

IMPLEMENTING EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS: The
Case of the Secondary School Curriculum
Diversification Programme in Lesotho

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ABSTRACT

Between 1974 and 1982 the MOE introduced in two phases the diversification programme [SSCDP] which sought to establish practical subjects in the secondary school curriculum. This study examines the sustainability of implementation efforts beyond project expiry. It was hypothesised that SSCDP is not working as originally intended. The broad research problem was framed thus: What implementation response arises from an open-ended innovation policy? Subsidiary questions are:

1. How far have the policy-makers communicated the meaning of SSCDP and what factors account for mismatches between policy intentions and innovation practice?
2. What is the response of Project schools and what factors explain variation in response?
3. What is their significance for the sustainability of SSCDP?

The analysis draws key concepts from the innovation literature on models and strategies of planned change; relationships in the implementation hierarchy; determinants of and orientations to the implementation process. Centred around qualitative research methods, the investigation utilises data from project documents, semi-structured interviews and from observations during school visits.

Findings show an overall low level of implementation that varies among project schools. This is attributed to:

- Poor interpretation of SSCDP goals;
- Deficiencies in the implementation management;
- Idiosyncratic school behaviours.

The study concludes that the 'practitioner-policy-maker' discrepancy is significant, hence the gap between policy intents and innovation practice. The gap is not regarded so much as an ultimate failure of the programme but as a necessary condition that allows for mutual adaptation between the innovation and its setting. This is reflected in the varied patterns of implementation response, classified as the: faithful; negotiators; selective adaptors; expansionists; and reductionist.

As a policy-oriented study aiming at providing an 'improvement value', the findings lead to a proposal of improvements in the strategies of managing change in three areas:

- shifting focus from an adoption to an implementation perspective.
- recognising implementation as a process dependent on a mutual linkage relationship among participants.
- recognising schools as important bearers of change.

These three are crucial factors in the implementation-sustainability relationship.

DEDICATION

To my late mother, whose loving memories will forever remain with me;

To my father, who has been an inspiration throughout my academic career;

To my four children, Khaya; Pumza; Nwabisa; and Chuma who have suffered most throughout my absence;

To them all, this thesis is dedicated with love.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	Anglican Church of Lesotho
Admin	Administration
AGRIC	Agriculture
BH	Basic Handcraft
CEO	Chief Education Officer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COSC	Cambridge Overseas School Certificate
Dom.Sc.	Domestic Science
ECOL	Examinations Council Of Lesotho
GOL	Government Of Lesotho
HOMECE	Home Economics
IDA	International Development Association
IE	Industrial Education
INSPEC	Inspector
JC	Junior Certificate
LAC	Lesotho Agricultural College
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
LITESP	Lesotho / Ireland Technical Education Support Project
LTI	Lerotholi Technical Institute
MOA	Ministry Of Agriculture
MOE	Ministry of Education
NCDC	National Curriculum Development Centre
NTTC	National Teacher Training College
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
PIU	Project Implementation Unit
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PSEd	Permanent Secretary of Education
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
PVS	Pre-Vocational Studies
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SSCDP	Secondary School Curriculum Diversification Programme
SSCEP	Secondary Schools Community Extension Project
STTC	Secondary Technical Teacher's Certificate
TE	Technical Education
TSRP	Training for Self-Reliance Project
TSU	Teaching Service Unit
WW	Woodwork

LIST OF PROJECT SCHOOLS*

Batho-Batho
Boreng
Carson
Eastville
Hloate
Holyvale
Leseli
Mositisi
Perry
Somerville
St Agatha
St Jones
St Stanley

NOTE: For anonymity, the names used above are pseudonyms.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, there has been a growing concern among educationists with 'unsuccessful' attempts to vocationalise secondary school curricula of the education systems in developing countries [Cooksey, 1986; Crossley & Vulliamy, 1986; Lillis & Hogan, 1983; Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985; Foster, 1987]. It has been suggested that lack of success of these attempts lies less with the adoption of vocationally-oriented innovation policies and more with their implementation [Psacharopoulos, 1987]. In this context, implementation is defined as the interaction between the innovation and its setting [Berman, 1981]. Implementation is conceptualised as a process that occurs over a period of time, involving a number of participants at the various education system levels. It is the phase in the innovation process during which ideas and knowledge are translated into practice. Because of its complexity, many innovation programmes falter during the implementation phase.

Literature on vocationalisation in less developed countries [LDCs] highlights a wide range of implementation constraints as a way of providing explanations to why these programmes fail to achieve the expected returns in terms of human, capital, financial, organisational and infrastructural investments put in them [Lillis, 1989]. Research studies from which most of this literature is drawn are often of the summative evaluation nature and they concentrate on measuring the final outcomes of the innovation programme against the predetermined goals [Abeysekera, 1982; Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985].

By so doing, such studies do not advance our understanding of the implementation process as they tend to overlook this stage. In consequence, the findings of some of studies based on summative evaluation emerge as catalogues that do no more than to list those factors seen as militating against the successful attainment of the set goals. The greatest limitation of such studies is their inadequacy in explaining how 'failure' comes about at the implementation stage at the individual sites where the innovation is put into practice. What happens between the input and the output - the throughput stage - remains a 'black box'.

The bulk of these are ex post facto studies that attempt to capture complex 'historical' events. They lack progress data on how the implementation process unfolds. The absence of implementation data can lead to the appraisal of what Charters and Jones [1973] have called the 'non-events'. This in turn could lead to erroneous or misleading conclusions regarding the innovation. As mentioned above, the commonly stated conclusion is that of failure of vocationally-oriented programmes - an aggregated judgement made on condition that a programme does not achieve the intended goals, often specified unilaterally by the policy-maker to the exclusion of the practitioner in the school. The concept of 'failure' is itself problematic. To Murphy [1989], failure can be seen as an artefact of the definition of success depending on the perspective from which the phenomenon is examined. This may either be the 'fidelity' or the 'adaptation' perspective [Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; Berman, 1981], an argument elaborated further in Chapter Three.

In contrast to this 'pathological' [Corbett & Rossman, 1989] concern with failure of the innovation programmes to achieve stated goals, this study seeks to depict and analyse the process of implementation, concentrating on

how it occurs and the kind of responses discernible at the school level. Emphasis is on the functions and activities carried out by the various participants involved with implementation and the adequacy of these in meeting the innovation demands. The assumption is that unless we take a close look into the implementation process, its determinants cannot be explained satisfactorily. This presupposes an examination of the schools' contextual conditions as they are affected by and in turn affect the innovation during implementation.

What emerges from the investigation is that the overall level of implementation is low but with significant variations among the schools. It is the advantage of assessing implementation several years after the take-off of the innovation that the study is able to yield such informative and fresh conclusions about vocationally - oriented programmes in the context of a developing country. These variations are seen as a consequence of adaptations and transformations that may or may not be negotiated between the programme developers and the schools on the one hand, and the deficiencies in the implementation management on the other, hence the gap between programme intents and the innovation practice at the school level.

The gap is not regarded as an indication of ultimate failure of the programme, but rather as a necessary condition that gives the innovation the opportunity to adjust and adapt to its setting and vice versa. This is the view of implementation as a process of 'mutual adaptation' [Berman, 1981], which arises from the conviction that it is a fallacy to expect innovation programmes developed and disseminated from the central level to be implemented as directed and as planned by their developers. Variations and changes should be expected to occur as the innovations reach and interact

with their final setting, the school context. The crux of the matter is what these variations and changes mean for the sustainability of the innovation.

The innovation programme under investigation is known as the Secondary School Curriculum Diversification Programme [SSCDP]. It came to the schools as a package designed and developed within the Ministry of Education [MOE] at the central level. The package is comprised of four practical subjects which were to be introduced into the existing academic curriculum. SSCDP is implemented in 13 experimental schools which acquired special facilities, equipment and materials from the MOE to facilitate the initial use of the programme. It is in the light of this approach to the innovation process that the problem under investigation is to be understood.

1.2 THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

As hinted above, the innovation policy followed to introduce SSCDP emphasised the supply of physical resources which could only facilitate adoption. Other aspects that are vital to the implementation process such as the preparation and supply of curricular materials, training and deployment of teachers as well as the improvement of organisational competence of schools were neglected. Beyond the adoption stage, little involvement of the MOE with SSCDP took place. No specific implementation guidelines and school-level implementation policies were provided by the MOE. In addition, implementation activities were neither monitored nor followed up by the Ministry except in one subject area in the innovation package.

In this manner, SSCDP was more or less abandoned as a half-developed innovation package at the gates of the adopting schools. It is in this context that the researcher defines the innovation policy through which SSCDP was

introduced as open-ended. The implementers were left to use their own discretion in dealing with the complicated task of putting into practice a half-developed innovation package. The research issue emanates from this unusual approach to the innovation process - that means - a combination of a centralised initiative and a largely decentralised implementation responsibility. Central to this phenomenon is the nature of the interaction on the one hand between the initiators of change and the agencies supporting its implementation, and on the other hand, between the support agencies and the users at the school level. The strategies by which the implementation tasks were to be accomplished are the key policy issues to which this study is addressed.

Defined in this manner, the research problem is not so much the examination of the programme failure to achieve its specified goals as predicted at the time of project appraisal, but it is to unravel the factors that have shaped the implementation response of the schools. The investigation is intended to illuminate not only about the factors that constrain implementation, but those that facilitate it as well.

The argument about variations in implementation response, as distinct from innovation outcomes, draws on a qualitative causal network developed by Miles and Huberman [1984]. This analytical device is particularly helpful for portraying the differences in response to the programme by the individual schools. It is also suitable for stimulating comparisons among the schools in terms of their reaction as the process unfolds as well as the comparisons in terms of perceptions, attitudes and feelings between the school level users and the central level implementers.

The study is therefore process-oriented as opposed to product-oriented.

Because the implementation of SSCDP in Lesotho is on-going, a formative evaluation study is regarded as the most valuable to contribute to the improvement of the implementation process. Centred around qualitative research methods, the investigation utilises data from project documents, semi-structured interviews and observations done during school visits. The inquiry is guided by a set of research questions which grew out of the theoretical conceptualisation of the research problem. As the implementation of SSCDP is studied 15 years after the initiation of the innovation, the main objective is to provide an interpretative analysis of the conditions under which the programme is likely to be sustainable. Innovations tend to fare well when still given the special 'project status' which often involves high investment rates in terms of capital and human effort, but their importance diminishes beyond project completion dates, such that eventually, the fate of such projects is never known. Without this study, the fate of SSCDP would probably never have surfaced in order to inform the implementation of future innovation programmes in Lesotho. Contrary to the declaration in 1982 by the World Bank that SSCDP would be a 'failure', the innovation is still continuing and it is important to determine which of its components are sustainable.

In this introductory chapter, the context for change in Lesotho's secondary education level is briefly explained. This is followed by a statement on the rationale that justifies the need to carry out this kind of a study. Then the chapter explains the scope and significance of the study particularly in the context of Lesotho. The last section provides a summary of the organisation of the thesis.

1.3 CONTEXT FOR CHANGE

The vocationalisation of education in LDCs is an attempt to introduce

innovations that would make the education systems more relevant to the development needs of these societies [Chapter Two]. In Lesotho, SSCDP was founded on these goals [Chapter Six]. The main goal stated by the Government of Lesotho [GOL] in the First Five Year Development Plan [1970-1974], was to lay foundations for economic development and economic self-sufficiency. The education sector was identified as important in the achievement of this goal. Hence

promoting education and training as a means of creating skills and aptitudes must therefore be a focal point in Lesotho's development strategy.
[GOL; 1970-1974:29]

The Second Five Year Development Plan reiterates this challenge and emphasises as its main objective the

improvement of quality of education throughout the system and particularly in secondary education, with special attention to science, mathematics and vocational subjects.
[GOL; 1975-1979:181-182]

This emphasis on both the creation of skills and the improvement of quality in secondary education suggests that since independence, the government has always attached great importance to the policy of introducing practical subjects into the secondary school curriculum. This culminated in the adoption of the diversification policy in 1974. Although a detailed analysis of the emergence and formulation of this policy in Lesotho lies beyond the scope of this investigation, the following points are necessary in order to locate the research problem.

In essence, the diversification policy is aimed at moulding an educational system that is suited to the country's development needs. It entails the introduction of practical subjects into an existing academic curriculum. The latter has been severely criticised for being irrelevant for the needs of a developing nation. That is, the secondary school curriculum as inherited from the colonialists was accused of being heavily biased towards academic

subjects, thereby failing to equip students with the kinds of skills and knowledge that would enable them to work as productive members within the country, particularly in their immediate environments. Secondly, it was argued that this academic curriculum not only alienated the school-leavers from their immediate localities, but that it reinforced the problem of escalating demand for higher academic qualifications as well. In addition, it was blamed for producing school-leavers whose aspirations were geared towards white collar jobs in the modern sector of the labour market, while employment opportunities in this sector were very limited.

The diversification policy was therefore adopted in response to these socio-economic and pedagogical concerns. What needs to be emphasised is that the design and implementation of vocationally - oriented programmes is a complex undertaking especially in the context of LDCs whose systems of education are generally underdeveloped. Such programmes are exacting of skills and resources and they are not readily assimilated to existing practices so that even if there are sound justifications behind their adoption, effective implementation remains a big challenge.

In 1974, 13 schools were chosen to experiment with the implementation of SSCDP. The criteria on which these were selected are discussed in Chapter Eight. Initially, it was planned that if the experimental phase proved successful, the programme would be extended to a larger number of schools until all secondary schools became diversified. Thus, the GOL decided on a gradualist approach to the diversification process. Such an approach has its own advantages [Chapter Two].

However, in 1982, on the recommendation of the World Bank as the chief donor agency, further financial assistance towards the expansion of SSCDP

was halted. Basically, the World Bank expressed dissatisfaction with the implementation progress. The main cause was seen as the lack of clear policy guidelines on how the MOE was to conduct the implementation process. The World Bank was convinced that the implementation strategy was fraught with difficulties such that the programme would fail to achieve its expected benefits.

But, when the financial assistance was terminated in 1982, the 13 pilot schools had been supplied with the physical infrastructure and a number of these schools had already started to teach one or two practical subjects. Partly because the programme was started through a loan, the schools and indeed the MOE felt obliged to continue the implementation of SSCDP. The programme has survived and it is now 15 years since the idea was first put into practice. It is in view of these sustained implementation efforts that the study intends to contribute a fresh look into the analysis and understanding of the innovation process. This study is probably the first in the context of a developing country that examines the problem of implementation from a sustainability point of view.

1.4 RATIONALE AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

The majority of research studies within the innovation literature examine either the process of how adoption of policies takes place or what long-term outcomes innovations yield. But studies that investigate the relationship of implementation to the immediate outcomes of the process itself are still in the early stages of development and face some intrinsically difficult problems [Adams & Chen, 1981; Fullan,1985:1213]. These authors indicate an important gap in the literature to which the collection of studies on educational innovation conducted at the University of Sussex [Lewin & Stuart, forthcoming], is a major contribution. More research on

this area is still in demand and the present study aims to contribute towards the bridging of this gap. The study examines how the diversification policy is implemented but takes the analysis further to interpret the nature of the implementation responses at the school level.

The study is also of importance when considering the fact that the implementation of vocationally-oriented programmes is one area which the literature reveals as being fraught with complexities. Evidence of this is to be found in the demise of several programmes started as attempts to change academic curricula in the systems of many LDCs [Lillis, 1983]. An inquiry into the implementation of these programmes, using more open-ended procedures to depict the evolutionary patterns of implementation in different schools, so as to identify and interpret what changes in practice happen to the same innovation programme over a period of time, is most desirable. Issues are explored from 'inside the innovation programme' to highlight factors affecting the extent of implementation [Huberman and Miles, 1984]. From this viewpoint, the unit of analysis should 'no longer be the organisation but the organisation with respect to the particular innovation and vice versa' [Berman, 1981]. The challenge is to provide alternative definitions to the process of innovation based on the interpretations of what happens when the world of policy-makers integrates with that of the implementers. That is, instead of measuring implementation in terms of fidelity per se, alternative definitions, based on the expectations that adaptation will and ought to occur, are appropriate [McLaughlin, 1987].

From the work of Huberman and Miles [1984], an intriguing methodological development has emerged. It involves the use of multiple case-studies to portray implementation processes more holistically. To

some extent, this method has been adopted in this study in as far as the 13 schools are individually explored and their responses assessed. Because the research looks for causal relationships between implementation activities at the central level and the nature of responses at the school level, it highlights the problem of management of change, and as such has direct and substantial consequences for examining the role of leadership in managing innovation programmes [Middleton et al, 1986; Fullan, 1989]. The task of bringing about change in the education system is generally less understood - be it at the individual, institutional or macro-system level [Hurst, 1983] and, therefore, more studies to gain a better insight into the dynamics of change are necessary. As Nisbet [1978:13] warns:

Innovation is here to stay, and we must come to terms with it; no one should underestimate the challenge and difficulties which it presents.

Recognising the need to contribute to an understanding of the deeper intricacies of the innovation process, the study uses a comparative approach to try to distinguish factors related only to particular schools from universal factors that account for the overall low level of implementation [Chapter Nine]. The universals characterise the programme across the 13 schools but there is a need to probe deeper into specific criteria that distinguish one school from the other. This is achieved by looking into the programme in operation at the school level.

In this way, the analysis of the problem is carried out at two levels. On the one level, there is the MOE and its support agencies where the implementation activities concern the supply of resources, preparation of teachers, curricular materials and monitoring of the implementation process. This is what the researcher considers as operational management. On the other level, the focus is on the school as the setting of the innovation

where implementation activities involve organisational or structural alterations, use of materials and facilities, changes in behaviour and skills among the implementers.

This study takes the following as its major aims:

- Examining the way the diversification programme has been conceptualised at the various system levels.
- Examining the activities of change agents and support groups and their adequacy with the demands of SSCDP.
- Identifying factors that seem to facilitate or hinder a smooth implementation process.
- Contribute to the search for a more viable strategy to implement vocationally-oriented change programmes.

More specifically, this study is designed to highlight the conditions under which a sustainable innovation process can be achieved. The basic argument in the thesis revolves around the interface between the innovation programme and its setting. The adaptive capacities of both are critical in the explanation of sustainability of change.

The issues at stake which are developed in the later chapters are captured in the following research question: What kind of implementation response is an open-ended innovation policy likely to generate and does the response have any significance for the long-term sustainability of the programme at the school level? This key question is further refined into the following:

- How far have the policy-makers communicated the meaning of SSCDP to the implementers?
- What factors account for mismatches between policy intentions and the innovation practices?
- What is the response of the project schools to the implementation

efforts?

- What factors explain variations in response among the 13 Project schools?
- What are the implications for the sustainability of the diversification programme in Lesotho?

The investigation is guided by these research questions. They are intended to increase insight into issues arising from both the literature on education and planned change as well as those associated with the attempts to vocationalise secondary school curricula in LDCs.

1.5 SCOPE

This is a study of an educational innovation operating in 13 experimental schools at the secondary level. The investigation addresses issues related to the process of implementing this innovation, arising both at the central and at the school level. At the central level attention is focussed on the following:

- The Planning Unit within the MOE;
- The National Curriculum Development Centre [NCDC], which is responsible for designing, producing and testing curricular materials.
- The National Teacher Training College [NTTC], the only institution in the country producing practical studies teachers for secondary schools.
- The Training for Self-Reliance Project [TSRP], set up in 1975 as the project implementation unit [PIU] of the MOE.

At the school level, attention is focussed on the 13 schools. Concern is with the opinions, perceptions, views and attitudes of those involved with the implementation process at both levels.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Currently, the issue of diversifying secondary school curricula by way of introducing prevocational or practical subjects in the system is widely debated both locally and at international levels. Examples are the Lesotho Seminars on the Clarification of Policies and Priorities held in 1987 and 1988; The Conference on Vocationalising Education, held at the Institute of Education, University of London, 1986 and Lauglo and Lillis, 1988. This study is intended to contribute to this ongoing debate in as far as it evaluates Lesotho's experience with the implementation of SSCDP. Because weaknesses inherent in an innovation policy may not be clear until it is put into operation, it becomes imperative to study the process through the medium of its performance - that is, examining the policy in relation to its context or setting.

The concern with this programme arises from the low level of performance of the experimental schools and their inability to reach the desirable level of implementing the diversified curriculum. Substantial amounts of funds which came as a loan from the World Bank / IDA and other bilateral donor agencies were invested in this programme. Physical facilities were set up on a wide scale and materials and equipment were generously supplied specifically for the teaching of these practical subjects. If the programme degenerates and fades away, like many of this kind have in other LDCs, so much resources will have been wasted. In a country with a very hostile economic situation, this is most undesirable. It is for such reasons that this study is seen as coming at the most opportune moment. Presently, the GOL is frantically searching for ways to improve the implementation of its innovation programmes, particularly the diversification of the secondary school curriculum, because since the achievement of political independence in 1966, the nature of the school

system has dominantly remained academic and elitist.

When SSCDP was introduced, the aim was to create a relevant type of education, suitable for the development needs of Lesotho. The importance of this need came out strongly during the 1978 National Education Dialogue which was organised to exchange ideas with the people and to provide them with a platform from which to declare their education aspirations. This Dialogue was in turn organised in response to the Lagos Conference of African Ministers of Education held in 1976, which among others, resolved that each nation should renew its education system basing itself on a re-examination of its conditions and requirements.

Among the findings of the 1978 Dialogue in Lesotho, was the well articulated need to expand and improve the practical component of the secondary school curriculum. Summarising some of the findings of this Dialogue, the Education Sector Survey Task Force Report [1982:92] states:

The existing system of education tends to separate general education from technical, commercial and agricultural education. This encourages the tradition of looking down on the manual worker, rather than emphasising the importance of working with the hands and brain for increased productivity.

Stated in this manner, these views indicate a positive climate for change on the part of the public. It is therefore surprising that the MOE did not appear committed to the success of SSCDP.

The Task Force Report [1982] made recommendations as to how the views of the public could be put into practice. In 1984, the government realised that the implementation of some of these recommendations, specifically the introduction of practical subjects, was encountering problems. Meanwhile, the World Bank had, in 1982, withdrawn its support towards SSCDP, suggesting that the MOE ought to assess thoroughly the performance of the

Project schools and the worthiness of the programme before any more schools could be brought into the programme.

The World Bank based its decision on the 1981 TSRP Evaluation Report where it was made clear that implementation problems were acute. In a letter to the TSRP Authority, the World Bank observed:

The programme requires specialised teachers and sophisticated equipment, resulting in higher operating costs, and the benefits of the programme are only now being evaluated. ... As long as the MOE is unable to establish, as was required by the Ministry of Finance, a clear policy on the expansion of secondary schools, and until the benefits of the practical subjects are evaluated, it was recommended that ... further expenditures for the introduction of practical subjects at the secondary level should be held in abeyance.

[TSRP, 1981:17]

Therefore, after the Second Education Project [TSRP II] had phased out in 1982, the World Bank's financial assistance towards SSCDP was discontinued, leaving the schools with the task of salvaging the programme from collapse.

The suggestion made by the Bank, as well as the growing awareness of implementation constraints, prompted the MOE to conduct an in-depth survey in selected schools throughout the country in 1984, the objective of which was to

determine in consultation with school heads any significant obstacles to the implementation of the guidelines and policies outlined in the Task Force Report of 1982.

[MOE; 1984:i]

The Report of this Study Team also made recommendations on how implementation of policies could be made effective.

Following the change of government in 1986, policies were reviewed because it was believed that failure of political will was among the major

causes of inertia within the education sector. The issue of practical subjects emerged as the most problematic. To address these problems, the MOE held the first Seminar on the 'Clarification of Lesotho's Education Policies and Priorities' in September 1987. The Seminar concluded that within the MOE 'there have not been specific strategies for implementing the recommendations' made by the Task Force Report of 1982 and by the Study Team Report of 1984. At the end of this Seminar, several Steering Committee Groups were formed whose task was to:

1. Take stock of achievements and constraints encountered to date.
2. Clarify education policies and streamline priorities to the year 2000 at all levels of the education system.
3. Clarify the MOE roles and responsibilities.

[MOE, 1987:1]

This was followed a year later by a second seminar on the same theme and under the same title in June 1988. The Report of this Seminar has strongly suggested the source of the problems as the 'scarcity of resources to meaningfully implement the policies and programmes' [Bohloko, 1988:14]. Therefore, problems of implementing a diversified programme are still a major issue in the country's efforts to improve the quality of its secondary education system. In this regard, it is envisaged that a formative evaluation research is capable of contributing significantly in:

- clarifying the development of the diversification programme, explaining the demands it makes on the resource system of the MOE;
- spelling out clearly the nature of the implementation problems and their likely sources so that future attempts can be improved.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is made up of two major parts. Part One consists of four chapters. The first is an introductory chapter to the study. It provides background information to the nature of the problem, states the problem, deals with the rationale and aims of the study. It then explains the scope

and significance of the study. The chapter concludes by giving a brief summary of how the thesis is organised. In Chapter Two the discussion assumes an international dimension through the review of literature on vocationalisation of secondary education systems in developing countries. By using the experience of two case studies, an attempt is made to explain the policy and the practice of vocationalising education. The aim of this chapter is to provide an awareness of previous relevant contributions to the problem of vocationalisation so that [a] the importance of the present study can be emphasised and [b] some lessons for Lesotho can be drawn.

The third chapter places the research problem within a theoretical and conceptual framework. Literature on the implementation of educational innovations is critically reviewed. A detailed exposition of the models and strategies of planned change is given. This is critical for the thesis as the concern is on the improvement of the strategy that has been used to implement SSCDP in Lesotho. Chapter Three ends by suggesting a conceptual framework that is intended to guide the investigation and organise the analysis of the field data. Chapter Four is the last in Part One. It discusses the methods through which the research has been conducted. The chapter begins by exploring the different types of evaluation research. Reasons for the choice of the type of evaluation that has been found suitable for this study are explained. This chapter also rationalises the use of instruments and techniques chosen to carry out the investigation. A few examples of items in the interview schedule are also given.

Part Two consists of six chapters. These discuss, analyse and interpret the field data that forms the empirical component of this research. Chapter Five introduces the education context of Lesotho, focusing on the issues that are directly relevant to the research problem. Developments in the education

system are traced back to the time of the arrival of the church missionaries in 1833 because the first attempts to introduce vocational subjects in the country were started at this time. Issues on the management and control of the education system are raised as these are likely to affect the implementation of new programmes. Chapter Five, then, explains the origins and evolution of the diversification programme in Lesotho.

In Chapter Six, focus is on the conceptualisation of the diversification programme at the various levels of the education system. Crucial are the issues of understanding and interpretation of the goals of this innovation. Chapter Seven proceeds to analyse the implementation activities carried out mainly at the central level in terms of their adequacy and appropriateness in meeting the demands of the innovation. In Chapter Eight, the discussion shifts from the central to the school level and examines the response at the local level towards the implementation of the diversification programme. Five types of implementation response emerge from the analysis. This typology forms the basis of the interpretative analysis in Chapter Nine that is directed at establishing the factors that are likely to promote a sustainable innovation process.

In Chapter Ten the findings of the research are identified and interpreted in the light of findings of previous studies by other researchers and in the light of theoretical assumptions guiding the investigation. In the final section of this chapter, the various strands of the discussion are pulled together into a summary. Conclusions and recommendations are then made.

As diversification falls within the literature on vocationalism, Chapter Two is devoted to the review of selected topics in this literature.

CHAPTER TWO

VOCATIONALLY-ORIENTED EDUCATION : EXPERIENCE IN LDCs

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the problem of diversifying secondary education. In the context of Lesotho, diversification is an innovation that refers to the 'injection' of practical subjects in an otherwise academic curriculum. In regard to this, the study addresses two areas of literature: vocationalisation and the innovation literature, examined in this chapter and in Chapter Three respectively. The chapter is designed to draw attention to issues critical to the implementation of vocationalised secondary education programmes. These are many but the discussion limits itself to conceptual issues and approaches to diversification. The chapter starts by defining the key concepts. Because the study is concerned with diversification as distinct from general vocational education, five definitional elements to separate these two concepts are discussed. The chapter then proceeds to discuss the context and goals of vocationalism in order to clarify the justifications behind the persistence of this policy.

Next, the chapter considers the policy in practice by examining the experience of two innovations in two different settings in the LDCs. These are the Secondary Schools Community Extension Project [SSCEP] in Papua New Guinea [PNG] and the Pre-vocational Studies [PVS] in Sri Lanka. PVS has long been labelled a 'failure' while SSCEP is described as an ambitious but carefully implemented innovation, which, according to Lillis and Hogan [1983:101], 'may provide a recipe for successful implementation'. In conclusion, the chapter makes brief comparative statements on the policy and practice of vocationalism in Lesotho; PNG and Sri Lanka. This

approach is intended to reflect the conviction on the part of the researcher that although vocationalisation is a complex innovation, an improved implementation strategy may enhance effective change and therefore a sustainable innovation process.

2.2 PREVIEW

In the past two decades, many countries in the developing world have attempted to 'decolonise' their education systems by rejecting models of western academic curricula in favour of policies regarded as relevant to their needs. These are often articulated in the national development plans. Important and widely debated among these changes are the efforts to introduce a variety of vocationally - oriented programmes into the formal education systems [Lauglo & Lillis, 1988]. Characterised by poor resource bases, some developing countries like Lesotho, Tanzania, Sierra Leone and Kenya have received foreign assistance from such donor agencies as the World Bank and SIDA to implement change programmes.

Considering the goals stated for these programmes [Section 2.5 below], it would appear that the policy of vocationalising education is adopted often as a means of responding to socio-economic and political challenges that face the newly independent countries. As Okoye [1986:263] observes :

Changing patterns of economic, political and social development tend to produce innovations in the educational field as the system seeks to adjust to the needs of the current situation.

This situation has resulted in the manipulation of the education system, introducing changes and setting goals which at times have been described as too ambitious and unrealistic. This is the problem that Sinclair [1977:366] has pointed out in her survey of work-related programmes in the education systems of Third World countries. In addition, Saunders and Vulliamy [1983:369] contend that the introduction of vocationally - oriented

programmes into the curricula of Third World schools 'has been one of the most significant failures'. Hence the dilemma : 'To vocationalise or not to vocationalise?' [Psacharopoulos, 1987a]. Such scepticism about vocationalism is not new, but it dates back to Foster's [1966] now classic work on the 'vocational school fallacy'.

However, what is evident is that the 'noted failure' of vocationally - oriented programmes has not deterred the pursuit of these policies, and indeed as Bacchus [1988] argues, vocationalisation is likely to be with us for a long time to come. Efforts to achieve vocationalisation have led to the birth of several reform initiatives. Among these are the Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania; Curriculum Diversification in Sierra Leone; Industrial Education in Kenya, SSCEP in PNG and SSCDP in Lesotho. Therefore, the important question to consider with regards to this policy is why has the introduction of vocationally - oriented programmes failed to achieve the expected benefits despite the heavy investments made towards these initiatives.

Lillis [1983] points out that on the whole these programmes 'have experienced a wide range of implementation problems' hence their limited success. The view of implementation being a problem is considered in Chapter Three [Sect.3.3]. To date, much discussion and research into vocationalisation in the LDCs remains at the level of policy and methods used are prone to reproducing the rhetoric of policies rather than the reality of their practices [Vulliamy, 1983:14]. The study on Tanzania and Colombo [Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985] and on Sri Lanka [Abeysekera, 1982] are examples of policy-oriented summative evaluation studies which do not necessarily examine the complexities of vocationalisation efforts at the school level. By contrast, this study is concerned with the process of

implementation so as to illuminate the conditions under which a vocationally - oriented programme is likely to take root and become sustainable within the school setting. Several concepts have already been introduced in the above preamble. These need to be clarified.

2.3. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Because there is a wide variety of expectations from the vocationalisation policy, several interpretations have been attached to this concept. But a more succinct definition has been provided by Lauglo and Lillis [1988:3] who state that:

Vocationalisation of secondary education is taken to mean curriculum change in a practical or vocational direction.

It can be inferred from the above definition that two strands to the process of vocationalising secondary education are possible.

One refers to curriculum change in a vocational direction, while the other could mean curriculum change to a practical direction. This distinction is worth making because it does not only imply a difference in the goals but it also indicates a difference in the manner in which vocationally - oriented education can be designed and provided. As far as the 'practical direction' is concerned, the aim is to expose students to knowledge and skills introduced in the curriculum with the purpose of changing it from a completely theoretical nature towards a vocationalised bias. SSCDP is an example of a curriculum change in the practical rather than a vocational direction [Chapter Six].

To explain further the difference between a 'practical' and a 'vocational' curriculum, reference is made to a definition in one of Unesco Reports [1974] which states that vocational education is a

... comprehensive term referring to those aspects of the educational process involving ... the study of technologies and related sciences and the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life.

[in Corvalan; 1988:73]

In other words, a change of curriculum towards a vocational direction implies an attempt to develop skills useful for direct entry into the labour market. As pointed out in the Commonwealth Report [1988:7] in vocational education

... emphasis is on employability - through school-based programmes to groom skilled workers for the labour market.

On the other hand, change of the curriculum in a 'practical' direction can be seen as an attempt to make basic education, experienced by the majority of young people, more relevant to their needs as well as to the overall development needs of a country. In as far as these practical programmes are introduced at the lower levels of secondary education, they are sometimes referred to as prevocational subjects as in the case of Sri Lanka. But also, they can be referred to as the curriculum diversification programmes as in the case of Sierra Leone and Lesotho, hence these terms are used interchangeably.

Lillis and Hogan [1983:90] explain that prevocational education refers to the developments whereby a

diversified component is 'injected' into the existing curriculum as one option amongst many other academic options and made compulsory but with no claim that the school has become vocational. The stress is not upon the production of job skills, but it is prevocational with an important attitudinal strand.

In as far as there is a need to fight the 'Diploma Disease' [Dore, 1976] which leads to an escalated demand for higher qualifications, the inculcation of positive attitudes towards practical subjects is vital particularly in situations where white-collar employment is not likely to be gained by secondary school leavers.

Psacharopoulos [1984:1] also uses the concept of diversified education in the same sense as Lillis and Hogan [1983]. The former goes on to point that one important feature of diversified education which has made it favourable to the policy-makers in LDCs is that it

... allows students exposure to vocational skills of their choice, in addition to providing cognitive skills in classes designed to prepare them for university..

In essence then, a practical component in an otherwise academic curriculum has an added advantage of widening future career options of school leavers.

In the 1988 Commonwealth Report, this view is endorsed because it is maintained that in prevocational education, emphasis is on

"Trainability" -- general education incorporating skills training or pre-vocational preparation aimed at broad versatility, readiness for further training and appropriate attitudes and values.

[Commonwealth; 1988:6].

The underlying assumption is that in a world where technology is changing fast, prevocational education is likely to provide foundation for subsequent specialisation and so help to make future workers more flexible and adaptable.

Reiterating Lillis and Hogan's [1983:89-90] typology of vocationally - oriented programmes, Haddad and Conly [1987:5-6] state that programmes that have been supported by the World Bank within the formal education sector fall into two models. There is Model I in which practical subjects are introduced as one component of a general education curriculum with no occupational aims. There is also Model II which offers specialisation in vocationally - oriented streams with occupational skills. This distinction needs attention as the investigation in this study is mainly focused on the Model I type of a programme. But it is not limited to a review of the

World Bank / IDA supported programmes only. The distinction is helpful to illustrate the differences between diversification as a means of improving the quality of basic education and vocationalisation as a specific preparation for the labour market.

2.4 DISTINGUISHING DEFINITIONAL ELEMENTS

The above discussion suggests that conceptually, diversification differs from a purely vocational education. In the following section, this is clarified with the use of five subheadings suggested by Swanson [1985:5502]. These are :

PURPOSE: Whereas diversification of secondary school curricula is not meant to train pupils in job-specific skills or improve their chances in the labour market, vocational education tries to assure a pool of skills needed for labour markets. Vocational education ensures a supply of workers with specific skills or seeks to update the skills of the existing labour force. Thus, individuals view the purpose of vocational education as an avenue of opportunity for seeking preferred employment, but prevocational studies only aim at laying a sound foundation for subsequent specialist training, thereby enhancing the overall value of general education as a preparation for life [Hoppers, 1989:150].

CLIENTS: Prevocational studies are primarily offered to secondary school students, but in some cases these subjects can be offered at the primary school level. On the other hand, recipients of vocational education are often at the tertiary level of education - that is, the pre-employment stage. Vocational education may also be offered to those already in employment - whether part- or full-time. As a result, the clients of vocational education may be of any age and would normally define their need in accordance with the nature of their employment circumstances.

PROVIDERS: The formal education system, and more specifically the school, is the chief provider of prevocational studies. But, providers for vocational education may vary from a formal educational institution like a university, polytechnic or vocational training college, to employers, non-formal worker organisations and families.

ORGANISATION: Prevocational studies are organised to suit within the structure of the school administration, but vocational education fits within many different organisational frameworks and styles. Vocational education may be organised to exist within or outside the formal education system. It may also be organised as a function of one or more agencies of the government.

PROCESS: With prevocational studies it is formal, while it may be formal or informal as far as vocational education is concerned. It is formal when it occurs as sequential lessons in an institutionalised setting just like prevocational studies does. The difference between these two lies with the intensity or amount of instruction provided in relation to other subjects in the same institution. Vocational education may also occur as task-sequenced exercises in a work setting. The process of instruction may occur off or on the job.

This brief discussion illustrates the differences between prevocational studies [diversification] and pure vocational education. In fact, in its widest meaning, vocational education incorporates diversification, and the latter can be regarded as laying the foundation for subsequent specialist vocational training. But unlike the former, diversification can rarely be made a central vehicle for social and economic transformation. It is important to stress this aspect because very often, the effectiveness of

prevocational studies programmes tends to be assessed on these grounds.

2.5 CONTEXT AND GOALS

Efforts to vocationalise education at the secondary school level in many LDCs can be seen as occurring within the context of the unemployment problem among the school leavers [Foster, 1966; Blaug, 1981; Carnoy, 1977; World Bank, 1980]. In the case of Lesotho, there are two dimensions to the problem of unemployment. On the one hand, there is an overabundance of educated youth whose skills are only relevant for the white-collar jobs in the modern sector of the labour market. With industrial development still at its infancy, this is mainly a service sector. On the other hand, there are critical shortages of intermediate and high level trained technicians needed for economic development. In Chapter Five it is argued that the colonial legacy is partly to blame for this situation. The Education Sector Survey Report [1982] explains the basis of the unemployment problem in Lesotho as the mismatch between the kinds of education offered and the employment opportunities available in the economy. The diversification policy was therefore adopted in response to the need to remedy this situation [Chapters Five and Six].

Making reference to the unemployment problem and to reasons behind vocationally - oriented policies, Selvaratnam [1988:131] states:

The most plausible explanation given to this pervasive and critical phenomenon was that there was a widespread mismatch between jobs in the labour market in Third World countries and the expectations generated by a preponderance of the highly stratified and academically oriented and characterised but less costly humanities biased education system in all these countries.

Since the emergence of the unemployment problem among the educated youth, policy-makers seem to have become convinced that a shift from an overly academic curriculum to a practically biased one is necessary and appropriate in terms of the needs of developing countries and in terms of

the employability prospects of school leavers. The assumption seems to be that if the problem remains unchecked, so much talent and scarce resources would go to waste.

As also argued in the Commonwealth Report [1988:2], the pervasiveness of the unemployment problem has

... accelerated the movement toward a re-definition of school objectives and encouraged the diversification of curricula ... with the accent on "relevant" knowledge and work-related skills.

This is, therefore, the context that has induced the adoption of the policy of vocationalisation in many LDCs. In Lesotho, for example, it was rationalised that the kind of education inherited at independence was bookish and elitist, preparing students for higher levels of education, whereas the majority of students, as seen in the education pyramid [Fig.5.2] presented in Chapter Five, are not able to proceed beyond the first cycle of secondary education. This kind of education was seen as dysfunctional by the decision-makers and called for a change from the linear expansion of the system to a more qualitative improvement of the kind of education provided [Chapter Six].

Urevbu [1988:260] suggests that the current faith in vocationalisation has been founded on two related assumptions. The first is that education, through its vocational training aspect, has a potential to provide the specific skills needed for the proper performance of a number of jobs. Secondly, vocationalisation of secondary education curriculum increases social and occupational mobility by providing access to education and training and thereby the acquisition of new skills and possibilities of higher income to classes in society which were previously disadvantaged. As the adoption of vocationally - oriented education policies has been influenced by these two assumptions, some economic and socio-political arguments in favour of

vocationalism have been made.

2.5.1 ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION

Economic arguments in support of vocationally-oriented policies emphasise the need to improve external efficiency of an education system by way of matching skills of school leavers with work opportunities in the labour market [World Bank, 1980:42]. Lauglo and Lillis [1988:8-9] hold a similar view , pointing out that:

Vocationalisation policies are a quest for greater labour market relevance of education : for better articulation between the content of schooling and subsequent application of acquired skills, attitudes and knowledge in the world of work, both in obtaining a livelihood and in becoming more productive in the work obtained.

The key concept here is 'relevance' of education to the labour market. This implies making education functional and closely related to the needs of the economy.

In the late fifties and in the sixties, when many ex-colonies gained political independence, the development of education focused on quantitative expansion whereby education opportunities were made accessible to larger numbers of school going age population. This kind of investment was engendered by the Human Capital Theory of T. Schultz [1961]. The expectation was that investment in education would produce the desired, skilled manpower through 'Human Resource Development' [Harbison & Myers, 1964] and this in turn was expected to enhance the pace of economic growth.

However, by early seventies, this strategy of educational development proved to be irrelevant in many LDCs because economic growth did not accelerate as expected [ILO Reports on Kenya and Sri Lanka; Blaug, 1981]. In fact, many LDCs became disillusioned with the consequences of massive expansion of education. As Lulat [1982:235] argues, instead of ameliorating

economic problems

... education exacerbated such problems as unemployment among school leavers; rural -to- urban migration of youth; lagging agricultural development - as a result of brain drain and labour drainage to the urban areas, and the ever-widening gap between urban elites and rural masses.

Devising and implementing appropriate and relevant education programmes became an urgent matter to contain these problems, hence vocationalisation received favourable attention and preference in the newly independent African countries.

In 1961, when African ministers first took stock of educational development prospects at a Conference held in Addis Ababa, the impression created was that vocationalisation at the school level would lead to economic independence of African countries. The countries were therefore, encouraged to focus on vocational education as a prelude to industrialisation. Many educational policy-makers argued that investment in vocational programmes enables the youth to acquire knowledge and skills by which they can produce more and earn more. As Blakemore and Cooksey [1981:51] point out, the need for vocationalisation increased soon after independence as it became clear that more jobs were available than were qualified people to fill them. In some countries, expansion of industrial sectors meant the need for larger numbers of technically qualified personnel who would eventually replace the expatriates in these highly skilled jobs.

Psacharopoulos and Loxley [1985:9] maintain that the economic argument for these programmes is based

... on the assumption that traditional education, apprenticeship and on-the-job training cannot train enough workers to meet current and future demands for skilled labour.

In other words, such means of preparation for work need to be

complemented with vocationally - oriented programmes within the formal education system.

These authors add that among the proponents of vocationalisation:

Those arguing for an emphasis on vocational courses in secondary education cite evidence that a system of academically-oriented education predisposes students to enter white-collar jobs and not one that require manual labour and skills in short supply.

[Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985:9]

This has been mentioned among the chief rationale for diversification in Lesotho's secondary schools [MOE, 1982:92]. On the whole, economic arguments in favour of vocationalisation seem to have sustained the popularity of this policy and its practice persists despite the fact that its outcomes so far have been quite disappointing in some LDCs like Sri Lanka and Tanzania [Abeysekera, 1982; Wijemanna, 1986; and Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985]. In a concluding remark about the popularity of this policy, Bacchus [1988:33] suggests that it is only the

faith in the vocationalisation of the curriculum as a means of improving the contribution which education can make to the development process ...

that the policy has remained with us for so long. This implies the necessity to search for ways of improving the implementation of these programmes to enhance their sustainability. In addition to economic justifications behind the policy of vocationalisation, there are socio-political considerations as well.

2.5.2 SOCIO-POLITICAL JUSTIFICATIONS

As the context for vocationalisation, the problem of unemployment is as much of an economic as it is a political issue. Therefore, vocationalisation of secondary education has also received political backing. A major piece of evidence supportive of the view that there are political motivations behind vocationalisation has come from Kenya. In the evaluation study of

Industrial Education [IE], [Lauglo, 1985; Lauglo & Narman, 1988] it is revealed that the main rationale for including 'Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secondary Schools' has been a political response to a situation in which the school leavers from the regular academic programmes of the education system were increasingly having difficulties in finding wage employment in the modern sector. The fact that IE was introduced in 35 best and prestigious government maintained schools where aspirations among school leavers would presumably be strongly biased towards white-collar jobs, indicates that the main aim was to lower these unrealistic expectations and thereby reduce competition for limited jobs in the modern sector.

Sri Lanka is another case that illustrates political motives behind vocationalisation. In 1971, the Ministry of Planning and Employment issued a statement criticising the academic type of curricula which was said to be causing unemployment among school leavers. Soon after, there was an insurgency led by some educated young people. Nairn [1985:195] has argued that these events rushed the government in Sri Lanka

to initiate a change in what was taught in the curriculum and the result was the Junior Secondary School Reform of 1972.

The emphasis among these reforms was on the teaching of PVS which were made compulsory to all junior secondary school students throughout the island.

Bacchus [1988:35] also speaks to the issue of political motivation behind the attempts at vocationalising secondary school education. He traces this phenomenon as having been present during the colonial times and even among the contemporary leaders in LDCs. According to this author, vocationalisation

represented an important part of the effort of the colonisers and later, the indigenous leaders, to use the instructional programmes of the schools as a mechanism of social control - a means of lowering the occupational aspirations of the youngsters in these societies to a more 'realistic' level.

Clearly Bacchus has in mind the other facet of the unemployment problem where aspirations among school leavers are too high and manual labour is despised in preference of white-collar salaried work.

This tendency has led to great numbers of school leavers migrating from the rural to the urban areas in search of white-collar jobs. Hence, vocationalisation is also regarded as an attempt to 'halt urban migration' [Lillis & Hogan, 1983:89]. The movement of the youth to the urban areas has serious socio-political manifestations. In his comments, Blaug [1981:12] has pointed out that the drift to towns does not only convert rural underemployment to open urban unemployment, but it also contributes to underdevelopment of the rural areas as they become robbed of their potential labour. The argument is that courses of study like agriculture are appropriate in rural schools as they are expected to inculcate positive attitudes towards manual work which would in turn encourage school leavers to remain in their local environments after completion of school. The case of Lesotho illustrates this point well because the youth is moving from the rural areas not only to the urban areas within the country but to the more affluent economic environment in the neighbouring Republic of South Africa [RSA]. It is paradoxical that the sustainability of many vocationally - oriented programmes has been threatened by the very nature of the goals set for them.

Another argument for vocationalism concerns the question of equity. Education systems tend to be criticised for being highly selective and preparing only students who are academically able to proceed with further education. Such a practice is undesirable as it does not only lead to a

'qualification syndrome' but it actually pushes out of the system the students who are not academically inclined. These 'drop-outs' constitute a social problem because they lack skills that could render them productive members of the society upon leaving school. Regarding this, vocationally - oriented programmes become an attempt at

Providing equality of education opportunity for learners of different talents and abilities, potential and motivation ... by relating curriculum content to the capacity and needs of a range of pupils.

[Commonwealth, 1988:3].

Thus, vocationalism strives for wider access to education and aims for provision of a variety of skills to avoid some groups being disadvantaged by content of schooling which may be inappropriate to their needs and capabilities. As illustrated in Chapter Eight, three headteachers in the Project schools saw the value of SSCDP in terms of its ability to cater for students not highly gifted in academic pursuits. Among others, it is in view of such positive attitudes and acceptance of vocationally - oriented programmes that the present researcher sees a chance for them becoming sustainable in the system.

Selvaratnam [1988:130] has aptly stated the socio-political considerations behind the introduction of vocationally - oriented programmes in the developing countries. He maintains that in order to reduce

... this persistently increasing high rate of youth unemployment and the rural-urban drift in search of elusive wage-employment opportunities and to eradicate the accompanying economic ills and hostile cultures such as crime ... national political decision-makers and planners of Third World countries have made various attempts to devise and implement appropriate policies and strategies towards accelerating the utilisation of 'surplus labour'; one of them being an attempt to interface education and the world of work.

As it is a threat to socio-economic order, it would be politically expedient for any country to attempt to alleviate unemployment among its youth. In as far as vocationally - oriented programmes are seen as having a potential to do so, their initiation in many LDCs has received wide political support.

In sum, youth unemployment has been a prime factor in generating wide commitment to vocationally - oriented education and in bringing about educational innovations in the school system. Because the benefits expected from vocationalised education are often inflated, the tendency is to set equally ambitious objectives which are not easily attainable. In this study, the issue of goals set for SSCDP is addressed in Chapter Six. It refers to the manner in which the diversification policy has been translated into practice in the Lesotho context. Translation of policy into practice is not always easy, smooth or economical in the area of vocationalisation. An observation that can be made is that the process of policy translation varies in focus and strategy in different countries largely on account of socio-political and economic pressures each country faces as well as because of the individual national philosophical orientations that a country subscribes to.

This point brings the discussion to the examination of the policy in practice by comparing two innovations in two different Third World settings to highlight the differences in focus, strategy and approach to vocationalisation. From this discussion lessons on factors facilitating or hindering successful implementation will be noted. These will provide a reference point when recommendations are made in the final chapter on how to improve the diversification process in Lesotho to maximise chances for its sustainability.

2.6 VOCATIONALLY-ORIENTED PROGRAMMES : TWO CASES

Change policies in education do not only have a philosophical dimension [the 'why' dimension discussed above], but they also have the didactic [what and how] dimension. Often, misconceptions and poor interpretation of the philosophical dimension adversely affect the didactics. The arguments in

Chapters Six to Nine embrace this view. By examining the context and goals in the preceding section, an insight has been provided into why vocationalisation is a popular policy in some developing countries. In this section the aim is to analyse how the task of vocationalisation can be carried out and what it involves in practice. A comparison between two programmes is seen as appropriate to see how the task of vocationalisation may be approached. The first example is that of PVS in Sri Lanka, and the second is that of SSCEP in PNG. These programmes differ a great deal in terms of the strategies to the innovation process, but certain similarities between them are to be found in the interpretation of the concept of vocationalisation.

For this reason, their comparison is useful particularly because PVS has been labelled a 'failure' whereas SSCEP is regarded as having a potential to 'provide a recipe for successful implementation' [Sect.2.2 above]. Although these two programmes do not exactly parallel the case of the diversification programme in Lesotho, they are of relevance to the understanding of the research problem. Their selection has been guided by the following considerations :

- Effective implementation depends a great deal on the way the vocationalisation policy is interpreted. In Lesotho, it appears as if the policy has been interpreted in a way that is greatly contrasted to that of either Sri Lanka or PNG. This makes the comparison useful in illustrating the resulting differences in the nature and practice of vocationalisation in these contexts.
- Among other areas, this study intends to illustrate the conditions under which an innovation programme may be sustainable. This can benefit from the juxtaposition of contrasting experiences.

Thus, in presenting these two cases, the nature of each programme is described and the approach to the innovation process is analysed.

2.6.1. PVS IN SRILANKA

PVS in Sri Lankan junior secondary schools was introduced in January 1972 but was abandoned five years later when a new government came into power in 1977. Wanasinghe [1982:61] has explained that this reformed curriculum was 'introduced in response to a crisis of unemployment among educated young people' and that it attempted to develop 'integrated studies' as well as more importantly to 'orient the schools towards local opportunities of self-employment'.

THE NATURE OF THE PROGRAMME

Although a short-lived programme, PVS in Sri Lanka has attracted wide interest as the programme forms part of the reforms that concern the contemporary educational community, internationally. PVS is well-defined in some of the government documents. For example, the Five Year Plan 1972-1976 published in November 1971 defined PVS as follows :

The main objective of the curricular change that is to be inaugurated from 1972 is to integrate the academic and vocational aspects of education in the general school system. It seeks to equip students with a good general education together with a basic familiarity with one or more vocational opportunities available to them. This does not mean any reduction in academic content. What it means is that the materials taught and the whole idiom of teaching has meaning for the student and will stand him in good stead when he leaves the system.

[in Wijemanna, 1986:4]

Defined in this manner, PVS became a practical component that was injected into an otherwise academic curriculum in order to bridge the gap between the school and the society. These subjects were made compulsory throughout the four year cycle of junior secondary education in Sri Lanka.

The Ministry of Planning and Employment [1971], when arguing for the introduction of PVS, stressed that the

... aim is to shift labour from its present aimless search for non-existent white collar occupations to economic activities which increase the income of the country.
[in Lewin & Little, 1982:24]

In as far as PVS was made compulsory at the junior secondary level of schooling, it would appear that the target of reforms was the early school leaver. This suggests that prior to the reforms, the system of education was strongly geared towards the production of high quality manpower, that is, those who were able to receive university education. Those who could not make it to the university became misfits in the socio-economic situation prevailing in the country. Consequently, Wanasinghe [1982:63] defined the intention of PVS as

to replace academically-oriented curriculum in the secondary schools by an environment-centred one that was closely related to the world of life and work of the student. Essentially, this meant that the student would be given the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to engage in worthwhile and profitable self-employment in agriculture, trade and industry available in his locality.

In other words, the purpose was to make smooth the period of transition from school to the world of work by preparing early school leavers to participate effectively in those productive occupations that the economy is capable of providing. The education was therefore no longer going to function as an 'assembly line' or 'academic factory' with curricula and 'teaching geared to the university entrance examinations', when each year, only one per cent of the school population enter the university'. Instead :

The spirit in which the reforms were introduced does appear to have indicated a genuine and novel commitment to improve the education of the majority of students who do not progress to the end of the system.

[Lewin & Little, 1982:25]

The form which the PVS programme was to take as clarified by Diyasena [1976:6] was that

a vocation in the neighbourhood of a school will be treated as a vehicle to broaden the general education at the junior secondary level.

In this way, the content of a prevocational study was to be directly drawn from and based on suitable vocations practised in the immediate environments of the schools. Thus, the teaching-learning experiences would

not just be meaningful, but they would be more compatible with the economic life going on outside the school.

In respect to this, Diyasena [1976:i] argues that the

innovative nature of this measure arises from the fact that prevocational studies bring into the traditional curriculum a totally new domain of learning experiences which would affect profoundly not only the structure of the curriculum as it is traditionally conceived but also the attitude to teaching and learning implicit in the traditional school practices.

The above leads to the consideration of how the policy of vocationalisation was interpreted in the Sri Lankan context.

It would appear that the interpretation of this policy was based on a modern theoretical perspective on curriculum. As stated by Wanasinghe [1982:65], this is the Romantic view of the curriculum which sees education as an integral part of life, rather than as a preparation for the adult world and it stresses experience, awareness and creativity - the essential features of which are child-centredness and organisation of curriculum content around real life topics and projects. This is based on Lawton's suggestion [1973] that our curriculum must take full account of the social situation, the pressures and needs of the society of which the school is a part.

APPROACH TO THE INNOVATION PROCESS

The approach to the process of reforming the junior secondary school curriculum in Sri Lanka in 1972 was both complex and rather unusual when compared to approaches adopted in other developing countries. It is complex in the sense that instead of being introduced piecemeal, PVS was introduced throughout the junior secondary level at the same time. This did not allow enough time for pilot testing the feasibility of the programme. Secondly, the innovation process was approached in an unusual manner in the sense that although PVS was initiated at the central level, its

implementation occurred in a highly decentralised fashion. This is unlike the procedure often found in many LDCs where the central administration tends to direct the implementation process. The implementation of SSCDP in Lesotho has some of the characteristics of this approach. These are discussed in Chapter Seven. Of this approach Diyasena [1976:13] wrote:

This was undoubtedly a most significant departure from the traditional and centralised approach to curriculum development in a highly centralised education system.

To some extent, this was inevitable because a major principle behind PVS was that schools should choose the most suitable and relevant vocations in their localities on which to base curricular material development. In consequence, the school, rather than the centre itself, had to be placed in a central position in planning out the procedures for this curriculum development as well as in providing resource support.

Curiously, however, the choice of suitable vocations for study was not decided on any specific and coherent guidelines. Instead, as Fernando [1974:74] observed, two years after PVS had been put into operation:

The schools have been given complete freedom in the choice of prevocational subjects ... The principal of the school, and the teachers, in consultation with local industry and agriculture, select an area of study relevant to the immediate neighbourhood.

As Diyasena [1976:16] remarked, the decision to launch the programme in January 1972 itself reflected not so much the organisational readiness on the part of the Ministry, but

... is evident that the Ministry placed a great deal of confidence and hope in the leadership, initiative and dedication to hard and innovative work of the principals, teachers and field staff of the Ministry.

This approach engendered some problems. The more enterprising schools, with ready facilities quickly took up the innovation, while a large number of schools, lacking initiative and expertise, only engaged themselves in handicraft-type of activities which hardly met the prevocational objectives.

Wijemanna [1986:5] admitted the value of giving schools complete freedom in the choice of prevocational subjects, because this approach was seen as holding promise for the enrichment of learning within the school through the use of academic knowledge in meaningful applications. But he importantly pointed out that

... those at the helm of affairs failed to pay adequate attention to the all important task of extracting valid, workable and detailed curricular specifications that would achieve the objectives of the programme.

This task was to be done by the teachers at the school level with no more than occasional assistance from the Curriculum Development Centre at the central level. The majority of the teachers were found to be incompetent and inexperienced in handling such tasks.

Wanasinghe [1982:63-64] has argued that since the planners of PVS

... did not explicitly state anywhere the general philosophy of this curriculum other than in a very sketchy, vague form, the outcome was a curriculum without sufficient depth and breadth in each subject area.

This comment illustrates that the approach adopted to implement PVS had several flaws. These have been summarised thus :

Neither a proper survey nor a series of high level discussions were undertaken by the educationists in the country. The practising teachers were not adequately consulted. However, schemes that were not pretested for worthwhileness and feasibility were issued to schools and the teachers, however unprepared they may have been, were forced to teach them.

[Wanasinghe, 1982:67]

In addition, Wijemanna [1986:6] argues that the implementation process was poorly monitored. Although the Prevocational Curriculum Committee of the Curriculum Development Centre was set up to monitor the activities of the schools, the same author feels that :

Almost the whole of the organisational structure set up to implement the programme, described by Mr W. Diyasena, were established too late.

To emphasise, the innovation strategy adopted in Sri Lanka, which can be

described as a mixture of central control over decision-making on the one hand, and a great deal of decentralisation of implementation responsibility on the other hand, needs careful planning, organisation and coordination without which problems are bound to arise.

In a critical analysis of the PVS experience in the Sri Lankan junior secondary schools, Wijemanna [1986:5] concludes that 'this innovation was a vast undertaking, the implications of which were not adequately examined by the government'. Wijemanna argues further:

The unpardonable haste in launching such an immense programme was perhaps the biggest single factor contributing to its failure.

These sudden changes introduced upon the teaching force who were accustomed to getting directions from the central authorities, were too drastic for them to comprehend. As a result :

The serious confusion that built up in the large majority of schools demoralised those engaged in the programme and its image in the country sank very low.
[Wijemanna, 1986:6]

In sum then, PVS, having lost support of the centre, the local communities and of the teachers, were abandoned without any protest in 1977 when a new government came into power. The innovation approach, characterised by a centralised initiative, and a decentralised implementation responsibility, seems to have caused the failure of the programme. In PNG, SSCEP is currently at the centre of educational changes that are being pursued to try and make education relevant to the society. This case is examined below.

