

Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.



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ABSTRACT

For reasons of mismanagement, corruption and nepotism, poor quality and delivery of education and community perceptions of general inefficiency and ineffectiveness, the government of Botswana embarked on the process of centralizing the Brigades in 2009. The purpose of this study is to examine how the centralization of the Brigades was handled and its impact on the future of the concept of Education with Production (EWP).

The research uses a qualitative approach and case study method to collect data through interviews, focus groups discussions and document analysis. The study was conducted in two of the twenty-one Brigades taken over in 2009. Purposive sampling was used to select the participants. Principals, teachers and former board members were interviewed individually while students were interviewed through focus group discussions. Also interviewed were two Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (DTVET) officers who were involved in the Brigades takeover.

The findings from the study show that while there was evidence of prior consultation by the government of Botswana before taking over the Brigades, emphasis was laid on positive outcomes at the expense of potential negative outcomes.

The study reveals that the takeover of the Brigades by the government was a noble gesture as evidenced by some gains in terms of financial stability, staff training, and improvement in staff conditions of service and plant maintenance. However, there was a range of undetected issues that emerged as a consequence of the takeover which includes job losses by some staff due to austerity-driven structural adjustment; lack of proper organizational structures for managing new enterprises; poor remuneration for some staff and the discontinuity of the concept of EWP.

The study concludes that centralization of educational institutions needs a more rounded approach based on more holistic consultation with a range of beneficiaries. The future of EWP in Botswana is in jeopardy largely due to the government takeover.

Key words: Brigades, Education with Production, takeover, centralization, policy disconnect, community disfranchise.

DECLARATION

I, Patricia Ani Yezo declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Education (in Educational Policy and Leadership) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signature.....

Date.....

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DEDICATION

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADAE	Association for the Development of African Education
AU	African Union
BOTA	Botswana Training Authority
BTPT	Brigades Takeover Project Team
BTRG	Brigades Takeover Reference Group
CABS	Certificate in Accounts and Business Studies
CTO	Central Transport Organization
DBES	Department of Buildings and Engineering Services
DPSM	Directorate of Public Service Management
DTVET	Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training
EWP	Education with Production
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
MoA	Memorandum of Agreement
MOESD	Ministry of Education and Skills Development
NBCC	National Brigades Coordinating Committee
NCC	National Craft Certificate
PPADB	Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Board
RNPE	Revised National Policy on Education
TVET	Technical, Vocational Education and Training
ZIMFEP	Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production

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Chapter 1

1.1. Introduction

This study aims to examine how the process of centralization of the Brigades in Botswana has impacted on the concept of Education with Production (EWP) in Botswana. Brigades are vocational institutions which were established by communities to foster self-reliance. Brigades used the EWP concept in their training, in which productive work is incorporated into the learning process. This study was conducted in two of the 21 Brigades that were taken over by the government in 2009 and also involved the Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (DTVET). The study used an interpretive paradigm.

This chapter consists of the following: the background to the study which highlights the context of education in Botswana and the background of the Brigades, problem statement, rationale, aims and objectives of the study, research questions and definition of concepts, as well as the research methodology and the findings and discussion and recommendations of the report.

1.2. Background to the study

1.2.1. Background of Education in Botswana

Botswana is landlocked country located in the interior of Southern Africa. It is bordered by Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Setswana is the national language of the country. According to 2011 census (Population and Census report 2011), the population of Botswana is 2 038 228 million. The size of the country is about 584 000 square metres. The country attained her independence from Britain on 30th September 1966. Botswana was a British 'Protectorate' for 81 years, from 1885 to 1966.

Prior to the colonial era, the Batswana had their own traditional education which was both formal and informal. The traditional education “was part of a whole system of belief, or religion, as well as a means of socializing children into the accepted norms of society” (Parsons in Crowder, 1983, p. 22). Formal education was characterized by initiation schools for called *bojale for girls* and **bogwera** for boys of adolescence. In *bojale*, girls were taught issues concerning womanhood, domestic and agricultural activities. *Bogwera* was formal instruction for boys where they were circumcised and taught skills such as sewing shields and clothing, and were trained to be responsible men, warriors and fathers (Parsons in Crowder, 1983). Vocational education consisted of apprenticeships in trades such as traditional medicine, smelting, and also, skills in agricultural and hunting techniques (Parsons in Crowder, 1983). The informal education was done by the parents, siblings, relatives and the community in the day-to-day lives of the children.

The Western education system was introduced by David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society in 1847 (Parsons in Crowder, 1983) and replaced the traditional education in Botswana. Children were taught basic arithmetic and how to read and write (the three-Rs). The missionaries then aided Britain to colonize Bechuanaland as they wanted to protect their missions and Christianity. Bechuanaland became a British protectorate in 1885. This was the beginning of the colonial era which lasted for 81 years (1885-1966).

In addition to the three-Rs, English and other subjects were incorporated into education during the colonial era. The curriculum was monitored and controlled by the colonial government to prevent elements of traditional education re-emerging (Parsons in Crowder, 1983). The purposes of education during the colonial era were to: instil obedience and discipline, to be able to read the bible for conversion to Christianity, offer basic literacy to

enable Batswana to perform clerical and semi-skilled tasks and to instil the belief that Western culture and education were superior to Tswana culture (Parsons in Crowder, 1983).

When the country attained its independence from Britain in 1966, it nevertheless adopted the existing education system. From 1966 to 1976 the country's education system was based on the colonial system (Report on National Policy on Education, 1977). In 1975, the then president of Republic of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, appointed a commission to review the education system and make recommendations on how it could be improved. The commission presented a report which they titled "Education for Kagisano" (Report on National Policy on Education, 1977).

From 1977 to 1993, education in Botswana was guided by a first educational policy called 'Education for Kagisano' which means education for Social Harmony (Education for Kagisano, 1977). This policy was based on four national principles, namely: democracy, development, self-reliance and unity. In 1994, the educational policy was reviewed and resulted in the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE) which also upheld these four national principles (RNPE, 1994). The RNPE of 1994 is the policy which is currently in use in Botswana. The education system comprises of seven years of primary schooling, three years of junior secondary schooling and two years of senior secondary schooling. After secondary school, learners may go to technical and vocational training institutions like the Brigades and Technical Colleges or to higher training institutions, such as universities. The vision of Botswana is that by 2016, education should be accessible to all. In pursuit of one of Vision 2016 pillars of 'to create an educated and informed nation' the government took over the Brigades in 2009. The background of Brigades in Botswana is discussed in the next sub-section.

1.2.2. Background of the Brigades in Botswana

Prior to the government takeover, Brigades were community-based vocational institutions which were established under the spirit of self-reliance in Botswana (Van Rensburg, 1978). They were established under the 'Notarial Deed of Trust' and were managed by Boards of Trustees (Rationalization Report, 2010). The Brigades were legally autonomous; their establishment depended on the initiatives of individual communities and each Brigade had its own specific objectives which were set out in the Deed of Trust. The Board of Trustees, which consisted of 11 members, was given the task to oversee the management of the Brigades and ensure that the objectives of the trust and the interests of the communities were met. Every three years, four of the members are elected by the community at a public meeting at the *kgotla* every three years; two were appointed from the community by the Minister of Education and there were also a student and a staff representative elected yearly by the student body and the staff respectively. The Coordinator of the Brigades who acted as the Board secretary, the Chief/Headman of the village and the District Commissioner were *ex-officio* members (Brigades Rationalization Report, 2010).

According to Van Rensburg (1978), the objectives of the Brigades were to fill a vacuum in skills development for many young people in rural areas, promote rural development, act as 'social safety valve', provide goods and services to the communities and curb urban migration. The Brigades provided theoretical, practical and on-the-job training for school leavers in fields, such as in construction, mechanical, textiles and agriculture. Through the establishment of production units, they contributed to employment and income generation at village level.

Brigades were headed by Coordinators, who were assisted by Training Coordinators. The departments were headed by unit managers, who were responsible for immediate supervision of teachers and instructors in those units.

The first Brigade in Botswana was established in 1965 by Patrick Van Rensburg as an alternative to formal secondary education (Van Rensburg, 1978). There were a large number of Standard Seven (last year of primary school) learners who could not find a space in the few secondary schools. It was projected that by 1979 there would be 20 275 standard seven school-leavers out of which only 3430 would be able to find places in the 15 government secondary schools which were available and 1800 in the private secondary schools (Van Rensburg, 1978). This meant 15 045 learners were not accommodated. This prompted many communities to establish Brigades in the 1970s, especially in the rural areas (Report by rationalization Task team, 2010). Today there are 41 Brigades in Botswana and 39 of these are still operational while 2 were established but have never operated. Most of these Brigades are in rural villages while only 2 are in towns.

The Brigades adopted a model of training known as Education with Production/Training with Production (EwP), whereby trainees were involved in production activities in addition to their academic and practical lessons. Production was done in production units either within the institutions or outside the institutions. This concept will be explored further in Chapter 2.

Today the Brigades prepare trainees for National Trades tests at C and B levels and National Craft Certificate (NCC); in addition, they offer business and ICT courses at certificate level (Rationalization Report, 2010).

In 1969, the National Brigades Coordinating Committee (NBCC) was established to share experiences of the Brigades and to draw up uniform standards and procedures with regard to objectives, modes of operation and curriculum (Rationalization Report 2010). Through the NBCC, the Brigades could also speak with one voice in seeking government assistance. In 1974, the government issued a presidential directive assuring Brigades of technical and financial support for the training components.

In 2009, the government of Botswana embarked on a programme of centralizing the Brigades. This was after the government had issued a presidential directive (Cab Memo 166 in 2006) that approved the takeover of all 41 Brigades in Botswana by the Government. The government had carried out an evaluation of Brigades in 2001 and the consultants recommended that the government take over the Brigades and convert them into Technical Colleges (Cab Memo 166). According to this cabinet memo, the reasons for the centralization were that; the Brigades were financially unstable and there was poor management of resources. Consequently, the government took over 21 Brigades in 2009 and the last 18 were taken over in 2011. Two of the Brigades belonging to churches were not taken over as the owners were not willing to hand them to the government. The Deeds of Trusts and Boards of Trustees for all the Brigades taken over were immediately dissolved. The Brigades are now government institutions under the Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (DTVET). The takeover brought some changes to the way the Brigades were run, hence the aim of the study is to find out what these changes were, and how these affected the future of EWP. In the next section, the problem statement will be presented.

1.3. Problem Statement

The government of Botswana took over the training departments of the Brigades in 2009 and in 2011, but not the production units. Government centralization of the Brigades meant that they are now conventional training institutions without the production units that had defined them in the past. The community now has no say on the running of the institutions. The instructors, previously involved in EWP are now designated as lecturers and their new job descriptions do not indicate involvement in the oversight of production. Trainees are now paying 5% of the cost of their training as a form of cost recovery and 95% is covered by the Government. Before the takeover, the trainees were supplementing their subsidy through the proceeds from production which also gave them practical experience of real work. This study

explores the various effects of the centralization on the concept of Education with Production, given the above scenarios. When the government took over Swaneng Hill Secondary School, the concept of Education with Production was dropped (Van Rensburg, 1974). Is this going to happen as well with the Brigades? And is this a move in the right direction? In the section to follow the rationale of undertaking the study is discussed.

1.4. Rationale

The impact of centralization of educational institutions has not been sufficiently researched in Botswana although the government of Botswana has been centralizing such institutions for some time. This study has two fundamental purposes, (a) to find out how the government handled the process of centralization, (b) to find out the effects of the takeover on the future of EWP in the country. Through the perceptions of the students, teachers and community on the effect of the takeover on the future of EWP, new insights may be gained that could form a useful starting point for the improvement of policy decisions regarding EWP. The study also aims to make a contribution to a better understanding of issues and factors that assist or undermine centralization of educational institutions in Botswana. The questions addressed by the study are presented in the next section.

1.5. Key Research Question

The study was conceptualised around the following key questions:

- How did the government of Botswana handle the process of centralization of the Brigades?
- What impact has the takeover had on the future of EWP?

The two key research questions were broken down into 6 sub-questions which are presented in the next sub-section.

1.5.1. Sub Questions

1. What led to the centralization of the Brigades in Botswana?
2. What were the strategies used in centralization of the Brigades in Botswana?
3. How might the process of centralization be improved in future?
4. How do the students, teachers and the community perceive the impact of the centralization of the Brigades on the future of Education with Production?
5. What are the challenges that the takeover of the Brigades caused and how did these have an impact on the implementation of Education with Production and how are the challenges being addressed?
6. How can Education with Production be improved to benefit the trainees and the country as a whole?

The sub-questions addressed the objectives of the study which are highlighted in the next section.

1.6. The aims/objectives of the study

- To explore the factors that have contributed to the Botswana government's decision to centralize the Brigades.
- To identify and discuss/evaluate the strategies used by the government to centralize the Brigades in Botswana.
- To collect and analyse/determine the perceptions of the trainees, teachers and community on the impact of the centralization on the future of Education with Production.
- To explore the new challenges faced by Brigades in implementing EWP and strategies for the government to use in addressing these challenges.
- To determine what can be learnt which might enhance the future of EWP.

- To determine lessons which might have been learnt from this centralisation of the Brigades, and which may inform better practice in centralization of education institutions.

The questions of the study necessitate clear definition of concepts that are related to the central idea. In the following section, the concepts related to the study are defined.

1.7. Definition of central concepts

The concepts that are related to the central idea of the research are: centralization, decentralization, and government takeover, EWP, vocational and technical education, policy formulation and policy implementation. In the sub-sections that follow, the concepts will be defined; further exploration on them will be done in the literature review.

1.7.1. Centralization

Centralization is defined as a condition whereby the administrative authority at local or regional level is taken over by the central government (Bruce, 1987, p. 9).

1.7.2. Decentralization

Work (2002) defines decentralization as the transfer of responsibilities for planning, management and allocation of resources from the central government to lower levels of the government. Hanson (1998) defines it as the transfer of decision-making authority, responsibility and tasks from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations.

1.7.3. Government/ State Takeover

State takeover is the seizure of an institution or district by the state for various reasons such as; poor academic performance, financial mismanagement and corruption amongst other things (Wong and Shen, 2003b). The takeover can either be permanent or temporary.

1.7.4. Brigades

Brigades are vocational institutions which were established by communities in Botswana. The Brigades were legally autonomous; each Brigade had its own specific objectives which were embodied in the Deed of Trust (Rationalization Report, 2010).

1.7.5. Education with Production (EWP)

Education with production (EWP) is “an approach to learning that involves an institutional interaction between the development of knowledge and skills on the one hand and the process of production on the other” (Hoppers, 1996, p.1). Work is integrated in the curriculum not just as a practical to impact skills relating to content but as an important and useful resource to the community and the students themselves. The production can happen either in the institution or outside.

1.7.6. Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET)

Technical, vocational education and training is a direct means of providing learners and workers with skills relevant to the work environment. African countries regard TVET as a vehicle for economic progression (AU Report, p.19).

1.7.7. Policy Formulation

Policy formulation is defined as “the development of alternatives for what should be done in general to attack various items on the government agenda” (Ripley & Franklin, 1986, p. 5). Usually several options are compared as to whether they are technically sound, economically feasible and political practical; the best option is then adopted.

1.7.8. Policy Implementation

Ripley and Franklin (1986) define it as the activities that take place to ensure that the goals of the policy are realised. It involves actions by different actors such as government officials,

and in the case of education principals, teachers, parents, community and students amongst others aimed at achieving the objectives set forth in the policy.

In the next section, the structure of the study is presented.

1.8. The structure of the report

The report is made up of five chapters, below is the outline of the chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction: this chapter addresses the following: background of the study, problem statement, rationale, research questions, aims/objectives, and definition of central concepts, research methodology and the structure of the report.

Chapter Two: Literature Review: this chapter covers the review of literature related to the study and the conceptual framework.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology: this chapter describes the research design; the methods that were used to gather data. Additionally, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of this study are outlined and discussed.

Chapter Four: Data analysis, presentation and discussion: in this chapter, the data is presented and analysed. The research findings are then discussed and compared with the literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Five: Conclusion, discussion of emerging themes, limitations and implications: this chapter provides a conclusion to the study and its findings.

1.9. Summary

This chapter offered an overview and background to the study.. In the next chapter, literature relevant to the study will be reviewed and the conceptual framework will be further presented and discussed

Chapter 2

2.0. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the strategies used by Botswana government in taking over the Brigades and also to find out the impact of the takeover on the concept of EWP. In this chapter the following concepts are discussed centralization, decentralization, government takeover, EWP, technical and vocational education, policy formulation and policy implementation. These concepts form the basis of the conceptual framework. The researcher also reviewed literature relevant to the study. A literature review helps to: frame the research topic, identify the gaps on what has already been done, to avoid repeating studies which have been done before, and identify other areas for further research (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006).

Literature on the following is reviewed: Case studies of the implementation of EWP in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia; background of these countries, the aims/objectives of EWP, how it was implemented, challenges faced in implementing it and the current status of EWP in those countries. Also explored in the literature are: factors that lead to centralization or government/state takeover, strategies used by governments in takeovers, challenges faced in implementing EWP and public, students, and teachers' perceptions on EWP.

