importance of power in the social discourses.

The implication is that those social groups less influential will be disadvantaged in the agenda of the policy formulation. Forrester (1982), for example, illustrated, in the words of Watkins (1990:317), says;

> When canvassing opinion on issues like school policy, the initial responses may appear common-sense, rational and legitimate, but they often reflect the structural inequalities, along such dimensions as class, gender and race, which permeate the wider society. Thus, dimensions which reflect inequalities of wealth, expertise,
>
> status and power throughout society may impinge on the practical agenda of formulating policy.

Policy, as Ball (1994) has argues, is derived from a particular discourse which determines what knowledge should be valued as part of the policy. This can only be done by the privileged discourses. This, point is emphasised by Ball (1994:21) who states;

> Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words.

The intentions of the in-service programme, for example, according to the understanding of Ball (1994) could be an intervention meant to construct a desirable teacher from a point of view of the dominant discourse. In this, Ball (1994:22) subscribes to Facault's (1974) remarks, which he paraphrased as follows; "we do not speak a discourse, it speaks us. We are the subjectivity's, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that discourse constructs and allows."

In other words, in the study of the in-service policy it should also be considered that the programme is reflective of the social processes. As observed, the interest in the in-service literature has so far, focused on resources and strategies which had a bearing on the success or failure of the in-service programmes implementation. The importance of the in-service policy as understood by providers, which could also be crucial to a programme implementation, has not been given adequate attention. An approach of the study of an in-service programme implementation from the dimension of policy understanding could fill the gap that exists.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In the search for an appropriate method to adopt in this study, Fraenkel and Wallen (1993) offer appealing advice. Research questions, such as the one that directs this study, *viz* "How do in-service trainers represent the in-service programme in Botswana," are aimed at examining social issues. In order, therefore, to appropriately investigate and answer the question, Fraenkel and Wallen (1993:379), who have evaluated the advantages of research approaches in the study of a social phenomena, suggest a qualitative research method.

The main concern of the study is to investigate and describe analytically an in-service programme as understood by the participants. In this case, in-service trainers are entrusted with an in-service programme which they have to translate into practice. The purpose of the study is to explain the interpretation of the policy texts from the view point of the trainers.

Because the purpose of Qualitative research is, as Strauss and Corbin (1990:19) suggest, "to uncover the nature of a person's experiences with a phenomenon," it was found that it provided an appropriate methodology for this study. Neuman (1997:328) for example, states that qualitative reports, "...often contain rich description, colourful detail, and unusual characters instead of a formal neutral tone with statistics." Maykut and Morehouse (1994:46) make similar claims about qualitative approaches, "The data of qualitative inquiry is most often people's words and actions, and this requires methods that allow the researcher to capture language and behaviour." The report is elaborated by Mason (1996:4), who argues;

> ...based on methods of analysis and explanation building which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context. Qualitative aims to produce rounded understandings on the basis of rich contextual and detailed data.

It was for the above reasons that the interview method was considered appropriate to gain access into the trainers' understanding of the in-service programme.

3.2 *Qualitative Interview*

Three definitions of the interview method offer a useful insight into what the method involves and its relevance for this study.

The first is presented by Maykut and Morehouse (1994:79) who state that, "an interview is a conversation with a purpose." The purposive nature of the conversation distinguishes it from an ordinary conversation. The method is also defined with additional details by Cannell and Kahn (1968) as being;

> A two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information, and focused by him (her) on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction and explanation (in Manion and Cohen 1995:271).

The purposive nature of the interview is, also, emphasised in the definition by Kvale (1983), in which he states that;

> An interview, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena.... Neither in the interview phase nor in the late analysis is the purpose primarily to obtain quantifiable responses (in King 1994:14).

What is of importance is the key role of the interviewee in describing the social practice in which he/she is playing a part, which has relevance to the current study.

As a research tool, King (1994) describes the interview as being a highly flexible instrument, thus, implying that questions can be adapted to suit the situation at hand. The additional advantage that King (1994:14) points to is that the interview, as a method of research, is, "capable of producing data of great depth." A further advantage, is its ability to make interviewees feel at ease (King 1994). Thus, the method stands high amongst the research methods likely to yield a large amount of data. This is illustrated by Rubbin and Rubbin (1995), who suggest (1995:1) that the qualitative interview;

> ...is a great venture: every step of an interview brings new information and opens windows into the experiences of the people you meet. Qualitative interviewing as a way of finding out what others feel and think about their worlds...through

> qualitative interviews, you can understand experiences and reconstruct events in which you did not participate.

Verma and Mallick (1999:122) identify three categories of interview format, namely structured, semi structured and unstructured. Each reflects a particular relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. In this regard, King (1994:14) comments, "a key feature of the qualitative research interview is the nature of the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee."

The structured format, with closed questions, was found to be too restrictive for the purposes of this study in the sense that it possibly would limit free expression of ideas of the way the in-service programme was understood. Because the research would depend on how the trainers interpreted the programme, it was felt that a structured format questions would be restrictive.

The unstructured format is described by Maykut and Morehouse (1994:81-82) in the following terms;

> This purposeful conversation is not scripted ahead of time, Rather the researcher asks questions pertinent to the study as opportunities arise, then listens closely to people's responses for clues as to what question to ask next, or whether it is important to probe for additional information.

Although the unstructured format interview could be useful as data collection tool, Maykut and Morehouse (1994:87) do not recommend it for the inexperienced researcher.

Semi structured interview questions were instead adopted for this study. This meant that some questions had to be prepared in advance, as Maykut and Morehouse (1994) advise. A set of open ended questions allowed the interviewee to explore areas of interest, and the interviewer, through the interview schedule was assisted in covering important questions.

3.3 Study Credibility

The crucial question that a research study should continuously ask, according to Merriam (1988:163), is how the research will be treated by other people. She suggests that the report results from the study should be accepted and trusted by others.

Rubbin and Rubbin (1995) refer to validity and reliability as concepts commonly used by quantitative researchers, to achieve credibility. Credibility is a complex question in qualitative approaches. There is a general agreement, for example, in the literature (see Rubbin and Rubbin 1995, Fraenkell and Wallen 1993, Neuman 1997, Mason 1996) that credibility in qualitative research is not the same as in quantitative research.

One of the issues which distinguishes qualitative from quantitative work is the approach to objectivity and subjectivity. When it comes to objectivity, the positivists, according to Newman's (1997) observation, are emphatic about the need for scientic explanation. He further points out that in terms of the scientific approach, objectivity implies that a study of the same phenomenon should produce the same results. Moreover, the scientific approach should not have room for values, opinions, attitudes or beliefs, ie, subjectivity is not permitted. Neuman (1993) contrasts this approach with the qualitative approach in which the intention is to study the social world. As he points out, in dealing with human beings subjectivity is unvoidable.

This, however, does not mean that the qualitative researcher should forsake credibility and the search for objectivity. Neuman (1997:334) suggests that to uphold the research credibility of one's work, one should;

> ...rather than hiding behind objectivity techniques, the qualitative researcher is forthright and makes his or her value explicit in a report. Qualitative researchers tell readers how they gathered data and how they see the evidence.

A similar statement is made by Rubbin and Rubbin (1995:85) in terms of what they referred to as transparency. They explained;

> A transparent report allows the reader to assess the intellectual strengths and weakness, the biases of consciousness of the interviews. Interviewers maintain a careful records of what they did and saw and felt to make the research transparent to others and to themselves.

It is in view of this argument, that a brief description of the methodology of the research process, from the field work to data analysis, is summarised.

3.4 Field Work

3.4.1 Sampling

All human research begin with the decision about the size and character of the sample of people to be researched. Rubin and Rubin (1995) make it a requirement that participants should be knowledgeable about the subject under study and, secondly, they should be willing to be interviewed.

Thus, in the study in which the purpose is to learn about in-service trainers' understanding and representation of the programme, participants interviewed were those involved in the programme. Nine out of a total of eleven in-service trainers in the in-service region were interviewed. The two who were not interviewed were, at the time, out of the station.

3.4.2 Negotiating Access

Prior to conducting one's research it is necessary that access to one's subjects is negotiated. The negotiations for this work were done with the relevant Botswana authorities at the head office of the in-service unit. With permission granted, the researcher approached the in-service trainers in the region where the data were collected.

The in-service trainers involved in the research, were based in two locations, approximately 115 kilometres apart. They worked as a team particularly at the secondary level of education. Appointments were made with each of the trainers whom the researcher had managed to contact. The trainers' willingness and cooperation to be interviewed, without placing time restrictions, facilitated the conduct of the interviews. All the trainers, the researcher managed to contact, honoured their appointments.

4.4.3 Data Collection

In order to build a cordial relationship at the start of the interviews, the purpose of the research was explained, and participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity. Maykut and Morehouses' (1994) remarks were a source of guidance in conducting interviews, *viz*;

> It is important to begin the interview with several important features: a personal introduction; a statement of purpose; including what will be done with he results of the study; a statement indicating the confidentiality of the interview; a statement regarding note taking that may take place during interview; a request for permission to

> audio-tape the interview, ...and a statement informing the interviewee why he or she is being interviewed.

Interviews were done at the trainers' places of work, on a one to one basis. Note taking and tape recording were done with the permission of the interviewees. The tape recordings were later transcribed for the purpose of analysis.

The interview questions were divided into five sets. The first two sets of questions were meant to explore the interviewees' professional background and work related information. The first sets were made of simple questions.

King (1994:21) advises,

> It is normally best for the interviewer to open (the interview) with a question the interviewee can answer easily and without potential embarrassment or distress. More difficult questions should be held back until some way into the interview, in order to give time for both interviewer and interviewee to relax and feel they are getting to know each other.

The third set, consisted of questions which required trainers to describe their experiences about the schools in which they worked. It is assumed that their experiences would determine and influence them with respect to how they understood and interpreted the in-service programme. The last two sets of questions, were more focused on the research question, the trainers' understanding and interpretation of the in-service programme.

Generally, the questions were open ended, as Maykut and Morehouse (1994:88) explain, "the primary consideration for qualitative research is that the questions be open ended; inviting the interviewee to participate in a conversation." Follow up questions were asked as appropriate, such as seeking clarification or requesting the interviewee for more details.

3.4.4 Data Analysis

Although there are no general acceptable rules in qualitative data analysis, Neuman (1997) argues in favour of the need for a qualitative researcher to explicitly state how the data were analysed. In cognisance of the expert advice, the first stage was to review the field interview tape recordings and make transcriptions. Boulton and Hammersley (1996:286), for example,

suggest that data preparation be undertaken as the initial and necessary step towards beginning an intensified data analysis.

In order to build a comprehensive report from raw data, McMillan and Schumacher (1993:486) found that, "it is almost impossible to interpret data unless one organizes them...." This is underscored by Neuman (1997:421) who emphasises that, "this conceptualisation is one way that a researcher organizes and makes sense of data...." The important message is that a researcher finds some way of building a report from data.