2.6.2. SSCEP IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

SSCEP is defined as a pilot project initiated in 1977, coincidentally, the year that PVS was declared a failure. SSCEP is funded through the National Public Expenditure Plan, whose policy is meant to support the

government's rural development strategy. SSCEP was started as a four-year pilot project, lasting from 1978-1981, but was later extended till 1983. During this first phase, five secondary schools were selected to pilot the project. By 1988, the Commonwealth Report [1988:10] mentions that there were already ten schools in the project. Saunders and Vulliamy [1983:355] explain that:

If the project is successful, the plan is to extend it to larger groups of secondary schools until they are all SSCEP oriented or to try to incorporate the most successful aspects of SSCEP into the curriculum and organisation of secondary schools.

This denotes a careful step-by-step approach to the innovation process.

THE NATURE OF THE PROGRAMME

Crossley [1984:80] has described SSCEP as representing an

... attempt to modify the school curriculum for all Grade 9 and Grade 10 students in such a way that schooling is made more practical and relevant to the problems faced by the village communities.

This modification is intended to be achieved through a complicated procedure of reforming and developing the curriculum from the grass - roots level so that academic and practical work are integrated. Currin [1979] explains that:

The main innovation around which SSCEP curriculum development was to be built, was the core project. A core project is a practical project which groups of students participate in but, unlike the kinds of work parade or self - reliance projects which operate in most PNG schools, it was to have aspects of an academic curriculum incorporated within it.

[in Vulliamy, 1983:13]

Thus, the emphasis on the selection of projects was that they should be of relevance to the students' home communities, and that they should be as economically viable as possible. Academic skills were to be developed from four core subjects of English, Maths, Science and Social Science.

Unlike in the case of PVS, SSCEP puts emphasis on the involvement of

students in the activities at the community level. According to Saunders and Vulliamy [1983:356-357]:

SSCEP is complex, involving the redesigning of the curriculum in Grades 9 and 10 to integrate practical and intellectual skills, creating in some cases, outstations some distance from the main school where community-oriented programmes can be practised in a less institutionalised educational environment; community extension activities in local villages; and a program of training within the SSCEP schools to improve the teaching and curriculum development skills of the teachers.

SSCEP therefore, implies a change from the traditional methods of imparting knowledge and skills which are basically teacher-centred. If learning is to take place in a 'less institutionalised environment' new styles of learning are required. These could take the form of student-centred activities or inquiry based group methods of teaching.

SSCEP has a number of innovative features that PVS did not have. As mentioned above, pedagogic changes in the methods of imparting skills and knowledge is one. The second is the use of outstations which are 'located some distance from the main school'. Where schools do not have large areas of land suitable for the development of the projects, it becomes necessary for the authorities to acquire some suitable land for such schools. These outstations are seen to have important benefits such as that of

... allowing structured skills learning within a context which can incorporate community involvement as well.

The outstation is also regarded as a

... highly suitable framework within which to encourage some of the non-cognitive attributes which SSCEP is trying to develop, such as, responsibility, initiative and interest in village problems.

[Vulliamy, 1981b :7]

Thus, the idea of a school having an outstation is fundamental to the success of SSCEP because the basic aim is to extend the learning process beyond the confines of a school. In this way, the students would be able to apply their intellectual skills in the practical context of rural development. Hence, for part of the year, students take turns living in these outstations, where they

participate in practical project work while at the same time continuing with their general education programmes. Apart from being more suitable sites for the teaching of practical projects, these outstations enable an incorporation of school-community interaction and involvement to a greater extent than it is possible in a conventional high school.

Built into SSCEP is a 'program of training ... to improve the teaching and curriculum development skills of the teachers'. This is another innovative aspect of this Project. This must have resulted from an awareness among policy-makers that SSCEP is a very complex programme which is likely to make heavy demands on the teachers, hence the need to upgrade their skills. In this regard, SSCEP encompasses a continuing process of school-based in-service education of teachers, a feature that was never incorporated into the PVS programme when it was started. The aim is to enable teachers to develop new teaching techniques which would encourage greater participation and active involvement of students in the learning process.

Vulliamy [1981a:100] neatly summarises the nature of this programme in the following manner :

First, SSCEP is very much a school-based, rather than Headquarters-imposed, curriculum development project, with a strong emphasis on the in-service training of all teachers in SSCEP schools. Secondly, although now largely administered by expatriates, the need for the project was originally stressed by Papua New Guinea, both in the Ministry of Education and in the government. It is therefore building upon the grass-roots demands of Papua New Guineans themselves rather than being forced upon them by a colonial power.

Explained in this way, SSCEP could be seen as one of the most educative and innovative attempts so far at vocationalising secondary curricula in the LDCs. It would seem that the interpretation of this policy in PNG is grounded on the innovation literature on models and strategies of change. These are discussed in Chapter Three. Besides its inclination towards a

Romantic view of curriculum development, SSCEP exemplifies an indigenously oriented vocational education programme. As Vulliamy [1981b:16] concludes, SSCEP 'provides an approach to schooling of particular relevance to the transition from school to work in a predominantly rural developing country.' As indicated earlier, the introduction of SSCEP is generally surrounded with hope for success. However, such optimism should not make us forget that SSCEP is still only a pilot project which is yet to stand the test of time before any firm conclusions can be drawn from its experience.

SSCEP AND THE APPROACH TO THE INNOVATION PROCESS

In contrast to the Sri Lankan approach of rapid and widespread reform, SSCEP in PNG has been introduced through a step-wise or gradualist approach, which Vulliamy [1985:144] describes as follows:

A pilot project was initiated involving five schools in diverse regions of the country, after close consultation both with provincial governments and the schools themselves. The aim was to see to what extent the ambitious aims of SSCEP could initially be achieved in relatively favourable circumstances, and an independent evaluation was to monitor the project's progress. The experience of the pilot project could then be used to consider which, if any, aspects of SSCEP could be usefully incorporated into other PNG high schools and how this might be done.

It would appear that the introduction of SSCEP was structured along three distinct and clearly specified stages. First, there was the stage of 'consultation', involving dialogue between SSCEP Headquarters and the provincial governments as well as the schools. This led to the formulation of the pilot project. In the next stage, the performance of the pilot project is evaluated. This leads to the third stage where decisions have to be made regarding the adoption, modification or rejection of the programme.

This approach has strengths particularly when considered alongside unsuccessful experiences of other LDCs such as Sri Lanka and Tanzania both of which adopted rapid and widespread approaches to vocationalise

their education systems. It allows time for planning, redesigning and improving the nature of the programme as it develops. Constant evaluation and monitoring ensure that problems are detected quite early and ways of solving these are sought in time to avoid major disasters.

Although basically SSCEP has been introduced through a top-down approach, the role of the central authorities has been to ensure maximum support and guidance to the work done at the school level. Explaining some of strategies and measures taken to facilitate a smooth implementation process, Saunders and Vulliamy [1983:363] have written:

SSCEP was introduced with the relatively high participation of teachers in project schools, with adequate feedback mechanisms by school visits from SSCEP Headquarters and by the SSCEP co-ordinator within the school, with extra resources for both finance and staff, and with co-ordinated in-service teaching within the school.

Failure to sustain many innovations developed outside the school system has often been blamed on inadequate support from the centre as well as unpreparedness of teachers. But, judging from the experience of SSCEP, these seem to have been recognised as the cornerstones vital for the success of this programme.

Behind SSCEP there is a powerful organisational structure which coordinates the work of the teachers in the schools. This is especially important in the early stages of the development of the innovation so that the teachers could feel that the innovation belongs to them rather than to regard it as an imposition from above. Saunders and Vulliamy [1983:357] see advantages in the approach that has been adopted by stating that:

The SSCEP policy is a complex, but school-based implementation within guidelines suggested by a central headquarters which has made the policy highly explicit to the project teachers. Curricula plans were drawn up in each school by groups of teachers, who were also asked to revise them continually. The combination of complex policy and relative explicitness in the early stages of implementation is both important and rare.

Two issues emerging from the experience of SSCEP serve to recommend the approach that has been adopted. To begin with, the importance of the human factor in the innovation process has not been overlooked. Teachers, pupils and their parents have been put at the centre of change efforts. The strategy of teacher involvement, backed by repeated visits from the personnel at the headquarters and reinforcement by SSCEP coordinators, have given teachers much understanding of the difficult and innovative approaches to core subject - core project integration [Vulliamy, 1983:17].

Thus, the introduction of SSCEP has been paralleled by changes in the conduct of curriculum development work as well as in the nature of the relationships between the Ministry and the schools. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, genuine attempts have been made to bridge the gap between the rhetoric often found in policy statements and actual practices at the school level. These are evident in the achievements of SSCEP, but caution is necessary. As a pilot project, a relatively high degree of care and attention has been focused upon SSCEP and intensive support will be withdrawn when the project is expanded to other schools, so the real test for SSCEP is yet to come. None the less, what is clear is that important lessons can be drawn from the experience of SSCEP regarding the factors affecting implementation, and thus, the sustenance of a vocationally - oriented programme in the context of a developing country. Some of the achievements of SSCEP can be best illustrated if this experience is compared with those of Sri Lanka and Lesotho.

2.7 VOCATIONALISM: POLICY IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

What lessons can be drawn from the above case studies about the uptake and sustainability of a vocationally-oriented programme in the context of a developing country? Whereas it should be emphasised that no definite



conclusions can be made from the case of SSCEP because the programme is still at a pilot stage, there are, however, some of its aspects which make it more instructive than other attempts in developing countries. It appears that SSCEP has been conceived and interpreted in the light of realistic development and employment objectives which are embodied in the overall national rural development strategy. About 80 per cent of Papua New Guineans live in the rural areas and a large number of the school leavers are expected to return to the rural areas upon completion of their schooling career. Therefore, the content and practice of schooling under SSCEP is geared to this objective. In that case, there seems to be a certain degree of congruence between the innovation and the needs of the society.

In contrast, the development of PVS in terms of content and purpose appears to have been too narrow to be seen as congruent with the overall objective of addressing the issue of unemployment among the educated school leavers in the country. In Lesotho, SSCDP is intended to harness the labour of the youth in the rural areas in order to promote economic development [Chapters Five and Six]. But in as far as this programme embodies the teaching of practical subjects like Agriculture, Home Economics and Basic Handcrafts, using the traditional methods of teaching, without establishing any links with the rural environment, the policy does not seem to have been defined in a manner that is harmonious with the intended objectives. In both the case of SSCDP in Lesotho and PVS in Sri Lanka, it appears that the level of interpreting the policy of vocationalism and its applicability in a developing country, has not gone as deep as has been the case with SSCEP in Papua New Guinea. By implication therefore, vocationalisation policies need to be interpreted in a realistic way, given the socio-cultural and economic environment, level of development and resource endowment of an individual country. To some extent, this can be

reflected in the approach adopted to translate and put into practice the policy of vocationalisation.

As illustrated in the case of PVS and SSCEP above, putting into practice the policy of vocationalisation can be accomplished through different approaches. In the innovation literature, two extreme approaches have been identified. One is the top-down approach, where 'top' refers to the central ministry of education and 'down' refers to the school level. The other is the school-based or grass-roots approach. Rather than treating these as extremes, they can be seen as forming a continuum on which implementation approaches can be placed. Whereas PVS can be seen as having occurred through a more centre-periphery approach, SSCEP could be placed more towards a school-based approach. The implementation of the diversification programme in Lesotho, like that of PVS, can be placed more towards the centre-periphery extreme.

In sum, SSCEP has been gradually introduced, using a balanced approach which utilises resources both at the centre and at the periphery. PVS was introduced rapidly with limited commitment and involvement at the centre, while the responsibility to carry out the implementation operations was largely left to the periphery. Interestingly, while Lesotho has adopted a gradualist approach, there is a low degree of commitment at the centre and a very low degree of involvement at the periphery. For example, curricular materials are designed and prepared at the centre without much participation among the teachers [Chapter Seven]. Resources were also supplied from the centre without adequate consultation with the schools [Chapter Eight]. However, while it is not possible to claim one approach as superior over the other, what is evident is that under careful implementation conditions as exemplified in the case of SSCEP,

vocationally-oriented programmes might stand a chance of becoming sustainable innovations in some developing countries.

2.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter it has been argued that vocationalising secondary education systems in developing countries is problematic. Emphasis is made on the point that overly ambitious goals, resulting from poor interpretation of the policy may harm the development of the programme and are likely to militate against a sustainable implementation process as the case of PVS in Sri Lanka illustrates.

By comparing and contrasting the experiences of SSCEP and PVS, complexities associated with the implementation of vocationalised secondary curricula are revealed. Critical for the purposes of this study are two issues. One is the interpretation of the policy which leads to the design and nature of the programme. The second is the implementation approach that is adopted to put into practice the new programme. It is underlined that a careful implementation strategy is crucial for the success of an innovation. As evidence from the case of SSCEP shows, such a strategy embraces the following: support, commitment; monitoring; on-going in-service and communication among the participants. Deficiencies in these, as illustrated by the case of PVS have an adverse effect and may lead to the abandonment of the programme.

A close look at the experience of SSCEP suggests that the change agents drew a great deal on the accumulated wisdom derived from experiences in introducing vocationally-oriented programmes in other parts of the world. School-based in-service education, high level of participation among the teachers on curriculum development work and on-going support have all

contributed towards the success of this pilot programme. In addition, continuous evaluation enabled SSCEP authorities to identify problems and take corrective measures in good time. By contrast, PVS is an example of an innovation programme that was hurriedly implemented without careful planning. The process of implementation of PVS reveals lack of insight into the complexities of the task of introducing change.

The examination of the innovation processes in both Sri Lanka and PNG has taken the discussion into the area of educational change. International literature on the implementation of educational innovations is reviewed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two explains that the research problem addressed in this study is located in two areas of literature: that of vocationalisation and that of educational change. This chapter reviews the international literature on educational change. In relation to curriculum, researchers [Berman, 1981; Miles et al, 1987] identify three phases to the educational change process: initiation [adoption] - in which the first decisions are made; implementation -in which the innovation interacts with its setting as new ideas are put into practice; and institutionalisation [sustainability or routinisation] which refers to a process leading to the stage at which an innovation may be said to have become a built-in or an accepted part of the school practice. This study is focused on the second phase - the process of implementation as it relates to sustainability of the diversification programme in Lesotho.

As an experiment, SSCDP is distinguished from a reform which is commonly described as a 'bundle of innovations'. A reform can generally be related to a number of socio-economic, political and cultural developments [van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1986:17]. In the context of these developments, these authors argue that attention focuses on what the consequences are for the subsystem education. When judging a reform, political, social and economic factors are predominant. In other words, in order to interpret the value of an educational reform, it is necessary to consider its relationship to the wider socio-economic context and developments taking place within that context. By contrast SSCDP is an innovation that is still being implemented. This narrows the research focus to the organisational context in which the innovation is taking place.

In this chapter, the main task is to explicate the meaning of implementation and its determinants by critically examining the research literature on the process of introducing planned change. First the discussion considers why implementation is a 'problem' and therefore the need to study this phenomenon. The two dominant approaches to the implementation of change are examined. Factors that affect the implementation process are outlined. Then, models and strategies of planned change are examined. Implications of how these models affect the implementation process are discussed, thereby exposing their limitations in helping understanding and explanation of how implementation takes place in the context of a developing country. Throughout the discussion, the key concepts are noted and these are drawn together to build an operational framework towards the end of this chapter. This serves as a tool to organise and structure the analysis of the research problem in the subsequent chapters. As a point of entry in the discussion, key concepts are defined.

3.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Innovation is not a strictly linear development process but an interlocking system of cyclical and spiral movements between its component subprocesses [Miles, 1987]. The three phases mentioned above - initiation, implementation and insitutionalisation - are closely related and often overlap. For the purposes of this investigation it is necessary to operationalise the key concepts used in the discussion.

3.2.1 THE CONCEPT OF INNOVATION

This term is controversial because it tends to be interpreted in a variety of ways by different scholars [economists, sociologists, etc] depending on the context in which it is used. For example, Miles [1964:14] defines an innovation as

a deliberate, novel, specific change which is thought to be more efficacious in accomplishing the goals of a system... It seems helpful to consider innovations as being planned for, rather than as occurring haphazardly. The element of novelty, implying recombination of parts or a qualitative difference from existing forms seems quite essential.

Thus, Miles points out three important aspects in the definition. An innovation is deliberate and planned; it has an element of novelty; and it aims at improvement.

The following definition echoes some of the aspects mentioned by Miles [1964] but the major difference is on the element of newness. In this definition, innovation is understood

... to mean those attempts at change in an educational system which are consciously and purposefully directed with the aim of improving the present system. Innovation is not necessarily something new, but it is something better and can be demonstrated as such.

[CERI, 1969:13]

Emphasis on qualitative improvement expected of innovations is reiterated in the following definition

... by innovation we mean any change in one component of the educational system which is not made simply for the sake of change but with the intention of promoting improvements in the aspect concerned and -- having regard to close interdependence of all such aspects -- in the system as a whole.

[Noel, 1974:29]

Hurst [1983:55] confirms the importance of intentionality in innovating by reminding us that

our aim is not to innovate for innovation's sake, but for the sake of the benefits which may [or may not] accrue.... In other words we are looking for improvement, greater fairness and greater efficiency, and not change for change's sake.

Thus, innovation implies an improvement towards a predetermined objective in a particular aspect of the education system. This view is extended by Rogers and Shoemaker [1971:19] who include the notion of context as it refers to time and place. They maintain:

An innovation is an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual. It matters little so far as human behavior is concerned, whether or not an idea is 'objectively' new as measured by the lapse of time since its first use or discovery. It is the perceived or subjective newness of the idea for the individual that

determines his reaction to it. If the idea seems new to the individual, it is an innovation.

In this sense, innovation implies something fresh and new from the point of view of people using it. The aspect of newness may not be necessarily absolute but the emphasis is on a particular context in which it is put into practice. SSCDP is an innovation new to the Lesotho context, in that it encompasses the introduction of practical subjects in an academic curriculum to improve the quality of secondary education.

Another way of viewing innovation is in terms of the three characteristics as suggested by Dalin [1978:22-23]. Thus :

1. Change is a 'process' phenomenon.
2. Change is a 'systemic' phenomenon.
3. Change is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

In other words, innovation is a dynamic process that involves perceptions, decisions and actions of various groups of participants. It is therefore important to underline that an innovation is subject to negotiation, redefinition and modification in order to suit the particular context in which it is put into practice. Finally, as mentioned in Section 3.1 above, an innovation should be seen as different from a reform in the sense that the former only refers to a limited range of planned qualitative change specific to a school or a group of schools, whereas the latter occurs on a wide scale and usually covers the whole system. SSCDP needs to be understood in the context of the former.

The above explanation of the concept 'innovation' leads to the view that is adopted as the working definition in this study. Thus, innovation refers to a planned and deliberate practice, perceived as new by those individuals who are expected to use it. Its main aim is to bring about improvement in relation to predetermined goals of the system of education. When examining the way an innovation is implemented, it is necessary to explore

the concept of 'dissemination' as this refers to the way new ideas and products are transmitted from their source of origin to their final setting.

3.2.2 DISSEMINATION

The study is focused on an innovation that is designed and developed by change agents external to the school environment. This mode of operation is currently the practice of introducing change in the school system in Lesotho. Regarding this, dissemination becomes a critical concept that embraces the operations and strategies employed to introduce and implement innovations. One important starting point in trying to define this concept is provided in Fullan [1981:214-215] when citing the views of the Dissemination Analysis Group [1977] who conceded that the concept can be used to refer to any of the following :

- a) **SPREAD:** the one-way casting out of knowledge in all its forms: information, products, ideas and materials as though sowing seeds.
- b) **EXCHANGE:** the two-way or multi-way flow of information, products, ideas and materials as to needs, problems and potential solutions.
- c) **CHOICE:** the facilitation of rational consideration and selection among those ideas, materials outcomes of research and development, effective educational practices and other knowledge that can be used for the improvement of education.
- d) **IMPLEMENTATION:** the facilitation of adoption, adaptation and installation of improvements.

To conceptualise the process of dissemination in this manner is useful when taking into consideration the education context in Lesotho as described in Chapter Five. Briefly, a dominant feature in the organisation of education is the bifurcation of control between the MOE and the churches. The structure is characterised by a heavy top administration; a concentration of authority at the centre and poor communication and coordination both vertically between the centre and the schools and horizontally within the MOE and its support agencies. Dissemination is therefore the key process

that affects both the centre and the schools as it also involves the allocation of the physical, financial and technological resources required to facilitate the implementation process.

The four usages of the term 'dissemination' quoted in Fullan [1981] suggest a broad conceptualisation of the term. Its advantage is that these definitions reflect different perspectives or approaches to the dissemination activities. The 'spread' perspective emphasises the presence of a source from which knowledge or ideas are communicated to the receiver using some channels. This view of dissemination resembles that held by Rogers and Shoemaker [1971:18] who argue that the process of spreading new ideas can be analysed through the SMCR Model of communication - where S = Source; M = Message; C = Channel and R = Receiver. The limitation of this view is that it regards the spread of knowledge, ideas, materials and information as spontaneous and automatic whereas this is not always the case. Given the definition of innovation adopted above, the spread of knowledge, etc is planned, controlled and directed.

The second perspective - 'exchange', suggests a strong communication network and feedback procedures between the source and the receiver of the innovation. This follows a situational analysis that is meant to determine the needs and problems of the receivers. Solutions are worked out in accordance with these. In the third perspective - 'choice', dissemination appears to be a more systematic and elaborate process that goes beyond the 'event' of communicating ideas and knowledge. As a process based on outcomes of research, it provides scope for developing solutions in a rational manner. Finally, the last perspective views dissemination as facilitating operations involved in the innovation process throughout its various stages.

Another view of the concept has been offered by Kelly [1980:67-68] who usefully distinguishes between diffusion and dissemination by stating that in a very general sense:

diffusion is a term that refers to the spread of materials, ideas, values, attitudes and behaviour related to the school curriculum from one location to the other.

On the other hand, the same source argues that dissemination is different in the sense that it is a term that applies to

the strategies and activities by which it is intended that an innovation be passed on ... A portrayal of dissemination depicts systematic administration meetings, plans drawn up on paper, time-tables, the distribution of newsletters, organised in-service courses, etc.

[Kelly, 1980:68]

Also Rudduck and Kelly [1976] and Kelly [1980] further maintain that invariably, dissemination will have four interrelated aspects. The first is the movement of people and materials to implement an innovation [**translocation**]; the second is the passage of information about an innovation through printed or oral media and personal contact [**communication**]. The third aspect is the provision of stimuli for change, either externally induced or self-generated [**motivation**]; and finally, the development of the considerable understanding and commitment required for the implementation of an innovation [**re-education**]. Kelly [1980] stresses that dissemination is a major input in the whole change process which is likely to affect not only the implementation process but the utilisation of the innovation in the long-run. The third concept that needs to be considered is that of implementation.

3.2.3 IMPLEMENTATION

Taking further the definition given in Chapter One [sect.1.1], reference is made to Fullan [1982:54] who maintains that :

Implementation consists of the process of putting into practice an idea, program or set of activities new to the people attempting or expected to change. The change

may be externally imposed or voluntarily sought; explicitly defined in detail in advance or developed and adapted incrementally through use; designed to be used uniformly or deliberately planned so that users can make modifications according to their perceptions of the needs of the situation.

This definition also points to the existence of different orientations to the process of implementation. These are examined in section 3.6 below.

Stego et al [1987:71] also recognise and acknowledge that implementation exists as a phase in the process of innovation. To these authors, implementation is that phase or subprocess in which the real transition from theory to practice is made. They further argue that teachers and others involved in a new programme are engaged in learning about it, finding out how to use it, getting trained in its intricacies and becoming familiar, efficient and comfortable with its use in their classrooms. More importantly,

As a concept, implementation is both concrete and highly ambiguous: concrete in the specific techniques that may be employed in its realization and its unquestionable significance once realised, but ambiguous in that it usually does not lend itself to neat compartmentalisation within the context of a given example. It blurs at the edges, tending to spill over into what precedes or follows or runs concurrently with it.

[Stego et al, 1987:71]

The following are major activities during the implementation phase :

- Make plans [for both long-term strategies and short-range daily operations] to ensure that the ultimate objectives of the targeted improvement are implemented.
- Give material support. Providing a continuing supply of materials and resources, organisational support and logistical arrangements is essential to strengthen the implementation process.
- Pay attention to the needs of staff. Development or training in the new understandings and skills the improvement requires is a continuing process.
- Communicate clearly and articulately the envisioned improvement, and how it could ideally work in practice.
- Monitor the change, and
- Follow through. Change is a continuous process and so is the adjustment of teachers to it.

[Stego et al, 1987:92].

Regarding this conceptualisation, it can be observed that the process is complex and problematic, involving a number of functions and activities that must be carefully planned for.

3.2.4 INSTITUTIONALISATION

Berman [1981:273] argues that this subprocess has received scant research attention. To this author, institutionalisation means 'stabilising change within an organisation'. It involves 'two different processes at the user and district levels: Teachers and school staff need to assimilate what they have learned during implementation; and districts need to incorporate new routines engendered by the innovative process in decision-making about budget, personnel, support services and instruction'. Quoting Miles [1983], Ekholm and Trier [1987:13] state that the 'institutionalisation subprocess involves the system's stabilising a change in its internal structure in such a way that it will endure after the improvement effort is "over"'. This view is not very different from the one held by Berman [1981].

Ekholm and Trier [1987:13] stress that institutionalisation,

like any developmental process, is an assimilation of change elements into a structured organisation, modifying the organisation in a stable manner. Institutionalization is thereby a process through which an organisation assimilates an innovation into its structure.

According to these authors, as a developmental process, it appears during and after implementation. This means that there is an overlap among the three stages in the innovation process as mentioned earlier. It is also noted that this is not a linear process and 'is extended over time and will contain characteristic features of developmental process, including dialectic tensions, gradual shifts, ... etc' [Ekholm & Trier; 1987:14]. Like the process of implementation, institutionalisation 'requires training and at-the-elbow assistance if it is to be successful' [p.43]. Chapter Nine examines specific school level factors critical for institutionalisation of innovation programmes.

3.3 THE PROBLEM OF IMPLEMENTATION

It is difficult to bring about educational innovations. Change in education is shaped by a number of forces, some of which facilitate and some of which deflect the process. 'Performance gaps' or 'felt discrepancies' between what is and what ought to be, provide the major force for change in education [Zaltman et al, 1977:21]. It may also be added that these performance gaps can be regarded as an indication of problems in the implementation process. There is evidence that implementation is problematic. For example, Hurst [1983:7] observes:

It appears to be the rule rather than the exception, for efforts to implement educational innovations to be less than wholly successful. Expectations are usually disappointed to some extent, even when modestly pitched. Certainly this is the experience of the past quarter-of-a century's efforts at educational reform in developing and industrialised countries alike.

Morrish [1978:55] is supportive of this view and adds that, compared to others, education systems are more resistant to innovation and teachers are more problematic to change.

Arguing from an administrative point of view, Verspoor [1985:5] maintains that overly ambitious project objectives, excessive requirements of human and financial resources, and unrealistically optimistic implementation schedules - are at the root of many of the problems experienced in the education sector. Verspoor's [1985] comments summarise the nature of problems of implementing innovations. To Havelock [1980:81] these should not be regarded as just temporal because

educational planners and policy - makers are continually bedevilled by the fact that few innovation efforts ever achieve their promised impacts.

Finally, in their report on case studies of educational innovations in seven countries, Adams and Chen [1981:274] bear this out as they write: 'the road to educational development is strewn with the debris of shattered innovations'. Thus the low rate of success in the implementation of

programmes makes this phenomenon an important focus for research.

3.4 WHY STUDY IMPLEMENTATION?

Fullan and Pomfret [1977] have argued why implementation is an important phenomenon in our understanding of the innovation process. The impetus for concern with implementation and its determinants was prompted by research conducted in the sixties which demonstrated that although numerous innovations had been developed and adopted, very few seemed to have a significant lasting impact in classroom practices [Fullan, 1985:2505]. In one of his most recent documents, Fullan [1989:8-9] argues that policy decision and initial delivery and set-up [that is, getting new structures and materials in place] will achieve some degree of change, but this represents the more obvious structural aspects of change in comparison with the new skills and understandings required of front-line implementers. Fullan [1989] maintains that in the absence of the latter, only superficial change is achieved. The effectiveness of a change project stands or falls with the degree to which front-line implementers use new practices with some degree of mastery, commitment and understanding. The present researcher supports the opinion that judgements on these issues can adequately be made if the process of innovation is studied closely, as exemplified in the research carried out by Huberman and Miles [1984].

To some extent, the remarks Fullan [1989] makes confirm the importance of studying the process of implementation as suggested by Fullan and Pomfret [1977:336-339]. Summarily:

- The first reason is that we simply do not know what has changed unless we attempt to conceptualise and measure it directly.
- A second reason is to understand some of the reasons why so many educational changes fail to become established. By investigating implementation directly, we can begin to identify some of the most problematic aspects of bringing about change.

- A third reason is that failure to study implementation may result in it being ignored, or else being confused with other aspects of the change process such as adoption ...
- A fourth and final reason for examining implementation separately is that unless this is done, it may be difficult to interpret outcomes and relate these to possible determinants.

Needless to emphasise that it is important to examine the implementation process in order to determine if in fact any change has happened, and in order to understand why change occurs or fails to occur. In line with the research problem under investigation in this study, it is necessary to examine implementation 'up close' to explain the differential responses to the innovation in the 13 Project schools . As Fullan [1985:2505] suggests, there is substantial need for research work directed at the task of identifying the main factors which affect the extent of change in practice. As it will be recalled from the definition, implementation is the process of putting new ideas or programmes into practice. With the problems identified above, it is a challenging task to seek to unravel some of these factors to contribute to the knowledge that is accumulating on the determinants of implementation some of which are highlighted below.

3.5 DETERMINANTS OF IMPLEMENTATION

Researchers dealing with one specific innovation, a group of innovations or reviewing findings from a large number of studies have identified several barriers to their success [Havelock & Huberman, 1977; Adams & Chen, 1981 and Huberman & Miles, 1984]. In other instances, some researchers have spelt out conditions that need to be taken into consideration to ensure effective implementation. Fullan [1989:11] mentions the following as the most common factors frequently identified in the various studies investigating implementation :

- Ongoing in-service and assistance.
- School level [principal] leadership.

- Local direction, commitment, and support.
- Clear process of implementation and institutionalisation [all levels].
- Monitoring and problem solving
- Community support.
- Environmental stability.

Fullan [1989] sees this category of factors as the characteristics of the process, which he distinguishes from those of the change project, which are given as:

- Clarity / complexity of the change.
- Consensus / conflict about the need.
- Quality / practicality of the change.

In general, these two sets of factors in any given situation combine to influence the likelihood of implementation. They need to be appreciated as a set of factors which interact in a dynamic fashion, in particular situations and they constitute a complex technical and social process over time [Fullan, 1985:2506].

A detailed discussion of some of these items is in Chapter Nine. For now, the message is that ongoing in-service, clear and consistent communication and interaction among the various participants; effective and sound planning as well as orchestration and coordination are critical functions during implementation. In addition, organisational support needs to be flexible enough to deal with unexpected events in the local and broader environmental contexts. Regarding the characteristics pertaining to the change project, it needs to be emphasised that these may vary from one innovation to the other. But the main implication is that lack of clarity and consensus about an innovation is likely to cause confusion and frustration among the implementers, a problem that in turn leads to a low level of implementation. Also, if the necessary resources, support and pressure are not present on a continuous basis, those expected to implement the change programme are likely to dismiss it as impractical, no matter how much potential it may have [Fullan, 1989:23].

The factors mentioned above are based on research studies carried out in developed countries, in particular North America and Canada. One example of a comprehensive study done in developing countries is that by Havelock and Huberman [1977]. Using data largely from responses to a questionnaire filled by Technical Advisers and National Directors of Unesco-UNDP supported teacher training projects, these researchers mention 'six barrier factors' to the change process. These are :

1. Understanding the process: Poor co-ordination and connection to political leaders, confusion and inadequate planning;
2. Personality conflict and motivation: Understanding others, energy lack, rigidity, no openness to change, insufficient personal rewards;
3. Underdevelopment: Slow transport, materials delay, colonial vestiges, manpower lacks, long distances, inflation;
4. Financial problems: Not enough financial support from inside or outside, economic conditions and priorities;
5. Opposition from key groups: conflicting ideologies;
6. Poor social relations: Problems between team members and others, disharmony within project.

[Havelock & Huberman, 1977:227]

This list summarises well the problems that constantly face the education systems in the developing countries. Chapter Five illustrates how critical some of these can be in the context of Lesotho where the system of education is, though relatively small, highly divided.

The ills associated with the implementation process are best captured in Hurst's statement [1983:16] when he writes:

Ministries of Education often introduce sweeping reforms by bureaucratic or legislative fiat, with little or no consultation with those who are to implement the reforms, little monitoring of the implementation itself, and little managerial response to identify, analyse and overcome the difficulties, discrepancies and disincentives that emerge.

Hurst's [1983] view is illuminating of what guidelines might be followed to address the issues of implementation. From the above statement, the emphasis is not so much on design and planning but on project monitoring and analysis of the process. This suggests that managers need to follow

closely the responses of the participants to the innovation, to take note of the rate and levels of its acceptance, while at the same time applying corrective measures where necessary. It would appear that such guidelines are based on the premise that flexibility rather than rigidity is essential on the part of the programme managers.

By contrast, Fullan [1982] argues that at a more fundamental level, educational change fails partly because of the faulty assumptions and ways of thinking about change on the part of the planners. Planners introduce change without providing a means to identify and confront situational constraints and without a proper assessment of the needs and capabilities of those expected to implement change programmes. Fullan [1982] then identifies three categories of knowledge and skills needed by planners: technical expertise related to the content area; interpersonal skills; and the conceptual and technical skills to comprehend and organise the change process. In this manner, Fullan's guideline for action takes a diagnostic form - the search and identification of weaknesses to be corrected. The aim is to alter the weaknesses towards a direction that would enhance a sustainable implementation process.

These two viewpoints may not be seen as contradictory. They reinforce and complement each other in illustrating that there are different approaches to the implementation process. Following from Hurst's observation, events occurring during implementation cannot be predicted in advance. For that reason, the management needs to be flexible to enable the innovation to be modified and be adapted to its setting. This is the open approach to the implementation process which is discussed further in the next section.

3.6 ORIENTATIONS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Within implementation research, Berman [1981] has highlighted the existence of two dominant approaches: one is referred to as the programmed or fidelity orientation; the other is the mutual adaptation or 'evolutionary' orientation. Fullan and Pomfret [1977:340] maintain that this distinction is important to make, to avoid problems in considering which criteria and methods to use to assess whether an innovation has been implemented. Each one of these is discussed below.

3.6.1 FIDELITY PERSPECTIVE

If a change programme is meant to be used essentially in the manner prescribed by the developers, regardless of the specific realities of the use - setting, it is of the implementation as directed type [Short, 1983:47]. To Leithwood and Montgomery [1987:15], this is the fidelity approach which

insists on prior specification of the innovation, especially full implementation, and dismisses practices deviating in any way from what is specified as full implementation.

Thus, the fidelity approach is based on the assumption that implementation can be clearly prescribed from the time the innovation policy is adopted. In fact, it is assumed that the innovation can be fully developed as to objectives, processes, roles, functions and outcomes without fully considering the many variables that intervene during the process.

According to Fullan [1985:1209], the fidelity

or programmed orientation as the label implies, rests on the assumption that the main goal of implementation for selected changes is to bring about and assess the extent to which actual use corresponds "faithfully" to the kind of use intended by the developer or sponsor of the innovation ... the emphasis is clearly on ensuring that practice conforms to the developer's intentions.

As a result, fidelity emphasises a priori specificity and structure. It would appear that in the fidelity perspective, developers seldom consider that each school will inevitably put an innovation into practice in an

idiosyncratic manner. Developers often regard innovations as technologies that could be replicated faithfully by users [Berman, 1981:260].

Aoki [1987] is among several critics of the fidelity approach:

A basic problem in implementation of programmes may be found in the producer - consumer paradigm underlying the view of implementation.

This paradigm

views implementation in terms of unidirectional flow. It is analogous to the producer - consumer paradigm we have in business and industry. In this paradigm experts produce for non - experts who consume ... In program development under this paradigm, curriculum experts produce programs for the consumers, - the teachers and the students. Implementing a program under this paradigm presents a basic problem of how to communicate effectively with people who have not been involved in setting goals nor in designing resources ...

[from Aoki, 1979:37-38]

In this approach teachers are alienated from the development of the innovation and are only expected to comply with the demands of the change agents. In this situation

the teacher is seen as a rule - oriented, rule - governed being cast within a manipulative ethos, an ethos in which even the future is conceived in terms of rules.
[Aoki 1987 : 108]

Despite these criticisms, Fullan and Pomfret [1977:367] see a value in the fidelity approach, but they also advance a word of warning:

It may be that the fidelity perspective, with consequent specific instruments, is most applicable when studying the implementation of prepackaged, relatively explicit innovations. This approach is more questionable when innovations are at the early stages of development and use.

Likewise, Berman [1981] advances the proposition that under certain conditions such as clear and consensual goals, well-worked out innovations, minor focused changes, programmed [fidelity] approaches are appropriate.

3.6.2 ADAPTATION PERSPECTIVE

This is a more open-ended approach. It means that the innovation changes to meet the unique set of circumstances within the school, and that the

school itself changes as a result of the innovation. Berman [1981:261-262] refers to this approach as "mutual adaptation". Berman defines it as the process

in which events occurring after the adoption of a technology determine outcomes to a large extent, and these events cannot be accurately forecast from the content of the technology itself. The interaction between an educational technology and its setting can be uncertain because of the technology's characteristics and how it is used.

As one of the concerns of this investigation is to explore how specific school contexts help to condition the implementation process, this approach is of relevance to the study. Berman [1981:263] further argues that the changes or adaptations of the innovation during implementation - that is, the interaction between the innovation and its setting - are a result of the vague or unspecific quality of the innovation. As it is argued in Chapters Six and Seven, vagueness and unspecificity are the major characteristics of SSCDP.

Distinguishing between fidelity and adaptation, Berman [1981:264] stresses that in the latter, researchers should not expect a faithful replication of innovations. Variation, not replication is to be expected. He endorses the view that in this situation, the attempt to obtain high fidelity may create implementation problems, not overcome them. Thus, instead of measuring success in terms of fidelity per se, alternative definitions, based on the expectation that adaptation will - and ought to - take place, are appropriate. This view has greatly influenced the conceptualisation of the research problem under investigation in this study.

To Fullan [1985:1209], the adaptation approach

assumes that the exact nature of implementation cannot and / or should not be prespecified, but rather should evolve as different groups of users decide what is best and most appropriate for their situation

Lewin and Stuart [forthcoming] also support the view of innovation process

as 'evolution' and as a purposive undertaking that puts the user at the centre of decision - making. Fullan [1985] draws attention to the different degrees of adaptation. There can be minor adaptations which leave the innovation bearing close resemblance to its original design. Then there is mutual adaptation - in which an idea or innovation influences what users do while users more or less equally transform the idea for their situation. The third refers to evolutionary changes in which the users evolve all sorts of uses according to their own interests. Problems may occur if the adaptation process is not planned and controlled. Emshoff et al [1987:302] suggest that these changes are 'particularly relevant when the decision to adopt is made by one unit of the organisation and implemented by the other'. The assumption is that the meaning of change would then be properly negotiated between the two sides. In the case of SSCDP in Lesotho, the MOE is the adopting unit and its support agencies and the schools are the implementers. However, as is argued in Chapters Eight and Nine, adaptations that have been made in response to the implementation of SSCDP, have neither been planned nor controlled and that there has been very little negotiation between the MOE and the implementers.

What can be deduced from the above discussion is that the shape an innovation is likely to take when fully implemented will be discovered through the process itself. Hence

there are definite variations in the degree to which the same innovation is implemented by different individuals and organisations, and the degree to which some components of an innovation are implemented more effectively than others.
[Fullan & Pomfret, 1977:345].

It would appear that adaptation is a desirable phenomenon in the implementation of innovations as a result of certain realities in the various school settings that cannot be seen beforehand by the developers of the programme. This does not imply that the realities of use - settings should

take virtual control of the process, because what may result, may be at odds with the developers' intentions.

Leithwood and Montgomery [1987:15] point out that the proponents of the adaptation orientation

see value in beginning with a well-defined innovation, including a clear description of full implementation. They believe, however, that successful implementation depends on the innovation being molded and customised so that it fits with features of the context in which it is to be implemented; and these features are too detailed to be anticipated by the developers.

These authors underline the important role both the developers and implementers play in defining effective innovation practice. It is claimed that the approach also provides sufficient information to allow implementers to make reasoned choices about the potential value of the innovation for them. To this end, Berman [1981] emphasises that 'clarification' is another important concept to be associated with the adaptation perspective. The development of the new behaviour, roles and procedures imply considerable discretion on the part of the users, hence clarity about the innovation is critical [p.261].

In some ways, the fidelity perspective shares some common characteristics with the Research, Development and Diffusion [RDD] model of planned change, while the adaptation perspective is more inclined towards the Problem-Solving model. This brings the discussion to the examination of the different models and strategies of introducing planned change.

3.7. MODELS OF PLANNED CHANGE.

Literature on educational change embodies a large number of models and strategies that attempt to explain how innovations are introduced. Some of these models are grounded on empirical evidence. For example, after

reviewing over 4000 studies on the dissemination and utilisation of knowledge from a number of fields, including education, Havelock [1969] concluded that there are three major types of models through which change can be brought about. He labels these the Research, Development and Diffusion [RDD]; the Social-Interaction [S-I]; and the Problem-Solving [P-S] model. In another study, using data gathered by means of a questionnaire designed for Technical Advisers and Directors of Unesco - UNDP supported teacher training projects from a number of developing countries, Havelock and Huberman [1977:261-264] argue that some key elements in the above-mentioned models could be combined to form a fourth one, called the Linkage model. This model attempts to unify and embrace several concepts from the earlier models, drawing upon their strengths and trying to overcome some of their weaknesses. Each one of these models is examined below.

3.7.1 THE RDD MODEL.

In this model, the initiative to introduce change lies with the change agents whose concern is to develop an innovation package, which upon completion, is then spread to the potential adopters. The RDD model aims at bridging the gap between theory and practice - that is, between the world of the researchers and that of the practitioners. It proceeds in four sequential phases described as research, development, diffusion and adoption. As Havelock [1969:42] states:

Although consumer needs may be implicit in this approach, they do not enter the picture as prime motivators for the generation of knowledge.

Havelock argues that the following characterise the RDD model:

- It assumes a rational sequence of activities from research to development to dissemination.
- It implies that planning on a large scale has taken place.
- It involves a division of labour with a clear separation of roles and functions.
- It assumes a passive consumer who is willing to accept the innovation.
- It involves a high level of initial development costs before dissemination takes

place.

In the context of a developing country like Lesotho, which is faced with economic hostilities, poor physical infrastructure and a low level of expertise, the applicability of this model to guide planned change towards sustainability seems limited.

But, the introduction of SSCDP in Lesotho has occurred within an approach that shares some of the RDD qualities although on a limited scale, because research facilities and activities in the country are almost nil. Therefore this stage was omitted. This omission has undoubtedly weakened the innovation process. None the less, considering that the locus of the initiative and control of the programme was intended to be at the centre within the MOE, the teachers at the school level appear to have been delegated to a passive role throughout the development stage. The implication of this situation is that the central administrators had intended that the innovation would be transferred as a finished product from the central level to the teachers in the schools. The point to be emphatically stressed is that the latter may neither have been ready nor prepared for this sudden responsibility.

Judging from the performance of the Project schools [Chapters Eight and Nine], it is doubtful that adequate and efficient planning was done prior to the implementation stage. The picture that emerges from the experience of these schools is that planning has been piecemeal rather than continuous and built into the innovation process itself. This is most undesirable because it has led to both an unnecessary duplication of resources and to engendering an attitude of hostility towards the innovation [Chapter Eight, Sect. 8.3]. To the extent that the development of an innovation is far removed from the people expected to use it, it is likely to be misdirected and insensitive to the real needs of the intended users, in which case then

the relevance and the compatibility of the programme to its setting are questionable. It is for such weaknesses that an RDD oriented model is likely to attract criticism.

Zaltman et al [1977:67-69] are prominent among the critics of this model. They point out that the research stage attempts to secure knowledge irrespective of whether or not it is eventually incorporated into the innovation. This is to be expected as the search for knowledge is not done with the intention of solving a specific problem facing the potential users. Instead it is meant to develop a new product. Zaltman et al [1977:53] regard this commitment to the invention of a 'new product' as stemming from the assumption that the potential users are passive and will automatically adopt what is presented to them. According to these authors, the development phase consists of two activities : invention and design. The first involves generating solutions drawing upon research findings. In the design stage, the innovation is refined and prepared for implementation. Thus, the RDD model, like the fidelity approach

asserts that innovative programmes should consist of well-specified components and be rigorously developed and evaluated. Validated models [of programs] may then be faithfully replicated. Ineffectiveness follows unfaithful replication, or dilution of the validated models.

[Emshoff et al, 1987:300]

This is the process that House [1974] has referred to as the "Doctrine of Transferability". Commenting on this, House points out that this is typical of what we now call the RDD model of educational change which is rightly discredited for being overly rational, for regarding the 'consumer' as passive and for empirically not effecting much change anyway [Porter, 1980:79].

Because the user or the adopting system is not involved in making decisions, the RDD model can be classified as a non-collaborative approach

to change. It regards the users as the instruments to be manipulated in the innovation process. In this way, RDD connotes an authoritative perspective towards the implementation process. That is, the model tends to overlook the need to build a problem-solving capacity into the school setting which is indispensable for the sake of the users at the school level who are to remain responsible for sustaining the innovation.

Administrative authority is not always reliable. As Duran [1977:66] comments, central directives

Far from rendering administration and management more dynamic and fostering creativity, these have limited the freedom of action and initiative exercised by personnel, serving in many cases as an excuse for and thereby contributing to the slowness and inefficiency that is the feature of the bureaucracy.

More importantly, if decisions about the innovation packages are taken independently of the users, to what extent will the latter not regard the innovation as being imposed? How committed will they be in the implementation of decisions centrally made and directed? Are they ready to carry out such a task? Nicholls [1983:15-16] aptly summarises the problem of introducing change in relation to the RDD model:

In essence, the problem is that educational innovations developed on the basis of the RDD model, however impressive their quality, may not be appropriate for all schools ...

because they may not be 'sufficiently congruent with the philosophy, practice and ability of the teachers' who are to use them. How then do the other two models compare with the RDD?

3.7.2 THE SOCIAL INTERACTION MODEL [S-I]

Like the RDD model, innovation programmes developed on the basis of the S-I model also have their origins outside the adopting school. But S-I differs from the RDD model in that here the emphasis is on the individual receiver and his response to the knowledge that comes from outside. Morrish

[1978:123-124] identifies five sequential stages that characterise this model. The first is the 'awareness' stage where the individual is exposed to the innovation, but he 'lacks complete information about it', so that at the next stage - the 'interest' stage - he seeks information concerning the innovation. This search leads to the stage of 'evaluation' in which he analyses the information according to his present and anticipated future situation. From the evaluation stage, the individual may move onto the 'trial' stage and use the innovation on a limited scale in order to discover whether in his own situation it has any real utility. The last stage involves a detailed consideration of the results of the trial stage after which the decision is finally made whether to adopt or to reject the innovation. Morrish's [1978] analysis is slightly different from that offered by the proponent of this model.

Havelock [1971:86] explains that in the S-I model :

- The individual user or adopter belongs to a network of social relations which largely influence his adopter behaviour.
- His place in the network [centrality, peripherality, isolation] is a good predictor of his rate of acceptance of new ideas.
- Group membership and reference group identifications are major predictors of individual adoption.
- Informal personal contact is a vital part of the influence and adoption process.
- The rate of diffusion through a social system follows a predictable S-Curve pattern [very slow rate at the beginning, followed by a long late-adopter or laggard period].

This model therefore is clearly concerned with the diffusion of innovations from the source to the receiver, and as such is not very useful in the analysis of the implementation process.

3.7.3 THE PROBLEM-SOLVING MODEL [P-S]

The P-S model suggests a collaborative relationship between the change agent and the users throughout the various stages of the innovation process. In contrast to the other two models, P-S emphasises the importance of viable communication channels and processes between the user and the

change agents. As Bishop [1986:19] confirms:

Local initiative, local responsibility, collaboration and self-help, reliance on local resources to the fullest extent, these are the driving forces behind the innovation. The role of the outsider is essentially consultative, providing ideas, guidance

With regards to this model, Havelock [1971:90] has pointed out that:

- User need is the paramount consideration, this being the only acceptable value-stance for the change agent; what the user needs and what the user thinks he needs are the primary concerns of any would-be helper.
- Diagnosis of needs always has to be an integral part of the total process.
- The outside change agent should be non-directive, rarely, if ever, violating the integrity of the user by setting himself up as the 'expert'.
- Internal resources, that is, those resources already existing and easily accessible within the client system itself, should always be fully utilised.
- Self-initiated and self-applied innovation will have the strongest user commitment and the best chances for long-term survival.

The stages in this model can be viewed as occurring in a cycle, beginning with an initial disturbance or pressure from outside or inside the system. This disturbance causes a need for change and the need is translated into a problem for which solutions are sought, usually with outside assistance. Then the innovation emerges as a solution. It is trialled and adapted if necessary. Evaluation is conducted and if the innovation seems to have solved the problem satisfactorily, it is then institutionalised. Nicholls [1983:18] suggests that the P-S model takes us to the field of school-based innovations. Because the study is concerned with an innovation programme that is designed and developed at the centre then disseminated to the schools, the P-S model helps to expose limitations inherent in the top-down approach through which SSCDP has been introduced.

By way of synthesising issues arising from the exposition of these three models, the following remarks are appropriate. Basically, these models differ in relation to the source of initiative in the change process. As Morrish [1978] points out, the RDD model stresses the role of the researcher or developer, the S-I model stresses that of the communicator,

whilst the P-S model emphasises the role of the user. What does the locus of change mean for a sustained implementation process? It implies that different strategies need to be adopted to facilitate change. In the RDD model, where innovations are developed independently of the users, a one - way communication process is most likely. The case of SSCDP in Lesotho is heavily inclined towards this strategy because as elaborated in the subsequent chapters, there are limited feedback mechanisms from the schools to the MOE. Communication channels have not been developed to support the change process. Within the S-I model, a variety of transmission media may be used, including interpersonal contacts. In the P-S model, a two-way interaction between the change agents and the user is the most likely strategy. This summary provides an insight into the Linkage Model.

3.7.4 THE LINKAGE MODEL

The three models identified by Havelock [1969] do not exist in their pure form with all the characteristics present in them. In fact, findings from research studies suggest that an innovation may be associated with more than one model [Morrish 1978; Dalin 1978; Nicholls 1983; Short 1983]. This gives a clue to the formulation of the Linkage Model [Havelock & Huberman, 1977: 261].

In this Linkage model three basic ideas have been combined :

- Understanding the user system;
- Careful planning based on this understanding; and
- Dialogue with the user and with other relevant resource people and groups.

The first two of these ideas imply that research, design and development activities are done for the specific purpose of learning about the user system and their needs. Unlike in the RDD model, activities here are user - centred. Thus the linkage principle acknowledges the centrality of the users throughout the various stages of the innovation process. It is presumably

the needs of the users that determine the change process from the stage of planning onwards. In addition, this model also accepts the importance of the resource groups outside the innovation setting because it could be through such resourceful groups that maintenance and after-care of the innovation can occur. In the case of SSCDP the vital role played by the resource groups or support groups is underlined more so because the originators of the innovation do not seem to have extended their involvement beyond the adoption stage. The strengths of the Linkage model lie in its attempts to bring into a coherent unit those participating in the change process. What then are the implications for a sustainable innovation process regarding the concerns of this model?

Earlier it was argued that educational innovations developed along the RDD model tend to give rise to an instrumentalist view of the teacher in the implementation process. That is, the teacher is manipulated in such a way that his role in the process is to put into practice those ideas and knowledge developed and directed from the centre. It was also noted that the top-down approaches to the introduction of change can be held responsible for some of the problems that occur at the implementation stage due to poor communication and feedback to and from the centre. Within the Linkage model, there is a shift on the status accorded the user system - that is, from being seen as a passive, prone to manipulation group, to the position of collaborator in the process.

This could imply that at the implementation stage, activities would not be regarded as a mere transfer of responsibility from the change agents at the centre to the users at the periphery. Some members of the user group would have been actually involved in decision-making from the stage of adoption through to the implementation stage. By implication, the user

system would be much more ready and prepared for change. The element of 'dialogue' in the model could be interpreted as referring to continual involvement of the change agents in the innovation process even as the activities intensify at the school level. This could, for example, be in the form of support, monitoring, evaluation and feedback measures, all of which are necessary conditions for a sustainable innovation process. What is crucial however, is the nature of the linkage mechanisms between the schools and the centre. As we discover in the chapters that follow, in Lesotho, linkages between the MOE and the schools are weak, thereby constituting a potential barrier to a smooth implementation process as well as a threat to the sustainability of the programme.

Schon's model, known as the centre-periphery has several similarities with Havelock's RDD model. According to Schon [1971:76- 77] this model rests on three basic elements :

- The innovation to be diffused exists, fully realised, in its essentials prior to its diffusion;
- diffusion is the movement of an innovation from a centre out to its eventual users;
- directed diffusion is a centrally-managed process of dissemination, training and provision of resources and inventions.

Schon [1971] emphasises the availability of adequate resources and high level expertise at the centre as requisites for the effectiveness of this model. He also refers to a developed infrastructure as crucial for the dissemination activities. The third issue emphasised is that of the distance between the centre and the periphery, and lastly, the number points in the periphery to receive the innovation. Because of the similarities with the RDD model, some of the remarks made above in connection with the implementation process would also apply here, and these need not be repeated.

3.7.5 STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

One of the most comprehensive analysis of strategies for change is that offered by Chin and Benne [1976] who identify the following :

- empirical - rational;
- normative re-educative; and
- power coercive strategies.

According to Hurst [1983:14]

By strategies of implementation is meant ... alternative courses of action intended to facilitate an optimum level of adoption over time of some change in practice.

Bishop [1986:15] holds a similar view and explains that a strategy is a deliberate attempt to engineer innovation and that the term actually refers to the procedures and techniques used by groups and individuals at different levels of the educational system to attain the desired objectives.

Miles [1964:18-19] defined the term 'strategy' as a

means [usually involving a sequence of specified activities] for causing an advocated innovation to become successfully [i.e. durably] installed in an ongoing educational system.

Bolam [1974:17-18] has summarised the meaning in the following manner:

Empirical-Rational Strategies: emanate from those who do not have political power, but have the knowledge and expertise not possessed by those in the schools. These strategies assume that men are reasonable and will respond best to rational explanations and demonstration. They involve the use of education, training and publication to disseminate knowledge and research findings.

Normative Re-educative Strategies: assume that effective innovation requires a change of attitudes, relationships, values and skills, and therefore the activation of forces within the client system. They involve a consultant / change agent who works in cooperation with a client system and uses behavioral skills.

Power Coercive Strategies: depend upon access to political, legal, administrative and economic resources. They involve use of sanctions and power to ensure that innovations are introduced. Governments, local

education authorities, inspectors, headteachers and teachers all employ such strategies at some time or other. A common variant on power coercive strategies is the one that Hoyle [1970] calls administrative, and Dalin [1978] calls political-administrative strategy. It is argued that unless adoption of an innovation is legislated in some way, the response is usually very low.

As far as SSCDP is concerned, policy documents and project reports do not clearly specify which strategy or combination of strategies were adopted to guide the innovation process. But judging from the experience of this programme, weak elements of all three strategies are evident, but power coercive seems to have been the most dominant. Taken as an indication of poor innovation design and inadequate planning, this lack of clear strategies could be regarded as one of the sources of problems that have emerged at the implementation stage.

To sum, it is worth emphasising that in actual practice, more than one of these strategies may be used when innovations are introduced. The choice of any or a combination of strategies is a decision likely to be guided by the merits of a strategy, the nature of the innovation, the characteristics of the user system and the setting into which the innovation is to be introduced. The above analysis of models and strategies for planned change suggests that introducing and implementing innovations is a complex multi-level and multi-dimensional process involving interaction among several groups of participants. A number of important concepts have surfaced throughout the discussion. These need to be coherently organised. In the next section, this task is undertaken by means of proposing a conceptual framework to help organise the complex set of variables affecting the implementation process, increasing insight into the interrelationships between the variables and how these seem to link with a sustainable innovation process.

3.8 THE PROPOSED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To recap, the aim of this research is to identify factors of sustained implementation with the ultimate goal of making policy-relevant recommendations on the improvement of the innovation process in the context of a developing country. In the preceding section a detailed exposition of the models and strategies of introducing planned change has been made. Deficiencies inherent in these have been highlighted, thereby making them less helpful in explaining the process of change as it takes place in a developing country.

Following from the argument that in many LDCs - with Lesotho as an example - innovations are likely to be introduced and disseminated from the MOE at the centre to the schools at the periphery, emphasis in the preceding discussion is on the RDD model [Havelock,1969]. This is the model that is most commonly quoted in the innovation literature as having been followed in a number of cases in the LDCs. Despite its popularity, this model is criticised primarily on the grounds that it removes power to initiate change from the practitioner at the school level and places it in the hands of the research and development personnel or change agencies. Recognising limitations in the earlier models suggested by Havelock [1969], the Linkage model was proposed as a synthesis of the other three models [Havelock & Huberman, 1977]. The Linkage model stresses close interaction among those participating in the change process. This model is influential in the current thinking about the problem of innovation but it does not necessarily focus purely on the substage of implementation, which is the major concern of this study.

In section 3.2 above, implementation is operationalised as a multi - dimensional process. In a study of this nature, it cannot be possible to

examine all dimensions of the process. Therefore, the focus has to be determined by the nature of the research problem. In the absence of a suitable model to guide the analysis of the research problem, a conceptual framework is needed as it serves the function of focusing and bounding the study. In addressing the research issue, factors of sustained implementation and problems related to them will be analysed from the perspective of Systems Analysis. In proposing a conceptual framework from this perspective, it becomes apparent that the study has to grapple with the dynamics of the innovation process. To make sense of the implementation issues arising from the review of the literature, the emerging concepts have been grouped into the following categories:

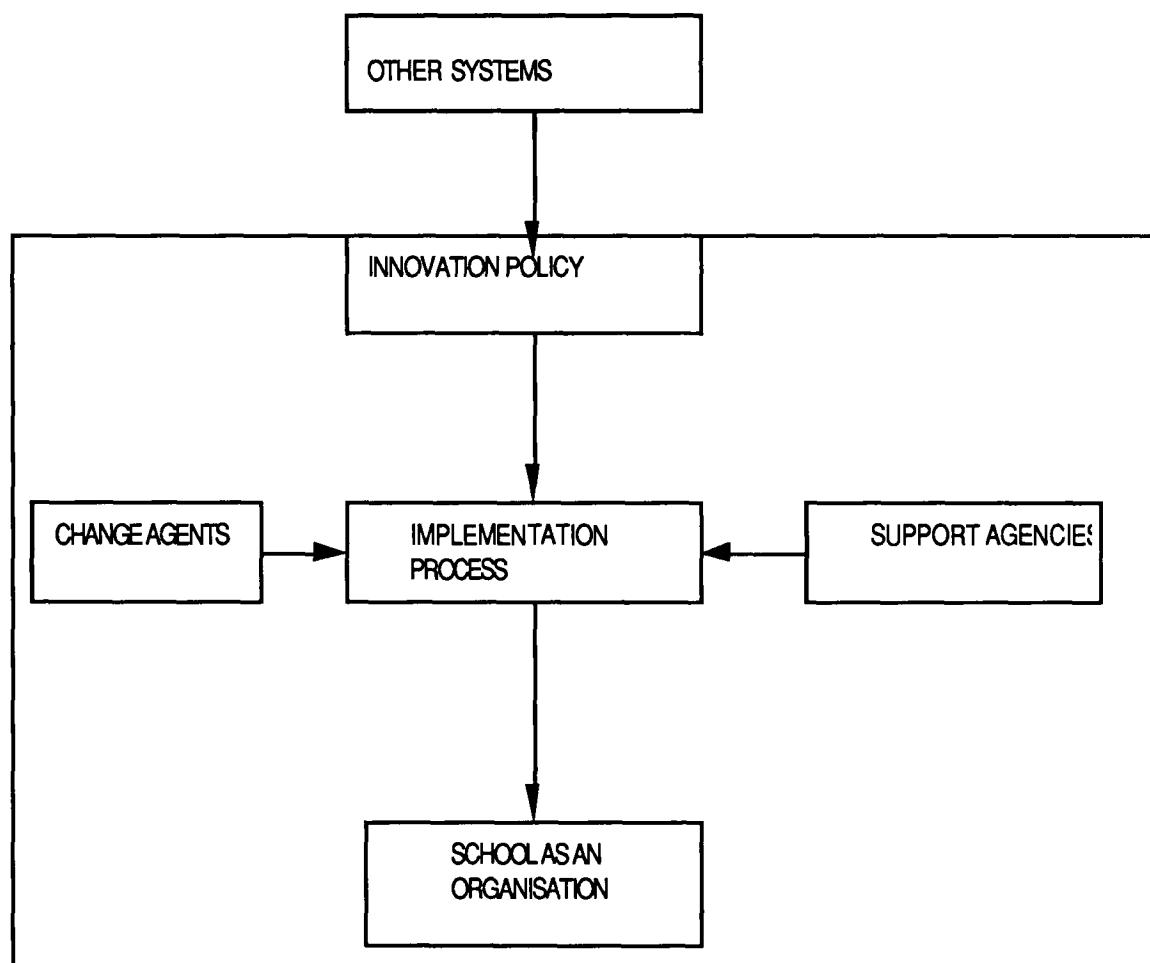
- innovation policy;
- change agents;
- support agencies;
- school as an organisation; and the
- implementation process.