2.2. Centralization

Centralization is defined as a condition whereby the administrative authority at local or lower level is taken over by the central government (Norville, 1987; Shah, 2010). Once centralization has taken place, the state acts as the sole provider, controller and regulator of almost everything; decisions are made from the central level and passed over to other lower levels. According to Weiler (1990), in educational centralization, the state exercises authority

through the regulation of institutional and individual behaviour and through the allocation of resources especially to public education system. Some of the advantages of centralization which have been cited by Weiler, (1990) and De Vries (2000) are;

- Reduction in operational costs
- Uniformity of decision making;
- Standardization:
- Better coordination:
- Equitable distribution:

The expectation is that the costs of running the departments will be used as one office will be dealing with administration hence there are no duplication of services and the resources. The other assumption is that as all decisions come from the top this will result in decisions which are the same for all the regions (Weiler, 1990; De Vries, 2000). Curriculum, qualifications, examinations and procedures are standardized enabling mobility and exchange of personnel. Since everything is controlled from the centre there is direct control eliminating likelihood of conflicts. When resources are distributed from the centre, the government can take into consideration the needs of different areas in the allocation and hence allocate them where they are mostly needed (Weiler, 1990; De Vries, 2000).

Opponents of centralization argue that it; denies people democracy and the will to be innovative, it result in delays because of red tape, officials at lower level are marginalised as they just have to follow orders, and delay in decision making amongst other things (Shah, 2010). In order to understand centralization it is important to also look at decentralization which will be discussed in the next section.

2.3. Decentralization

Work (2002) defines decentralization as the transfer of responsibilities for planning, management and allocation of resources from the central government to lower levels of the government. Hanson (1998) defines it as the transfer of decision-making authority, responsibility and tasks from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations. It is the transfer of power for decision making from the states to lower levels such as districts councils, local communities and schools (Carnoy 1999). Weiler citing Lauglo & Mclean 1985 gave a broad definition of decentralisation as: “a means to ensure a wider representation of legitimate interests in education” (Weiler, 1990, p. 434). This is the devolution of authority from the central state to other structures. All these definitions show that power is given to the lower levels of the organization to perform some of the functions of the organization.

The proponents of decentralization argue that; it enables the sharing of power from the central to other levels; it may yield considerable efficiency in the deployment and management of educational resources and can provide greater sensitivity to local variations (Weiler, 1990, p. 437). The expectations are that: decentralization will mobilize and generate resources which are not available from the community and private sector. They believe that when the education system has decentralized, parents, community and even the private sector would contribute towards it since they will also be involved in the running of the system (Weiler, 1990). The proponents also believe that in the long term, decentralized systems can utilize available resources more efficiently. The assumption is that it will increase familiarity with local conditions. When the local community and private sector are involved in the running of the educational system, they will be much aware of local conditions and needs, hence scarce resources can be utilised more economically, and there will be a better match between demand and supply (Weiler, 1990). Decisions ought to be made by people who are closest to the situation. The advocates for this argument argue that

decentralization will take into consideration the local context to avoid mismatch. Teachers will have more control over curriculum content and instructional decisions, and the use of mother language will enhance understanding (Weiler, 1990). The proponents of decentralization argue that all these cannot be offered by centralization because all regions are treated as the same.

Carnoy (1999) and McGinn (1997), argue that contrary to what advocates for decentralization believe, it does not improve efficiency, quality, equity and democracy-; in fact it tends to marginalise them. They argue that decentralization of institutions widens the disparities between the poor and the rich as resources and services are not equitably distributed at local levels. In the next section policy process is discussed.

2.4. Policy Process

According to Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry (1997) there are three major approaches in conceptualizing policy. These are the liberal, political and the interpretive approaches.

The liberal approach sees policy as a statement of intent and goals, and as a rational, neutral and linear process consisting of steps following a logical order (Taylor et.al, 1997). It is a statement of what is going to be done and why it is to be done; hence it must have a clear purpose and outcomes. In this approach implementers are expected to execute loyally the policy directives. This approach argues that, once adopted, the policy is translated into implementation strategies through an administrative process. Failure by policies to achieve their intentions is not blamed on the policy itself but on managerial failure, poor implementation capacity or lack of resources. The implementers should understand the problem being addressed through the policy.

The second is the political approach, it views policy process as highly complex, fluid, contested, and unpredictable (De Clercq, 2002). The political analysts claim that there is

exercise of power and control which reflects the values and interests of powerful social groups. They further claim that political and economic factors influence every stage of the policy process with contestation at almost all the stages (De Clercq, 2002). Failure by policies is attributed to the policy itself, lack of clear policy objectives, many actors and agencies in implementation, inter- and intra-organisational values and interest, differences between actors and agencies, and lastly relative autonomies among implementing agencies.

A third approach is the interpretive approach, which disagrees with the liberal pluralist assumption of policy as a rational process. According to this approach, policy is influenced by various actors and it also influences the views, perceptions and actions of various role-players (Barrett, 2004). The failure of the policy to achieve the intended objectives is not attributed to inadequate administrative and organisational controls, but is seen rather as the product of negotiations.

Association for the Development of African Education (ADAE) conference in France identified six stages of the policy process. The process is viewed as a cycle consisting of the following stages:

- Identification of policy problem and setting the policy agenda
- Formulation and assessment of policy options
- Adoption of particular policy options
- Implementation of policies
- Evaluation of policy impact
- Adjustment and beginning of new policy cycle (ADAE, 1995, p.2)

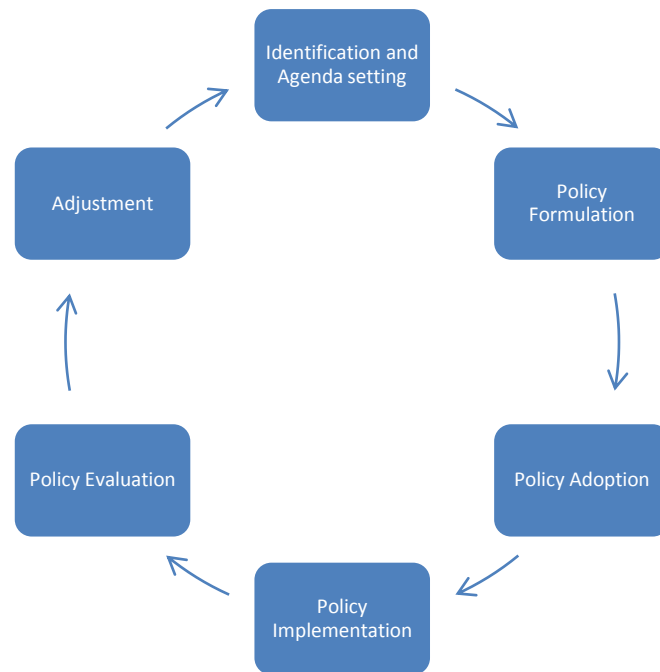


Figure 1: Six stages in the policy process (adapted from ADAE, 1995)

These stages according to ADAE (1995) are not necessarily sequentially. For this study the policy formulation and policy implementation stages will be discussed.

2.4.1. Policy Formulation

Ripley and Franklin (1986) define policy formulation as “the development of alternatives for what should be done in general to attack various items on the government agenda” (Ripley and Franklin, 1986, p. 5). During this stage, several options are compared as to whether they are technically sound, economically feasible and politically practical; the best option is then adopted. However, it has been noted that some policies are implemented without enough information on the possible negative impact it may have on the people it is supposed to benefit. Friedman (1995) criticizes policy-makers for designing and implementing policies without enough research about the best option and consequences of implementing the policy. Friedman (1995) further notes that because in most of the times the policy makers are not directly affected by the policies they do not pay attention to details and consequences of

policies. Policy formulation should take into consideration the effects on the beneficiaries; otherwise it becomes problematic during implementation.

2.4.2. Policy Implementation

Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) define policy implementation as “a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared at achieving them” (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984). The two authors view implementation as a process that encompasses actions by the actors directed at achieving goals which were set in the policy. O’Toole (1995) defines it as “What develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something or stop doing something and the ultimate impact of world of actions” (O’Toole, 1995, p. 43). He regards policy implementation as the connection between what the governments had intended to do and the outcome expected. Ripley and Franklin (1986) define it as the activities that take place to ensure that the goals of the policy are realised. It involves actions by different actors such as government officials, principals, teachers, parents, community and students amongst others aimed at achieving the objectives set forth in the policy. According to Ripley and Franklin (1986) it encompasses resource acquisition, interpretation, planning, organising and providing benefits and services. There are many definitions for policy implementation, but for this study Ripley and Franklin (1986) definition will be adopted.

Policy implementation is not always a smooth process, sometimes it can result in what was not intended. According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) policy implementation becomes problematic once policy making is detached from what goes on at implementation level, creating a policy gap. Barrett (2004) highlighted four factors that can lead to policy implementation failure. These are; lack of clear policy objectives, many actors and agencies involved in implementation, inter and intra organisational values and interest differences between actors and agencies, and lastly relative autonomies among implementing agencies.

When objectives are not clear they create room for different interpretations which may result in misinterpretations. Having too many actors can lead to problems of communication and coordination hence the number of actors should be reasonable for effective implementation. Furthermore, if actors have differing perspectives and priorities this may affect implementation adversely. Identification of the reasons for failure depends on the perspective from which you are looking at the policy. Barrett (2004) seems to be looking at failure from the political perspective. Bah-Lalya and Sack (2003) look at it from the liberal perspective attributing policy implementation failure not to policy itself but to lack of adequate resources, inadequate monitoring and assessment, lack of adequate time, resistance from other actors, and lack of technical and administrative capacity among other factors.

According to Elmore (1978) four things have to be satisfied for policy implementation to be successful, these are: clearly specified tasks and objectives reflecting the intention of the policy; there should be a management plan allocating tasks and performance to different people or units; and lastly there should be objective means of measuring performance. Morah (1996) argues that to come up with a successful implementation strategy depends on the degree to which participating actors have been involved in the policy making process. If the actors have been part of the policy making process they will be in a better position to implement as they will be having sufficient knowledge of; its goals, beneficiaries, how it should be implemented, who is responsible for what, the consequences and how to mitigate them as well as the timeline. In an educational set up the school is viewed not only as an implementer of policies but also as a unit of policy planning and management (Chapman, 1990). Policy implementation at school level becomes more effective when the school leadership is also part of its formulation.

2.5. Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET)

Technical, vocational education and training is a direct means of providing learners and workers with skills relevant to the work environment. Literature on globalization claims that nation states are restructuring their education systems in an attempt to position themselves for a competitive economic environment (Henry et al. 1999; Carnoy, 1999; and Christie, 2008). African countries regard TVET as a vehicle for economic progression as highlighted in African Union (AU) report which states that ‘since education is considered the key to effective development strategies, TVET must be the master key that can alleviate poverty, promote peace, conserve the environment, improve the quality of life for all and help achieve sustainable development’ (AU report, p.19). Education is increasingly targeting economic and vocational goals and aims at producing skilled workers who can compete globally; hence there is a push for the nation states to improve technical and vocational education (Henry, et al. 1999).

Botswana is no exception; the government is also restructuring the education system to produce skilled workers who will be competitive globally, (Revised National policy on Education, 1994). The government established the Botswana Training Authority (BOTA) and its objectives were to: coordinate vocational training activities in order to achieve better integration and harmonisation of vocational training systems; monitor and evaluate the performance of the vocational training systems; and to advise on policy-related issues regarding vocational education (BOTA, 2010). The takeover of the Brigades in 2009 was an endeavour by the government of Botswana to improve TVET. The next section discusses the concept of Education with Production.

2.6. Education with Production (EWP)

EWP is “an approach to learning that involves an institutional interaction between the development of knowledge and skills on one hand and the process of production on the other hand” (Hoppers, 1996, p.1). Productive work is considered an important part of education; the involvement of learners in production is central to the learning process (Hoppers, 1995). Work is integrated in the curriculum especially the vocational training. The production can happen either in the institution or outside. EWP brings the trainees closer to the realities of life as a worker.

EWP was regarded in most developing countries as symbolizing a link with the traditional local communities in contrast with western types of education; they regarded it as an instrument for personal development, a source for moral fibre and self-reliance (Hoppers, 1995 and Van Rensburg 1978). EWP has different meanings for different people, ‘Educational economists expect cost recovery...economic developers look at it as a training concept for self-employment and job creation. Vocational educationists look at the pedagogical value of the concept...industrial psychologists consider it as an instrument...for facilitating the transition from work to school. Educational planners see it as a concept that absorbs school leavers not absorbed in other academic institutions and UNESCO sees it as a way to reconcile general education with specific vocational education’ (McEvoy et al, 2001, p.9) citing a summary from Conference proceeding on Training with Production. Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia are some of the countries where EWP was introduced in the education system.

In the next section case studies of EWP in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana are discussed.

2.7. Country case studies

2.7.1. Zimbabwe

Background of the country

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in the southern part of Africa. It borders with Zambia on the north, South Africa on the south, Botswana on the west and Mozambique on the east. The total land area of Zimbabwe is 390757 square metres and the population is estimated at 12.1 million (Murwira, 2011).

When Zimbabwe gained its independence from Britain in 1980, it inherited an education system which had two different systems within it. There were separate curricula for whites and blacks (Kanyongo, 2005). Schools for whites were mostly funded by the government while those for blacks were funded by the missions. According to Kanyongo (2005), the education in schools for black children, primary, secondary and vocational was inferior and it prepared black students to work as subordinates to their whites counterparts. After independence the government embarked on major reforms, which were to unify the two different education systems. The aims of the new education system were to: promote national unity, contribute to economic development through the supply of trained and skilled labour, and revive neglected languages and cultural values and to cultivate a way of life which embraced and enriched cultural diversity (Kanyongo, 2005).

In their endeavour to improve the education in the country, the government of Zimbabwe introduced the concept of EWP in some schools; the next subsection gives a detailed discussion on this.

Education with Production in Zimbabwe

EWP in Zimbabwe was introduced in 1981 as a pilot project in eight schools. The schools were set up to resettle ex-refugees. The pilot project was to be overseen by Zimbabwe

Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP) (Mudariki, 1986 and Nhundu (1997). The main aim of EWP was to address economic, pedagogical and political issues. The objectives of EWP policy were to;

- Promote socialist values and attitudes in pupils
- Assist in the mental decolonization of the learner
- Overcome the gap between mental and manual work, theory and practice and class work and real-life situations
- Work towards the reduction of education budget by making schools self-reliant
- Curb urban migration of unemployed school leavers
- Develop attitudes favourable to agricultural production
- Assist in the integration of schools and the community
- Supply the economy with worker-intellectuals with strong bias towards industrial and technical skills (Nhundu, 1997, pp. 51-52)

The project was marred by some problems which resulted in most of these objectives not being achieved. Some of the problems which were encountered during the implementation of EWP were: lack of planning on how the implementation was going to be done; lack of implementation timeline; rejection of the policy by the public and some Ministry of Education officials; lack of support from Ministry of Education; competition for the share of the market with western type of academic education which was viewed as superior; lack of funds; and lack of autonomy on the side of ZIMFEP as schools were under Ministry of Education (Nhundu, 1997, pp. 66-68).

Despite all the challenges, EWP in Zimbabwe had some success stories. The students were involved in the building of their schools (Mudariki, 1986). The establishment of production units resulted in; inter-disciplinary collaboration; students acquired business management

skills and financial rewards from running the production units; development of socialist values and attitudes as students managed to form successful cooperatives during and after training (Nhundu, 1997 and Mudariki, 1986). In the next subsection the Zambia case is discussed.

2.7.2. Zambia

Background of the country

Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia before independence. The country attained political independence from Britain on 24th October 1964. Prior to independence, provision of education in the country was mainly in the hands of missionaries. Like In Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), at independence there were two education systems running parallel on racial lines. There was the European education system and an African education system (Achola and Kaluba, 1989). The European schools were well-funded, provided with good learning facilities, and sufficiently staffed with qualified teachers. On the other hand African schools were neglected in many respects; and were the opposite of the European schools (Achola and Kaluba, 1989). As a result education of African children lagged behind in development. It was the responsibility of the new government to integrate the two systems of education. The government of Zambia also introduced the concept of EWP in their schools. The next subsection gives a detailed discussion on this.

Education with Production in Zambia

During the mid-1970s Zambia began to experience the adverse effects of a rapid population growth, deteriorating terms of trade, fall in copper prices and mounting inflation. These trends resulted in government reducing public expenditure for many social services (Achola and Kaluba, 1989). According to Achola and Kaluba (1989) there was an increase in the number of primary-school leavers who could neither obtain places in the nation's secondary schools nor be absorbed in the country's labour market.

As a way of addressing these problems, the government of Zambia came up with the policy to establish school production units. According to Achola and Kaluba (1989) the major policy document on education (Educational Reform, 1977) specified the following objectives for production units:

- To link theory with practical application in order to give pupils an all-round education.
- To close the existing gap between manual and mental work by showing that they are complementary.
- To help form socially desirable attitudes in pupils towards manual work.
- To facilitate the development in pupils of self-reliance, self-discipline and leadership qualities.
- To enable pupils to learn about planning, management, marketing and related aspects of production.
- To enable pupils to learn useful occupational skills for application in later life.
- To reduce the cost of educational provision through self-help by the institutions themselves. In this way schools would meet some of their food needs.
- To produce a cash surplus which could be used to improve and expand educational facilities (Achola and Kaluba, 1989, p. 167).