Following their observations, McMillan and Schumacher (1993) suggest a strategy for the data analysis. This approach meant, engaging in a data analysis process. The interview transcripts, were each thoroughly studied with the purpose of identifying topics from the responses of the interviewees. The memo writing which started during the field was also continued. Neuman (1997:425) explains that an "analytic memo as research thoughts and ideas that keep cropping during the interviewer's interaction with the data," are an important aid to the interpretation of the data.

As part of the organisation of data, the identified topics were placed together in groups, according to their similarities. Categorisation into which segments of data were placed, is something that a researcher has to develop in order to make sense from the raw data (Boulton and Hammersley 1996:288). In addition, Boulton and Hammersley (1996:288) make a further point with regard to the development categories, "There is, then an essential element of creativity, and this is the reason why different researchers working with the same data may produce rather different analysis."

Identification of which topics go together, and the classification and refinement of categories required an act of repeatedly making comparison. In making this suggestion, McMillan and Schumacher (1993:487) acknowledge the constant comparison approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Making comparisons between the researcher's created topics or concepts is also given prominence by Rubbin and Rubbin (1995:226).

The coding used in the segmentation of the raw data, was guided by the research question (Neuman 1997:421). Miles and Huberman (1994) as in Neuman (1997:422) defined codes as;

> Codes are tags or labels for assigning unit of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes usually are attached to 'chunks' of varying size - words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs, connected to a specific setting.

Coding, as Neuman (1997:422) points out, has the advantages of making the raw data manageable. It also makes the work or organising, data less cumbersome by making it easier for a researcher to quickly bring together the relevant parts of data.

Codes are viewed, according to Punch (1998) and Newman (1997), as an important part of data analysis. Punch (1998), for example, states that codes are derived from the data in a qualitative study. As data transcripts are examined, identified meanings and ideas are assigned names and labels, and in the language of research, codes. These codes, as Punch (1998) explains, serves, among other things, in "providing a basis for storage and retrieval" of similar concepts from the raw data. He, further observes, that the usefulness of codes lies in summarising data, thus, making it possible to present a report. Analysis as discussed here, together with the presentation of the research report, is done in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt is made to answer the research question, "How do in-service providers represent the in-service programme in Botswana" through the presentation of research findings. Through data analysis sub-headings were established, and a classification of in-service trainers according to their knowledge of in-service policy, and trainers interpretation of policy was developed.

4.2 CLASSIFICATION OF IN-SERVICE TRAINERS

The assessment of trainers' knowledge was based on their responses to questions relating to in-service policy and on what was observed in the policy texts. How trainers responded to the questions determined where they were placed.

In this study, trainers are separated into those who are poorly grounded and those who are well grounded in their knowledge of in-service policy. The choice of the two categories is based on factors such as whether they had seen and read policy documents, their familiarity and understanding of policy, and their ability to represent the policy accurately relative to the Report on the National Commission on Education (1993) and Revised National Policy on Education (1994).

Statistically, nine in-service trainers were interviewed, five trainers are classified as poorly grounded and four as well grounded. In what follows, Poorly Grounded Trainers are examined first, and this is followed by a discussion on Well Grounded Trainers.

4.2.1 Poorly Grounded Trainers

The trainers who fall within this category could be said to be relatively new in the department with six or fewer years of experience. Such an explanation, however, cannot stand on its own because the number of years that some of them had been in their jobs should have been sufficient for them to have familiarised themselves with policy. Secondly, there were other trainers with the same length of experience who were much more familiar with the policy.

Participants' responses to questions demonstrated where they stood with regard to their understanding of policy. The responses ranged in quality, with the weakest bordering on

ignorance about policy with regard to in-service, and the strongest able to display a fulsome knowledge of the policy. Furthermore, the responses were assessed as to whether they correctly or incorrectly reflected what was in the policy texts. The responses of those who were weak generally demonstrated a tentativeness which suggested a lack of confidence amongst the trainers about policy. An example is the following response as to whether an in-service policy existed in Botswana;

> There is something in the O & M (Organisation and Management Document). I don't usually look at it. I can't remember what it says. I think (it) is being formulated, actually because we are supposed to be commenting on it. I think it is something which has been there is just that is being reviewed or something. So to be honest, I was seeing it for the first time.

A similar response which reflects uncertainty was presented by a trainer who had been in the in-service unit since 1994, and goes as follows, " Ha! It's a difficult question.Yes I think it is in the RNPE Recommendation 105 of the Education Policy."

Building on this, is a situation in which an in-service trainer from the primary section of the unit speculated on what the in-service aims and objectives could be;

> I am not sure, I am not sure, I don't remember reading a document except that during orientation they told us different things on the job expectations. So the general objective, I think we are expected to make sure that schools are effective, teachers are developed.... I think that one is clear.

What comes across clearly amongst the trainers in this category is that they lacked confidence in themselves. The most frequent response they provided to questions was, "I am not sure."

Without a clear knowledge policy, a secondary school trainer stated that she relied on prepared guides or on what transpired in local and national meetings to guide her in carrying out her duties. A trainer who had been in the in-service programme for a few years commented, "Yes, sometimes there are reports from colleagues that one can take and use... sometimes there are other people's plans so you can take (them) and see how you can modify yours." The plans and strategies exchanged in meetings could be modified to suit a trainer's context and perhaps understanding of in-service programme.

Several factors account for the state in which trainers found themselves. These are discussed below.

4.2.1.1 Induction Courses

One of the reasons why trainers have a limited policy understanding is because of the nature of their entry into their jobs. All the trainers interviewed claimed to have gone through some form of an orientation following recruitment but differed when it came to content issues offered with regards to in-service policy. The response by one of the participants who was an experienced in in-service worker, succinctly captures the descriptions of what happened;

> I did not go to school, that is immediately after my employment but on the job training was done on many occasions. We would have something like two weeks long sessions so that we are prepared for the in-service work.

In addition to short training courses, trainers were attached to experienced colleagues where possible, as was explained by a secondary trainer who had been with the programme since 1994, "But most of what I learnt was because I had been paired with a colleague who has been doing to job for many years...."

The orientation courses, were in addition, meant to equip trainers with the necessary information that would make them function as teacher advisers in the classroom. A secondary school trainer provided the following information;

> We were not given any [policy orientation] when we started. What happened is during the school vacations April to August, someone would come from UK. He used to come and every time a package of in-service features remedial teaching he would take us through on how to conduct remedial teaching. He would take us through on how to conduct mixed ability teaching, how to conduct audio visual production.

A direct question on whether there were briefings on in-service policy drew responses which implied that in-service policy was not given the attention it deserved in discussions. One trainer reflected on his own experience, "when I joined, the briefing that I got was not anything to do with policy. It was something to do with the subject, what is happening in schools and so on." It was not unusual for trainers to express ignorance when it came to briefings about policy itself, "In all these six years I don't remember."

Since each one of the trainers is in charge of a given subject area as a subject specialist, as is the case in secondary schools, the tendency, as it appeared during orientation courses which the department provides, was to dwell on the job descriptions and the department's

expectations.

Orientation courses sometimes ended up reducing trainers into functionaries in the field without being able to explain the policy which they were supposed to represent. The statement below from a trainer serves as a testimony to this; "We have meetings on in-service activities but usually (it) is just reports on who has done what. And mainly (it) is just to develop us, trainers of trainers so that we can go and train teachers."

It could be that policy is omitted on the assumption and trust that the new in-service trainers were from the teaching force and hence as former teachers they had been exposed to teacher in-service in schools and should have been familiar with policy. But an observation made by long serving trainer shows how questionable such an assumption might be;

> ...some teachers have not seen that policy. When we meet them and ask, have you seen the Revised Policy on Education... (or) when you quote some points, they are not aware of them... you see some teachers have not seen the policy let alone reading it.

Trainers are recruited from amongst practicing teachers and there is the strong likelihood that some of them have no knowledge of in-service policy. A trainer responsible for the primary and secondary levels of education confessed that;

> I have gone through (the RNPE) but I was really interested in (subject) related things (information) there. I have not covered other things(other parts of the report) in general. I was really concentrating more on those (parts) which are related to (subject).

Yet another trainer, for example, could not respond to the question as to whether meetings were held to make trainers aware of the policy. The trainer who was recruited in 1994, at a time when she was a senior teacher, defended her position by stating, "I don't know, like I said, it started earlier on, and the document was finalised in 1994, so I don't know if, whether there were any consultations. And if there was something to that extent then it was done while I was still in the teaching service...." Being a teacher, it seems, is a defensible reason for not knowing.

It is also worth mentioning that during the interviews, some of the trainers made references to the Revised National Policy White Paper of 1994 and the National Commission on Education Report (1993). These were available in the offices. But trainers did not see the need to read

them, or as one explained, "since one is still engaged with so many things, sometimes we never have even enough time to go back into such documents just to reflect... to say, what are they saying."

All in all, it could be said that in the orientation courses conducted for new trainers, policy on in-service hardly came under discussion *per se* and where mentioned it was done so in passing. The main focus was on what trainers would be charged with while on the field. The assumption, as stated earlier, could be that since these are former teachers, they should be well informed about the in-service policy.

The in-service trainer who was relatively new in the in-service unit found that, some experienced trainers could serve as role models for the less experienced trainers. For example their contributions in meetings were found useful as they gave insight to other trainers on how to go about interpreting the in-service policy. The relatively less experienced trainer stated;

> We depend on what is done, what we see really all the other officers do, or may (rely on) certain meetings... something that was agreed to in (the) meetings, that is what we concentrate on. Then you just go back (duty station) and work on that.

One would expect that trainers being in the vanguard and as representatives of the in-service unit should be fully informed on the policy that they had to articulate, not just to be briefed on their job descriptions. The remarks by one trainer, said with emphasis, are significant, "we never have briefings on policy, never. I don't even know whether we have covered policy. The only thing we (do is to) call National Teachers Conferences where some areas of policy come under discussions."

4.2.1.2 Supervision

Another reason which does not enhance trainers' understanding of the in-service policy, lies in the nature of their supervision at their places of work. The supervision aspect at the local level is mostly confined to administrative functions such as ensuring the equitable distribution of finance and other resources among trainers. Thus the supervision that might be there primarily serves to enhance the trainer's autonomy in his subject area of specialisation.

This was supported by the remarks such as, "I have a supervisor even though he is not in my area of specialisation" whereas somebody else commented thus, with references to the

supervision at the time of joining an in-service unit;

> I was supposed to be having somebody who is called my senior. But all the same there was nobody in the field of (specialisation) who was called a senior education officer. Whoever was there was what is called the Regional In-service Co-ordinator. Somebody who is above all whoever they are, these other in-service education officers, (somebody) who co-ordinates their activities....

The comments do not arise out of animosity but emphasise or demonstrate the degree to which the trainers are at liberty to interpret policy in the way they see fit or operate it independently. This also may imply that even at regional level trainers may not be receiving assistance with policy matters. Again, the policy text was viewed as a document which offered guidelines, rather than an instrument which restricted action. In view of this, one experienced trainer argued with confidence, with respect to the policy document;

> This is a framework. The way I have been taught under this unit if I have something which I feel can be put, can do my work better, I should not be ashamed of doing that as long as I consult. The framework should not programme you, should not focus you. If I have something which is not within and I feel can help me, I am allowed as long as I consult.