In other words, the problem of sustained implementation will be analysed according to a conceptual framework that draws from empirical evidence contained in earlier studies in this area.

The nature of interrelationships among these areas can be clearly understood when presented in diagrammatic form as shown on the next page. The proposed conceptual framework depicted in Fig. 3.1 overleaf is defined in terms of Systems Analysis. Education is viewed as a system, embracing other subsystems that interact during the process of innovation. According to Zaltman et al [1977:15], a systems analysis is a tool for viewing the 'whole' organisation, and systems thinking is designed to demonstrate the interlocking relationships of subunits within the organisation and between organisations and their environments.

To Havelock and Huberman [1977:34], a system is composed of elements; has recognisable input, throughput and output subprocesses; is composed of people and institutions organised to get tasks done. Generally, the systems theory emphasises interdependencies among components within a system, with changes in one affecting its relationship with others. This approach is particularly useful in analysing the dynamic nature of the change process when explored from a management perspective.

FIG. 3.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK DEPICTING IMPLEMENTATION



Adapted from van den Berg and Vandenberghe [1986 :12]

Managing planned change involves three sub-tasks: organising the change process; monitoring it and helping it survive [Miles & Ekholm; 1985:138]. The value of the proposed conceptual framework is to be understood from this perspective.

As already stated, the aim of this research is to analyse the problem of implementation as it relates to a sustainable innovation process. To tackle the issue, it is necessary to look not only at the innovation and its characteristics, but at its context as well. The framework proposed here recognises the importance of the context in influencing the direction of the implementation outcomes. Each element in the framework is discussed separately below.

3.8.1 CONSTRUCTS IN THE FRAMEWORK

OTHER SYSTEMS

As seen in the innovation cases discussed in Chapter Two, socio-political and economic factors surrounding the education system form one of the major influences behind the adoption and implementation of change programmes. More specifically, vocationally - oriented programmes like SSCDP in Lesotho, SSCEP in PNG and PVS in Sri Lanka were all adopted in response to the problem of employment among secondary school leavers. On the basis of this evidence, the proposed framework acknowledges that the education system is open to this wider context and its prevailing factors some of which might impinge on the introduction and implementation of a change programme. It is assumed that there is an interaction between the education system and the wider environment as the arrows in Fig 3.1 show.

PARTICIPATING GROUPS

As defined in section 3.2 above, the process of innovation presupposes the involvement of different groups of participants at the various system levels.

The framework identifies three such groups: the change agents; the support agencies and the personnel at the school level. Rogers and Shoemaker [1971] maintain that implementation activities are divided. There are those carried out by central level decision-makers and those carried out by teachers and principals at the school level. These authors claim that empirically:

there are two distinct groups of decision-making individuals, the superordinate group and the subordinate group. The major decisions are made by the superordinate group, who initiate and direct the curriculum development and its dissemination ... By contrast, members of the subordinate group are chiefly concerned with implementing decisions made by the higher status group.
[in Marsh & Huberman, 1984:55]

It is helpful to make the distinctions between the authority positions of the various participants because central to the investigation is the nature of the relationships between these two groups. The locus of the innovation policy is often the centralised MOE. The MOE relies on communication mechanisms to 'transfer' the innovation from the centre to the users at the school level. It can be inferred from Fig 3.1 that the change agents and the support agencies form the communication link between the centre and the schools. To Rogers and Shoemaker [1971], these would constitute the superordinate group and to Havelock [1969], these are the researchers and developers. That is, research, planning, design and development of the innovation is done at the central level. The conceptual framework stresses the need to involve major participants in the innovation process in these functions.

Commenting on the innovation approach that distances the central level administrators from the school level personnel, Verspoor [1985:14] writes:

Following the centralisation tendencies in education management, most educational development projects have been organised for centrally controlled program delivery. Such an implementation strategy overestimates the ability of the centre to control implementation and neglects the need for local adaptation.

In this manner, management of the change process becomes a function of educational administrators and policy makers at the central level. According to Rogers and Shoemaker [1971] the members of the subordinate group do not normally participate in these activities but as the case of SSCEP in PNG illustrates, there are some exceptions to this norm.

The central level groups are expected to perform a variety of functions. These include:

- setting goals of the innovation;
- determining the budget towards the innovation;
- determine the structure and the content of the innovation;
- provide material and financial support;
- train and supply teachers; and
- provide the necessary resources.

[van den Berg and Vandenberghe, 1986]

It is envisaged that these functions will be undertaken with full consultation between the central administrators and the school level personnel. With respect to these functions, careful planning is essential. The planner assumes a broader role. He is not only the catalyst of change, but a resource provider, an adviser and supporter for change as well as being a link between the MOE and the various organisations participating in the implementation process. The planning process is designed to guide resource allocation decisions; to give the innovation a source of direction and to secure coordination of activities. Thus, explicit planning and programming of activities are prerequisites to facilitate a sustainable implementation process.

As far as the resource mobilisation is concerned, the task is to ensure that allocation is fair and equitable. The innovation management also needs to consider whether there are adequate financial resources for the maintenance and on-going support during implementation. Clear procedures to review resource use also need to be specified. Teacher

training is another key element in the process as successful implementation lays stress on the development of professional skills and motivation. When change is introduced, there is a need to build new skills and develop understanding and positive attitudes towards the innovation. The 'human factor' is therefore important in the implementation of a change programme [Nicholls, 1983; Fullan, 1989].

THE INNOVATION CHARACTERISTICS

To understand the implementation process it is necessary to look at the characteristics of the programme that is being put into practice. To Miles and Ekholm [1985:58], three most important of these are: scope; magnitude or size and scale. Scope refers to whether the programme is an innovation or reform. The distinction between these two is made in section 3.1 above. Size or magnitude refers to the number of components to be dealt with. And scale considers the question of the number of units and levels of the educational system that the change programme affects. Fullan [1982; 1989] adds other characteristics, namely, need and relevance of the change; clarity; complexity and quality and practicality of the programme [materials, etc].

From the case studies in Chapter Two, it is evident that the characteristics of an innovation are critical for the success of the implementation process. For example, the experience of PVS in Sri Lanka was less successful because the change was introduced on a wide scale, within a short time, without proper trialling. By contrast, SSCEP is limited in scope and in scale, hence it is argued that 'success' in the implementation of this innovation is partly to be explained in terms of its characteristics.

SCHOOL CONTEXT

This varies from school to school and it refers to the size, population, skills

and abilities of staff, climate or 'organisational health. Fullan [1982:71-72] argues that three main factors summarise the influence of the school on the implementation of a change programme. These are the role of the principal, peer relationships and teacher orientations. Fullan [1982] argues that major research on innovation and school effectiveness shows that the principal influences the likelihood of change. As the study examines the sustainability of the innovation at the school level, the role of the principal in the change process is significantly important. When the innovation comes into contact with the school context, the school has to learn to reorganise itself; to change its own internal conditions and to improve its capacity to change in order to accommodate the new programme. This is often referred to as 'readiness' for change. Changes may be pedagogical or organisational, but more often they involve both as the cases examined in Chapter Two illustrate.

THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

According to Fig 3.1, this is the area where policy and practice converge. Implementation is operationalised as a process, not an event. It takes place over a lengthy period of time. The process is not linear although it is convenient to divide it into substages or phases. As shown above, several participants are involved whose task is to put the new programme into practice. To Miles and Huberman [1984], the process is developmental - with initiation and adoption taking a period that varies between six months to two years depending on the characteristics of the innovation. Institutionalisation, according to these authors, takes even longer. Because the process involves several groups of participants, communication and coordination are crucial. All those involved need to be clear about the 'meaning' of the innovation, hence participation in the design and development of the innovation is vital.

3.8.2 REMARKS

The foregone discussion underlines the fact that in terms of Systems Analysis, the process of implementation needs to be viewed as a cooperative and collaborative undertaking among the various participants in the change process. The five areas that are seen as important in the understanding of the implementation of a change programme need to be brought together into a cohesive unit. Empirical evidence suggests that this is most difficult to achieve and implementation activities have largely remained divided between those carried out at the central level and those carried out at the school level.

It is against this background that Fullan [1982:74] sees the government agencies [MOE] as being preoccupied with policy and programme adoption, thereby underestimating the problems and process of implementation. This is known as the 'classic case of two different worlds' - the policy-maker on the one hand and the local practitioner on the other hand. Moreover, to the extent that each side is ignorant of the subjective world of the other, reform will fail - and the extent is great. The quality of the relationships across this gulf is crucial in supporting change efforts when there is agreement and to reconciling problems when there is conflict among these groups. Hall [1979] refers to this gulf as the 'policy-practitioner discrepancy' which needs to be addressed throughout the innovation process in order for the new programmes to become sustainable. Fullan [1982:74] concludes that:

Not only is meaning hard to come by when two different worlds have limited interaction, but misinterpretation, attribution of motives, feelings of being misunderstood, and disillusionment on both sides are almost guaranteed.

In the light of these observations, the problem of implementation as it relates to the sustainability of change needs to be studied through methods

that delve deep into the process. Attention needs to be paid to the effectiveness of the change programme not primarily in terms of its product, but the process. It is on this basis that the following emerge as the key propositions to be examined in this study:

- Clarity about the meaning of the innovation is a necessary condition for a sustainable implementation process.
- Improved management capabilities and preparedness facilitate a sustainable implementation process.
- Differing implementation conditions and school climates induce variations in response.
- Meaningful and purposive transformations in the innovation enhance its sustainability.

The structure of the investigation is guided by these four propositions.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter began by operationalising important concepts used in the study. It was established that as distinct from a reform, the diversification programme in Lesotho can be classified as an educational innovation. It was further established that the issue of implementing educational innovations is complex and multi-dimensional. Because of its complex and controversial nature, the phenomenon of implementation has attracted attention as an important area of focus in educational research. The many problems that occur account for the high rate of unsuccessful innovation programmes, hence the need to study this phenomenon.

The discussion on determinants and orientations to implementation as well as the examination of the models and strategies through which planned change can be introduced, gave rise to a number of concepts. To facilitate the analysis of the research issue and the organisation of the investigation,

these concepts have been pulled together into an operational framework. The framework identifies five critical areas in the understanding of the research problem - the innovation policy; the role of change agents; the role of support agencies; the school as an organisation and the implementation process. Empirical evidence suggests that when changes are introduced within a top-down approach - as is the case in many LDCs - those at the centre tend to distinguish their activities and functions from those to be performed at the periphery. In this context, the notion of 'linkage' becomes important. This can be in the form of a two-way communication process, feedback, coordination, on-going support and monitoring of the implementation activities as they intensify at the school level. In other words, role-distance is identified as the major threat to a sustainable innovation process.

The concept of role-distance is here utilised to lend emphasis to the importance of interaction that the conceptual framework proposed in section 3.8 seeks to stress. Role-distance is crucial in the analysis of the problem of implementation as it draws attention to the existence of the gap between policy and practice. The experience of several innovation projects reveals that policy tends to remain as the domain of the central educational administrators, while practice remains as the domain of the teachers at the school level. In consequence, the operational framework seeks to emphasise the urgent need for the convergence of these two domains in order for a sustainable innovation process to become a reality.

In as far as the study identifies the problem of distanced relationships between the change agents and the users at the school level, it implies the need to investigate the problem from the perspective of participants both at the central level and at the school level. As Miles and Ekholm [1985:67]

suggest, there is a need to address the problem realistically. 'It is clear that good research and evaluation on school improvement cannot be simplistic, looking at one or two variables only. We do not need large-scale statistical studies aggregating data from many schools, but in-depth studies of the process of innovating'. With these concluding remarks, Chapter Four, which deals with the methods used to investigate the research problem, is already introduced.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This research is a case study based on an innovation introduced in two phases in 13 experimental schools at the secondary education level in Lesotho. Taking cognisance of the observation by Miles and Ekholm [1985] that concludes Chapter Three, the study carries out an in-depth investigation into the process of implementation as it relates to the sustainability of this innovation. Chapter Three has focussed on the problem of implementation and concludes by stressing the value of a conceptual framework in the research design. Huberman and Miles [1984:20] describe the conceptual framework as a researcher's map of territory to be investigated. It specifies who and what will be studied, and tells which data gathering devices are needed. It therefore, facilitates the transition from the conceptualisation of the research problem to the considerations about research methods.

In this study, decisions on the design and techniques of research are made in the light of the propositions generated from the theoretical conceptualisation of the research problem. In Chapter Three [sect.3.9] the propositions to be examined in this study are given as follows:

- Clarity about the meaning of the innovation is a necessary condition for a sustainable implementation process.
- Improved management capabilities and preparedness facilitate a smooth implementation process.
- Differing implementation conditions and school climates induce variations in response.
- Meaningful and purposive transformations in the innovation

enhance its sustainability.

Thus, the choice of the research design and the data gathering techniques is based on the need to illuminate on these four areas of concern. Central to the research are the understandings, perceptions, opinions and interpretations of the innovation by the various participants involved in the change process. Hence the decision to utilise the qualitative methods of semi-structured interviews, observations and documentary search.

Against this background, this chapter begins by identifying briefly the types of designs along which educational research can be framed. It is illustrated that the study is designed to be an evaluation research. Distinctions can be made between various kinds of evaluation research. This makes it necessary to define clearly the type of evaluation chosen as well as the model adopted. The discussion then specifies how the model suites the research problem. A description of the various sources from which information has been gathered to support the empirical aspect of the study follows. The techniques and instruments for data collection are explained and rationalised. Examples of key items in the instruments are given to emphasise the focus of the research. The chapter then considers how the data has been processed and analysed. Finally, limitations in the research methods employed are highlighted.

4.2 MAJOR RESEARCH DESIGNS

Basically, there are two types of designs along which educational research is framed. In one design, studies are conducted in accordance with a plan which has been predetermined and followed throughout the period of investigation. This is the traditional approach to research. In the other, the plan is flexible and tentative. It can be adjusted in accordance to what happens during the investigation. This is known as the naturalistic approach

to research. Of these two, the former is regarded as being objective while the latter is seen as subjective.

Cohen and Manion [1985:38-39] have clarified the distinction between these two approaches by introducing two terms. They refer to the traditional approach as 'normative' and the naturalistic approach as 'interpretive' - where the former falls within the positivism dimension and the latter in the anti-positivism dimension of social inquiry.

Husen [1988:17] also acknowledges the existence of two main paradigms in research. He states

one is modeled on the natural sciences with an emphasis on empirical quantifiable observations which lend themselves to analyses by means of mathematical tools. The task of research is to establish causal relationships, to explain. The other paradigm is derived from the humanities with an emphasis on holistic and qualitative information and to interpretive approaches.

However, it is not always possible to adhere exclusively to one approach because each one of these has its own strengths and weaknesses. As Husen [1988:20] has warned

dogmatic evangelism for particular philosophies and ideologies espounded as 'scientific' and not accessible to criticism is detrimental to the spirit of inquiry. The two main paradigms are not exclusive, but complementary to each other.

This view on the complementarity of the paradigms is endorsed by Patton [1988:116-117] who writes that

I shall eschew logic in favour of ... making a case that one can usefully mix methods without being limited or inhibited by allegiance to one paradigm or the other.

The choice of the research methods in this study has taken its lead from such statements that warn against indiscrete adherence to certain paradigms. In respect to this, Lewin [1990:47] states:

My position is that the researcher has to make choices, predominantly on the basis of the research questions, to select approaches and methods most likely to provide insight and explanation to matters of concern ... the researcher should exploit those data collection and analysis techniques which offer most promise of useful insights, and recognize the epistemological assumptions which may accompany them.

In other words, the purpose of research and the nature of the research problem can be seen as crucial in determining the research design and instruments appropriate for a particular investigation. In this study, the purpose is to illuminate the process of implementation, providing a deeper understanding and interpretation of this phenomenon. This cannot be achieved through the use of pure statistical measures and quantitative methods of research. There is a need to explore the research problem from different perspectives. The evaluation method of research is found appropriate for this kind of investigation.

4.3 DEFINING THE CHOSEN TYPE OF EVALUATION MODEL

As argued in Chapter One, the research seeks to examine the implementation process not so much for the purposes of making final judgements about the worthiness of the programme so that it can either be continued or terminated, but it is for explaining its dynamic nature as well as the complexity of the realities surrounding the programme so that lessons for improvement and replication systemwide can be derived. Following from this observation, this evaluation research is designed according to principles contained in the definition provided by Rossi and Freeman [1982:20] where evaluation is regarded as

the systematic application of social research procedures in assessing the conceptualisation and design, implementation and utility of social intervention programmes.

Evaluation can be conducted for a variety of reasons as the above brief definition suggests. Before looking at these, we consider another definition from Best [1981:24] which shares some commonalities with the one given above. To Best, evaluation research

is concerned with the application of its findings and implies some judgements of the effectiveness, social utility or desirability of a product, process or programme in terms of carefully defined and agreed upon objectives.

For emphasis, evaluation research comes in different forms. Reasons for evaluating any programme influence which type to choose. Extracting

from Best's [1981] definition, the concern may be with making judgements about the 'effectiveness' of the 'process'. In this study, the 'process' is that of implementation as it relates to the sustainability of SSCDP.

Scriven [1967] identified two types of evaluation research: formative and summative evaluation. Kelly [1988:152] accepts this distinction and develops it further:

It is useful ... to distinguish in-course and post-course evaluation, those procedures that are designed to assess the work of the project as it proceeds and perhaps also to provide immediate feedback and those which are intended to be employed when the project is completed in order to assess its overall effectiveness.

In this sense, in-course evaluation corresponds with the idea of formative evaluation, while post-course evaluation corresponds with summative evaluation. The reasons for conducting these types of research differ. Stufflebeam [1986:122] identifies four major reasons and these are encompassed in his evaluation framework, the CIPP model. This acronym stands for Context [C]; Input [I]; Process [P]; and Product [P] evaluation approaches. Stufflebeam argues that context evaluation helps to inform planning decisions which involve initial choices to be made in curriculum development; objectives; curricular content and learning experiences. Input evaluation is seen as important to serve structuring decisions, that is, the strategies and procedures to be followed as well as the nature of resources and how these are to be allocated. Process evaluation is crucial to guide implementation decisions. This involves revision decisions which concern possible modifications to a planned curriculum in the light of experience during the trial period. Finally, product evaluation is meant to serve recycling and adoption decisions. These are decisions as to whether or not a given curriculum package is to be adopted in a particular system of schools.

Important for the purposes of this study is the process model of evaluation

of which Stufflebeam [1986:132] writes:

In essence, a process evaluation is an ongoing check on the implementation of a plan. One objective is to provide feedback to managers and staff about the extent to which the program activities are on schedule, are being carried out as planned and are using the available resources in an efficient manner. Another objective is to provide guidance for modifying or explicating the plan as needed ... since some of the initial decisions may prove to be flawed.

Therefore, process evaluation is done for purposes of improving the quality of implementation, in contrast to product evaluation which aims to make decisions about the continuity or termination of a programme. For this reason, the process model seems to be appropriate to carry out the formative type of evaluation research. The findings of the study are intended to help improve operations and procedures of implementing SSCDP in order to enhance its sustainability.

To clarify the distinction further Cates [1985:112-113] observes:

Formative evaluation involves the collection of data while the programme is in the developmental, implementational or operational phase ... Summative evaluation involves the collection of data after a program has been in place for what administrators deem long enough to demonstrate its effectiveness in producing the desired outcomes.

To recapitulate, formative evaluation can be done when the project is being tried out in experimental schools. Consideration is given to identifying what actually happens in practice as the programme is implemented. Formative evaluation seeks information on which decisions can be made to improve and modify an innovation package during its trial stage. Focus is on highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the implementation process. Information derived from formative evaluation is targeted for policy-makers as it is intended to lead to decisions on how the programme can be modified to make it effective when replicated beyond the trial stage. Because the process model pays attention to what happens between input and output at the implementation phase, it becomes the most suitable approach to formative evaluation. It focuses attention on the 'actual implementation of policies in schools and thus assessing the points at which

policy and practice converge and diverge' [Vulliamy, 1990:17].

This study is therefore policy-oriented in contrast to what Worthen and Sanders [1982:62] call objectives-oriented evaluation approach, where goals are identified and the evaluator determines the extent to which the programme achieves these stated goals. While objectives-oriented evaluation tends to focus on completed programmes, policy-oriented approach attempts to collect evaluative data to contribute to the decision-making process in programme development and implementation. That means, a policy-oriented evaluation approach is intended to contribute valuable information to programme developers and therefore, enable them to correct any flaws detected in the programme and modify operations where necessary.

The strengths of a policy-oriented approach to evaluation are best inferred from McCormick and James's [1988:176] criticism of the objectives-oriented approach:

Whilst the use of objectives as criteria for evaluation points to judgement of success or failure, it is incapable of assisting in the diagnosis of reasons why a curriculum has succeeded or failed ... The only kind of action it can stimulate is the continuation or discontinuation of an existing program or practice but it cannot provide the kind of evidence from which curriculum development can proceed - it assesses without explaining.

Thus, an objectives-oriented approach has a measurement value and not an improvement value that is to be found in a policy-oriented evaluation approach.

It is for this reason that Patton [1980:6] sees the latter as more appropriate in formative evaluation. Patton maintains that a policy-oriented evaluation approach bears resemblance to process evaluation because both are conducted in order to

understand the dynamics of programme operations. Such understanding permits decisions to be made about the extent to which the programme is operating the way it is supposed to be operating.

Patton [1980:61] argues further that process evaluation is useful

for revealing areas that can be improved as well as highlighting those strengths of the programme which should be preserved.

Process evaluation involves collection of data when the programme has already been designed and put into operation. It permits an in-depth method to study implementation. Focus is on how the programme is perceived by users, implementers and change agents in order to generate an accurate and detailed description of programme operations. By understanding the dynamics of programme operations, it is then possible to isolate critical elements that contribute to the sustenance of the programme or those elements that are likely to threaten it.

Patton [1980:55] emphasises that the process model is based on the:

importance of understanding people and programmes in context; a commitment to study naturally occurring phenomena without introducing external controls or manipulation and the assumption is that understanding emerges most meaningfully from an inductive analysis of open-ended, detailed, descriptive and quotive data gathered through direct contact with the programme and its participants.

This view is related to that held by Parlett and Hamilton [1977:10] who see an evaluation that illuminates as taking

account of the wider context in which educational programmes function. Its primary concern is with the description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction ... The aims of illuminative evaluation are to study the innovatory programme: how it operates; and how it is influenced by the various school situations in which it is applied; what those directly concerned regard as its advantages and disadvantages; ... to discern and discuss the innovation's most significant features, recurring concomitants and critical processes. In short, it seeks to address and to illuminate a complex array of questions.

The task of examining the problem of implementation seems to be best tackled through evaluation methods of research that concentrate on the process rather than on the product.

In sum, process evaluation is intended to guide the analysis of the procedures and operations whereby a programme produces the results it does. The process evaluator searches for explanations of the successes, failures and changes in the programme. An important feature of process evaluation is that the researcher seeks a variety of perspectives from participants with dissimilar relationships to the programme. This approach lays emphasis on observation and interviewing participants such as users, programme administrators, implementers and change agents. The different perspectives allow comparisons to be made as well as to cross-check and validate insights. This diversity suggests that there need to be different sources of data.

4.4 DATA SOURCES FOR THE EVALUATION

The inquiry is structured around two main themes: [a] project operational management which involves preparation, communication, coordination of activities as well as the implementation strategy used; and [b] implementation response at the school level. To address these two areas, data had to be collected from sources both at the central level of the education system as well as at the school level. More specifically, the problem of implementation is explored through a conceptual frame of reference that centres upon management, linkage, problems and determinants of change, utilising the views of educational administrators, and teachers in a comparative and contrasting manner. Thus, the sources of information are comprised of the following groups of participants in the change process:

- 18 educational administrators and officials;
- 15 school headteachers;
- 33 subject teachers

Groups 2 and 3 are drawn from the 13 Project schools.

As far as the selection of subject teachers was concerned, the target were JC3 teachers, preferably, those with the longest teaching experience in practical subjects. Because the introduction of SSCDP dates back to 1974, it was essential to concentrate more on the longest serving teachers although this was not always possible. At times the school head decided which teacher was to be interviewed depending on the time-table and other commitments of individual teachers. In other schools, for example, there simply were no teachers who had served, for more than two years because of the problem of staff turn-over. Wherever possible, informal group discussions with teachers were conducted if more than one teacher taught the same subject as long as the teachers did not object to this procedure and provided they had the time to spare, usually at the end of the school day.

There are both male and female teachers in the group. The same applies to the group of the head teachers. The problem of staff turn-over is acute even among the headteachers. In only two of the 13 Project schools had the headteachers remained unchanged since the introduction of SSCDP. In one school, the then head had become an assistant teacher. In four schools, those who were heads at the time of the fieldwork had taught as assistants in the same schools when SSCDP was introduced. In the rest of the schools, the heads had newly arrived. Efforts were made to trace the ex-headmasters of the Project schools who had worked during the time of the introduction of SSCDP. Only three of these could be contacted, hence the number of schoolheads interviewed is 15. One current headteacher could not be interviewed as she had only arrived a week before the researcher visited the school.

The first group is comprised of the educational administrators, policy-makers, and officials within the MOE. All have played an important role in the implementation of SSCDP. Out of the total of 18, four come from the

MOE headquarters and its Planning Unit; another three come from the National Curriculum Development Centre [NCDC]; a further six come from the National Teacher Training College [NTTC] and the last five from the Training for Self-Reliance Project [TSRP], with three of these being the ex-employees of the Project. This diversity in the sources of information indicates the complexity of the innovation process and that it affects several groups of people at the different levels of the system.

4.5 TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES OF DATA GATHERING

The tools and techniques of data gathering adopted in this study are based on some salient features of the evaluation method described above. A semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions was the major data gathering tool. In addition, Project schools were visited for observation and an extensive documentary search was conducted. Procedures followed in collecting data using these instruments are discussed below.

4.5.1 THE INTERVIEW

This was the major instrument used to collect data from the educational administrators, heads of schools and subject teachers and as such, it yielded the largest amount of information. Different sets of interview schedules were prepared for each of these groups of participants [Samples of these appear in the appendix]. At the request of the majority of the interviewees, no tape-recordings were done. As an alternative, notes were taken during the interview. These were reviewed later and written up in more detail. Although it is recognised that tape-recordings have the benefit of ensuring accuracy of the responses, they can, at the same time be an obstruction as the respondents tend to concentrate more on avoiding language mistakes if the interview is in English. This was noticed a few years ago when as an English teacher, I was asked by a doctoral candidate to conduct tape

recorded interviews with my students.

As mentioned earlier, the interview questions were semi-structured. There were pre-set questions to guide the researcher but the order and wording of the questions was not strictly followed. Questions were basically of an open-ended type and probes were used when it was felt necessary. The probes were found vital in eliciting deeper views from the respondents, thereby enriching the accounts given of the various aspects of implementation. The starting point was to ask questions that assess the understanding of the programme's objectives in order to establish whether or not there has been a common interpretation of the meaning and implications of a diversified curriculum both at the central and at the school level. For example, this was a key question: What can you describe as the main objectives of the diversification programme? This would be followed by a probing question like: Where did you learn of these objectives? The Diffusionist model of the innovation process was useful to help reflections on the part of the researcher on this aspect of the implementation process. Therefore, in this first part of the interview, the main concern was to seek facts and information on how the change agents have communicated the innovation to the implementers.

In anticipation of differing views about events and procedures, cross-referencing of the information at the various system levels became important. The interview schedule was designed such that this objective would be achieved. Hence the interviewees were asked to comment on the nature of communication links between the administrators and the school level participants. For example, the respondents were asked: When SSCDP was introduced, with whom were you mostly in touch? In your opinion would you say the amount of contact was adequate and why? Other questions were designed to reveal the extent to which the curriculum

developers, the teacher trainers and the physical resource suppliers had been prepared for their respective responsibilities.

For the teachers, the second part of the interview focused on their pre-service and in-service education to determine their readiness and the extent to which the change agents facilitated the understanding and commitment required for the implementation of the innovation [re-education]. In addition, the interview embraced questions designed primarily to investigate the nature of the problems encountered during implementation. A key question to the subject teachers in this area reads: From your experience of teaching the practical subject[s], have you met any problems? What caused them? What is your source of help when you have problems? It was also regarded important to determine the awareness of the central administrators about the implementation problems. For this purpose, the following question was asked: From the performance of the Project schools, what do you consider as the main problems in the implementation of a practical subjects curriculum? Similarly, school heads were asked to comment on problems of diversifying the curriculum with emphasis on administration work and on relations with teachers.

Throughout the interview, it was strongly emphasised that the MOE still plans for the expansion of practical subjects in the curricula of secondary schools. Thus, the respondents were invited to comment on how the implementation process can be improved to make it more effective. For example, the educational administrators were asked: What is your view of the approach to the introduction of practical subjects? Are any changes necessary?

To sum up, with the educational administrators, questions were directed at finding their understanding and interpretation of the diversification

programme. Interview questions were also intended to investigate the kinds of communication links that exist and how these are used; the kinds of support given to the schools and the efficiency of these; and to find out about monitoring and follow up procedures, their frequency and adequacy. All these are operational management issues. At the school level, the interview was directed at determining the level of awareness of objectives of SSCDP among those involved in the change process; their satisfaction with the existing kinds of support and communication channels; their attitudes towards the innovation and the problems that have been experienced with implementation.

Focus on the problems experienced has allowed a picture of patterns of use and response to the implementation of SSCDP to develop. By examining both the performance of the change agents, the support groups as well as the schools it became possible to isolate factors that have influenced the level of implementation achieved. Special emphasis was put on identifying those factors that might facilitate sustenance of the innovation. Interviewees were also asked to comment directly about the improvements they would like to see in order to make the diversification programme a successful undertaking. Lewin [1990:129] suggests that *layering techniques* can be used to obtain information at different levels of specificity from different respondents. As information has been drawn from the participants in the innovation process at the various system levels, these techniques have been utilised and found useful for validating data. None the less, the use of an interview as a main information gathering tool has advantages as well as limitations. These will be examined in section 4.8 below.

4.5.2 OBSERVATION

The purpose of observational data is to describe the setting that was observed, the activities taking place in that setting, the people participating

in the activities and the interrelationships among these. The 13 Project schools were visited for this purpose. It must be made clear that the study is not concerned with the contents of the innovation in terms of its instructional materials, methods and their effectiveness. Therefore, classroom teaching was not observed. Observation was directed at assessing the quality and quantity of physical resources in the schools. It was argued in Chapter One that the main emphasis in the implementation strategy behind SSCDP was the supply of physical resources, that is, buildings, materials and equipment. It became important to determine how these were used and to assess the condition in which they were.

In the interviews, a common problem mentioned was that of resources which were either in short supply; unavailable or needed repairs. By being within the school premises, there was an opportunity to explore the workshops, talk to both the students and the teachers about the resources and how these were used. It also became possible to see those 'sophisticated' items of equipment that TSRP had supplied without consultation with the subject teachers, most of which were lying idle or still in boxes. The condition of some equipment gave indication of frequency of its use and became clear that those items covered in thick layers of dust were not regularly used. Because SSCDP aims at encouraging practical activities among students, it is important to assess the extent to which this is facilitated by means of providing the necessary resources and the extent to which these are used for the intended purposes.

Another area of concern during the observations was to note the practical projects that were done in each school. This would provide insight into the conceptualisation of the innovation at the school level. SSCDP is intended to encourage schools to be self-reliant in the production of such requirements as food; uniforms and school furniture. Recently, it has been stressed that

schools should aim at producing some commodities for sale. Therefore, observations provided an opportunity of assessing the response of the schools to these policy intents. These also accorded a favourable climate to talk to the subject teachers about their activities more informally during the 'tours' to the respective locations of practical projects, such as workshops, gardens or areas where animals are kept.

According to Patton [1980:124], by directly observing programme operations and activities, the evaluator is better able to understand the context within which the programme operates. This is vital for someone who is an 'outsider' to the programme, like the present researcher. Another advantage of the observational method is that the evaluator has the opportunity to see things that may routinely escape conscious awareness among participants and staff. The added advantage is that the researcher can also learn about phenomena that programme participants may be unwilling to talk about in an interview. In that way, the researcher is in a position to build up a more comprehensive view of the programme. Finally, observation methods take the evaluator close enough to the situation to understand in a direct and personal manner what the programme is about. That is, to correlate the 'word' from the interview with the 'act' as observed. With the use of a framework for observation developed with the research questions in mind, it is possible to focus the observation specifically to those events, activities and the teaching-learning milieu of the school that are of relevance to the study. As Vulliamy [1990:105] comments, one of the strengths of case-study methods is that what people say in interviews can often be checked out by observation of their practice.

4.5.3 DOCUMENTARY SEARCH

Although this is discussed last, it was the starting point in the gathering of

the information. Mention is made that as an outsider to the diversification programme, the researcher, had no prior experience with SSCDP, but had profound interest in education, change and development. Also, as an outsider to the host country of the innovation itself, access to the field had to be negotiated. The preliminary visit to Lesotho in April 1988 afforded the researcher an opportunity to address these concerns. The decision to get involved with SSCDP came after long deliberations with the then Chief Education Officer [CEO], firstly to negotiate acceptance as a researcher in the country, and secondly to get assurance that the research topic chosen would not be controversial and sensitive given the tensions in the country arising from the military coup d' etat of 1986 after which the researcher [along with many political exiles from South Africa] had been told to leave the country.

Having decided to take the diversification programme as a case study, the first task was to familiarise myself with the Project. With the letter of introduction from the CEO, it was possible to gain access to the TSRP Headquarters. Although some documents and official reports at the Project Headquarters were obtained, others, particularly the earlier ones, were not available. SSCDP is an 'old' project and most of its files were already closed at the time of the fieldwork. These closed files were sent back to the MOE, after which they were taken for storage with the government archives. Most unfortunately, at this time documents were being transferred from the government archives to the University archives at Roma, as the government building was being renovated to accommodate other offices. Therefore, a thorough search of the documents could not be done until the second visit in 1989 when the full fieldwork activities were carried out.

A lead to the search of the most relevant documents was obtained during the interviews with the officials within the MOE and with the Project

management staff. Documents have yielded information on the following areas

- The aims and objectives of the diversification programme;
- Background information on the adoption, development and progress of the programme at the school level. Previous reports on the evaluation of the Project were most useful to provide insight into how the programme evolved at the school level.
- Information on the problems of early implementation of the programme.
- General information on the development of project materials and on the training of teachers.

At the school level there was a total lack of documents about the diversification programme. Only statistical data on student enrolment, established teaching lists and the number of subjects done could be obtained from the schools. The Examinations Council of Lesotho [ECOL] was another helpful source in providing information on the results of the JC3 students in the various practical subject areas included in this investigation. Only data on the Project schools was extracted from the ECOL documents. As it is inevitable to discard some of the data at the time of writing, information on JC3 results is not included in the study. Finally, official documents, including the national development plans, education policy papers, LITESP reports, and inspectors' reports were obtained from the MOE. All these documents have been found most useful in the reconstruction of the 'history' of the programme and in building up the mini-cases about the 'diversification' activities in each Project school.

4.6 FIELDWORK APPROACH

Section 4.5 discusses the range of tools and techniques used to collect information for the analysis of the research problem. The use of different

kinds of techniques has been necessitated by the nature of the research issue which is to illuminate the problem of implementation on the basis of the views and perceptions of the various participants. Basically, the approach is qualitative and interpretive. Given the fact that the sources of information are diverse, it was anticipated that the task of data collection would be complex.

Consequently, it became essential to develop a fieldwork plan that lays out clearly the activities to be conducted and the sources to be contacted in some order of priority. A 'matrix of activities' [Lewin, 1990:118] was devised for this purpose. It is laid out in a two dimensional grid with three columns as shown below:

FIG. 4.1 THE FIELDWORK GUIDE.

<u>RESEARCH QUESTION</u>	<u>SOURCE OF EVIDENCE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
1. How far have the policy-makers communicated the meaning of SSCDP?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentary search - Interviews with change agents, administrators and teachers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to establish how SSCDP is conceptualised at the various system levels.
2. What factors account for mismatches between policy intentions and innovation practice?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentary search - Interviews - Observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to determine the level of preparedness and capabilities at all levels and how inadequacies in these affect implementation.
3. What is the response of schools to SSCDP?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Documentary search - Interviews. - Observation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to relate behaviour at school level to policy intents. - to discover problems of implementation at the individual schools. - to identify opinions and attitudes towards SSCDP. - to identify factors likely to facilitate sustenance.

As the fieldwork period was relatively short [five months due to financial stringencies], this plan proved to be very useful not only in monitoring progress, but in giving guidance to a logical sequence of fieldwork activities.

4.7 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

The bulk of the data in this study is of a qualitative nature. According to Huberman and Miles [1984:21], qualitative data can be reduced and transformed in many different ways: through sheer selection; through summary and paraphrase; through being subsumed in a larger pattern, and so on. They suggest that in the process, it is important 'not to strip the data at hand from the contexts in which they occur'. These statements have provided the researcher with important tips on how to handle the data.

Data from the interviews and observations was recorded in great detail on the field notebook that was carried at all times. During interviews, notes were taken almost verbatim because no tape - recorder was used. As the interview proceeded, responses under each research question were given a subheading. The following are examples: 'Objectives of SSCDP'; 'Preparation'; 'Support'; 'Problems'; and 'Areas of improvement'. As the aim was not to quantify the data, attention was given to detail in responses.

It is the purpose of this study to develop descriptions and explanations about the level of implementation achieved; to compare across the 13 Project schools the response to the implementation of SSCDP and to identify factors likely to threaten or facilitate the sustainability of the programme. The main method of data analysis is that of constant comparison of categories of data derived from various interview sources, documents, and observations. All these sources provided pieces of evidence depicting the reality of the implementation of SSCDP. The first step in the analysis of

qualitative data was to summarise categories of information to discover patterns in the four themes of investigation [as stated in the propositions at the beginning of this chapter]. The conceptual frame became valuable in helping to decide what data was to be selected for interpretation. The next step was to take a closer inquiry into the patterns and associations developed to build up cases for the schools' response to SSCDP. Finally, a search for evidence of factors and characteristics that differentiate schools and those that create similarities between schools was done. This resulted in suggesting types of implementation response. Five types emerged. These are the 'Faithful'; 'Early Negotiators', 'Selective Adaptors'; 'Expansionists' and 'Reductionist'. The idea of classifying implementation responses borrows from the one developed by Huberman and Miles [1984].

4.8 LIMITATIONS

Using a research approach that employs a variety of data collection instruments has the major advantage of allowing cross-checking data to ensure its reliability and validity or 'triangulation' [Lewin & Stuart, forthcoming]. Despite this, the study admits to a number of limitations. The first concerns 'objectivity'. Kelly [1988:164] argues that objectivity in process evaluation research is highly desirable but there are many limitations to its achievement. What makes it difficult to achieve is that 'perceptions and interpretations of each individual are highly personal'.

The interpretative paradigm of analysis, according to Burrell and Morgan [1979] is informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience. It seeks explanations within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity, within the frame of reference of the participant as opposed to the observer of the action. Thus, lack of objectivity, or 'predominance of subjectivity' and assumed potential bias

are the main limitations of this approach [Adamu, forthcoming].

Another criticism commonly levelled against qualitative investigations is that they fail to adhere to the 'canons of validity and reliability' [Tosam, 1989]. It was pointed out earlier that an interview was the major instrument for data collection in this study. An interview is often criticised on the grounds that its reliability is low although its validity may be reasonable. On the latter issue, validity may be possible because the interviewer is able to probe as deeply as is necessary, thereby making it easy to follow up leads and take advantage of clues and other small details. Thus, the desired information can be obtained more quickly as an interview allows for greater flexibility in the process of questioning. Also, both the interviewer and the respondent are assured of clarity and depth of opinion and the information can be readily checked for its validity.

As mentioned above, in an interview there is more flexibility and adaptability in questioning. But, if the interviewer is not careful, too much flexibility can lead into asking too many different questions or the same questions in different ways in different situations and with different respondents, thus making the process of cross-checking data difficult. This compounds the problem of how to obtain accurate data from different respondents who cannot reconstruct social situations in a manner that can yield identical results [Nwakoby, forthcoming]. In other words, it is difficult to establish reliability in a research that concerns people's attitudes, opinions and behaviours. In this study, reliability of information from the interviews was undermined by such factors as fading memories among those who were involved with SSCDP during the early period of implementation. As an old project, many participants have come and gone. Admittedly, another greatest limitation in the study is the failure to communicate with the World Bank officials who were the proponents of

the diversification programme or even with the local officials who were involved in the negotiation of the loan from the World Bank and in the signing of the Credit Agreements. Lack of this data has 'hidden' the contradictions and conflicts that are often inherent in projects that involve foreign assistance [Wright, 1988].

More positively, the methods that have been used have complemented one another, such that a holistic picture of SSCDP has emerged. Without using the descriptive and interpretative approach, it would not have been possible to obtain a complete picture of attitudes, concerns and perceptions of the various participants which is crucial for the illumination of the process of implementing SSCDP, for the purposes of informing the key audience of this research, namely the policy-maker in Lesotho. The findings may not be generalisable to other LDCs, but there are some important areas on which the research may illuminate such as those pertaining to the conditions under which vocationally-oriented programmes in the context of developing countries may be sustainable.

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed, with use of examples the various methods through which field data was generated. The chapter began by pointing out that this study is inclined towards the naturalistic approach to research. It was also established that this is an evaluation research as determined by the nature of the problem and the purpose for which the investigation is conducted. Then, a brief review of types of evaluation research was done and the argument made that as opposed to summative evaluation, this study falls within the formative type of evaluation. It is designed on the basis of the process model of evaluation suggested by Stufflebeam [1986]. In addition, it was emphasised that because the main aim is to inform decision-making about the strengths and weaknesses of the implementation

strategy as well as identifying factors conducive to a sustainable implementation process, so that improvements and modifications can be made when the programme is spread to a larger number of schools, the evaluation is policy-oriented.

The suitability of a policy-oriented research, which according to Patton [1980] shares some commonalities with the process model, was highlighted. In the main, this approach is said to be most suitable when the programme is still at a trial stage. It generates an understanding of the dynamics of programme operations which in turn make it possible to isolate critical elements that contribute to programme success or failure. In examining the process of implementation, such information is crucial because the overall objective is to improve the innovation process for future replication and ultimate sustenance of the programme.

The chapter then went further to discuss the nature of the various sources of data. These include subject teachers, heads of schools and educational administrators at the central level. On-site observations, documentary search and interviews were all used in the collection of data with the latter being the major tool that yielded the largest amount of information. Because of the nature of the research problem, qualitative rather than quantitative methods, have been found to be the most suitable in this investigation. Chapter Five places the research problem in context by introducing the Lesotho system of education. Chapters Six through Nine are devoted to the analysis of the field data.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AND CONTEXT FOR CHANGE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five introduces Part Two of the study. The main task in this chapter is to outline the key characteristics of the education system in Lesotho as the context into which SSCDP was born. Chapter Five prepares for the recurrent argument in the subsequent chapters that sustained implementation of SSCDP is likely to be influenced not only by the characteristic of the innovation but by its contextual factors as well. A wide variety of factors in the context impinge on the implementation of an innovation. It is the research problem that decides which of the alternative factors need to be taken into account in the analysis.

The problem under investigation is defined in terms of an open-ended innovation policy behind the implementation of SSCDP, thereby making the management process the focal point of concern throughout the thesis. As SSCDP is only an innovation rather than a reform, and as the study is concerned with the process of implementation rather than that of adoption of policies, it is not so much the socio-economic and political factors that obtain in the external environment, but the characteristics that obtain in the education system itself, that are crucial for the understanding of the research problem.

The discussion in the chapter is structured as follows:

5.2. introduces the system of education moving from the past to the present. The past discusses the missionary influence on the development of the education system from around the middle of the 19th century. The present deals with trends in the post-independence

period, emphasising how these have helped to increase the involvement of the government in the administration of education in Lesotho. As SSCDP operates at the secondary level of the system, this level is examined in detail with comments on the nature of the curriculum and the implications for the up-take of this innovation. The chapter then in:

- 5.3 discusses the issue of control and administration of the system, focusing on relations between the MOE and the churches;
- 5.4 discusses the origins and development of SSCDP;
- 5.5 concludes the chapter.

Chapter Five sets dimensions within which the problem of implementation is analysed. The notion of interaction at the various system levels is underlined.

5.2. THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Lesotho's education system is underdeveloped partly because of its colonial legacy that hindered training of local manpower and partly because of a hostile economic environment that is characteristic of the post-independence period. The Education Sector Survey Report [1982] provides ample evidence about the nature and intensity of the difficulties facing the system. It identifies as the most critical its organisation whereby control is divided between the government and the churches. It needs to be clarified that it is a system inherited, with little adaptation from the practices of colonial administration [5.2.2. below]. Blaming the colonial legacy for post-independence problems is a common practice that is not always adequately justified. The argument in this section seeks to illustrate that the current problems in the system cannot be easily dismissed only as colonial legacy, but that they are also a shortcoming of the MOE in as far as it stands aloof from the day-to-day administration of the school affairs. None the

less, history cannot be undermined as it has influenced the way the education system has evolved.

5.2.1 MISSIONARY INFLUENCE

When Lesotho achieved her political independence in 1966, the literacy rate had achieved a relatively high level of 74% as compared to the 42% average for Sub-Saharan Africa [MOE; 1989:4]. The major agents of education prior to the country's independence were the missionaries, who have continued to support education at both the primary and secondary levels. It was with the advent of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society [PEMS, now known as Lesotho Evangelical Church [LEC] in 1833 that formal education started in Lesotho. Critics have argued that at first the school was imposed by the missionaries as a deliberate attempt to extricate the Basotho from their traditional superstitious beliefs. It was this aim of creating 'converts' that made PEMS missionaries unpopular in the country.

When the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church [RCC] and the Church of England [later known as the Anglican Church of Lesotho [ACL] arrived in the country, they quickly won the support of the Basotho because of their tolerance for some traditional values. While there may be a grain of truth in saying that at first the school was imposed, later education gradually expanded according to the religious, political and economic requirements of the country. By the turn of this century, the three denominational groups mentioned above, were contesting educational and religious dominance in Lesotho.

However, despite the differences among the three church denominations, such as the rejection of some traditional practices by the PEMS, while the Catholics and Anglicans were quite tolerant to others like initiation rites, their aspirations seem to have been the same as far as the educational

provision was concerned. As the Education Sector Survey Report [1982:1] remarks:

The major focus of the christian schools was the acquisition of literacy by people, the study of the Bible, the spiritual teaching of the church and participation in the christian community.

The Third Five Year Plan [1980-1985:1-2] reiterates this view:

Education, supported by missionary groups, was designed to produce a degree of literacy conducive to Christianization and to provide a modest number of middle-level bureaucrats for the colonial administration.

What needs to be argued is that at this point in time, the needs of the economy in terms of expertise were very low and the kind of education designed by the missionaries was suitable for this situation. In this sense, the colonial administration is to be blamed for not promoting economic development in the country, which would in turn induce improvements in the education system. The statements quoted above neglect an important element in the missionary education, that is, its vocational aspect.

CONFLICTS IN EARLY VOCATIONALISATION

The missionaries have always been blamed for failing to provide a vocationalised kind of education, but experience in Lesotho proves the contrary. As early as 1862, a centre providing instruction in carpentry, masonry and other allied crafts was established by PEMS. This became known as Leloaleng Trades School. It still exists even today and it has been improved and expanded. The missionaries had laid the foundation for vocational education in the country.

However, it should be remarked that the bias towards academic studies and against technical and vocational education that is so important in the literature today, seems to have taken root during the early days of schooling. For example, when in 1869, the Scottish Missionary Church opened the Morija Normal School which concentrated on the teaching of Religious Studies, Sesotho, English, Geography and Arithmetic, many

students transferred from Leloaleng Trades School to join this new school. Reasons for preference of academic to vocational education are numerous, including values and attitudes of people towards schooling. In the traditional Basotho society, trade and various skills associated with it could always be learnt from the family members. Therefore, a school was regarded as a place where to learn what could not be learned in the family situation. This marked the beginning of expansion of formal schooling in the country [then known as Basotholand]. The colonial government started to contribute towards the systematisation of formal learning in the country.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND MISSIONARY EDUCATION

The quick proliferation of primary schools reflected the competitive spirit among the different religious denominations in the attempts to acquire a large following in their respective congregations. In their endeavours to establish schools, the missionaries were influenced and helped by the colonial administration in London. The Education Sector Survey Report [1982:2] maintains that in consequence:

The education policy at this time reflected pressure from the churches and liberal opinion in London more than it did local considerations.

In other words, decisions in policy-making were not informed by the needs of the society. The British Resident Governor based in the Cape had no influence in decision-making and could only enforce policies made in London. It is for this reason that this Report goes further to argue that missionary education has never been sufficiently adapted to the culture of Lesotho, nor to the particular development needs of the country.

Without rejecting this statement, it is the contention of the researcher that since there were competing forces in educational provision, and since there was a struggle to win as many followers as was possible, the aim among the missionaries would have been to provide academic education that people

needed most, lest they lose support, with people either relapsing to non-christianity or joining the other contending denominations.

At the same time there were appeals made for support from the colonial office. It is reported that by 1890 approximately one-third of all education expenditures were covered by government grants-in-aid. To avoid any favouritism and bias, the various missionary school leaders felt a need to form some kind of cooperation between the government and the three dominant churches. Consequently in 1909 the Central Board of Advice was established consisting of the Director of Education, who was to work initially with representatives from the three missions. The formation of this Board marked the beginning of a formal institutionalised cooperation between the government and the missionaries in the delivery of education services. Shortly afterwards, followed the appointment of Education Secretaries who have, since then formed an indispensable link between the church schools at the parish level and the government. The present tripartite organisation of education between the government, the churches and the community reflects continuity with this historic pattern.

From this time onwards, the government gradually assumed greater responsibility for financing education: For example, from that time, salaries of teachers have been directly paid by the government. More funds have been made available to provide housing facilities for teachers although these are still far from being adequate. Finances are also provided to expand the physical facilities of the schools, although this practice has not by any means been equitable.

There is yet another influence which shaped the development of the education system. This was the Report of the Clarke Commission of 1946. According to this Report, a recommendation was made to formulate a

comprehensive Education Act which would define the role and responsibility of both the government and the churches in the management of education policies. This Report also advocated the establishment of the Central and District committees to provide a forum for education policy discussions for chiefs, churches and government representatives.

The Education Department, which had been established in 1927, but had hitherto been not clear as to the duties it was supposed to carry out, was now given a mandate to formulate a uniform syllabus and a system of school inspection. As these two activities grew stronger, a standard examination for primary as well as post-primary schooling was introduced. Thus a new element was brought into the education system, namely, the use of formal, standardised qualifications and credentials. Till today, these credentials have remained the key for obtaining salaried employment as they were in the colonial times.

REMARKS

From the foregone discussion, it can be observed that missionary education was largely directed towards the limited opportunities for employment in colonial administrative positions and in the churches as catechists and teachers. The basic requirements for employment in these jobs were numeracy and some knowledge of English. The school and examination systems both emphasised these two areas and tended to neglect the development of technical and practical subjects. Lack of employment opportunities in trade and business as well as the non-existent commercial farming stifled the demand for vocational subjects. The limited trade and business activities were in the hands of the few Whites, Asians and missionaries living in the country.

Meantime, as the economy was becoming monetarised the Basotho had

started working in the RSA as migrant labourers where they could earn some wages. It would seem that the education policy perpetuated by the colonial administration was intended to preserve the country as a labour reserve of the RSA. The colonialists did not promote industrial development, hence the creation of high and middle-level manpower would have been superfluous. The end result was that although the country had one of the highest literacy rates in Africa, it was lacking in professional and technical skills needed for development when political independence was achieved in 1966. Heavy reliance on expatriate expertise continues as the norm in Lesotho and this has led to the search of new education policies that are relevant for the needs of a developing country. The diversification policy was partly adopted in response to this need.

The dilemma facing the newly created government was that, during colonial administration, the missionaries had enjoyed a large measure of autonomy in the delivery of education services. Apart from providing grants-in-aid and the school inspection services, the administrative responsibility of the day-to-day running of the school, was in the hands of the missionaries. At independence, this practice was fully entrenched but needed to be reversed if new policies were to become effectively implemented. This is recognised as the most daunting challenge facing the government. As Bohloko [1982:48] remarks:

The post-independent Government of Lesotho is finding it exceptionally difficult to reorganise education because of the uncompromising attitudes of missions and a spirit of denominational strife which continues to retard the natural growth of a national system of education.

This suggests that the government cannot expect to reform the education system without encountering resistance from the churches which operate 97% of the primary and 86% of the secondary schools [MOE; 1989:4]. Unless this resistance is negotiated away, initiatives by the government at educational change remain threatened.

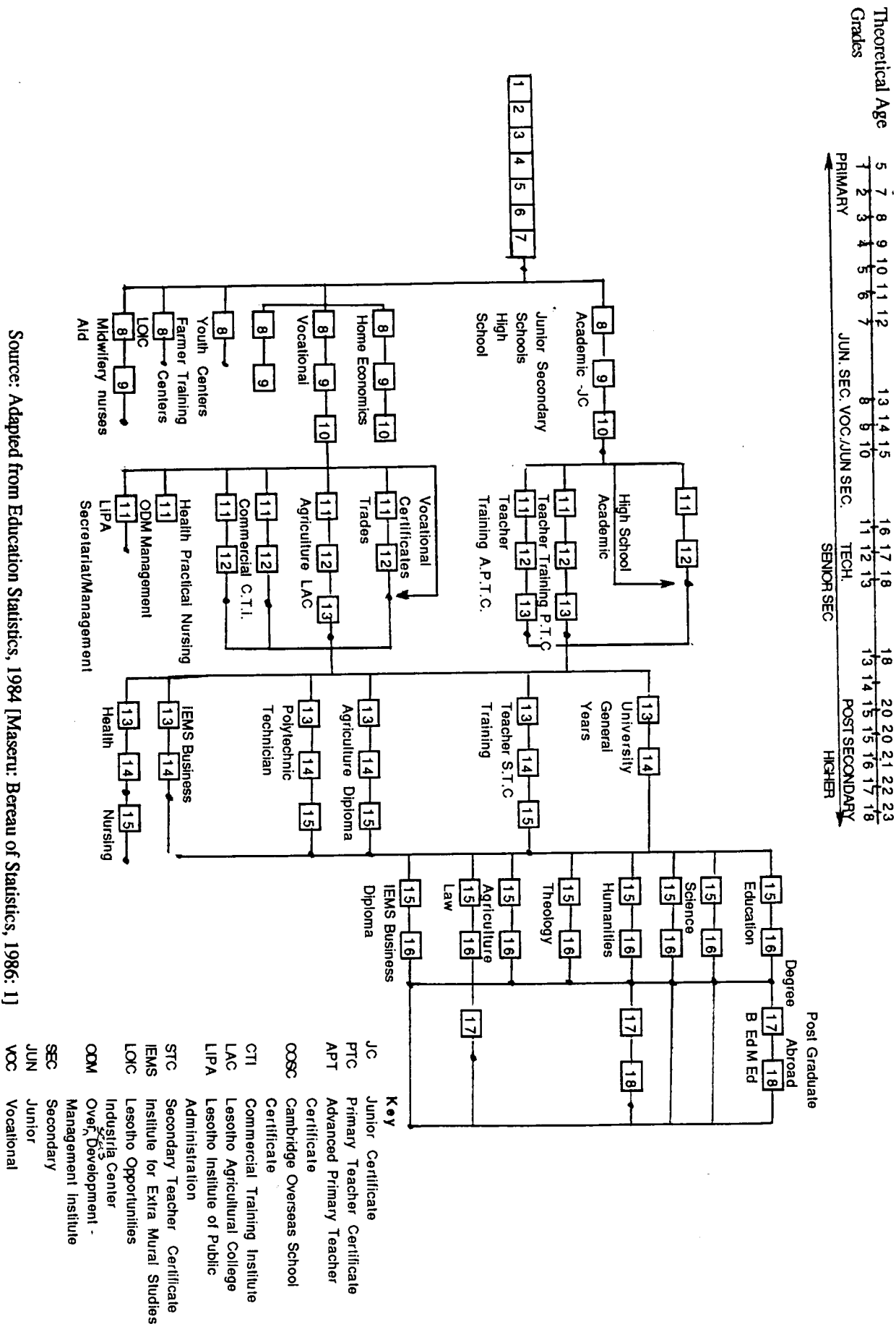
5.2.2 STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION

It needs to be re-emphasised that prior to independence, the churches were concerned with the creation of a hierarchical limited system of education with a single point of entry, sequential promotions and full time instruction by teachers. These have remained the major features of the system to the present moment. Fig. 5.1 overleaf gives a diagrammatical representation of the structure of the system. It is arranged according to four level sequential units. The first level consists of seven years of primary schooling, followed by a three year junior secondary school course. The next is the senior secondary school course which lasts for two years. Above this level is tertiary education which ranges between two and seven years in duration. At the end of each level, examinations are written, the purpose of which is to select candidates for the next and higher level of education. The certificates awarded at the end of each course are also vital for selection into employment.

At post-primary level, some students can go into vocational and technical education but emphasis is still on academic education [Chapter Six]. Fig. 5.1 illustrates that academic education is separated from vocational or technical education. SSCDP was introduced as an attempt to reorganise this structural arrangement, the rationale for which are explained in Chapter Six. It will also be noticed from Fig. 5.1 that at the university level, no facilities are available for the attainment of a degree in vocational or technical education. Only a diploma in Agriculture or Business Studies can be awarded.

This has implications for attitudes of students towards following careers in vocational and technical areas of education. It is discouraging for students to pursue careers where prospects for professional advancement are poor.

FIGURE 5.1 LESOTHO EDUCATION SYSTEM



Source: Adapted from Education Statistics, 1984 [Maseru: Bureau of Statistics, 1986: 1]

As a result, education courses leading to such careers remain unpopular among students. Besides, the myth that rates vocational education as a 'second-class' kind of education suitable only for those not academically inclined, tends to engender negative attitudes towards these subjects.