The policy led to the adoption of EWP as the government felt it had an important role to play in the country's socio-economic development (Achola and Kaluba, 1989). A presidential directive was issued in 1975 which instructed that all educational institutions should incorporate EWP in the form of production units into their activities (Achola and Kaluba, 1989 and Kaluba, 1986).

Although many people saw it as a good idea, EWP was not successful in Zambia. According to Achola and Kaluba (1989) and Kaluba (1986) the following are some of the causes of the

failures in the implementation of EWP in Zambia: the policy was harshly implemented without a considered implementation plan; there was dominance of agricultural activities which were not related to curricular activities in schools so that there was no link between theory and practice; most teachers lacked formal training to give them theoretical knowledge to inform practice; negative perceptions from the community linking EWP with blue collar jobs; lack of support from the government as there was a cut in education budget; and lack of defined content of production which made examining it difficult. EWP in Southern Africa started in Botswana; in the next subsection this is discussed.

2.7.3. Botswana

Education with Production in Botswana

EWP was introduced in Botswana by Patrick Van Rensburg when he established Serowe Brigades in 1965 (Van Rensburg, 1978). EWP or training with production as it is commonly known in Brigades was geared towards skill training and cost recovery. At its inception, the concept proved to be successful and this resulted in the establishment of more Brigades by different communities in the country (Van Rensburg, 1978). When EWP started, 80% of the trainees' time at school was used for production and 20% in theoretical subjects (Van Rensburg, 1978).

The Brigades established production units which supported EWP, and trainees worked in these units during production as part of their on the job training. The production units were headed by unit managers with skills in tendering and estimation and project management. Some units had registered with the Public Procurement & Asset Disposal Board to qualify to tender for government projects. Jobs were done by the trainees accompanied by their instructors or other experienced production workers. Brigades employed extra labour for bigger projects. The funds generated from the projects were used to improve training

facilities and to cover training costs. Trainees and instructors were paid allowances when they engaged in production activities.

Some production units were not meant to support EWP, but established purely for income generation. In these units fulltime production workers were employed. Some of the production units established by the Brigades were; auto mechanics garages, panel-beating businesses, sorghum mills, dress making businesses, welding and printers to name a few. Brigades without separate production units used to market themselves to the communities, private businesses, schools, government offices and other Brigades. The student would then go and work at these sites when needed as per contract.

The concept has gone through changes since its inception in 1965. As years passed the government and communities built more junior secondary schools. The government came up with a policy that all standard seven leavers should proceed to form 1 regardless of the grade they obtain in the primary school leaving examination (Moswela, 2004). The Brigades had to change focus from standard seven leavers to form 3 and 5 school leavers.

The concept of EWP in Botswana has been encountering challenges which threaten its future. The Brigades have been facing stiffer competition from private schools for students, and businesses for market-related products and services. Most parents preferred academic education for their children hence they sent them to the mushrooming private senior secondary schools (McEvoy et al, 2001) although they were of lower quality. The private businesses offered goods of better quality than those produced by the students. This led to some production units closing down (McEvoy et al, 2001). For some Brigades production work went down affecting the concept of EWP as the students had less work to do, but other Brigades were doing very well. Another problem related to the education system which emphasised high academic achievement at the expense of practical work (Mahube, 1996).

The problems encountered by the Brigades prompted the government of Botswana to take them in 2009. In the next session government/ state takeovers will be discussed.

2.8. Government /State Takeover

A state takeover is the takeover of an institution or district by the state as an attempt to increase accountability and restore trust (Wong & Shen, 2003). According to Wong & Shen, (2003) takeovers have been used in different states in United States and United Kingdom as a reform or intervention strategy to improve low performing schools. Takeovers could be ‘friendly’ or ‘hostile’ (Morck, Shleifer and Vishny, 1988). In friendly takeovers, the organization that is taking over negotiate with the stakeholders of the entity being taken over, meanwhile in a hostile takeover there are no negotiations. The main reasons for takeovers are to improve performance of the company and shareholder value. Takeover of educational institutions are meant to produce high student performance, effective financial and administrative management and to improve public perceptions of the institutions (Wong and Shen, 2003).

People have mixed feelings about state takeovers. Proponents of the takeovers claim that state takeovers:

- *Are a necessary extension of a state’s constitutional responsibilities*
- *Provide a good opportunity for state and local decision makers to combine resources and knowledge to improve children’s learning*
- *Allow a competent executive staff to guide an uninterrupted and effective implementation of school improvements efforts*
- *Are a catalyst for creating the right environment for the community to address a school district’s problems*

- *Allow for more radical and necessary changes in low-performing schools*
- *Place school boards on notice that personal agendas, nepotism and public bickering have severe consequences*
- *Use achievement data collected from schools and school districts to bolster accountability efforts (Ziebarth, 2004, p.2).*

However opponents of the takeovers believe that state takeovers:

- *Represent a thinly veiled attempt to reduce local control over schools and increase state authority over school districts*
- *Imply that the community has the problems and the state has the answers and thus falsely assume states have the ability to effectively run school districts*
- *Place poorly prepared state selected officials in charge with little possibility of any meaningful change occurring in the classroom*
- *Use narrow learning measures (i.e. standardized test scores) as the primary criterion for takeover decisions*
- *Usually focus on cleaning up petty corruption and incompetent administration and do not go into the root of the social problems facing disadvantaged students in urban school districts*
- *Foster negative connotations and impressions that hinder the self-esteem of school board members, administrators, teachers, students and parents*
- *Produce slowdowns between state and local officials that slow the overhaul of management practices, drain resources from educational reforms and reinforce community resentment (Ziebarth, 2004, p.2).*

According to Wong & Shen (2003) and Karp (2005) studies conducted in United States of America have shown mixed results from the takeovers, in some instances there was

improvements but in most of the cases there was little or no improvement at all. Despite showing negative results in many studies conducted, Ziebarth (2004, p.4) identified improved administration and financial management, upgraded the physical conditions of schools and implementation of innovative programs with school district- such as small schools programs and cooperative arrangement between schools and social services as positive achievements from some takeovers (Ziebarth, 2004, p.4).

Like any other reform the success of a takeover will depend on the availability of favourable conditions or factors. Brookover (2010) identified 5 factors that influence the success of a takeover, these are: accountability, collaboration, leadership, professional development and parental and community involvement. In the next paragraphs each of the factors are discussed.

Accountability is very important because it helps those who are on authority to monitor the organisation in order to improve its operations and results. Kirst and Bulkley (2001) stresses that there should be clear and straight lines of accountability in a school or district for the takeover process to be successful. When it is clear who is accountable for what and to whom, the organisation can know who to put pressure on and how that individual can be assisted and also the type of assistance needed.

There is also need for collaboration between the stakeholders for a takeover to be successful. Ziebarth (2004) asserts that all parties have to work together collaboratively for the takeover to be a success. There should be teamwork among teachers, other staff members, students, state appointed board, administrators, parents and the community.

Effective and proactive instructional and administrative leadership is required to implement change process. According to Mulford, Kendall, Ewington, Edmunds, Kendall and Silins (2008) since mid-1970s; research into school effectiveness and school improvement has

identified strong leadership as one of the most significant correlates of effective and improving schools. In order for the takeover to be successful there is need also to build a strong shared leadership in the institutions taken over (Brookover, 2010).

Professional development is also very important in school improvement. Prichard and Marshall refer to it as “the cornerstone of all reform efforts” (Pritchard and Marshall, 2002, p. 116). As professional development plays an important role in improving teaching and learning, there is need to train staff in areas of most need for the takeover to be a success. When teachers have content knowledge and the competence in delivery methods, student performance can improve.

Lastly there is need to work with the parents and communities. According to Brookover (2010) building trust and communicating with parents and community can lead to a successful takeover as the stakeholders will be able to support its objectives and goals as they will be well informed although they did not elect the board. The five factors discussed above have also been identified by Bergeson (2007) among his nine correlates of effective schools.

In the next section examples of state/government takeovers will be discussed.

2.8.1. Examples of takeovers

According to Karp (2005), takeover of schools by the state first emerged in New Jersey when the State of New Jersey took over the control of Jersey City Schools in 1989. The reasons for the takeover were financial mismanagement, political interference, corruption and nepotism and poor academic performance. The state removed the elected board, the schools’ management team and some senior officials; they were replaced with state appointed board and administrators (Karp 2005, Gardner 2007). Gardner (2007) highlights that despite the good intentions of the takeover; it encountered a lot of problems. Some of the problems encountered were: promotions and demotions which did not reflect employees’

qualifications, skills and abilities; many people were demoted; some were given different posts from their previous ones; and others were assigned temporary posts (Gardner, 2007). According to Karp (2005) there were some improvements made in the administration and financial management but nothing in student achievement.

In January 2004 the government of Botswana took over 206 Community Junior Secondary Schools (CJSS) from the communities (Moswela, 2007 and Ramadubu, 2012). CJSS were private secondary schools initiated by communities to cater for standard seven pupils who could not find space in government secondary schools. The government of Botswana went into partnership with the communities and put up resources in the schools. The takeover of CJSS came about as a request by the National Executive Committee of the Boards, school heads conference and CJSS staff. The reasons for the takeover were cited as; high staff turnover (non-teaching staff), unsatisfactory conditions of services for employees of CJSS, mismanagement of funds and lack of accountability by Boards of Governors and lack commitment by communities in meeting their obligations (Ramadubu, 2012). Moswela (2007) also cited difficulty in managing the schools as the reason for the takeover. In view of the cited reasons the government issued Presidential Directive CAB 23 (b) on 10th July 2003 instructing that on 1st January 2004 all the 206 CJSS should be absorbed by the government. The Board of governors were immediately dissolved; the government took control of all the functions of the schools (Ramadubu, 2012).

As the teaching staff were already government employees, the takeover only affected the non-teaching staff. All the staff of the CJSS were absorbed by the government after the takeover although some were redeployed to lower positions. However the redeployment did not affect their remuneration as their previous salaries were protected (Ramadubu, 2012).

Some benefits were accrued as a result of the takeover. Some of the benefits were; The takeover of CJSS The takeover of the CJSS was criticised by some people for disfranchising the communities (Moswela, 2007 and Tlale, 2004). The authors highlighted that the fact that the Boards which were representing the communities were dissolved meant that the communities no longer have a say in the running of the schools.

The South Carolina Department of Education took over the County School District in 1999. According to Bishop (2009) the objectives of the takeover were to improve; academic achievement, school performance and leadership in the district. According to the study the takeover failed to attain the objectives. There was no significant improvement in any of the three objectives (Bishop, 2009). The failure was attributed to lack of leadership at district level, toxic school climate, lack of teacher input, lack of consistent and stable leadership at school level, ineffective staff development and high turnover of faculty and administrators (Bishop, 2009, p.111). According to Bishop (2009) the failure to achieve its objectives resulted in the state giving back the control of the schools to the district in 2007. In the next section factors leading to centralization/takeovers are discussed.

2.9. Factors that lead to Centralization or Government/State takeover

Governments do centralize in order to resolve the problems of corruption and nepotism, incompetence, inefficiency, duplication of services, poor quality of education and lack of accountability by the local authorities (Norville, 1987, Wunsh, 2001). Centralization was an effort by the governments to: provide education and other resources to many people; reduce economic competition; improve quality of education by standardizing the content and provision of education; and to curb corruption and nepotism at local level (Hawkins, 2000 and McGinn & Welsh 1999). Countries can also centralize because the local authorities do not have the capacity to address some issues. According to Weiler (1990) the regulatory

function of centralized reforms is to standardize curriculum, qualifications and examinations to facilitate mobility of personnel globally. For example because of standardization a person can be employed from one country to another. Centralization enhances equity and reduces disparities between different areas of the country as scarce resources will be allocated taking into consideration the needs of areas. When governments decentralize, the legitimacy of the state is often eroded, and especially the poor people view the state as illegitimate. Hence in order to maintain their legitimacy the state has to centralize key areas to ensure that the poor are not disadvantaged (Hawkins, 2000).

The factors differ from one school to another, some schools were taken only for poor academic performance others for all the factors identified above (Karp, 2005; Wong and Shen 2003; Kirst and Bulkley 2001). In the next section strategies used by the government centralization or takeovers are discussed.

2.10. Strategies used by governments in centralizing or takeovers

There are different approaches that can be used by governments in centralizing institutions. Centralization can be total, whereby the government takes control of all the functions of the institution; it can also be partial, where the government takes control of some functions but leave others to the institutions. Similarly takeover can be permanent, whereby the government is not intending to return those functions to that level again or temporary, where by the functions can be centralized for some time and then given back to the institution (Eaton and Dickovick, 2004).

In the case of the community junior secondary schools in Botswana, the government fully centralized the institutions. It took control of everything; the boards were dissolved (Moswela, 2007).

According to Kirst and Bulkley (2001) there are three models of state takeovers these are: the mayoral control, the shared governance model, and lastly direct state control. In the mayoral control the state gives the mayor the authority to take control of the school system, in the shared governance the state replaces the elected board with a new board with representatives from the city and the state but the state have majority representation while in the direct state control the state takes full control of the school district, the elected board is removed and replaced with state appointed board or administrators (Kirst and Bulkley, 2001).

2.11. Challenges Faced in implementing EWP

Policy implementation is a very important part for the success of educational reforms. Research has shown that although many developing countries incorporated EWP in their educational reforms, its implementation has been a problem and as a result, the programmes were either abandoned or modified before they were given enough time to develop (Hoppers, 1995). Some of the problems which have been cited as hindering the implementation of EWP are: competition with other concepts of education which is associated with the realities of socio-economic structures and resistance from the public; (Hoppers, 1995 and Nhundu 1997). In addition to the mentioned problems, in Zimbabwe implementation of EWP policy failed due to; negative perceptions from teachers and public; a lack of an implementation plan and timeline; weakness in the conceptualizing of EWP, i.e. people did not understand what it was all about as the government had not explained; lack of management and technical skills in the schools; insufficient support from the government with finance, and staff training; lack of compatibility of the assessment standards and procedures and performance expectations to EWP (Nhundu, 1997).

2.12. Public, students and teachers' perceptions on EWP

In Zimbabwe and in South Africa the public associated EWP with a system which was introduced by the colonizers for black students, in order to create a working class and a labour pool to serve their colonial needs (Nhundu, 1997 and Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani, 2004). The Bantu education system was specially designed to keep the black population in positions of subservience. These forms of EWP argue Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004) were to perpetuate the master-servant relationship and this has made it difficult for the public to accept EWP in schools in South Africa. The public associated EWP with manual work and blue-collar jobs, and regarded western education highly and associated it with white-collar jobs.

The students in South Africa resisted working on farms, as they felt the demands of EWP were demeaning. They felt it was waste of time as they were not learning anything and they were given minor works not related to their training (Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani, 2004).

Some teachers in Zimbabwe who were expected to assist the students in production felt that it was a waste of their time. Nhundu (1997) quotes one of the teachers saying:

I want to be honest with you on this issue [of EWP). I don't believe in it at all, it's radical for my liking. It takes the kids away from their primary purpose for being here, that is learning the three Rs. Over my nine years as a teacher I have built a reputation of good results. I am not about to jeopardize that by spending three hours or so a day in the fields with kids. I know good grades, not bumper harvest will get me a promotion. I don't think I even belong here (Nhundu, 1997, p.62).

EWP had no support from the students, community, government officials and the teachers in Zimbabwe and this contributed much to its failure.

2.13. Summary

The above concepts discussed and literature reviewed will help to answer the questions the study is trying to address. Apart from gaining insight into the processes involved in the government takeover of the Brigades in Botswana the research also explored factors that could possibly lead to failure in the implementation of EWP. The next chapter will explain the methodology used in the study.

Chapter 3

3.0. Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods and procedures that were employed in this study to collect and analyse the data. Research methodology has been described as a combination of tools or methods used to collect and give meaning to data in a research (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). The following sub-topics are discussed in the chapter: research design, case study, population and sample size, site selection, research instruments such as semi-structured interviews, data collection analysis, reliability and validity, limitations of the study and ethical considerations.

3.2. Research Design

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1998), research design refers to the plan for how to proceed with the research. This research employed a qualitative approach for data collection using two Brigades as case studies.

3.2.1. Qualitative Research Method

This study used qualitative data collection and analysis techniques. The qualitative research approach seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the people involved. McMillan & Schumacher (2006) defined qualitative research as an in-depth study that uses face-to-face techniques to collect data from people in their natural settings. In this research, some data concerning individual perceptions needed to be collected, thus making a qualitative case study method the most appropriate method for this study/case study. Qualitative research focuses on natural settings, allowing those who are being studied to speak for themselves. According to Sherman and Webb(1995), qualitative research ‘implies a direct concern with experience as it is ‘lived’ or ‘felt’ or ‘undergone’ it aims to

understand experience as nearly as possible as its participants feel or live it” (Sherman and Webb, 1995 p.7).