While these remarks imply that there exists a degree of freedom for trainers they can also be interpreted in the light of Bowe *et al's* (1992:22) observation on policy, "The key point is that policy is not simply received and implemented within this area, rather it is subject to interpretation and then recreated." As policy is seen as a framework, it opens opportunities for reinterpretation.

One cannot be oblivious to the fact that head office could be at the same time attempting to monitor and control trainers' activities and guarding against the multiplicity of policy meanings by making it obligatory for trainers to submit periodic reports. Where violation of policy is suspected or there is need to direct trainers on areas of policy emphasis, this is sometimes done through circulars. A trainer in management made the following remarks;

> Sometimes we get circulars from the Director of the Department reminding us (of) certain policies (certain issues of concern with regard to policy interpretation). This policy (a reminder to the fact that), may be your (we) should be doing one, two, four (this and that) or would like to know what you (we) are doing about this.

It would appear that the supervision at local level is more focused on the administrative

aspect of people's work. If this is the case, the main concern will be about the distribution and use of resources and subordinates are unlikely to get much assistance in policy matters which are more on the professional side. The professional supervision and training, it will appear, is done from headquarters. The supervision is far from the scene and is thus, limited in how much it can influence the understanding of in-service policy.

The characteristics of the poorly grounded trainers could, therefore, be summarised as, trainers who are relatively new in their jobs, and display an insufficient knowledge of the in-service policy. This is explained as arising from the inadequate training that they received, and the suprevision which does not familiarise them with the policy.

4.2.2 Well Grounded Trainers

The second category of trainers is made up of trainers who have a stronger understanding of policy. These trainers were identified through the following characteristics, they had seen and read the policy documents; and had knowledge and understanding of the contents. Their understanding was demonstrated in a number of ways. A trainer in a management position for example acknowledged that;

> Yes the policy is there, as I keep on referring to the Revised National Policy on Education and keep on talking of Recommendation 105 which talks about taking in-service to schools. I keep on referring to Recommendation 18 which talks about using English as (a) medium of instruction....

Some were able to define the authority conferred on them as trainers and interpret how far they could go in exercising that authority in accordance with policy;

> The policy is there on in-service. We are mandated to go there in the schools, assist teachers, give them new information that is coming in the education system and just train them in whatever we think is lacking.

However, they know how far a trainer could go in pursuit of policy;

> (Teachers) need to do a lot of things which are considered administration but I am not given the mandate to take action which is in the line of administration. I go into the class, I want to see a teacher teaching perfectly well but for them to do that there should be a scheme of work, there should be a lesson plan to support the teaching, teaching aids should be there. But I look into a lesson plan, the teacher does not have scheme of work, now how can I support them, I can't take action if they haven't prepared... it is somebody else's assignment.

They are able to spot loopholes and advance criticism where they feel that policy is inadequate, for example, with regard to their ability to reprimand teachers, "Not necessarily but I think the policy should be put in such a way that it will be strong enough to make those (teachers) who read it realise that once the in-service has provided some training, it's really serious that they take it up and they do it."

It is such comments which demonstrate the familiarity of some trainers with policy. This is further demonstrated below.

4.2.2.1 Acquisition of Policy Knowledge

A good reason for the familiarity of well grounded trainers' knowledge of policy lies in their own pro-active behaviour. This group is made up of trainers who had been involved in in-service activities in one way or another since 1994, that is the year in which the current policy formally came into practice.

A good example is a group of senior secondary school teachers who, according to one trainer, became concerned about the teaching and learning in junior secondary schools. The group saw a vacuum and offered their services on voluntary basis, "to prepare students who would come to us in future to teach, to be taught. We were hoping that by serving the foundation, it will be a good idea and that's how it came about...."

This involvement, though done on a voluntary basis prior to the introduction of the current policy, made them look forward enthusiastically to what was coming to replace or complement their work, and thus they were motivated to familiarise themselves with policy.

Some trainers were involved in a small way in the preparations that were going on to formulate the in-service policy. Two of the trainers interviewed said they did in some ways present their suggestions to the commission at the time of nationwide consultations. As interested individuals they were motivated to see how far they had been able to influence and shape the meaning of education or in particular the in-service programme.

This group was also made up of experienced trainers and some of them were in management positions. They had the advantage of being exposed to a number of meetings or management workshops and seminars where plans and strategies were formulated on how best to translate

policy into action plans. This necessarily demanded that they be conversant with policy. Credit was given to the National Teacher Education Conference where in-service policy matters frequently formed part of the agenda.

They also came across policy discussions in management meetings or seminars in which assessment of strategies came under review and hence reference was made to the policy text as illustrated;

> In management meetings the head of department would refer to some questions of policy as they come may be when he wants to talk about something. Sometimes hewould address and say we expect you to be doing one, two, four in your regions according to policy numbers so and so. Sometimes, we have what we call a retreat where we meet and try to look into the policy document and try to see what we were doing , whether it is relevant to what the policy requires us to do. That's when we talk about the policy6 that is relevant to our department in detail.

Although this is in contrast to some of the responses given by others, the explanation can be traced to the fact that those in senior positions were privy to management meetings. Secondly, trainers belong to different subject areas and it is possible that in some of the meetings or workshops, policy issues might have been highlighted whereas in others they were not.

However, some trainers had become motivated to read by themselves because they believed that the work that they were doing required them to be aware of what was happening. The understanding is that as in-service policy was the basis of in-service work, it would be on the priority list of the in-service trainers documents;

> Unless you are doing a job like this one where you know, you need to be equipped all the time, that you are going to face somebody, and somebody who will ask questions, and then the documents the government is producing .... This is the kind of job after joining this, I found that every time you need to really read all the time.

It is such a spirit which has kept some trainers informed about policy even though they happen not to be in management or neither had the opportunity to be briefed on policy.

4.2.2.2 Policy Formulation

A second reason for well grounded trainers' familiarity with policy arises from their participation in the policy making process. When it comes to in-service policy formulation, the trainers' general understanding is that it lays within the sphere of the Ministry of Education through its departmental heads. But whereas a minority saw themselves as having no role in that, the majority of trainers could not fathom a situation where policy issues could be addressed without their participation. The explanation is that head office consulted directly through meetings and seminars, and by so doing promoted trainers commitment to the in-service policy. Even where consultation did not seem evident, the belief was that;

> (This) may be(done) indirectly. Since I find it necessary for the head of the department to consult with units within the department.... May be they take it indirectly as we talk to them in meetings and as we write reports.

However the in-service policy which led to the establishment of the in-service unit had been received warmly by the trainers. They expected the unit to play a meaningful role in the education system. It was hoped that its application would have a transforming impact in the education system as pointed out by a comment from one of the trainers;

> But to tell you the truth about this thing, what I have enjoyed in this is really a lot because I found in-service, even though by the time I joined teaching it was not there, but it is a very good department to have in the Ministry of Education. Because as you go to the classrooms that's when you will see what is this thing even.... you will even realise yourself hey! Where were these people when I was a teacher, by the time I was in the classroom.

Although not much had been said on how in-service could bring about transformation, there was a strong confidence and promises on what in-service would deliver. The positive attitude augurs well towards trainers commitment to the programme. As observed, the well grounded trainers are noted for being knowledgeable on the in-service policy, as compared to the poorly grounded trainers' limited knowledge.

4.3 WELL GROUNDED TRAINERS' INTERPRETATION OF POLICY

In this section, an attempt is made to look at how the well grounded trainers represent their understanding of policy. This is done under the following sub headings, teacher development, influence of examinations and teacher support.

4.3.1 Teacher Development

Well grounded trainers' knowledge of issues that bedevil the teaching profession does not show any significant difference from the views expressed by trainers classified as poorly grounded. However, trainers in this category have a better grasp of the in-service policy as it relates to the development of the profession. In the policy documents, teacher development is presented as ensuring the construction of "a teacher who is motivated, disciplined, articulate, responsible and innovative (thus enhancing his/her) impact in the classroom" (Report 1993:335). Trainers have a clear picture of how in-service policy should be interpreted.

It is perhaps appropriate to start with the problems identified as affecting the profession and thereafter move on to state how they consider the in-service programme should be represented in order to serve and improve the image or the quality of the profession.

The trainers' main concerns are about teacher attitude and commitment towards their work. What they observed with regards to teachers was not described in positive terms. One in-service trainer articulated their concerns by stating, "Yes we don't think teachers are failing to teach because they don't know what they are supposed to do. We have realised that there is lack of commitment, and commitment can only be there if one is motivated." Thus, in addition to commitment, there is the motivational aspect also which requires attention.

A similar concern was expressed by the National Commission on Education (1993) with regard to teacher motivation and competence because, the Commission (1993) strongly believed that the improvement of education through the implementation of the recommended reforms depend on the quality of teachers and teacher quality was questionable.

It is in view of this kind of experience and in keeping with policy that in-service trainers believed that the in-service policy should be geared towards building teacher professionalism. In this respect, a trainer in management had this to say;

> We are trying our best to assist the teachers, just encourage and motivate them so that they know their role and they know how much commitment to what one is doing could yield better results. We also stress a lot of productivity that each teacher should know what they do every day.

While such a comment has some implications for teacher professionalism, it also reveals that trainers know where the problem lies and how in-service policy could be translated to tackle the problem.

In addition, there is an informed realisation on the part of in-service trainers that time and effort are essential to lay down strategies that could bring about the desired change. While there exists optimistic sentiments, there also prevails an awareness of limitations;

> ...with time I think we will not correct them completely but we can to an extent alleviate that problem, we can see teachers are getting motivated since we introduced staff development activities.... Teachers are changing, they are beginning to realise that they have some expertise within themselves....We tell them that each teacher has got something to share.

In view of this, Rogan (1985) advised, with direct reference to the literature, that policy makers and administrators should take cognisance that to bring about lasting change, takes time. Trainers are hopeful that a staff development strategy has a lot to offer and attempts are made to have it established in every school. This offers teachers a forum to participate in their own development and, as an experienced trainer observed;

> The teachers have to take charge ...if it can work the way we are looking at it (hoping), the way the theory says, I think teachers will have something, will have this appetite of reading. Because within that programme, it is not going to be Mr X (an outsider). It must be one of the teachers, one of the people within that school and for that person to do that need to read, used to research....of their own development. What in-service trainers can do is to facilitate that.

In-service through staff development was also viewed as a strategy to assist teachers to cope with the pace of change that the policy required. As observed, change is a result of innovative reforms to the curriculum or instructional approaches, is an ongoing process in the education system and, "if there is change it means teachers who are in the field they have to be trained too. They cannot be taken back to pre service and hence in-service takes over... That's why we are having in-service actually." In a similar note, the comments, whereby in-service was viewed as, "a continuous means of strengthening and reviewing the education system through

the development of teachers' competence and of professional commitment," apply. The National Commission on Education (1993:353) subscribed to these comments as found in the Education for Kagisano (1977) document.