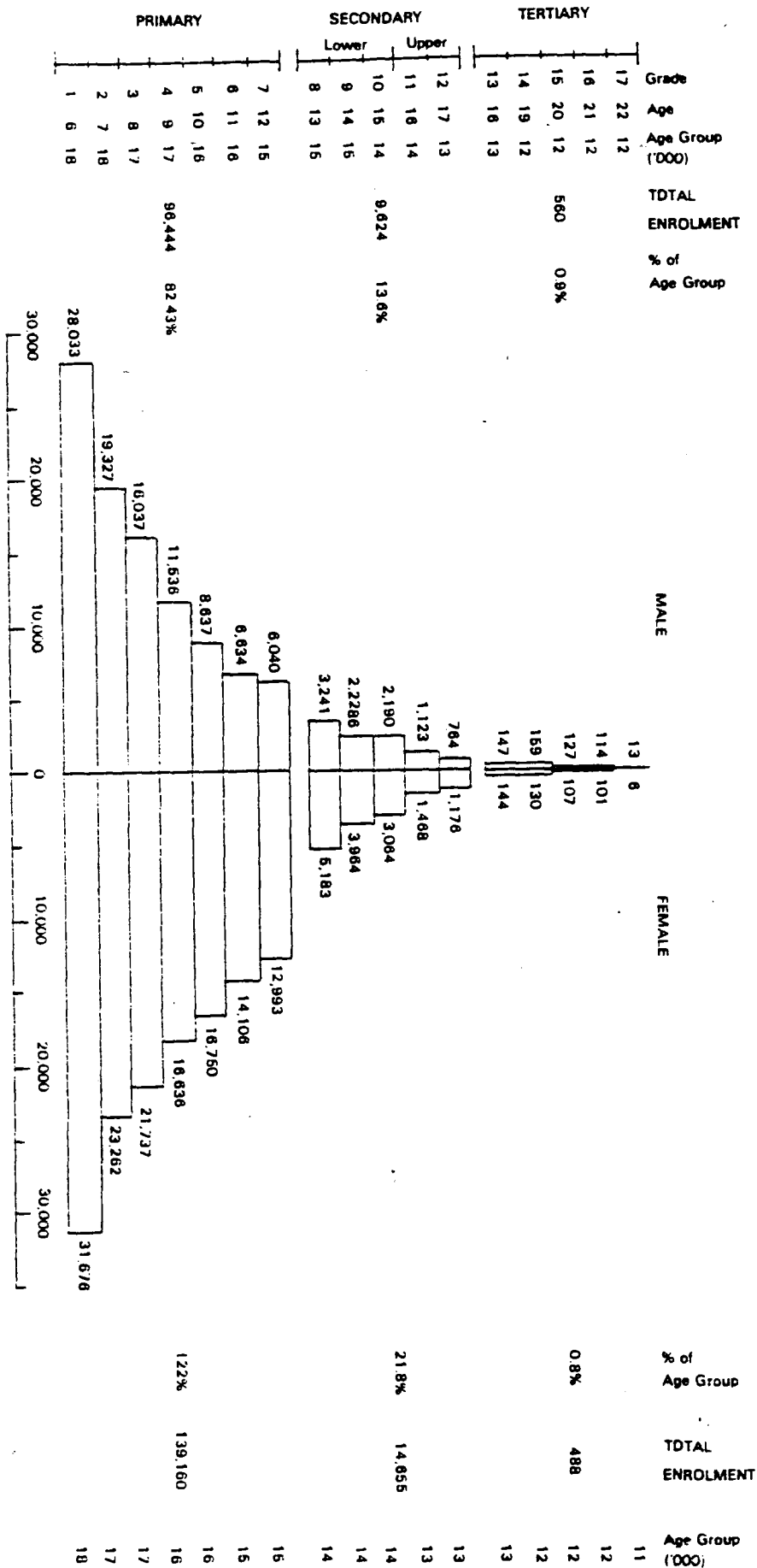
Fig 5.2 on the next page emphasises the pyramidal nature of the education system. The structure is hierarchical with a broad base and tapers off to a point at the tertiary level. According to this figure, the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) is highly selective, thereby eliminating large numbers of pupils from participating in secondary education. The problems facing the primary school system are complicated by the incidence of repetition and drop-out. Commenting on this, one official in the MOE stated:

Our input is a mountain but the output is only a hill, some 70.0 per cent drop out before grade 7 level.

[MOE; ud, p2]

The causes of wastage are numerous. For example, there is a large number of incomplete primary schools in the sense that they do not offer the full seven years of education. Several of these schools end at grade four, after which pupils do not have anywhere to go in the neighbourhood perhaps because the nearest complete primary school is a long distance away. Primary schools are scattered due to the population distribution pattern. Delayed entry and repetition of grades, which in the end constitute the 'push-out' factors from the system are additional causes of wastage at this level. This is indicative of the fact that additional resources have to be found to expand primary education in order to improve its holding power.

FIGURE 5.2 LESOTHO EDUCATION PYRAMID, 1980



Note: 1. Enrolments for grades 1 to 7 include over-age students.
 2. Grades 8 through 13 include enrolments in general secondary courses, teacher training courses, and vocational and technical courses.

* There are also about 376 students studying abroad, mainly at the post-graduate level.

The irony of the situation is that at this level education is not designed to be terminal, but it is meant to be a preparation for secondary school and further education. While there is a noticeable contradiction between the primary education policy and the actual practice, it is worth bearing in mind that the curriculum itself does not seem to make provision for the anomaly. These general remarks about the features of primary education raise many questions about the strengths and weaknesses of the system. More importantly, as primary education is the foundation for secondary education, the latter can rarely improve qualitatively without substantial improvements at the lower level. In the discussion, the secondary school level is isolated from others because it deserves special attention as SSCDP operates at this level.

5.2.3 SECONDARY EDUCATION

It is received after successful completion of primary education. Both figures 5.1 and 5.2 give 13 years as the 'theoretical age' at which students are expected to enter secondary education. But because of repetition and delayed entry a number of students are much older. Secondary education is of five-year duration and it is given in two stages. The first stage lasts for three years at the end of which a local junior certificate examination is written. Students are selected according to merit to join the senior secondary level which takes another two years. At the end of this two-year course, students write the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate [COSC] examinations. This forms the basis of selection into tertiary education for those who qualify. As seen from Fig 5.2 above, it is only a small proportion of students that go into tertiary education. From those pushed out by the system, a few get jobs, some boys go into the migrant labour system and there is unemployment for many.

CURRICULUM

In view of these disparate problems, on what does secondary education focus its curriculum? To date, the chief focus of secondary education is on preparing students for more advanced academic education. To a large extent, secondary education selects out of the masses, by examination results, those who qualify to continue on to higher education. That only very few students achieve tertiary admission has so far not induced a modification of the curriculum of most high schools. It appears that policy-makers do not fully appreciate that preparation for work is just as important as preparation for university. The limited attempts that have been made so far at changing the focus of secondary curriculum to a more realistic practical programme, seem difficult to achieve. With regards to students, to try for a white collar office job in the government is still the best prospect for one's future. Until now, the content of secondary school curriculum as well as the teaching methods reinforce these aspirations.

The focus of the secondary curriculum needs to be changed from being a preparation for selection either to higher education or to white collar employment. It must aim at widening its scope and provide the kinds of skills and knowledge relevant for the needs of a developing country. This implies the need to strengthen the teaching of practical subjects. The basic shortcoming of the country's secondary education system, in the light of what has been said above, is that the academic type of curriculum is framed to cater for the needs of that small minority of the system's output who, having finished secondary schooling, proceed to higher levels of education. What needs to be stressed therefore, is that education becomes outmoded when it loses touch with the requirements of economic development, when practical studies are overshadowed by academic subjects in the curriculum and when the majority of those not proceeding into higher education are not catered for.

This observation suggests that trends in post-independence educational development and provision in Lesotho, have not been guided by decisions made through a careful interrogation of the type of education inherited from the colonial rulers in relation to purpose and aims of schooling. This is not to undermine the efforts at improving the curriculum content that the country has witnessed during the past twenty years or so since political independence was achieved. Although these efforts can be viewed as a way of improving the quality of education, changes have not been accompanied by corresponding backups and adjustments, thus in the end, making the efforts less successful. In this study of implementation of an educational innovation, it appears as if the main source of constraints against successful introduction of change programmes at secondary level is a result of internal inefficiency within the education system. Most critical among the factors contributing to this inefficiency is the divided control of education between the churches and the government.

5.3 CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION

Lesotho's education system, both at primary and secondary levels is caught between two posts: one is the proprietorship of the missionary churches which own the majority of schools; the other is the MOE which pays staff salaries, sets curriculum guidelines, writes, administers and grades examinations at STD 7 and JC 3 levels and supervises instruction and appointments of teachers. In other words, the government only makes decisions on fundamental issues pertaining to the provision of education without actually getting involved with the day-to-day administration of schools. On the other hand, the churches generally operate the schools and finance both capital improvements and recurrent costs of maintenance and pay supplementary teachers. It is important to clarify this element in the organisation of the system as it is believed that a large number of problems

causing deficiencies in the system result from this bifurcation in control. The strongest agency of the MOE is the Planning Unit. This Unit is responsible for the preparation of long term plans and policies, the administration of the capital budget and the preparation and review of proposed education projects. In this manner, the control of education is centralised in as far as the responsibilities of the government are concerned but very decentralised in as far as the churches' activities are concerned.

Contrasted with the organisation of education prior to independence which was characterised by little participation and involvement of the colonial government, increased control is quite recent and is still in its formative stages. Such a step seems to have resulted from the recognition that:

... the growing scale and complexity of educational provision necessitates some form of centralised co-ordination and planning, that the rising costs of education must be met largely from the public purse and must therefore be subject to political accountability.

[Thompson; 1981:47]

This underlines the importance of the role of the government in the delivery of the education services. Among other things, these include the influence the government exercises over the support of and access to education. This brings up many questions related to the amount, type and quality of education to be provided at different levels of schooling to the pupils of varying ages. The government also exercises influence over the content and procedures of education. This mainly questions the content of curriculum, the teaching as well as the assessment methods used. However, in the context of Lesotho, this increased intervention of the government in the education system has to contend with a solidly established pattern of church ownership of schools. Inevitably, this situation leads to uneasiness between the government and the churches in as far as the administration of education is concerned. To bring into focus some tensions existing under this situation, the interrelations between the two institutions are examined.

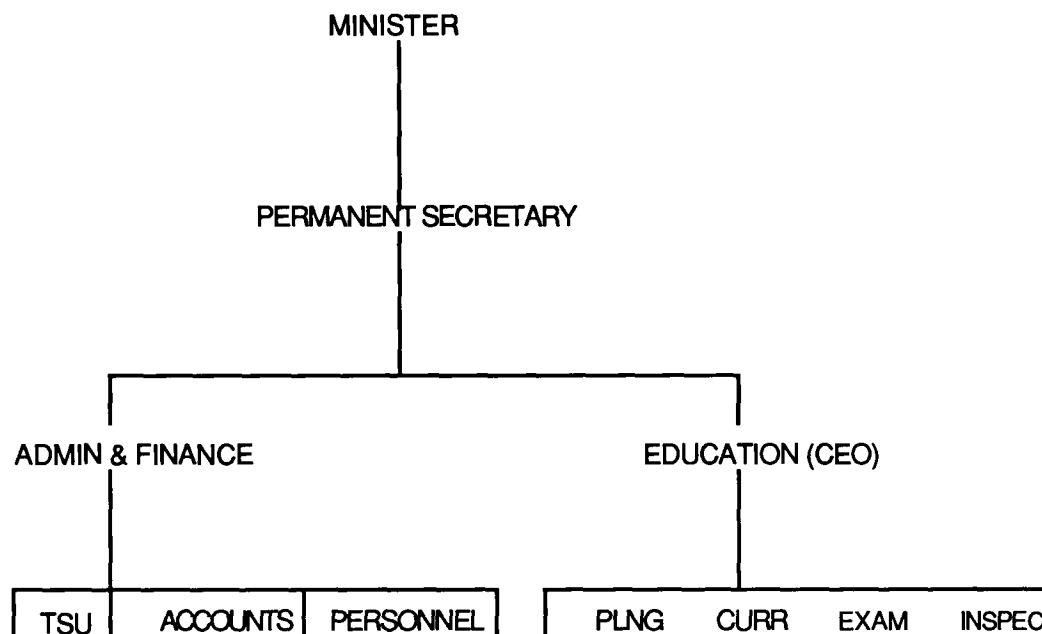
5.3.1 RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MOE AND THE CHURCHES

The following observations are drawn from the Education Sector Survey Report, Annexe 1 [1982]. Of concern is whether the partnership of responsibility between the churches and the government provides an adequate organisational framework to enable efficient performance of education functions. In its present form, the organisation of education is flawed by a basic disparity in the structure of the two institutions. To start with, the MOE has several levels of hierarchies and two departments which make it a tall and narrow organisation. These hierarchies range from the Minister, the Permanent Secretary, the planner, the accountant, the curriculum developer, the examiner, the inspector, down to the clerical assistant. Essentially, this structure originates from the colonial times when departmentalisation was effected [MOE, 1982:7-8].

The two departments into which this operational structure is divided are: [a] Administration and Finance and [b] 'Education' [CEO]. According to Fig. 5.3 overleaf, it is evident that the degree of specialisation in terms of activities is high. Activities are grouped into ten separate functions namely: supervision; curriculum; examination; teachers's salaries; personnel [civil servants]; personnel [teaching service] accounts; planning; budgeting and facilities. This specialisation occurs at a divisional level under restricted delegation of authority.

The main point to be emphasised in as far as this structure is concerned is that interdepartmental communication is very limited. As a result, the activities of the various departments are poorly coordinated. This leads to discrepancies in the execution of functions such as the implementation of curriculum changes. Schematically, the structure may be shown thus:

FIG 5.3 SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE MOE



SOURCE : THE EDUCATION SECTOR SURVEY REPORT, ANNEX 1 [1982:7]

With respect to the churches, the essential organisational set-up, commonly found in all three churches, features three levels of hierarchies with no departmentalisation. There is an executive body at the top, an education secretary in the middle and school managers at the bottom. In the RCC, the executive body is a bishop. In the LEC, it is the executive committee, while in the case of the ACL, the executive body for primary schools is the diocesan school committee, and for secondary schools, it is the Anglican Church School Board. Advisory bodies are found in all three churches at district, parish and school levels.

As stated earlier, the churches' sphere of activities comprises school administration, personnel, supplies and facilities. The bulk of these activities are carried out at the school level by the manager. The other two

higher authorities are engaged essentially in determining teachers' requirements to be submitted to the government, and the allocation of funds from the government or church sources for school development. Unlike in the MOE, there is neither the formal demarcations of authority, nor the specialization of functions in the performance of these tasks because the churches operate with a single line organisation. However, it is often mentioned in the policy documents that with the growth and changes in the education system since independence, the managers are overloaded, and therefore unable to devote their undivided attention to the quality and problems of their schools. This also highlights loopholes in the nature of interrelations between the government and the churches. These may be considered in terms of functions that are commonly shared and functions that are not shared but require inter-institutional coordination.

5.3.2 COORDINATION AND COMMUNICATION

The activities involved in the provision of education need to be coordinated as they are carried out under two separate organisational set-ups: that is, the churches on the one hand, and the government on the other hand. Of the four functions performed by the churches namely: school administration; personnel; supplies and facilities; the first is shared only tenuously with the government, while supplies (primarily text books) fall solely under churches. It is facilities and personnel that are commonly shared between the government and the churches. Where activities between these two institutions are commonly shared, coordination becomes an important issue. Coordination could be of two types. The first would entail major decision-making which needs to be shared jointly between the two institutions as the key agencies providing education. The second type would involve routine communication of a two-way nature with constant feedback between the two institutions.

However, the organisational set-up within each one of these two agencies permits only a weak line of inter-institutional communication. This means that generally coordination between the two is limited. It has been noted already that the substantive level of management in the education organisation of the churches is that of the manager. Thus the organisational set-up is highly decentralised whereas in the MOE it is highly centralised. That the Ministry's structure is tall and the churches' flat implies that a given level from the churches' side may communicate with different levels on the side of the Ministry. It is these differences in the organisational set-up that cause considerable problems in the administration of the schools.

To clarify the issue of coordination further, it is worth looking at a few examples of the functions carried out. Regarding personnel [teaching service], it may be recalled that the churches are responsible for recruitment, transfers, termination and leaves subject to the approval of the government. The interaction between the two institutions on these matters is essentially formal in the sense that it is a predetermined procedure that the churches could use their discretion on these matters so long as the government is informed. By implication, control is in the hands of the churches in these matters and coordination is therefore limited. A more important area of coordination comes about in determining the allocation of new teachers to schools. Although the churches may prepare figures for new teacher requirements for their schools, recruitment cannot be finalised without consultation with the MOE. The Ministry decides the additional requirements of new schools according to the approved budget for that year. As a result, some schools have shortages of teachers and this has a strong bearing on the implementation of new programmes which often needs additional teachers.

As far as the provision of facilities is concerned, interaction between the Ministry and the churches depends on the source of finance. If the source of finance is the government, as is the case with SSCDP, coordination becomes crucial, but if it is the church, no coordination takes place. Because the churches are the proprietors of schools, it is important that the government consults with the churches in undertaking expansion of school facilities. This consultation is based on the choice of schools, siting and types of buildings suitable for the various localities.

With respect to school administration, the responsibility of the government consists in issuing procedures of administration and supervision of implementation of new policies and syllabuses. Reports of supervision are usually communicated to both the education secretaries, who, as it will be recalled, are the link between the schools at the parish level and the government and to the managers who are expected to enforce the implementation of school regulations issued by the MOE. In this manner, there is indirect coordination of activities between the government and the churches in the administration of schools. Although the scope of educational functions undertaken by the government and the churches combined is, in itself said to be exhaustive and adequate, there are gaps and bottlenecks in the organisation of education that hinder the government from implementing educational policies successfully.

5.3.3 LIMITATIONS

Weak coordination between the churches and the government dates back to the colonial period. With functions divided between these two institutions, some uncertainties as to who is answerable for which aspects of education have arisen and continue to afflict the administration of the system. Prior to independence, the colonial government was blamed for not assuming a committed stance towards the administration of the education system.

In consequence, one of the first Reports of the Royal Commission to Basotholand in 1946 emphasised the need for the government to take an effective part in the control and coordination of educational activities. The Report observed:

... we see no danger in Basotholand of a tyrannical Government interferring and dictating arbitrarily in matters educational of which it is not the proper judge. But there is a vast difference between an arbitrary dictatorship exercising power of direction and interference down to the last detail, and Government lacking the authority to make the essential decisions which in any modern educational administration, only Government should make. Any danger there may be in Basotholand at present springs from the latter source, a lack of assured and clearly defined Government authority, which gives rise to conflicts and misunderstanding that otherwise would not have arisen.

[MOE; 1978:108]

These remarks suggest that the colonial administration was somewhat indifferent to the provision of education in the country.

This trend appears to have continued even after the achievement of independence. For example, as recently as 1983, Gebre- ab remarks:

While the churches are under obligation to administer the school according to the school regulations issued by the ministry, none of the churches have any regulations defining the extent of responsibility as well as authority to be delegated by the manager... In fact, the functions of school administration, ultimately circumscribed by the school regulations, exist in an informal rather than formal organisational context. There is no formal organisational base for school administration.

[1983 ; 16-17]

The consequences of this anomaly have had far-reaching effects on the implementation of changes in the education system because the churches tend not to follow the implementation guidelines suggested by the MOE.

Because the problem has been so persistent, it appears that the proposals made by the Royal Commission in 1946 were not adequately followed. According to this Report, the following were recommended:

- a formulation of a comprehensive 'Law of Education' bearing in mind the needs for a clear understanding as to the rights and functions of the missions;

- establishment of district advisory committees to assist in planning, financing and administering education;
- creation of a direct communication link between the Department of Education and the managers of schools.

[MOE, 1978:4]

As pointed out in the above section, only the third recommendation seems to have been put into practice when the education secretaries of the three churches were established. The first two recommendations, and being the most critical, never made any significant impact. Many of the problems facing the education system today can be traced back to the failure of adopting these proposals which would have greatly improved the relations between the churches and the government both of which are vital for the smooth execution of all the education activities. Thus, the diversification programme was born into a context, characterised by divided control between the government and the churches, and with poor coordination of activities between these two institutions. The context is, therefore crucial for the understanding of the process of implementing SSCDP. What is the nature of the programme and how did it evolve?

5.4 EVOLUTION OF THE DIVERSIFICATION PROGRAMME

Most of what follows has been abstracted from the World Bank unpublished documents on Lesotho as well as from the reports prepared by TSRP. In the Project Performance Audit Report [1980:14-15], it is stated that in 1970 the GOL expressed its interest to the World Bank for assistance in the development and improvement of the country's education system. The latter was said to be having serious deficiencies which affect its ability to meet manpower requirements and long-term socio-economic needs. This view is confirmed in another report prepared by the Project Appraisal Mission from the World Bank to Lesotho which states that:

The system is characterised by outmoded and inappropriate curriculum which is overly literary and not adapted to the general developmental needs of the country.
(TSRP Report, ud, p.1)

The MOE was equally aware of shortcomings in the education system. In a

Practical Subjects Conference held in April 1979, the then Permanent Secretary of Education [PSEd.] recalled that in 1971, when they approached the World Bank for assistance, the MOE had

...felt that our educational system was completely irrelevant and that something had to be done to make it an education worthy of an independent country...
[Seheri, 1979:42-43]

Consequently, the World Bank indicated its willingness to support the GOL in its endeavours to reform the education system. A World Bank "reconnaissance" mission visited Lesotho in June 1973 to continue negotiations with the government.

As a result of this mission, on July 4 1973, the PSEd. proposed to the Bank Group the following Project:

- a) Expansion of the Lerotholi Technical Institute;
- b) Introduction of practical subjects at the secondary level;
- c) Development of a business and commercial training institute;
- d) Development of rural development centres for school leavers;
- e) Construction of a school furniture production centre; and
- f) Technical assistance for the MOE.

[World Bank, 1980:15]

Although the World Bank agreed to assess this proposal, it was not approved immediately. After further negotiations, another World Bank mission visited Lesotho in November 1973 and assisted the GOL to prepare a specific project proposal. Upon its completion, it was appraised by the World Bank without any delays. Thus, the first Development Credit Agreement-Education Project was subsequently signed between the GOL and the World Bank / IDA in August 1974. Other bilateral donor agencies also contributed towards this project. These included the Federal Republic of Germany, the British Overseas Development Agency [ODA], the Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA], and the Goldfields Mining Cooperation from South Africa.

The total project was estimated at US\$8.1 million. The Project became effective on January 23, 1975, some three months beyond the original anticipated effective date. The delay was due to the belated establishment of the PIU and the employment of the architectural consultants, both of which are necessary conditions for project effectiveness. Prior to the date of effectiveness [January 23, 1975] two World Bank Group supervision missions [August 1974 and January 1975] visited Lesotho to advise and encourage the Government to expedite project processing and to satisfy all the conditions required for Credit effectiveness. What was the project like when it was launched?

5.4.1 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Specifically, the Project as approved was designed to :

- expand technical, commercial and vocational education;
- establish an extension college - the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre [LDTC]; and
- to improve and expand six high schools by way of introducing a new relevant practical curriculum.

TSRP was established as the PIU of the MOE to translate into specific education programmes these ideas. Thus, the first Development Credit Agreement-Education Project became known as the Phase I of the Training for Self Reliance Project [TSRP I].

Even before the first project phased out, the government requested the World Bank to finance a second education project. In response, the World Bank sent a mission in August 1975 to Lesotho to consider this request. The request was further reviewed during missions in March and July 1976 and possible project components were identified on the basis of the Education Chapter contained in the Second Five-Year Development Plan, 1975-1979. This chapter defined the country's education needs as

including, inter alia, the expansion of the practical subjects at the secondary level; initiation of non-formal education; expansion of vocational and technical training facilities and curriculum development. All of the components proposed by the GOL, except the non-formal training programme which was not fully prepared, were retained. In October 1977 negotiations were held with the government and the World Bank officially approved the project on November 15, 1977. The Development Credit Agreement-Second Education Project [IDA Credit 748 - LSO] was signed on November 30, 1977, providing an IDA financing of US\$7.5 million. This became known as TSRP II and was due to phase out in December 1981.

During Phase II, emphasis on qualitative improvement of vocational and technical education was continued. The new practical studies curriculum was to be extended to seven more schools. Thus, construction, equipping and furnishing was carried out in these schools, bringing the total of TSRP supported schools to 13. When the period for Phase I expired, four of the first TSRP schools were not ready for the innovation. In order to bring their facilities in line with those of Phase II schools, these four schools were again included in the Second Education Project. However, because the supply of physical facilities had been slower than expected, Phase II schools could only be in their new programmes on a very limited basis in January, 1982, that is, after the phasing out of the Project.

It is not necessary to describe the other two aspects of the project, namely the expansion of technical, vocational and commercial education as well as the establishment of the LDTC because these are outside the scope of this study. However, to have mentioned them here helps to illustrate that the diversification programme originated as part of this extensive effort to improve and expand both the formal and non-formal sectors of the education system. The important point to emphasise in respect to this

development is that there was no entire commitment on the part of the MOE to the diversification programme per se and note of this has to be made as it is likely to impinge on the implementation of the programme.

The programme is primarily meant for the junior secondary level, that is JC 1, 2 and 3. The practical studies curriculum comprises of the following subjects:

- Commercial subject [Typing];
- Agriculture;
- Basic Handcrafts [a combination of Metal; Woodwork and Technical Drawing];
- Home Economics [a combination of Needlework, Domestic Science or Cookery].

The intention was that all the thirteen TSRP schools, would teach these four practical subjects. It was later agreed that two boys' school in this group would only offer three subjects from this package.

These practical subjects were to be taught alongside the general academic subjects and the students would take one or more from this group as a compulsory component in their curriculum. To what extent then is the diversification programme designed in a manner that would ensure that it takes root and becomes a sustained innovation in the secondary school system? Suffice at the moment to suggest that the design of the programme seems to have had certain weaknesses that have impeded a smooth implementation process. Pointing to these weakness, the 1981 progress report states that:

Until the diversification programme is capable of functioning as intended and shows evidence of so functioning, and until information is available showing positive results, and until the programme has reached a steady state and appears to be meeting its intermediate objectives outlined in the two Credit Agreements, ...
[Perry, 1981:6]

This is evidence that problems were being encountered in the implementation of this programme. For example, curriculum development work and teacher training neither preceded the implementation process nor were they included as part of Phase I. Instead, major emphasis was on

the setting up of the physical facilities and provision of equipment and other necessary materials. The consequences of this bias towards the physical infrastructure to the neglect of the educational objectives of the programme are explored at length in Chapters Seven and Eight below.

5.4.2. PROJECT SUPPORT

By the beginning of the Phase II period, some of the weaknesses in the design of the programme were addressed. The initiative was taken by the GOL. For example, NCDC was established. NCDC has a Practical Subjects Division whose responsibility is to design, develop and test curricular materials for practical subjects that are generally offered in the schools. In Chapter Seven it is argued that there are serious constraints that hinder this Division from carrying out its work efficiently. Meanwhile, the World Bank had expressed dissatisfaction that no on-going programme had been developed to staff TSRP schools. Thus, under Phase II, the training of technical subjects teachers was improved in the following manner. The GOL made a request to the Irish Government in 1977 for support with the implementation of the technical subjects element of the diversification programme. In response, the Department of Foreign Affairs, Government of Ireland, 'agreed to undertake and finance a Support Project' [Sweeney,1980:2]. Although this project was scheduled to commence in 1978, the recruitment of the Irish Project Team was delayed until 1979. This assistance to the diversification programme is known as the Lesotho / Ireland Technical Education Support Project - [LITESP]. Its main objectives are to help the

- *extension of reforms into technical subjects teacher education; and*
- *the development of technical subjects curriculum and examination structures.*
[McCormarck, 1988:2]

In addition, by means of 'schools visits' the Irish Team provides 'School Advisory Service' to the practising teachers of the technical subjects. Due to the fact that the technical education aspect of the diversification

programme is receiving this supplementary assistance from LITESP, it has developed at a greater pace than the other practical studies areas. As a result, irregularities in the implementation process are quite evident.

5.5 CONCLUSION

It needs to be re-emphasised that this study investigates the process of implementing an innovation as it relates to its sustainability within the secondary education level. The innovation aims at balancing the curriculum between its academic and practical content. The context into which this innovation programme was introduced is explained as being fraught with deficiencies and weaknesses. Important among these is poor coordination and communication between the MOE and the churches. These deficiencies in the system are traced back to the colonial times.

An investigation of pre-independence delivery of education reveals that the missionary churches were the most dominant. The participation of the government was very minimal to the extent that it was regarded as paying an indifferent attitude to the administration of education. The post-independence period has, however witnessed large scale development and growth in the education sector, thereby necessitating greater involvement of the government. But, documents maintain that the government is finding it exceptionally difficult to reorganise education because of the 'uncompromising attitudes of the missionary leaders and a spirit of denominational strife which continues to retard the natural growth of a national system of education'. Thus, although Lesotho's education system remains a joint venture between the government and the churches, the delivery of the service remains a disjointed undertaking characterised by poor coordination and negative relationships between these two institutions.

It is this organisational set-up that engenders problems of delays, mismanagement and lack of commitment as well as confused roles and responsibilities when new education programmes are implemented. The experience of SSCDP, as part of the first major attempt in the country to reform the education system needs to be understood in this context. The analysis in Chapter Six takes up the issue of conceptualisation of the diversification programme and examines how the meaning of SSCDP has evolved and how it has been communicated to participants at the various system levels.

CHAPTER SIX

SSCDP : ITS CONCEPTUALISATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

not specifying what is precisely to be attained can result in contradictory practices in different settings, or even in practices opposed to the rationale behind the project.

[Havelock & Huberman, 1977:142]

In Chapter Five, it is established that the control of the education system is centralised. It is at the ministerial level that the diversification programme was initiated, designed and developed to be later transferred to the schools as a finished product. As argued in Chapter Three, Section 3.8, in such a situation, role-distance exists between the initiators of change at the top of the system hierarchy and the ultimate users at the school level. When role-distance exists, the policy-maker, as the initiator of change, works through a network of other professionals to ensure that the ultimate users understand the policy intents of the innovation that has been adopted.

At the various stages of its implementation, the diversification policy has been supported by activities performed by these professionals which serve to disseminate information throughout the system. These activities include policy specification and interpretation; curriculum development work; teacher preparation and resource allocation all of which have to be effectively harnessed towards the realisation of policy intents.

The present researcher contends that in a study that is concerned with the implementation of an innovation programme, two key aspects of the policy

need to be addressed. These are its goals and the strategies to achieve them. While the next chapter examines the strategies of implementation, in this chapter the research question that is addressed is stated as follows: How far have the policy-makers communicated the meaning of SSCDP to the implementers? The aim is to establish how SSCDP is conceptualised at the various system levels. In addressing this question the discussion proceeds as follows:

- 6.2 The philosophy underpinning the concept of diversification and its goals is examined to see if these are specified in clear and realistic terms.
- 6.3 Interpretation by participants: What do the various groups of implementers perceive as the major goals of SSCDP? Are there any gaps in perception and what is their nature?
- 6.4 Key issues arising from the analysis are highlighted.
- 6.5 Conclusion is drawn.

6.2 PHILOSOPHY BEHIND SSCDP

Evidence of the earliest attempts to conceptualise the diversification policy is contained in a speech made by the then PSEd. in the first Practical Subjects Conference held in 1979 [Chapter Five, Sect. 5.4]. Continuing the speech, it was stated that

... for us independence and self-reliance are synonymous. You cannot be independent if you cannot do things for yourself; and you cannot do things for yourself if the people are not in a position to do that, and the people will not be in that position unless young people as youth, are properly prepared.
[Seheri, 1979:42]

In view of this, it is evident that the goal to make changes in the system was conceived within the framework of the national development needs of the country as a newly independent state. At this time, the government favoured the idea of self-reliance which emphasised the need for the country to support itself from its own land. Upon independence, the idea

of self-reliance carried a strong political rationale, appreciated by most citizens as it was seen as an embodiment of the traditional cultural values of the Basotho way of living.

According to the above statement, the preparation of youth for life in an independent country was identified as a major priority in order to achieve the goal of self-reliance which in this context is described 'as the ability to do things for yourself'. The question that arises is whether the goals as set for SSCDP would allow for the realisation of this expected benefit from its implementation. The speech in the Report [TSRP, 1979:42] continued

... we had better break with the past and introduce a new system of education, an education that is going to teach our children that life in an independent country is not a bed of roses, but it is hard work for every individual. So we thought of what we termed diversification in education.

The new system of education envisaged at this point in time was one that would introduce the youth within the school setting to a variety of practical activities through the diversification of the curriculum. Elaborating on the meaning of diversification, the TSRP Report [1979:42] explained that it is

... to introduce a system of education that has a practical component and that would help our children employed or not employed, to sustain themselves, to maintain their subsistence respectably and to be able to get on without having to depend on other people ... the point of self-reliance is to make our country a little better country to live in --- this is the whole point of education.

Three important aspects about the meaning of diversification can be discerned from this excerpt. The first is that the education system should be changed to have a practical component. The second refers to the expected benefit of such a change which is to foster a higher standard of living among 'our children employed or not employed'. Lastly, education is regarded as a vehicle for the overall process of development of the country. Bearing in mind that these statements formed the basis on which the innovation programme was to be designed, what is at issue is whether they clearly articulated the need to which diversification as a solution was

to be addressed.

There is no mistaking the emphasis on the goal of self-reliance. In yet another briefing paper to the Minister of Education, it is pointed out that:

Self-Reliance or Self-Help is a national motto that calls upon the citizens (especially youth) to do impossibilities; to get the best preparation (education) inside and outside the system, to be able to supply their wants, and join hands with others in its achievements. It is a national effort to inspire community self-help in relevant and productive education of the country's treasure, its people ...

[TSRP ud.p3]

From this statement, the benefits expected from the diversification policy were ambitious and rather numerous. The problem to be highlighted is that overly ambitious policy expectations can mislead the design of the innovation programme. This in turn can lead to inconsistencies and contradictions in the specification of the goals to be achieved.

According to the above extracts, the overriding concern was to use the education system as a tool to promote the development of the country. Soon after independence the diversification policy had strong political connotations. Identifying the need to introduce diversification in this manner, the speech endorsed the political rationale behind the adoption of the policy. But what seems to have lacked was an equally ardent message to the education audience, in particular, about the need for the diversification of the curriculum. That message is necessary to provide both the initial motivation and the continuous impetus during the implementation phase. Its effectiveness is clear in the case of SSCEP that has been examined in Chapter Two [Sect.2.6.2]. This view is discussed further in the subsequent sections. Of immediate importance is to establish the connection between the philosophy behind the decision to diversify the school curriculum and the national development goals.

6.2.1 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The five main national development goals of Lesotho as stated in the Five Year Development Plans and 'endorsed as the necessary foundation for the National Policy on Education' are the building of:

- a free and democratic society;
- a just and egalitarian society;
- a united, strong and self-reliant nation;
- an appropriate and dynamic economy;
- a land bright and full of opportunities for all citizens.

[MOE, 1983b: 58]

Emphasis on: self-reliance; a dynamic economy; and creation of opportunities for all citizens, is pre-empted by the fact that Lesotho is entangled in a complex web of economic dependence on the RSA in which the former is exploited. This exploitation is given as among the key factors that perpetuate underdevelopment in Lesotho.

The aim of including this brief reference to the broad national development goals is to provide an illustration of how these have influenced the formulation and adoption of the diversification policy. The national development goals as stated in this manner, might be described as a foundation for the philosophy of education and are only a step towards translating the needs and values of society into meaningful educational programmes. From this statement of goals, the more specific national educational aims emerge.

6.2.2 AIMS OF EDUCATION

The MOE [1983b:58] has operationalised the philosophy of self-reliance in the following national aims of education:

- The inculcation of national consciousness and national unity;
- The inculcation of the right values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Basotho society;
- The training of the mind in the understanding of the world around; and
- the acquisition of the appropriate skills, abilities and competence both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the

development of his society.

These are broad and stated in general terms to refer to the education practices in and outside the formal school system. The same document [MOE, 1983:60] further specifies that within the broad framework of national educational aims, the secondary education level has two important objectives, which are given as the:

- preparation for useful living within the society; and
- preparation for higher education .

Secondary education is therefore expected to play a dual function in the preparation of youth. It is assumed that secondary education can equally serve both purposes, that is, be a vehicle for skill acquisition for living within the society as well as for development of mental abilities for higher education. These two goals potentially have a scope to create conflict and confusion as far as the implementation of secondary education programmes is concerned. These are expected to conform to the stated objectives. As mentioned earlier, the source of the problem may be the unsatisfactory definition of the meaning of self-reliance itself particularly to the educational as distinct from the political audience.

In hindsight, the MOE has attempted to clear this controversy in a statement that:

It is widely recognised that the majority of students will never get to Form E, much less to pass the COSC, so that secondary education must do a better job of preparing students with vocational skills.

[MOE 1982:89]

In other words, the MOE seeks to stress that secondary education must not only aim at preparing students for higher levels of education as has always been in the past, but it must also cater for those whose schooling becomes terminal at J.C. level. Nevertheless, the controversy remains: How best can this dual purpose of secondary education be fulfilled?

Evidence from past experience suggests that this cannot be easily accomplished. As one expatriate commentator on the system of education in Lesotho observed:

That only two tenths of one percent achieve University education has, so far not modified the curriculum of the most high schools ... Preparation for university level education is still the biggest game in town ... Changing the focus of high school curriculum to a more realistic, practical programme of courses of education and training seems as hard as trying to eat porridge with a pin.

[MOE, 1984:12]

Despite the fact that efforts have been made to reorient secondary school curriculum away from its academic bias, the impact has been negligible. This indicates some weaknesses in the way in which the task of introducing practical subjects has been approached.

A seed of confusion as to the exact meaning of diversification of the secondary curriculum can be detected in this extract:

Within the system of secondary and high schools, the Task Force proposes that the practical studies be expanded as a way of improving the quality and relevance of the general education provided, rather than as preparation for a specific vocation.

[MOE, 1983c:55]

Given the fact that this statement was made as recently as 1983, eight years after the take-off of the diversification programme, it can be argued that there were uncertainties in the conceptualisation of the policy prior to this date. As the evidence in the next section illustrates, these have continued to the present time. Quite possibly, the process of implementation has been adversely affected by this situation over the past 15 years.

To recap, what then is the main thrust of the diversification policy in the Lesotho context? It appears to be double-barrelled. On the one hand, the development needs of the country stress the philosophy of self-reliance. This is expressed as the 'ability to do things yourself' which is to be achieved through 'the preparation of youth'. In regard to this, 'secondary education must do a better job of preparing students with vocational skills.'

On the other hand, the education policy sees the expansion of practical subjects in the curriculum as merely 'a way of improving the quality and relevance of the general education provided' and not so much as the 'preparation for a specific vocation'. The dilemma therefore, is how to reconcile these divergent impressions and opinions on what the benefits of diversification should be.

In as far as SSCDP depended on the political will for its take-off [Chapter Five], there is a strong indication that the political pressure took precedence and overrode the educational opinion in the specification of the diversification policy. The main message is that the diversification policy was given credence by the government on the belief that 'vocational skills' would ensure employment of the secondary school leavers, thereby directly contributing to the economic improvement of the society. Even if SSCDP proves to be a success, the problem that remains is: by laying greater emphasis on educational development and less on creating opportunities in the economy for the utilisation of skills learnt at school, the government seems to have overlooked the fact that education can only contribute to development if accompanied by changes in the economic system. Lack of clarity about these long-term benefits of vocationally-oriented innovation programmes tends to weaken the value of the innovation and therefore the effectiveness of its implementation. The argument to be advanced is that conceiving the diversification policy as an antidote for the economic ills of the country is a myopic view which might perpetuate what Foster [1966] has labelled the 'vocational school fallacy'. What effect has poor policy specification had on the determination of the goals for SSCDP?

6.2.3 GOALS FOR SSCDP

The definition of goals for an educational programme is the most

important way of articulating the policy. These need to be negotiated among the parties involved with the implementation of new programmes. In Lesotho where the control of education is divided between the churches and the government as explained in Chapter Five, this is to be done systematically through the Education Secretaries who function as an administrative link between the MOE and the schools. No major decisions are to be taken without the knowledge and consultation with the Secretariats. This implies an establishment of strong communication network through which the messages and information about innovation programmes have to be passed from the ministry to the schools.

The goals for SSCDP are expressed in terms of

expansion, upgrading and improvement of existing selected schools to make them more comprehensive and serve pre-vocational as well as academic preparatory objectives of a larger enrolment and assist in meeting the manpower needs of the country's development goals.

[Perry, 1981c:3]

This statement is general, making reference to three purposes of SSCDP: prevocational; academic preparation; and meeting of manpower needs.' Expansion meant adding four practical subjects in the existing curriculum as well as providing new facilities to increase the enrolment to 1000 per school. 'Upgrading and improvement' are explained in terms of the quality of teacher training and curriculum development work.

In a World Bank document, it is declared that:

The upgrading and expansion of six [13 later] secondary schools were not intended to increase the supply of skilled manpower but rather to simply introduce students to practical skills.

[IBRD, 1980:31]

This statement is not congruent with the first one in the sense that in the latter the idea of supplying skilled manpower is rejected. Here the emphasis is on introducing students to practical skills, that is, 'by injecting

a prevocational orientation' in the curriculum [Lillis & Hogan, 1983]. Prevocational education as defined in the literature refers to studies undertaken in the school system designed as a preparation for further studies in vocational training [Jennings, 1985; Psacharopoulos & Loxley 1985, Chapter Two]. Both of the above rather general statements come from documents written by expatriate officials who worked as consultants to TSRP which was set up as the PIU of the MOE.

A more specific account of the goals for SSCDP is given in a speech made by an official who was the PSEd. at the time. This official also participated in the negotiations with the World Bank for the loan to finance SSCDP. The speech specified that the objectives for SSCDP are to:

- a) provide prevocational orientation to children who for too long had a largely over-academic and irrelevant secondary curriculum;
- b) develop positive attitudes towards manual work;
- c) train basic skills in using ordinary tools;
- d) help discover latent practical abilities to enable students to make small repairs at school or home; and
- e) provide students with practical experience of the things learned from the academic subjects.

[Perry, 1981b:80]

In 1977, the Mokete Working Team was set up to develop objectives for SSCDP. This Team defined them as follows:

1. Expansion of secondary education to meet quantitative manpower needs and to supply students for further education.
2. Diversification to meet qualitative manpower needs.
3. Diversification to improve school leavers' employment prospects
4. Development of positive attitudes towards manual labour.
5. Improve quality of education through diversification.
6. To broaden curricula / rectify academic bias / improve balance and relevance of curricula.
7. Increase efficiency.
8. Introduce a new educational model through a Practical Studies Training Program.
9. Widen access to secondary education through expansion.
10. Provide community with facilities to use after school hours.

[Perry, 1981b:4]

It will be noted that there are some differences in the two sets of

statements about the goals for SSCDP. In the first set, the specific objectives of SSCDP are clearly expressed in prevocational terms with a stress on the teaching of practical skills instead of vocational-specific skills. This statement was made later than the one produced by the Team. It appears to be clearer and more coherent with the theme of prevocational education. By contrast, those given by the 1977 Working Team are broadly worded and address a wide range of issues. It may be argued that this statement is less focused because in 1977 the innovation was still at its early stages of implementation and that its objectives were still being defined.

There are other notable disparities in the accounts of objectives provided in the above extracts. In the PSEd. statement of objectives, the purpose of SSCDP is clearly expressed in pedagogical terms. There is no explicit reference to the external efficiency of the programme. That is, the value of SSCDP for purposes beyond those of the school system, is not mentioned as a priority. According to this statement, 'a prevocational orientation' is desirable 'for children, who for too long have had a largely over-academic and irrelevant secondary curriculum'. In this manner, the statement does not strongly reflect the national development goal of self-reliance declared in the policy intents of the programme.

The statement also does not seem to address the two aims of secondary education, namely [a] preparation for useful living within the society, and [b] preparation for higher education. This is not in contradiction with the observation made earlier on that the objectives as given in the PSEd. speech are more focused and coherent. What needs to be clarified is that the secondary education aims are global rather than specific and individual secondary education programmes have their own specific set of goals which may or may not conform to the overall national aims. An awareness

of this situation is important for those whose task is to develop innovation programmes. An attempt to try and conform a new programme into the existing structure and values is common. As far as the diversification programme is concerned, such a practice is unlikely to yield the expected results. The point is that, SSCDP goals as given by the PSEd. are less ambitious. Had the design and development of the content of this programme been only informed by these goals, SSCDP would not have been such an overloaded innovation in terms of complexity and scope.

On the other hand, the set of objectives stated by the Team which was comprised mainly of politicians and few education specialists, is highly ambitious. These objectives touch on a wide variety of issues. In fact they follow the common typology of justifications behind many vocationally-oriented innovation programmes. These are

[a] economic [b] pedagogical and [c] socio-political.
[Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985; also in Chapter Two]

An economic justification behind SSCDP as can be deduced from the statement by the Working Team is the aim of meeting 'quantitative and qualitative manpower needs' as well as 'diversification to improve school leavers' employment prospects ...'. In this way SSCDP is seen as important for its labour market value. In pedagogical terms, the importance of SSCDP is rationalised as the need to 'broaden curricula / rectify academic bias / improve balance and relevance of curricula.' All these are sound valid and realistic objectives that aim at remedying shortcomings in the secondary education system.

In socio-political terms, to 'widen access to secondary education' and the 'development of positive attitudes towards manual labour' can be understood as an attempt to remove rigid distinctions between types of education and the subsequent opportunities of employment to which they

lead. The education system in Lesotho is very selective, catering mainly for those few with mental capabilities to pursue higher academic education [Chapter Five, Fig.5.2]. This leads to a wastage of talent in those who cannot progress well in academic pursuits. A reversal of such a situation is most desirable in a society that aims at 'providing equal opportunities' in a 'just and egalitarian society'.

Thus, a close look at the goals for SSCDP as stipulated by the Working Team seem consistent with the national aspirations discussed under the 'Philosophy behind SSCDP' above. They also seem faithful to the broad education aims of the secondary level. However, they appear ambitious and not easily achievable. For example, as the literature on vocationalisation of secondary curricula maintains: what goes on in secondary schools in terms of the teaching of practical subjects cannot prepare a child in the same way as a purely vocational institution does given time constraints, level of expertise among the teachers and the resources available [King, 1985; Lauglo, 1985]. It is agreed that general technical education in secondary schools can develop limited prevocational skills. A distinction, therefore needs to be made between specialised readily marketable vocational skills and the basic prevocational skills that need further development in a training institution in order to be of value in the labour market. Those policy-makers concerned with vocationally-oriented programmes need to take this distinction into consideration so that it is reflected in the design of programmes and goals set for them.

From the evidence presented so far, it would seem that the initial conceptualisation of the diversification policy contained contradictions. Those who interacted closely with the school system, such as the PSEd., emphasise the prevocational, non-employment orientation of SSCDP. By

contrast, officials at the very apex of the education hierarchy seem to have endorsed the ambitious aspirations of the politicians in terms of the benefits expected from the diversification of the secondary curriculum. Apparent failure to achieve some of the original objectives of SSCDP has led policy-makers to subsequently refine the policy of introducing practical subjects at the secondary level.

6.2.4 THE DIVERSIFICATION POLICY CLARIFIED

In a Report by the MOE [1983b:57] it is stated that:

Since education is a dynamic instrument of change, any policy will need to be constantly reviewed to ensure its adequacy and continued relevance to national needs and objectives.

This has happened to the diversification policy in Lesotho. It has undergone several changes since its adoption in 1974. In the same document, it is argued that policies become modified after being 'examined by the various organs of the Government' or 'changes become necessary' as a result of

the passage of time which makes some ... either obsolete, having been overtaken by events, or no longer acceptable in the light of changed circumstances.
[MOE, 1983b:57]

In the case of the diversification policy, the major event that seems to have led to its re-interpretation and modification was the phasing out of the loan that had been generously provided by the World Bank / IDA and other bilateral donor agencies. There have been other significant contributing factors to the modification of this policy as well.

In 1977, the government set up a consultation machinery with the Basotho to review and clarify the 'philosophy and objectives and spell out in clear, unequivocal terms the policies that guide the Government's education efforts' [MOE, 1983:57]. This culminated in the historic National Dialogue on Education of 1977/78. This seminar produced The Report on the

Views and Recommendations of the Basotho Nation Regarding the Future of Education in Lesotho. Upon acceptance of this document, the government set up the 'Task Force to study the recommendations of the 1977/78 Seminar and deliberate on all aspects of a national Policy on Education' [MOE, 1983c:57].

In turn, the Task Force produced its own report: The Education Sector Survey: Task Force Report of 1982 which has become the key policy document to the year 2000. In addition, the Education Study Team of 1984 and its report: Secondary and High Schools In Lesotho : Strategies for Improvement, and the two Seminars on the Clarification of Policies and Priorities held in 1987 and 1988 respectively, have refined education policies further, taking into account failures and successes in policy implementation since independence. All these documents in common declare that the implementation of the diversification policy has been the least successful. As a result, this policy has received considerable attention and has undergone significant modifications. Throughout all these changes, the government has resolutely stressed the need to introduce practical subjects in the curriculum of more secondary schools.

On this basis, the prospects for the continuation of the diversification of secondary school curriculum look good. But the recent policy statements reveal that there are basic shifts in its conceptualisation. This is most evident in what are stated as the expectations of a practical curriculum. The Education Sector Survey Report [MOE, 1982:52] states:

It is an important policy objective of the MOE to strengthen the teaching of practical subjects in the secondary and high schools. It is proposed to expand the teaching of practical subjects in secondary schools particularly in areas that do not require high capital or recurrent costs or which could produce items for sale, and thereby generate some revenue. Schools should not attempt to teach all practical subjects but specialise so that they can offer at least one practical subject effectively ... The objective of practical studies is not vocational training but rather acquisition

of manual dexterity and practical skills as an integral part of general education.

Several issues are emerging from this statement. Firstly, the intention is to reinforce the teaching of practical subjects that are less costly. It will be noted that the preparation of this document coincided with the decision by the World Bank / IDA to withdraw its funding towards the diversification programme. With the financial assistance from the Bank, it had been possible to supply each school with facilities to teach four practical subjects despite the heavy costs involved. It appears then that the experience of the pilot schools has demonstrated that the simultaneous introduction of four practical subjects in each school is not feasible given, among other constraints, the financial requirements. In regard to this, the original policy specification needed to be modified, hence in this statement the suggestion is that schools should 'offer at least one practical subject effectively'. This is a shift from the original target of four.

Furthermore, the citation above makes reference to the teaching of practical subjects 'which could produce items for sale, thereby generate revenue'. This indicates deviation from the original policy intents. When the CEO was asked about this change in the original design of SSCDP, it was explained that the MOE had 'come to realise that a practical subjects programme is much more expensive and cannot be endlessly maintained from the state budget' [Interview Comment].

When this idea was first proposed in a Headmasters' Conference in 1981 it precipitated a lot of discussion. The issue arose because of the problem of how to pay for 'consumable practical subjects materials in the TSRP supported schools'. As the government had announced its inability to meet the recurrent costs after the programme had already been launched, the schools had only one option to deal with this problem: asking students to pay extra fees for the practical subjects they were doing. This means that

the more subjects a student does, the higher are the fees to be paid. This solution has serious implications for the kind of attitudes it might engender towards the implementation of the programme. By increasing the fees, the school headmasters are likely to antagonise the parents who have to pay for the education of their children. In Lesotho, education is not free at the secondary level. Payments of extra practical subjects' fees by students was seen as unfair by many headteachers involved with SSCDP.

In this Headmasters' Conference, alternatives were sought. One participant suggested that a

student could offset his practical subjects fee by making things in a production unit run by the school ... that practical subjects teachers should be willing to get involved in production, time permitting, as part of the whole concept of Self-Reliance.

[Perry, 1981c:11]

The idea therefore was that the Training for Self-Reliance schools were expected 'to live their philosophy of self-reliance' and not depend on the MOE for financial support towards the implementation and maintenance of SSCDP. In terms of building a problem-solving capacity at the school level, such a decision might sound desirable, but as shown in Chapter Eight, in Lesotho, where financial problems are acute, it is not easy for schools to cope with the implementation of SSCDP without financial assistance from the MOE. SSCDP is demanding of resources and schools have not yet developed to a level of financial independence to be able to shoulder the responsibility single-handedly.

Another headmaster voiced concern saying that practical subjects' teachers are fully occupied and should only get involved in a 'production unit' because they want to, not because they are told to as part of the job' [Perry, 1981c:11]. A different headmaster objected to the idea of a production unit arguing that it was

a reversal of policy ... producing things to sell for the school's production unit after class time or on weekends is a totally different thing from having students make projects in class which they can keep and then sell for themselves if they wish.
 [Perry, 1981c:11]

There was no agreement on this aspect of the policy. A number of headmasters opposed the idea of a production unit, with one of them stressing that teachers should not be 'castigated for not getting involved' and the idea lost credibility on the grounds of not being acceptable to a large number of headmasters. Despite the resentment expressed by the headteachers, the education officials have remained in favour of the idea of a production unit within the school system. One of them is quoted as saying that

the purpose of a production unit is to get the students involved in a realistic project and see the utility of it ... and that a good teacher should be interested in doing that, if there is time ...

[Perry, 1981c:11]

The aim was to persuade the headmasters to consider the introduction of a production unit as a viable alternative to the problem of financing the implementation of a practical subjects curriculum. But, in a very subtle way, this extract suggests that because of their power position in the implementation hierarchy, the officials can indulge in the practice of being dominant and therefore less receptive to the opinions of those at the school level. Yet, ironically, those at the school level are better informed of the realities and problems that may be encountered at the implementation stage.

Consequently, the idea of production units has been repeatedly stressed in the recent policy documents. The explanation may be that it is seen as having a potential for generating income to cover the recurrent costs which are threatening to cripple the effectiveness of the process of implementing the diversification programme as will be illustrated in the next chapter.

In a Report issued in 1984, the MOE maintains:

The Education Sector Survey did not define all the practical subjects nor provide further policy guidelines. For purposes of definition, a practical subject is defined as a school subject that requires a special facility such as a laboratory or workshop and special equipment ... Wherever possible, the focus of practical subjects should be on two objectives : to introduce skills and to make a product to sell or service to sell as part of the curriculum.

[MOE, 1984:19]

This piece of evidence suggests that at the initial stages of implementation there was a general lack of clarity as to what was regarded as a practical subject. For example, a school teaching a subject like Bookkeeping could claim that it was offering a practical subject because this is a Commercial subject, but in reality the teaching of the subject does not require any special facility.

Once again, 'to make a product to sell or a service to sell' is mentioned as one of the important objectives. This is a shift from the concept of 'prevocational' education. It is very easy to make these statements repeatedly on paper, but the crux of the matter is whether ideas in them are adequately communicated to the people involved so that the innovation gets clarified and confusion avoided.

Over the years, there has been a growing awareness about what a diversified curriculum entails. Consider this view:

The practical curriculum will focus on project related activities that touch on several subjects and are based on local needs and employment opportunities in agriculture, business and technology, thus developing the concept of self-reliance.
[GOL, 1987:180]

To back this statement, the 1988 Seminar on the Clarification of Education Policies and Priorities [MOE, 1988:38] recommends that:

- Agriculture should be made compulsory in all secondary schools except those without sufficient land;
- The MOE should formulate policy guidelines for the implementation of education

- with production;
- schools which have sufficient land should make full use of it for food production ie horticulture, animal and crop husbandry;
- all schools should be required to engage in income generating activities through practical studies eg furniture-making; dressmaking; poultry and piggery.
- SSCDP schools must be converted to schools that offer education with production.

In these recent policy declarations, the concept of diversification is no longer interpreted in terms of introducing a prevocational orientation in an otherwise general curriculum of academic subjects. It has switched over to embrace the idea of 'education with production' [EWP] [see also Appendix D]. As a concept and in practice, EWP differs from diversification - a practice that is intended to introduce prevocational skills. EWP as described by Hoppers [1989:150] refers to a situation whereby productive work is an integral part of a programme of general education. In this manner, as an innovation, the diversification of secondary school curriculum has evolved over the years to acquire a new meaning that is broader.

This evolution may be seen as a positive feature in the process of implementing the diversification programme and has perhaps made it to last despite the prediction by the World Bank in 1982 that it was doomed to be a failure. As Lewin and Stuart [forthcoming] suggest, effective educational change is 'client-centred, purposive and evolutionary' and that 'negotiation of meaning rather than prescription' is the key factor. Thus, from the National Education Dialogue of 1977, through the Education Sector Survey : Task Force Report of 1982 and Clarification Seminars of 1987 and 1988, the Basotho have been given an opportunity to participate in the definition of their education needs and aspirations. The modifications that have occurred in the diversification policy as originally specified can be attributed partly to these negotiated meanings.

Attempting to explicate the new meaning of diversification, the MOE [1988:37] declares:

The issue of curriculum relevance has been addressed through the policy of curriculum diversification. What needs to be emphasised as a matter of policy is education with production - the essence of practical studies for self-reliance of the school and community. The ultimate aim of such a policy is two-fold: first, it will help to prepare our students for the world of work and secondly, it will provide a sound academic base for tertiary education ... we have to somehow revolutionise teaching practical skills to restore the respect for manual work.

This citation illustrates that the government is making efforts to give credibility to the new concept of diversification and its practice. There is a pressing need to adjust the education system to the prevailing socio-economic circumstances. The policy-makers are attracted to the idea of EWP because it seems to have the potential of helping to reduce the costs of education while also preparing the youth for a self-reliant kind of life. But, of concern is whether the policy of EWP in Lesotho is a mere rhetoric or it will become a reality. At the moment it is still at its embryonic stages and its merits are yet to be seen. Yet, even in those countries where EWP has been in place for over a longer period of time, its practice has remained a controversial issue. It raises problems of how to allocate the school time. How much time should be set for production and how much for teaching? Who benefits from the income generated? Do the students and the parents accept involvement with these production activities?

In the light of the modifications to the original concept of diversification, what seems to be of utmost importance is the necessity to communicate effectively and inform the parties concerned with the implementation of this innovation of the new changes. Failure to do so implies a generation of a distorted meaning of the innovation where those operating at a distance from the source of new ideas may still adhere to the old practices because of a lack of up-to-date information. It is the responsibility of the central change agents to set up effective communication networks through which

information is disseminated. This leads to the examination of how the different groups of participants at the various system levels have interpreted the policy and its goals.

6.3 INTERPRETATION BY PARTICIPANTS

With the above analysis of documentary data, shifts in the specification of the policy of diversification have been illustrated. The concern in this section is to investigate the perceptions among the various participants to assess the understanding of the meaning of the innovation. By means of open-ended interview questions, the various participants were asked to explain what they understood to be the major objectives of the diversification programme. The respondents include educational administrators and officials within the MOE, the headmasters and teachers at the school level.

Bearing in mind that the implementation strategy is of a top-down nature, it was found useful to classify the interview data according to the positions of respondents in the implementation hierarchy. By structuring the analysis in this manner, it becomes possible to compare how opinions, perceptions and views differ among the groups. In other words, contradictions and dichotomies are teased out in the analysis to highlight the nature of the gaps in the understanding of the innovation and what implications these may have on the process of implementation.

6.3.1 PERCEPTIONS WITHIN THE MOE

The analysis explores the extent to which participants at this level have a full grasp of the philosophy, rationale and goals of the change programme. The basic assumption is that unless the officials at the centre fully understand the programme intents, what is likely to be transferred to the schools will be distorted ideas and knowledge. The role of these officials is

crucial as they form the communication network that bridges the distance between the initiators of change and the users.