3.2.2. A case study

Merriam (2001) argues that

“case studies can be defined in terms of, the process of conducting the enquiry (that is, as case study research), the bounded system or unit of analysis selected for study (that is, the case) or the product, the end report of a case investigation” (Merriam, 2001, p. 43).

This study concentrated on two Brigades out of 21 taken over by the government of Botswana. The case study approach was preferred for this study because of its ability to focus on the why and how things happen in certain ways and its focus on a particular case (Merriam, 2001).

3.3. Population and Sample size

According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006), it is better to do a small study well, than doing a large one poorly. Therefore, this study focused on two Brigades out of the twenty-one taken-over in 2009. The samples from each Brigade included the principal, four teachers involved in different trades and one member of the former board of trustees. In all, fourteen people and three focus groups were interviewed. Purposeful sampling was used to select the participants. According to Morse (1991) purposeful sampling selects the participants according to needs of the study. The participants were selected because they have extensive knowledge of the Brigades. The DTVET officers have worked with Brigades for a long time and were also involved with the takeover.

The researcher conducted two focus groups interviews in one Brigade and one in the other. Also interviewed were two officers from Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (DTVET). The interviews took about 45-60 minutes per group.

3.4. Site Selection

For the identification of the Brigades, the researcher looked at the report on rationalization of Brigades and identified the Brigades which matched the following selection criteria: (1) the Brigades should have been taken over in 2009; (2) the Brigades should have students who were part of the group that was taken over in 2009. The rationale for selecting these Brigades was that the Brigades have at least 3 years of experience as government institutions. This would enable them to compare their experience before the takeover with their experiences after the takeover. The other Brigades which were taken-over in 2011 do not have much experience to draw upon from their few months experience as government institutions. The same applies to the choice of students. The two Brigades were chosen as they were the only ones with students who were part of the group taken over in 2009 as they are running NCC programmes. The other participants were selected on the basis that they were directly involved with Brigades takeover project. The community members are former Board members of the Brigades hence they understand the concept of EWP.

3.5. Data Collection Instruments

3.5.1. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interview questions were used to gather information. These are tools used by the researcher to solicit data from the participants (Polite and Hungler, 1999). The study employed face-to-face semi-structured interview with open-ended questions. The semi-structured interviews afforded the interviewees the freedom to express themselves and enabled the researcher to get in-depth data from the participants (McMillan and Schumacher,

2006). Appendix 1 shows the interview questions. The interviews took about 45-60 minutes per session and they were audio-recorded with the permission of the interviewees. The recordings were then transcribed verbatim and checked by the participants for accuracy?

3.5.2. Document analysis

The documents were analysed using content analysis. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) define content analysis as

“a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of the text data through the systematic classification of coding and identifying themes and patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278).

The official documents analysed were minutes for meetings, directives, reports and registers for jobs done. The documents were analysed by reviewing and identifying themes and patterns that emerged. The data was then categorised according to the themes which were emerging.

3.6. Validity and reliability

According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006), validity is a judgement of the appropriateness of a measure or a test, while reliability is a measure for consistency. The concepts of validity and reliability grew out of quantitative paradigm of research. Their use continues to influence decisions about research quality. However in qualitative research, researchers are concerned more with issues of authenticity, believability and trustworthiness. Authenticity is defined as “the faithful reconstruction of participant’s perceptions” (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p. 335). The researcher also used different methods of data collection to ensure authenticity. Interviews, focus groups and document analysis were used. To ensure validity, the researcher interviewed various people in different capacities. The interviews were recorded and transcribed word-for-word to capture the actual things said by the participants. Some documents were also analysed to verify some of the information. Also to

ensure content validity, the research instruments were matched with the sub-questions of the research. According to Shenton (2004), to ensure trustworthiness, one may use different methods, familiarise himself with the culture of the participating organization, and use tactics like giving the participants option to refuse to participate (Shenton, 2004, p. 2). The researcher stipulated in the invitation letters that the participants had the option to pull out of the interviews. The researcher has worked in the Brigades for 7 years, so, she was very familiar with the organization. This experience also helped the researcher in sorting opinions from facts. The interview transcripts were sent to the interviewees for verification of correctness and comprehensiveness, although not all of them responded some did, but there were no queries.

3.7. Data analysis

Data analysis is a process of arranging information so as to increase the researcher's understanding and enable a presentation of what has been uncovered to the readers (Bogdan & Biklein, 1992). In this study, the technique of content analysis as recommended by Vithal & Jansen (1997) was used. The names of the Brigades and the participants were withheld. For reference and identification in this study, symbols were used. The Brigades were named Brigade 1 and 2 (B1 and B2). The teachers were also given names such T1B1, T1B2 (Teacher 1 Brigade1, Teacher 1 Brigade2). The principals were referred to as e.g. PB1 and PB2 (principal Brigade 1 or 2). The former Board members for Brigade 1 and 2 were referred to as FBMB1 and FBMB2. DTVET officers were referred to as DO1 and DO2. Students were also given symbols, such as S1B1 (student 1 Brigade 1).

An audiotape recorder was used to capture the responses of the interviewees. After getting the transcripts from the person who was transcribing, they were carefully read through. For the sake of trustworthiness, the transcripts were sent to schools for verification and correction

if necessary. The data was analysed by identifying similarities, differences and trends that were developing. To aid the analysis, the researcher used what Powell and Renner (2003, p.2) refer to as 'focus by question'. This means that the data pertaining to a specific question would be put together and analysed. Responses from respondents for each question were put together to identify consistencies and differences. The data was then categorised to give meaning to it. Sub-categories based on themes emanating from interviews were used to undertake a more detailed interpretation of the data (Powell and Renner, 2003). This was achieved by developing inductive codes based on initial analysis, and in addition, deductive codes were made based on themes emanating from data collected. Appendix 7 shows how the data was analyzed. The next section discusses the limitations of the study.

3.8. Limitations of the study

The findings of the study cannot be generalised to all Brigades since only two Brigades were looked at. Another limitation is that the sample size of those interviewed is very small as only fourteen and three focus groups were interviewed although they represented the key stakeholders. This case study cannot claim to be a representative of all the 21 Brigades taken over in 2009. The other limitation is that the contexts of Brigades are different as some Brigades are in very remote areas while others are in town, so one-size-fits-all approach cannot be applied here.

Since the researcher is an insider and this may to some extent compromise the validity of the data. Brannick and Coghlan (2007) define insider research as research done "by complete members of organizational systems and communities in and on their own organizations" (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007, p.59). Despite the limitations, the results of the study may relate to other similar situations. Again it can help others learn about factors that lead to centralization. In the next section ethical considerations will be discussed.

3.9. Ethics

The central question about ethics is how to conduct a research which will cause no or least harm to the subjects. Four important considerations contribute to this, these are; informed consent, autonomy, right to withdraw and privacy (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). The above principles were taken into consideration. Invitation letters and consent forms were sent to all interviewees, and the letters stated that participation was voluntarily and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at anytime (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). The researcher ensured that consent forms were signed by all participants before the interviews were conducted. To preserve and protect human dignity and the rights of the participants, as indicated by Jenkins, Price & Straker (2003), the interviewees were assured of confidentiality and that their names will not appear in the study. The names of the Brigades and interviewees are not mentioned but instead they were given symbols such as Brigade 1 and 2 and participants were given numbers to identify them. Permission was sort from Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training and Brigades Principals to conduct the research in the two Brigades. Permission was granted by the Director of DTVET. Before conducting the study, the researcher submitted an application to the Ethics committee of Wits University; it was only after their approval that the research was conducted (protocol no. 2012ECE123). Correspondences and consent forms to the participants are shown in appendixes 2-6. In Appendix 8, 9 and 10 are the letters for seeking permission, authorisation from DTVET and Ethics clearance certificate respectively.

3.10. Summary

This chapter reviewed the methods that were used in the production of this study. It presented an overview and details of the research approach and the design of the study. A description of sampling, and data analysis procedures was given. The chapter also discussed the instruments used for data collection and the limitations the research had in conducting the study as well as

the procedures taken to ensure that the principles of ethics are taken into consideration. In the next chapter, the findings of the study are presented, analysed and discussed.

Chapter 4

4.0. Data Analysis, presentation and discussion

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the analysis, presentation and discussion of the data from the interviews and the documents analysed. Before presenting the data, the Brigades' profile is briefly outlined.

4.2. The Brigades Profile

One of the Brigades is situated in the Kgalagadi District and the other in the Southern District. The Brigades were established by the communities with the help of foreign donors one in 1968 and the other in 1978. Together the two Brigades have a capacity to enroll 704 students per annum. One of the Brigades offers the following courses up to National Craft Certificate (NCC): Auto Mechanics, Bricklaying and Plastering, Carpentry and Joinery and Architectural Draughting. In addition it offers Certificate in Accounts and Business Studies (CABS). The other Brigade offers: Bricklaying and Plastering and Welding and Fabrication up to Trade B, and Auto Mechanics and Carpentry and Joinery up to National Craft Certificate and Certificate in Computer studies.

4.3. Data Analysis

How the data was analysed has been discussed in chapter 3, hence, I will not go deeper into it. However, as indicated in Chapter 3, the researcher used what Powell and Renner (2003, p.3) refer to as focus by question as a way to focus the analysis. Each transcript was analysed question by question and data pertaining to the same question from different respondents was put together to identify consistencies and differences. In the next subsection the data is presented.

4.4. Data Presentation

The following table indicates how data was collected through interviews and focus groups.

Table 4.1: Data Collection Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Brigade 1 (B1)	Brigade 2 (B2)	Other
Four students (S1B1, S2B1, S3B1 and S4B1): 1 focus group	Eight students (S1B2, S2B2, S3B2, S4B2, S5B2, S6B2, S7B2 and S8B2): 2 focus group	Two DTVET officials (DO1; DO2): interviews
Four teachers (T1B1, T2B1, T3B1 and T4B1):interviews	Four teachers (T1B2, T2B2, T3B2 and T4B2): interviews	
Principal (PB1): interview	Principal (PB2):interview	
One former board member (FBMB1):interview	One former board member (FBMB2): interview	

The following documents were also analyzed:- projects report from Brigade1, minutes of meetings, Brigades takeover project report, Brigades Takeover Reference Group briefings and directives. Appendix 4.1 contains the views of the respondents on all the main research questions. The following was explored:

- Factors that led to centralization of the Brigades
- The objectives for the Centralization
- Strategies used in the centralization of the Brigades
- Challenges faced as a result of centralization
- How centralization can be improved in the future

- Perception on EWP by teachers, students and communities
- Perception on the impact of centralization on EWP
- Challenges faced on implementing EWP after centralization
- Strategies used to address these challenges
- How EWP can be improved.

4.4.1. Factors that led to the centralization of the Brigades

There are different factors that were reported to have led the government to centralize the Brigades. The students highlighted financial instability, mismanagement and misappropriation of funds and poor quality of education as factors that led to the takeover of the Brigades by the Botswana government. Teachers, principals, former Board members and DTVET officers concurred with them. DTVET officers and principals also highlighted corruption and pressure from communities as some of the factors.

Respondents, including those in the focus groups, highlighted that financial instability of the Brigades was the main factor that influenced the takeover. DO1 had this to say:

The level of production went down leaving many Brigades struggling financially and the subsidy was not enough to cover the expenditures of the Brigades as there was a high rate of dropouts-: sometimes the employees would not get their salaries or if they did the salaries would not be in full.

T3B1 had this to say:

The Brigades were short of funds, as Brigades we were competing with other businesses so the level of production went down leaving many financially strangled.

Addressing Board chairpersons of Brigades, the Permanent Secretary had this to say;

Unfortunately in the last 5-6 years much has deteriorated in Brigades, the production has gone down and has in many cases practically stopped. According to reports some Brigades even go to an extent of taking their training grants to pay production workers and others have created large debts they are not able to pay.

Financial instability, according to some teachers is the reason that delayed the takeover of eighteen Brigades and these were taken over in 2011. The Brigades could not afford to pay their liabilities. The teachers highlighted that the government ended up taking them with their liabilities as their situation was disadvantaging the staff and students.

Another factor which led to the takeover was reported to be mismanagement and misappropriation of funds. This was also highlighted by the Permanent Secretary when addressing Board Chairpersons of the Brigades in 2002 and also in the consultancy report conducted in 2001. This is what DO2 had to say:

The government saw no other alternative to take over as these issues were serious because they affected many Brigades-: the government was spending millions on Brigades but could not see improvement in the yield some Brigades were misusing the subsidy and they could not account for it.

Some teachers have attributed the failure in managing Brigades effectively and efficiently to lack of competence by board members and lack of managerial skills by Coordinators. It was alleged that some people were appointed just because they had been working in Brigades for many years. T2B2 had this to say:

Some Boards were not competent as some Board members did not understand anything about management.

When addressing the Boards chairpersons, the then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education had this to say with regard to mismanagement and misappropriation of funds in Brigades:

It would appear that some chairpersons just sign cheques without checking what the money is for and whether the Board has approved the expenditure. One Brigade was given funds to buy computers but used the funds to buy a vehicle leaving commercial students without the tools required for training.

Even though some respondents believe that there was indeed some mismanagement and misappropriation of funds in many Brigades, some teachers had a different view, as this excerpt reveals:

My belief is that the government thought there was mismanagement in almost all the Brigades: the truth is the opposite, a very few Brigades if any were having that problem... (T4B1)

The other factor highlighted during the study was the poor quality of education in the Brigades. According to respondents, financial problems encountered by the Brigades compromised the quality of education in the Brigades. T1B1 had this to say:

Fa e santse ele Trust dilo tse dintse re ne re sa di kgone ka ntata ya madi go ne go ama boleng jwa thuto (Meaning: when we were still a Trust we could not manage a lot of things due to lack of funds and this affected the quality of education).

Teachers and principals also blamed the decline in quality on the syllabi which were out-dated. It was reported that Madirelo Trade and Testing Centre had not reviewed the training standards since their inception. T2B1 had this to say:

Madirelo Trade and Testing Centre (MTTC) has not reviewed the standards for so many years, for example in Auto Mechanics they still refer us to very old models of vehicle which were used 20 years ago and there are no more in the market, in bricklaying and plastering trainees are not taught the new ways of building, things have changed people are using computers in construction and other trades but nothing like that in the MTTC syllabi...

From the minutes of the meeting held in 2002 chaired by the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education, it was mentioned that:

The training in the Brigades has also reached a level of irrelevance. The courses were okay ten years ago: however, now the employers need something different in terms of curricular[] and they require output of higher standards in order to compete globally. (Permanent Secretary in a meeting in 2002)

However students felt there was no problem with the quality of education. Many students from Brigades were finding jobs as companies preferred them to their counterparts from Technical Colleges that were government sponsored. S7B2 had this to say:

Before the takeover, employers used to value Brigades graduates because they felt that the students knew what they were doing.

In one of the meetings with Principals, the current Deputy Permanent Secretary concurred with the students about the quality of Brigades graduates:

I will prefer to give my car to a Brigade graduate to fix it than to give it to a Technical College graduate because Brigades graduates have better practical training than the Technical College graduates. (Deputy Permanent Secretary MOESD)

Pressure from some communities for the government to take over the Brigades was one of the reported factors. It was mentioned that communities felt Brigades were not being to run efficiently. PB2 commented that:

Some communities complained that some Brigades were not operating well, they were misusing government funds, and hence the government should take them to control the Brigades.

4.4.2. The objectives for the Centralization

Respondents were asked what the government was trying to achieve by centralizing the Brigades, and whether the government has achieved this so far. The students indicated that the objectives which the government were pursuing by centralizing Brigades were to: improve the quality of education, relieve communities of the burden of running Brigades and improve management of the Brigades. Teachers and principals concurred with the students, but in addition, they highlighted there was an expected improvement in staff welfare, Brigades status and infrastructure. The former Board members only highlighted that the objective was to relieve the Boards because they could not manage to run the Brigades effectively. DTVET officers concurred with other respondents but in addition they highlighted that the other objectives were to take over all the Brigades and to convert them into Technical Colleges.

Cabinet Memorandum 166 also highlights that the objective was to take all Brigades and convert them into Technical Colleges thus improving quality of education.

There were different views as to what has been and what has not been achieved. Some respondents indicated that the government has achieved the objectives for the takeover. Others indicated that the objectives have not been achieved while some felt that they have been partially achieved. The students pointed out that of the three objectives they have

highlighted the only objective achieved was that of relieving the communities, the other two have not been achieved. Teachers and principals concurred with the students that the takeover relieved the communities and that nothing has been achieved in improving quality of education. But some of them do differ with regard to an improvement in Brigades management which they felt that had been partially achieved. Teachers and principals also felt there was partial achievement in improving staff welfare, Brigades status and infrastructure. Former Board members also concurred with the students. DTVET officers indicated that there has been progress in achieving some of the objectives but this does not include an improvement in the quality of education and converting the Brigades into Technical Colleges. DO2 commented that:

I would say the takeover took a long time to be completed but in the long run it was successful because all Brigades which were willing to be taken over were eventually taken and that was the major aim of the takeover project team it has been a relief to the boards it is no longer their question whether staff will be paid by the end of the month or not.