While these remarks may sound like justification for teacher in-service, they also indicate the in-service trainers' understanding of what the policy expected from them.

A change in teacher attitude that the in-service programme should help establish is that of a teacher who is caring, concerned and able to take initiative. These positive qualities had been clearly stated by a trainer in management;

> Actually I am referring to commitment. If a teacher feels that I have got a problem in (for example) mathematics and I can go to in-service and that is where I can get assistance, so I am taking that to be having a positive attitude towards in-service because the attitude is negative or is bad he doesn't care.... And then that's what I refer to as attitude, accepting changes and aspiring to perform more.

These remarks are consonant with ideas expressed in the in-service policy and the literature on in-service. For example, the Report on Education (1993:335) views a teacher with positive qualities as being, "motivated, disciplined, patient, articulate, responsible and innovative," as crucial to the development of education.

A linkage was also established in this category between school staff development and the developmental needs of the country. By transforming staff, in-service policy would in some way contribute towards the country's transformation. In this connection, an in-service trainer in educational management presented an elaborate and persuasive argument;

> You know with proper in-service, put in place with all the necessary support that it needs (material and human resources), I think in-service could go a long way in improving the quality of education in the sense that in-service can go a long way in the development of this country, in the sense that it aims at assisting teachers to become teachers' who will help children to learn in all respect, teachers who are motivated, teachers who want to produce quality students by providing quality education themselves, because we aim at giving training responding to the needs we realise as we visit the schools.... We want our teachers to own the curriculum, to own these students and know their responsibility, and ensure that the curriculum implemented properly.

The centrality of education and its effective delievery is overemphasised in the Education Report (1993) which is the foundation of the current in -service policy. Teacher effectiveness

is a challenge to the trainers.

Thus in-service policy translated into practice could have far reaching consequences within the school system and indeed nation-wide as well. This view is well supported by still another trainer in management who stated;

> ...it (in-service) focuses on the human development and then you know as workers if you are developed on the job you happen to perform better and you have the confidence if you have the information. So it is so relevant that we just pray that one day our teachers should be in-serviced so that they realise the importance of their jobs. Because through in-service you happen to learn about your job better and hence you perform well.

The implication is that teachers could be lacking confidence when performing their duties. This perhaps is attributed to teachers who did not have the appropriate skills and knowledge to manage their work as required. From the trainer's point of view, this was something that could be corrected through the translation of the in-service programme into practice, because according to their understanding, in-service offered strategies and programmes meant to cater for teacher development.

4.3.2 Curriculum Delivery

Demonstration of the policy understanding by the well grounded trainers is also reflected in how they dealt with issues relating to curriculumm delivery. Curriculum delivery in this case refers to the teaching and learning as well as the influence of examinations. The views of trainers on how they consider in-service programme should be represented are thus presented under these two sub headings. Where reference is made to trainers, unless specified, this would automatically refer to the well grounded in-service trainers.

Before presenting the findings, it is perhaps worthwhile to submit a brief description of the relevant changes recommended by the National Commission on Education (1993) especially at the junior secondary level. It was, probably, in anticipation of such a situation that in-service was strongly emphasised, and it could be argued that in-service trainers specifically took the policy from this document.

As noted in the introduction there has been a rapid expansion of the education system, more especially at junior secondary level, accompanied by the introduction of new subjects in the

curriculum. As a result of the commission's recommendation, the transition from primary to junior secondary was opened to all students on completion of primary education. A change in the system and students quality had implications for the delivery of quality teaching and learning. The admission of students with a wide range of ability posed a challenge to teachers and indeed to teacher in-service work. Recommendation 35 in the Revised National Policy on Education (1994:22) and also in the Education Report (1993:VI), stressed the use of mixed ability and remedial teaching strategies as well as a variety of teaching approaches to cater for students of different abilities. This, came to form the basis of in-service work as it is related to teaching and learning.

4.3.2.1 Teaching and Learning

Well Grounded trainers, generally admitted that problems with teaching and learning were still common in the schools. However, they expressed confidence that the in-service programme was the appropriate strategy for dealing with these difficulties.

Teaching and learning had not outlived what one secondary trainer described as the hegemonic culture of teaching and learning, viz, teaching the way you were taught. This implies what the trainer had observed, "the only major thing is teaching methods. Teachers believe they have to teach every period.... Otherwise the students in some places, the students don't even open the textbook, is always the teacher, the teacher." The observation made that classroom activities were dominated by the teacher, was a commonly held view by the trainers.

The second feature of teaching and learning noted by trainers is the teacher's attitude towards slow learners. This attitude is generously perceived to be a disparaging one. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that teachers feel that their work loads are excessive. In their desperation, teachers tend to vent their frustrations on the weak students as explained by an experienced secondary school trainer;

> Well there is a general, I don't want to say all, but there is a general attitude of the teachers to be negative towards the child of lower (ability by calling them names).... I think those depict the attitude that we have towards learners. But maybe the attitude is bred by the fact that we (they) don't have skills to deal with them, so the best thing is to be negative.

It is within this particular context that the well grounded in-service trainers sought to emphasise the ameliorative aims of the policy.

It is in this area that one can see clearly, the difference between the well grounded and poorly grounded trainers. The well grounded trainers are able to communicate with authority and emphasise strategies that can be adopted to remedy the situation. They have a good appreciation of the difficulties which face them and which led to the introduction of the in-service policy. As a trainer in management commented;

> Once they (teachers) go into the service the education system is dynamic, it changes, it's not static. So once it changes it brings a lot of new things for those teachers who had been trained before, they need to be updated with what is coming into the system.... How do we get them to know what is happening in the system, by providing in-service programme so that they are not left behind.

Their understanding, therefore, is that the programme should keep teachers updated with developments taking place in the education system. It is through better understanding that teachers are able to fulfill the requirements of the new curriculum in the classroom.

Despite some of the problems encountered with teaching and learning, trainers are confident and hopeful that through the in-service programme the desired change will prevail;

> Actually presently I would say it is still teacher dominated. It is still teacher dominated because as it is, each and every person feels confident in teaching the way he was taught.
> But we are trying to move forward to say the teaching should be child centred that's why programmes or innovations such as project method, break through and even Botswana teaching competency (new teaching approaches) were introduced so that we move away from a teacher centred teaching methods, we move towards a child centered methods.

Trainers are thus in a position to link their knowledge of in-service to other related curriculum innovations such as the breakthrough method and other instructional approaches.

They further view the policy in which the emphasis is on child centred learning as introducing a revolution in classroom interaction as well as in the relationship between the teacher and the student toward the handling of knowledge;

> ...because education as it is, the child is involved, is wholly involved in education. When he learns, he knows why he is doing an activity. It is easier for the child and then that too at the end avoid rote learning and the type of learning and the type of learning, I think... it is the child who says (who has to say) oh! This is important unlike if somebody says do this, don't do that.

In these understandings there is less teacher domination. This is what in-service policy is understood to encourage. It places the child at the centre of the stage, where he/she is able to take charge in his/her learning, discover knowledge and make judgement on what he/she considers to be an important knowledge. The teacher plays the role of a facilitator.

Remarks, by a well experienced trainer, demonstrate what is required by the in-service policy. He stated, "every in-service official should go out and help train teachers on mixed ability or remedial teaching. That is laid down so we are following that day in and day out." The trainer's remarks are reflective of policy. The traditional methods of teaching were worrisome to the Commission on Education (1993), particularly with the introduction of the mixed ability classes at secondary school level. In order to support teachers, Recommendation 35 of the Revised National Policy on Education (1994) entrusts the in-service unit with the resposibility of training teachers in mixed ability and remedial teaching.
In-service trainers comprehend that in-service, through the teaching and learning programmes that exist, requires that a child be treated and awarded attention and respect. This is reflected thus, by a trainer in management;

> ...as I have said, project method when it was introduced, we were emphasising that teachers should regard learners as important people who have got their own way of reasoning or deciding what they want; so we are moving towards that, I wouldn't say all teachers are doing that but we are moving towards that.

Teachers are thus encouraged through training, and there is hope that change will come. With regard to the textual policy, in its report, the Commission on Education (1993:88) made similar references to innovative teaching methodologies, such as breakthrough to Setswana,

project method and the Botswana Teaching Competency Instrument, which had been earlier recommended as part of the curriculum. There is no doubt that the Commission (1993), because of its concern about the ineffectiveness of traditional methods of teaching, subscribes to the new classroom approaches.

Obviously there are constraints with regard to change, but in-service trainers take it as their responsibility to bring change and hence to translate in-service work into practice. This is reflected in the comment of an experienced trainer;

> We are happy but if you look at the ability of students and you go back to in-service, you remember whatever is talked about in in-service, whatever in- service can do, whatever it can provide you will find that probably one might say there are those factors that you cannot change that are there.

These remarks refer to conditions in schools such as the class size, the teaching load that a teacher is required to carry and other factors unfavourable to the translation of in-service into practice. These need to be looked into in order to facilitate the implementation of the in-service programme. The challenge therefore, as stated by an experienced trainer, should be;

> Following negotiations, following the people I was saying we always write reports, if these reports are read by the people we think we are writing for (to) them, something will change. Change will come. It is difficult, if you understand what we mean by change.

The frustrations that trainers are encountering in transforming the teaching and learning are emphasised. However the strong emphasis on the concept of change indicates the belief that the objective of the in-service policy will be realised, and also the part played by the literature in influencing the views of trainers.

The conclusion by Stuart (1995), following on her pilot in-service project conducted in Lesotho, has some relevance to the understanding of the in-service policy in Botswana. Her concluding remarks touched on teaching and learning, examinations and teacher support as well. She stated, "that teachers were not pushed into this mode of teaching by pressures from the school community or even exams - these were important - but by a lack of role models and lack of opportunity to see or experiment with alternatives in a supportive atmosphere."

The in-service trainers had described the teaching and learning as still unsatisfactory. But trainers, with their knowledge of the policy were able to define the teaching and learning strategies which were necessary to improve the situation. They were confident that through the in-service policy, it was possible to bring change.

4.3.2.2 Influence of Examinations

This section explores how the well grounded trainers interpreted policy in relation to examinations. Their responses indicated that examinations should be treated as an important part of the curriculum, and they believed that teachers should teach well, not just for examinations, but for the general development of the child. This interpretation matches with the policy. The students' assessment and evaluation is a subject that was considered in the policy texts, *viz*, the National Commission on Education Report (1993) and the Revised National Policy on Education (1994). The Commission on Education (1993), guarded against teaching mainly for examinations, by emphasising that the teaching and learning should be broadening on students' knowledge, rather than merely preparing students to pass examinations.

The responses of the well grounded trainers could also, be contrasted with the responses of the poorly grounded trainers. The well grounded trainers treated examinations as a part of the system of education with no major influential effects, on its own, on how in-service work should be conducted. The poorly grounded trainers, on the other hand, understood examinations as pivotal to the practice of the teaching and learning, as well as how the delivery of in-service work should be done.