In Section 6.2 above it is revealed that when the policy of diversification was first adopted, the dominant philosophy underpinning its design and development was that of self-reliance or self-help and SSCDP was expected to respond to it. The policy statements made about the goals of diversification emphasised two aspects. The first is the prevocational, non-employment orientation to improve the quality of education provided; the second is the more ambitious aim of fulfilling the manpower requirements. There are contradictions between these two views.

It is in the light of these differences that the understanding among the three interviewees from the MOE is examined. Their responses are reflected in the table below.

TABLE 6.1 VIEWS ON SSCDP GOALS GIVEN BY MOE OFFICIALS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
POLICY MAKER [PSEd]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promote self-reliance in people. - promote self - employment. - produce students who could think creatively as well as use hands to produce basic necessities. - because of labour migration to RSA there is a need to create students who will be employable inside.
OFFICIAL [CEO]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to sensitise students to pre-vocational skills. - an attempt to link school and actual life outside. - enable students to make a living once they leave school. - to encourage students to proceed to other vocational institutions.
CHIEF ED. PLANNER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to revive practical subjects in the curriculum which came to an end in the 1960s. - to broaden the scope of education.

The above table reveals that at the top of the implementation hierarchy, the objectives for SSCDP are understood differently thereby giving different shades of meaning to the diversification programme and its purposes. In actual fact, the responses fall into two orientations. On the one hand, there are those objectives that relate to the socio-economic concerns, for example, 'to promote self-employment'; 'link school and actual life outside'; 'enable students to make a living once they leave school'; and to 'create students who will be employable inside the country'. On the other hand, there are those that relate to pedagogical issues. For example, to 'encourage students to proceed to other vocational institutions'; to 'revive practical subjects in the curriculum'; and to 'broaden the scope of education'. Thus, SSCDP is conceptualised as having a dual purpose. This corroborates the data in the documents about the earlier interpretations of SSCDP.

It is interesting to note that of the three respondents, the planner is the only one among these who still regards the objectives for SSCDP purely in academic terms. As a 'designer' of programmes, the view presented by this respondent, may be taken to indicate a clearer understanding of the actual realities in the schools and of what is possible for schools to achieve, unlike the other two officials who are more distant from the school setting by virtue of their position in the implementation hierarchy. Of these three, it is again worth noting that the planner has been in this position since 1977, soon after the programme had been started. Being more closely involved with the programme and its evolution, has probably enhanced the planners' interpretation of SSCDP in what can be regarded as a realistic manner. The other two officials assumed their positions some years after 1982 - that is, the deadline for the implementation of Phase II as set by the World Bank. This means that they are remote participants in the

implementation of the diversification policy as originally conceived, but are actively involved in the refinement of the 'practical subjects policy' as this has become the more favoured terminology. How do these views compare with those of the middle-level administrators?

6.3.2 PERCEPTIONS AMONG THE MIDDLE-LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS

There is a wider variety of respondents in this group. These are TSRP administrators; curriculum developers and teacher trainers. For a fuller understanding of how their perceptions differ, the responses given by TSRP administrators are presented separately from those given by NTTC and NCDC staff in the two tables that follow.

The first TSRP director was an expatriate who left the country in 1976 and was therefore not available in the country at the time of fieldwork. However, the first TSRP deputy director was available for an interview. It was also possible to interview the second and the third directors of TSRP who headed the Project during Phase I and Phase II periods. Their views are therefore expected to reflect the initial opinions of what SSCDP was intended to achieve.

TABLE 6.2 SSCDP OBJECTIVES AS GIVEN BY TSRP ADMINISTRATORS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
EX-DEPUTY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to introduce practical subjects to break away from colonial education. - to make students handymen - real life needs people with basic skills in these subjects ... to repair things ...
EX- DIRECTOR PHASE I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to restart practical subjects which had been introduced by missionaries but destroyed by colonial administrators. - to expose students to practical skills but not necessarily making them proficient in these.
EX-DIRECTOR PHASE II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to impart skills useful to life ... make students productive at home - create attitudes for higher vocational or technical fields; - to make education relevant.

What distinguishes this set of objectives from the one presented in Table 6.1 above is lack of reference to socio-economic concerns. The emphasis here is mainly on 'relevance of education; breaking away from colonial type of education; and reviving practical subjects in the curriculum'. The TSRP administrators therefore understood the objectives of SSCDP in pedagogical terms. Whereas there seems to be a common understanding of what SSCDP objectives are among the TSRP administrators, there are some minor differences in opinion among teacher educators and curriculum developers.

At the NTTC, the heads of the Agriculture; BH; and Homec departments were interviewed. At the NCDC the Agriculture specialist was unavailable for this interview. Only the specialist concerned with Homec could grant time for an interview. The table below reflects the opinions of these respondents.

TABLE 6.3 SSCDP OBJECTIVES FROM NTTC AND NCDC SPECIALISTS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
AGRIC DEPT [NTTC]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to make education relevant for self-reliance. - increase awareness about how much Agriculture is important for us. - we want to respond to unemployment ... to see diversification as a means of livelihood.
HOMECD DEPT [NTTC]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - students must learn self-reliance. - diversification is to encourage income generating projects because there are no jobs. - to make students aware of changes in the economy
B.H. DEPT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - diversification is for prevocational skills. - so that students go to vocational schools and not to university. - to make the curriculum wide.
HOMECD SPECIALIST [NCDC]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to broaden the choice of students in future. - so that students can think of starting their own business.

In both Agriculture and Homeec Departments at NTTC, teacher trainers regard objectives of SSCDP in terms of socio-economic benefits. This is also the case with curriculum developers at NCDC. Reference to: national development; self-reliance; unemployment problem; involvement in income generating activities, such as starting business; and awareness of changes in the economy' are mentioned as the key objectives. By contrast, the head of the BH Department makes reference only to pedagogically-oriented objectives.

On the basis of this evidence, it can be argued that the opinion is divided as to what can be described as the key objectives of the diversification programme. Four of these respondents hold the view that SSCDP aims at improving the internal efficiency of the system. Five interpret the goals of SSCDP in socio-economic terms. It is therefore necessary to examine understanding at the school level in order to see how perceptions differ or match those at the centre.

6.3.3 PERCEPTION AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

Understanding and perceptions at the school level within a top-down implementation approach, are bound to be influenced by events and activities taking place at the centre as the source of the innovation. One of the primary concerns in investigating understanding and perceptions at the school level is to determine the extent to which the activities of the central change agents have been effective in raising the level of awareness about the innovation. In the analysis the school heads are treated as a separate group from that of the subject teachers.

The responses given by the headteachers to the question on SSCDP objectives have been summarised and are arrayed in the following table.

TABLE 6.4 SSCDP OBJECTIVES GIVEN BY SCHOOL HEADSA. PEDAGOGICAL

- as a move away from the colonial academic curriculum;
- to break the monotony of following academic subjects;
- to make education broad ... unlike purely academic - which narrows scope of knowledge for students;
- for the sake of those not going to COSC ... they must get a chance in vocational careers

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- so as to widen employment openings in future;
- to change students' attitudes to manual work;
- to equip students with practical skills important for a self reliant adult life.

Certainly, there are some leitmotifs between what is stated as the main objectives for SSCDP by the central level change agents as well as by the school heads. Looking at Group A objectives above, 'moving away from the colonial academic curriculum' reiterates what one central administrator in Table 6.1 views as an 'attempt to break away from a colonial type of education which is academic in nature'. With criticisms of colonial education and the search for a new appropriate and relevant type of education, it is not surprising that this should be mentioned among the key objectives.

While the view of central change agents and those of school administrators seem to concur on this particular objective, what needs to be critically assessed is the base on which they are founded. These seem to stem from the belief that a mere addition of practical subjects on the existing curriculum ensures a breakthrough from the colonial type of education. This is being over simplistic. The problem of an inherited colonial system of education is much more serious and deserves a thorough diagnosis if a suitable solution is to be found. At stake here are a number of factors. Is

this the appropriate level to attempt a change from the colonial type of education? How adequate is this programme on its own to achieve this goal? What is to be done about peoples' attitudes which are more favourable to academic education so that they accept SSCDP as a viable alternative? There seems to be a need for a fundamental change in the delivery of secondary education if these issues are to be resolved in order to give SSCDP a chance to make a significant impact.

It is interesting to note that at the periphery, there are more educationally-oriented objectives mentioned than at the centre. The majority of these as given in Table 6.4 sound realistic and less ambitious. It can be argued that being in close contact with the setting of an innovation enables one to perceive better what the innovation is capable of achieving. A rejoinder is that, when an innovation is designed and developed at the centre, participation and involvement of teachers at the periphery is desirable to increase the level of understanding about policy intents on the part of the teachers and about the realities of the school setting on the part of the central administrators. This sharing of knowledge has mutual benefits for the effectiveness of the implementation process as the problem of setting over-ambitious goals can be avoided.

On the objectives oriented to economic concerns, the common issue is that of unemployment. From the interviews, it was gathered that there is a general awareness among schoolheads as well as some administrators that employment opportunities in the white collar sector of the labour market are limited. In one of the World Bank documents [1980:6], the problem of unemployment is cited as among the important reasons for introducing the diversification programme. This document maintains that the students are equipped with skills which are not immediately applicable when school

leavers enter the labour market. But to expect that junior secondary school students can be prepared for employment through prevocational education has not proved to be a feasible goal as even findings from the studies conducted in Colombo and Tanzania [Psacharopoulos & Loxley, 1985] and in Kenya [Lauglo, 1985] have illustrated. Preparation for employment can be best considered as a long-term benefit rather than as an immediate objective of the innovation.

Similarly, teachers mention objectives that both relate towards economic as well as educational improvement. From the data, it is possible to distinguish the most dominant views on what are perceived as the key goals for SSCDP because subject teachers comprise the largest group of the interviewees. Altogether, 33 teachers were interviewed.

TABLE 6.5 SUBJECT TEACHER'S VIEWS ON SSCDP OBJECTIVES

<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>GROUP</u>		
	<u>AGRIC</u>	<u>BH</u>	<u>HOMECE</u>
<u>MOST DOMINANT</u>			
- skill acquisition	4	12	9
- change attitudes	6	10	7
- self-reliance	7	7	8
- encourage future vocational training	4	11	7
<u>LESS DOMINANT</u>			
- self-employment	4	6	3
- improve standard of living	1	4	5
- for adult life	2	0	3
- balance curriculum	1	3	1

As the above table suggests, in the main, the emphasis is more on the immediate objectives rather than the long-term goals. The view is that practical subjects in the curriculum allow for 'skill acquisition', have the

potential of inculcating positive 'attitudes' to manual work and can encourage students to follow 'vocational training' in future. This may be taken to imply that teachers are not really exposed to the policy documents and that the only information about the innovation to which they have an easy access is that contained in the curricular materials such as the syllabuses.

The concern among teachers with the immediate objectives rather than the remote goals for SSCDP lends more evidence to the point made earlier that those within close proximity of the setting of the innovation display a better understanding of what the programme is likely to achieve. Nevertheless, this is not to water down the importance of long-term perspectives in a change programme if its implementation is to be durable. We are not innovating for innovation's sake as Hurst [1983] observes, but innovation has to be 'purposive' [Lewin & Stuart, forthcoming].

The issue to grapple with is under what conditions are the long-term goals likely to be attained. For example, allocating four to five 35-40 minute periods a week to the teaching of a practical subject may be enough to 'introduce students to practical skills' but this is hardly enough to 'ensure self-employment among school leavers'. Hence this is given as a less dominant view according to the data from teachers' interviews. Or, to 'provide foundation that will encourage students to go for further vocational training' is a more tangible objective than 'to stress basic education which is linked to adult life' through a mere introduction of practical subjects at the junior secondary level. Students are not necessarily aware of the connection between practical subjects and 'adult life' at this level. Yet, if they happen to go to a vocational training institution, they have the advantage of the basic 'foundation' acquired

through SSCDP. This point is stressed here because the original intention was to offer SSCDP only at the junior secondary level. Normally, those who do well at this level go on to COSC and then to the university thus losing touch completely with vocationally-oriented courses.

From the above analysis, several issues have surfaced. These are clarified in the section below.

6.4 EMERGING ISSUES

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that there are divergent opinions and perceptions on the way in which the policy of diversification has been conceptualised and interpreted. Therefore, the question of clarity about the goals seems to be an important issue. This is related to the problem of establishing communication networks among the various groups of implementers. The discussion below revolves around these issues.

6.4.1 POLICY CONFIRMATION

The diversification policy was adopted at a time when the government championed the idea of self-reliance through the nation's attempts to support itself. As it is, in the minds of many educationalists, the meaning of self-reliance is still vague. As a philosophy, it does not have and never had a strong political backing as was the case, for example in Tanzania with 'Education for Self-Reliance'. As seen in Section 6.2 above, prior to project expiry in 1982, only one Seminar, the National Education Dialogue of 1977 was organised. This was not specifically organised to discuss matters pertaining to SSCDP alone. This means that during early implementation of SSCDP, no regular debates or seminars were held to discuss education policies widely and publicly. This could have been of significant value as at this time the policies were still being formulated by

the newly independent government. This would have been the opportune period for the change agents to define and clarify the concept of self-reliance to give it an interpretation which adapts it to the Lesotho context. It is therefore most disturbing that the diversification policy was not born of a well-articulated and publicly accepted philosophy that is accompanied by a strong political backing as this is necessary to provide both initial motivation and the continuous impetus during the implementation phase [Sect. 6.2].

6.4.2 RHETORIC VERSUS REALISM

Considering closely the statements made about the goals of SSCDP, one detects the usual rhetoric that is so common in policy statements about vocationally-oriented programmes. 'To make education relevant; to break away from colonial education; to respond to unemployment problems' are all statements that in this case do not seem to carry much meaning when considered in terms of the content and the structure of SSCDP.

In fact, these goals appear to be ambitious to the extent of being unrealistic to be achieved through the diversification programme. As pointed out earlier, SSCDP is an innovation package that consists of four practical subjects which were to be added and taught alongside seven or eight academic subjects. By implication, the fact that the secondary curriculum was to become overcrowded as a result of the wide scope of the innovation, does not appear to have been carefully considered during policy specification. For the programme goals to be realistic, fundamental changes in the structure and practices of the secondary curriculum are desirable, or else the implementation process is handicapped. Of importance here is a thorough situational analysis of the context into which the innovation is to be introduced so that the goals and content of

the innovation relate well to the practical realities of the host environment.

6.4.3 CRITICAL AWARENESS

The vagueness, the contradictions and disparities inherent in the policy statements as well as the evidence from the interview data, indicate that during the early stages of the innovation process, those ranking high in the implementation hierarchy, lacked the critical awareness of what the innovation would actually entail once put in a real life situation. Among policy-makers, the tendency is to make plans which become difficult, if not impossible to translate into successful practice. This implies a situation where there is an innovation without change [Fullan, 1989]. This point is discussed further in Chapter Nine.

In such a situation, the goals specified at the top become unsuitable given the nature of the innovation setting, and until these are modified, the programme is likely to make a very marginal impact. To be able to express realistic goals, one requires an improved level of understanding not only of the underlying philosophy, but of the pedagogical implications of the innovation as well. This, in turn, is likely to clarify the means and strategies of how to get the innovation effectively implemented. The innovation process is a complex cycle, with one phase dependent on the other, and it needs to be understood as such.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to examine how the diversification policy has been conceptualised within the education system in Lesotho. The analysis reveals that there is a lack of a common interpretation of programme goals among those involved with the implementation of SSCDP. This is hardly surprising if we recall the words of Fullan [1982:57] which wisely inform us that:

Clarity about the goals and means is a perennial problem in the change process. Even when there is agreement that some kind of change is needed ... the adopted change may not be at all clear about what teachers should do differently.

It is evident from Section 6.2 that after the policy of diversification had been adopted and identified, such as in the speech by the PSEd, it was not followed up with activities to formulate goals in clear, specific and measurable terms. The failure to clarify the intended goals for diversification has led to expectations that are not consistent with the model of the programme introduced. In a situation of conflict and confusion, effective implementation is hindered. The Working Team of 1977 was set up three years after the implementation process had begun. This was poor timing. The specification of goals ought to precede programme design as well as programme implementation. The content of an innovation programme is to a large extent influenced by the targeted or expected outcomes which are often stated in the goals.

That there was a need for a new type of secondary school curriculum which would be relevant for a newly independent country seems to have been a common interest between the donors and the government. But one glaring omission was the lack of use of the media, opinion leaders or of specialised agents hired to speak for the project or used to negotiate meaning; the technicians of 'social interaction' according to Havelock and Huberman, [1977]. As a result, perceptions about the goals of SSCDP diverge among the various groups of participants. Teachers, who have little access to policy debates and documents appear to be selective in their perceptions, interpreting the diversification policy in more realistic terms than do the central level administrators whose opinions are inflated by their distance away from the innovation setting as well as by the influence of politicians who form a pressure group that is anxious to see the innovation put in practice as quickly as possible to meet time limits or

implementation deadlines specified by the donor agencies.

The subsequent clarifications of the diversification policy or the practical studies policy, reflect that the initial conceptualisation of the diversification policy was enveloped in considerable controversy and ambivalence which has an ill-effect on the implementation process. The reason may be that, as an aid project, the conceptualisation of the policy initially became polarised because of differences in what policy-makers as a group accountable to the donors expected from the programme and what the real local needs were. There seems to have been a general lack of rapport between donor agencies, policy-makers and front-line implementers at the inception of the innovation.

This may have been caused by a hasty decision to start the implementation task. As a result, many of those involved in the innovation had no opportunity to understand clearly what the policy intents were so as to build a common meaning throughout the various levels of the system. As discussed in Chapter Three, the onus of setting goals and defining them for the implementers lies with the central group of change agents. Therefore, the biggest challenge for this group is to make sure that this information is adequately communicated and indeed that the whole process of innovation is clearly negotiated with all those affected. Loopholes during initial stages are likely to contribute to the pitfalls encountered at the later stages of implementation. Put in another way, lack of common understanding of policy intents is a potential barrier to an effective implementation process. It has the potential of resulting in contradictory practices in different settings. In the next chapter, this issue is taken further as the second aspect of the policy - the strategies of implementation - become the subject of discussion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMINISTRATORS, TEACHERS AND THE CHANGE PROGRAMME

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six maintains that a study concerned with the implementation of an innovation programme needs to focus on two key aspects: [a] policy goals, and [b] the means and ways to achieve them. In line with this, Chapter Six critically examines how the policy of diversification is conceptualised at the various levels of the education system. The main finding emerging from that analysis is variation in the interpretation of goals and objectives for SSCDP. Perception gaps are attributed to lack of clarity in the policy specification which has evolved to acquire a new meaning over the 15 year period since the initiation of SSCDP in 1974.

Chapter Seven, therefore considers the second key aspect: the means and ways to achieve the programme goals, in other words, the strategy of implementation. To consider the strategy of implementation is to address the second part of the first research question in the investigation. This is stated as follows: What factors account for the mismatch between policy intents and practice? Issues addressed in this chapter are:

- 7.2 What is the administrative structure behind SSCDP?
- 7.3 What are the administrative activities supporting the implementation of SSCDP and to what extent are these compatible with the aims and demands of SSCDP?
- 7.4 What issues emerge from the analysis?
- 7.5 Conclusion.

The intention is to provide insight into the conditions of implementation, with the nature of performance of the support agencies considered crucial in the light of the distance that separates the schools from the central level.

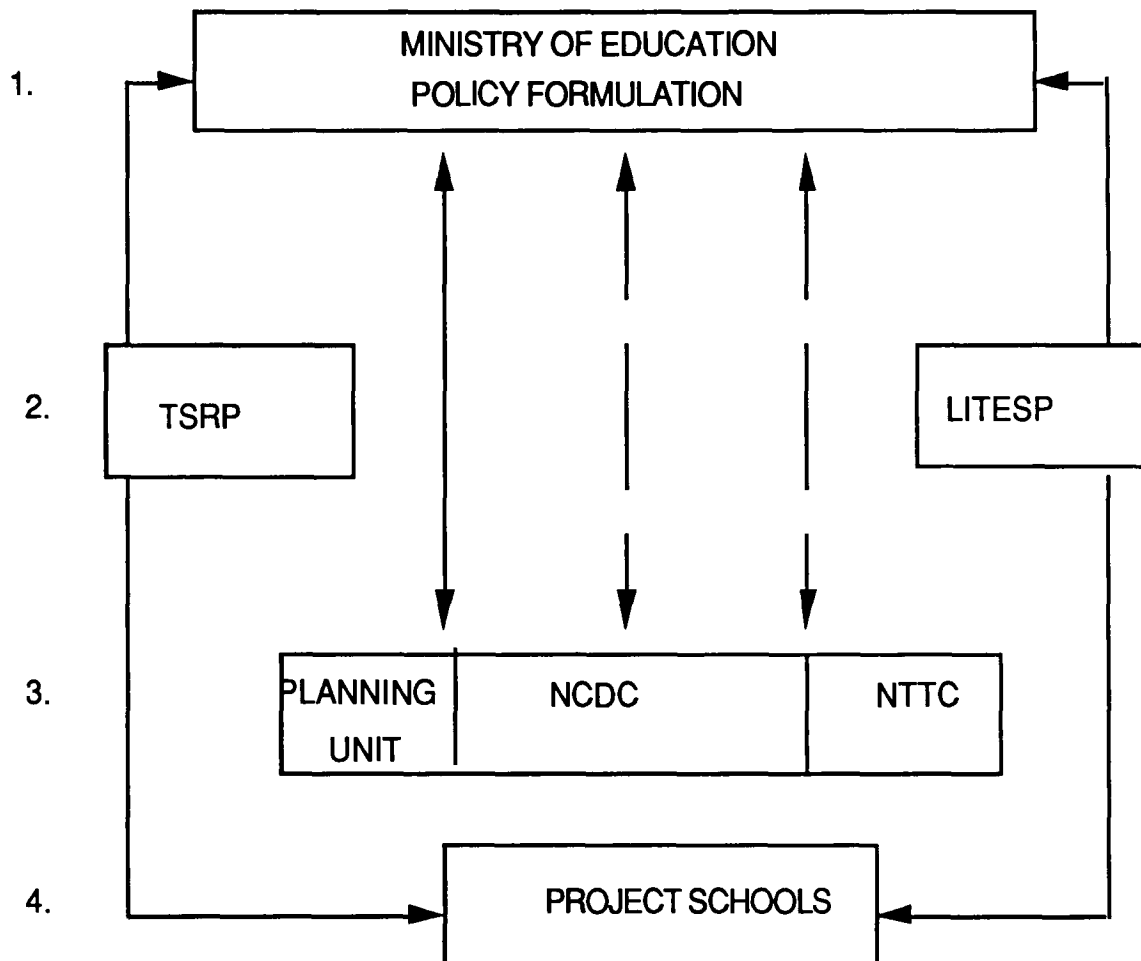
7.2 ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE BEHIND SSCDP

The MOE has five support agencies directly involved with the implementation of SSCDP as depicted in Fig.7.1 on the next page. These are the Planning Unit; TSRP, which was specifically set up as the PIU of the MOE; LITESP, which only supports the technical education [TE] aspect of the diversification programme; NCDC; and NTTC, the only institution in the country that produces secondary school teachers for practical subjects. Because the implementation of SSCDP occurs within a vast array of agencies, it is necessary to discuss the administrative structure for two reasons. Firstly, it draws attention to the complexity of the innovation process. Secondly, it highlights the nature of the relationships among the various agencies and between these and the Project schools. This is important for the analysis as it seeks to reveal the strengths and weaknesses in the implementation strategy that has been adopted.

According to Fig.7.1, there are four distinct levels at which implementation activities occur. The implementation structure is hierarchical. The relationships among the groups is that of superordinate - subordinate nature. The flow of ideas, information and materials occurs along vertical columns from the MOE at the top to the schools at the bottom. The diagram suggests a fragmented structure of implementation.

There are no formal interrelationships among the agencies. The only agencies that have a direct linkage with the project schools are TSRP and LITESP. These two agencies also serve to link the schools with the Ministry. On level 3, only the Planning Unit has a strong relationship with the MOE. NCDC and NTTC are weakly linked to the Ministry as the broken line indicates. There is no direct linkage between levels 3 and 4.

FIG 7.1 MOE AND AGENCIES SUPPORTING SSCDP



In terms of models for introducing change, SSCDP is centrally initiated. With no direct linkage between levels, little participation and involvement at the school level would be expected to take place. The approach is of a top-down nature, where the MOE can be regarded as the centre and the schools, the periphery [Chapter Three, Sect. 3.7]. Because the agencies are isolated from one another, it is important to consider whether or not their activities are properly coordinated.

7.3 SUPPORT AGENCIES AND THE IMPLEMENTATION ACTIVITIES.

In this section, the major activities carried out by the different support agencies are examined in the light of their adequacy and compatibility with the demands of SSCDP. The purpose is to expose any deficiencies in the functioning of these agencies on the assumption that they form the source of the factors that may hinder achievement of intended outcomes. The intention is to illuminate the inside activities, characteristics and behaviours of each support group.

7.3.1. PLANNING ACTIVITIES

Located within the Ministry Headquarters, the Planning Unit is as young as the diversification programme itself. It came into existence in 1974 with the signing of the First Credit Agreement between the World Bank / IDA and the GOL, which led to the adoption of the diversification policy. Among its major tasks, the Planning Unit is responsible for the

... preparation of long-term plans and policies; administration of the capital budget; and the preparation and review of proposed education projects.
[MOE, 1989:4]

In as far as SSCDP is concerned, the task for the Planning Unit was to prepare an achievable investment programme, based on a realistic assessment of donor interests as well as local needs. As seen from the discussion of the goals and objectives of SSCDP in Chapter Six, the design of this innovation had some weaknesses.

Besides the preparation of education projects, the Unit administers the capital budget. Capital expenditure in the education sector is mainly foreign funded [as exemplified in the case of SSCDP]. The Unit appraises and ranks projects according to priority needs of the country. The main audience for this task are both the bilateral and multi-lateral foreign aid donor groups. This requires careful planning and budgeting.

Commenting on the performance of the Planning Unit, one expatriate consultant writes

... largely because of shortages of adequately trained staff, annual recurrent budgets tend to be based upon historical trends, rather than on a fresh and systematic assessment of the financial requirements of various MOE programs ... projected levels of investment are not accompanied by estimates of implied incremental costs; and annual capital budgets are not updated on the basis of actual implementation performance ...

[MOE, 1989:6]

These remarks illustrate the limitations of the Planning Unit particularly as a cornerstone indispensable for successful implementation of new programmes. The Unit is poorly staffed and this has a backwash effect on how it carries out its activities.

As the implementation of SSCDP occurs within a top-down approach, the planning and preparation activities carried out by this Unit need to be coordinated with those of other agencies. Yet, there is evidence to the contrary as one official inside the Unit comments:

There is no agreement of activities between Planning, curriculum people, NTTC and Self-Reliance ... There is even no inspectorate to help in the schools.

[Interview Comment]

The experience of SSCDP shows that isolation of support agencies has been a long standing problem. In one TSRP Report [1981a:3] it is stated:

To a significant degree, TSRP and the MOE drew apart from one another, as each became more and more involved in their respective problems. This bifurcation of time, energy and mutual support led to a void in communication; planning for implementation; and grew even to noticeable mutual antagonisms and some personality conflicts.

In such a situation, it is expected that the formulation of a realistic plan of operation across the administrative structure would not be possible. The MOE, through the Planning Unit, could not produce clear implementation guidelines needed to give direction to the activities of other support agencies.

As a result, resentment grew:

For some officials TSRP was "over there" with "lots of money" and we are over here with lots of crises and little money.

[TSRP, 1981a:10].

From these comments, it is evident that the Planning Unit has not been an effective agent in the implementation strategy. Moreover, the Unit did not successfully establish an implementation committee that draws from the various agencies to facilitate coordination of activities not only among the agencies themselves but also between the Ministry and the schools.

When asked to comment about the overall process of implementation, an ex-TSRP administrator explained:

The innovation does not seem to have been properly planned beforehand ... everything seemed to be rushed through. No follow-up of programme implementation was done because there seems to be nobody capable of doing it.

[Interview Comment].

This official had participated in the negotiation for the second loan from the World Bank to sponsor TSRP, Phase II. It is ironical that such a comment should come from someone of his position and power status in the innovation process. This might be interpreted to mean that during the early stages of implementation, the local officials had to compromise on many grounds in order to respond to the pressures placed by the demands of the donor agencies. It is a known fact that the World Bank, for example, tends to stipulate the time frames within which the implementation of its sponsored projects has to be done and completed [Wright, 1988].

In support of the above cited interview comment, another respondent stresses the weakness of the Planning Unit:

The Unit is the only one responsible for all aspects of education throughout, from primary ... Because of staff shortages, it cannot do all this work.

[Interview Comment]

As the evidence of 1989 [the time of fieldwork] reiterates the same

problems that the Planning Unit faced in the early eighties, what can be concluded is that, the Unit has not been able to improve its performance. Given its youthful condition, the Planning Unit had little experience in bargaining and handling negotiations with foreign donor agencies. It was also inexperienced in handling implementation tasks of large scale reform programmes like the training for self-reliance project of which the diversification programme is a part. Lacking in experience and expertise, the Unit has not coped successfully with the implementation of SSCDP. In the absence of a steering committee to bring together the various agencies, the implementation structure remains fragmented. It also failed to provide implementation guidelines needed throughout the innovation period.

Perhaps, the crux of the matter is that the MOE found itself committed to an ambitious and complex education development programme while the resources at its disposal, in terms of manpower, could not match the demands arising during the implementation phase. Thus, availability of trained personnel, in the required numbers seems to be one of the important factors that are likely to facilitate a smooth implementation process, the lack of which, has been identified as one of the six 'major barrier factors' to the innovation programmes in a number of LDCs [Havelock & Huberman, 1977:227 in Chapter Three, Sect.3.5].

7.3.2. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

It has been established in the preceding discussion that the MOE, through its Planning Unit has not been able to produce clear policy guidelines on which the activities of other support agencies could be based. According to a TSRP [1981a:31] Report:

Lack of clear policy guidelines from the MOE and considerable confusion over the purposes and levels of practical subjects training, ie, pre-vocational, vocational or technical, have made co-ordination of implementation effort difficult.

Despite this condition, curriculum development work has progressed and NCDC has been able to supply the Project schools with some curricula materials. Like the Planning Unit, NCDC is a very young institution. Although curriculum development work in the practical subjects dates back to 1975, it was not systematic as it was undertaken by individual officers within the MOE who were thought capable of doing the task. At the time, these individuals were working as members of the inspectorate, the services of which most regrettably, were suspended in 1979 for the secondary school level. It is a paradox that such a decision came at a time when the MOE was involved with the implementation of many changes in the secondary curriculum, including the diversification programme. When changes in the system are introduced, the role of the inspectors is acknowledged as vital. They act as the 'eyes and ears' of the Ministry, feeding information to and from the schools. The implementation of SSCDP did not benefit from these professional services as it was only in 1989 that a new Department of Secondary Education was being established. At the time of fieldwork, no officer as yet had been appointed to be in charge of the practical subjects.

It needs to be stressed that it was only in 1980 that the present NCDC offices became functional. These were built as part of the Second Education Credit Agreement with the World Bank. The Project Completion Report [World Bank, 1984:22] states:

The objective of this component in the [Agreement] was to centralise, strengthen and integrate primary and secondary curriculum development activities ... To facilitate the co-operation between NCDC and TSRP staffs and their activities, facilities were integrated within one building.

It is equally important to point out that systematic curriculum development work and the attempt to increase 'co-operation' between NCDC and TSRP only occurred when Phase I was 'officially over' and Phase II approaching its end in terms of the implementation timeline

stipulated by the World Bank. One can, therefore, speculate on the value of such 'belated' assistance towards the implementation of SSCDP. Nevertheless, as the programme has continued beyond 1982, the project expiry date, the establishment of NCDC has had a 'trickle-down' effect not only for the sustainability of the programme, but for the improvement of curriculum work in other subject areas as well. What needs to be emphasised is that prior to 1980, the activities of curriculum developers are likely to have been uncoordinated and poorly planned due to lack of communication with other support agencies.

Like the Planning Unit, the Practical Subjects Division at NCDC is understaffed. Comprised of Agriculture and Home Economics Departments, this Division is currently staffed by three members only. There has been no improvement in its staffing situation since the establishment of NCDC. It appears to have been the norm for the World Bank / GOL to emphasise the construction of impressive buildings when in actual fact the quality and quantity of the personnel to man these left much to be desired. Or could such a phenomenon be attributed to lack of 'responsive planning'? The Project schools suffered the same fate of being overloaded with buildings when there were no teachers available to start teaching the practical subjects.

The MOE was sensitised about the problem of shortage of staff at the NCDC's Practical Subjects Division:

A petition was sent to the MOE by teachers to complain that the work done by the Home Economics department is not good because of staff shortages.

[Interview Comment].

It was the TSRP official who made this comment. When probed further about the response of the MOE to this petition, this official explained that since the time the complaint was lodged in the early eighties, there has been no positive response from the Ministry regarding the staffing situation.

This appeared to be an important piece of evidence about the non-committal attitude adopted by the MOE towards SSCDP. As a result, the issue was raised in an interview with the subject specialists in the Homec department. These two officials were frank about their dissatisfaction with the way the MOE has 'neglected' their 'needs'. They admitted to being overloaded. As a result, they 'are not able to carry out all the tasks' that they are charged with. This is a clear indication that as is the case in the Planning Unit, shortage of staff is a chronic problem within the MOE and by implication, has had an adverse effect on the implementation efforts of SSCDP.

ACTIVITIES

Of the three staff members in the Practical Subjects Division at NCDC, one is responsible for Agriculture both at primary and secondary levels as well as being the head of the Division. The other two are responsible for Homec. The MOE Annual Report [1986:32] specifies the following as the tasks for NCDC:

- Design and develop suitable curricula and instructional materials to meet the needs of the Lesotho education system;
- Disseminate curricular and instructional materials to schools;
- Devise an evaluation system for curriculum activities and for assessment of students' learning.

Specified thus, the role of the staff can be seen as twofold:

[a] There is the design and development of instructional materials, most of which is done as office work. This has implications for teacher involvement and participation. During the interviews with teachers, they were asked to indicate the level of their participation in the work done at NCDC. Agriculture teachers reported that their involvement is nil. In Homec, there are subject panels and few teachers participate in curriculum development work as members of these. The fact that most of the work is done single-handedly at NCDC, suggests that it must be time-consuming. This affects the way the second area of tasks is handled.

[b] There are also the monitoring and follow-up activities that the NCDC staff is expected to do to see to it that the new curricular materials reach the schools and are properly interpreted and understood. These ought to be evaluated and subsequently revised according to the suggestions made by the teachers and on the basis of students' performance in the written examinations. It is another paradox that being so severely understaffed, any department can be expected to carry out such demanding activities. The subject specialists are themselves aware of this handicap as one of them comments:

Our Division was never strengthened to implement diversification. NCDC does not get enough backing from the MOE. We are still understaffed and this limits the amount of work that we can do. How can we be both office workers and field workers at the same time?

[Interview Comment].

This subject specialist was responding to a question about the nature of support that the NCDC received from the MOE to prepare it for the task of implementing SSCDP. The inadequacies and loopholes in their work are also revealed in the following comment, coming from another subject specialist:

The work of inspectorate and curriculum is combined. One is suffering ... There is just no time for us to get to the schools ... We do not help teachers in this way.

[Interview Comment].

Despite these comments, the MOE has made no reservations about the nature of the work expected to be performed by the NCDC staff. It spells out that:

NCDC is expected to provide professional services and support ... to see that curriculum policies are understood and carried out in the schools. The work of curriculum development and supervision should focus on carrying out in-service programmes for teachers in each region and on establishing ways of dealing with specific schools that need professional guidance and support.

[MOE, 1982:113].

One cannot fail to detect the undertones of optimism in this statement. This is not surprising given the fact that the document from which this citation

comes, was written with assistance of foreign expertise who acted as consultants and advisers to the MOE during its efforts to define clearly its policies in order to attract foreign aid. Optimism arose from the assumption that strategies of curriculum development that had been successfully adopted in the West could be readily transferred to developing countries. There seems to have been little consideration of differences between these two contexts in terms of resources and the overall infrastructure needed. Hence, very little has been achieved in terms of these expectations and curriculum development work has not resulted in anything much beyond preparation of new syllabi, which, for Agriculture and Homeec still need to be perfected. For a fuller appreciation of the implementation conditions in the various subject areas, a close look into each of these is appropriate.

AGRICULTURE

Of the 13 Project schools, only seven teach Agriculture. What conditions have militated against a higher level of up-take of this subject in the Project schools? In the above analysis, it is established that the staffing situation in this department is one of the major limiting factors in the achievement of the implementation tasks stipulated by the MOE. As indicated above, only one subject specialist at NCDC is responsible for agricultural education in secondary schools in the country. Considering the amount of work involved in curriculum development, dissemination and evaluation, it is clear that a one-man office is likely to encounter problems in trying to do this work efficiently.

None of the interviewee teachers of Agriculture at the Project schools and among the lecturers at the NTTTC reported the existence of a subject panel which is supposed to collaborate with the subject specialists at NCDC in curriculum development work. Asked to explain the kind of support they

get from NCDC staff in as far as the implementation of the diversification programme is concerned, one teacher lamented:

Agriculture teachers are neglected. We have no panel; no teacher association; in-service courses or workshops like other teachers. The Ministry does not know of our problems.

[Interview Comment].

In another different Project school, an Agriculture teacher commented:

The NCDC is not cooperative and helpful to us. I do not know what is expected of me because there is no supervision from them ... no support or advice because we do not attend even courses or workshops in Agriculture.

[Interview Comment]

This seemed to be a widespread complaint among the Agriculture teachers. In a different school, one teacher expressed feelings about the conditions under which they work:

There is no one to advise us. No inspectors come for Agric. ... External examiners, who are ordinary teachers, come at the time of practicals just to assess practical projects of students. But there are difficult things in the syllabus for which we want help.

[Interview Comment]

Surprisingly, some teachers seem ignorant about the non-existence of inspection services. This also explains poor contact between the central level and the schools. In the absence of an inspectorate, no officials from NCDC visit schools purely to offer advisory services and professional support to teachers. The only time when the Agriculture specialist visits schools is for examining the practical projects done by students. Even on these rare occasions (once a year), it is reported that this official may not be able to spend more than a few minutes in a school because of the large number of schools that have to be visited throughout the country by only one officer.

In such a situation, one Agriculture teacher observes that:

The purpose of such visits becomes to criticise not to help and advise us ... We are not happy with what is happening.

[Interview Comment].

This response illuminates the negative feelings among teachers which are presumably engendered by the fact that they are neglected by the central level officials. Given such remarks, the quality of the work done by these teachers could not be expected to improve.

From the interview with the subject specialist, it was confirmed that visits to schools were sometimes less successful due to bad weather conditions or lack of transport. Whenever the specialists fail to reach the schools for examination purposes, those schools would have to send samples of students' work to Maseru and assessment for the whole school would be done on that basis. This is not only unfair but it undermines the individual efforts of the students. For example in 1988, all Agriculture JC candidates at Eastville, Hloate and Perry were awarded the same symbol. Subject- and headteachers alike, were infuriated and disillusioned by this.

In Agriculture, since the diversification programme started, curricular and other instructional materials have not been seriously reviewed, revised or rewritten. Data from the interviews on the question of satisfaction with these, reveals that the syllabus currently in use, is not only outmoded but it does not sufficiently reflect the aims and objectives of SSCDP. One of the longest serving Agriculture teacher in the Project schools argues:

The textbook we are using lacks content and is full of questions and exercises ... these are useful for theoretical understanding. The textbook as such, does not match the requirements of the syllabus

[Interview Comment]

Matching the programme goals with the curriculum content in the area of Agriculture seems to be an unrealised target as the above piece of evidence illustrates. As the study is concerned with the sustenance of the programme in the schools, this finding points to the need to upgrade curricular materials in Agriculture as well as improving the quality of assistance provided.

The comments given by the teachers during the interviews on the material and professional support are arrayed in the table below. Of the seven teachers that were interviewed, five were able to comment on this item. The other two were new recruits and claimed lack of knowledge about 'support'. What was found puzzling was that the very teachers who 'did not know anything about support' would be expected to be receiving more attention from the specialists not only to introduce them to the system but to familiarise them with the 'meaning' of the innovation. None the less, those who responded gave the following comments:

TABLE 7.1 AGRIC TEACHERS' COMMENTS ON SUPPORT

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
1. BORENG	No workshops or in-service during the past five years. This is a neglect of teachers. ...Where do we discuss problems? ... Syllabus needs to be revised....
2. EASTVILLE	Since I came here no inspector has visited. ... About the syllabus, it looks like we need to improve it or get a new one ...
3. MOSITISI	I started in 1986, but I have not gone to a course.... We do not have a teachers' association ... So we do not meet.
4. PERRY	Textbook lacks content. The same textbook is used throughout JC. Some topics that come in exams are not in the book. I think we need a new one.
5. ST AGATHA	I have never heard of workshops or in-service... never invited. I am unqualified, so I need help with the syllabus but we do not get it.

These pieces of evidence suggest that Agriculture is one area that reflects weak support and commitment to the implementation of SSCDP. The evidence further suggests a need to step up curriculum development activities, more so because even other schools not supported by TSRP are beginning to introduce this subject following the Ministry's repeated requests that schools must teach at least one or two practical subjects. When compared to both BH and Homec, Agriculture is relatively cheaper to

introduce and its produce [in terms of vegetables, milk or eggs] is easily marketable to contribute to recurrent costs.

In sum, curriculum development activities in Agriculture do not appear to meet the demands of the diversification programme adequately. To start with, there is only one subject specialist at NCDC who is responsible for Agriculture in all secondary schools in the country. This specialist works in isolation from both the teachers at the school level and from the lecturers at NTTC. Like other programmes, the implementation of SSCDP demands from NCDC staff that teachers be provided with 'professional services and support; to see that curriculum policies are understood and carried out in schools; to focus on carrying out in-service programmes'. From the interview data, teachers repeatedly express lack of these activities since they 'are unhappy with the situation'. Thus, lack of teacher involvement and participation in curriculum development; a paucity of professional services and support as well as the lack of in-service education seem to be generating negative attitudes among teachers towards this subject.

In terms of compatibility with goals, evidence suggests that activities carried out so far fall short of expectations. The goals of SSCDP are given as the 'introduction of a prevocational orientation in the curriculum'. Emphasis should be on the teaching of practical skills [Chapter Six]. But as one teacher argues, the basic textbook used is only useful for 'theoretical understanding' and not skill acquisition and as such the book 'does not match the requirements of the syllabus'. The textbook used is described by another teacher as outdated and does not sufficiently reflect the aims and objectives of SSCDP.

Thus, in Agriculture, curriculum development activities need to be stepped

up; curriculum content improved; involvement and participation of teachers widened so that the implementation process is strengthened. Curriculum development activities in Homec are also carried out at NCDC and these are examined below.

HOME ECONOMICS

The pace of curriculum development work in this subject area differs from that of Agriculture and even that of BH as shown in the next sub-section. Of the 13 Project schools, seven offer a full Homec course; two others offer Needlework; while the last offers only Domestic Science. In one of the Project schools, this subject has been officially dropped from the curriculum and reasons for this decision are explained in the next chapter. The remaining two schools are boys' schools and do not offer Homec. It is interesting to note how this subject has come to be regarded as a girls' subject although policy-makers insist that it is sheer coincidence that it be done by girls only in all the schools.

The seven schools that offer a full Homec course are pilot-testing the new revised syllabus which is part of the diversification requirements. This new syllabus was only introduced in 1985, eleven years after the programme commencement. As explained in Section 7.3.2 above, delays in curriculum development work occurred because the work was unsystematic and uncoordinated before 1980. Therefore, before 1985:

The old syllabus for secondary schools was for a long time used as it was drafted during the colonial times and is still used as such by those schools not teaching Home Economics. Schools normally offer one of these areas, this means that at the end of their secondary education, the students are exposed to only one area of Home Economics.

[NCDC, 1986:1]

Thus, the new integrated Homec syllabus is being developed to reflect the aims of the diversification programme.

Progress in curriculum development work in this subject area has met with some delays. ECOL has not yet approved the new syllabus and as such, it cannot be adopted by the rest of the schools in the programme although this was the initial design of the diversification programme. In this case, administrative delays have a negative effect on the implementation of a part of SSCDP. The syllabus is still being revised following the review of JC results of the past two years. As for the schools not offering the full Homeec course it remains an unresolved issue as to whether or not these schools are prepared to accept it.

Some illuminative comments about the new Homeec syllabus have been selected from the interview data to illustrate some deficiencies in the activities of the Homeec department at NCDC. Although seven teachers were interviewed in the schools teaching Home Economics, the responses of the other three teachers are not included here as they all stressed that the syllabus was too long, a view that is well captured in the comments below.

TABLE 7.2 TEACHERS' VIEWS ON THE HOME ECONOMICS SYLLABUS

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
1.BORENG	It is too wide. I have never finished it ... makes students fail. May be some topics must be removed. To me the syllabus does not fit the equipment. There are things we have never used because they are not in the syllabus ... but why were they bought?
2.HLOATE	I think it is long. You cannot get into details because time is not there ... Five periods a week is little for this syllabus.
3.MOSTTISI	It has too much work for teachers, also the students ... The problem is the time for practical work.
4.ST AGATHA	I think we are in trouble with the new syllabus. If you see how long it is ...These children have no foundation when they come here because this is not done in primary. The teacher must be slow and work hard to help them.

So far, the subject specialists at NCDC have discovered that the new syllabus, because of its integrated nature, is too wide and detailed for the teachers to be able to cover within the three years of JC education. The remarks made by the Homec teachers reveal weaknesses in the design and development of the new syllabus. They also indicate that curriculum development work is a time-consuming and elaborate process which demands professional skills and knowledge of the situation in which the syllabus is to be applied. Judging from the comments of these teachers, it would appear that the curriculum developers have not worked close enough with the school teachers who would have advised on such matters as the abilities of students for whom the syllabus is designed and the time constraints that are a handicap to the teachers.

However, work is underway to hasten the revision of the syllabus although there are other obstacles to a speedy progress. A few workshops for the teachers and meetings with the panel members are organised to continue the development of the syllabus. Poor attendance in these meetings is cited as the major problem. This was personally witnessed by the researcher at the time of the fieldwork. The two workshops held between April and June 1989 by the Homec specialists were poorly attended. On the first occasion, 14 teachers came. On the second one, less than ten teachers showed up. When the specialists were asked if this was a common problem, they explained that poor attendance was very discouraging. Although teachers may be willing to attend, at times it was explained that the principals would not allow them. For a teacher to attend a workshop, the principal has to provide for his or her travelling expenses. This is not necessary if the organisers are able to sponsor the workshop financially. Given the fact that the workshops are very few it seems to be a wasted opportunity that the issue of poor attendance remains unresolved.

The problem of poor attendance has affected other areas of curriculum development work as well. In a Report to the MOE from the NCDC's Homec department, it is pointed out that:

Panel members who designed the syllabus were teachers from various schools. They had to be invited to meetings time and again to develop the syllabus, sometimes it was not easy for them to leave their classes. So most of the work was done by the curriculum officers.

[MOE, 1987:2]

In this way, both teacher involvement and their contributions are reduced. This also deprives teachers of professional advice they get when attending these workshops and meetings. Progress in curriculum development work is also retarded.

The interview also sought to establish the satisfaction of the teachers with the kind of support and advice they receive from the Homec specialists through in-service and workshops because visits to the schools are not done. Two examples of responses from Homec teachers on this question are given below.

TABLE 7.3 HOME ECONOMICS TEACHERS' COMMENTS ON SUPPORT

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE OF RESPONSE</u>
1. HLOATE	Since self-reliance came no in-service courses have been organised ... we go to workshops say one time a year but not all of us go maybe one teacher at a time. Workshops are short ... we go for one day or from morning to lunch only. We do not learn much.
2. LESELI	Workshops are too short. They are not courses but just meetings where experienced teachers demonstrate their skills say in new patterns or recipes. We just sit and watch.

From this evidence, the amount of professional support and advice that Homec teachers get from NCDC does not seem to be satisfactory. Yet, the role of in-service courses, workshops and seminars during the implementation process is crucial for 're-education', a process which involves procedures to develop teachers' understanding of and commitment

to the innovation [Chapter Three, sect.3.2]. The use of subject panels could also be strengthened not only as a support body to the NCDC but as a framework within which the project's work can continue as the specialists become involved with other new change programmes. In other words, the panel would provide the means by which further dissemination of the innovation can take place at the school level, thereby building local level expertise, which is a necessary part of problem-solving.

To recap, the Homeec department is also understaffed. There is only one official responsible for Homeec education at the secondary school level. The activities carried out to facilitate the implementation of the new syllabus do not seem adequate. It is only now, 15 years after the introduction of SSCDP, that the required syllabus is still being developed. This means that it is not possible to make judgements about the compatibility of its contents with the goals of SSCDP. None the less, indications are there that some weaknesses and problems with the new syllabus exist. A point to emphasise is that, unlike in Agriculture where the syllabus is 'outdated', in this subject area, a larger number of schools are already participating in the testing of the new syllabus which is intended to reflect SSCDP aims. But it is in TE where the greatest achievements in curriculum development activities have been made. These are considered below.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION [TE]

It is mentioned in section 7.2 above that the TE aspect of the diversification programme is implemented through the assistance of LITESP. Formerly known as Elementary Technology, this subject is relatively new in the secondary school curriculum in Lesotho. Unlike Domestic Science, Needlework or Agriculture, which all date back to colonial education, TE is part of the post-independence efforts to improve the quality of education. Perhaps because of its 'newness', TE is the only subject in the diversification

programme which has received double support from both TSRP and LITESP. The latter became effective in 1979 as discussed in Chapter Five.

During Phase I and Phase II, until the arrival of the Irish team of specialists in 1979, TE was part of the Practical Subjects Division at NCDC. Due to a shortage of staff in the Division, the Agriculture specialist was also made responsible for TE although this officer is not an expert in this area. This led to serious mistakes particularly during the procurement of equipment, some of which is said to have been inappropriate, dangerous and too sophisticated to be used by JC students.

Of importance is that curriculum development work in BH has progressed satisfactorily under LITESP. For example, in 1979 only three Project schools offered a technology-related subject. Of these, one taught both Metal- and Woodwork; the second taught Woodwork only and the third offered Building Science. With the assistance of LITESP, the situation has improved tremendously. Ten of the 13 Project schools now offer the new BH course which combines Metalwork, Woodwork and Technical Drawing. The remaining three all offer Woodwork. It is interesting to note that these three schools are the same ones that offered a technology-related subject prior to the intervention of LITESP in 1979. These schools, as was learnt during the interviews, expressed no intention of upgrading their facilities in order to teach the complete BH syllabus, despite the fact that LITESP has repeatedly offered to assist them both financially and professionally.

Evidence from observations during visits to the project schools and from the interview data as presented below, suggests that the curriculum activities carried out by the LITESP are more adequate and compatible with the demands and goals of SSCDP than in the other two subject areas. Activities by LITESP are characterised by well-prepared instructional

materials, upgraded and revised syllabuses that reflect the needs of the programme. The first syllabus drafted in 1977 has been constantly reviewed and revised and is now fully approved by ECOL. The newly revised version has been in use since 1983 and had a three year field test trial period.

The TE panel was greatly involved in the revision of this syllabus. It met 15 times between 1981-1983 [McCormack, 1988:6] to work on it. Textbooks for TE are not readily available in the bookshops. As a result, the Irish Team has developed the content of the syllabus into a series of handbooks for both teachers and students. Although these handbooks serve as teachers' guides, individual teachers are also encouraged to develop their own programmes of instruction. However, as one teacher trainer in the team remarked during the interview, 'some teachers tend to be over-reliant on these guides and have not individualised their instruction as expected'. On balance, the books are found to be extremely helpful by the teachers themselves as some of them are relatively inexperienced in drawing up a properly sequenced programme of instruction. LITESP finances the printing and production of all curricular materials for this subject.

Teachers' views and opinions on the support and advice they gain from the subjects' specialists are important in understanding the nature of the relationships between the centre and the schools. As was done with the Agriculture and Homeec teachers, the TE teachers were also asked to comment on this aspect. During the interviews with the individual teachers in the schools, useful information was gained on this issue. There was another opportunity to verify the information gained when the researcher attended a two day workshop for TE teachers held in Maseru from 11-12 May, 1989. The following are the excerpts from an open discussion organised at the end of the first day of the workshop.

TABLE 7.4 SUMMARISED TE TEACHERS' COMMENTS ON SUPPORT

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
A.	... have attended a number of workshops and short courses of in-service. These are useful ... we discuss our problems.
B.	As a panel member, I am highly involved with workshops and short courses. We revise syllabuses ... advantage is that I understand it well ... no problems with teaching at all. My students pass well most of the time.
C.	Workshops are helpful. We get to know about exam requirements and syllabus changes. ... We make suggestions on what we do not like or about our problems. ...

The workshop was attended by 22 TE teachers. All except two participated in the discussion. The comments presented above are a selected summary of the larger pool of information on this issue. There seems to be a high level of satisfaction with the nature of support TE teachers receive from LITESP. This support is in part important for the mastery of practice of the innovation, and as seen in the preceding section, this is lacking in Agriculture and Homec. Consequently, teachers in those subject areas expressed feelings of anxiety and poor confidence which are not evident among the TE teachers.

With the kind of support that the TE teachers are getting, it is expected that they face fewer problems in the handling of their tasks than do their counterparts in Agriculture and Homec. But, observation of classroom teaching was not done and therefore no data is available to take this issue further. What the experience of the TE area suggests is that with strong financial backing, it is possible to offer maximum support. But this also raises the important question about the possibility of continuation of such activities for the sustainability of the implementation process when LITESP phases out. For example, the level of attendance in the BH workshops is

reported to be high on all occasions. The reason for that can be attributed to the fact that participants in these workshops are entitled to make claims for travelling expenses, lunch is always provided and sleeping accommodation is always paid for. Also, given the fact that LITESP officials visit the schools frequently, their 'presence' seems to be felt even when they are physically not there.

Therefore, to maintain 'good' relationships with these officials, the principals in the schools are more willing to let the TE teachers attend the workshops than is the case with the other teachers. The attention of the researcher was drawn to this problem during a visit to one of the Project schools in the mountains. It so happened that a workshop for English teachers coincided with that of TE teachers. The English teacher was not allowed to go because the 'children will miss many lessons if two teachers are away at the same time'. To the teacher concerned this was upsetting as the workshop was supposed to be very important. The major complaint against the principal was that he 'was biased'.

LITESP has also been instrumental in the setting up of a Central Materials Supply Unit which is located in one of the Project schools. This arrangement facilitates easy procurement of materials needed in TE. The following are some of the factors leading to the setting up of this Unit:

- The types of materials required by schools to teach BH are not readily available in Lesotho and schools have to resort to buying these from South Africa.
- Transport costs involved in delivering these imported materials are very high and this has caused schools to charge fees for practical subjects in order to recover the costs.
- Bulk buying is always cheaper.

[McCormack, 1988:9]

Having considered these factors, the MOE accepted the idea suggested by LITESP to set up a Central Unit which stocks materials in large quantities and prepares them in dimensions required and specified by individual schools through their orders. In Agriculture and Homeec, this facility is not

available. Do differences that occur in the pace and quality of curriculum development activities in the three subject areas, also occur in the preparation of teachers?

7.3.3 TEACHER TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT

To what extent have the procedures to train and deploy teachers, which are a crucial part of the implementation strategy, affected the diversification programme? It is a well established argument that both the quality and the quantity of teachers determine the impact a change programme can make on the education system. Schools may have the best facilities and equipment. Syllabuses and other instructional materials may be of the best quality, but it is ultimately the competence and the commitment of the teaching staff that makes a 'good' education programme. The implementation of SSCDP depends on the teachers' understanding of the policy, having the necessary resources and acquiring the ability and the will to implement it. This implies the need to have a comprehensive strategy for both pre-service training and in-service education.

As pointed out in Chapter One, the implementation of SSCDP has emphasised the supply of the physical infrastructure and equipment as the chief means to influence curriculum change. Like curriculum development work, teacher training became neglected particularly in the areas of Agriculture and Homeec. At issue in this section is the adequacy of the activities carried out by NTTC in support of the implementation of SSCDP.

Following the closure of the seven denominational teacher training colleges in 1974, NTTC has become the only institution in the country responsible for primary and junior secondary teacher training. By implication, the College is overloaded given its capacity and size. Such a situation may have an adverse effect on the quality of teachers produced. NTTC opened in

1975 at the time when Phase I of the Project was being implemented. Construction of facilities was well underway in many schools at this time. As a result, facilities became ready long before teachers were available for the new subjects to be introduced. However, some efforts were made to meet the demands of the Project schools. These are summarised below.

TABLE 7.5 TEACHER PREPARATION: INITIAL ATTEMPTS [1975-1978]

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>EVENT</u>	<u>OUTCOME</u>
AGRICULTURE	NTTC and LAC to offer a joint programme.	Idea did not take off because of rivalry.
ELEMENTARY TECHNOLOGY	LTI offered a teacher training course. 12 participants, 1975-76.	Expatriate lecturer left in 1976. No replacement. Course never repeated.
HOMECE	Mazenod authorised to do a crash course. Dates unclear.	MOE did not recognise certificates. Course stopped to support SSCDP.

From the nature of outcomes in Table 7.5, it is evident that there was poor planning and lack of coordination among the agencies involved with the implementation of SSCDP. While TSRP went ahead to supply schools with facilities and equipment, the MOE could not recruit teachers into these schools because teacher preparation had not been carefully planned beforehand. This suggests that during the initial stages of implementation, the preparation of teachers was erratic and unsystematic.

An investigation into the activities done at NTTC in terms of preparation of teachers, reveals that there are some weaknesses. The most frequently mentioned even by headteachers in the schools is that of teacher shortages. The table below provides insight into the number of teacher trainees at NTTC in each practical subject area from 1980 to 1990. It was not possible to obtain the same information for the years 1975 to 1979 as one of the key administrators at the College explained that files containing that

information would not be available to the researcher.

TABLE 7.6 TEACHER TRAINEES IN PRACTICAL SUBJECTS, 1980-1990

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SUBJECTS</u>		
	<u>AGRIC</u>	<u>TE</u>	<u>HOMECE</u>
1980	8	7	7
1981	6	10	11
1982	5	7	12
1983	5	11	4
1984	4	10	8
1985	5	14	11
1986	3	12	13
1987	4	9	3
1988	5	10	3
1989	5	11	5
1990	4	14	4

SOURCE: NTTTC, Heads of Departments [1990]

The above table reveals how numbers of teacher trainees have fluctuated over the ten year period. It was puzzling that the researcher was referred to the heads of departments to get this information, an indication that the records in the administration office may not be up to date with specific information for each subject area. What is remarkable about the figures is that in both Agriculture and Homece, they are low. In Agriculture, it is clear that an increase in the numbers is not likely given the fact that they have been so low for over a long period of time. In Homece, the numbers have declined sharply since 1987. Again, it is difficult to predict the future trends on the basis of this data alone. Perhaps more information gathered at interval periods would yield better insight. It is only in TE that there seems to be some consistency in the numbers. As LITESP is still in full operation, the recruitment into the training programme remains systematic. To provide more insight, a close look into training activities under each subject area is appropriate.

AGRICULTURE

According to the Report of the Study Team on Secondary and High Schools in Lesotho, 1984

... there has been a decline in the teacher preparation in Agriculture and Home Economics. Agriculture is chosen as a first subject by only five persons per year; Home Economics is a major subject for only about six teachers a year and there are no teachers trained in Typing.

[MOE, 1984:12]

Training of teachers in Agriculture was poorly organised during programme start-up. It was intended that NTTC and the Lesotho Agricultural College [LAC] would offer a joint programme [Table 7.5] to train teachers but this plan did not materialise due to

poor coordination between the MOE and the Ministry of Agriculture because LAC is directly under this Ministry.