All respondents who commented on the quality of education have stated that the government has not yet achieved this objective. Some challenges have been highlighted as hindering achievement of these objectives. These are: non-participation in training in production, government bureaucracy and unqualified teaching staff. Some respondents indicated that despite the abundance of funds to procure teaching and learning material it had been a big challenge to acquire them as the tendering process was a problem. T2B1 stated that:

Quality of education has not yet improved, if you take a strong component of education like Training with Production, students were benefitting before takeover

than as compared to the present system, the standard of education in Brigades has dropped.

T3B2 concurred with him:

Although money is there, we are unable to use it as we need and want because of red tape for example we don't have books but there is money for books but the problem is the tendering process it can take the whole year resulting in the funds being returned and this compromise quality we can't talk of it as long as we don't have books, practical materials and protective clothes for the students.

Respondents differed when it came to improvements in staff welfare. Respondents, who indicated that staff welfare has improved, cite increases in salaries, membership to medical aid and pension funds, job security and opportunities for further education, as indication of staff welfare improvements. PB1 commented that:

Staff welfare has improved. There is job security- they are sure of getting their salaries at the end of the month unlike in the past where at times it was a big challenge for some. Brigade staff could go for months without pay and now they can benefit like all other government employees there is pension, medical aid and opportunities for further studies.

However, there are those who maintain that this objective has not yet been achieved although there are some benefits for staff. They cite cases where some people had been temporarily employed since 2009 which means they are not on a medical aid, or a member of a pension scheme and cannot be sent for further studies. Others were taken on at a lower salary than what they would have earned before the takeover. Some were placed in more demanding

posts without the remuneration that should accompany such increased responsibilities. T3B1 commented that:

Some staff members were not hired permanently and this hinders their progression as they cannot be promoted and socially it affects them because they can't get loans from the banks. Some people have been caretaker deputy principals and heads of departments for the past three years they are doing the jobs for deputy principals and heads of departments but they are not paid for that so there is no improvement in staff welfare.

T2B2 had this to say:

Some posts are not rewarded accordingly for example a principal at a Brigade is at D3 and the one at a Technical College is at D2 [This is] an abnormal situation since all these institutions are certificate offering institutions, some people are paid lower than what they earned before takeover despite being told that their salaries were protected.

With regard to management those who claim that the objective has been met cite the transfer of principals and sending of others for further studies. DO2 had this to say:

On the part of running of the Brigades we are trying our best to improve the management we have transferred the principals because some of them had been at the same Brigades for more than ten years and that on its own could compromise quality, and we have sent some principals for further studies.

Those who reported that the objective of improvement of management had not been achieved highlighted that the same people who were running the Brigades before takeover were still

running them. There is a lack of organisational structure and management teams. T3B2 had this to say:

I don't think the objective has been achieved because the same people who have been managing the Brigades are still running them now, their positions were just changed from Coordinator to Principal, and nothing has been done to improve the way they do things.

T1B2 concurred by saying:

The difference between the principal and the other staff members is very big it makes the management of the institution to fail to run it properly, something has to be done as soon as possible. The gap between the principal and the teachers is a big problem, there is no leadership, this needs to be taken seriously, as soon as possible.

According to the responses the government has only achieved two objectives fully, while those of quality and converting the Brigades into Technical Colleges are lagging behind.

4.4.3. Strategies used in centralization of the Brigades

The respondents highlighted several of the strategies used by the government of Botswana in centralizing the Brigades. According to the teachers, principals and DTVET officers, a Brigades Takeover Project Team (BTPT) with its own office and personnel was established and the Permanent Secretary appointed a reference group to work with the Brigade Takeover Project office. The group was known as Brigades Takeover Reference Group (BTRG). This reference group consisted of representatives from Ministry of Education, the Attorney General, National Brigades Coordinating Committee (NBCC); Coordinator's forum and other ministries. The former Board members stated that prior to the takeover, consultative meetings with communities owning the Brigades were held by different education Ministers,

Permanent Secretaries and DTVET officers from 2002 to 2009. Teachers, principals and DTVET officers concurred with them. When the BTPT and BTRG were established, they also continued with/participated in the consultative meetings with the Boards, communities and Brigades principals. In the BTPT report it is stated that:

All communities have been consulted and have expressed their willingness to handover their Brigades to the government. However there are two Brigades run by churches that have not yet resolved to be taken over by the government as they want compensation for their infrastructure.

Respondents indicated that a memorandum of agreement was signed between the Ministry of Education and Skills Development (MOESD) and the Brigades Boards of Trustees. The Boards of Trustees and the Deeds of Trust were immediately dissolved to pave the way for the takeover. According to the teachers, principals and DTVET officers, the government of Botswana had/aimed to centralized all the functions of the Brigades. The government took over the training department of the Brigades and left the production units to the communities. The communities were left without a say in the running of the Brigades. PB2 had this to say:

The government took over the Brigades as a whole the community and boards do not have a say in the running of the Brigades, everything is now centralised, even though we do some of the things, we need to seek authorization from DTVET and we report to them.

Teachers, principals and DTVET officers pointed out that when the government initially took over the first 21 Brigades in 2009, they took the assets, staff and students but did not take the liabilities. The condition for the takeover was that the Brigade should have cleared their liabilities. However, they pointed out that the Brigades absorbed in 2011 had their liabilities taken-over.

When asked if the strategies used by the government were effective, some respondents indicated that they were not. Students pointed out that at least the government should have treated Brigades the same way as Technical Colleges after takeover because they run same courses. Teachers, principals, former Board members and DTVET officers felt that the strategy used to centralize the Brigades denied the communities their own initiative. DO1 had this to say:

Personally, I feel it would have been better if the government had funded the Brigades and reinforced the management on how to run the Brigades rather than taking [over] because the way they were operating [in] the community was involved and they had a say that they owned the Brigades which was part of ipelegeng (self-reliance); if the community had that initiative and came with an institution, I would rather reinforce it than taking., The sense of ownership is no longer there which is not good because now everything is under government.

Teachers and former board members reported that some communities regretted their agreement to the takeover because the Boards and Deeds of trust were dissolved leaving the property of the production units under no one. Communities could not continue running the production units as they were initially set up as a trust. FBMB2 made the following comment which others concurred with:

The community was happy to the presentation of the task force but after the takeover they felt that they should not have done that, it created problems that the property left for the community 'ga e mo matsogong aga ope' (nobody is responsible for it), board has dissolved nobody is taking care of that property and it is under nobody because the trust was dissolved too.

According to the respondents the strategies used were not very effective as there were so many challenges facing by the DTVET and the Brigades. In the next section, these challenges are discussed.

4.4.4. Challenges faced as a result of centralization

The students lamented that since the Brigades were taken-over by the government, Training with Production programme had stopped. Department officials highlighted the following challenges which were encountered as a result of centralization-: staff absorption, collection of revenue, Brigades organizational structure, posts not being rewarded appropriately and the loss of EWP. These challenges are also highlighted in the BTPT report. In this section, the challenges will be discussed with exception of EWP as there is a section where it will be discussed separately.

Teachers, principals and DTVET stated that the government failed to absorb permanently staff who qualified to be absorbed. They pointed out that a lot of Brigades staff have been hired temporarily and some of them since 2009 as they are no posts in the public service. As a result, some Brigades employees are disgruntled and de-motivated. PB2 had this to say:

There are no posts so a lot of people are temporarily employed and they are not happy about it as they cannot enjoy the benefits of being [part of] a public service.

DO2 concurred by making this comment:

When Brigades were taken they were taken without posts. That was one area that was not effective to staff though it took place [and] it left a lot of wounds to staff who were not given posts within a reasonable time.

According to the report by BTPT the unavailability of the posts resulted in the halting of the takeover in 2010. The report stated that:

Admittedly the project continues to experience some challenges which are a hindrance to its progress; currently the takeover has been halted due to unavailability of posts.

The lack of organizational structure according to some teachers, principals and DTVET officers resulted in people being appointed in acting positions for the managerial posts but without being rewarded for the extra responsibilities.

PB1 had this to say about the organizational structure:

There is a principal with no deputy and no heads of departments with only the teachers who are made to care take for those posts at no extra pay they are not recognized, no benefits attached, they are in the same scale with the people they are supposed to supervise.

Principals and DTVET officers indicated that some posts were not rewarded accordingly after the takeover. DO2 had this to say:

For example, the principals in the Brigades were rewarded at D3 while their counterparts at Technical Colleges are at D2 but the institutions all offer courses up to certificate.

Principals and DTVET officers also said that some employees' salaries were reduced after takeover despite having been assured that salaries were protected. When asked how the government was addressing the challenges the DTVET officers indicated that a lot is being done even though the issues have not been resolved yet. They also indicated that teams comprising of principals and DTVET officers are looking at the Brigades organizational structure, EWP and the issue of remuneration. DO2 had this to say:

A committee has been set up to look at the salaries for Brigades principals we hope the issue will be resolved, with regard to those being paid less than what they got before the takeover that abnormality is also being dealt with [and] we hope things will be normalized soon.

The DTVET officers indicated that the Ministry of Education and Skills Development has managed to acquire some posts and they are hopeful that before the end of 2013, all the Brigades staff will be given permanent posts, except for those on contract.

4.4.5. How centralization can be improved in the future

Respondents were asked how they think centralization can be improved in the future. Teachers and principals suggested that:- approval of enough posts should be done before centralization and the organizational structure of the institutions should be clear. The DTVET officers suggested that a strategic plan should be drawn up and more options regarding alternatives to centralization should be considered. Also, there needs to be a staff complement at Head Office to support the additional workload that comes with centralization; and there should be strategies to mitigate the negative effects of centralization. DO1 had this to say:

They should produce a strategic plan that would spell out what activities are to be carried out be it short-term, medium or long-term.

PB2 responded stated:

The availability of the posts should be ensured first, the organizational structure of the institutions should be clear before it is taken over to avoid the gaps of having principal without management team.

4.4.6. Perception on Education with Production by teachers, students and communities

Respondents were asked what they think about EWP and whether it was necessary. All the teachers and the principals interviewed indicated that they see EWP as an integral part of learning in Brigades. T1B1 had this to say:

Yes, because what we intend to produce from the Brigades should be someone able to do with hands self-employed, if we forget about the production we are not going to have products needed in the industry and will not be self-employed and we will end up importing craftsman from other countries yet we have institution to train them.

T4B1 had this to say:

It is very important sometimes students learn better when they are working on projects.

Some teachers highlighted that it is not only the students who benefit, they also benefit as production keeps them up to date with new trends. T1B2 stated that:

Yes, it's another way of updating our skills, if you take more years without doing production you will forget; every time and again you need to upgrade your mind.

Although teachers indicated that they are willing to take part in production work, the principals claimed that of late some teachers had not been keen to participate. Some teachers cited that their job descriptions did not require them to do production while some cited lack of incentives. Before takeover there was an allowance for teachers and students participating in production to motivate them. PB1 had this to say:

Teachers are reluctant because there is no incentive for that they want allowance as was the case before takeover, those involved in production were being given something to motivate them.

PB2 concurred by saying:

Some teachers do not have problems with taking part in production but some feel their job descriptions do not state that they should be involved in production hence they don't want to.

All the students interviewed agreed with their teachers that EWP is a very important part of their learning. They indicated that they were willing to participate in production because it helped them to understand their trades better and that they gained experience. S1B1 had this to say:

It helps us to have more experience, without Training with Production our education will have no value the employers won't value us anymore.

This is supported by the comments from some of the teachers. T2B2 stated that:

Students are eager to participate in production because some of them will even ask you to make them repair private vehicles to have experience.

T4B1 had this to say:

Students like to work on production as they get experience but sometimes they are demotivated by the fact that they don't get allowance for that. There should be a form of allowance so that they can have some money to use because some of them are orphans and needy students.

The former board members concurred with the teachers and the students that EWP is a very important component in learning practical subjects. They also felt that the lack of EWP impacted negatively on the community. FBMB1 commented that:

Lack of EWP has impacted negatively on the community because the services “tse baneng ba di bona ga di sathola di le teng re tsamaya sekgele se setelele go bona thuso jaanong.” (Meaning; they are no more getting the services they used to get at the Brigades and now they have to travel a long distance to get help)

4.4.7. Perception on the impact of centralization on Education with production

The principals and the teachers felt that the centralization of the Brigades by the government has negatively impacted on the concept of EWP. The teachers highlighted that there has been a serious decline in production activities and in some departments it is no more. Most of them have indicated that they have not been engaged in production since takeover. Those who have been studying in the construction departments claim that EWP is not done the same way it was in the Brigades before takeover. It is has not been done for self-reliance as they are now working on poverty eradication projects for charity and maintenance of government buildings. Teachers also indicated that sometimes they have to work after working hours and during weekends due to pressure of work but they are not paid for all these efforts. They lamented that there has been a decline in the performance of the students especially in practical subjects because they are not getting enough practice. T3B1 had this to say:

Really, I can say it's no longer there, in the exemption of community service in poverty eradication projects. We are not doing it the way we were doing before the government took over, we used to market ourselves to the community, the private

sector and other Brigades, we had a lot of projects and our students were benefiting but now there is nothing.

T2B1 commented that:

Before takeover we went around looking for jobs, we had production units, after getting a project we took students to the production units or if the job was outside school we took them there to do the job the students were benefitting [and] even the communities because our prices were reasonable. Within our timetable we had the time for production, sometimes for two weeks in a month we will just be working on production depending on how big the project was, but now we don't market ourselves and we don't have production units.

The students and former Board members also felt the takeover killed EWP. S4B1 had this to say:

“Bogologolo re ne re dira production go dira ka diatla now re itse dikwalo fela, I haven't touched koloi ka matsogo since takeover.” (Meaning; in the olden days we used to do production now we only do theory I haven't touched a car with my hands since takeover).

FBMB1 had this to say:

EWP has been killed, training 'ya gompiano' (today's training) they just come and after that they don't have practical skills.

4.4.8. Challenges faced on implementing EWP after centralization

This question was directed to teachers and principals as the implementers of the initiative. The teachers and the principals have indicated that they are facing challenges in implementing EWP as government institutions. The challenges which have been highlighted

included opening of a below-the-line account (this is a private account opened for institutions to deposit funds which they may have generated, the money doesn't go to government account, the institutions have direct access to the funds); no guidelines and procedures on how EWP should be implemented; no production units; no incentives for students and teachers; and poverty eradication projects that are not aligned with school timetable.

Principals and teachers have indicated that without a below-the-line account they cannot work on projects or vehicles for the public as they would not have an account in which to deposit the money. They stated that EWP was stopped because they do not have the account set up. PB1 had this to say:

We are unable to help the public because we do not have a below-the-line account, without the account we can't charge people as there will be no account to deposit the money hence we cannot look for jobs anymore.

According to the principals the below-the-line accounts were supposed to have been opened by DTVET for all the Brigades but that has not happened. PB1 had this to say:

I understand DTVET was supposed to open the accounts for the Brigades but there has been no progress, because it's like we have two masters some are saying it is possible and others saying it is impossible we don't know which is which. This has affected training with production negatively as there is nothing which can be done on production.

The DTVET officers have indicated that the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) is reluctant to open the accounts because some Technical Colleges' accounts have been dormant for years.

Another challenge identified by the teachers and principals was that there were no guidelines and procedures on how EWP should be implemented in these government institutions. PB2 had this to say:

Before the takeover, Brigades were autonomous so each Brigade had its own guidelines and procedures. Now that they are government institutions [and] they need uniform guidelines and procedures.

According to the respondents the government took over the Brigades without putting in place a strategy on how EWP would be implemented. T3B2 stated that:

Our challenge now is that there are no guidelines as to how it should be done; the government took Brigades without putting in place how production is going to continue.

Teachers and principals have noted that the lack of production units is also a hindrance to the implementation of EWP in the Brigades since takeover. The government did not take over the production units and they were given to the communities but this has proved to be a disadvantage for EWP. PB2 had this to say:

At first, they never took EWP very serious [ly] because how do you give the production units to the community when you know that they are also being used by the students for learning honestly this issue frustrates the Brigades because their mandate was for rural development and to encourage self-reliance, but now we don't know what the mandate is. I think Patrick [Van Rensburg] will be very sad about this, he started a very good concept but [the] takeover is killing it.

Teachers and principals also indicated that the lack of incentives for students and teachers involved in production may make it difficult for them to implement EWP in the Brigades in

the future if this is not addressed. According to the respondents, before the government took over the Brigades, students and teachers involved in production were given an allowance to motivate them. But, since takeover it has not been the case. Teachers have commented that the department which has been involved in production has been doing projects for charity and maintenance of government buildings and nothing was paid to the Brigades for the work. This has resulted in reluctance from teachers and students to embark on projects as they sometimes have to work after-hours to meet deadlines. T1B1 said:

Students and teachers are not very happy with the fact that they have to work overtime but not being given something as appreciation for their work. It will be much easier to implement when teachers and students are given incentives like allowance.

Teachers indicated that misalignment of poverty eradication projects with the school timetable has also made the implementation of EWP problematic. They pointed out that because there is no coordination, projects arise at any time of the year with demands that these be done urgently. They said that sometimes they do not accept the projects because they are given to them when the students are writing exams or during the holidays when they are not there. T1B2 had this to say:

People are coming for help with these poverty eradication projects but it's only that we are failing to meet their needs because they were not in our plans the schedule sometimes does not allow us to take students there because they have academic work to do, school timetable... and community service projects collide and this is due to the fact that the projects were not given to us to coordinate.