The responses of the well grounded trainers are borne out, for example, by the trainer in management's suggestion, "programmes or innovations were introduced but their applicability in schools is not realised because the results are not seen to be improving that much and even the teachers attitudes they seem not be changing that much." The results here refer to students' performance in examinations which hopefully should have improved considering the in-servicing that has been done.

According to a trainer in the management's understanding, the impact of in-service programme has to be judged, amongst other things, through students' performance and hence meeting parents' expectations;

> Because if we say there is an impact, I think there should be some changes. We should see primary (secondary) school examination pupils performing well...then we will say ok. Because if we talk about in-service training, parents what they want is good passes...they are not happy with (poor grades).

But the same in-service trainer, quoted above, hastened to emphasise;

> Actually the purpose of in-service is not to improve the results but to develop the teacher so that at the end of the day he can be capable of teaching better, using better methods, teaching competently, and teaching competently will lead him to produce good results.

Another trainer in management, broadly explained the focus of in-service work, "In-service (work) can go a long way...in asssisting teachers to become teachers who will help children to learn in all respects." The focus of the teaching, is not just on the examinations, but

preparation of children for life after school, and in-service, as the trainer above explained, should assist teachers in the development of a child . The trainer in management further elaborated, by stating "The policy...talks about producing support for serving teachers, it talks about in-service training, it talks about supporting teachers with cross curricula activities not necessarily sport but like we would talk about guidance and counselling." Although the in-service programme does not seem to directly target examinations, teachers are expected to perform their duties effectively and, as indirect result of this, students' performance should improve. It is such comments, as demonstrated by the trainers under this section, which lead one to conclude that they understand policy better than the poorly grounded trainers.

4.3.3 Teacher Support

Teacher support when translated into action refers to school visits and school based activities aimed at improving teacher professionalism and performance.

Although trainers in this category will discuss the same issues as those raised by trainers in the other category, they do so with elaboration, clarity and great deal of details with references made to policy documents.

4.3.3.1 School Visits

Recommendation 105(b) of the Commission on Education (1993:356) as policy, requires trainers to visit schools regularly in order to support the in-service work done in shools as well as carry out what the Commission terms a "performance audit." The policy does not present details about what this support is, that in-service trainers have to discharge. However, the importance attached to school visits was stressed by a secondary in-service trainer, in the following remarks;

> The main thing we are supposed to do is visit schools. That is our main job, go to where the classrooms, the kids area. Go to where the teacher is playing his role and see what they are doing.

The very presence of trainers in schools appears to present a focal point around which their work revolves. It is through these visits that trainers get into physical contact with schools where they are able to get a feel of what is taking place and in addition plan strategies.

The above understanding is expressed by a trainer in management but what is outstanding about the remarks are the details included;

> Our work really is to support teachers in their curriculum delivery by actually visiting our teacher(s) while they are teaching. We go in there and we sit in the classroom. The teacher will teach and we observe whatever (is taking place) and then we confer with the teacher and find the problems together with the teacher and try to find some means of solving that problem.

The meeting in the classroom is thus intended to be purposeful and a trainers' role is to be quietly involved in the classroom activities as they unfold. In addition the help that a trainer gives is offered after a thorough diagnosis which includes discussions that take place between the trainer and the teacher.

The work of the trainer in school can be extensive, including to detect where the classroom problem could be and the nature of the problem. The administered solution should be a considered one. A trainer felt that he had to engage in variety of activities and these included, classroom observation, the distribution of materials he/she brought, conduct demonstrative lessons, and go through students' workbooks and teachers' record books. Hence trainers see their role as to "...advise the teacher to try and make amends, to do what has to be done." The trainer added, to clarify their role in schools, "that's why they call us support staff, we support and advise to make the work for the teacher easier...." Therefore, this is supposed to be done with positive consideration for the teacher.

During school the link with school administration is not as close as it is with the teachers, trainers "confine themselves to teaching and learning (?) of the curriculum and policies. They don't do anything in connection with the management of the school or disciplinary actions is

not in the mandate." But sometimes it becomes necessary to brief and advise school administration on matters relating to curriculum delivery. The assistance expected from the school leadership could be in the form of making follow ups but disappointingly, "even the administration... they don't even take any action, very few are doing that." According to the trainers in this category, they do not have authority over school heads although they sometimes assist in their training;

> The head teachers need to be trained and supported as instructional leaders and we are thin on the ground. The policy aims are good but teachers are not supported at school level. They are good policies but the implementation part of it is a problem.

The problem of staff shortages was commonly cited by trainers as a constraint in the interpretation of policy into practice. This constraint will be emphasised in the next sub-heading

4.3.3.2 School Based In-service

As part of teacher support, trainers consider their responsibility to be that of establishing school based in-service facilities. This is consistent with the Recommendation 105 in the Revised National Policy on Education, (1994). As school management teams work with teachers, unlike trainers, on a daily basis, Recommendation 105 entrusts them to observe and offer timely in-service training to teachers. Although everybody seemed to have an understanding of school based in-service training, in-service trainers in management positions offered the clearest explanations of the policy.

They were able to explain Recommendation 105 of the Revised National Policy of 1994. One trainer in a management position, said;

> Because of Recommendation 105 of the Revised National Policy, which emphasises a school based staff development, we have trained what we call staff development co-ordinators in each school both primary and secondary, where we expect this person to have a committee which would be working on the professional needs of teachers within the school and they mount their own workshops in schools.

Staff development committees are expected to take charge of in-service activities at school level and, as explained, it is the responsibility of trainers to help schools establish such committees.

In school based in-service, school leadership is expected to playing a leading role. It is assumed that the viability of school based in-service depends on the support that the school authority lends. The importance that trainers attach to school based in-service is attested to by another trainer in management;

> We feel that if our school heads are fully trained and they act as instructional leaders and if staff development committees in school are really capable of identifying what they (teachers) want (needs) and improving the way teachers teach we feel improvement will be done by teachers.

The in-service programme at school level is understood, by the a trainer in the management, as complementary to the in-service work which trainers offer to schools.

The schools are therefore understood, by one of educational managers, to be responsible for organising and mounting their in-service activities the way they deem them fit. But where help is needed such as in terms of human and material resources, a request can be made to the in-service office, for example in the case of a workshop;

> These workshops are done after school like in the afternoons and resource persons will be from within the school.... And if they cannot find a person who can assist in a problem that they have identified at that particular time in the school, they can also extend the invitation to the neighbouring schools.... But if they cannot find a person who can assist within the area, then that's when we say the school should consult with the in-service office.

The implication is that schools are discouraged from approaching the office immediately but only to do so as a last resort.

The establishment of school based in-service opportunities places the teachers in a privileged position to determine their own developmental needs. They are responsible for the fulfillment of identified needs;

> We tell them that each (and) every teacher has got something to share. So they need to be rotating in addressing the needs (as resource persons) and once a teacher is given a topic to address, we have seen teachers coming to the (in-service) centre looking for information.

The argument for this approach was summed up by a trainer who said; "because improvement, if its brought from outside, its very difficult for it to trickle down to teachers. But if teachers feel that we have to improve this area really at one stage it will happen."

The school based in-service is meant to be complementary to the work of in-service trainers who are thinly spread throughout the country. This is the understanding held by a well experienced trainer;

> That's how we are trying to provide our in-service. I think Recommendation 105 of the Revised National Policy has assisted us because before then it was very difficult to assist the schools given the number of officers versus the number of teachers to be assisted.

The implication is that, school based in-service serves as a solution to the problem of shortages of staff in the field of in-service. The trainers were generally aware of the shortage in their numbers but were also mindful of how the programme should be conducted.

The well grounded trainers have punctuated their responses by drawing relevant information from the policy texts. Their correct interpretations of the policy documents is a major factor which separates them from the poorly grounded trainers. Their interpretations of policy, also, demonstrated that they fully understood what is expected of them by the policy which they represent.

4.4 POORLY GROUNDED TRAINERS INTERPRETATION OF POLICY

The responses of the poorly grounded in-service trainers differ from those of their well grounded counterparts. Although they touch on similar issues, such as staff development, curriculum delivery and teacher support, on many occasions their responses lack detail, are not elaborated, lack authoritative backing and in some instances are said without strong conviction. They also show a poor interpretative insight. As explained earlier, they appear not to have a strong knowledge of policy and of the issues in the field of literature.

While these trainers appear to have an understanding of what is expected of them, they are procedural, rather than substantive in their explanations.
The word trainer will, unless specified, refer to the poorly grounded in-service trainers.

4.4.1 Staff Development

Staff development featured as one the areas in which the poorly grounded trainers showed their inability to represent the policy as reflected in the policy texts. Under this category what the in-service programme was supposed to achieve in the form of staff development

does not come out as clearly as is the case with the previous category. In some cases the message is implied rather than forthrightly stated.

To emphasise the point above, there is need to refer to the Report on the National Commission on Education (1993) in which an attempt was made to develop a deeper understanding of the problems that faced the teaching force. The Commission (1993:335) expressed its concern about poor teacher motivation and competence as hampering teacher commitment and productivity in the execution of their official duties. The in-service programme would, therefore, amongst other things target the staff development concerns as identified by the Commission (1993).

With respect to staff development, some trainers' responses were frequently generalised, thus, leaving one in the dark as to whether a trainer had a clear understanding of the in-service policy. An example, was an in-service trainer who had been on the job since 1994, who highlighted the relationship between in-service and societal development without really stating what the policy required;

> Now in-service is about development, coping with change, managing change, embracing change, looking at things differently. That's what development is all about, and I think that's what in-service is all about. There will always be change, society will always be changing, so you will always need in-service which will help people to embrace change, bring change to them.

Although this appears to be a broad explanation about the compatibility between change and in-service, it also has some implications for staff development. It does not, present a deep understanding of the policy itself. The Report on Education (1993:335) pin-points the concern about teachers. As observed, the effective implementation of the reforms aimed at education quality required well motivated and competent teachers. The message from the Report is that in-service work should target and try to improve teacher attitudes and performance.

Another general statement about staff development was also presented by an in-service trainer who had been with the in-service unit for a relatively long time. This response did not give a definite idea about the trainer's knowledge of the in-service policy. The in-service trainer stated; " in-service is about the professional development of an individual who is on the job." While this could be appreciated, the response does not go far enough to indicate that

the trainer is familiar with the findings of the Commission (1993) which informs the in-service policy on staff development.

General statements could have been prompted by the insecurity due to the inadequacy of the knowledge of the policy. An experienced secondary school trainer's response to a question was illustrative of this. In her response the trainer expressed ignorance about the in-service policy aims directing staff development. The trainer, hesitatingly stated, "I am not sure what is in (the in-service aims in policy text about staff development) and what is not in. But generally is just to improve the teaching and learning." The trainer's response, does not seem to be guided by the understanding of the policy but, rather, her general knowledge about teacher in-service training.

A narrow perspective which ran contrary to the Commission's (1993) broader conceptualisation of the teacher in-service, was advanced by a long serving in-service trainer. She had emphasised the following;

> ...a number of teachers are not trained and also a number of them had been in the field for along time, and those who have been trained have gone up to a certain level (of training) where they cannot be able to handle some of the topics.