[Interview comment, NTTC]

LAC is not controlled by the MOE, but by the Ministry of Agriculture [MOA]. It, therefore, became difficult for these two ministries to come together and agree on how best to offer a comprehensive programme for the trainees. Another problem that arose was that of transporting trainees between NTTC and LAC because these institutions are some distance apart. As a solution, the World Bank / IDA offered NTTC a vehicle as part of TSRP II. Unfortunately, this vehicle was never used for the intended purposes. Over the years, the relationship between NTTC and LAC has developed into one of rivalry and competition instead of complementarity. Their resources cannot be shared. This is a tragedy where resources are so limited. It is also detrimental to the building up of a problem-solving capacity to maintain the diversification programme on an on-going basis.

As pointed out in the 1984 MOE Report cited above, the intake in Agriculture at NTTC is low to meet the increasing demand of secondary schools as more are beginning to include this subject in their curricula.

One possible explanation could be that prospective teachers regard training in Agriculture as a dead-end because chances for further professional development are very limited. Till now, the local university does not offer a degree in Agriculture. Most of those who join the NTTC do so because they cannot get direct entry to the university due to low grades obtained at COSC level. With a teacher's certificate and two years teaching experience, one qualifies to seek admission into the university. For this reason, most teacher trainees at NTTC would opt for subjects that they will be able to pursue later at the university and Agriculture is not one of these, hence its unpopularity as a major subject at NTTC.

Because candidates who obtain better grades at COSC go straight to the university, financial circumstances permitting, there is dissatisfaction among the lecturers in this department about the quality of recruits into the programme. As one of them commented:

Teacher preparation in Agriculture is poor. The department is understaffed and students do not have the basic scientific knowledge because those recruited from LAC usually have no COSC.

[Interview Comment]

This respondent admitted that although trainees recruited from LAC may be good in practical work, they have problems in adjusting to the standards required at NTTC where recruits are normally people who have passed COSC if they intend teaching at secondary level. At the time of fieldwork, the department was understaffed, with only five lecturers responsible for both primary and secondary teacher training as well as for in-service education for primary school teachers. The lecturer interviewed attested to weak support given practising teachers:

The department's staff is overloaded. We do supervision of interns, organise and conduct in-service courses in addition to all the teaching that we do. So, we cannot follow up teachers to monitor their work and advise them once they graduate from College.

[Interview Comment]

This evidence corroborates the views of Agriculture teachers about lack of

support. When probed further, this lecturer explained that because enrolment in the department is very low, the number of staff cannot be increased. The student-teacher ratio is here a determining factor. This causes the lecturers to remain overloaded not because of large student numbers but because of a wide variety of courses that they have to teach. Also, two of the current staff members at the time were on secondment from the MOE and did not participate in all the department's activities. For example, there is the supervision of interns during their teaching practice period in which these two did not participate. One administrator at the College added:

In the absence of the inspectorate, there is no follow up of teachers by NTTC to provide professional support, particularly for those new in teaching.

[Interview Comment]

This is a serious weakness in the quality of teacher preparation. This neglect can demoralise the newly recruited teachers. It also has the potential of destroying commitment to the innovation, the effects of which may threaten the sustainability of the programme. As cited above, the situation in the Homec is not very different when compared to that in the Agriculture department.

HOME ECONOMICS

Like that of Agriculture, this department is also understaffed. Currently there are four members who share responsibility for both primary and secondary teacher training. In addition, they are expected to do in-service courses for primary teachers and supervise the interns during their teaching practice. As seen from Table 7.6, this department has also not been able to produce enough teachers for the secondary level. When the diversification programme started, an emergency crash course was set up in 1975 with Mazonod. The aim was to produce Homec teachers which were urgently in demand because TSRP had already set up facilities and provided schools with equipment. Most regrettably, this course has not

been of any advantage to the programme because the government has since refused to recognise certificates obtained from it and continued to pay those teachers on a JC school leaver scale. Understandably, the teachers left the schools for other sectors. In fact, not one of the Mazenod graduates is today to be found in any of the Project schools, despite the shortage of qualified Homeec teachers in the country. This indifferent attitude from the MOE regarding the Mazenod attempts must have caused disillusionment among those concerned. Above all, it illustrates the paucity of communication between the MOE and other agencies in their efforts to support the implementation of SSCDP. The reliance on the part of the MOE on existing infrastructure like NTTC has had a retarding effect on the implementation of the programme.

The support this department gives to the schools is also very limited. The staff is only able to visit the interns. Once they graduate, they are left on their own. In this way, problems encountered by teachers are not communicated to the centre. This means that the department would never remedy its weaknesses and improve its performance as long as there is no feedback from the schools.

The relationship between NTTC and NCDC is poor. There are no regular meetings to discuss curricular issues, teacher education and other relevant matters common to both institutions as one would expect. Communication is through the subject panel members, and as such, its effectiveness is questionable. This is reiterated in one respondent's comment who says:

We are doing our own work ... we have no direct working relationships with NCDC because our Ministry has not brought us together.

[Interview Comment, NTTC]

This means that the MOE has not facilitated strong communication and coordination among its support agencies even though their functions require close contact. It is under such conditions that the sustainability of

the programme becomes threatened. Of the three subject areas under investigation, teacher training has become most successful in TE.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

This is the responsibility of LITESP. Before 1979, the Lerotholi Technical Institute [LTI] attempted a teacher training course in order to supply the Project schools with TE teachers. This course was never repeated in subsequent years because the expatriate who had started it left the country. LITESP started operating in 1979 when the MOE urged the Team to 'produce teachers as quickly as possible.'

The Secondary Technical Teachers' Course [STTC] started as a response to this desperate situation. The course is divided into two parts. Part I is done at the College and Part II consists of a probationary year during which the student teacher gets intensive supervision in the field while at the same time required to attend all the in-service courses offered by the department. The idea of a probationary year is an innovative feature in the training of teachers in Lesotho. It departs from the usual norm of a one year period of internship which is sandwiched between the first and the last years of training. One advantage of the probationary year is that it enhances close contact between LITESP and the schools. As illustrated in Table 7.4 above, TE teachers receive maximum professional and material support from LITESP. At the moment there is no shortage of qualified teachers in technical education and the activities of LITESP in meeting the demands of SSCDP are, from observations both at the school level and at the College, satisfactory.

In sum, a major finding from the foregone descriptive analysis is the extent to which NTTC has not been capable of providing follow-up or after-care professional support for the teachers upon their graduation

from the College. In as far as Agriculture and Homeec are concerned, it is established that these two departments are the worst handicapped in this respect. The STTC is the only department that is able to provide on-going support to its teachers, whether on probation or in actual practice. As teacher training is a critical element in the implementation strategy, weaknesses in this have adversely affected the take-off of the programme as some schools could not start certain subjects due to lack of teachers. This is discussed further in the next chapter. According to Fig.7.1 above, TSRP is another key support agent in the implementation of SSCDP. The operations of this agent are examined below.

7.3.4 THE TRAINING FOR SELF-RELIANCE PROJECT [TSRP]

This is the PIU established in 1975 to administer the programme. According to the Legal Notice No.40 of 1975 as a PIU, TSRP was put under the Project Authority which became responsible for the carrying out of the project and for approving budgets and deciding on matters of policy in accordance with the Credit Agreement. The Project Authority during TSRP I and II was composed of seven permanent secretaries from the various ministries including Works; Finance; Health; Communications and Rural Development. The point to emphasise with regards to this organisational structure was the need for inter-ministerial cooperation throughout the implementation phase.

TASKS

TSRP was mainly concerned with the construction of the physical infrastructure and supply of equipment and materials in the 13 schools. Teacher education, curriculum development and all other educational aspects concerning the implementation of SSCDP remained outside the scope of TSRP as structured during project appraisal. As a PIU, there were gaps in its operation arising from this organisational structure. SSCDP

became resource-oriented to the neglect of the other key implementation activities. What guided the operations of TSRP were the goals set for SSCDP which stressed the 'expansion, upgrading and improvement of project schools' as discussed in Chapter Six.

A crucial point to be made about the structure of TSRP as the PIU for the programme is that the post of an 'Educationist' that was suggested during project appraisal was never filled. Perry [1982:56] argues:

Not having an Educationist involved in Phase I and Phase II facilities design was a serious omission. A major deterrent throughout the project has been the fact that, although educational specifications were written down in considerable detail to guide the architects, too little, if any, collaboration between the architects and TSRP and the Headmasters took place. An Educationist would have filled this gap.

Thus, poor communication between TSRP, the MOE, the schools and other involved ministries remained a big problem throughout the implementation process.

In another Report, it is acknowledged that the operations of TSRP were flawed because:

The Project Authority became more administrative to TSRP itself and did not pass along the implementation needs, the educational needs, to either MOE officers not on the Project Authority board or to the Headmasters or Mission Secretaries themselves. To a degree, only top management knew what, where and why a large construction project was going on at all ... The Headmasters were very much in the dark throughout. It came down to full concentration on construction and equipment for TSRP schools and almost no concentration on implementation of the plan or even who was to be working on implementation.

[Perry, 1981a:41]

Needless to stress that throughout the implementation period, TSRP was isolated from the activities of other support agencies. Yet, close liaison and coordination among these support groups and between these and the schools would have ensured a proper synchronisation of the resource provision and staffing as well as curriculum development work.

Again, this has had a negative effect on the up-take of the innovation and

its use as is shown in Chapter Eight. To highlight a few problems: some buildings provided to schools were not really needed [eg at Batho-Batho and Eastville] or suitable for the purposes of the new syllabus [eg at Percy and St Jones]. At Batho-Batho and Eastville, some of these are now lying idle and their condition is deteriorating because of neglect and non-use. The whole activity has caused an unnecessary waste of resources. Such a situation could have been avoided if TSRP had consulted fully with the school leadership to determine their needs.

Secondly, schools like Eastville, Batho-Batho and St Jones claim that they are not obliged 'to maintain TSRP property'. From the interviews and in a Report on Stock-Taking in TSRP Schools, 1986 [Letsapo, 1987:12], it is strongly stated that upon completion of construction work, there was no proper hand-over of the facilities by TSRP to the schools. This means that the schools did not develop a sense of 'ownership' towards TSRP supplied facilities and the MOE did nothing to encourage this.

Thirdly, on the question of equipment, some dissatisfactions have been expressed. McCormack [1982:10] has argued:

Equipment was generally unsatisfactory. In some cases, items were purchased which would never be used. On the other hand, items which would be used frequently were purchased in wrong quantities ... Benches provided were totally inadequate and were not constructed in accordance with specification. Items of machinery purchased have now been returned to the suppliers and are to be replaced with handtools.

Shortcomings in the supply of equipment to the Project schools indicate little involvement of teachers in the tasks. The situation was worsened by the fact that the officer responsible for TE at the time at NCDC was himself not a specialist in this subject area. According to the TSRP evaluator, 'The procurement and distribution of TSRP furnishings and equipment has been the least successful segment of the Project' [1982:60]. As this was the major task for TSRP as the PIU, it is, therefore evident that there were serious

deficiencies in the operations of this support agency.

In the foregone analysis, the activities of the last key support agent in the implementation of SSCDP have been examined and found inadequate in many instances. This is not unique only to TSRP and its operations. Planning, teacher training and curriculum development work have all revealed areas of weakness although in different degrees. As these are key constructs in the implementation strategy, it is necessary to spell out in clear terms what issues arise from the analysis.

7.4 EMERGING ISSUES

The analysis of the data on the ways and means in which SSCDP has been put into practice reveals some major implementation-related problems. Because the task in this chapter is to identify factors that account for the mismatch between policy intents and practice, to spell out these clearly consolidates the argument.

7.4.1 HASTY IMPLEMENTATION

This is an attempt to put into practice an innovation before it is fully developed and ready for use. Fullan [1989] suggests that it is helpful to look at implementation as occurring in two phases which are not necessarily linear but somehow parallel to each other. On the one hand, there are 'structural aspects' of a change programme. That is, getting the physical infrastructure ready and putting materials and equipment into place. This aspect of implementation is said to be relatively easier to achieve. Then, there is the more arduous task of developing knowledge, skills and understanding required of those involved in the implementation process. This second aspect requires time and patience to achieve. Both aspects are complementary and interdependent. A smooth take-off depends on the achievement of both.

On the basis of the evidence presented above, the process of implementing SSCDP has obvious flaws. By setting up TSRP as the PIU, the MOE emphasised the 'structural aspects' as the chief means of influencing change. Through TSRP, the MOE rushed to put up buildings and supplied materials and equipment to the schools without ensuring that progress in teacher training, preparation of curricular materials and professional development would match the pace of development with TSRP activities at the school level. Fig 7.2 overleaf offers an overview of operations in the implementation of SSCDP.

As mentioned in Chapter Six [sect.6.2], 1982 marked the end of donor assistance towards the implementation of SSCDP. The World Bank put strong pressure on the GOL that the project be completed in 1981. This date was later extended to 1982 because civil works and disbursement of equipment were behind schedule. According to the World Bank, TSRP I was to be implemented between 1975-78. The closing date for TSRP I was shifted to 1979. TSRP II was to run between 1978-81, but again the final closing date was shifted to 1982. This is evidence that a complex policy such as that of diversification could not be implemented within the life-span of two projects of four year duration each.

Given these conditions of implementation, Perry [1981a:31] has argued:

Major problems were caused by World Bank pressure to complete the project in a time frame that had obviously been too brief, in order to fall within the credit agreement period and to avoid some of the effects of inflation.

Perry [1981a:31] mentions the problems arising from such a situation as:

The human cost of this pressure on the project was lack of wide agreement on the purposes, aims of curriculum diversification itself and what schools would have to do to adjust to the reform. A little consultation was not enough consultation, and coupled with headmasters' turnover and the newly formed TSRP staff which was as inexperienced as were MOE officials, the program fast gained a reputation of being imposed, a bit reckless, and at times shoddy.

FIG.7.2 OPERATIONS AMONG SSCDP SUPPORT AGENCIES

<u>AGENCIES</u>	<u>OPERATIONS</u>			
	<u>STAGE 1</u> <u>1967-74</u> <u>NEGOTIATION</u>	<u>STAGE 2</u> <u>1975-76</u> <u>DEVELOPMENT</u>	<u>STAGE 3</u> <u>1977-81</u> <u>'TRANSFER'</u>	<u>STAGE 4</u> <u>POST 1982</u> <u>PRACTICE</u>
MOE / PLANNING UNIT	1967-73 Negotiate loan with W/Bank 1973. Project proposal sub- mitted. 1974 1st Credit Agree- ment [TSRP I] signed [497- LSO].	6 pilot schools chosen. Design facilities. Lists of equipment drawn.	1977 2nd Credit Agree- ment signed. 7 more schools in TSRP II. 1978 1st Credit closed.	----- 1982 Final closing date of 2nd Credit Agreement.
TSRP	-----	Set up in 1975 as PIU. Construction begins. Equipment supplied before buildings were ready.	1979 TSRP I ends. 1978- 1982 constr- uction and supplies continued.	Evaluation 1981-1982. 1982 TSRP II phases out. Project closed.
LITESP	-----	-----	set-up in 1979 to support TE aspect of SSCDP.	Starts training TE teachers. Begins curriculum work
NTTC	Bilateral donors to provide teachers for SSCDP.	Plan falls through. 1975- 76 LTI course for technical education. Maze- nod crash course for Homec. LAC to produce Agric teachers. Plan fails. 1975 NTTC becomes functional.	1977 1st NTTC graduates to be deployed in schools. Serious shortages for practical subjects. LTI and Mazenod courses discontinued.	NTTC supplies all schools in the country. But shortages for practical subjects continues.
NCDC	-----	Individuals within MOE develop curr- icular materials. Work unsystematic and unco-ordinated.		NCDC gets established in 1980. Curriculum development work done..

Clearly, the initial implementation of SSCDP was erratic and poorly organised and activities were badly managed all because of the rush to meet certain deadlines.

The fact that the implementation of SSCDP had serious problems is confirmed in this extract:

The programme was not properly planned beforehand ... everything was done in speed, rushing always because we worried about the time for finishing. ... Even the project memoranda were prepared by the World Bank in America, ... I don't think we were very involved with this project.

[TSRP ex-deputy director].

Another official within the Planning Unit observed that:

We knew that teachers were not enough but TSRP was building in the schools ... some equipment in the schools was stolen while waiting for a teacher.

[Interview Comment]

These extracts indicate a communication gap that existed between TSRP and the MOE. The donor agencies had promised to supply teachers in adequate numbers to satisfy the needs of the Project schools. Reasons are not clear why this plan did not materialise. TSRP had been instructed to carry out construction work with the expectation that teachers would be provided. Moreover, when the World Bank suggested including a teacher training element in the Credit Agreement, the government would not accept this as CIDA was to assist with teacher training activities. Eventually, the World Bank withdrew its offer of assistance.

During the interviews, the headteachers had been asked to comment on the problems they had experienced with the introduction of SSCDP. The following are selected examples of their responses:

- A. *The Ministry hurried to introduce the programme when it was not well-equipped to handle the task of putting these practical subjects in the curriculum. The problems this has caused for our schools are too many ... we are not very sure of what we have to do about some of the TSRP things.*

B. We have not been prepared for this difficult work of introducing new subjects. They are so many. ... Most of us are not experienced headmasters and we do not get help with our work. I do not see the reason why the Ministry rushes with new subjects before there are enough teachers. Syllabuses are a problem again ...

For heads at the school level, hasty implementation meant a significant degree of confusion and anxiety as the above extracts show. The fact that the implementation of this programme was rushed, suggests that the complexities of the process of innovation were underestimated. Hasty implementation seems to have been a direct result of limited interaction between the centre and the schools, a condition that manifests itself in the nature of prevailing role-distance between change agents and implementers. Both have implications for the process of change.

7.4.2 THE PROCESS

By now it has been established that SSCDP was set-up within a development and implementation model in which the educational administrators and their operations are 'central' and the trial schools are 'peripheral' to the innovation process. The MOE appears to have adopted a simplistic view of implementation which can be constructed from the operations carried out by the participating agencies. Drawing from several Project documents, the process as visualised by the researcher is depicted in Fig 7.2 above. Four 'stages' are identified: negotiation; development; transfer and practice. Each one of these is considered below.

NEGOTIATION

Although SSCDP has been introduced within a top-down strategy, the process cannot be accurately reflected on the RDD model examined in Chapter Three. The division into stages was not deliberate. It is only the phasing into two projects that was consciously done. According to the activities and operations carried out, the research element was not included during the initial stages of the process. Stage 1, 'negotiation' involved

bargaining with the World Bank to secure financial and technical support for the programme. This was mainly the responsibility of the Planning Unit which was inexperienced and understaffed to carry out its work effectively. Perhaps the limited capacity of the Unit did not become a major handicap in the beginning because of heavy involvement of expatriates who had the technical know-how of planning, budgeting and project management, but during the subsequent stages this became a bottleneck [sect. 7.3.1].

The second issue pertains to poor participation of the locals; where 'project memoranda were prepared by the World Bank in America'. This was inevitable given lack of local expertise. However, this could have been remedied through professional development. Though the Credit Agreement made provision for this, the problem is that the project was well underway. This confirms that there was little pre-project evaluation of the availability of management skills, hence heavy reliance on foreign expertise in the beginning. The negotiation stage therefore, was dominated by one side, the World Bank and other bilateral donor agencies. The notion of 'grassroots' local curriculum development initiatives had to be sacrificed.

DEVELOPMENT

The project produced an innovation package which was to be adopted by the pilot schools. The major weakness with this operation is that emphasis was put on the provision of hardware items in the form of new buildings that include specialised facilities for practical and vocational subjects. This is the structural aspect of the innovation process referred to in Section 7.4.1 above. Since the diversification of secondary curriculum involves a change in policy and content of education more than a mere provision of facilities for an established system is needed, and a successful infusion of educational inputs carries a special significance [Haddad & Conly, 1987].

SSCDP neglected this element. As portrayed in Fig.7.2, curriculum development work and teacher training trailed behind. Throughout Phase I and a great part of Phase II, the trend regarding provision and support of educational or 'software' components of SSCDP shows no improvement. This highlights the need to take a broader view of implementation, which goes beyond the traditional 'hardware' approach which at the time was so dominant in World Bank sponsored projects [Verspoor, 1985].

TRANSFER

Within the RDD model it would be appropriate to refer to this as the 'dissemination' stage, a planned systematic process of spreading new ideas, knowledge or materials from the source of innovation to its setting. Given the manner in which this process occurred within the SSCDP implementation strategy, the term dissemination is not well-suited. Data reveal that at this stage, gaps in the performance of the various agencies were quite significant. For example, at the school level facilities and equipment were ready but teachers were not available and curricular materials were not yet ready.

What needs to be stressed is that SSCDP was not designed and developed into a comprehensive package of inputs necessary for effective implementation. These are instructional materials, training and supply of teachers and other professional personnel as well as the appropriate physical infrastructure. It is logical that curricular materials should be developed during the preparation or negotiation stage, and that teachers should be trained before operations intensify at the school level. Similarly, procurement and distribution of equipment should be well-timed to ensure their availability and suitability when the new subjects are introduced.

Fig. 7.1 establishes that SSCDP draws its support from a number of different sources of inputs, and close coordination is needed to make sure that the various agencies and their operations are properly synchronised for maximum effectiveness during implementation. The phasing of the project into two trial periods was not very helpful because delays in Phase I caused overlapping with Phase II as more than 50 per cent of the Phase I schools had to be included under Phase II again. No evaluation of Phase I was done. It was not until 1981, when the Project was nearing its completion date that an external evaluator was brought in. As a result, it was discovered too late that some of the inputs were not totally compatible with the programme demands. It was from the revelations of the 1981 evaluation study that the World Bank decided to withdraw further assistance to the implementation of SSCDP on the conviction that the programme was to become a failure.

PRACTICE

This refers to the use of the innovation over a long period of time. This distinguishes it from adoption, that is, the decision to accept an innovation. Considering that SSCDP was to be implemented within a life-span of two projects, this time scale was not realistic. By implication, the change agents had a very limited view of what implementation entails. In fact, as argued further in the next chapter, it appears that adoption by schools was viewed as being the final stage in the innovation process.

TSRP only provided the schools with the physical infrastructure. There was no commitment on the part of the MOE to follow-up and monitor the implementation process. The Planning Unit withdrew its support quite early in the process. NTTC and NCDC were still at their developmental stages and so were their operations at the time when the Second Credit was closed in 1982. It is only LITESP that has provided continuing support and

monitoring of activities to implement the TE aspect of SSCDP to the present time. In this manner, SSCDP as originally designed, like the wooden 'horse of Troy' [Shipman et al, 1974], was left within the gates of the school system without proper handover by TSRP, because in the final analysis, the diversification programme became only known in terms of the facilities and equipment supplied by TSRP. As to the fate of the programme at the school level, Chapters Eight and Nine speak vividly about this.

The above analysis highlights some of the factors that have a damaging effect on the take-off and implementation of an innovation programme. The main finding is that the provision of 'hardware' inputs is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the smooth implementation of SSCDP. The implementation strategy needs to go beyond the limited view of 'adoption = implementation'. The educational inputs or 'software' component of SSCDP urgently needs to be strengthened to enhance the sustainability of the programme in those schools where it is already in operation and also to facilitate its spread to other schools as well.

7.5 CONCLUSION

In sum, management-related issues that emerge as a threat to the implementation of SSCDP in the secondary school system in Lesotho are:

1. Lack of clear policy guidelines from the Planning Unit on the implementation of the programme.
2. Lack of communication and coordination of activities among the various groups participating in the implementation of SSCDP.
3. Poor support of change agents by the MOE.
4. Manpower shortages and overall unpreparedness at the centre.
5. Lack of after-care and monitoring of the implementation process.

The absence of clear policy guidelines caused a disjointed and fragmented

implementation process. The analysis of the operations of curriculum developers reveals that each department is developing materials for a single subject in isolation of the total programme. Hence some materials have been 'disseminated' at a faster pace than the others. The quality of materials also varies from subject to subject. The same is true of teacher education. Efforts are unbalanced. There is a special project, LITESP, supporting TE in both teacher training and in curriculum development work. As confirmed through the interview data from the teachers, the implementation of this subject has been relatively smoother when compared with both Agriculture and Homeec. Evidently, as much as variation in the interpretation of goals and objectives for SSCDP emerged from the analysis in Chapter Six, variation in the pace and progress in the operations of the various support agencies is the major finding in this chapter. These are attributed to the five management-related issues summarised at the beginning of this concluding section.

Portrayed in this manner, the implementation of SSCDP has weaknesses which need careful consideration if curriculum changes in Lesotho are to have a lasting impact on the education system. The most crucial are listed below:

1. Implementation goes beyond the mobilisation of physical resources needed to set up a project. PIU is a misnomer for TSRP as this was only concerned with the structural aspect of the innovation.
2. Implementation is a process that occurs over a long period of time, depending on the scope and complexity of the innovation. Realistic time scales should therefore be set.
3. An innovation that draws its resources from a variety of agencies requires an establishment of a well coordinated implementation committee to strengthen communication links among the various groups involved.

4. A coherent and clearly articulated policy is needed to guide the implementation process. Such a policy should make the change agents committed to the after-care and maintenance of the change process. This perennial support would help bridge the distance between the centre and the schools. In other words, the process would evolve as a joint effort between the two groups.

The next chapter maps out the responses of the schools to the diversification programme. The intention is to explore and in Chapter Nine to interpret the nature of implementation response in relation to the sustainability of the diversification programme in Lesotho. This in turn links back to how the innovation has been conceptualised [Chapter Six] and to the factors in the implementation strategy as discussed in this chapter, that seem to have influenced the progress that obtains within the school setting.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LOCAL RESPONSES TO SSCDP

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Faithful implementation is sometimes undesirable [because the idea is bad], sometimes impossible [because power won't permit], and often unforeseeable [because it depends on what people bring to it as what's in it].

[Majone & Wildavsky, 1978:25]

The research question addressed in this chapter embraces two related issues: What is the response of the schools to the implementation efforts and what conditions have caused differences in response at the local level? As established in Chapter Five, the Project schools acquired special facilities and equipment from the MOE in return for the attempt to experiment with the implementation of SSCDP. In this manner, these experimental schools acquired what the researcher terms an 'obligatory status' towards the implementation of SSCDP. It is obligatory in the sense that these schools entered into an agreement binding them to the innovation process. This status is seen as reinforcing the superordinate - subordinate relationship between the change agents and the users that emerged from the discussion in Chapters Six and Seven.

Chapter Seven has examined the activities of the agencies supporting the implementation of SSCDP. The main finding from the analysis in Chapter Seven is that, as yet the implementation process has not achieved strong coherence among the various innovation components. This is attributed to the implementation strategy adopted by the change agents which assumes that adoption leads to implementation in that those obligated to the innovation will necessarily implement it according to the directives given at the apex of the implementation hierarchy.

In this Chapter, the argument seeks to unravel what conditions in the environment of individual schools have induced differences in response to the implementation of SSCDP. This leads to the classification of schools into five types of implementation response. This typology is based on the decisions made by the schools towards the innovation. The analysis draws from data collected through interviews with head and subject teachers; from project documents as well as from observations during visits to the Project schools.

8.2. DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSE

In Chapter Seven it is emphasised that the MOE did not produce clear policy guidelines to direct the implementation of SSCDP. Generally, apart from the core curriculum, schools in Lesotho have considerable autonomy to decide which subjects to include in their curricula on the basis of their priorities. This has implications for the adoption and use of SSCDP. Consequently, schools have implemented this innovation very differently as the discussion below illustrates. Differences in implementation response are assessed on three criteria:

- Adoption and programme start-up;
- Resource provision and utilisation;
- Programme use.

This focuses the analysis on the organisational and cultural context of the schools. Each one of these three criteria is discussed separately below.

8.2.1 ADOPTION AND START-UP

In Miles et al [1985], adoption is defined as the decision to begin using a new educational practice, idea or program. The decision to adopt is made early during the innovation process - that is, at the negotiation stage, during which the change agents and the users seek to agree on the measures necessary to ensure successful implementation of the project. Ideally, at this stage both the change agents and the users need to come to

an agreement, not only on the objectives of the project, but also on the specific operations necessary to achieve them. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, in the case of SSCDP this did not happen. The attention was mainly on getting schools to adopt the innovation without giving proper consideration to the problems of implementation. The 'adoption-perspective' [van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1986] was therefore the major characteristic of the strategy to introduce SSCDP [Chapter Seven].

CENTRAL INITIATIVES

When mobilising the trial schools for the adoption of SSCDP, the MOE set up an advisory committee to handle the task of selecting schools into the programme. Among these were central level administrators including educational planners, policy-makers and TSRP administrators. Of the 12 officials interviewed, six were able to respond when asked to give the criteria on which the schools were selected into the project. Their responses are arrayed in the table below. Abbreviations that appear in the tables in this chapter are explained in the list at the beginning of the thesis.

TABLE 8.1 VIEWS ON HOW PROJECT SCHOOLS WERE SELECTED

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>RESPONSE</u>
PLANNING UNIT	Needed a model school in each district.
POLICY-MAKER	Distribution of schools throughout the country. Readiness of headmasters to accept SSCDP. Ensure that all churches received help.
EX- PSEd.	For a fair distribution of resources, a school was to be selected from each district. Stable leadership at school level. Hidden objective was denominational. All churches were to be represented.
EX-TSRP DEPUTY DIRECTOR	Good administration of schools. Denominational. Regional ... choosing a school in the lowlands, foothills and mountains. Well-established schools because the idea was to add to what schools already had ... not start new ones.

EX-TSRP DIRECTOR,
I & II

Enrolment of school to be above 200 students.
Existing facilities to be in good condition. ... to
start new schools would be too costly.
Good examination results were important.

EX-TSRP DIRECTOR, II

Representation of schools of various missions.
Looking at existing facilities which could be
improved rather than start from the beginning to
build schools.

Of these six officials, four mentioned the geographical distribution of schools as an important criterion for selection. The aim of the MOE was to set up a 'model' in each district. The kind of school that was envisaged was an expanded school with an enrolment of about 1000 students, and offering four streams of practical subjects. As discussed in the next chapter, this was never achieved.

Another criterion which was mentioned by four of the six interviewees was that of denominational consideration. As one respondent said, this was a 'hidden objective' because of the tensions that had built up among the three churches. It was difficult to balance the selection of schools on these criteria and this led to inconsistencies. For example, altogether the Catholic Church has six schools in the Project; followed by the Evangelical Church with three. The Anglican Church has two, and the government controlled schools in the project are also two.

With regards to Table 8.1 it may be observed that the MOE seems to have made decisions unilaterally, stipulating the criteria to be followed when selecting schools into the project. The opinion of those at the school level does not seem to have been incorporated in decision-making during this initial phase. In this manner, the strategy to introduce SSCDP seems to have encompassed an element of power-coerciveness. That is, the MOE exercised a certain measure of administrative pressure to enforce the adoption of the project. The Ministry decided on this selection procedure 'because it was felt that if any school could do it, these could' [Perry, 1981b:17]. The MOE desperately wanted these 'good schools' to set a

model. To persuade the schools to adopt SSCDP, the innovation package was made more attractive by providing additional resources like boarding facilities for students; housing for teachers; science laboratories; dining halls and offices. These were not directly connected with SSCDP but they were used as an incentive to encourage adoption. The schools were therefore confronted with an attractive offer not easily refused.

AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

The principals were also asked how their schools became involved with SSCDP. Data from the interviews reveal that all Phase I schools were approached by the MOE to experiment with the programme. Among Phase II schools, four were also urged by the MOE to join SSCDP, while the other three - Boreng, Mositisi and Percy - took the initiative and invited SSCDP. As the headmaster has been recently changed at Mositisi, no data is available to illustrate why this school took the initiative to invite the programme. At Boreng, where the headmaster has remained unchanged since the introduction of SSCDP, it was possible to obtain information on the motive for adoption.

The headmaster explained:

I had been worried for some time that academic subjects did not benefit the average child who happened to be in the majority. So the school was looking for alternatives. ... The school could not expand on its own. On learning about SSCDP, I talked to TSRP people and they let us into the project.

[Interview Comment]

At Percy, the deputy-headmaster, who heads the practical subjects division as well as being the longest serving teacher in the school, [the principal had only been in the school three months at the time of fieldwork] explained that this was a

... a brand new school [started in 1971] which urgently needed to expand and grow so that the mountain children who have to travel far to get education can get a place near home ... Most of mountain children do not get education because we have no high schools around.

[Interview Comment]

Problems associated with access to schools is discussed in Chapter Five.

Concerning Mositisi, it can be speculated that being an LEC school like Boreng, expansion was constrained by lack of finances. The LEC is known as being the least resourced of all the major churches that own schools in Lesotho. One teacher who had been at Mositisi when SSCDP was introduced, hinted that at the time this was the only large school in the district and demand from the community was high. SSCDP must have come at an opportune moment when the school experienced pressure to expand.

As the initiative to invite the programme came from within, adoption at these three schools was voluntary. This distinguishes them from the rest of the schools in the Project. In all three cases, there seems to have been a need for the innovation. The aim was to expand the schools physically [Boreng & Percy] as well as to improve the quality of the curriculum offered [Boreng]. Voluntary adoption indicates a positive climate to the change process. The headmaster at Boreng commented:

So psychologically, our school was very prepared for change ... ready to make the best out of what self-reliance was giving to us ...

[Interview Comment]

Seemingly, attitudes towards SSCDP at both Boreng and Percy were positive from the beginning and have continued like that throughout the innovation process. This observation gets further support in the subsequent sections.

Its significance draws from a commonly articulated view in the innovation literature which maintains that positive attitudes among users, which are born out of a felt need to adopt an innovation, enhance commitment to the change process. This in turn is regarded as a key factor that promotes effective implementation [Huberman & Miles, 1984]. What this suggests is that at Boreng and Percy, a higher level of implementation is to be expected than in other schools where adoption was influenced by administrative pressure alone.

Of the 10 remaining schools, there is yet another group of two which is distinct in that the decision to adopt SSCDP depended on certain conditions over which the MOE had to compromise. These are Carson and Somerville. At Carson, the ex- principal commented:

... practical subjects will be introduced in the school on condition that there is assurance of a regular supply of instructors ... It was his duty to make Training for Self-Reliance Project fit into his school on his terms.

[Perry; 1981b:69]

The only subject area in which the MOE could guarantee a regular supply of instructors is TE. Consequently, this is the only aspect of the innovation that was adopted in this school. In order to fit the project into the school, Carson 'took the contract to build the rest of the facilities offered by TSRP. All, except for the workshops, 'are designed and built to fit the pattern of the rest of the school buildings ... This was not done just for uniformity but also for administrative convenience' [Perry, 1981b:69-70].

In the same interview, this ex-headmaster explained to the TSRP evaluator [Perry, 1981b:70] that:

I have strived to implement all desired adjustments to the TSRP construction plans timely to take advantage of the available labour and avoid unnecessary expenses of after the fact alterations.

When interviewed by the present researcher, this ex-headmaster emphasised that SSCDP could not be adopted as designed by the MOE because 'the project had many weaknesses such as lack of teachers and instructional materials'. Having illustrated the deficiencies in the operations of the support agencies in the previous chapter, there is validity in this statement.

At Somerville the principal commented that:

We could not take all the subjects. The school must specialise in one or two areas. Too much diversification causes problems. The MOE had to believe us on this point.

[Interview Comment]

From these comments, doubts about the programme can be noted. To the

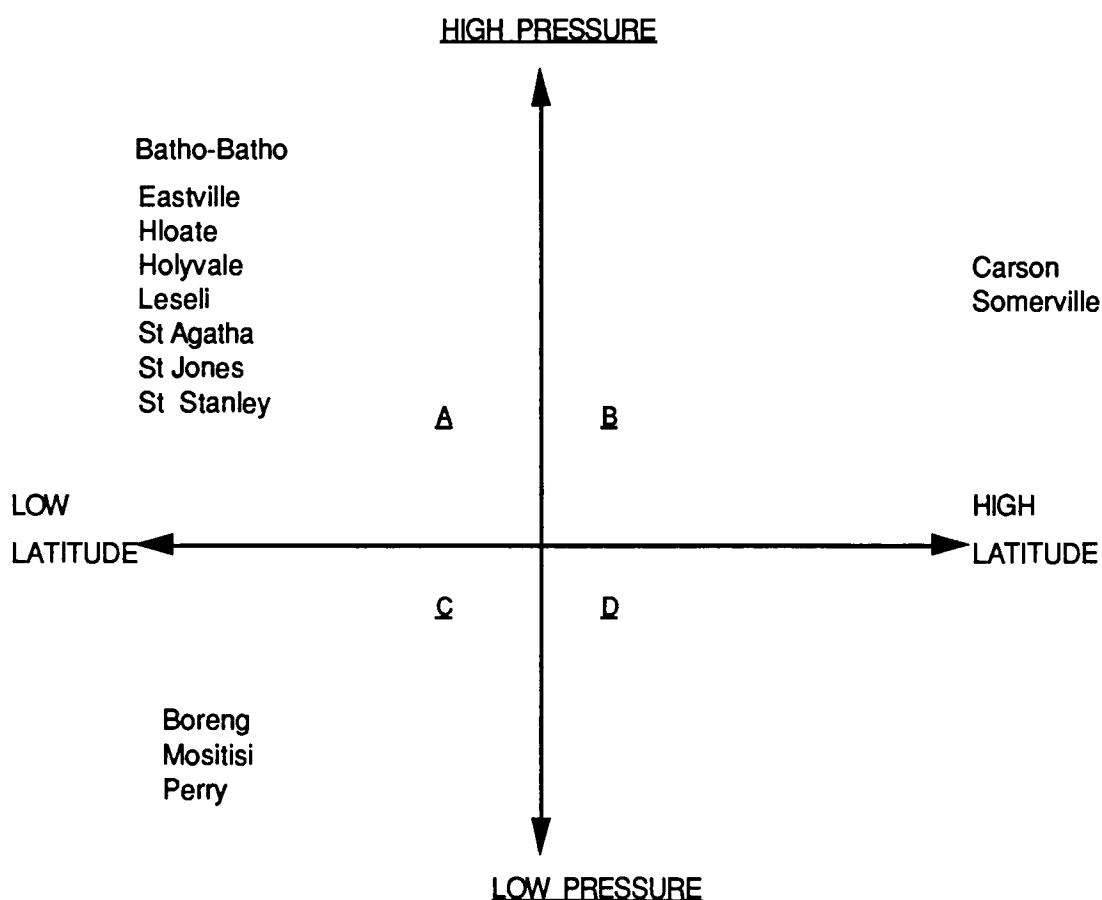
change agents, this posed a threat of resistance to the innovation. As the MOE was determined to get these schools into the project, resistance was negotiated out of the way by giving these two schools a degree of latitude to modify the innovation at the time of adoption. This negotiation process ended with an agreement that Carson and Somerville would implement two of the four subjects in the original package, although the MOE would have preferred that these two schools introduce three subjects. In the rest of the schools, if there was any discontent concerning the way selection into the project was done, it was shelved and the schools seem to have been prepared to give the innovation a try in the way directed by the central change agents.

The response of the schools at the time of adoption is depicted in Fig.8.1 overleaf. According to this figure, for eight schools, the decision to adopt SSCDP was accompanied by high pressure from the change agents. At the same time, there was a very low latitude granted to these schools to make any modifications to the innovation prior to implementation. These are Group A schools according to Fig. 8.1. The expectation was that these schools would introduce the four practical subjects in the innovation package. But, as revealed in Section 8.2.2 below, none of these eight schools achieved the target. Group B consists of those schools where bargaining was done to reduce the size of the innovation at the adoption stage. These two schools have remained committed to the teaching of two practical subjects as agreed with the MOE. In the case of Group B schools, the pressure to adopt was high but, through negotiations, the MOE allowed some flexibility, thereby compromising on the original design of the innovation.

Group C is made up of three schools where the pressure to adopt was low because the decision was voluntary rather than mandated by the MOE. There was a combination of low administrative pressure as well as low

latitude given by the central change agents. Like the Group A schools, the expectation was that these schools would also introduce the innovation package as originally designed. Both Boreng and Mositisi have achieved this target. At Percy, only three subjects could be introduced and reasons for this emerge in Section 8.2.2 below.

FIG.8.1 ADOPTION DECISION BY THE PROJECT SCHOOLS



SOURCE: Adapted from Huberman and Miles, 1984.

None of the schools fall into Group D, that is, a high latitude - low pressure situation. As noted above, a high level of latitude encourages changes in the design of the innovation. These changes are often towards attrition. If high administrative pressure encourages a higher rate of adoption, low administrative pressure would be expected to encourage a lower rate of adoption, unless if it is accompanied by low latitude as is the case with Group C schools. In other words, a high latitude - low pressure situation would imply that an innovation developed externally to the school, is likely to be reduced in scope, content and possibly meaning beyond a desirable level.

To sum, adoption addresses the quantitative aspect of early implementation. As none of the Group A schools achieved the intended target of four subjects, it can be concluded that a combination of a high level of administrative pressure and low latitude does not necessarily guarantee adoption as intended by change agents. This combination seems important in as far as it safeguards against meaningless reduction of the innovation. It appears that low pressure combined with low latitude is a condition more conducive to a higher rate of adoption. As suggested above, an innovation adopted within this framework holds the potential of enhancing commitment among the users. A high level of commitment is a key factor to an effective implementation process. On that note, the discussion proceeds to consider the second criterion on which differences in implementation response are assessed.

8.2.2. RESOURCE PROVISION AND PROGRAMME START-UP

Like many vocationally-oriented programmes, the implementation of SSCDP is highly dependent on availability of facilities, equipment, materials and consumables. Most of the teaching-learning process occurs in the workshops and laboratories. In line with this, the major input for the

introduction of SSCDP was a generous provision of physical resources [Chapter Seven, Sect. 7.3.4]. Of concern is the manner in which these were supplied by the central change agents. The intention is to discriminate between schools where resource provision has facilitated a smooth programme start-up, and where it has impeded it. The analysis draws substantially from documentary evidence.

BUILDINGS

Some of the schools experienced extended delays in their construction schedules to the extent that in certain cases, at the time of project completion, construction of buildings was still underway. This problem was more serious with the Phase I schools because 'four of these were also included in Phase II in order to bring facilities in line with the Project demands' [McCormack, 1982:1]. These schools are: Batho-Batho; Leseli; Somerville and St Stanley. Only Eastville and Holyvale were not included in Phase II. Given the argument that physical resources are only a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a smooth innovation process, it will be interesting to find out whether the schools that received double assistance showed any improved implementation performance when compared with the others.

The number of Phase I schools included under Phase II suggests severe construction problems. It is difficult to account for delays in construction in the Phase I schools on an individual basis because of lack of data. However, common problems that adversely affected progress in construction work are identifiable. According to the World Bank Report [1980:21-23]:

1. During appraisal, the mission found the architectural section of the Ministry of Works [MOW] severely understaffed, and recommended the services of consultants for the design and construction supervision of the project institutions.
2. ... due to the somewhat sophisticated type of design for Lesotho and because of the limited experience of some of the contractors, construction deficiencies have resulted. ...

3. Construction supervision, according to the secondary schools' principals, was not always sufficient.

The faults in the design of some TSRP facilities in the schools indicate that the trouble of investigating the capabilities of local subcontractors was not taken. There was too much reliance on foreign expertise who did not fully understand the local conditions. Thus, the task of supplying the physical infrastructure to the Project schools has had an adverse effect on the implementation process. This is most evident when programme start-up is considered. The table below provides this information.

TABLE 8.2. PROGRAMME START-UP IN PHASE I SCHOOLS.

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>SUBJECTS</u>		
	AGRIC	TE	HOMECEC
Batho-Batho	1978	1976	1979
Eastville	1979	1981	1979
Holyvale	1979	1979	1977
Leseli	1980	1981
Somerville	1976
St Stanley	1981	1986

SOURCE: Lesotho Examinations Council [ECOL] Reports.

Table 8.2 reveals that the rate at which the new subjects were introduced differed from school to school. On initiating the programme, the MOE assumed that the implementation process would be completed within the time frame stipulated during Project appraisal. The implementation of Phase I began in 1975 and was scheduled to finish in 1977. From the table above, it is evident that this was unrealistic. In the three schools that offer Agriculture, this subject only took off at Batho-Batho in 1978 and in 1979 at both Eastville and Holyvale. As far as BH is concerned, at Batho-Batho and Somerville the subject was introduced prior to diversification. Delays in programme start-up are also significant in the Homece area.

Of more importance are the differences in programme start-up between the four schools included under Phase II and those that were not. At Somerville TSRP only upgraded facilities already in existence, while the teaching of BH was underway. Concerning Agriculture, Batho-Batho did better than both Eastville and Holyvale although the delays in these schools were not dramatic. In Homec, differences are greater, with St Stanley starting a component of this subject only in 1986 despite the fact that this school received double assistance. At Leseli, delays in implementation also occurred. This evidence suggests that readiness of facilities is a crucial factor for smooth programme start-up. Among Phase II schools, construction was least successful at two sites, namely Percy and St Jones [TSRP, 1982:60]. Programme start-up in Phase II schools is depicted below.

TABLE 8.3 PROGRAMME START-UP IN PHASE II SCHOOLS

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>SUBJECTS</u>		
	<u>AGRIC</u>	<u>BH</u>	<u>HOMEK</u>
Boreng	1983	1982	1982
Carson	----	1981	----
Hloate	----	1981	1982
Mositisi	1981	1982	1982
Percy	1979	1982	1982
St Agatha	1983	1982	1982
St Jones	----	1982	1988

SOURCE: Lesotho Examinations Council [ECOL] Reports.

It will be noted that at Percy, Agriculture was already offered when SSCDP started. Five out of the seven Phase II schools introduced BH in 1982, which was timely. This can be attributed to the amount of material and professional support provided by LITESP [Chapter Seven]. Interestingly, while all schools offering Homec started the subject in 1982, St Jones is the

exception because only Needlework took off in 1988.

Programme start-up in Phase II schools shows less variations than that in Phase I schools. According to Perry [1982:56] from 1975-1980, administration, control and supervision of the Project were uncoordinated and TSRP facilities' planning, drawings and site supervision were poor. But:

Design and construction [in Phase II schools] are much improved over Phase I. This is due to having an architectural team ... working at TSRP offices on secondment from the MOW. Having a field architect as part of the team made it possible to solve some problems before they got too big. However, continued lack of communication and consultation between TSRP and Headmasters was a serious problem.

It is a fact that construction work improved for some schools but not for the others.

For example, Percy and St Jones, were less fortunate. As observed in the same Report [Perry, 1982:56]

At two mountain schools, the then architect-in-charge only visited the sites once, did not follow established specifications and essentially designed the additions to those schools 'on his own', without consultation with Headmasters or anyone else involved. As a result, those two schools now have the least satisfactory, in some cases unuseable TFSRP facilities.

In a report by the World Bank [1984:13], the same concern is raised. It is pointed out that at Percy and St Jones:

The original Home Economics classrooms designs approved by the World Bank staff were modified without agreement of the Bank Group staff. The two rooms originally proposed were combined into one, reduced in size with the result that it is difficult to teach the program.

This evidence suggests that the importance of cooperation between the architects and other participants in the innovation process was overlooked. Cooperation is necessary to minimise misunderstandings between resource suppliers and the schools. If misunderstandings prevail, resource provision becomes a deterrent rather than a facilitator for change. It is sometimes difficult to overcome these early implementation problems as has been the case at St Jones. Persistence of problems can threaten

effective implementation. This is exemplified in the case of Eastville.

Eastville did not get assistance under Phase II, although it had experienced some problems with construction work. In a memorandum from the TSRP Director [14 July, 1980] it is stated that at Eastville

... the construction method of direct labour was solely used because of the difficulty of attracting contractors to the remote mountainous areas ... the Project Management should have assured itself that work went according to schedule and met the right specifications ...

In September 1980, a team comprised of the Project Director, Project Chairman and Economic Planner visited Eastville. In their report they state

... in most cases the quality of the work was half done and unsuitable to the topography and / or climatic conditions of the place as the building staff ignored the benefits of local experience and advice and seemed to go out of their way not to consult with the school authorities as the comparison of project classrooms with those of the school shows.

[TSRP, 1980:1-2]

Note the distinction between 'project' and 'school' classrooms. As argued in Chapter Seven, the MOE never made attempts to make schools feel a sense of ownership of TSRP supplied facilities. The problems experienced with construction at Eastville became known to the TSRP management [TSRP, 1980:2]. But this happened too late:

Unfortunately there is nothing that could be done to finance the uncompleted building work. Budgets for Phase I project have been closed when the Credit Agreement between IDA and Lesotho Government came to an end on 31st March, 1978.

The indifferent attitude on the part of the MOE pointed out in Chapter Seven did not help to promote the acceptability of the innovation in this school. It is not clear why Eastville, faced with such serious problems was not included under Phase II so that remedial action could be taken. It could either be that the principal was not strongly vocal about these problems, or that there was lack of interest to the success of SSCDP within the school.

The TSRP evaluator [Perry, 1981c:13] pointed out:

Construction was often shabby with work being done from inadequate designs and drawing without enough supervision on the part of Training for Self-Reliance and the Ministry of Works ... Nothing was ever done with lists of uncompleted or unsatisfactory construction. When the credit closed, there was no money to finish the various jobs, leaving many angry school officials "holding the bag".

Paradoxically, a project that had promised 'improvement and upgrading' of facilities in the schools, seems to have created problems for them for which they had no solutions. It is under such conditions that lukewarm or even hostile attitudes towards an innovation are engendered.

The 1982 Project Completion Report [Perry, 1982:57] stresses:

Headmasters in both Phase I and II schools now are faced with completing and / or repairing unsatisfactory construction from their own school funds. Many have done so, although some are hesitant because of the question of legal responsibility for the TSRP buildings.

To say 'Many have done so' is rather misleading. All the headmasters in the schools where construction work had been left incomplete, emphasised that they did not have the money to finish it. Percy and Boreng are exceptions.

This is not surprising when considering a statement by one RCC Education Secretary that:

It was not necessary for Training for Self-Reliance to contract with new contractors to put up some of the facilities in the schools when their proprietors had their own construction agencies who could have done a better and more satisfactory job.
[Perry, 1982:58]

This echoes an observation by a different Education Secretary:

There are many architectural misgivings about Training for Self-Reliance Project buildings ... Education Secretaries were not consulted during the selection of the TSRP schools. The Secretariat has always opposed the introduction of vocational education in secondary schools because of the high recurrent costs involved. ... This consultation is very important because major decisions taken about any school implicate the proprietors who the Secretariat represents.
[Perry, 1981a:77]

This statement does not only reveal the serious grievances of the Secretariat for having been bypassed by the MOE when negotiating for the implementation of SSCDP, but it also shows the complex problems associated with the divided control of education between the MOE and the

churches. Implicit in the above statements is that SSCDP has never been fully accepted by the Secretariats.

The problem of 'legal responsibility for the TSRP buildings' noted in the 1982 Project Completion Report cited above seems to have arisen because the :

Ministry of Education or Training for Self-Reliance Project did not clarify issues on ownership and therefore maintenance of the facilities provided to the school. Who do the buildings belong to?

[Perry, 1981a:77]

Even today, as learnt through interviews with principals, TSRP buildings 'do not belong' to some schools because there was no proper handover by the MOE.

In sum, the

- MOE through TSRP, seems to have overestimated the capabilities of the MOW to successfully undertake the architectural work in the schools. The quality of work was poor, causing grievances among principals.
- Poor planning led to overspending on the part of the MOE as four of the six Phase I schools had to be given extra help.
- Lack of consultation with the school officials prevented the development of commitment and a sense of ownership of the innovation among the users.
- The introduction of SSCDP has created financial problems for the schools, thereby making resource provision a deterrent rather than a facilitator of smooth programme start-up in some schools.
- With schools receiving different levels of support, and with some schools facing more severe problems and delays with construction work, variations in programme start-up have been inevitable.

The response of schools to TSRP supplied facilities can be summarised on

the basis of problems experienced as follows:

TABLE 8.4 PROJECT SCHOOLS AND TSRP FACILITIES

<u>GROUP A</u>	<u>GROUP B</u>	<u>GROUP C</u>
<u>NOT SERIOUS</u>	<u>SERIOUS</u>	<u>VERY SERIOUS</u>
Boreng Carson Hloate Holyvale Mositisi St Agatha	Batho-Batho Leseli Somerville St Stanley	Eastville Percy St Jones

With the exception of Holyvale, all schools in Group A are Phase II schools. Positive outcomes in Phase II programme start-up are a result of the improvements made on the basis of the lessons learnt from the experience of the Phase I schools. According to the evaluators' report:

Performance of architects, engineers, quantity surveyors and equipment specialists was greatly improved, to the extent that Phase II is on schedule and all construction will be completed by October 1981.

[Perry & Montsi, 1981:9]

This statement is valid only as far as it excludes Percy and St Jones.

Group B are all the Phase I schools where problems were serious such that the MOE had to provide further assistance. In this manner, the implementation of Phase I was nearly a non-event in the sense that programme start-up was very poor. All Group C schools experienced the worst problems perhaps because of their isolation from the centre. Suitable contractors could not be recruited to undertake construction work in these remote areas. The TSRP architectural team also could not provide adequate supervision of the work done by the local contractors. Thus, problems associated with the supply of the physical resources, which is vital for the take-off of SSCDP, have seriously crippled programme start-up in seven of the 13 schools. This in turn is assumed to have an effect on the use of the innovation. That is, schools with a 'rough start' are likely to experience

more implementation problems than schools with a relatively smooth programme start-up. This issue is examined below.

8.2.3 PROJECT SCHOOLS AND THE INNOVATION USE

In the previous sub-sections, schools have been differentiated first, according to their decision to adopt and, secondly, according to the nature of problems experienced with resource allocation. In this section, the manner in which the individual schools are using the innovation given conditions of adoption and programme start-up, is considered. An examination and analysis of the use of the innovation is intended to highlight the different paths that the individual schools have followed to implement SSCDP and to achieve their respective outcomes. There are several dimensions to the use of an innovation but because this study is concerned with the problem of implementation from a management perspective, focus is on the design factors.

SIZE OR MAGNITUDE

Following from a definition suggested by van Velzen et al [1985:58] size or magnitude refers to the number of components of change that a school must deal with. SSCDP has four components that the school must accommodate. These are Agriculture, BH, Homec, and Typing. This is how the innovation was originally designed by the change agents. However, from the evidence in Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 above, neither adoption nor programme start-up occurred according to plan.

By considering the use of the innovation in terms of its size, it becomes possible to assess the degree of transformations and modifications to the original design of SSCDP. The analysis draws from data collected through observation during visits to the schools; from Project documents as well as from interviews. The question asked was whether the schools were doing all the subjects in the innovation package, and if not, the reasons why it had not been possible to do so. The discussion utilises the groups developed in

Section 8.2.1, Fig. 8.1 above.

GROUP A : HIGH PRESSURE - LOW PRESSURE

There are eight schools in this group: Batho-Batho; Eastville; Leseli; Hloate; Holyvale; St Agatha; St Jones and St Stanley. The common factor among these schools is that the MOE through TSRP prepared them for wholesome adoption of SSCDP in terms of its four components. Facilities were provided accordingly. Yet, the programme did not take off as intended. Below is a table showing what components of the innovation were adopted by each school in this group.

TABLE 8.5 SUBJECTS PLANNED VERSUS OFFERED IN GROUP A SCHOOLS

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>SUBJECTS</u>		<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
	<u>No. PLANNED</u>	<u>No. OFFERED</u>	
Batho-Batho	4	3	Agric; BH; HE.
Eastville	4	2	Agric; WW.
Hloate	4	2	BH; HE.
Holyvale	4	3	Agric; NW; WW
Leseli	4	2	BH; HE.
St Agatha	4	3	Agric; BH; HE.
St Jones	4	3	BH; NW; Typing.
St Stanley	4	2	Dom.Sc; WW.

The strategy of using high pressure - low latitude has not produced a uniform degree of adoption. None of these schools is offering the four components of the innovation. Batho-Batho and St Agatha are the only schools nearest to achieving this target. The difference between Holyvale and these two schools is that, only partial courses are offered in the former. At Holyvale, instead of a full BH course, only Woodwork is offered. Also, instead of a full Homec course, only Needlework is offered. The same applies to St Jones where only Needlework instead of Homec is offered. The rest of the schools offer only two subjects, with St Stanley

offering both partial courses. The issue is that the size of the innovation has been reduced in all these schools although by varying amounts. Some reasons to justify this behaviour were given.

REASONS

Not all the principals were able to comment on the issue of the size of the innovation as some had recently taken up their posts. Some gaps are filled with documentary data. For example, in a Headmasters' Conference held in 1981, the head at Batho-Batho commented:

Phase I left 'Batho-Batho' with problems. The work there is incomplete. We have had trouble with inappropriate equipment, equipment that never arrived, with these things, the Project cannot be very successful.

[Perry, 1981b:83]

In an interview with the present researcher, this now former headmaster observed:

It was not possible to take all four subjects. The curriculum is overloaded with subjects. How do we introduce all these subjects in the time-table? ... All type-writers were lost while waiting for a teacher ... no time was given for us to get ready for these new subjects.

[Interview Remark]

This comment raises a range of problems that have prevented full adoption and a wider use of SSCDP at Batho-Batho. These include poor fit between the programme and the school practices as the curriculum was already overloaded; loss of equipment; shortage of teachers and haste to implement.

In an interview with the TSRP evaluator [Perry, 1981b:89], the principal at Eastville commented:

The Manager of the school ... has the general financial responsibility for the school, and all the original arrangements with TFSRP were made between the Manager and TFSRP, not the Headmaster.

Implicitly, the headmaster does not feel committed to the innovation. The fact that he has no control over the finances suggests that he could not be made responsible for the recurrent costs of the programme. The evaluator [Perry, 1981b:90] remarked about this headmaster's comments:

The Headmaster feels timetabling will be difficult if more practical subjects are offered. ... " [The headmaster had said] How do we make them choose?" ... Practical subjects are not [compulsory] ... The students do not think that what they are given in Practical Subjects now is worthwhile ... and see no future in it. They seem not to be able to apply the skills they learn to everyday situation or job opportunities. ... Students taking Practical Subjects feel discriminated against and to some extent, the programme is self defeating.

Clearly, this headmaster's attitudes to SSCDP are lukewarm, perhaps justifiable so because in his opinion:

Examinations in Practical Studies are "no good". In Agriculture, the examiner comes in August when nothing is growing. In Needlework no one ever came to examine the girls work, so this year they [teachers] have been told to mail to Maseru exams of Needlework: 2 which are very good, according to the school; 2 which they think are average; and two which they think are unsatisfactory. ... Just how this constitutes a practical examination for 27 girls mystified the Headmaster.

[Perry, 1981b:89]

Discontent about the value of the programme to the students, combined with dissatisfaction about assessment procedures and the condition of the Homec facilities culminated in the decision to cut Needlework off the curriculum as of 1988. Eastville is an example of a school that has reduced the size of the innovation further, by abandoning a component that was initially implemented. In our interview, the present principal hinted that due to the problems he was experiencing with lack of teachers, shortage of accommodation for students and teachers, he was 'considering going back into an academic curriculum'. Such an attitude, coming soon after scraping off one of SSCDP components without the approval of the MOE, does not strengthen the status and position of the programme in this school.

At Holyvale, the headteacher remarked that the school:

... initiated diversification quite successfully. We are now however, faced with cutting back as we do not have the teachers for practical studies, especially Home Economics. We have one but we have to augment her salary as she is from the Mazenod program and the Ministry of Education does not recognise her credentials.

[Perry, 1981b:81]

Shortage of Homec teachers has continued to be a problem. Till today Holyvale has never introduced Domestic Science in order to complete the course. But in addition:

The Headmistress also said that academic administration has become quite complex, ie, scheduling, providing for teachers, to the point where Headmasters are increasingly unable to keep up with all of their responsibilities as head of the school.