4.4.9. Strategies used to address these challenges

Teachers, principals and DTVET officers were asked about the strategies used to address the challenges faced by Brigades in implementing EWP. The respondents suggested the

following strategies: negotiating with MFDP to open below-the-line accounts for the Brigades; negotiating with Central Transport Organization (CTO) and Department of Buildings and Engineering Services (DBES) to give projects to Brigades and the setting up of a task team to draw the guidelines and procedures for implementing EWP. In addition to the above the teachers highlighted collaboration with stakeholders to align the projects with the institution's timetable.

Opening of the below-the-line account will enable Brigades to assist communities as they used to do before takeover. One respondent stated that they have been negotiating since 2009 and they hope it will eventually bear fruit, as explained in the following excerpt:

We have been talking to Ministry of Finance since 2009 when we realized Brigades cannot continue with EWP without the accounts. It has been a challenge because some Technical Colleges have not used their accounts, but we are trying to make them see things differently because Brigades are unique. We are hopeful that they will open the accounts soon. (DO1)

DTVET officers/officials indicated that instead of establishing production units, DTVET has started negotiations with CTO to give some of their vehicles for maintenance and panel beating to the Brigades. Negotiations are also going on with DBES to give some of their maintenance work on government buildings to the Brigades as this will enable students to gain practice.

Teachers, principals and DTVET officers also indicated that DTVET has established a team consisting of DTVET officers, Brigades and Technical College staff to draw up procedures and guidelines for EWP.

4.4.10. How EWP can be improved to benefit students and the communities

Respondents were asked to suggest ways in which EWP could be improved. The students felt that the government should re-introduce the production units, and that EWP should be handled the way Brigades did it before the takeover. The former Board members have the same view as those of the students. The teachers and principals indicated that the improvement of the implementation of EWP lies in the hands of the government. They suggested that DTVET should do the following: (1) come up with a policy on EWP; (2) come up with clear guidelines on how EWP should be implemented; allow Brigades and Technical Colleges to establish production units so that EWP can be done the way it was done in Brigades before takeover; (3) ensure that below the line accounts are opened for all the Brigades; adjust teachers' job descriptions to state that they have to take part in production; (4) make EWP a pre-requisite for certification in all the trades; and sign a memorandum of agreement (MoA) with other departments that can help improve EWP for instance CTO, Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Board (PPADB) and DBES.

PB2 had this to say:

The future of EWP is there the Government just have to plan better, there are many government projects which can benefit EWP, like maintenance of government vehicles by Auto department, maintenance of schools and the building of houses under the poverty eradication projects, if all those houses which have been pledged can be given to the Brigades and Technical Colleges then EWP won't die. To motivate the students the government should give the students allowance just like those on attachment and the job descriptions of the lecturers should stipulate clearly that they have to participate in the production... EWP should be taken seriously the government should have an upper hand on it.

T3B1 had this to say:

Despite what is happening now, I can see a bright future for EWP. In fact the president insist it should be done so the negotiations going on between DTVET and CTO and DTVET and DBES will help, and If the below-the-line accounts can be opened for the Brigades I think with time all will be okay. The public will also benefit when we have a below-the-line account.

The respondents feel that if the government can support EWP then it will survive and benefit the students and the country as a whole.

4.5. Discussion of the Data

The key purpose of this study was to find out how the government of Botswana handled the centralization of the Brigades and the effect of the takeover on the future of the concept of EWP in Brigades. In this section the results of the study are discussed and compared to the literature reviewed.

The Botswana government took over Brigades in 2009 and 2011 from 39 communities. According to this study the takeover was prompted by a history of: mismanagement of resources, misappropriation of funds, corruption, financial instability and poor quality of education in Brigades. According to teachers, principals, DTVET officers and former Board members Brigades were dependent on production and subsidy for financing their activities. Hence, the decline in production in most Brigades and in the number of students enrolled led to a financial crisis for the Brigades. The subsidy from the government was calculated based on the number of students enrolled which meant fewer numbers resulted in a smaller subsidy. High dropout rates also led to fluctuations of the subsidy fund, hence, putting Brigades at risk.

It was highlighted by teachers and principals that some Brigades could not afford to finance teaching and learning activities. Teachers, DTVET officers, principals and former Board members also highlighted that the financial instability resulted in poor salaries and working conditions for staff. This is also highlighted in the Cabinet Memorandum 166. Students and teachers identified the lack of equipment, irregular food supply and dilapidated infrastructure mainly due to lack of maintenance as results of shortage of finance.

DTVET officers/officials indicated that there was corruption and nepotism in the hiring and firing of Brigades staff as some Board members were said to be hiring their relatives.

These findings correlate with that of the literature reviewed. The literature reviewed highlighted; corruption and nepotism, incompetence, inefficiency, duplication of services, poor quality of education, lack of accountability, mismanagement of resources, poor financial management, political patronage and poor academic performance as some of the factors that lead governments to take control of institutions (Learning Points Associate, 2010; Karp, 2005; Wong and Shen 2003; Kirst and Bulkley 2001; Wursh, 2001; Norville, 1987).

There is one reason which seemed to be unique to this study, and that is the pressure from communities to be relieved of the burdens of running the Brigades. Some Brigades, it is alleged, were in a dismal financial state, hence, the government had to take over all these Brigades to rescue the situation. The decline in production activities and in subsidy resulted in some Brigades being unable to finance their activities. The financial pressure prompted some communities to request the government to take over the Brigades. Hence, on 25th October 2006, the government of Botswana issued Presidential Directive number 36/2006 approving the takeover of the Brigades from the communities. The government takeover was aimed at addressing the difficulties experienced by Brigades under the leadership of the Boards. In the paragraphs to follow the process of takeover will be discussed.

In preparation for the takeover, the government appointed a special taskforce to look at the essential elements of the process. This entity was known as the Brigades Takeover Reference Group (BTRG) and it was made up of representation from the Ministry of Education, National Brigades Coordinating Committee (NBCC), the Coordinators' forum, the Attorney General and other ministries. This group had to oversee the takeover process and its implementation. This group consisted of representatives from various stakeholders including the Boards. An office was established with its own team to work with BTRG; this team was known as the Brigades Takeover Project Team (BTPT). The establishment of the group and the team was in line with literature reviewed. However Brigades staff and students had no representation. According to Ziebarth (2004), one of the factors which influence the success or failure of a takeover is the establishment of system-level governance. This is an entity which is charged with the responsibility to oversee the takeover process and its implementation.

The BTRG started the takeover process by consulting with the various communities that owned Brigades. The group explained the presidential directive to the communities and most of the communities agreed to the takeover. This culminated in the signing of the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between the government and the Boards as proof that they have agreed to the takeover. After signing the MOA, the government dissolved the elected Boards and put DTVET in charge of all the activities of the Brigades including employment of staff. The communities were completely closed out; they had no say in the running of Brigades.

The government took over all the functions of the Brigades; it is now the sole provider, controller and regulator of all the activities in the Brigades. The model of takeover used by the Botswana government is similar to one of the models highlighted by Kirst and Bulkley (2001), namely the direct state control model. In the direct state control model, the state takes

full control of the school or school district, the elected board is removed and replaced with a state appointed board or administrators. The problem with this model is that it denies the communities their electoral rights and involvement in the running of the institutions. Eaton and Dickovick (2004) stated that governments can centralize institutions permanently or temporarily. If it is a temporary takeover the government can give back the institution after the issues which led to centralization have been resolved. If it is a permanent centralization, the government does not give back the institutions even when the urgent issues have been resolved. In the literature reviewed, the state took over the schools with the intention of giving them back to the districts when the problems which led to the takeover had been resolved (Wong and Shen 2003; Ziebarth 2004, and Karp, 2005). However, in the case of the Brigades takeover, the government of Botswana decided to take them permanently. There is no intention of returning the Brigades to the communities. This model has left the communities unhappy as they do not have a say in the running of Brigades. In the following paragraph the objectives for the takeover will be discussed.

Although Brigades were not all facing the same challenges the government decided to take all of them with the intention to improve or facilitate staff welfare; status and infrastructure of Brigades; quality of education; and management and converting them into Community Technical Colleges. The findings of the study indicated that the only objective which was fully achieved is the taking over of all the Brigades which were willing to be taken over (which relieved the communities of their management and financial roles). The improvement of staff welfare, status and infrastructure of the Brigades and management were partially attained while that of improvement in quality of education and converting them into Community Technical Colleges have not been attained at all. These findings correlate with the literature reviewed. Studies conducted on state takeovers have shown mixed results. In some instances, there was improvement while in some there was no improvement on the

intended objectives (Wong & Shen, 2003). Wong and Shen (2001) in their study of takeover of 14 school districts in United States of America, argue that despite the state's intention to improve student performance, takeovers have not achieved that. The findings from this study link with the literature reviewed and no improvement has taken place regarding the quality of education. Instead, the respondents felt that the quality was becoming worse despite the availability of funds. Although the takeover could not achieve the set objectives some benefits were gained and these are discussed in the next paragraph.

The findings indicate that the Brigades and communities benefited in some ways from the takeover. The students stated that, teaching and learning materials were available although it takes too long to get them and better meals for them, and qualified staff was being hired and there is better transport for educational tours. In addition to what was highlighted by the students, the teachers and principals pointed out that: funds were available for almost everything; Brigades principals worry no more about staff salaries; some Brigades were able to maintain and even renovate their buildings, people were being sent for further studies; there was job security; medical aid and pension scheme for staff; transferability of staff and students; some people were promoted and their salaries went up. The DTVET officers concurred with the teachers and principals. The former Board members highlighted that the takeover relieved the Boards and communities as they could not manage to fund the Brigades anymore. Most of the positive effects are different from the ones highlighted in the literature reviewed. Ziebarth (2004) identified improved administration and financial management and upgraded physical conditions of schools as some of the positive achievements of takeovers. Despite the benefits attained from the takeover, it was also marred by problems. In the following paragraphs the problems encountered in the takeover are discussed.

Communities, Boards, Brigade staff, principals and students were excited when the directive was issued stating that the government will be taking over the Brigades as they expected

good things. But when the actual takeover took place, many were left disgruntled. Communities were left with production units with nobody looking after them as the Trusts and Boards were dissolved. They could not continue with production as they did not have the trading licences. This resulted in some production units becoming white elephants. In addition communities could no longer get services such as fixing of their vehicles, building houses, plumbing and welding from the Brigades. The communities had not anticipated that the takeover would result in an end to the services they had been getting from the Brigades for so many years, some for more than 40 years. Bishop (2009) points out that takeovers could reduce local control and disenfranchise communities, as was the case in this study.

Some of the Brigades staff lost their jobs, others were paid less than what they were getting before takeover, some were temporarily employed, and some were demoted, while others were given different posts. Most of the Brigades staff was de-motivated. Ministry Of Education and Skills Development (MOESD) blamed the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM) for lack of posts available. The challenges experienced by the Brigades staff after the takeover are very similar to those experienced by Jersey City schools after they were taken over by the State of New Jersey in 1989 (Karp, 2005).

After the takeover, the Brigade principals were left in a dilemma: there was no management in the Brigades; all the teachers were employed as junior staff; some teachers were given non-teaching posts thus leaving some subjects without teachers; there was a shortage of key staff members like revenue collectors/bursars and supplies officers; there were no guidelines as to how they should run the Brigades.

Principals indicated that it seemed that the DTVET was not prepared for the takeover of collection of revenue. Many Brigades do not have revenue collectors. The shortage of revenue collectors is said to be affecting the collection of school fees and other revenues in

the Brigades. DTVET officers concurred with the principals that there is a serious shortage of revenue collectors.

Teachers, principals and DTVET officers decried the lack of organizational structure in Brigades. All Brigades taken-over have a principal but without a deputy principal and heads of departments. According to these respondents, the organizational structure in the Brigades is such that all the staff members report to the principal. They have indicated that there is a big gap in the structure as most Brigades do not even have senior teachers and almost all the teaching staff members are in the same band. Consequently, the principals had to work with de-motivated staff.

One of the key factors that influence the success of takeovers highlighted by Ziebarth (2004) is the establishment of school-level governance. Leadership should be there at schools to oversee the implementation at school level. However, this was absent in the Brigades takeover, principals could not work alone without the key people such as deputies, heads of departments, supplies officers and bursars. The students were not spared from the negative effects.

The students indicated that the takeover has not been up to their expectations. The students were without subject teachers for a long time because some teachers were not absorbed or were deployed to different posts. They had expected to be treated like their counterparts in Technical Colleges by being given a living allowance but that has not been the case despite doing the same courses. This problem is a result of unclear objectives and a failure to explain the objectives of a policy to those who are supposed to benefit. One of the objectives to be achieved by the takeover as stipulated in the presidential directive 36/2006 was to convert Brigades into Community Technical Colleges after takeover. The students misinterpreted it to mean that when Brigades are taken over they will enjoy the same benefits as their

counterparts at Technical Colleges. The students also lamented the doing away with EWP. There were no clear procedures to be followed in order to achieve objectives. The effect of the takeover on EWP will be discussed later in this chapter. The next paragraph discusses how the respondents felt the centralization could have been handled.

Regardless of the challenges encountered after takeover, the respondents agree that the takeover was necessary as many Brigades could not run effectively. However, they felt the takeover was done in a hurry and the government had not planned well for it. Literature reviewed has shown that rushing the process of takeover can result in failures to achieve the intended objectives (Learning Point Associate, 2010). There was a feeling from the respondents that the takeover could have been done differently. Teachers, principals, and former board members felt the government could have adopted a model which would allow the communities to participate in the running of Brigades. The DTVET officers concurred with them. One of the models highlighted in literature is the shared governance model; here there is representation from government and community on the new board (Kirst and Bulkley, 2001). The teachers and principals commented that the government should have ensured that: the organizational structures were in place; posts were available and that policies and procedures and guidelines were there before taking over the Brigades. In addition to what was highlighted by teachers and principals, DTVET officers pointed out that the government should have ensured that they had a clear strategic plan and enough personnel at Head office to support the Brigades. In the next paragraph problems encountered in implementing EWP after Brigades takeover are discussed.

As indicated earlier, the takeover also had a negative effect also on EWP. Teachers and the principal in Brigade1 said that since the Brigade was taken over in 2009 they had not been engaged in any production work. The students at Brigade 1 agreed with them. The situation was a little bit different at Brigade 2. Teachers, principal and students at Brigade2 stated that,

other departments had not been engaged in any production work since takeover with the exception of the construction department which had been receiving projects for poverty eradication from different government departments. The teachers in Brigade 2 indicated that even though the construction department did have projects, EWP is not done for their benefit, as they do not get paid. They are doing the projects as part of charity and the projects are not scheduled in their timetable. Teachers pointed out that for EWP to be effective it should be part of the curriculum.

The major reasons for the failure of implementing EWP in Brigades after takeover have been cited as (1) lack of policy document on EWP; (2) lack of guidelines and procedures on how EWP should be implemented; (3) failure to open below-the-line accounts and lack of production units. Although the lack of incentives for teachers and students, and teachers job descriptions were highlighted, the respondents were quick to point that at the moment they were not a hindrance but if not addressed they may end up being so.

DTVET officers have indicated that DTVET has started addressing the above mentioned factors to enable smooth implementation of EWP in the Brigades and Technical Colleges. DTVET has assembled a team comprising of different stakeholders to formulate a policy on EWP and guidelines on how it should be implemented. The team is also looking at the incentives for teachers and students. The officers indicated that negotiations with MFDP on the opening of below- the- line accounts are on-going. They also stated that DTVET is negotiating with CTO, DBES and other stakeholders to give some of their projects to Brigades and Technical Colleges. They pointed out that the issue of job descriptions for teachers will also be looked at even though they have not yet started.

Despite all these challenges, the findings from the study indicate that teachers, students and the communities have high respect for EWP. Teachers, students and principals indicated that

they see EWP as an integral part of learning in the Brigades. The DTVET officers and former Board Members concurred with them. Unlike what is described in literature about students in South Africa and Zimbabwe who were not willing to do production work (Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani, 2004; Nhundu, 1997), the students in the Brigades are eager to do it. The students have indicated that they felt their training is poorer without production work. Teachers agreed with them. The former Board members also indicated that lack of production activities impacted negatively on the communities as they were not getting the services they used to get from Brigades. The communities want the students to be engaged in production not only for their benefits but for the students to acquire practical skills. This is the opposite of what literature reviewed indicated in South Africa and Zimbabwe, where the public had a negative perception about EWP (Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani, 2004; Nhundu, 1997).

Teachers and principals felt that the future of EWP lay in the hands of all the stakeholders but the government should take a leading role. The DTVET officers and former Board members agreed with them. Respondents pointed out that the revival of EWP would benefit the government since some of their projects will be done at a lower cost. The communities will also benefit as they will get the services nearer to them. Students will also gain practical experience which is needed by industry. The teachers felt that in addition to what DTVET is working on to revive EWP, production units should be established in the Brigades and Technical Colleges and that EWP should be made compulsory in all trade-related courses and be made a condition for certification.