Contrary to the emphasis on this approach to in-service programme, the Commission on Education (1993:354) described one of the teacher in-service principles as being a; "life long education for teachers." The intention of the Commission (1993) was to place stress on a broader meaning of the in-service programme and discourage the practices in which the main function of in-service was considered to be the training of untrained teachers (Report 1993:353). This could also imply that the problem of untrained teachers was no longer a big issue with regard to teacher development in Botswana.

Also noted were the efforts of a trainer, relatively new in the in-service programme, who reported to have formed out of school clubs with the intention of developing skills related to his/her subject area. Teachers and members of the village community were encouraged to participate in the club activities. The trainer explained;

> ...like we have already organised in this village, we have established local clubs where we work with teachers and (local) people... just members of the public. We are working with these people to develop their skills further but, the in-service work is more on that area. I have just concentrated on that.

Although the trainer's effort could be accepted as part of a voluntary service to the community, it would seem, however, not to be consistent with the emphasis suggested by the in-service programme which, rather, calls for greater attention on improved classroom delivery.

Concerning teacher commitment and devotion to duty, a long serving trainer explained that where a teacher was found to be seriously lacking in these qualities, drastic action could be recommended by a trainer. The trainer had this to say;

> The steps were are taking to correct this situation is that we liaise with other sister departments. We advise the school head, then we also liaise with secondary (education) department which are the inspecting department. So what we do when we find a serious problem we report to the Regional Education Officer (secondary education),who would also send somebody (an officer from secondary education) to go and see what the situation is and come up with a report.

Through the tacit initiative of an in-service trainer, the long serving trainer added;

> Sometimes the teachers (non performing) are sent for further education... to be retrained or in worst cases, if a teacher is found to be completely (unproductive), may be they (authority) they can interdict or may be can let stay out for sometime (serve suspension).

The statement about rewarding the uncommitted teachers by sending them for further education, where in-service training was found not to be achieving the desired results, was indirectly challenged by a trainer in the management. The trainer was reiterating his/her response to teachers who preferred further education to the in-service programme, and according to the trainer's understanding;

> Some of them (serving teachers) would respond positively (to in-service) but others would feel that they want to be sent back to school because always what they say is that we need (re) training. Like those who are PTC (primary teacher's certificate) always say send us back to school (college). We want to have diploma (certificate). But it doesn't necessarily mean that where one goes for a (teaching) and they are not eager to develop themselves, they will not develop. You can take them back to for their diploma (or) degree, they will still come back to do the same things (undeveloped).... I always tell them that development is within the individual. Yes, they need to work very hard for it....

Trainers focused on in-service activities, such as workshops, mainly for the transmission of information. While this understanding could be appreciated as contributory to teacher development, there is much more involved in the in-service programme, if one considers the

objectives of the in-service as in the Report on Education (1993:354);

I. To impart new skills, knowledge and attitudes
II.To increase motivation and productivity.

The Commission (1993) had strongly advised against previous in-service practices that were merely meant to update teachers. This practice could still be continuing. A relatively new in-service trainer stated, "most of the workshops that I remember very well, they sort of date them (teachers) with the changes and each year we (in-service teachers for example) to make sure that before the end they have gone through (work)."

Similarly, school representatives to the workshops did not always transmit the information as expected, on their return to schools. In the case where they did, it was done so in an unsatisfactory manner. A primary school trainer expressed this concern in the following words;

> ...teachers (were advised) to try by all means to show (their) understanding by doing something or by expanding what they have got (learnt) at the workshops. Because at the workshops they are just given the background (information) of what has to be done. But as a teacher you got to expand and use the information in such a way that it suits.

The policy as noted in the Report of the National Commission of Education (1993), emphasised a broader understanding of the teacher in-service programme and one would, therefore, would have expected workshops to reflect a variety of activities. In the literature, Lamb (1995) argued that by simply transmitting knowledge with the hope that it would change teacher practices, this, would not happen. In addition to the transmission, in-service workshops should focus on teachers' beliefs about educational practices.

Teacher development, under this category, was still narrowly conceptualised. Trainers' responses gave the impression that some policy objectives, with regard to staff development, were not given adequate attention when designing staff development activities.

4.4.2 Curriculum Delivery

4.4.2.1 Teaching and Learning

This section illustrates the poorly grounded trainers' inability to relate the policy to teaching and learning in schools. The Commission on Education (1993), with regard to teaching and learning, had pointed out the complexity and demanding tasks that teachers would be

expected to perform. The expectation, and the emphasis were on the role that in-service trainers would have to play as an aid to teachers so that teachers could deal effectively with the situation encountered in the teaching and learning environment. The Commission (1993:340) made this clear by stating;

> Teachers should possess mastery of the subject matter and be able to transmit that successfully to their students. They should possess pedagogical skills, educational understanding and an appropriate personality.

Trainers in this category were just as concerned as their counter-parts in the well-grounded category, about teaching and learning in schools. While the trainers' understanding of the

situation on the ground could help them develop appropriate strategies to assist teachers, the poorly grounded' responses indicated that there was more emphasis on what the trainers had experienced in schools rather than what the policy required of them. Their understanding of the strategies that they were to put in place was not clearly stated.

The poorly grounded trainers were concerned about classroom practices, as illustrated by the remarks of the secondary school trainer who had been with the unit for close to nine years, who said; "ever since... I joined, I will say... there is little change that has taken place in terms of adopting new teaching methods, in schools." The details about the new teaching approaches nor their purpose were not provided.

In repeating the argument made by the well-grounded trainers, teachers were blamed for a lack of commitment in this category as well. A concerned in-service trainer primary section suggested; "perhaps, I think, it is lack of commitment on the part of teachers, even where they know that they have to do something, they just don't want to do it, and it is a question of attitude as well."

Trainers' main concern about the teaching and learning was focused on constraints such as class size and students' ability range, factors which made it difficult to carry out the teaching, according to the policy required. Although trainers pointed out that they were concerned about the teaching and learning, addressing these problems through in-service work was constrained by their limited understanding of the policy.

The developments in the education system which had taken place since the introduction of

the basic education year perplexed an experienced secondary school trainer. The trainer had this to say;

> One thing that I am aware of, is that there is an increase in the number of schools, (an) increase in the number of teachers, which means that not all of these teachers are people who are keen on teaching. Some of them don't have the right skills or the knowledge... as you increase the number you are bound to have more problems....

A clear knowledge of the policy has brought a better understanding of the developments and prepared the trainers to effectively deal with the situation. The National Commission on Education (1993) had, for example, clearly stated, "Instead of the situation that obtained up to the early 1980's whereby admission to secondary Form 1 was selective, now junior secondary schools admit a wide range of students, as access becomes universalized. This requires revised approaches," (Report on Education 1993:347). These remarks have some implications for the in-service trainers' preparedness and understanding of the policy.

The expectation was that for teaching and learning to improve, teachers should, whenever they have some difficulties, approach the in-service office for help. Unfortunately, this was not happening. A trainer in the primary school section stated;

> They (teachers) can be open enough to say their problems to their colleagues or even request them (colleagues) to come and do some demonstrations for them.... And may be even to come to our offices to ask for assistance or even if they don't come when we visit them to be open enough to say I think I need some help here.

Perry *et al.* (1995), with reference to the literature, (Chapman and Snyder, 1992; Snyder, 1990), argued that innovations, like in-service work for instance, can lead to, "complexity of teacher worklife by expecting them to use different instructional materials, teach in new ways, or learn new content. The increased complexity often leads to resistance to the innovation" (Perry *et al.* 1995:115). The teachers are, therefore, unlikely to seek help from the in-service office if they view the assistance as likely to change their old practices with which they feel confident.

The same trainers above, interpreted teachers' response or their failure to act according to the way they were advised differently from that which is stated in the literature, (see for example, Perry *et. al.* 1995). A long serving trainer made the following observation;

> We always ask them, (the teachers, why they don't come for help), they will (always) say, we will come... (but this does not always happen). I think it is just laziness nothing else. Because when we are also with them in their schools, they are also open (talk freely).

Yet another trainer from the secondary section of education, described the teaching and learning conducted in schools as mainly didactic. But according to her understanding, the blame should be directed neither to the in-service programme nor to their teachers. The teachers as well as the in-service programme were constrained by the number of students in a class. About this the trainer stated;

> The (subject) content is too much and also the number of students that they teach, in most cases, you find that the class is so big. Teachers cannot have a chance to practise the methods they did at school (college) because of these problems.

While the National Commission on Education (1993), expressed the desirability of smaller class size, it also emphasised the economic implications of smaller class sizes on a rapidly growing population as it was the case with Botswana. Furthermore, the Commission on Education (1993), cited examples of developing countries where high levels of students' performance were achieved despite the large classes. The practice of large class sizes in Botswana is a well considered and deliberate government policy.

The in-service policy specified that teachers should be assisted through in-service work to handle teaching and learning in large classes of wide range ability students. A secondary school trainer posited some remarks which could be construed as abdicating her responsibility as a trainer, "...when you ask them (teachers) on the question of the lower achievers (students), some of them would tell you point blank that we were not taught or we were not trained to teach students of this ability."

Recommendation 35 emphasised mixed ability and the need for remedial teaching (Report on Education 1993:160). There was some understanding that many serving teachers were not trained in these teaching techniques and hence in-service was considered to be the appropriate intervention in this regard.

The poorly grounded in-service trainers were also concerned about the teaching and learning that took place in the schools. But the impression that one got from the trainers' responses was that they were confused by the teaching and learning problems that they had to deal

with. Something worth noting was that most of the constraints that trainers mentioned were dealt with in the policy especially the Report on the National Commission on Education (1993). It is, therefore, argued that the trainers were disadvantaged by the lack of a thorough knowledge of the in-service policy in the way that they dealt with issues of teaching and learning.

4.4.2.2 Influence of Examinations

The main concern in the policy text (Report on Education 1993:107), at the level of basic education, is centred on the need for students to acquire competences and skills that will be useful to them at the end of their formal education. What is stated in the policy contrasts with the responses which poorly grounded trainers provided. These trainers were preoccupied with students passing examinations. The responses of trainers revealed the significant role that examinations play in their understanding of in-service work. Trainers acknowledge that

in-service should be for the development of a teacher. Development was understood, however, largely in relation to students' performance in examinations. For them, the impact of the in-service work could be construed through students' performance in the examinations or in schools producing good results. This was borne out in the statement made by a less experienced trainer who said;

> ...academic results of course like, I think we will have lots of passes if the teacher is confident where if we (provided) enough support from this office.
> Teachers should be in a position to really carry on with their day to day duties and in the end the child will be (?) doing better than if we are not supporting them.

In these terms, teacher confidence and improved teacher performance should be demonstrated by examinations results. A problem with this is that, it could also encourage teachers to teach only with the purpose of producing good examinations results.

The implications of a strong relationship between in-service work and examinations is noted from the remarks of the trainer who was also involved in the setting and marking of examinations. The remarks could be prompted by the trainer's frustration that arises from poor quality students and that in-service cannot possibly assist them.