[Perry, 1981b:83]

This comment signals anxiety and lack of confidence in the work done because of the additional responsibilities brought by the innovation. The same headteacher appealed:

Can something be done to increase administrative support as the school gets larger?
[Perry, 1981b:82]

Lack of support from central change agents seems to have demoralised not only the teachers as illustrated in Chapter Seven, but the school leaders as well. On the question of BH which is not offered in its totality, the headteacher explained that equipment for Metalwork was never supplied by TSRP and 'because it is so expensive, we cannot buy it ourselves'.

On the positive side, one attempt made at Holyvale to enhance the fit of the innovation is contained in this interview comment:

The school used to be a commercial school ... so these practical subjects replaced commercial subjects because there are no teachers for them, so we stopped them.

This positive move on the part of the school suggests some commitment to give the innovation a chance to take root within the school practices.

In a Memorandum [9-4-81] from the Project Director to the Project Authority discussing the 'position' at Hloate regarding SSCDP, it is stated that this school is a special case,

... not only because it is supposed to be "controlled" by government but because it is being physically developed into one of the largest of its kind in the country, ie, it may well become an embodiment of the proprietor's best expectations or [to say the least] an embarrassment in a number of ways.

In other words Hloate was expected to be an example - the perfect model of the 'new' school that the government wanted to create out of the diversification programme. From the evidence available, Hloate is no different from other schools. Only two subjects are offered: BH and Homec. All the typing equipment got lost. Agriculture could not be offered

'because there was no teacher' until eventually TSRP decided to reallocate the equipment to other schools where it could be utilised.

Poor use in this school has been blamed on the headmaster. In the same Memorandum a question is raised:

Who will maintain, renovate and repair [facilities] if 'Hloate' authorities fold their arms and pass the buck? One can continue to ask similar questions about the Headmaster's apparent failure to study plans which he was given ...

and that

a need to ensure that a carefree ... Headmaster does not continue to undermine the basic purpose of effective staffing, ie to promote the diversified programmes.

Evidently, at Hloate the principal showed indifference to the diversified programme. Given this situation, it is doubtful if the principal ever made any serious attempts at looking for an Agriculture teacher. To 'fold their arms and pass the buck' suggests non-committal and preparedness to shift the responsibility to someone else, but who? In the absence of on-going administrative support and lack of enthusiasm towards the innovation, the response could not be expected to be any better. What should not be overlooked is that it is easy for the officials to blame poor programme performance on the headteachers when in fact the problems may have been caused by the indifferent attitude of the centre towards the innovation.

In an interview with the researcher, the head at Hloate indicated that staffing was a major implementation constraint. This is confirmed in a TSRP Report [Perry, 1981a:98] where the same head had been interviewed by the Project's evaluator:

For Practical Studies ... there is an applicant to teach Domestic Science, but she only has a primary certificate and has studied Domestic Science at Mazenod. The Headmaster wonders if she is qualified enough to teach in a secondary school. He would prefer to have someone who has done Cambridge, then 3 years in Domestic Science. The school has a Woodwork instructor who is on loan to 'Batho-Batho' High School this year, pending the completion of facilities at 'Hloate' ... The Headmaster does not know if this person can also teach Metalwork.

At the time of fieldwork, the staffing situation had adequately improved in both subject areas offered. However, the use of the programme never

expanded beyond these two subject areas. It is fair to argue that in the case of Hloate, the implementation of SSCDP has not only been frustrated by the allegedly indifferent attitude of the headmaster but also by the poor management at the central level, a factor that many schools acknowledge.

Coincidentally, Leseli another government controlled school, managed to introduce BH and Homeec only, after a delayed programme start-up. In November 1981, the TSRP evaluator [Perry, 1981c:90] interviewed the then headmaster. In response to why some subjects were not done:

The Headmaster said that it was decided during Phase I to use the Agriculture block for teaching Typing, since most Maseru students are not interested in taking Agriculture ... but this year no Typing was taught because there was no teacher available.

Till now, Typing has never taken-off at Leseli. Instead, TSRP had to collect the 22 typewriters supplied earlier for reallocation to other schools. It is a puzzle where these 'other schools' got teachers if Project schools, as pioneers of change, could not recruit any.

When the same ex-headmaster was interviewed by the present researcher on the issue of the use of the innovation, he stressed lack of 'operating support from the government' which was seen as 'unfair', saying that the government 'helps support the mission schools much more than the government schools, whereas the mission schools get funding from internal sources and from abroad'. Lack of financial support is underlined as a major implementation constraint in this school. This is rather ironical because the budget of this school is controlled directly by the government. But the fact that facilities for Agriculture and Typing were provided in this school is another indication of poor design of the innovation. It suggests that 'needs assessment' was not adequately done prior to the introduction of SSCDP, yet this is a cornerstone on the foundation of any innovation if implementation is to succeed.

At St Agatha, three practical subjects are done. This can be judged as an impressive effort on the part of the school. When interviewed, the now ex-head commented that although there was some controversy about SSCDP

... an effort had to be made to teach as many practical subjects as possible ... because of lack of teachers ... valuable equipment was being unused and wasted in many schools.

[Interview Comment]

In Perry [1981c:103], the same respondent is quoted as saying the school would

like to see the development of practical studies as an alternative for the less academically oriented student, eventually even through COSC, as long as there is a COSC syllabus ...

It will be noted that this headteacher held the position from 1979 to December 1987, having worked in the school as an assistant from 1969. This is very unusual in Lesotho where the problem of staff turnover is acute. In the case of St Agatha, the implementation of SSCDP occurred under the same leadership from its beginning to the post-project phase. This gave SSCDP strong internal support. From the two extracts above, it is evident that SSCDP received positive attitudes from a leader who would not like to see 'valuable equipment being unused and wasted'; and from a leader who had a clear vision of the expected benefits from the innovation. Whereas in other schools we see lukewarm or even hostile attitudes towards SSCDP, by contrast, at St Agatha there was a keenness to adopt and use the innovation not only to 'satisfy' the motives of the change agents, but for the benefit of the students as well. On the grounds that this 'keen and committed' principal remained in the school for five years beyond project completion [World Bank date], it can be expected that the programme has stabilised within the school practices.

Of the eight schools in this group, it is at St Stanley where the degree of adoption and level of programme use is lowest, for the reason that [a] none of the subjects is offered in its complete form; [b] Domestic Science was only started in 1986 and; [c] the school was included under both Phase I

and II. The reason for this situation is well-captured in the Project Completion Report [1984:35] where it is stated that:

As for 'St Stanley', there appears to be an administrative problem the MOE must resolve: the missionary principal who planned the expansion of the school and the introduction of practical subjects has left. The new principal refuses to introduce the new programs in spite of the fact that the facilities and equipment have been supplied.

This is in sharp contrast with the attitudes of the head at St Agatha, or even to many other schools discussed above. The main distinguishing factor about this school is 'open resistance' to the innovation. It should be noted that the period of 'resistance' lasted until 1984 when a new principal took over. The above citation reiterates the argument made in Chapter Five [Sect. 5.2.1.] about the 'uncompromising' attitudes of principals in the church schools when new subjects are to be introduced in the school curricula.

The introduction of Domestic Science in 1986 has been the first attempt to 'restore' at least one element of the innovation that was rejected during early implementation. According to the new headmaster:

We are making gradual attempts to introduce practical subjects, but for further development, we need capital.

[Interview Comment].

What needs to be appreciated is that the present headmaster worked actively with the Domestic Science teacher to raise funds to buy the equipment needed to introduce this subject. One will wonder what happened to the TSRP supplied equipment. According to the present headteacher, some got lost immediately after delivery because the school was not 'ready to use it'. The remnants, as the head explained, were distributed to the teachers' residences and there is no way of tracing these back to the Domestic Science laboratory'.

It is on considering such cases that the TSRP evaluator [Perry, 1981b:75] wrote:

Even though principals and some proprietors were consulted, the turnover of staff [principals in particular] caused problems. The new personnel were sometimes interested in or opposed to the ideas of the TFSRP and this prevented progress in many schools, [eg 'Somerville, Eastville and St Stanley'].

In support, one Education Secretary once commented in an interview with the same evaluator:

School managements [principals] appear not to have understood Self-Reliance concept. It seems that they only wanted facilities [more classrooms, housing, etc] without any commitment to programs for which the Training for Self - Reliance Project facilities were intended.

[Perry, 1981b:77]

St Stanley was, in this sense, not only a 'late starter' but initial implementation was rough due to the uncooperative behaviour of the school head. As financial support towards SSCDP is no longer available, the local initiative of raising funds is a positive response from the school and if it continues, the objective of creating a self-reliant school would be partially achieved.

As for the upgrading of Domestic Science into a full Homeec course, the present headteacher sees it as a long-term objective, but on the question of introducing Metalwork to complete the BH course, he sees it as quite remote given its maintenance costs. Instead, as he put it, 'we have negotiated with TSRP and now we have started Woodwork at COSC level instead of teaching Metalwork or Agriculture for which we have no land' [Interview Comment]. The way this school has responded to SSCDP is rather unique. First, there was open resistance to the innovation. With the change of leadership, positive behaviour is emerging. This seems to support a well-known argument that headteachers can be 'gatekeepers' to the innovation process - that is, they can facilitate or hinder the process through their behaviour or 'leadership style', of which three are dominant: the 'initiator'; the 'facilitator'; and the 'supporter'.

The last school in Group A is St Jones. Many of the implementation problems experienced in this school have been discussed in Section 8.2.2.

Briefly, in the area of Homec, only Needlework is taught and this was introduced in 1988 after the MOE 'had urged the school to do something about the equipment that was lying idle' [Interview Comment]. The reason for this delay is explained in terms of faulty design of the laboratory which made it 'unuseable'. Some alterations still need to be done. According to the principal, Agriculture is not offered 'because of shortage of arable land for practicals'. As the school is in the remote rural areas, it is doubtful if this reason is genuine. Agriculture is one subject area that would be expected to be a priority in any rural school that is committed to the objectives of SSCDP. Typing is done but has never received assistance from TSRP. The only subject that has been adopted in full is BH, although it is done by a very limited number of boys. For example in 1989, only 10 JC3 boys were doing this subject.

During the interview, the headteacher mentioned as a 'prospect' that the school would like to 'expand to do Homec instead of Needlework only' while at the same time expressing doubts about the whole programme saying that:

The question of expense is important if all four subjects are to be taught ... More than one practical subject would be causing a heavy burden to students ... not possible to schedule all these subjects.

[Interview Comment]

This remark echoes the problem of 'organisational fit' of SSCDP within the school practices that several headteachers have identified. Like St Stanley, where one element of the innovation was incorporated several years after the adoption of the programme, this school can also be seen as gradually expanding the size of the innovation. This suggests that an innovation is capable of 'evolving' and changing its nature depending primarily on some factors within the school setting.

GROUP B : HIGH PRESSURE - LOW LATITUDE

The two schools in this group are Carson and Somerville. The common element between these two is that prior to adoption, a long process of

negotiation took place, with the MOE trying to persuade them to participate in the innovation, while they were reluctant. A bargain was struck. SSCDP would only be adopted on conditions that will be explained shortly. First, below is the summary of subjects planned and those offered.

TABLE 8.6 SUBJECTS PLANNED VERSUS OFFERED IN GROUP B SCHOOLS

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>SUBJECTS</u>		<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
	<u>No. PLANNED</u>	<u>No. OFFERED</u>	
Carson	3	2	BH; Typing
Somerville	3	2	BH; Typing

Both schools did not take Agriculture, the third subject in the plan. The strategy of high pressure - high latitude has produced an interesting situation. Schools sharing certain commonalities [both are boys' schools and under the same proprietorship] have similar adoption behaviours. This could mean that the introduction of the diversification policy encouraged 'horizontal communication' between these two schools.

REASONS

According to the headmaster at Somerville:

Too much diversification is not desirable ... schools must have an area of specialisation.

[Interview Comment]

As the headmaster continued to argue, 'students would be overloaded if we take more than two practical subjects.' It is reported by the TSRP evaluator that Typing is a priority at Somerville because the school has a

long and well deserved reputation in Typing and Commercial Subjects and is the oldest Commercial High School in the country.

[Perry, 1981c:41]

The idea of 'specialisation' could be taken to mean the consolidation of these Commercial Subjects in the curriculum. Too many new practical subjects would threaten this aim as they would need to be accommodated in the curriculum causing overcrowding or even phasing out of some subjects

as it happened at Holyvale. As the headmaster stressed, the 'school prefers a well defined course of study'. The government has been urging schools to drop Typing for boys as it is regarded to be more suitable for girls. But Somerville

does not plan to drop it. [The evaluator would not recommend dropping it either since, in addition to the practical skills, Typing is an excellent reinforcement strategy to teach spelling, grammar and punctuation].

[Perry, 1981c:43]

It is a fully acknowledged problem in Lesotho that the standard of English usage in the schools is extremely poor and that it is a major contributor to poor performance in other subjects. In as far as the MOE allowed this school the latitude to preserve Typing in the curriculum, the decision helped the school to develop the innovation in the manner most appropriate and compatible with its needs and values.

Concerning Agriculture, the headmaster was convinced that the introduction of that 'subject would destroy the good quality of our school'. Regarding BH, he said:

We only started with Elementary Technology, now we teach all Basic Handcrafts courses. We are happy because the Irish Team has been very supportive and has supplied many hand tools missing from the TSRP equipment.

[Interview Comment]

This remark suggests that where support for implementation is available, there is more enthusiasm for the innovation.

Highlighting some problems with diversification, the headmaster at Somerville once remarked:

The Ministry of Education and / the World Bank did not sit down to see what it meant to add practical subjects - in terms of staff, staff housing. Our enrolment has enlarged ... but the program has come to halt because we do not have housing.

[Perry, 1981a:81]

This headmaster also identifies the conditions of service of teachers as important for the implementation of SSCDP and as an area where the MOE paid the least attention. This is another factor in this school that has retarded the innovation process.

As one ex-TSRP Director revealed during our interview, the selection of Carson was

controversial because of the argument that it was producing future leaders so it had to be maintained as an academic institution ...

[Interview Comment]

Carson was one of the very best schools in the country and the intention was to preserve this reputation. But, since the target of the Ministry was to create 'model' schools from the best ones, Carson had to participate in the programme.

As at Somerville, here SSCDP was reduced to two subjects at the time of adoption. Typing is offered but without the help of TSRP. This is similar to what is happening at Somerville. During our interview, the ex-headmaster pointed out that the school had never intended to introduce Agriculture. 'The curriculum is already full', and besides 'Teachers are not always available'.

Sometime back, the same respondent claimed:

Metalwork and Woodwork have been my life time hobbies. I make desks and chairs, and plan to have a production unit.

[Perry, 1981a:71]

The innovation was fortunate to find such a welcoming climate. The claim is that furniture is never bought and the school is self-sufficient not only in its production but also in its maintenance. With the assistance of LITESP and donations from abroad, the production unit became a reality. Clearly, this ex-headmaster, who also happens to be the the head of the Practical Subjects Department, was ready and prepared for the innovation.

While still a headmaster, he commented to the TSRP evaluator [Perry, 1982:71]:

Metalwork, Woodwork and Commercial Studies will be offered to all JC students and as options at COSC depending on availability of instructors, relevant tools, especially for students.

In the same Report, the motive behind adoption of SSCDP was made clear:

I deem it an integral part of education to introduce all students to practical skills irrespective of their intended vocations. This also offers alternative experience to students who have limited potential for further academics which thus tends to frustrate students who have limited background and potential for academic development.

This clarity of vision about intentions and benefits of SSCDP puts Carson above Somerville in terms of commitment to the success of the innovation. For example, whereas at Somerville all the practical subjects are terminal at JC level, at Carson, the headmaster remained faithful to the idea of offering practical subjects 'as options at COSC' level because Woodwork is now offered at this level. The concern that SSCDP should offer 'alternative experience to students who have limited potential for further academics' reiterates the reasons for adoption given at St Agatha in the preceding section. Thus at Carson, the purpose of innovating appears to be more clarified than it is at Somerville.

GROUP C: LOW PRESSURE - LOW LATITUDE

The three schools in this last group are Boreng, Mositisi and Percy. In relation to adoption, it was the decision of the schools to participate in the programme. The table below reflects the subjects offered in each of these schools.

TABLE 8.7 SUBJECTS PLANNED VERSUS OFFERED IN GROUP C SCHOOLS

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>SUBJECTS</u>		<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
	<u>No. PLANNED</u>	<u>No. OFFERED</u>	
Boreng	4	4	Agric; BH; HE; Typing.
Mositisi	4	4	Agric; BH; HE; Typing.
Percy	4	3	Agric; BH; HE.

Both Boreng and Mositisi offer all four subjects in the original plan. At Percy, Typing is not offered. Reasons for these differences are explained below.

REASONS

In our interview, the deputy headteacher at Percy remarked:

The school favours commercial subjects but we did not get a teacher for Typing so we never introduced it. Schools cannot teach a subject when NTTC has no training for that subject.

[Interview Comment]

On the whole, the introduction of SSCDP at Percy benefitted from the support of the headteacher, whose 'energy and dedication is exemplary' [Perry, 1981b:74].

Regarding the need to diversify the junior secondary curriculum, the headteacher commented to the TSRP evaluator that it makes it

possible for students to choose between an academic subject program and a practical subject program ... She feels that over half of her graduates will be "loitering around" and would be "really happy" to see her less bright students going into manual work.

[Perry, 1981b:77-78]

Like Carson, the aim was to provide alternative type of education for those students who do not proceed to higher education levels. At Percy, there are definite objectives stated for the programme. The enthusiasm and dedication of the headteacher seem to have been strong elements facilitating a higher degree of adoption, hence the three subjects that were introduced.

At Percy and Mositisi, Agriculture is taught at COSC level. At Boreng and Percy, there are successful Agricultural projects which are not found in any of the other 13 schools. These include poultry, piggery and flourishing vegetable gardens. The produce is for student consumption, but surplus is sold to bring extra income for the school which is used to subsidize the recurrent costs to maintain the implementation of the subject. Boreng introduced the 'Production Day' whereby all students in the school, whether or not they do Agriculture as a subject - are involved in agricultural production. This is in line with the philosophy of self-reliance and it serves to improve the quality of the innovation, making

Boreng more innovative than other schools on this aspect. For further reasons why the size of the innovation is bigger in these schools, reference can be made to Section 8.2.1 above.

8.3 OVERVIEW

This chapter has depicted the responses of the 13 Project schools to the implementation of SSCDP. All the schools had an obligation towards the implementation of this innovation. According to its design, the intention was to maximise faithful implementation, hence all schools were provided with a similar package of resources and equipment.

Evidence in the above analysis illustrates that inconsistent rather than consistent or faithful implementation is the common response among the majority of schools. This means that from the package, schools have selected certain elements and discarded others. With the exception of two schools: Carson and Somerville, this process of selection was not done systematically, and certainly not with the approval of the change agents. Considering the fact that no data is available on the classroom practices, it becomes difficult to draw sharp boundaries that define implementation responses among schools. None the less, there are discernible differences among them. These are observable when three aspects are considered: adoption decision; resource provision; and innovation use in terms of its size. These are attributes used to assess differences in implementation response among the schools and are summarised in the table on the next page.

The table suggests that the innovation process is dynamic. Tracing the groups back to their adoption decision, it is evident that changes that have occurred due to the innovation are significant. Of the eight schools under Group A, one, Eastville, can be differentiated as a school where SSCDP was further 'reduced' some years after initial implementation. The

headmaster has also indicated that further reductions may occur. The condition of TSRP supplied facilities in this school is generally deteriorating, with no sign that improvements will occur under the current headmaster. As this is the only school in the programme where a component of the innovation has been abandoned the school is called the 'reductionist' because of the implementation response emerging. Two schools: St Jones and St Stanley by contrast, have installed some elements that were rejected at first. In this manner, the size of the innovation is gradually growing. For this reason, these schools are labelled the 'expansionists'.

TABLE 8.8 PROJECT SCHOOLS AND DIFFERENTIATING ATTRIBUTES

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>ADOPTION PRESSURE</u>	<u>DECISION LATITUDE</u>	<u>RESOURCE PROVISION</u>	<u>USE</u>
Batho-Batho	High	Low	Problematic	Moderate
Eastville	High	Low	Most Problematic	Limited
Holyvale	High	Low	Smooth	Moderate
Hloate	High	Low	Smooth	Moderate
Leseli	High	Low	Problematic	Moderate
St Agatha	High	Low	Smooth	Moderate
St Jones	High	Low	Most Problematic	Limited
St Stanley	High	Low	Problematic	Limited
Carson	High	High	Smooth	Full
Somerville	High	High	Smooth	Full
Boreng	Low	Low	Smooth	Full
Mositisi	Low	Low	Smooth	Full
Percy	Low	Low	Most Problematic	Moderate

In the remaining five schools: Batho-Batho; Holyvale; Hloate; Leseli; and St Agatha; the size of SSCDP has remained constant, that is, neither reduction nor expansion has occurred since the time of adoption. Another school where the size of SSCDP has remained constant is Percy. As the behaviour of this school is more similar to that of schools in this group, Percy is also included here. In terms of their response, these six schools were highly selective at the time of initiation, choosing those elements of the innovation that they could handle, thereby adapting the innovation in

the light of problems faced. In view of this, these schools are named the 'selective adaptors'. There are some similarities between certain behaviours of the six schools labelled as 'selective adaptors', and the Group B schools: Carson and Somerville.

At Carson and Somerville, certain elements of the innovation have been selected from the package. Only BH has been chosen as a diversification subject in these schools. Typing was already offered in both schools and it never received assistance from the Project. Whereas the selective adaptors did not seek the approval of the MOE to discard certain components of SSCDP, at Carson and Somerville, a lengthy process of bargaining between the Ministry and the proprietors of these schools took place. The schools were not willing to participate in the innovation. Reasons for this have emerged in the foregone discussion. The Ministry wanted these 'good schools' in the programme to become a 'model' for others. To induce them to join, the MOE had to be flexible and allow these schools to reduce the size of the innovation prior to implementation. Following from this, the schools are called the 'early negotiators', for the reason that their position in the innovation was negotiated much more formally than in any other school.

By contrast, Group C schools actually took the initiative and requested participation in the programme on their accord. What is striking about these schools is that despite the difficult implementation conditions, they have made efforts to adhere to the diversification plan of introducing all four practical subjects. The third school in this Group, Percy, does not match this behaviour and for that reason it has been included under the selective adaptors. It is in consideration of their obliging response that Boreng and Mositisi are labelled as the 'faithful'. In Chapter Nine, differences among schools within each type and differences between these five types of implementation response are explained.

8.4 CONCLUSION

To reiterate the message in the quotation that opens this chapter, the researcher contends that it is fallacious to expect fidelity in implementation across the schools [Chapter Three]. The fidelity perspective to the implementation process stresses that a change programme should be used essentially in the manner prescribed by the developers and practices deviating in any way from what is specified as full implementation are not acceptable [Berman, 1981; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1987]. Such a view is rather myopic. It ignores the idiosyncratic cultures of individual schools which tend to shape response to the implementation of new programmes. In other words, the school's contextual conditions need to be recognised as important in determining the implementation outcomes. These will differ from school to school.

The contradiction emerging in the discussion is that although the MOE expected fidelity in implementation as an outcome, no guidelines were provided to the schools on how the process would proceed. In other words, procedural decisions on the implementation task were left in the hands of the school leadership, which after all has a great degree of autonomy on curricular issues. In so doing, the MOE withdrew its involvement quite early during the innovation process. This is described as the adoption-perspective rather than an implementation-perspective to the innovation process [van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1986]. The position taken by the MOE therefore widened the distance between the locus of change and the users. This in turn weakened the 'obligatory status' of the schools towards SSCDP, hence the differences in implementation response. The schools seem to have 'muddled through' [Lindblom, 1959] the process of change, primarily due to a lack of clear implementation guidelines, lack of monitoring and lack of on-going support, professionally and materially.

In sum, the nature of the adoption decision sets the stage for

implementation response. That is, depending on the nature of adoption decision, some schools seem to respond positively while others seem to respond negatively. Inadequacies in resource provision can incapacitate the innovation process. The MOE only provided resources just to set conditions for adoption but did not facilitate implementation properly. No provision was made as to what would happen after schools had adopted SSCDP. Under these conditions, the schools selected from the innovation package those components that they could risk to implement. What this suggests is that the design of SSCDP was poor and the implementation demands were misjudged by the change agents. In Chapter Nine, the consequences of this situation are examined.

CHAPTER NINE

DIVERGENCE IN RESPONSE: CRISIS OR OPPORTUNITY?

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The interaction of an educational innovation with its setting [that is, its implementation] generally results in changes in the initially conceived innovation.

[Berman, 1981:263]

The above statement succinctly expresses the major finding in Chapter Eight in which responses of the 13 Project schools to the implementation of SSCDP are examined. What has emerged from the explanatory analysis in that chapter is that, contrary to the fidelity response expected by the change agents, the implementation outcomes have diverged from the policy intents as originally stated for SSCDP. In as far as divergence from policy intents has caused attrition to the innovation, this means that the overall level of implementation is low. In the light of the above statement, this finding provides the basis for considering whether divergence from policy intents necessarily spells out a situation of crisis or whether it provides an opportunity for the innovation to take root and become stabilised within the school setting.

Regarding this observation, the chapter addresses the last of the key research questions: Of what significance are the emerging types of implementation response for the long-term sustainability of SSCDP? The discussion:

- clarifies the nature of differences among the schools within and between types of implementation response;
- examines factors that predispose towards sustainability of a change programme;

- considers the extent to which the survival of SSCDP seems to have been induced by some features of the innovation policy .

The interpretative analysis in this chapter is, therefore, intended to highlight the value of examining the problem of implementation from an adaptation perspective in order to enhance insight into the complex relationship between implementation and continuation of an innovation programme.

9.2 DIFFERENCES IN IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSE

Towards the end of Chapter Eight, five types of implementation response have been suggested. These are labelled as the faithful; early negotiators; the selective adaptors; expansionists and the reductionist. The differences this typology indicates have not yet been fully explicated. In this section, each one of these groups is examined, highlighting mainly the differences between the types and between schools within each type.

9.2.1 THE FAITHFUL

Of the 13 Project schools, this label is attached to two. These are Boreng and Mositisi. It is due to their ability to introduce four practical subjects in their curricula as stated in the diversification plan that these schools are named as the faithful. But, as illustrated in Chapter Eight little else is common between them.

DIFFERENCES

It was established in Chapter Eight that at Boreng the principal is an initiator, a loyalist supporter and a facilitator. As an initiator, he invited the innovation to the school. As a loyalist supporter, he has remained in the school throughout the innovation period. Literature on change claims that the longer the involvement with the innovation, the more proficiency is acquired. The principal at Boreng is expected to have achieved a high level of 'practice mastery' by virtue of his experience. This is vital for an

effective implementation process. Besides inviting the innovation to the school, the principal at Boreng has initiated what is called the 'Production Day' whereby one afternoon a week is devoted towards the production of food. This has facilitated diversification while also being an important innovative feature of this school. It encourages participation of all students regardless of whether or not they do Agriculture as a subject. This might achieve two consequences for the school. It can break the stereotyped attitudes that Agriculture leads to manual labour and that it is suitable for less talented students only. Secondly, with the kinds of practical projects going on in this school, the income raised might be used to subsidize the fees paid by students towards practical subjects, an issue that has caused much controversy among the principals and administrators alike [Chapter Six, Sect. 6.2.4]. The idea of a 'Production Day' could be seen as reflecting both the philosophy and objectives of SSCDP in a meaningful way. It is also a move towards self-reliance at least in agriculturally-oriented activities.

By contrast, at Mositisi no practical projects have been introduced although the requirements for Agriculture under the diversification programme specify the need to introduce animal projects such as piggery, rabbitry, poultry and dairy cows so as to widen the scope of the syllabus. The principal at Mositisi mentioned lack of financial resources as the major constraint against starting practical projects. The practical subject fee charged from the students, as the subject teacher argued, could be used to start projects, but the headmaster feels that the money is not enough. If schools like Boreng and Percy have managed to start these projects without financial assistance from the MOE, the implication is that schools not initiating practical projects are less committed to the success of the innovation. Concerning support, Mositisi has suffered a great deal from staff turnover among principals. For example, between 1981 and 1989,

three headmasters have come and gone. Instability in school leadership is known as a great threat to the innovation process.

In the light of the progress made at Boreng with the implementation of the Agriculture aspect of the innovation package, there are signs of deeper changes in this school and it is a step ahead of Mositisi and ahead of many others in the programme. Coupled with other features already mentioned, namely the supportiveness and loyalty of the principal; stability in the school leadership; initiativeness of the principal and a steady increase in enrolment [as shown in the next sub-section], Boreng seems to have responded more positively to SSCDP than Mositisi.

9.2.2. THE EARLY NEGOTIATORS

These are Carson and Somerville. They acquire this label from the process of negotiation that took place at the initiation stage.

DIFFERENCES

These differ from the above group in that here, pre-implementation changes in the original size of the innovation were extensive. The consequences of this seem more adverse at Somerville than at Carson. At Somerville, assistance was not sought from TSRP to 'upgrade and improve' the teaching of Typing started prior to SSCDP. This can be interpreted as a sign of resistance to the intervention of SSCDP. BH, the only subject adopted, is terminal at JC. While some schools are making efforts to extend Woodwork to the COSC level, no such plans were reported in this school. In comparison, at Carson, Woodwork is offered at COSC level. This school is also the base for the Central Supplies Unit. Carson was chosen because it has sophisticated machinery for the repair and servicing of equipment. The level of expertise in handling the BH machinery is high. In addition, the now ex-headmaster has been appointed as the coordinator

of the Association of Technical Education teachers in the country. All these factors have contributed to the advancement of the implementation of SSCDP in this school. Although Somerville has the same kind of advanced facilities and an equally high level of expertise, the change agents preferred Carson because in that school, the atmosphere for change proved more favourable [Chapter Eight].

The experience of Carson with the implementation of SSCDP outperforms that of Somerville. At the latter, SSCDP seems to have reached a stalemate situation, with only minimal or cosmetic changes having taken place. The principal does not believe in 'too much diversification' which is described as 'too loose a structure'. The school values a 'well-defined, specialised curriculum'. It also prefers to remain a commercial high school. This is the situation that makes the future of SSCDP in this school less certain. On the other hand, impressive developments have occurred at Carson, suggesting that the transformations that have been made to the original design of the innovation have improved its fit with the school interests and conditions. The process of negotiation has allowed flexibility while also giving the school a high latitude to shape the innovation according to its needs and capabilities. It is argued towards the end of this chapter that in a centrally controlled system, and where innovation packages are introduced from top-down, flexibility on the part of the Ministry is desirable to encourage wider participation in the change programme. But the danger is that 'it may also open the door for evasion and opportunistic compliance' [Timar; 1989:331]. Huberman and Miles [1984] have argued that when administrators, with or without pressure give users latitude to adapt the innovation, much depends on what the latitude is used for. If it is used to reduce the load on users in a laissez-faire fashion, low percentages of use are likely. But if users have a reasonable commitment to the innovation, then latitude giving can feed programme development and increase

percentage of use. Somerville seems to conform to the former, while Carson appears to conform to the latter view.

9.2.3. SELECTIVE ADAPTORS

The six schools in this group are Batho-Batho; Hloate; Holyvale; Leseli; Percy and St Agatha. What distinguishes this group from that of the early adaptors is that decisions not to introduce all practical subjects in the innovation package came after TSRP had completed the construction of the physical facilities; supplied equipment and materials and made schools ready for the programme to start working. In other words, it was when problems of implementation surfaced that the schools were constrained from wholesome adoption of the programme. The term applies to this group because the schools have selected from and adapted the innovation to fit their local needs and capabilities despite the expectations of the change agents and without their approval.

DIFFERENCES

At Percy achievements are better than in any of the schools in this group. Like Boreng and Carson, there is a 'production unit' in this school set up for large-scale vegetable production and animal projects have been started. Another achievement is the introduction of Agriculture at the COSC level. Classified among the schools with the 'most serious problems' with construction work [Chapter Eight, Sect. 8.2], the school needs to be commended for its ability to overcome them on its own initiative, thereby improving its implementation progress. Common with St Agatha, is the teaching of Woodwork at COSC level. Throughout the innovation period, both schools have benefitted from a stable leadership.

At Leseli and Hloate, implementation activities are limited to BH and Homec only. At the former, Needlework has been extended to the COSC

level, an achievement not to be found in any of the schools in the programme. Regarding Hloate, an observation to make is that little seems to have been achieved besides including the two subjects in the curriculum both of which are terminal at JC. Of importance is the case of Batho-Batho. Before the intervention of SSCDP, it is said that this school had been self-reliant because a variety of agriculturally-oriented projects, such as poultry, piggery and rabbitry were done. In addition self-help schemes, involving the local community were organised to build houses for teachers as well as classrooms for students. It was for these outstanding achievements that the school was selected into the programme. In other words, its past history of innovativeness made the MOE believe that the school will achieve significant levels of success with the implementation of SSCDP.

Ironically, with the intervention of SSCDP, these activities have disappeared. Thus, contrary to the expectation that SSCDP would lead to improvements in these self-reliant activities, the innovation in this school has had unintended outcomes in that it has led to a deterioration rather than an improvement in the teaching of Agriculture and in the general self-reliant status of the school. The ex-headmaster argued that since Agriculture became an examination subject with the arrival of SSCDP, the projects that were done as part of the extra-curricula activities had to be forfeited in order to place more emphasis on the theoretical aspects of the subject. Because these are required by the syllabus, and the examinations being theory-biased, the shift was inevitable. This emphasises that due to lack of external support, the school has not been able to make a transition in a manner that would enhance the continuity of the innovative activities self-initiated by the school.

Holyvale is rather a unique case in this group of selective adaptors. For

instance, in the area of TE, Woodwork has not been upgraded to a full BH course. Also, only Needlework is offered. This means that there is only partial rather than full adoption in two subject areas. This is a low level of use of the innovation. The strengths of implementation efforts in this school are to be found in the organisational arrangements that were made to accommodate SSCDP. Prior to diversification, Bookkeeping and Commerce were taught but the school had experienced problems in recruiting qualified teachers for Typing to complete the package of commercial subjects. Thus, Typing never took off and the school subsequently decided to drop the other two subjects in order to introduce more subjects from the innovation package. By so doing, the principal must have anticipated problems associated with an overcrowded curriculum. This means that, at Holyvale the attempt to improve 'organisational fit' of SSCDP within the school setting, by cancelling some of the old subjects in favour of the new, is a positive indication of commitment towards finding SSCDP a settled or embedded status.

9.2.4 THE EXPANSIONISTS

The two schools in this group are St Jones and St Stanley. The difference between these schools and others is that some elements that were initially rejected have been recently introduced. This is Needlework at St Jones and Domestic Science at St Stanley. Through 'restoration', the size of the innovation has been expanded, hence the label.

DIFFERENCES

Unlike St Stanley, St Jones experienced enormous difficulties during the setting up of physical infrastructure, including a faulty construction of the Homec building. No money was made available by the MOE to rectify these faulty structures. As a result, this subject could not be introduced till some alterations had been made. At Percy for example, the same problem was

experienced, but the school struggled independently to raise money and make alterations so that the facilities could be useable. The unwillingness of the school leadership at St Jones to raise funds on its own so that alterations could be made to facilitate the introduction of this subject is an indication of lukewarm attitudes towards SSCDP. It also shows poor motivation and inability to strive for the building of a problem-solving capacity locally. St Jones is now included under TSRP IV, which is mainly for the improvement of primary education, so that the Homec building could be altered as according to the syllabus requirements. In a way, SSCDP has caused the dependency of some schools on the limited central level resources.

Prior to diversification, St Jones was teaching Typing and the intention of the school leaders was to mould it into a commercially-oriented high school. SSCDP, in as far as it involves teaching of a larger number of practical subjects, which would not enable the school to specialise in any one area, was seen as a threat to this goal, hence the poor reception of the innovation. The school has succeeded in introducing all three commercial subjects. Therefore little room was left to adopt more subjects from the innovation package. This retarded the implementation progress in this school. The small size of the programme as adopted at St Jones, coupled with the fact that the practical subjects offered are all terminal at JC level, suggests poor acceptance of the innovation. No assistance was obtained from TSRP to expand Typing to COSC. There are no immediate intentions to introduce Agriculture and Domestic Science as found out during the interview with the principal. The combination of these factors indicates that the level of use of SSCDP at St Jones is likely to remain low .

At St Stanley, the low level of implementation is attributed mainly to the instability of the leadership. When the school was selected into the

programme, it was under an expatriate headmaster who left before the end of Phase I. This school was subsequently headed by another expatriate strongly opposed to the diversification programme [Interview with an administrator, TSRP]. Most of the implementation activities came to a halt during the leadership of this principal. It will be recalled from Chapter Eight [Sect. 8.2.3] that this school boasts with its legendary record of being the best school for Science subjects in the country. It may then be inferred that the headteacher who displayed hostile attitudes towards the innovation considered it as a threat to the fame of the school. Consequently, the size of the innovation was reduced. The recent efforts to expand the innovation by introducing Domestic Science [1986] are indicative of an emerging positive attitude under the new leadership. How far these latest developments in these two schools will shape the future of SSCDP is still uncertain.

9.2.5 THE REDUCTIONIST

Eastville is the only school that does not fit conveniently into any of the above groups, because in this school, there has been a gradual reduction of the innovation. At the start of SSCDP, Eastville was teaching Woodwork introduced by a German volunteer as had been the case at Holyvale and St Stanley. This was to be upgraded to a full BH course. Although facilities and equipment were provided, the school has never attempted to introduce the other two aspects of BH. The best that has been done is to extend the teaching of Woodwork to the COSC level. The fact that most of the TSRP supplied facilities are not being utilised illustrates contradictions between the expectations of the MOE and the intentions of the school.

One remarkable decision by this school that illustrates negative attitudes to SSCDP has been the dropping off of Needlework from the curriculum as of 1988. The MOE was not consulted about this. The reduction process in

this school can be seen as having occurred in two ways. There has been the reduction in the size of the innovation at the adoption stage in the sense that the school did not introduce all subjects as originally planned which was the same for the selective adaptors and the expansionists. But, in addition, there has also been reduction by cutting off on what the school had originally started to do. In terms of the stability of the innovation, this reaction has a damaging effect. But, in view of the problems of implementation encountered by this school [Chapter Eight Sect. 8.2.2], it might be seen as having been inevitable.

During our interview, the headmaster hinted at the likelihood of further reduction in the size of the innovation. As he argued, due to a limited number of tools, most of which got lost or are broken, and due to lack of finances to introduce animal husbandry, the school is considering eliminating Agriculture from the curriculum as the quality of teaching in this subject has deteriorated over the years. From observation and interview with the subject teacher, the researcher learnt about the problems concerning the teaching of Agriculture. Tools are in short supply because some are used for Development Studies, but worse, others are kept by teachers in their residencies for private use. When the headteacher was asked about this, he said he has heard that rumour before but there is no proof as TSRP equipment was not 'marked for identification'. The head felt he had no authority to confront teachers as this would cause 'quarrels'. It was obvious that this situation will never be rectified. Eastville is the school where all the Domestic Science equipment supplied by TSRP got lost. This was never replaced and as a result, the subject was never introduced. This leads one to speculate about the future of the innovation in this school.

In as far as this is the only school where an element of the innovation has

been actually abandoned in addition to the partial adoption of BH and rejection of Typing, Eastville can thus be seen as the epitome of resistance to this change programme. When one considers the comments the principal made about the benefits [or, rather lack of] of the programme for the students, and disappointment with assessment measures of students' practical projects [Chapter Eight, Sect.8.2.3], it is not surprising that hostile attitudes have developed. This response is not just an indication of poor commitment or indifference but it might set off disillusionment about prospects of a diversified curriculum in the neighbouring schools to which the programme is still to be spread.

From the foregone discussion, it is evident that achievements in the implementation of SSCDP vary from group to group and from school to school. In many cases, although the decision to adopt may have been the same [Chapter Eight, Sect.8.2.1] implementation paths have differed. For a systematic explanation of these variations, the section below focuses on specific factors that influence implementation outcomes. These are drawn from the literature and were indicated in Chapter Three.

9.3 FACTORS THAT PREDISPOSE TOWARDS SUSTAINABILITY

Sustainability in this context refers to the continuation of the diversification programme in the Project schools. As stated in Chapter Three, this process is commonly referred to as 'institutionalisation' or 'routinisation'. Sustainability is the preferred term as the innovation is still being implemented and will therefore require a longer period of time to reach full institutionalisation, which according to Ekholm et al [1987:257] can take anything 'between 2 to 20 years'. Research has succeeded in identifying a number of factors commonly found to influence change in practice. Fullan [1982; 1989] has suggested four broad categories:

- Characteristics pertaining to the curriculum change being attempted;
- Local contextual conditions at the school district and school levels;
- Local strategies used to foster implementation; and
- External [to local school context] factors affecting the likelihood of implementation.

The above factors are associated more with implementation than with institutionalisation. Following an extensive review of the literature on the latter and a detailed evaluation of seven case studies, Miles et al [1987:248-252] list the following as key aspects most favourable or supportive to successful institutionalisation: Policy-level confirmation; vision building; external support; internal support; school leader attention to institutionalisation; ownership; and embedding. The following discussion selects from both lists factors seen as relevant for the research problem and for the experience of SSCDP in Lesotho. First, factors that influence implementation are examined before considering those that affect institutionalisation. The first group of factors is sorted into three domains:

- Characteristics of the innovation;
- Characteristics in the process of change; and
- Characteristics at the school level.

9.3.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INNOVATION.

Both the 'quality' and 'practicality' of an innovation are seen as key factors that influence the implementation response at the school level.

QUALITY

In Chapters Six and Seven it was established that SSCDP was badly designed. This innovation was initiated in response to the need to make secondary education more relevant for development purposes. SSCDP was

meant to embrace the philosophy of self-reliance. To match these expectations and aspirations, the substance of SSCDP had to be complex. With substantial financial assistance obtained as a loan from the World Bank / IDA, the MOE was able to provide the Project schools with the necessary physical infrastructure. However, this could only facilitate adoption. In terms of 'software inputs' [Verspoor, 1986] such as curriculum materials and teacher preparation, the implementation demands were not met. The supply of physical infrastructure predated both of these. In this manner, the schools were forced to adopt a half-developed innovation package.

In Chapter Seven it is also illustrated how the pace of development in teacher preparation and curriculum work has varied in the three subject areas included in this investigation. For example, while in TE tremendous progress has been made, in Agriculture and Homec, efforts have lagged behind, resulting in unevenness in the quality of activities. This uneven progress is reflected in the practice of the innovation at the school level. In Agriculture where progress is poorest, the level of adoption is lowest. In TE, where improvements in the quality of both hardware and software inputs have been maximised through the additional support from LITESP, the rate of innovation use is highest. Put more clearly, because the quality of SSCDP is poorest in the area of Agriculture, fewer schools have introduced this subject. By contrast, all the 13 Project schools have introduced either BH or Woodwork due to the improved quality in the various aspects required for implementation. With regards to Homec, the quality of the innovation is poor in as far as some Project schools are still teaching the old Domestic Science or Needlework syllabus. There are three such schools, namely, Holyvale, St Jones and St Stanley. This leaves only seven schools that do the new integrated Homec syllabus. This evidence leads to the view that good quality innovation has the potential of inducing

a higher level of likelihood to continue the implementation process.

On this basis, it is evident that to increase chances for the future sustainability of Agriculture and Homec in the school curricula, more work needs to be done. It is the onus of the MOE as the initiator of change to see to it that the innovation is well-designed and fully developed in terms of both hardware and software inputs. What has happened so far is that schools have been reluctant to implement those components of SSCDP where the quality is poorest.

PRACTICALITY

According to Fullan [1989:22], practical innovations are those that fit with the teachers' situation and that include concrete how-to-do-it information. The focus is on the second aspect of this definition. Furthermore,

if the necessary resources, support and pressure are not present on a continuous basis, those expected to implement the change are likely to dismiss it as impractical, no matter how much potential it may have.

[Fullan, 1989:23]

The experience of SSCDP shows that this innovation does not adequately satisfy any of these requirements, but surprisingly, at the school level it has survived. It is paradoxical that the World Bank was the first to declare this innovation 'impractical' having participated in its design and assumingly, having influenced its development as its chief financier.

In terms of the original design of the innovation, each school was expected to introduce four practical subjects simultaneously into the curriculum. It was stated that this would be practical if enrolment rose to 1000 per school. The table overleaf shows how schools have fared on this issue. In the view of the change agents, the facilities supplied would enable expansion of enrolment to meet the target of 1000 students per school. The assumption was that the supply of facilities would automatically lead to an

increase in enrolments, and therefore, to an increased number of students doing practical subjects. Ironically, headmasters were not given skills on how to manage schools with such expanded enrolments. More teachers would also be needed and these have always been in short supply.

TABLE 9.1 SSCDP SCHOOLS: ENROLMENT AND PRACTICAL SUBJECTS. 1983-89

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>YEAR</u>							Average % Increase	No. of Practical Subjects
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989		
Batho-Batho	451	442	411	404	393	390	377	- 3	3
Boreng	472	495	469	469	484	524	570	2.8	4
Carson	434	478	464	448	473	393	424	2.7	2
Eastville	404	325	348	363	315	354	337	- 4	2
Hloate	389	376	432	389	420	494	470	4.0	2
Holyvale	336	435	336	292	261	320	346	7.5	3
Leseli	417	431	413	457	431	512	561	4.6	2
Mositisi	375	403	363	395	369	416	413	2.0	4
Percy	191	247	262	241	251	270	266	4.5	3
Somerville	408	413	419	423	445	439	444	1.2	2
St Agatha	398	393	400	409	465	447	412	2.4	3
St Jones	279	332	323	333	330	342	349	3.0	3
St Stanley	358	352	352	353	348	363	372	0.8	2

SOURCE: NCDC STATISTICAL DIVISION [1990]

Although the original target of 1000 students per project school was later lowered to 800, the table above reveals that none of the schools have expanded their enrolments that much. In this table, 1983 is used as the reference point because this is the year when the programme took off in many schools as shown in Chapter Eight, Tables 8.2 and 8.3.

Table 9.1 indicates that the increase in enrolment is generally low with slight fluctuations over the years. The highest average percent increase per year that has been achieved so far is 7.5 [at Holyvale]. This figure is

suspect when considered alongside others. The researcher had no direct access to the files containing these 'statistical returns'. Quite possibly, the secretary who copied these figures could have made a mistake because in the 1984 MOE Report of the Study Team, the 1984 enrolment figure at Holyvale is given as 350. As the validity of this figure is doubtful, when excluded, the average percent increase on the basis of the remaining six-year figures becomes 4.4. This is more realistic when considering the trends in enrolment throughout the 1983-1989 period.

Table 9.1 also reveals that at Batho-Batho and Eastville, the enrolment figures have actually declined at the annual rate of 3% and 4% respectively. At St Stanley, the rate of expansion is most disappointing, having more or less stagnated at 0.8%. Similarly, at Somerville, there has been a very slight increase [1.2%]. What needs to be stressed is that even the two schools - Boreng and Mositisi- that have diversified most, their rate of increase in enrolment has been poor. These schools offer the four practical subjects in the innovation package. In the light of the SSCDP goals one, would therefore expect to find the highest enrolment figures in these schools. Although the figures are highest at Boreng, the average rate of increase has been highest at Leseli, followed by Percy.

Commenting on the unsuccessful attempts to increase enrolments, Perry [1981:42] argues:

This plan fell through because of lack of available class periods, lack of hostels and staff housing and lack of desire to expand schools and lack of wide understanding and acceptance of the plan in the first place.

To add, one member of the secretariat stated that the enrolment target of 1000 was 'the best kept secret by the Ministry' [Interview Comment]. Perhaps it is because the MOE had not been able to address the other problems arising from expansion of enrolments. The above quoted comment was made in 1981, the early days of project implementation.

Phase I schools were not yet fully operational and construction work was still going on in the Phase II schools. Yet, premature as the above observation may seem to be, it has proved to have been accurate given the fact that by 1989, none of the Project schools has come close to achieving the set target.

Following from the government suggestion that

... High schools should offer no more than ten subjects except in cases where the school has more than fifteen streams [450 students] ...

[MOE; 1984:9]

the practicality of the innovation has been reduced further. On the basis of this suggestion, the goal of expansion is not compatible with the policy on the scope of the curriculum that schools can have. The in-built contradiction is that, while the MOE aspired to introduce a package of four subjects, the question of organisationally fitting these within the curriculum structure of schools remained unsolved.

The argument that SSCDP has overloaded school programmes is frequently debated. This arises from the problem of how practical subjects are to be scheduled in the time-table. The dilemma of the diversification plan of four practical subjects is an urgent matter because:

- Most secondary schools have time-tables of 7-8 periods a day, with about 40 periods per week of 40 minutes each.
- There are no regulations on how many - or few periods a subject must be taught. For example, English in some schools is taught 5, 7 or nine periods per week.
- Standard Form A, B, C curriculum is English, Sesotho, Science, Maths, Development Studies or History or Geography or Commerce and Bookkeeping and one practical subject or Religious Knowledge. To fit in 1 or 2 practical subjects means some other subject will have to be cut or curtailed.

[TSRP, 1981c:12]

In schools that have been faithful to the plan of four subjects [Boreng and Mositisi], the question of an overloaded curriculum is of concern. As the 1981 TSRP Evaluation Report stated:

A Ministry circular of 1982 limited the number of subjects a school could offer to the CORE group of five plus one Practical Subject, but it did not happen.
[Perry, 1982:43]

As the circular did not exclude the Project schools, it seems to contradict the diversification plan.

Consequently, in the faithful schools, the curriculum is wide. At Mositisi, in addition to the core subjects, the following are taught: Development Studies, Agriculture, BH, Bookkeeping, Typing and Homec. This gives a total of 10 subjects. At Boreng, in addition to all of these, History and Geography are taught, giving a total of 12 subjects. Commenting on the situation at Boreng, the MOE [1984:2] states:

The school offers a very broad curriculum for historical reasons. It had traditionally been a purely academic school but was bound to diversify its curriculum to meet the requirements of TSRP. The traditional subjects were not removed from the curriculum since this had implications on the already existing staff.

In the rest of the schools, the scope of SSCDP became reduced to three or even two subjects. From the analysis in Chapter Eight, it is clear that this was not only to comply with the education policy guidelines but it provided a means for the schools to avoid some of the implementation problems.

Thus, variation in implementation response can partly be explained in terms of poor practicality of the innovation. With low enrolments, it was not 'practical' for some schools to accommodate four new subjects. Due to limited numbers, 'separate streams for each practical subject area could not be developed' as envisaged in the plan. Somehow, the schools were caught up in a muddle. The MOE supplied a package of facilities for schools to introduce four subjects while at the same time passing a regulation that schools of less than 450 students should not offer more than ten subjects in their curriculum. As seen from Table 9.1 only two schools - Batho-Batho and Boreng had an enrolment of slightly over 450 in 1983. It is ironical

that given this situation, the MOE could have anticipated schools to expand their enrolments to 1000. This target seems to have been too ambitious to be achieved.

It is in recognition of such contradictions that the MOE is seen as facing the challenge of redefining precisely what SSCDP should entail. Faced with these contradictions, many Project schools opted to transform the innovation package by reducing its size. This has not been systematic and has happened without the approval of the MOE in all the schools except Carson and Somerville. As far as the reduction in size was negotiated in these two schools, the practicality of the programme can be seen as having been improved. This is a step towards enhancing the continuity of the programme.

9.3.2 CHARACTERISTICS IN THE CHANGE PROCESS.

Critical factors in this domain are the support provided to put into practice the innovation and the clarity in the procedures of bringing about change.

SUPPORT ACTIVITIES

These are mainly provided by the central level support agencies. Crandall [1987:106] explains that:

Support means the process of aiding or helping school improvement, and may take the form of training, consultation, provision of information or materials.

From Fig.7.1 in Chapter Seven, it can be seen that regarding the implementation of SSCDP, the sources of support are many. The study examined the kinds of assistance given to the implementers. Data have revealed that in both Agriculture and Homeec, the agencies have not been able to provide school level support to the teachers.

When considering that the implementation of SSCDP has been

characterised by a strong process of 'adaptation' whereby 'schools modify their practices to conform to project requirements and project technologies are adapted to the day-to-day realities of the school' [Berman, 1981] - support activities from the external change agencies are vital in providing the feedback project staff need to make these modifications and vice versa. The study has established that external support services were lacking when SSCDP was introduced. This problem has been overcome only in the TE area because of the added support from LITESP which provides 'School Advisory Services' to practising teachers [Chapter Five, Sect.5.4]. Yet, experience in other innovation programmes illustrates how vital support in the change process is.

For example, importance of support is underlined in the case of SSCEP in Papua New Guinea as discussed in Chapter Two. Jennings-Wray [1988:169] stresses that a general supportiveness appears to have underpinned the relations between staff in SSCEP schools. A group approach was adopted to the use of FIST [Further Improvement in Skills of Teaching] booklets. It is argued that FIST provided the teachers with the necessary social support they needed in the process of experimenting with new ideas and their use helped to promote greater staff participation and team effort in SSCEP schools [Crossley and Vulliamy, 1986].

By examining the activities of the support agencies in Chapter Seven, the study has highlighted the potential contribution of external support to the implementation of SSCDP which seems to have been overlooked at the design stage. Support activities in the implementation of SSCDP therefore, need to be modified in both form and substance. These will be enhanced by effective monitoring activities which at the moment are only provided in the BH area. This is a far-reaching issue that will require the MOE to consider seriously how best to develop a 'rational system for external

support that is both visionary and responsive to the school needs [Hopkins, 1987:103]. Factors problematic for the development of a coherent system of external support need to be recognised. Most important among these is the fact that the MOE has no direct control over the schools but has to function through the Secretariats which provide a link between schools at the parish level and the MOE at the centre. Financial implications in the process of setting up effective support systems also need to be recognised. The role of the inspectorate and district level administrators is recognised as important.

So far, the limited support activities that are provided are characterised by lack of coordination, which has become a stumbling block to effective implementation of SSCDP. The study seeks to argue for coherence and balance within the external support system. It would appear that external support activities would be more efficient if they are systematic and organised rather than random and uncoordinated. The picture arising from the investigation is that support agencies differ as far as the adequacy of their activities towards the implementation of SSCDP is concerned. As the study has revealed that little, if any assessment of needs at the school level was done, this could be a priority activity to determine exactly how each school could be helped. To Ekholm et al [1987:250], institutionalisation of an innovation 'is more likely to occur if external support-givers collaborate with the school in a school-tailored way'. That is, 'external support is needed for developing and constructing typical and adapted interventions for schools institutionalizing an innovation'.

Crandall [1987:112] suggests that 'networking' can be an extremely effective activity for an external support system, because if clients actively network with each other, the support system has less direct assistance to give. Networking maximises the expertise and experience of the system's

clients and takes advantage of peer-to-peer learning. In addition, 'Policy-makers can help schools develop a productive inner context for improvement by providing mechanisms for them to see and learn from other schools Such exposures are made available to schools if policy-makers allocate resources for exchanges between schools via forums ... '. This idea is getting introduced in Lesotho through the Central Supplies Unit established by LITESP at Carson to service the implementation of Woodwork and BH [Chapter Seven]. The point to make is that the rate and efficacy of implementation has increased at Carson because the school has received this additional support. For the MOE and the diversification programme in general, LITESP, through its initiative, has provided a good beginning knowledge base on how to design and manage a 'networking' facility to contribute to the effective implementation of the innovation. This is of vital importance in the country as some areas are geographically isolated and therefore not easily accessible. The idea needs to be expanded specifically for the benefit of the mountain schools. This is a window of opportunity for the MOE to revitalise the support it can offer towards the innovation to ensure its continued use.

CLEAR PROCESS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Fullan [1989:16] has clarified:

Successful implementation does not just happen, even in the presence of great initial enthusiasm. The people organising and facilitating a change project must have a vision of the change process that is conceptually sound, organisationally practical, and politically sensitive to the local and external context ... Good implementation requires good planning.

The experience of SSCDP reveals how the change process has been a 'muddle through' due to a lack of specific implementation guidelines. In essence, clarity in guidelines refers to proper planning of the tasks and procedures at the various stages of the innovation process. In the case of SSCDP, failure to plan adequately, that is, to assess the future implications

of the decisions to adopt this innovation has been one of the most glaring weaknesses of the management of this programme.

Evidence from the field data strongly indicates that on the whole, the programme was itself not just badly designed as argued in section 9.2.1 above, but that it was sketchily thought out given that this was the country's first experience at attempting system-wide reforms. Considering the enormous complexities involved in implementing change, a thorough situational analysis of the context into which an innovation is to be introduced as mentioned above seems to be the linchpin of an effective strategy of implementation, as planning of further activities will be done on the basis of this data. Planning needs to be regarded as a process that weighs the pros and cons of each decision prior to undertaking action. When the innovation develops, concern for the political, socio-economic and cultural environment has to be taken into consideration because this provides a critical and sensitive framework for change. The best strategy for execution of policy depends on long-sightedness in planning.

In other words, strategic planning which goes beyond operational planning [Verspoor; 1986], by venturing on a long-term perspective in terms of the programme's objectives, needs to be adopted. As illustrated in Chapters Seven and Eight, there is a gap between policy intents and innovation practice. The issue that needs to be addressed is: under what conditions can planning be used to reduce this gap? In the context of a centre-to-periphery approach to change, the key elements for strategic planning embrace the creation of systematic feedback mechanisms, effective monitoring of the implementation progress as well as the adaptation of the innovation on the basis of this feedback. Throughout the innovation process, it is imperative that planning is not regarded as a once-and-for-all static event, but as a dynamic process. In the context of

SSCDP, for planning to be effective, the initial focus on creating an organisational structure for change like TSRP; determining ways of acquiring and distributing resources; focussing on training of teachers and development of curriculum materials; needs to be expanded to address problems that occur throughout the implementation process.

It is evident that planning diminished with the phasing out of the special project status of SSCDP. The expectation was that implementation would occur within the rigid dictates of the initial plan. What seems to have been overlooked is that planning needs to be flexible and responsive in order to accommodate changes that may have to be made due to the fact that it is not possible to foresee all problems in advance. If this was recognised, the World Bank would not have rushed to declare SSCDP a failure. Unintended outcomes are common and these demand readjustments in the original plan. This has been witnessed in the case of Batho-Batho, a school that deteriorated from a 'self-reliant to a non-self-reliant' condition as a result of the intervention of SSCDP.

In addition, a broader view of implementation that goes beyond the traditional hardware approach to innovation must be accepted. It is important to recognise that the dominance of delivery of physical facilities builds rigidity into the implementation process. Thus, priority placed on the procurement of physical infrastructure needs to shift towards the achievement of educational objectives. It is not suggested that during implementation complete deviation from the original intentions is desirable. What is advocated is that from the beginning, change agents ought to have a clear vision of what the innovation entails so that throughout the process, focus in planning is directed onto the critical factors with enough room left for major changes if developments in the later stages of the innovation process so demand.

Clear policy guidelines are the key aspect in this case. It is on the basis of these guidelines that programme planning and preparation need to continue beyond the adoption stage. The integration of these two functions to a great extent influences the corrective action or remedial procedures to be followed to ensure the continuity of the innovation. For example, this may result in the modification of resources and other inputs; a change in the time perspective set for implementation or even official abandonment of certain parts of the innovation or installation of others. In other words, these would make the process of 'mutual adaptation' systematic. Most desirable as these procedures may be, it needs to be recognised that these can be constrained by more serious factors. Quite often, agreements between donor agencies and borrowers preclude immediate action to be taken in the case of the latter. Controls on expenditure also make rapid response to changing circumstances difficult.