4.6. Summary

In this chapter, the findings related to centralization of Brigades by the Botswana government and its effect on EWP were analysed, presented and discussed. The findings were drawn from interviews and some documents. From the discussion, the following themes emerged: (1)

policy disconnects, (2) changes of culture, and (3) community disenfranchising. These themes will be discussed in Chapter 5 which will also conclude, and present the limitations and implications of the study.

Chapter 5

5.0. Conclusion, Discussion and Implications

5.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to draw conclusions and discuss the key threads or themes that have emerged from this study. The chapter provides brief reflections on the purposes of the study, the methods used and on its limitations as a prelude to the presentation of the key question and sub-questions that guided the research. This will be followed by a discussion of three key themes that emerged from the study. The three themes are: policy disconnects, culture change, and community disenfranchising. Lastly, the implications of the study on policy formulation and implementation and on further studies will be discussed.

5.2. Reflections on the purpose of the study

The purpose of this study as highlighted in Chapter1 was to find out how the government of Botswana handled the process of centralization of Brigades; and to find out the impact/effects of the takeover on the future of EWP in the country. This entailed finding out the factors that led to centralization, its objectives, the process and strategies used, its successes and failures and its impact on EWP. While this study was limited to only two Brigades and may not be generalized to others, it does provide valuable insight on the strategies used by the government to take-over institutions, and also on the impact the takeover has had on a concept which underpinned the philosophy behind the Brigades institutions in Botswana.

5.3. Reflections on the methods used

The study employed an exploratory qualitative approach for data collection and data analysis. The study was undertaken in two Brigades of the 21 that were taken over by the government of Botswana in 2009. What made the two Brigades particularly suitable is that they had students who were a part of the group both before and after take over. A case study method

was found appropriate as this study looked at only two institutions. The method also meant that there was direct contact between the researcher and the participants allowing for flexibility in the use of language and in enquiry procedures. For example, some participants were not comfortable in English; this method enabled the researcher to interview in Setswana which was the preferred language.

5.4. Reflections on limitations of the data

As highlighted in Chapter 3, the study had its limitations which need to be highlighted again as any conclusions made need to be viewed within that light. The study looked at only two Brigades out of 21 taken in 2009 and cannot be generalised to other Brigades or contexts. The other limitation is the contextual differences that govern the different Brigades. Some of the Brigades are in very remote areas while others are in towns-: due to this the study cannot be generalised. All conclusions are therefore limited to this study. However, the results may relate to other similar situations and can help others learn something about centralization of educational institutions. In the next section conclusions for the research questions are presented

5.5. Conclusions on specific questions

5.5.1. Question 1: What led to the centralization of the Brigades in Botswana?

The study identified 5 factors that led to centralization of the Brigades in Botswana by the government. These are: mismanagement, misappropriation of funds, corruption, financial instability, and poor quality of education. Some communities are also said to have requested the government to take over their Brigades as they could not manage to run them efficiently due to lack of funds. In view of the above factors, the government issued Presidential Directive number 36/2006 in 2006 approving the takeover of the Brigades. The objectives of

the takeover were: (1) to take over all the Brigades willing to be taken, (2) convert them into Community Technical Colleges, (3) to improve staff welfare, (4) to improve the status and infrastructure of the Brigades, (5) to improve the quality of education and (6) to improve management. However, the takeover could not achieve all of the objectives. The government was only able to take over the Brigades that were willing to be taken, the other two Brigades belonging to the churches wanted compensation. The respondents highlighted that objectives 2 and 5 were not achieved at all, while objectives 3, 4 and 6 were partially achieved. In the next subsection, strategies used in the centralization are discussed.

5.5.2. Question 2: What strategies were used in centralization of the Brigades in Botswana?

After the government had issued the directive approving the takeover, the government set up a reference group which was tasked with overseeing the process of the takeover and its implementation. The reference group conducted meetings with different ministries and communities explaining the directive. After extensive consultations, the communities owning 39 Brigades agreed to the takeover while those owning 2 of the Brigades refused. This culminated in the signing of the Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) with the Boards. After signing the MoA, the government dissolved both the Deeds of Trusts and the Boards of Trustees for the Brigades. Employees who qualified were re-employed although some at lower posts than the ones they had before, and some on temporarily due to lack of posts. The communities were allowed to retain the production units as the government was only interested in the training departments. The Botswana government used the direct control model of takeover as highlighted by Kirst and Bulkley (2001). They took over all the functions of the Brigades, and the communities no longer have a say in the way they are run. Thus, the government of Botswana wholly and permanently centralized the Brigades; there is no intention of returning them to the communities as per cabinet memo 166. The next

subsection will look at how the process of centralization can be improved from the findings of this study.

5.5.3. Question 3: How can the process of centralization be improved in future?

Although the centralization of the Brigades was considered to have been necessary, the way it was handled was not satisfactory. Respondents including government officials indicated that the handling of takeovers needs to be improved. It has been suggested that the government should consider using options which would allow community participation like a shared-governance model so that the community does not feel side-lined/disenfranchised. The government must plan for the centralization well by ensuring that there is a strategic plan stipulating clearly the short- and long-term objectives and a timeline for implementation. The objectives and the expected outcomes must be very clear. Before the takeover process starts, the government should ensure that the following are in place: an implementation plan with clear procedures and guidelines; capacity at head office must be built; organisational structure should be finalised; and lastly, posts for staff to be absorbed should be available. One of the purposes of this study was to explore the effects of the takeover on EWP; in the following subsection the perception on the effects is discussed.

5.5.4. Question 4: How do the students, teachers and the community perceive the impact of the centralization of the Brigades on the future of Education with Production?

Parents, teachers and the communities felt the centralization of the Brigades have had a negative impact on EWP. It has been highlighted that some Brigades have not been engaged in EWP at all since they were taken over by the government: only the construction departments in some Brigades received some projects from the poverty eradication programme. They indicated that even for those engaged in EWP, charity and not self-reliance

is the primary criteria. Because it is not part of the curriculum and not scheduled in their timetable, those projects do not have the status of being considered as EWP work within the Brigade scheme. The feeling is that due to centralization, EWP is no more, but some of the participants felt that it can be revived. The Brigades have not been able to implement EWP as government institutions as they have encountered some challenges. In the next subsection, the challenges created by the takeover on the implementation of EWP are discussed.

5.5.5. Question 5: What challenges were created by the takeover of the Brigades on the implementation of Education with Production and how are the challenges being addressed?

The challenges which were created by the takeover of the Brigades resulting in discontinuity of EWP were highlighted as: lack of EWP policy, lack of guidelines and procedures on how EWP should be implemented, failure to open below-the-line accounts and lack of production units.

To address the above challenges, the Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (DTVET) established teams consisting of its officers, teachers from Brigades and Technical Colleges and other stakeholders to look at the formulation of EWP policy and guidelines. DTVET is negotiating with Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) to open below-the-line accounts for Brigades. DTVET is also negotiating with other departments to give some of their projects to Brigades and Technical Colleges. The issue to be addressed in the next subsection is how EWP can be revived.

5.5.6. Question 6: How Education with Production can be improved to benefit the trainees and the country as a whole?

The respondents in the study have indicated that there is a need to re-introduce EWP in the Brigades and also introduce it in Technical Colleges. It was emphasized that all the

stakeholders should be involved in reviving EWP, but the government will have to play a leading role in this process. The participants felt that DTVET must expedite the formulation of EWP policy and guidelines. If DTVET can succeed in negotiating with MFDP to open below-the-line accounts, Brigades will be able to assist the public and the students would benefit from the projects. If other departments are able to give provide the Brigades and Technical Colleges with projects this would benefit both the government and the students. The government will benefit as the costs for maintenance will be lower and the students would get practical experience. It was also highlighted that there is need for the establishment of production units in all these institutions. EWP should be incorporated in the curriculum for Brigades and Technical Colleges and made compulsory for all trade-related courses.

5.6. Discussion on emerging themes

5.6.1. Policy Disconnect

The study has shown/demonstrated that there was a gap between policy formulation and policy implementation. According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) once policy-making is detached from what goes on at implementation level it becomes problematic to achieve the objectives of the policy. Then, policy disconnect happens when what had been intended in the policy is not achieved. In the case of Brigades' takeover, the primary objectives were: rationalize and convert the Brigades into Community Technical Colleges and to improve staff welfare, status, infrastructure, the quality of education and management. Some of the intended objectives were partially achieved and others could not be achieved. Some improvement was noted in staff welfare, status of the Brigades, infrastructure and in the management. However, there was no improvement in the quality of education and the Brigades have not been converted into Community Technical Colleges are still Brigades. Problems were encountered immediately after the Brigades were taken by the government which made attaining of some objectives impossible. Some of the problems encountered by

the Brigades after the takeover were in: staff absorption, salary structure, the organisational structure of the Brigades, shortage of teachers and support staff, curriculum and student's welfare.

In this case, the policy disconnect could be attributed to: lack of clear policy objectives and outcomes; lack of enough information on the negative impact it may have on the people it is supposed to benefit; lack of a timeline; lack of an implementation plan; lack of a management plan allocating tasks and performance to different people or units; and lack of capacity to implement.

One of the conditions for effective policy implementation highlighted in literature reviewed is that the objectives of the policy should be very clear and well understood by those who are supposed to implement as well as its beneficiaries. Some of the objectives of the takeover were not very clear about the outcomes and the timeline. One of the objectives to be achieved by the takeover as stipulated in the presidential directive 36/2006 was to convert Brigades into Community Technical Colleges after takeover. It was not clear whether a Brigade taken-over today will become a Community College the next day or what was going to happen. It was also not clear as what was to be achieved in the short- and long-term by. Hence, the students misinterpreted it to mean that when Brigades are taken-over they are immediately going to be colleges and they were going to enjoy the same benefits as their counterparts at Technical Colleges. As highlighted in the literature reviewed, these unclear objectives and outcomes can lead to misinterpretations by various people.

Another objective highlighted was for the government to absorb all the staff who qualified. The government has failed to absorb all the Brigades staff as permanent and pensionable members citing the lack of posts. This is an issue that could have been addressed at policy formulation stage; there was a lack of foresight and adequate planning by the government.

The Brigades' staff had not anticipated the negative effects, as they were never informed before takeover that they might not be absorbed permanently. For them, it was like a bombshell when they were told that they could not be absorbed as there were no posts. Despite having been assured that their salaries were protected, some Brigades staff were shocked when they were offered salaries less than what they earned before. All these negative effects resulted in a disgruntled and de-motivated staff. There was failure by the policy-makers to take into consideration the consequences of the policy and explain it to those who would be affected.

According to the principals and government officers there was no implementation plan, guidelines and procedures to be followed by the Brigades. The principals of the Brigades, as implementers of the policy, did not have any idea as to how to go about running the Brigades. The fact that there was no organizational structure made available to the principals/implementers, made matters worse. They had to come up with their own plans and appoint people as caretakers to the key posts in order to be able to run the Brigades in the meantime, during/after the takeover. There was a shortage of teachers due to the fact that some teachers had been offered and had accepted non-teaching jobs. This resulted in disruptions of the teaching programmes and students went for some months without subjects teachers. Some Brigades were taken-over two months before the students wrote their final exams. This caused a lot of anxiety for the students as some teachers had not finished the syllabus. The Brigades could not continue with EWP, as there was no account to deposit the proceeds from production and also there was no policy to deal with EWP. All these problems had a negative impact on the quality of education.

From the findings it seems the Brigade Takeover Reference Group (BTRG) was only interested with the taking-over of the Brigades but not with what happens to the Brigades after the takeover. The reference group did not seem to have a plan for what was going to

happen after the Brigades were taken over, but left everything to the Brigade Takeover Project Team. The Brigade Takeover Project Team did not have the capacity to support the Brigades. As highlighted by the government officials on average, three or more Brigades were taken-over each month and this resulted in the personnel at BTPT and DTVET being overstretched. Although a liberalist approach was used in the policy formulation, it failed to give directions as to what should happen after the takeover. There was nothing to guide the principals of the Brigades as to how the Brigades should operate.

As highlighted in literature, for a policy to be effective it has to consider not only the good things expected out of it but also the consequences of the policy. This was not considered at all as the policy-makers and the implementers were not prepared when the consequences of the takeover emerged. The takeover did not achieve much of what was intended, but according to DTVET officers there is still room for achievement as they are working hard to address the problems. The other theme which emerged in the discussion is the impact of the takeover on change of culture, this will be discussed in the next section.

5.6.2. Change of culture

Schein (1990) defines culture as:

A pattern of basic assumptions, invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore is to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems (Schein 1990, p.111)

Every organization has a way of doing things: the way it is managed, the way people relate to each other and the general appearance, all these have an influence on its culture. When an institution is taken over by another body, there is bound to be some changes in the culture of

the institution taken over (Schein, 1990). The cultural change may produce stress for the group. Brigades were not spared the stress of cultural change after they were taken-over by the government.

As highlighted in Chapter 1, each Brigade had its own policies and guidelines on how to run the institutions. Consequently, the Brigades were initially autonomous and each had its own way of doing things. But now, as government institutions, they have to operate in a very different way.

The organizational structure of Brigades also changed after the takeover, which resulted in the responsibilities of people also changing. Before the takeover, hierarchical structure of the Brigades had Coordinators at the top deputised by the Training Coordinators who were not assigned to any specific class. When the government took over, the Training Coordinators became mere teachers and they had to teach a specific class. This cultural change demoralised Training Coordinators as they felt they have been demoted because they were at the same level as the people they used to supervise.

The change in culture affected the concept of EWP adversely as Brigades could not continue running it the way they did before. EWP was viewed by the Brigades as an integral part of learning. And due to fact that the government had not planned on what will happen with EWP, it resulted in not being done in the Brigades. It is still very difficult for the Brigades to come to terms with the fact that EWP is no more.

The takeover also affected the relationship of the Brigades with the communities in which they existed. It had been the norm that if any major project had to be done in the Brigades, it was discussed with the Boards, and sometimes they had to seek community approval at a *kgotla* meeting. The takeover does not bring the community into the activities of the taken-over Brigades in any way. Previously, the Brigades provided services and sold their products

to the communities but this is not the case now. Before, the culture was that the Brigades could make money in order to survive and so they had to engage in production. But now, in theory the government provides for everything. In the next section disenfranchising of the community will be discussed.

5.6.3. Community disenfranchising

As highlighted in Chapter 1, Brigades were community-based vocational institutions which were established under the spirit of self-reliance. These community initiatives were aimed at addressing the problems of Standard 7 leavers' admission in secondary schools. The communities elected Boards of Trustees to oversee the management of the Brigades and ensure that the objectives of the Trust/Board and the interests of the community were met. The communities always treated the Brigades as their own. Although the communities allowed the government to take over the Brigades they were not very happy to part with them. It was like a mother who gives up her child just because she does not have the means to support him. The dissolution of the elected Boards who were the voice of the community and the fact that they no longer had a say in the way the Brigades were run left communities feeling that they have been disenfranchised.

The other factor which the community is not happy about is failure to continue with EWP. Since Brigades are scattered around the country, especially in rural areas, their involvement in EWP also helped the communities a lot. For example, the public could take their vehicles for maintenance to the Brigades. But now for those communities where service stations are very far it is a nightmare if their vehicles have a breakdown. They are forced to travel long distances and incur more costs to get services. The communities feel that even though the takeover relieved them of the financial burden of running Brigades, the cultural change has marginalised them. One of the objectives of the Brigades was to promote rural development, but the failure to continue with EWP is tantamount to killing off this objective. The

implications of this study for policy formulation, policy implementation and for future research will be discussed in the next section.

5.7. Implications of the study

5.7.1. Implications on Policy Formulation

Policy makers should consider the following when considering centralizing institutions in the future:

- Involve those who are directly affected by the policy and those who will be implementing it when a policy is formulated.
- The policy needs to have a clear definition of the issue to be addressed. Policy objectives should not be ambiguous as that can lead to misinterpretation at the implementation stage. It is important to always look at both sides.
- Both the benefits to be derived from the policy and the consequences should be considered. How the consequences can be mitigated should also be addressed before the policy is passed for implementation.
- It needs to be established that there is enough capacity to implement and support the implementation before the policy is passed.

5.7.2. Implications on Policy implementation

At the implementation stage, policy-makers and implementers should ensure that:

- There is a policy implementation plan, which clearly stipulates the procedures and guidelines to be followed.
- The resources needed for implementation should be assessed before starting the process.
- Policy implementers are well informed about the policy, they must understand the objectives to be achieved and how, when to achieve them.

5.7.3. Implications for further research

There is need for more research on takeovers in sub-Sahara Africa. Research on takeovers is restricted to low-performing schools in United States of America.

The effects of takeovers on the communities which previously owned schools which were taken-over need to be researched, this will help understand how communities perceive and adjust to takeovers.

Studies on the strategies used by governments to takeover educational institutions would help policy-makers in finding the most effective ways of centralizing institutions.

5.8. Summary

The purpose of the study, as indicated earlier, was to find out how the government of Botswana handled the process of centralizing Brigades, and how the takeover impacted on EWP. The findings indicated that the reference group that was tasked with overseeing the process and its implementation failed to adequately address some of the conditions necessary for effective implementation as advocated by researchers in other contexts. This failure to adhere to these conditions led to partial achievement of some objectives and the failure to achieve some others.