> Perhaps sometimes we are expecting miracles and there is the examinations as well (?). Teachers have to teach, for perhaps the life after school but at the end of the course there is an examination that students have to pass. Teachers want their pupils to pass, schools want their pupils to pass, parents also want their pupils

> (children) to pass. There are objectives that have to be met. At the end of the day you find that there is just quite a lot in the syllabus to cover.

The dominant motif in these remarks is examinations. Even though not explicitly stated, in-service has to play to the expectations of those concerned.

Even in a classroom situation, trainers emphasised that a teacher's instructional approaches should focus at the examination as there was one common examination for all and therefore, "unless you involve them (students) they do not get much. Perhaps that is the reason whey we have many students not doing well." Although involving students in class activities is recommended, the intention here seems to be drawn by the overwhelming desire to improve students performance in examinations, at the expense of other forms of improvement.

This broad view is suggested in the Commission on Education (1993:36) which subscribed to the argument made by Rathedi (1993) in which he stated, that the products of basic education;

> ...should be able to participate increasingly in the emerging spirit of enterprise and work ethics.... They should use their analytical skills to enable them to find a productive place in the future of the country and they should be adequately prepared to proceed with further education, training and personal development.

This seems to place the understanding of examinations within a broader context. A well grounded trainer in the management, offered the following explanation based on her understanding of the policy;

> The examination is changing so we have to carry our teachers with us to know the difference between norm and criterion reference ....Criterion reference testing is what a child can do with regard to the syllabus objectives. I just find it being quite relevant.

This view, contrasted with the explanation of a long serving trainer in the poorly grounded category, who based her view on speculation rather than the policy. The trainer suggested different examinations for students of various abilities;

> That way, it can help when it comes to the teaching because you teach knowing that this child (for example) is average, they (he/she) can handle this exam. And, the curriculum, may be it could be formulated to cater for the different (ability) levels....

Although the trainer seemed not to take cognisance of what the policy was, the comments do

suggest a preference for examinations oriented teaching.

The importance that trainers attached to the examinations implied that learning and teaching activities should mainly target examination performance to the exclusion of the general development of the child.

4.4.3 Teacher Support

The point to note in this context is that while the well grounded could draw information from in-service policy and other education policies to back their responses, such details were absent in this group. For example, the well grounded in-service trainers referred to policy issues and recommendations to support their responses, and this was not always the case with poorly grounded trainers. As pointed out earlier, this could be so because of their training background.

4.4.3.1 School Visits

School visits were ranked high amongst the activities that trainers undertake. Trainers as stated earlier, undertake a number of activities on the occasion of school visits. These activities were intended to give support to a teacher in the classroom. The policy documents, such as the Report on the National Commission on Education (1993) and the Revised National Policy on Education (1994), do not spell out the details on what the in-service trainers should do during school visits, except by stating that, "visits to schools should supplement the school based in-service training and should be geared towards a general, 'performance audit' of the school...." Assessment of trainers' understanding can only be based on their responses against the responses of other group of trainers.

During the school visits a trainer had to satisfy himself / herself through lessons observation that teaching and learning is taking place. A descriptive statement of what happens, by a new in-service trainer, was presented;

> The main aim is to support the teaching and learning in the classroom to ensure quality education. Now that is done by going out into schools, observing the teaching, discussing with the teachers and administration, getting to see their weak points and their strengths.

What is lacking were the details of the strategies that an in-service trainer would adopt to effectively support the teachers apart from the mentioned observations and discussions that took place during school visits. But what was confusing was whether teachers were really getting the necessary support in dealing with the mixed ability classes in a situation where a

trainer confessed that;

> But when it comes to special education (supporting slow learners) we have a problem because we are not trained... All we can do is to offer advice based on what we read because I think the major problem has been teaching techniques that's where we are trying to help... But when it comes to special education I don't think we are making any impact.

There was an obvious lack of confidence in what they were doing in the formal classroom. In such a situation there is doubt that the teacher was really getting the support that they needed. The lack of confidence was in contrast to the well grounded trainers who authoritatively stated some of the programmes that were available to support the teaching and learning during school visits. From the above remarks, it is also unthinkable whether quality education would be realised as required by the RNPE (1994).

These visits could also assume some form of inspection of students' work and teachers record books to familiarise a trainer with what had been taking place. Similar to the comments of well grounded trainers, a primary school in-service trainer stated, "observing them as they teach, looking at the pupils materials such as exercise books." But what appeared to be missing was the methodical approach which the well grounded trainers felt was necessary to help the teacher develop professionally. Those details seem not to feature here.

During school visits, a primary school in-service trainer stated that they identified common problems faced by teachers through observations, discussions and interviews. An experienced secondary school in-trainer added, "We identify those topics which cannot be easily handled and then we take a list of them to the (in-service) office and look for the resource persons. Then we train teachers on those." The well grounded trainer in management, responded by stating that the teachers themselves should be assisted on the spot to identify problematic areas as well as to work out solutions to those problems. In this way a well grounded secondary trainer pointed out that, by so doing the teacher would be more willing to accept change.

In the absence of a detailed policy on school visits, a comparison was made between the responses of the two categories of the in- service trainers. Although they touched on similar issues related to the school visits, the well grounded trainers provided responses which were

more informative because of the detailed information that they provided.

4.4.3.2 School Based In-service

The Report on education (1993), showed that school based in-service was recommended with the intention that the school leadership should be in the forefront of in-service training at the school level. From an economic point of view, it would be cheaper to carry out in-service work rather than engaging a large number of in-service trainers (Report on Education, 1993).

Recommendation 105 of the Revised National Policy on Education (1993); defined the roles of the school leadership on one hand and the in-service trainers on the other hand. The school leadership was to regularly keep an eye on what was happening in the classroom and provide immediate in-service measures for the professional development of the teachers. In return, the in-service trainers were to ensure that schools played their role through periodic monitoring and offers of advice.

School based in-service is a concept that every trainer is familiar with. Both groups had explained the concept as taking in-service to schools. But the details and understanding differed between the two groups in relation to the interpretation of the policy. The explanation that some trainers presented implied that school based in-service work was synonymous with workshops conducted at school level. The following statement, as presented by a secondary school trainer, left one with this impression;

> And now we are trying to say to teachers, well, perhaps is the time that you decide at your own schools with the hope that these workshops will be school based. They will be addressing the kind of problems that teachers have in their different schools.

The concept of school based in-service was narrowly explained above if compared with what a well-informed trainer in management stated; "...but nowadays the move is away from regional activities towards school based activities because they are (which are) more relevant to the teacher in the classroom." In this case other activities, apart from workshops, which could be conceptualised as in-servicing are accommodated.

A well grounded trainer, for example, a trainer in management, clearly stated that school based in-service should be emphasised to compensate for the shortage in the number of trainers. The point she sought to make was backed up by referring to the relevant policy

recommendation. Although schools are encouraged to establish school based in-service, it would appear that some trainers under the poorly grounded group do it from a different understanding: An example was of a trainer who misinterpreted the policy when she stated that school based in-service; "...means that we move away from regional activities and start concentrating on school based and is difficult because we are many." This contrasts with the view expressed by the well informed.

The understanding of school based is erroneously explained, by an experienced poorly grounded trainer, as;

> I would encourage school based, school based meaning if I have to help I go to school and collaborate with the teachers there in view (in schools) or the conditions where they work, in which case the advice that I offer will be relevant to their situation rather general. But because we are few it is very difficult to carry out that.

The conception among some trainers is that the in-service trainers should be the ones conducting the school based activities and by so doing the in-servicing will be more relevant to the needs of teachers.

A trainer in this category who had an alternative view was instead hesitant about what she was saying thus giving the impression that she did not trust her understanding;

> But with clusters (group of schools) we are trying to say since we are not many, since the in-service education officers are not many why don't we try to develop some teachers in schools who can actually do in-service work in schools (and) clusters.

When asked if shortage contributes to this, she appeared ruffled, "Probably and to make sure that in-service is taken to many teachers. I don't know whether I am (making sense)."

What was observed is that in-service trainers in this category presented differing understandings about school based work. The reason could be the different information presented in the meetings that they attended, information which was not compared to what is available in the in-service policy.

4.5 Conclusion

As we have seen, we can identify two groups of in-service trainers in relation to how policy is interpreted. The trainers described as well grounded had, through the positions that they hold and self initiative, familiarised themselves with the contents of the policy documents. Such familiarity with policy, featured in their responses to questions. This is in contrast to the responses of the trainers labelled as poorly grounded, who vaguely and inaccurately reflect on what is in the policy. Because of their limited knowledge of the policy, they, rather, preferred to explain issues raised in general terms or misrepresent the intentions of the policy. The differences in the understanding of policy by the two groups of trainers, highlighted in the summary table, fall under the staff development, curriculum delievery and teacher support. These differences have implications on how policy is represented by the well grounded trainers as against the poorly grounded trainers.

SUMMARY TABLE

TRAINERS UNDERSTANDING OF THE IN-SERVICE POLICY		
	The Well Grounded Trainers	**The Poorly Grounded Trainers**
1. Staff Development	* Well defined staff problems which correlate with the findings of the Commission (1993)	* Did not relate their field experiences to the findings of the Commission (1993)
	* Appropriate measures suggested intended to promote staff confidence and trust.	* Not clear about the policy aims and as a result presented generalised responses on the in-service programme.
	* Accepted the challenges and positively confident that in-service was appropriate.	* Difficult to come up with comprehensive strategies to develop staff.
2. Teaching and Learning	*Awareness of the complexity of the teaching and learning situation.	* Dwelt more on constraints which made in-service unworkable.
	*Fully informed about the strategies necessary to improve the situation.	* Appropriate strategies to tackle problems not well defined.
	* Justified the new teaching and learning strategies.	* Not confidently prepared to attend to the situation.
	* Confident that the situation could be redeemed despite difficulties.	* Pessimistic about achieving substantial changes unless some factors in schools were attended to, e.g. facilities, class size.
3. Examination	* Preparations of students for examination done in the broader context of the students general development.	* Teaching and learning done mainly to prepare students for examinations.
	* Responses seemed to be guided by policy as reference was made to the policy document.	* Seemed to be ignorant about the Commission (1993) informed about the exams.

	The Well Grounded Trainers	The Poorly Grounded Trainers
4. School Visits	* Presented a detailed account of school visits, stating how teachers could be supported and helped to develop.	* Scanty details presented in comparison and at times not sure of the appropriate action to take to assist teachers.
5. School Based In-Service	* Recognition of the role that the school head could play as an instructional leader.	* Role of school head at school level not emphasised.
	* Aware of in-service work at school level as complementary to the work of in-service trainers.	* The relationship between the trainers work and school in-service work not clearly understood.
	* Aware that school in-service is making up for the shortage of trainers as stated in the policy. Trainers to play a limited supportive role in school activities.	* Called for more trainers in the field to run school based in-service. Seemed to prefer an increased trainers' development at school level activities.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

This final chapter, seeks to draw together the findings of this study, and returns to the framework provided by Ball (1994). This framework is useful in seeking to understand how trainers interpret the policy on in-service work in the field of practice. The argument which informs the analysis of the Botswana experience is that policy is subject to differing interpretations as it moves from its point of origination to implementation. The discussion will focus on three areas, the policy process, explanation of the differences between the text and practice, and it will deal with the differences between the trainers themselves in their interpretation of the texts.