Research suggests that haste in implementation of innovations is one of the major sources of problems [Wright; 1988]. In Chapters Seven and Eight, it has been illustrated that hasty implementation of SSCDP resulted in problems, both at the centre and in the schools. An observation made by Hallak [1990:133] is that the technique of dividing an innovation into phases may constitute the means of giving an educational entity the time to break with established patterns. In the light of this observation, awareness is needed that innovation is a slow process and that initial stages of implementation are not usually perfect. There is a need to allow a reasonable amount of time for a gradual process of maturation and improvement. This issue is raised because when SSCDP was introduced, there was a great overlap between Phase I and II such that some mistakes in Phase I could not be detected.

In the final analysis, it needs to be stated that it is the combination of characteristics occurring in specific settings which determines implementation outcomes. On this basis, and given the kind of data available, clear and definite predictions on whether or not SSCDP is to be sustained are difficult to make. There is a need to probe deeper into the performance of the individual schools as the factors discussed above are more applicable for explaining the schools' response to SSCDP on a general level but not when comparing differences in-between types of implementation responses and within these.

9.3.2. CHARACTERISTICS AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

There are two related issues under this factor: Teacher participation and school level leadership.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION

Throughout the thesis, it has been illustrated how distanced teachers have always been from the central level activities. To [Jennings-Wray; 1988:168], experience with innovations has repeatedly shown that a process of change whereby innovations were developed externally to the schools and then transmitted to them has not led to any significant change at the user level. The main reason is considered to be lack of teacher participation in the innovation process. Fullan [1982:123] maintains that in the change process, teacher participation is desirable because:

... if the process is characterised by teacher isolation, the innovation may well be adopted right out of existence or used in a perfunctory way.

In the case of SSCDP, 'teacher isolation' is seen as resulting from the superordinate - subordinate relationship that has been dominant throughout the change process. In this manner, the change agents adopted the 'manipulated teacher' view in the innovation process. Olson [1977:62] has argued: such a view does not see the 'teacher as a possibly reluctant recruit, a misconstruer of the purpose of materials, or even worse, a

non-adopter: The teachers are regarded as 'powerless functionaries'.

This, is typical of centrally-initiated power-coercive change strategies of which SSCDP shares some commonalities. These undermine the importance of the role of the teacher in the change process. When teachers are regarded as 'powerless functionaries', the agents of change perpetuate the 'instrumentalist view' to implementation [Aoki; 1984:107-108, also Chapter Three, Sect.3.6.1]. In such a situation, the intention of the change agent is to 'seek teacher allegiance to fairly specific sets of intentions for curriculum practice and goals'. To Olson [1977:63], this is a 'remote control approach' to change. Allied with it 'is a certain arrogance concerning the justification of recommendations and a tendency to "sell the system" rather than explicate it clearly'. The aim is to shape and control teacher behaviour in pre-determined directions, rather than to recognise 'teacher autonomy'.

Regarding SSCDP, the teachers have been largely left on their own to decide and exercise choice on the implementation procedures. Although this may not have been intentional, it has provided an opportunity for 'possible modifications and additions'. Olson [1977:63] refers to this as the 'adaptive approach - which seeks to develop in teachers enhanced awareness of their situation and enhanced intellectual functioning'. It is the researcher's contention that such an approach is desirable where there is adequate pre-service preparation of teachers and when there is a sufficient re-education process on an ongoing basis, as exemplified in the case of TE in Lesotho. Otherwise, such an approach might reinforce the position of isolation among teachers. Evidence from data on Agriculture and Homeec teachers, illustrates how this approach has engendered feelings of neglect precisely because it has not been accompanied by opportunities that would enhance their understanding and participation. Without professional

assistance needed by teachers to analyse and understand their work that kind of teacher autonomy can become a constraint to effective implementation.

There are also critics who are sceptical about teacher participation in decisions pertaining to introduction of changes. Griffin [1990:199] argues:

Although there is a long history to the common sense rhetoric that 'involvement promotes ownership, and participation guarantees implementation', the instances of these and other slogans taking hold in schools are rare.

But, these cannot simply be dismissed as slogans. Such criticisms demand that policy-makers need to make important decisions on how and to what extent teacher participation should be encouraged.

What is obvious is that in-service education must become a priority in the innovation process. Pre-service training is important only as far as it gives teacher trainees certain kinds of knowledge of educational foundations, but until teachers reach the stage of 'interface between curriculum conceptualisation and curriculum-in-use' the teacher's ability to make sense of the acquired knowledge is limited. In view of this, Fullan [1989:13] has advised that 'what is needed is close-to-the scene, ongoing in-service during implementation'. He maintains that:

The greatest effects are achieved when explanation of new practices is combined with demonstrations, opportunity to practice in nonthreatening contexts, and feedback in the classroom. Inservice activities should come in a variety of forms - event -- specific workshops, meetings and conferences; ongoing availability of consultants, local facilitators, and user manuals ...

[Fullan, 1989:13]

Fullan stresses that 'successful change involves learning how to do something new. Once this is understood, it is obvious why inservice education or professional development is a sine qua non of change'.

In other words, in-service courses, workshops or seminars provide settings in which teachers can readily develop the skills they need. This is

in agreement with the finding from the analysis in the previous chapters that in the areas of Agriculture and Homeec, where these are limited or unavailable, the level of implementation is poorer and that in the TE area, where these are available to a somewhat satisfactory level, the rate of implementation is higher. The probability that SSCDP will survive seems greater when 'teacher autonomy' is accompanied by a reasonable degree of monitoring; enforcement and follow-up professional assistance to ensure that the meaning of the innovation is clarified to the users.

SCHOOL LEVEL [PRINCIPAL] LEADERSHIP

To Fullan [1985:1211] all major research on innovation and school effectiveness shows that the principal strongly influences the likelihood of change, because the principal can foster or inhibit change in practice by setting the climate of communication, support and decision making. There is a good deal of evidence in the previous chapter which illustrates how SSCDP has benefitted from leadership qualities and styles. For example, at Boreng, Carson, Holyvale, Percy and St Agatha, the principals have been characterised as being supportive of change. At these schools, the implementation of SSCDP has also benefitted from a stable leadership - whether, because the head has remained unchanged throughout the innovation period until the present time [Boreng], or had an influential position before and later continued as an assistant in the same school and in charge of the practical subjects department [Carson, Holyvale, and Percy] or where the ex-head has recently left having been in the school for over ten years [St Agatha].

In schools like Eastville, Hloate, Somerville and St Stanley, the principals have shown open resistance or indifference to SSCDP. As a result, the innovation has not made the kinds of achievements found in the above-mentioned schools. At Boreng, Mositisi and Percy, where principals

acted as advocates by inviting the innovation, the level of implementation is higher. From their statements about the reasons for introducing SSCDP, principals at Boreng, Carson, Percy and St Agatha seemed knowledgeable about the goals and expected benefits from SSCDP. For example, at Boreng and St Agatha, SSCDP is seen as an 'alternative for the less able student who happens to be in the majority'. At Percy, it is for those likely to 'loiter after JC because no further education opportunities are available for them'. These pieces of evidence show understanding of what the innovation is capable of doing for the school. One can therefore, speculate that SSCDP is tailored to fit these declared aspirations. By contrast, to the principal at Eastville, the innovation seems to be of no 'value for the students ... who do not see any future benefits ... where the programme is self-defeating...'. At St Stanley and Somerville, 'too much diversification is a threat to the quality of education and good results'. These two are among the best schools in the country which are determined to preserve their good reputation and would 'prefer to specialise'. Negative opinions about SSCDP have a destructive potential towards the sustainability of the innovation.

As Fullan [1989:14] has argued:

Teachers are unlikely to change [that is, to experience the conditions necessary to stimulate and support change] if the principal does not communicate clearly at the outset and during implementation that the change is a priority.

The view is that the principal is the person who can and should take the responsibility for creating an environment through the manipulation of critical school variables that will support meaningful change. This view promotes the conception of the principal as someone who undertakes the responsibility for ensuring that school-level conditions promote the activity of bringing about change and who understands that the typical school level constraints must be reduced or eliminated for this activity to take on current and future meaning [Griffin, 1990:199].

In the list of factors that influence change, there are those that focus mainly on specific practices at the school level that are most likely to enhance institutionalisation of the change programmes. From the list suggested by Miles et al [1987:248-252] the ones selected are :

- School leader attention to institutionalisation;
- Ownership; and
- Embedding.

It is important to stress that these factors are not in contradiction with the ones discussed above. These three are seen as specific factors at play at the school level. They therefore, have the potential of advancing the argument that seeks to explain factors behind the achieved level of implementation in the schools, to the argument that highlights the nature and extent of variations across the schools. This analysis is useful for two reasons :

- It helps to establish commonalities between schools;
- It will form the basis for making predictions about sustainability of SSCDP at the school level.

9.4 SCHOOL RESPONSE AND PREDICTED LEVEL OF SUSTAINABILITY

First, implementation responses are reviewed in the light of three factors mentioned above. Then, their pattern of relationships with predicted level of sustainability are presented.

9.4.1 SCHOOL LEADER ATTENTION TO INSTITUTIONALISATION

Miles et al [1987:251] suggest that the institutionalisation of an innovation is likely to occur if there is a school leader who develops activities directed at maintaining the innovation. Three such leaders can be identified among the 13 Project schools. These are at Boreng, Carson and Percy.

AT BORENG : The outstanding diversification activity that is certain to maintain the innovation in this school is the 'Production Day'. This involves large-scale production of vegetables and cereals. In addition, there

are animal projects such as rabbitry; piggery; poultry and dairy cows. In the implementation of the Agriculture component of the innovation, Boreng sets an excellent example.

AT CARSON: 'Metalwork and Woodwork are my lifetime hobbies ... '. These are the words of the principal at Carson. It is no wonder that this school has become specialised in the teaching of BH - the only subject adopted from the diversification programme. The specific activity developed in this school to maintain SSCDP is the 'Production Unit'. All the furniture for the school [used by students and teachers] is made and repaired here. More importantly, the school has become a 'mini-factory' that produces a variety of teaching aids for a number of primary schools in the country. These include wooden counters for the beginners which are colourfully painted; drawing boards; pointer for teachers and other types of teaching aids. These are sold not for profit making as such, but to recover the production costs. Also, as mentioned earlier, the school is the base for the Central Supplies Unit. This involves bulk buying of TE materials, including wood and metal sheets; cutting and packaging these according to the dimensions and quantities required by the syllabus. Individual schools make their orders to this unit. The main advantage is that this has reinforced the diversification activities in this school in a way that supersedes efforts in the other schools.

AT PERCY : The deputy-principal said 'I believe in self-sufficiency in food for the students'. This administrator has been instrumental in the establishment of production units both in animal husbandry and crop cultivation. The activities going on in this school resemble those taking place at Boreng except that here, they are only done by students taking Agriculture as a subject. What is more impressive is that there is a surplus that is sold in the nearby hospital and villages to generate more income for

the school. In the remaining schools, there are no outstanding diversification activities taking place. Where Agriculture is taught, schools only have small vegetable gardens where three or four students share 'plots'. At Boreng, Carson and Percy, the diversification activities taking place indicate a move towards EWP which is now being advocated in the policy documents. In this way, the response of these schools has assisted in the re-interpretation of the diversification policy. This has the potential of strengthening the possibility of the continuation of the innovation in these schools. Therefore, Boreng, Carson and Percy are examples of schools where continuation of SSCDP is most likely due to the specialised diversification activities taking place.

9.4.2 OWNERSHIP

In the opinion of Miles et al [1987:252] the institutionalisation of an innovation is supported by the development of ownership, when administrators and teachers have the feeling that the innovation fits their situation. Fullan [1989:22] seems to agree with this view as he states that the prospects for a successful innovation are obviously greater when those expected to carry out a change agree on the need for and appropriateness of the project. In Chapter Eight several pieces of evidence have been provided to illustrate a poor sense of ownership of SSCDP. There are six schools where it can be argued that administrators have developed a feeling that the innovation fits their situation.

These divide into two groups: [a] Boreng, Mositisi and Percy. In these schools, the innovation was invited and arguments supporting such initiatives are given in Chapter Eight [Sect. 8.2]. Summarily, these are expressed as [1] organisational expansion and [2] improvement of quality of education provided. Implementation of SSCDP was seen as capable of satisfying these needs and aspirations. Another school which stated similar

intentions for the implementation of SSCDP is St Agatha [Chapter Eight, Sect. 8.3]. It can, therefore be argued that on the basis of the experience of SSCDP in these four schools, there are positive indications of continuity of the programme as seen from the above section and as will be shown below.

[b] The second group is that of negotiators. These are Carson and Somerville. Both schools insisted on selecting what they felt was 'appropriate' for their concerns. For example, Somerville only needed BH because Typing was already offered. Beyond these two practical subjects, this school felt it would not be appropriate to diversify widely as schools must 'specialise'. At Carson, the school needed a subject that could be offered throughout the school and it would only be appropriate to introduce a subject where the supply of teachers was guaranteed. BH was the only subject in the package that would fit these criteria.

As all the schools in this group have neither dropped a subject nor abandoned TSRP facilities, it appears that what has been adopted fits their situation. At Carson, a further step was taken to 'adapt the TSRP buildings to those of the school'. This was done 'not only for uniformity but for administrative convenience as well [Chapter Eight Sect.8.2.1]. At Percy, the same was done. In other schools, TSRP buildings stand out in design and in structure. At Carson and Percy the school administrators were allowed to 'dictate their choice' to TSRP. At Carson, the construction work was transferred to the hands of the school from that of the MOW and TSRP. In several ways, therefore, Carson has managed to fit SSCDP into its own situation and on its own terms.

Minor conversions also took place at Leseli, Somerville, St Agatha, Holyvale and St Stanley to fit TSRP facilities to the requirements of the schools. The worst situation is to be noticed at Batho-Batho and Eastville

where TSRP facilities are lying idle, and deteriorating in condition. This is a great wastage in resources. In these schools, the question of whose responsibility it is to maintain and repair or renovate TSRP facilities and equipment is most detrimental to the effective implementation of SSCDP. For instance, at Batho-Batho, the Homec teacher stated that the teaching of this subject was more theoretical than practical due to a shortage of equipment. The refrigerator had been out of use since the teacher came to the school a year ago. This meant that it was impossible for teachers to buy perishable items like meat and vegetables in large quantities. This is not economical for the school as money has to be spent travelling to town to get the needed supplies. Many cookers were noticed to be out of use during observation, thus making baking and other activities difficult to do. The drainage system had never been properly connected from the beginning. Therefore, during demonstration periods and washing up of utensils, students cannot use sinks although they are there. In short, the Homec laboratory at Batho-Batho was observed to be in the worst condition when compared with those in other Project schools. The subject teacher explained that the headmaster was not taking any measures to improve the conditions despite repeated requests from NCDC and TSRP when they come for practical examinations and for stock-taking respectively. It will be recalled that in this school, Typing was not offered because all its equipment got lost together with eight sewing machines. This is more indicative of carelessness and lack of responsibility on the part of the school than blaming the MOE for not making sure that schools were ready for the innovation.

9.4.3. EMBEDDING

To Miles et al [1987:252], the institutionalisation of an innovation is more likely to occur if innovation related structures and procedures are embedded in the organisation. Throughout the thesis, it has been argued

that the MOE did not monitor the implementation progress. Yet, there was a need to change existing administrative and organisational structures in order for schools to accommodate SSCDP. Although schools needed professional advice for this task, it was not forthcoming. As a result schools are still complaining about administrative-related problems such as time-tabling as discussed in Chapter Eight. There is only one school where explicit measures were taken to accommodate SSCDP. This is Holyvale where commercial subjects were dropped off the curriculum so that certain components of SSCDP could be taken.

In schools like Somerville, Carson, Leseli and Hloate, only two practical subjects are taught. The problem of how to accommodate SSCDP seems to have been side-stepped through the process of 'downsizing' [Huberman and Miles, 1984] the innovation. In schools where three or more practical subjects are taught problems of scheduling these in the time-table have been expressed. For example, Boreng has 12 subjects and Mositisi 10 subjects in the curriculum. As the MOE has not been in a position to provide a solution to the scheduling problems, these schools have been advised to either expand enrolments or reduce the number of subjects offered [MOE, 1984]. The latter has serious implications for the staffing situation and for the facilities already supplied. Moreover, it will be a reversal of the original intentions of diversification. This is a dilemma currently confronting the MOE.

The process of embedding in some schools has taken the form of expanding one or two practical subjects into the COSC level. Examples of such schools are Carson; Boreng; Eastville; Leseli; Mositisi; Percy; St Agatha and St Stanley. With the exception of Leseli and Mositisi, all these schools have expanded the teaching of Woodwork to COSC. This is due to adequate professional and material support provided by LITESP. At Leseli, it is

Homec that has been introduced at COSC. Percy has outperformed all others in the sense that two practical subjects - Woodwork and Agriculture - have been introduced at COSC. Mositisi is another Project school offering Agriculture at COSC level. The preference for expanding one or two practical subjects to COSC rather than to introduce four practical subjects at JC level needs to be understood as an appropriate and realistic response because if students do many practical subjects which are all terminal at JC, the problem when they reach COSC is that they have to start learning new subjects for which they have no background or foundation. This might induce poor performance in examinations at this level. In other words, if adopted and used as designed, SSCDP would create a gulf between JC and COSC curricula instead of bringing these closer together. It is in view of such contradictions that some of the transformations done to the innovation should be appreciated as meaningful and purposive. Differences among schools on the factors examined above are summarised in the table below.

TABLE 9.2 TYPE OF IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSE AND FACTORS OF SUSTAINABILITY

FACTORS OF IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSE	LEADERSHIP ATTENTION	OWNERSHIP	EMBEDDING
FAITHFUL	Boreng	Boreng Mositisi	Boreng Mositisi
EARLY NEGOTIATORS	Carson	Carson	Carson Somerville
SELECTIVE ADAPTORS	Percy	Percy	Holyvale Leseli Percy St Agatha
EXPANSIONISTS			St Stanley
REDUCTIONIST			Eastville

Total Schools: 10

Missing = 3

Three schools are missing from the table. These are Batho-Batho; Hloate and St Jones. The first two belong to the group of selective adaptors while the third is one of the expansionists.

Column 1, 'Leadership attention to institutionalisation' seems to be the major threat to the diversification programme because very few school administrators have developed activities directed at maintaining the innovation. Conversely, this factor can be regarded as crucial for the sustainability of SSCDP. On this basis, it can be predicted that in those schools where this factor is applicable, the likelihood of continuation of SSCDP will be high. These schools are Boreng, Carson and Percy, belonging to the faithful, negotiator and selective adaptor groups respectively. Factor No.2, 'Ownership', is applicable only to five schools, the three above-mentioned with the addition of Mositisi and Somerville. It is under Factor No.3 that many schools seem to be making progress. Altogether there are 10 schools where 'embedding' is taking place mainly in the form of expansion of a practical subject to the COSC level. The only three schools where no obvious elements of embedding are taking place are Batho-Batho; Hloate and St Jones.

Therefore, at Boreng; Carson and Percy the continuation of SSCDP seems to stand a better chance than in all other schools. As two factors are applicable at Mositisi instead of the three that are applicable in the first group, the continuation of the innovation here can be predicted at a moderate level. In schools where only one factor applies, the probability that SSCDP will continue can be rated as lower. But it is the schools like Batho-Batho; Hloate and St Jones where it is not certain which direction the future implementation of SSCDP will take. The analysis in Chapter

Eight revealed that Batho-Batho and St Jones experienced problems with the implementation of SSCDP. At St Jones problems were mainly due to faulty designs of buildings which would cost the school a fortune to alter. In the previous section, it is illustrated how the intervention of SSCDP at Batho-Batho led to a deterioration from being a 'self-reliant' to a 'non-self-reliant' school. At both Hloate and Batho-Batho all the Typing equipment got lost soon after TSRP had delivered it. Consequently, this subject never took off in both schools. In addition, at Hloate, the Homec laboratory is not properly connected with the electricity supply. The electric appliances supplied by TSRP are hardly ever used. In Chapter Eight evidence has emerged that the principal at Hloate is 'indifferent' to the diversification programme. The fact that the same principal has been in this school since 1981 may account for the reason why the innovation seems stagnant. With these comments, the relationship between the type of implementation response and the predictable level of sustainability of the innovation is suggested. This is captured in the table below.

TABLE 9.3 IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSE AND PREDICTED LEVEL OF SUSTAINABILITY

IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSE TYPE	PREDICTED LEVEL OF SUSTAINABILITY			
	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW	UNCERTAIN
FAITHFUL	Boreng	Mositisi		
EARLY NEGOTIATORS	Carson		Somerville	
SELECTIVE ADAPTORS	Percy		Holyvale Leseli St Agatha	Batho-Batho Hloate
EXPANSIONISTS			St Stanley	St Jones
REDUCTIONIST				Eastville

At Boreng, Carson and Percy, where the likelihood for the continuation of SSCDP is predicted to be high, it has been illustrated that the climate for change is favourable. A favourable climate is characterised by a stable leadership, a supportive administrative style and positive attitudes to the innovation. In the schools where the level of sustainability of SSCDP is predicted to be moderate - low, incremental changes are gradually taking place but these are not systematically planned. The significance of this response is that it may be a wise decision for the central change agents to aim for a step-by-step introduction of practical subjects rather than bombarding schools with complicated large-scale programmes in a rapid manner. A hasty implementation approach is likely to generate resentment in those schools which are not favourable to a diversified curriculum, whereas a step-by-step method of introducing practical subjects has an advantage of being less disruptive to the established and entrenched patterns of school behaviour.

Table 9.3 confirms that the level of implementation is low as judged from the large number of schools where the likelihood of continuation of SSCDP is predicted as low - uncertain. It also shows that the implementation paths travelled by the 13 schools are very diverse. Even among the schools whose implementation response is typed as faithful or early negotiators, the predicted level of continuation of SSCDP is varied because of different behaviours towards the innovation. With the exception of the schools named the faithful and early negotiators, significant modifications and reductions in the innovation as it came into contact with the school setting occurred. This is the process referred to as 'mutual adaptation' [Chapter Three], whereby innovation practice deviates from policy intents. However, as none of the schools have actually abandoned the innovation, evidence points more towards the success rather than the failure of

SSCDP. But, a substantial amount of work remains to be done to realise the goals of SSCDP so that it becomes a meaningful undertaking in order to contribute towards the improvement of the quality of secondary education in Lesotho. This brings the discussion to the most controversial question. What does diversity in response mean for the continuation of SSCDP?

9.5 DIVERGENCE: CRISIS OR OPPORTUNITY

This study has not attempted to examine and assess the success or failure of the diversification programme. At issue is how the implementation process has taken place and the extent to which the response of the schools is likely to strengthen or threaten the sustainability of this innovation. As shown in the previous chapters, the process of implementing the diversification programme has experienced serious problems. Some are logistical [incomplete construction work]; normative [desire to preserve good reputation of a school]; structural [inability and unwillingness to make curricular revisions] and political [neglect of schools by central change agents]. As can be seen, some of these are 'upfront' problems that needed to be addressed before programme execution in the individual schools. Others became more crucial as the innovation came into contact with the schools. Given all this evidence about the problems associated with this change programme, what is the probability for its continuation? From the perspectives on the educational change process as discussed in Chapter Three, it has to be said that the prospects for the continuity of SSCDP are not so robust.

9.5.1 CRISIS

The innovation policy, which is described as 'open-ended' [Chapter One] has not adequately taken into account certain crucial aspects of implementation: the need to consider implementation as a process and not

an event; the need to encourage commitment through professional development among the implementers and the need to provide after-care and maintenance for the innovation. In Chapter Six it is illustrated that there is considerable lack of clarity and of a common interpretation of goals of this innovation. In Chapter Seven, it is shown that SSCDP creates more needs in terms of teacher education, curriculum development work and physical resource provision, while many remain unsatisfied. In Chapter Eight evidence shows the wide range of problems acknowledged by the principals some of which have persisted throughout the innovation process. In many ways, these problems create a situation for crisis in terms of the continuity of the diversification programme. As Fullan [1982:28-29] would observe, this is a situation of 'painful unclarity' which 'is experienced when unclear innovations are attempted under conditions which do not support the development of the subjective meaning of the change'. In such an event 'the transformation of subjective realities is the essence of change'.

9.5.2 OPPORTUNITY

Therefore, the opportunity for the continuation of the diversification programme arises because the schools have transformed and adapted the innovation in respect to the realities of their local situations. The schools have diverted 'in myriad subtle ways, the early intentions of the originators' [Greig, et al, 1989:162] and this has created conditions for the survival of SSCDP. By adopting a laissez-faire approach to the implementation of SSCDP [Chapter Seven], the MOE has wisely "left the door open" for the schools to continue with or adapt the innovation to their situation. The scope for diversity in the implementation of SSCDP remains the decision of the schools. Such a behaviour concurs with the statement quoted in the beginning of this chapter.

There is no question about the fundamental truth in that statement as evidence in Chapters Six to Eight and also in this one illustrates. The statement embraces the major thesis that this investigation seeks to advance. The truth, as Berman [1981] maintains, is that, any innovation needs to be adapted to fit the demands of the local situation. In fact, as Sieber [1981:129] has also argued:

If complex innovations that have been externally conceived are pursued with any persistence, they are in effect redesigned locally. ... Ironically, then, the more ambitious and organizationally complicated an innovation invented outside the school, the greater the number of alterations made to suit local interests and constraints.

This is echoed in the following remark:

... policy reform is a continuous process, not a once-and-for all change. The need for flexibility and adaptability is the single most important lesson of experience.
[World Bank, 1984:39]

Desirable as the process of adaptation is for the long-term survival of an innovation, there may be dangers associated with it. It is therefore appropriate to conclude with a word of warning:

The problem comes when there is too much adaptation, so the innovation is made trivial or spoiled. Resolution often comes when people agree on the main "core" or "essential" spirit of the innovation that must be maintained.
[Miles & Ekholm, 1985:155]

Louis et al [1985:21] add to the warning, explaining that

... available case studies indicate that an adaptative approach can be carried to extremes ... The important aspects of the new practice may be eroded beyond recognition, as teachers pick and choose different elements and apply them when they will.

These authors stress that adaptations do not necessarily mean that the value of the innovation is lost. In their opinion, the real issue is not "either or" but the balance between changing the new practice to suit local conditions, while still maintaining its key components.

Through the seminars on the Clarification of Policies and Priorities in Education in Lesotho [Chapters One and Six in this study], the change

makers can be advised that the most critical role they can play

... is to remind local staff of the observable adaptations that are taking place [making staff conscious of their behaviours] and to encourage them to formalize adaptations that appear necessary, rather than letting adaptations take place informally within each classroom, or within each "user".

[Louis et al, 1985:214].

9.6 CONCLUSION

In causal terms, it is suggested that the nature and extent of divergence from the original policy intents will induce higher or lower likelihood of programme sustainability. The innovation policy behind the implementation of SSCDP left the resolution of problems associated with continued use of this innovation to the 'practicality ethics' of school leaders. Throughout the post-adoption period, the MOE has more or less assumed a position of neutrality vis-a-vis the diversification process. In this manner, the implementation of SSCDP has not been handicapped by prescriptions from the top. as Darling-Hammond [1990:235] quotes 'Top-down policies can "constrain but not construct" practice'. Though this attitude of 'neutrality' has induced a low level of implementation with significant variations across the 13 schools, it has at the same time provided the local level implementers with an opportunity to adapt the innovation to suit their local conditions. It is this process of adaptation that has given the innovation the opportunity to survive despite the difficult conditions of implementation. There is a hope for the sustainability of SSCDP in the courageous efforts of the schools to 'risk so much with so little obvious assistance'. [Darling-Hammond, 1990: 236].

Recognising the recent efforts by the MOE to clarify the policy of diversification, it is hoped that the finding in this chapter will reinforce the understanding coming out clearly in the quotations above that, the policy intents need to be properly communicated and that meaningful discussions

are those that involve teachers at the school level. Policy-makers need to recognise their responsibility in promoting professional development and providing on-going support to the implementation of SSCDP. In other words, it must be recognised that the process of change is slow and difficult. It requires perseverance and investments in those aspects of implementation that are conducive to sustainability of innovations. In Chapter Ten, some recommendations towards the realisation of a sustainable innovation process are made.

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1974 the GOL adopted the diversification policy to improve the quality of secondary school education. Thirteen schools were selected to experiment with this innovation. These were to become models from whose experience the expansion of the innovation systemwide would be informed. SSCDP was introduced in two phases from 1975-1982 with substantial financial and technical assistance from the World Bank / IDA and other bilateral donor agencies. In 1982 an agreement between the World Bank and the GOL was reached that further expansion of SSCDP had to be halted due to what was seen to be insurmountable implementation constraints. In the opinion of the World Bank, failure to achieve pre-set goals was the major criterion on which to judge the effectiveness of the programme.

The study does not examine failure or success as such but seeks to illustrate how an innovation programme that had been labelled a failure has hidden symptoms of success. Until this study, the fate of SSCDP since it was abandoned as an unsuccessful externally-funded project in 1982, had remained a mystery. However, despite its abandonment, it became clear that in the experimental schools the implementation of this innovation had been sustained. In view of this, the broad research problem was framed thus: What implementation response arises from an open-ended innovation policy? More specifically, four broad research propositions were examined:

- Clarity about the meaning of the innovation is a necessary condition for effective implementation;
- Improved management capabilities and preparedness facilitate a

- smooth implementation process;
- Differing implementation and school conditions induce variations in response to the innovation;
 - Meaningful and purposive transformations in the innovation enhance its sustainability.

The aim of this study is twofold: [a] To provide an understanding of the dynamic nature and complexities involved in an attempt to bring about educational change; and [b] to inform decision-making about the strengths and weaknesses of the innovation policy by identifying factors that threaten or that are conducive to a sustainable innovation process. The research is, therefore, policy-oriented. Besides summarising findings from the investigation, this chapter highlights their implications for the theory and practice of educational innovation.

10.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this section, research findings are collated to verify the above-mentioned propositions. Much was expected from the introduction of SSCDP but less has so far been achieved. That means, the overall level of implementation is low, but variations among project schools are significant. This major finding results from the examination of the attempts and experiences of diversifying the secondary school curriculum reported in Chapters Six to Nine. Although the findings yield a gloomy picture of the implementation efforts, the study seeks to illustrate that the situation is not beyond redemption and that from this attempt some lessons for the improvement of further efforts at diversifying the secondary curriculum can be learnt, hence the emphasis on the sustainability of the innovation.

10.2.1 CONCEPTUALISATION OF SSCDP

The international literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three identified a number of factors affecting implementation of educational innovations. According to Fullan [1982; 1989] understanding the meaning of the innovation is the key to effective implementation. Havelock and Huberman [1977:152] emphatically stressed that:

the commonly noted lack of clarity in project objectives often means that there are contradictions and incompatibilities in the project which have been masked at the planning stage in order to permit more rapid implementation.

In Chapter Six, the analysis of data on the conceptualisation of SSCDP reveals a poor understanding of the meaning of SSCDP. Variations in the interpretation of its goals and objectives are evident at the different system levels. Some statements have been made that SSCDP ought to have only a pre-vocational orientation. Others claim ambitiously that SSCDP is intended to provide solutions to the socio-economic problems by providing the required manpower with suitable skills for development. Yet, what is clear from the data is that in terms of its design and in practice, no attempt was made to relate SSCDP to the overall national development goals.

At the design stage, change-makers seem to have been more concerned with the form rather than the substance of the innovation. The 1977 Mokete Team set ambitious goals which expressed both quantitative and qualitative targets for SSCDP. Understanding the rationale and requirements of such an ambitious innovation was not internalised by the change agents. This is reflected in the shift in the meaning attached to SSCDP as declared in the 1982 Task Force Report and in the Reports of the two Seminars on the Clarification of Lesotho Policies and Priorities held in 1987 and 1988 respectively. The latest policy documents refer to the change programme as 'practical subjects' in the secondary curriculum. The concept of diversification seems to have lost its credibility - as a baby of the World Bank, having been thrown out with the bath water - after

termination of World Bank assistance, because the shift in the meaning of diversification seems to have coincided with the withdrawal of the World Bank financial assistance in 1982.

This gives the impression that the concept had never been adapted and interpreted in a manner that would fit it to the local situation. It somehow remained 'foreign' and external to the local capabilities, needs and expectations of the education system. By implication, lack of a proper diagnosis and situational analysis seems to have induced adoption of a policy that was not adequately conceptualised to generate a meaning suitable for the country. This in turn induced the setting of overambitious goals. Most of these have not been attained, thereby making it imperative for the MOE to redefine the goals so that the innovation acquires a meaningful interpretation. The clarification of the goals is mainly based on the experience of SSCDP. This means that an important lesson has therefore been drawn from this innovation. The MOE is now emphasising EWP as an advancement of the innovation in response to the problem of how to recover recurrent and maintenance costs incurred in the implementation of SSCDP. Future attempts at diversification will be guided by these lessons of experience.

The fact that teachers of BH attest to satisfaction with the way SSCDP has been explained to them is evidence that conceptualisation is important for effective implementation. Variation in the interpretation of an innovation cannot be totally avoided, but it is necessary to eliminate ambiguity in the goals as this can cause confusion and anxiety among the implementers. Early implementation of SSCDP suffered deficiencies from being burdened with goals that were poorly defined and too broadly generalised. As the TSRP evaluator wondered: Was the intention of a diversified curriculum in Lesotho pre-vocational or vocational? For a long time ambiguity in purpose of SSCDP has continued and its clarification remained clouded by

shifting meaning in the interpretation of the concept of diversification.

It is only by looking into the broader goals of secondary education that a proper interpretation of SSCDP and its aims can be made. Ambivalence, confusion and controversy are all part of the evolution of the innovation while the meaning is still being negotiated. In Lesotho urgent attention needs to be paid to how this meaning is negotiated. The redefinition of meaning that has taken place so far is a positive indication that there is a certain degree of commitment to seeing the idea of vocationalising secondary education taking proper shape and design in Lesotho. The TSRP evaluator was writing at the time of pessimism. What needs to be clarified is that SSCDP has achieved a degree of change in the system although it is low. All that remains now is to reinforce achievements on the basis of the experience gained. Proper conceptualisation of the innovation is therefore the starting point.

10.2.2 MANAGEMENT CAPABILITIES AND EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

Evident from the literature reviewed in Chapter Three is that implementation is a lengthy, complex process that involves various groups of participants at different levels of the system. It is the sum total of efforts of the involved groups that will determine whether or not implementation is effective. In Chapter Seven, data on the activities of the various agents in the implementation machinery behind SSCDP is analysed. The main finding is that of low level of preparedness and poor capabilities among the central support agencies to execute the tasks efficiently. The analysis reveals deficiencies in planning, teacher training, curriculum development and supply of physical resources. All these are key elements in the implementation strategy. By implication, weaknesses in these have encouraged a low level of implementation and resultant mismatches between policy intents and practice of the innovation.

The analysis further reveals variation in the performance of the different support agencies. With respect to equipment, curriculum materials and teacher training, this research has shown that the area of TE has benefitted more through the additional support from LITESP. The fact that this subject area has been implemented to a greater degree than others is evidence that improved management capabilities and preparedness is a critical factor in the innovation process. What frustrated implementation activities in the areas of Agriculture and Homeec were lack of qualified personnel for the design of the materials, and for the follow-up or monitoring of implementation activities at the school level. Both problems were overcome in TE with the arrival of LITESP. In addition, the assumption that Agriculture and Home Economics could be implemented utilising the existing infrastructure - that is NTTC and NCDC - has equally frustrated the implementation process in these two areas. Both institutions were set up to service the whole education system unlike LITESP which was set up specifically to support the implementation of the technical education aspect of SSCDP. Therefore, the unsatisfied demands and pressures on the capabilities of NCDC and NTTC staff and their activities have stunted the implementation of SSCDP.

The activities of TSRP, as the PIU, did little beyond facilitating project adoption. TSRP was mandated to supply the physical infrastructure needed to facilitate adoption in the schools. In some cases, the activities of TSRP deterred a smooth implementation process, where facilities were left incomplete or wrongly designed such that the affected schools had to raise extra funds to bring their facilities into useable condition. During Phase I, implementation delays resulted because four of the six schools were included under Phase II due to problems with construction work. In many schools, TSRP supplied equipment was not compatible with the syllabus or equipment was supplied before teachers were available, resulting in heavy

losses through theft or damage as the equipment lay idle for long periods of time. In some schools [Batho-Batho; Eastville] unnecessary resources were supplied, thus duplicating facilities because of poor consultation with the schools. Most of these are deteriorating due to neglect or non-use.

These examples illustrate that the proponents of change failed to recognise the importance of establishing effective channels of communication among the various support groups and between the centre and the schools. This would have been possible with more training of personnel to fill in these positions. Communication needs to be accurate, comprehensive and timely. Related to this, was the lack of coordination of activities among the participating groups. The experience of SSCDP shows that coordination remained poor and infrastructure was neither adequately improved nor upgraded. The result has been an incoherent and fragmented implementation machinery that has made conditions of implementation at the school level difficult. In recognition of such shortcomings, it is recommended that tight administration of project activities, characterised by an efficient network of linkages between the top and bottom levels of the implementation hierarchy be given attention.

10.2.3 IMPLEMENTATION CONDITIONS AND RESPONSE OF SCHOOLS

In Chapter One, it is argued that it is in assessing the innovation in its context that judgements on its practice can be made. On examining the activities of TSRP it is revealed that SSCDP came to the schools as a package. Except for two boys' schools, the rest received a similar package of physical resources and the expectation was that the four practical subjects in the diversification programme would be introduced. The two boys' schools negotiated with the MOE and were allowed to teach at least two practical subjects. Apart from these negotiations, evidence suggests that the MOE did not provide any implementation guidelines for the schools. Thus, in Chapter Eight, the major finding is that the schools'

response to SSCDP is different. The low level of adoption in some schools can be attributed to: [a] SSCDP being too general in character; [b] Schools starting from different levels of development and readiness for the innovation; and [c] schools having different needs and values. With management activities too poor to provide professional support and monitor progress in some subject areas, the schools have responded and interpreted the innovation in the manner best suited to their needs and capabilities. Hence the uneven level of implementation.

In this respect, the experience of SSCDP is similar to the findings on implementation of innovations in other parts of the world. For example, Fullan and Pomfret [1977]; MacDonald and Rudduck [1971] and Berman [1981] stress that some aspects of an innovation are less readily implemented than others. Fullan [1989] argues that it is only the 'structural' aspects of the innovation, rather than the more difficult changes in behaviour, skills and attitudes, that are easily implemented. This brings one back to the issue of 'decentralised implementation responsibility' raised in Chapter One and argued in Chapter Seven, that the MOE seemed only concerned with the adoption rather than the process of implementation - where the innovation was abandoned at the gates of the adopting schools - without on-going support.

It is this condition that is seen as having encouraged a low level of implementation with greater variation in implementation response among the schools. The value of on-going support lies in the extent to which the change agencies acquire knowledge of problems that arise and plan for appropriate corrective measures. The implementation process has both intended and unintended outcomes. The severity of the effects of unintended outcomes can be reduced through monitoring and follow-up activities which constitute on-going support for the implementation process. In other words, the condition of neglect by the MOE has been a

damaging factor for the implementation of SSCDP in the sense that it has encouraged a poor rate of adoption in a number of schools. On the other hand, the shifting of the implementation responsibility to the school level decision-makers has promoted conditions that facilitated the sustainability of SSCDP. There are two sides to the implementation coin. Reduced pressure for fidelity in implementation outcomes has yielded the adaptation of the innovation to fit conditions that prevail at the individual school level.

10.2.4. TRANSFORMATIONS AND SUSTAINABILITY OF SSCDP

Chapter Nine examines the implementation-sustainability relationship. What emerges is that the level of sustainability can be predicted as high in three schools: Boreng, Carson, and Percy; Moderate in one: Mositisi; low in six: Eastville, Holyvale, Leseli, Somerville, St Agatha, and St Stanley; and uncertain in three: Batho-Batho, Hloate and St Jones. On the basis of the examination of factors that influence, first, the implementation outcomes, and secondly, institutionalisation, it is evident that the relationship between these two phases is one of overlap. In schools where the likelihood of the continuation of SSCDP is predicted as high, there is evidence of better performance in the implementation of the diversification programme. This confirms the observation noted by Miles et al [1987:245] that 'many implementation activities are in fact "preconditions" for institutionalisation'. In other words, 'institutionalisation is in part dependent on implementation success' [p.253].

However, the original design of SSCDP has been significantly changed and transformed in terms of its size and content as evident in the practice of the innovation at the 13 Project schools. Due to the additional facilities provided by TSRP, the 13 schools have physically expanded, but this is the only common response among them. From the interviews with the

headmasters, it was deduced that this physical expansion has raised mixed feelings about SSCDP. Some see the innovation as an imposition because they were not properly consulted. This has caused the problem of poor 'organisational fit' with the school values and practices, a problem also identified by Huberman and Miles [1984] with some American innovation programmes. For others, the expansion is welcome and was needed to make it possible for schools to provide for those students not academically inclined.

Thus, in the schools where the innovation was seen as a threat to its culture - in terms of values and norms [Eastville, Somerville, St Jones and St Stanley] - the changes that were made to the innovation are associated with negative or indifferent attitudes to the long term continuity of the innovation. The process of transformation in the other schools is more of a reflection of implementation constraints than of irrational behaviour. Again, transformations have occurred for a number of reasons that differ from school to school.

Given the fact that SSCDP was poorly designed, some of the transformations, although admittedly, they have trivialised the potential impact of the innovation, appear legitimate and have enhanced the sustainability of SSCDP. Put in another way, poor management capacity created problems that inevitably led to an overall low level of implementation, but it also enabled schools to adapt the innovation to fit the local constraints. In reality, SSCDP came to the schools as a half-finished package, thereby making it vulnerable to adaptation. Interestingly, it is this process of adaptation that seems to have sustained the innovation in the schools. The main argument in the thesis revolves around this issue of 'mutual adaptation' between the innovation and its setting [Berman, 1981; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1987].

These findings have important implications for both policy-making regarding vocationalisation of the secondary school curriculum in Lesotho and for strategies of implementing change.

10.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR DIVERSIFICATION

In Chapter Two, evidence of attempts at vocationalisation illustrate that implementation of diversified secondary school curricula is fraught with difficulties. The experience of SSCDP in Lesotho is a further confirmation of this evidence. In Lesotho, problems of diversification are seen as emanating primarily from the **dual** goal of secondary education which is to prepare students, firstly for academic life, and secondly, for equipping the early school leaver with suitable skills that will enable him to lead a productive life, whether in wage employment or not [Chapter Six, Sect.6.2.2]. That schools must maintain their academic nature in order to prepare students for higher education makes SSCDP marginal in the curriculum. In Chapter Nine it is revealed that before diversification, schools taught seven, eight or even nine subjects. This meant that the curriculum was already full in terms of what the school time-table could accommodate and in terms of the 'learning' load for the students.

This problem was compounded by the fact that the policy of diversification in Lesotho required that schools should simultaneously introduce four new practical subjects into the existing curriculum. In this manner, the structure of the secondary school curriculum is such that the feasibility of adding four subjects onto an already overloaded curriculum is doubtful if the quality of education is not to be compromised. This is the major dilemma for the policy-maker. To what extent could the widescale adoption of SSCDP be enforced? Could the schools be able to cope with such a complex-wide-in-scope programme?

With the evidence in this research, factors internal to the school emerge as

stronger determinants of the size or magnitude of the innovation that can be handled by each individual school. In this manner, the assumption that all schools could implement the innovation in the same way, reflects the old problematic 'doctrine of transferability' [House, 1974], which is responsible for hiding internal differences in each school as well as hiding these from the central level administrators who are distanced from the realities of the school situation by virtue of their position in the implementation hierarchy. What seems to be fundamental is that the idiosyncratic cultures of schools play a vital role in influencing implementation outcomes. In the event that needs assessment was not done and for the reason that implementation progress was not followed up, educational administrators and policy-makers lack knowledge about these cultural differences among schools. Hence the study seeks to underline the importance of situational analysis prior to introduction of change programmes as well as after-care and maintenance once the innovation is put into use until it becomes firmly stabilised at the school level.

Psacharopoulos and Loxley [1985] draw an important conclusion about the impact of diversified curricula in the context of LDCs. These authors acknowledge that the level of development of a country is a major influence on the success of vocationalised programmes. Lesotho is rated among the least developed countries in the world. Without the assistance of the World Bank and other donor agencies, it is questionable if this innovation could have been initiated in the first place. Subsequent to the withdrawal of financial assistance from the donor agencies as of 1982, economic deficiency in Lesotho could not make for its contribution towards the costs for maintaining SSCDP. What was overlooked is the fact that 'the maintenance needs of organisations [and perhaps, especially the client-serving agencies like schools] are extremely elastic' [Sieber, 1981:132].

This signals short-sightedness on the part of the GOL about the financial implications of a costly undertaking like SSCDP. Quite often, it is easy for developing countries to obtain loans to initiate change programmes, but it is relatively difficult to raise funds for the maintenance of such programmes for an indefinite length of time. Undoubtedly, the implementation of SSCDP has been constrained by lack of funds to cover the recurrent costs. The condition of TSRP supplied facilities is deteriorating in a number of schools. No policy specifies whose responsibility it is to shoulder the recurrent costs for maintenance, repairs and replacements. Teachers are experiencing difficulties trying to teach practical subjects without adequate resources. As a result, in some cases the teaching has 'become more theoretical than practical'.

The charge of a practical subject fee from the students is seen to be unfair. Education at the secondary level in Lesotho is not free. This means that in addition to the tuition, book and uniform fees that parents pay, an extra fee for practical subjects has to be paid. Perhaps there is a need for the MOE to subsidize schools on the recurrent costs otherwise the financial burden might cause an escalation of negative attitudes towards the practical subjects. Seeds of such attitudes are becoming evident among some headteachers in the project schools where it is claimed that practical projects cannot be introduced, and where some TSRP facilities and equipment cannot be maintained due to lack of finances [Chapter Eight]. Costs are noted as a major implementation constraint in the attempts to vocationalise education [Lillis, 1983 & Hultin, 1987]. This is echoed in the observation cited above made by Psacharopoulos and Loxley [1985]. Given the educational wastage as reflected in the pyramidal structure of the education system in Lesotho [Fig. 5.2 in Chapter Five], SSCDP is a necessity and has an important role to play in trying to harness the drop-outs and push-outs alike. This implies an urgent need to devise effective strategies of bringing about change at the secondary school level.

10.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

The major concern of this research is how policy-making and operational management can facilitate an improved implementation process that will lead to the sustainability of the innovation within the secondary school level. Data indicate three important issues related to this concern:

1. **ADOPTION AND MOBILISATION:** This involves recruiting schools to participate in the innovation; delivery and supervision of inputs; as well as the facilitation of knowledge and understanding about the innovation.
2. **INTERACTION AMONG PARTICIPANTS:** This relates to the question of contact; distance; support and monitoring as well as coordination of activities between the schools and the central level.
3. **RECOGNISING SCHOOLS AS IMPORTANT BEARERS OF CHANGE:** This challenges the 'doctrine of transferability' common in top-down innovation approaches which asserts the superiority of the central change agents over the adopting schools - that is, the superordinate-subordinate relationship between initiators and users of change.

10.4.1. ADOPTION AND MOBILISATION

These set the stage for implementation. The experience of SSCDP illustrates that the change agents considered these to be a guarantor for implementation. For the innovation, this means that the notion of implementation as a process was neglected. It was assumed that implementation would be accomplished with the delivery of hardware inputs in the form of buildings, equipment and materials. Focusing only on the conditions of adoption handicaps effective implementation, hence the low level of achievement.

For this reason, a suggestion is made for the need to improve the initiation phase of the diversification process. This will be crucial when the programme is expanded to a larger number of schools. The research also points to the need for SSCDP to be clarified in terms of its goals and

requirements for its use at the school level. This is the process of 'negotiation' which ought to start during the initiation phase but the strategy must make provision for its continuation until the programme becomes fully institutionalised. This implies the need to recognise the value of responsive planning throughout the innovation process. Thus, the hallmark for a sustainable innovation programme is an implementation strategy that regards adoption and mobilisation as a starting point and only a device to prepare and propel implementation.

10.4.2 INTERACTION AMONG PARTICIPANTS

It has been illustrated that throughout the implementation of SSCDP, the various participants were not organised into a coherent unit. Activities were not carefully planned, orchestrated and coordinated to achieve a smooth process. This has led to uneven progress. In this manner, the implementation strategy seems to have overlooked the importance of maximising the involvement and interplay among the various participants.

In terms of a desirable sustainable innovation programme, this implies revision in the strategy to emphasise mutual interaction of change agents, support agencies and the schools. The strategy needs to draw from the view of communication as a process in which participants pass information to each other and exchange experiences in order to reach a better mutual understanding [Rogers & Shoemaker, 1981]. This view has close affinities with Havelock's concept of 'Linkage' which is defined as a two-way communication and feedback process between the central level administrators and the personnel at the school level.

The importance of such a linkage process lies in the fact that the innovation is affected by the local setting, by the needs and the capabilities of participants as well as by the organisational climate in which participants operate. It appears that these concerns need to be openly

discussed and negotiated among all parties involved to eliminate incompatibilities seen at play in the case of SSCDP. The advantage of such a linkage mechanism would be to safeguard against the destructive problem of 'practitioner-policy-maker discrepancy' [Hall & Loucks,1977] because it would allow 'consideration of what occurs in between the design of the innovation and the presence or absence of the intended effects' [van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1986]. It would provide insight not only about the change process but about how and what changes occur at the various stages of implementation. These changes are often deviations from policy specifications hence 'intended effects are not usually achieved.'

A strategy that emphasises mutual interaction promotes the possibilities for negotiation and consultation among the participants involved as seen in the case of SSCEP in PNG [Chapter Two]. As it happened with SSCEP, clear implementation plans geared specifically to the needs of individual schools were worked out. With the diversification programme, only general proposals were made with no specific guidelines to be followed by the implementers. It is necessary to recognise that such an approach remains insensitive to variations in needs; capabilities and to the level of development across the schools.

10.4.3 SCHOOLS AS IMPORTANT BEARERS OF CHANGE

In view of the fact that SSCDP is a centrally initiated change programme, that has been disseminated to the schools through a top-down approach, the schools remained peripheral to the design and development of the programme. Their peripheral condition was reinforced by the adoption-perspective dominant in the implementation strategy behind SSCDP. The lack of linkage mechanisms between schools and the centre has exacerbated this condition because there has been very little contact between these two. While the schools remained ignorant of the

developments in the centre [Chapter Seven], the centre also lacked information about the conditions in the schools. The laissez-faire attitude of letting principals decide the fate of the project within their schools, when they were neither adequately prepared nor ready for this task, could only be seen as avoidance of responsibility of implementing an ill-designed innovation on the part of the change agents. In Sri Lanka, for example, such an approach produced catastrophic innovation outcomes [Chapter Two]. This kind of attitude needs to be guarded against to ensure the long-term survival of SSCDP in Lesotho.

An important measure to take is to acknowledge the focal position of the schools in the innovation process. The schools named expansionists and reductionist illustrate that the change agents may possess the power to get the innovation adopted, but to ensure its long-term survival, it must obtain school level acceptability [Hurst, 1983]. For this to happen, it appears that the implementation strategy must meet certain conditions:

- Differences in the organisational climate of schools must be considered;
- Objectives of SSCDP must take into account these differences;
- Resources and other incentives should be provided to schools on the basis of this differentiation.

The aim is to eliminate or reduce poor fit between the innovation and its setting as this is a threat to a sustainable implementation process. Regarding SSCDP, in some schools the problem of a poor fit between the design of this innovation and the school setting has been side-stepped through the process of adaptation. However, this was neither authorised nor systematically done in a number of schools hence it became counterproductive in cases such as that of the Expansionists and the Reductionist. But for the rest of the schools, it seems to have enhanced chances for sustenance of the innovation process.

Many vocationally-oriented programmes tend to dissipate over time as illustrated in Chapter Two. If they persist, such programmes are reported to fail to yield the benefits expected from investments made, whether human, capital, financial, organisational or infrastructural [Lillis, 1989]. It has been argued that so far, SSCDP has only achieved a low level of implementation that varies from school to school. This is only the foundation. SSCDP demands and deserves a better place in the secondary school curriculum. Until now, SSCDP has remained an appendage shadowed by the academic curriculum. What is suggested therefore, is that the marginal status of SSCDP needs to be rectified for this innovation to make a significant and lasting impact.

What must be restated is the urgent need for the strategy to regard implementation as a process that links various participants involved by bringing together agendas of the change agents closer to those of the implementers in a continuous effort towards a sustainable innovation. Such an approach to change does not advocate for either a school-based or centre-periphery model. It seeks to communicate the idea of implementation as an on-going process that depends on a collaborative effort between the central level administrators and the school level personnel.

Implementation is not a linear but an iterative process. With innovations initiated at the centre, it remains the responsibility of the educational administrators at the top to meet implementation requirements, with pre-planning and follow-up assistance given priority. This is to be done in consultation with the school level representatives. Gradually, the implementation responsibilities increase on the side of the schools as the struggle to achieve mastery through programme and organisational transformations accelerates. Throughout the process, a 'forward and backward mapping' of events, tasks, problems and solutions is done [van

Velzen et al, 1985:209]. Forward mapping occurs from the policy-makers' perspective which spells out steps and procedures towards implementation. Backward mapping is done from the school perspective, starting with problems schools experience with the implementation task and moving back to policy matters to seek solutions. This reinforces the idea of a mutual linkage between the centre and the school level. In consequence, the strategy of implementation needs to be influenced by school specific concerns rather than by the 'superior knowledge and assumptions' of those above.

The notion of implementation as a collaborative effort between the central level administrators and the school level implementers underlines the importance of mutual dependence of one on the other. If one of the groups involved does not maintain the momentum of its activities, the implementation process is weakened. This is likely to have a negative effect on the long term sustenance of the innovation. The main message is that simply making an innovation policy does not end the involvement of the central administrator in the implementation process. There is a need for careful and coordinated policy planning, that should lead to coherent implementation activities carried out mainly by the practitioner at the school level, with constant monitoring and support provided by the centre. From this point of view, an effective implementation process is seen as depending not only on the management capacity of the central administrators, but also on the willingness of the various groups of participants to collaborate with each other. This condition is possible through sustained commitment over a long period of time.

10.5 CONCLUSION

The main argument of the thesis is that mutual adaptation is the most crucial condition for the sustainability of the innovation process. The thesis concludes that the adaptation of SSCDP to fit its local conditions was

necessary and probably inevitable given conditions under which implementation was and has continued to take place [Chapter Nine]. The major contention is that since the level of implementation is low, weaknesses in the strategies of implementation and those inherent in the innovation policy, need to be identified and effectively managed, hence the gap between the policy intents and the innovation practice should not be ignored. However, gaps in implementation do not necessarily mean a failure for this programme, but they could be interpreted as having been necessary to give the innovation a chance to survive.

Pertaining to the strategies of implementation, it is recommended that the following be considered as crucial:

- The need to view the stage of adoption and mobilisation as a base from which implementation activities are to develop. This view shifts focus from an adoption-perspective to an implementation-perspective because the survival of the innovation depends more on the latter than on the former.
- Recognising implementation as a process that thrives on an interactive, interdependent relation among the participants involved. These need to be organised into a coherent unit bound together by a mutual linkage relationship.
- Recognising schools as the key bearers of change. This requires a change from the practice of delegating schools into a passive status that is peripheral and instrumentalist, and making them a focal point in the change process. Only in this way will the relevance of the innovation to the needs and capabilities of the schools be enhanced.

In sum, the way to a sustainable innovation process seems to lie not only in an efficient management system or in a decentralised implementation responsibility, but in the narrowing of the role-distance between the

central change agents that generate and administer innovation programmes and the school level personnel on whose efforts and behaviour the continued use of the innovation depends. Throughout the process, participants need to be given an opportunity to assume the responsibility of redefining and readjusting the innovation according to the demands and constraints of the local setting. In this manner, effective implementation emerges as an adaptation process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR

- (a) Curriculum experts at NCDC
 - (b) Project Administrators within TSRP
 - (c) Educational Administrators at the Central Level
 - (d) Teacher trainers at NTTC
-
1. Information on how the programme is perceived.
 - What do you consider to be the main objectives of diversification?
 - What are your comments on these broad objectives in terms of
 - (i) students' needs
 - (ii) demands made by such programmes on resources

 2. Information on the role of these officials in the dissemination of the programme.
 - How were schools chosen into the programme?
 - In what way are you involved with the programme?
 - Could you specify the activities in which you are directly involved?
 - What are the advantages of your direct involvement?
 - It is now more than ten years since the programme was first started. Would you say your involvement is still as great as it was in the beginning. If yes, how and if no, why not?

 3. Information on the communication network.
 - Usually, when new programmes are introduced, a great deal of communication activities take place. With whom have you been mostly in touch?
 - Have you experienced any problems in trying to communicate with

the schools? If yes, explain in what ways.

4. Information on the support services provided by the centre.
 - New subjects in the school curriculum can cause more demands on the work of the headmasters. What steps have been taken to prepare them to cope with these demands?
 - In your opinion, would you say the amount of contact they have with the officials in the MOE is adequate?
 - In what ways do you think this contact is useful for the headteacher?
 - To what extent are the resources provided adequate for the introduction of these subjects?

5. Information on the awareness of policy-makers about the problems of introducing new subjects in schools.
 - From what you know of the performance of the Project schools, what do you consider as problems of introducing practical subjects in the schools?
 - Can you suggest ways in which in future some of these problems could be avoided?
 - In your opinion, what has contributed to quick uptake of the programme in some Project schools and to slow uptake in other schools?
 - Which of these would you think should be regarded as the criteria for the expansion or delay of the programme?

6. Information on the outcome of the programme so far.
 - When new ideas are introduced into schools, they may have negative or positive outcomes. To what extent would you say that the programme is working in these schools?
 - Are there any negative consequences? What are they?
 - What are the implications for the dissemination activities?

7. Information on whether or not there is a present pattern or strategy of dissemination.
 - How would you describe the process in which the spread of the innovation has occurred?
 - In your opinion, what do you regard as a typical sequence of events when a new programme is introduced in the schools?

8. Information on future plans for the dissemination process.
 - From the experience of the Project schools, what do you regard as the necessary conditions for the spread of new ideas from the central authority [MOE] to the schools?
 - How can these be improved in order to facilitate effective implementation programme?

APPENDIX D

MODIFICATIONS TO THE POLICY OF VOCATIONALISATION, 1974 TO DATE

<u>TIME-SCALE</u>	<u>POLICY STATEMENT</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
1966-1973	Idea of vocationalising secondary education emerged.	Achievement of independence in 1966 encouraged a search for a relevant kind of education.
1974-1977	Diversification adopted as the major policy to vocationalise secondary education.	Interpretation of diversification was characterised by internal contradictions as to the specific goals that were to be achieved. But, the inclination was more towards pre-vocational, rather than vocational education although not made explicit enough to the implementers.
1978-1985	The 1978 National Education Dialogue and its Report on the Views and Recommendations of Basotho; the 1982 Education Sector Survey and the Task Force Report clarified the policy of vocationalising secondary education in terms of 'practical subjects in the curriculum' as a 'way of improving the quality and relevance of the general education provided, rather than as preparation for a specific vocation' as originally hinted in the diversification policy.	The experience of Project schools from 1975 - 1982; the phasing out of donor assistance [World Bank loan] in 1982; and the Report of the 1984 Study Team all brought to light implementation difficulties facing the diversification Project. The new emphasis on the notion of practical subjects stressed the objective as the 'acquisition of manual dexterity and practical skills as an intergral part of general education' and not 'vocational training'.
The post- 1985 period	The policy of vocationalisation acquires a new meaning, namely that of 'Education with Production'.	The change of government in 1986; the blame on failure of political will to enforce the implementation of policies; and the pressure from the Food and Agricultural Organisation [FAO] which had hitherto donated food aid to the schools in Lesotho, became major factors that led to the drastic move towards EWP. FAO is the chief supporter of the implementation of EWP in Lesotho.