The findings have also indicated that the takeover had impacted negatively on EWP. The lack of planning on the side of the policy-makers also led to the failure of the continuation with EWP in the Brigades as there was no policy on how it should be implemented.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview questions

Interview with DTVET officials

Purpose of the interview	Key interview questions	No. of matched research sub-question
1. To explore why the government recentralized the Brigades	1. The government has now taken over the Brigades. Can you take me through the rationalisation for this process? 2. A take-over seems to many people a very drastic and last option decision. How bad were things with the Brigades for government to make this decision? 3. What are the new policy directions in education and how does this relate to the issue of the Brigades? 4. To what extent would you say the takeover has been successful and are the original objectives being met?	1
2. How the Centralization was done	5. Can you elaborate on how the process of Centralization was done? 6. What was the rationale for a full Centralization? 7. Who were involved in the process? 8. Were the communities consulted extensively? How? 9. Do you think the process was effectively and efficiently done? How and why? 10. What new challenges is the government facing as a result of the take-over? 11. How can the Centralization process be improved in the future?	2 and 9

3. The future of Education with Production	12. Do you think there is need for Brigades to continue with EWP? Why? 13. What were your plans as DTVET on its implementation? 14. What challenges are you facing in implementing EWP? 15. How are you addressing the challenges? 16. How do you think EWP can be improved to benefit the trainees and the country as a whole?	6, 7 and 8
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Interview questions for the Principals, former training coordinators and lecturers

Purpose of the interview	Key interview questions	No. of matched research sub-question
1. To explore why the government recentralized the Brigades	1. What were the reasons for the government to take over the Brigades? 2. Do you think the government achieved its objectives? 3. Do you think the takeover was necessary? Why?	1
2. How the Centralization was done	4. How was the takeover done? 5. Do you think it could have been done differently? How? 6. Was the staff of the Brigades or their representatives involved in the process? 7. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the takeover to your staff, students and the institution as a whole? 8. Were you well informed as staff about these advantages and disadvantages?	2 and 9

3. Perceptions on EWP and its future	9. How is your involvement in EWP now as government institution as compared to when you were autonomous? 10. Since you were taken over by the government have you done any production work? How much and for whom? 11. What challenges are you facing in implementing EWP? 12. How are you dealing with these challenges as an institution? 13. Do you think EWP is still relevant? Why? 14. What do you think should be done in order for EWP to benefit the students and the country as a whole?	4, 6, 7 and 8
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Interview questions for the former Board of Trustee members

Purpose of the interview	Key interview questions	No. of matched research sub-question
1. To explore why the government recentralized the Brigades	1 What were the reasons for the government to take over the Brigades? 2 Do you think the government achieved its objectives? 3 Do you think the takeover was necessary? Why?	1
2. How the Centralization was done	4. How was the takeover done? 5. Do you think it could have been done differently? How? 6. Were you involved as the representatives of the community? How? 7. Was the community happy with the takeover?	2 and 9

	8. Was the staff of the Brigades or their representatives involved in the process? 9. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the takeover to your staff, students and the institution as a whole?	
3. Perceptions on EWP and its future	10. Now that the government has taken the Brigades, what is your role as the community, do you have a say in the running of the Brigades? 11. Before the takeover how was the Brigade helping the community? Is this still happening? If not why? 12. Do you think EWP is still relevant? Why? 13. How do you think EWP should be done in the Brigades to benefit both the trainees and the community?	5, and 8

Interview questions for the trainees

Purpose of the interview	Key interview questions	No. of matched research sub-question
1. To explore why the government recentralized the Brigades	1. What do you think were the reasons for the government to take over the Brigades? 2. Do you think the takeover was necessary? Why?	1

2 How the Centralization was done	3 How was the takeover done? 4 Do you think it could have been done differently? How? 5 Were you involved as trainees or did you have any representatives? How? 6 Were you happy with the takeover as trainees? 7 What were the advantages and disadvantages of the takeover to you as trainees?	2 and 9
3. Perceptions on EWP and its future	8. How are you involved with EWP? 9. Is your involvement now as government institution the same as when it was private? What is the difference if any? 10. Since you were taken over by the government have you done any production work? How much and for whom? 11. Are lecturers prepared to participate in EWP as they used to before the take over? 12. Are the students participating as they used to do? If not why? 13. Do you think EWP is still relevant? Why? 14. What do you think should be done in order for EWP to benefit you, the community and the country as a whole?	3, and 8

Appendix 2: Consent Form for Audio-taping

Please fill and return the reply slip below and indicate your willingness to have your interview audiotaped for my voluntary research project: Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

Permission to be audiotaped

My name: _____

I give/do not give (please delete as appropriate) my consent to have the interview recorded.

[] I know that I may withdraw from the study at any time and will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way.

[] I know that I can stop the audiotaping of the interview at any time without repercussions.

[] I know that the tapes will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the project.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact person:

NAME

ADDRESS

TEL NUMBER

Appendix 3: Permission letter to Principal

The Principal

X Brigade

11 May 2012

Dear Sir/Madam

Subject: Permission to conduct a Research

My name is Patricia Ani Yezo I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

I am writing to seek permission to do the research in your Brigade. I would like to interview the principal, former training coordinator, lecturers involved in training with production and NCC students. I would also like to look at some official documents like Cab memos, circulars, and minutes for meetings, reports and job cards. The interviews will be conducted on a one-on-one except for the students who will be interviewed as focus group. The interviews will last for about 45-60 minutes. I will be using audiotape for the interviews.

The reasons for choosing your Brigade are: (1) the brigade was taken over in 2009; (2) the brigade has NCC classes, hence there are students who were part of the group taken over in 2009.

I am intending to do the research from on the 3rd and 4th July 2012.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for this study.

The names of the research participants and identity of the brigades will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the project.

Please let me know if you require any further information.

I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,

Patricia Ani Yezo (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

Appendix 4: Invitation letters for interviews

11 June 2012

To The Principal

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Should you wish to participate; the study will require that I conduct one-on-one interviews with you as the Principal of the institution on how the process of the takeover was handled and on your perception on the future of Education with Production. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. The rationale for choosing your Brigade is that it was taken over in 2009 and that there are some students who were part of the group taken over in 2009 either at your brigade or at other brigades. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd and 4th July 2012.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice as this is voluntary and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years.

I look forward to working with you.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

To the Lecturer

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Should you wish to participate; the study will require that I conduct one-on-one interviews with you as the lecturer for practical subjects involving Education with Production, on how the process of the takeover was handled and on your perception on the future of Education with Production. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. The rationale for choosing your Brigade is that it was taken over in 2009 and that there are some students who were part of the group taken over in 2009 either at your brigade or at other brigades. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd and 4th July 2012.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice as this is voluntary and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years.

I look forward to working with you.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

Dear Trainee

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

My investigation involves interviewing you as National Craft Certificate students on your perception on the future of Education with Production. You will be interviewed as a group of about 10 trainees. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. The rationale for choosing your Brigade is that it was taken over in 2009 and that you are part of the group taken over in 2009 either at your current brigade or at other brigades. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd and 4th July 2012.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Remember, this is not a test, it is not for marks and it is voluntary. Also, if you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years after I have completed.

I look forward to working with you!

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

To the Head of Policy

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Should you wish to participate; the study will require that I conduct one-on-one interviews with you as the Head of Policy at DTNET, on how the process of the takeover was handled and on the future of Education with Production. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. Your office was selected based on the fact that; you have been involved with the Brigades before and after they were taken over by the government and you were also involved in the takeover process. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd July 2012.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice as this is voluntary and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years.

I look forward to working with you.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

To the Former Training Coordinator

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Should you wish to participate; the study will require that I conduct one-on-one interviews with you as the former training Coordinator, on how the process of the takeover was handled and on your perception on the future of Education with Production. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. The rationale for choosing your Brigade is that it was taken over in 2009 and that there are some students who were part of the group taken over in 2009 either at your brigade or at other brigades. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd and 4th July 2012.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice as this is voluntary and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years.

I look forward to working with you.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

To the Former Board Member

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Should you wish to participate; the study will require that I conduct one-on-one interviews with you as former member of board of trustee on how the process of the takeover was handled and on your perception on the future of Education with Production. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. You have been selected based on the fact that; you have been involved with the Brigades before they were taken over by the government. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd July 2012.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice as this is voluntary and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years.

I look forward to working with you.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

To the Deputy Coordinator Brigades Takeover Project

My name is Patricia AniYezo and I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

With this letter I am inviting you to participate in this important research study. Should you wish to participate; the study will require that I conduct one-on-one interviews with you as the Head of Policy at DTVET, on how the process of the takeover was handled and on the future of Education with Production. The interviews will take 45-60 minutes and they will be audio taped. Your office was selected based on the fact that; you have been involved with the Brigades before and after they were taken over by the government and you were also involved in the takeover process. The interviews will be conducted on the 3rd July 2012.

If you decide halfway through that you prefer to stop, this is completely your choice as this is voluntary and will not affect you negatively in any way.

I will not be using your own name but I will make one up. So no one can identify you, and all information about you will be kept confidential in all my writing about the study. Also, all collected information I will store safely and destroy between 3-5 years.

I look forward to working with you.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Thank you

Patricia AniYezo

Wits Junction

Private Bag 3

Johannesburg

2050

EMAIL : yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Cell. No : (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

Appendix 5: Consent Form for Interviews

Please fill in and return the reply slips below indicating your willingness to be interviewed for my voluntary research project called: Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

Permission to be interviewed

I, _____

Give / do not give* my consent to be interviewed.

[] I know that I don't have to answer all the questions and that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way.

[] I am aware that the researcher will keep all information confidential in all academic writing.

[] I am aware that my interview will be destroyed between 3—5 years after completion of the project.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact person:

NAME

ADDRESS

TEL NUMBER

*please delete as appropriate

Appendix 6: Consent Form Principal Documents

Please fill in and return the reply slip below indicating your willingness to allow me to use the following documents: Cab memos, directives, circulars, and minutes for meetings, reports and job cards for my voluntary research project called: Centralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

Permission for the use of (COMPLETE)

I, _____

Give/do not give* my consent for the use of the following documents... (COMPLETE)

[] I know that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way.

[] I know that the documents (SPECIFY) will be used for this study only.

[] I am aware that the researcher will keep all information confidential in all academic writing.

Principal's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact person:

NAME

ADDRESS

TEL NUMBER

*please delete as appropriate

Appendix 7: Permission Letter to Permanent Secretary

Permanent Secretary

Ministry of Education

Private Bag 005

Gaborone

UFS: The Director

Department of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (DTVET)

UFS: Consulate General

Botswana Consulate

Braamfontein

11 May 2012

Dear Sir/Madam

Subject: Permission to conduct a Research

My name is Patricia AniYezo I am a masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am doing research on Recentralization of Education in Botswana: A case study of stakeholder response to the Government takeover of Brigades on the future of Education with Production.

I am writing to seek permission to do the research in two Brigades in Botswana and also to interview the head of policy department at DTVET and the deputy coordinator of Brigades takeover project. I am intending to do my research at Tswelelopele and Kang Brigades. In the Brigades I would like to interview the principals, former training coordinators, lecturers involved in training with production and NCC students. I will be using audiotape for the interviews. I would also like to look at some official documents like Cab memos, circulars, and minutes for meetings, reports and job cards.

The reasons for choosing the two Brigades are: (1) the brigades were taken over in 2009; (2) the brigades are the only ones amongst the 21 Brigades taken over in 2009 with NCC classes, hence they have students who were part of the group taken over in 2009.

I am intending to do the research from the 2nd to 13th July 2012.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for this study.

The names of the research participants and identity of the brigades will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after completion of the project.

Please let me know if you require any further information.

I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,

Patricia AniYezo (0027725711864, 0026772266769)

Email address: yezopatricia@yahoo.com

Appendix 8: Authorization Letter from DTVET**SAVINGRAM**

FROM: Director
Department of Technical and Vocational
Education and Training



P.M. Choto

TEL: 3655000

FAX: 3180942/3

TO: Principals - Tswelopele Brigade and
Kang Brigade

REF: VE: 13/3/6 XV (14)

11 July 2012

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH - MS PATRICIA YEZO

The above subject matter refers.

Ms Yezo is currently pursuing a Master's Degree in Education at WITS University in South Africa. She has to conduct a research on "Recentralization in Botswana: A case study of the effects of Brigades Takeover on the future of Education with Production" as partial fulfillment of her degree programme.

Kindly allow her to conduct research in your institution. The information collected will be used for academic purposes only.

Thank you.

MRS/OO

Appendix 9: University of the Witwatersrand Clearance Certificate

Wits School of Education



27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27 11 717-3064 Fax: +27 11 717-3100 E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za Website: www.wits.ac.za

Student Number:
572984
Protocol Number:
2012ECE123

Date: 14-Aug-2012

Dear Patricia Yezo

Application for Ethics Clearance: Master of Education

Thank you very much for your ethics application. The Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has considered your application for ethics clearance for your proposal entitled:

Recentralization of Education

The committee recently met and I am pleased to inform you that clearance was granted. The committee was delighted about the ways in which you have taken care of and given consideration to the ethical dimensions of your research project. Congratulations to you and your supervisor!

Please use the above protocol number in all correspondence to the relevant research parties (schools, parents, learners etc.) and include it in your research report or project on the title page.

The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.

All the best with your research project.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M Matsie Mabeta'.

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Appendix 10: Data Analysis and Presentation

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories
1) What led to centralization of the Brigades by Botswana government	Factors	❖ Pressure from the communities ❖ Mismanagement and misappropriation of funds ❖ Corruption and Nepotism ❖ Financial instability ❖ Poor quality of education
	Objectives	❖ Improve staff welfare ❖ To take over all Brigades to relief boards ❖ Improve quality of education ❖ To improve Brigades status and infrastructure ❖ To improve management
	Whether objectives were achieved	❖ Some have been achieved ❖ Some not yet ❖ They have been partially achieved
	What has not been achieved	❖ No improvement in management of Brigades ❖ No Improvement in staff welfare ❖ No improvement in quality of education
	What has been achieved	❖ Effective and efficient running of the Brigades ❖ Government took over all the Brigades ❖ Financial stability in Brigades ❖ Monitoring of funds to minimize misappropriation ❖ Communities have been relieved ❖ Government has total control of the Brigades ❖ Staff welfare improved

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories
2) Strategies used in the centralization of the Brigades	Strategies	❖ Extensive consultation with communities and boards ❖ Establishment of Brigades takeover project office ❖ Establishment of BTRG ❖ Other government departments consulted ❖ Brigades taken over wholly ❖ Brigades taken permanently ❖ At first only Brigades with paid up liabilities taken
	The takeover process	❖ Brigades who wanted to be taken over paid up their liabilities ❖ Production units given to communities ❖ Memorandum of agreement was signed between Brigades boards and MOESD ❖ The deed of trust and boards were dissolved ❖ Process done hastily ❖ Process not well planned
3) Challenges as a result of take over	Challenges	❖ Staff absorption ❖ Collection of revenue ❖ Brigades organizational structure ❖ Posts not rewarded accordingly
	Effects on staff	❖ Disgruntled ❖ Demotivated ❖ Loss of employment
4) Perception on EWP	Students	❖ Eager to participate ❖ Would like to have EWP
	Teachers	❖ Eager to participate ❖ Would like to have EWP
	Community	❖ Would like to see EWP resuming ❖

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories
5) Perception on the impact of centralization on EWP	By the students	❖ Shows a decline ❖ No EWP at all
	By the Teachers	❖ EWP is no longer there ❖ Different from the way it was done ❖ There is a decline
	By the community	❖ EWP has been killed
6) Challenges created by the takeover on EWP	Implementation challenges	❖ Opening of below the line account ❖ Government bureaucracy ❖ No policy on EWP ❖ No incentives for students and teachers ❖ No guidelines and procedures on how EWP should be implemented ❖ No production units ❖ Poverty eradication projects not aligned to school timetable
7) Strategies used to address the challenges created by takeover	By Government	❖ DTVET negotiate with MFDP to open below the line accounts for Brigades ❖ Negotiation with CTO to give some vehicles to Brigades for maintenance ❖ Negotiation with DBES for maintenance of government buildings
	By Institutions	❖ Collaboration with stakeholders to align the projects with timetable

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories
8) How EWP can be improved	MOESD (DTVET) should	❖ Come up with a policy on EWP ❖ Come up with guidelines on how EWP should be implemented ❖ Production units should be established ❖ Below the line accounts should be opened ❖ Students engaged in production should be given allowance ❖ Teachers engaged in production should be paid for that ❖ Teachers job description should be changed from lecturers to instructors or trainers and should indicate that they have to be engaged in production ❖ EWP should be a pre-requisite for all the trades ❖ Sign memorandum of agreement with other departments e.g. CTO PPADB, and DEBS to revive EWP
9) How centralization can be improved in the future	The government should	❖ Consider more options ❖ Consider approval of posts before centralization take place ❖ Consider staff supplement at Head Office to support additional workload ❖ Produce a strategic plan ❖ Organizational structures of the institutions should be clear