5.1 A Concept of policy process

In terms of Ball's (1994) contribution, policy generation and implementation constitute a continuous process. This helps explain the fact that, while in-service trainers constitute a different group to that which initially formulated the policy, they are not completely outside the policy formulation process. Opportunities, as is evident in the research findings, exist for them to influence the direction of and even generate policy. One has to pay attention to Bowe et al's (1992:13) suggestion that "while the construction of a policy text may well involve different parties and processes to the implementing process, the opportunity for reforming and reinterpreting the text means policy formulation does not end with the legislation moment...." The literature suggests that policy authors are unable to control the meaning of their policy texts (Ball 1994:16). Ball's observation has implications for the implementation of policy as is evident in the research study. Assessing in-service trainers' responses on issues relating to their in-service work, points clearly to the conclusion that policy is represented by trainers according to experiences they bring to the policy, and that the policy as it is implemented might depart significantly from the intentions of the planners.

5.2 Differences Between Text and Practice

In order to develop what is educationally desirable, (see de Clercq 1997: 132), the government of Botswana's intervention into practice took the form of producing in-service policy texts. In its drive to have the texts implemented, the government put in place a group of in-service trainers as key policy mediators. At issue here, is that the policy of some trainers departs from that which is embodied in the texts.

As policy shifts through different stages of practice it assumes new meanings (Ball 1994:17). Noticeable during the interviewing, was that some trainers' responses departed from what was stated in the policy texts. This, as was evident earlier, arose from a number of reasons. Explaining it theoretically, however, requires seeing the larger picture, and can be tracked through the factors which influence the way actors interpret policy texts in the field of practice. The meaning that is held by the initial policy formulators, is not commonly shared with trainers whose responsibility it is to implement. Policy, in practice, has to be understood by trainers, for it to work. Trainers' backgrounds provide them with the framework through which policy can become intelligible. While, for example, the well grounded trainers were absorbed into the discourse of the policy texts, the poorly grounded trainers relied mostly on their general knowledge and experiences about in-service work. During the interviews, policy questions to the poorly grounded trainers were punctuated with responses like "I am not sure but...," and what frequently followed was a translation of the in-service programme into the speaker's every day world and language. Hayes' (1995:253) suggestion about classroom practices, provides an appropriate explanation to what happens with the interpretation of the policy texts. By dealing with the texts through the utilisation of past skills trainers save time and effort. Trainers have extensive experience of in-service work. They come from schools where they had been exposed to in-service work as teachers. Although much more empirical evidence is needed for this statement, indications are that what they had learnt as teachers is imposed on their understanding of the policy texts.

In their work situations, trainers deal with problems as they continuously arise during the implementation process. Where solutions are not immediately evident, especially as is the case with problems associated with the locality, providers use their discretion. These solutions display what one might call a locality bias. It could also be argued that solutions that are based on the trainers' discretion are bound to influence and affect the distortion from the original texts.

But the discussion can be taken even further in understanding the dynamics of policy recontextualisation. In seeking to understand poorly grounded trainers' responses, it may be that avoidance and even resistance exist in their responses. Avoidance, according to Blackmore *et al.* as in Petersen (1998:107), is when individuals take a text and, because they do not understand it, or even disagree with it, choose to make something else of it. Issues as raised in policy texts undergo some form of revision or preference is focused on individual and

social factors. What was observed is that certain issues in the texts were overlooked, with the tendency of concentrating on areas that appealed to trainers' preference. For example, a relatively new in-service trainer, responded that he had not gone through the entire policy text, but was merely concerned about issues that were specific to his area of work. By paying attention to areas of interest only, the chances for deviating from the official text are increased. This tends to make trainers approach their in-service work from a narrower perspective, based on one's subject of speciality. A broader perspective could help them include all the information that is available about policy issues.

One might also interpret the differences in the process of policy implementation more benignly. The differences that have been found to exist, can, be explained in terms of the influence of context. Policy texts are generally formulated from a broad social perspective and tend to have the whole country in focus. In this kind of situation, little or no attention is given to specific contexts. The reverse is true when it comes to the field of practice. The suggestion by Bowe *et al.* (1992) about the decontextualisation and recontextualisation of policy provide important clues for explaining the differences between text and practice. The circumstances as they pertain to any particular context mean that policy is understood in relation to what exists on the ground. In the process of reshaping policy to align it, new practices are formed. One is mindful of a trainer in management's remarks, which serve as a pointer to a rehabilitation of a text, when she stated "that's how we are trying to provide our in-service work." The 'how' and 'our' are reflective of efforts as carried out at a regional level.

Differences between texts and practice could, also, be attributed to confusion which the texts sometimes creates among practitioners of policy. Confusion, itself, arises from the texts' lack of details. In this predicament, practioners reflect in search of appropriate responses. With little or no support base to resort to in order to appropriately deal with policy texts, at their desperation, trainers construct meanings which are either incorrect or inappropriate in dealing with the situation in hand. For example in the study, the question on how to deal with teacher productivity had baffled some trainers and led to confused responses which were not helpful to the pursuit of the intentions of the texts.

Some meanings as raised in the policy texts are sometimes subjected to challenges. Such challenges might be based on what a trainer believes to be true about in-service work or, on the consideration of conditions in the field. Where disagrements are raised against the text

meaning, the implentation process is bound to be done half heartedly or in favour of what a practitioner believes in. The support that some trainers provided teachers, in the way of assisting them to change their undesirable classroom practices, is likely to suffer. Some trainers are not fully convinced that teacher support, as suggested in the policy texts, will bear fruit if the physical constraints are not attended to. For example, class size was frequently mentioned as a problem by trainers. Thus, what is at stake is the trainers' 'professionalism' (see Woods and Wenham 1995:128) on education matters which they consider challenged.

What was, also, brought to light in the study findings, is the over enthusiasitic welcome that some trainers had accorded the policy texts. The explanation that one can advance for such a response, is that in-service work is regarded as a panacea or a reforming mechanism to most problems that pervade an education system. While it might be true that in-service practice could be a strategy to reform some practices in an education system, there is, also, the need to guard against over zealousness which might lead to the application of in-service work to unintended purposes

5.3 Differences Between Trainers' Interpretation of Policy

While in the previous section, differences between practice and texts were explained, the findings of the research study, as stated earlier, identified significant differences in the way policy texts were understood by the two groups of trainers, *viz*, the well grounded and poorly grounded trainers. What follows seeks to explains why this happens using Ball's (1994) framework.

The differences can be understood in terms of existing structure which advantages some trainers through their inclusion in the policy production process. At the same time, other trainers are placed at a disadvantage by being excluded from acquiring textual knowledge as understood by the dominant group. For example, the knowledge about policy which the well grounded trainers held, particularly those in management positions, was periodically enhanced through their participation in meetings, seminars and conferences in which the subject was on the interpretations of policy texts. On the other hand, trainers such as the poorly grounded suffered from exclusion as they did not benefit from such activities because of their positions. The main difference between trainers comes about because of the differences that are there in the policy knowledge. Trainers with a superior knowledge of policy, like the well grounded

trainers, are better placed than their counter-parts, whose knowledge of policy is insufficient, to control discussions on policy.

Policy texts, themselves as previously mentioned, are scanty in details. This leads trainers to reconstructing liberally. As the research findings reveal, in their interpretations the well grounded trainers could, in addition to their background experiences about in-service work, rely on the privileged knowledge which is attached to their positions, and therefore, manage to stay close to the intentions of policy texts. But since they had to rely heavily on their experiences to construct meanings, the poorly grounded trainers' interpretations , in most cases, allowed them to significantlly digress from policy texts' intentions.

Although, the understanding of policy by providers seems not to be given proper treatment in the literature of the in-service provision, judging from the findings of the research, interpretation or reconstextualisation has an important bearing on whether the policy succeeds or not.

5.3 Recommendations

The researcher is hesistant to make substantive recommendations based on this limited study. In bearing in mind that an in-service policy is crucial to trainers' in-service work, as it provides them with the necessary knowledge, instils confidence and establishes a sense of direction, the first recommendation centres on training. It should not be taken for granted that trainers are knowledgeable about the policy nor should it be assumed that it is adequate to simply provide them with the policy texts. Orientation courses should devote part of their sessions to detailed policy discussions. Secondly, the supervisory authority at regional level should not just be limited to administrative aspects but should, instead, go beyond that and include policy discussions in meetings. The findings of the research suggest that the meaning of the in-service progamme is not stable and as a result the representation of in-service depends on a provider's understanding. This suggests that the Department of Teacher Training and Development should itself, constantly seek to keep in touch with its representatives, and that briefings and meetings where the policy implementation is reviewed should take place. Finally, as an additional suggestion, similar studies on the investigation of policy representation of in-service should be conducted in the developing world, to broaden the scope of this field of study.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Interview Questions

A. Personal Background Information
1. What is your level of education?
2. Do you have any professional training?
3. What is your previous work?
4. For how long did you stay in your previous job?

B. Work Related Information
1. What is your present position?
2. What led to your recruitment as an In-service Education Officer?
3. For how long have you been an In-service Officer?
4. Did you undergo some form of training related to your work? For how long?
5. Is there anybody who is assisting you in your work?
6. Can you identify the person assisting you?
7. What does the work involve?
8. What kind of assistance do you give to teachers?

C. Trainers Perception of Schools in they Work
1. Reflecting on your own experience, how can you describe the situation in schools in your area?
2. What do think could contributed the situation the way you have just described it?
3. From your observation, how can you characterise the teaching and learning in schools?
4. Do teachers and other stakeholders hold similar views as yours?
5. Is there any possibility for improvement? How can this be realised?
6. Are there areas of major concern in schools?
7. How do you think the situation can be remedied?

D. In-service Trainers Interpretation of In-service Policy
1. What do you understand In-service programme is all about?
2. Is In-service an appropriate programme to address or improve conditions in schools?
3. How effectively does In-service does In-service address the problems as found in schools?
4. If it is not effective, what would you suggest in its place?
5. Would you say all or some of the aims are relevant to the situation?
6. Any possible additions to aims and objectives?

E. Additional Information
1. Does Botswana have an In-service policy?
2. Where does the In-service policy come from?

3. Who was consulted in the development of the policy?
4. Did you attend the sessions of the Commission of Enquiry?
5. Did you see the report made by the Commission of Enquiry?
6. Did you see the policy document outlining the work you are doing?
7. How were you informed about the policy?
8. Were there meetings at which briefings took place?
9. Were guidelines or documents distributed in those meetings?
10. How much discussion of the policy took place during such meetings?
11. What was the nature of those meetings?
12. How different is what is happening on the ground from the original policy outlines/guidelines?
13. Is there anything else related to In-service Programme you would like to suggest or recommend?