Discussion Paper

Careers and Perspectives of Tutors in Teacher Training Colleges: Case Studies of Lesotho and Malawi

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Centre for International Education
University of Sussex Institute of Education
Multi-Site Teacher Education Research Project (MUSTER)

MUSTER is a collaborative research project co-ordinated from the Centre for International Education at the University of Sussex Institute of Education. It has been developed in partnership with:

- The Institute of Education, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.
- The Institute of Education, The National University of Lesotho.
- The Centre for Educational Research and Training, University of Malawi.
- The Faculty of Education, University of Durban-Westville, South Africa.
- The School of Education, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine’s Campus, Trinidad.

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MUSTER is focused on generating new understandings of teacher education before, during and after the point of initial qualification as a teacher. Its concerns include exploring how new teachers are identified and selected for training programmes, how they acquire the skills they need to teach effectively, and how they experience training and induction into the teaching profession. The research includes analytical concerns with the structure and organisation of teacher education, the form and substance of teacher education curriculum, the identity, roles and cultural experience of trainee teachers, and the costs and probable benefits of different types of initial teacher training.

MUSTER is designed to provide opportunities to build research and evaluation capacity in teacher education in developing countries through active engagement with the research process from design, through data collection, to analysis and joint publication. Principal researchers lead teams in each country and are supported by three Sussex faculty and three graduate researchers.

This series of discussion papers has been created to provide an early opportunity to share output from sub-studies generated within MUSTER for comment and constructive criticism. Each paper takes a theme within or across countries and offers a view of work in progress.
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BTC  Blantyre Teachers’ College
CPD  Continuing Professional Development
COSC Cambridge Overseas Schools Certificate
DEC Distance Education Centre
DEP Diploma in Education (Primary)
DPE Diploma in Primary Education
DPTE Diploma in Primary Teacher Education
FPE Free Primary Education
HOD Head of Department
INSET In-service Education for Teachers
JC Junior Certificate
MIITEP Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme
MOE Ministry of Education
MOESC Ministry of Education Sports and Culture
NGO Non governmental Organisation
NTTC National Teacher Training College
NUL National University of Lesotho
PIF Policy Investment Framework
PNG Papua New Guinea
PTC Primary Teachers Certificate
SA South Africa
SPSS Statistics Package for Social Sciences
TDU Teacher Development Unit
TEFL Teaching of English as a Foreign Language
TP Teaching Practice
TPP Teaching Practice Preparation
TTC Teacher Training College
UN United Nations
ABSTRACT

Lecturers in Teacher Training Colleges are a neglected part of most education systems, yet they could be a key to change. This study looked at two colleges in Malawi and at the National Teacher Training College in Lesotho to find out more about the professional lives and career paths of the lecturers, and to explore how they viewed their work. The findings are based on surveys, and on interviews with a selected sample in each college. The Malawi study has a policy focus because the teacher education programme was being reviewed at the time, while the Lesotho study is more exploratory in approach.

In neither country was there a clearly defined career structure for college staff; there was no formal induction process and opportunities for professional development were scarce. Nor were pay and conditions of service conducive to attracting and retaining the most appropriate people. In Lesotho, staff were better qualified, but were much less likely to have had primary training. Though the findings are tentative, there appeared to be considerable differences between the two countries regarding tutors’ perspectives. In terms of the typology used, Malawi tutors tended to work within a ‘behavioural skills’ approach, and for the most part shared a traditional transmission view of learning to teach. The Basotho were more like to take an ‘applied theorist’ line and expressed a greater variety of views, but no clear college vision of how to produce a ‘good teacher’ could be discerned. In both countries, the discourses were borrowed from Northern theories rather than being developed out of local practices. Conclusions stress the need to take tutors’ professional development more seriously, and to encourage the development of locally-relevant models of teacher education.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This report is part of the Multi-site Teacher Education Research (MUSTER) Project, which is looking at Primary Initial Teacher Education in five countries (Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa and Trinidad/Tobago). One of the aims of this project is to explore some aspects of the career patterns and perspectives of teacher educators, and to find some preliminary answers to questions such as:

- Who becomes a college tutor, how and why?
- What induction and professional development programmes are available for them?
- How do they perceive their work, with particular reference to their views on how young teachers acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need?

Chapter 1 offers a rationale for the study, discusses some of the relevant literature, and outlines the methods. Chapters 2 and 3 contain two case-studies, on Malawi and Lesotho respectively. The Malawi study has a policy focus because the teacher education programme was being reviewed at the time, and the paper was written for that purpose. The Lesotho study is more exploratory in approach. Each case-study is divided into four sections. The first gives some contextual information and describes the sample of colleges and tutors. The second looks at the patterns of college tutors’ careers and experience, and at what they feel about their current situation. The third examines some of the tutors’ perspectives: in particular it looks at how they see their role, their perceptions of “the good teacher”, their views on the colleges and the students, and finally their ideas about the teaching and learning of professional knowledge. The final section summarises the findings and raises some issues for discussion. Chapter 4 highlights the comparisons and contrasts, and discusses some of the issues arising from the findings.

1.2 Rationale

Teacher educators all over the world are a neglected group. From a professional point of view, very few countries have taken seriously the need to develop their skills and to establish satisfactory career paths for them. From an academic point of view, little research has been carried out in this field and the available literature, even in the West, is very sparse. From a policy viewpoint, it can surely be argued that just as teachers are a key factor in raising standards in schools, so teacher educators are crucial for improving the quality of the teaching force. It is hoped that these case-studies can provide useful background information for those interested in the future of teacher education in Africa.
as well as in the countries concerned, and can stimulate discussion about the role of
teacher training colleges and their staff in implementing changes.

1.3 Frameworks for discussion

Though there is an increasing body of analytical literature on teacher education in the
North, there is very little but descriptive reports from developing countries (Zeichner &
Tabachnik, 1999). Zeichner himself, however, drawing on Avalos and others, has
produced a typology of approaches to teacher education in Africa today, which I find
useful to adapt for this study. Here are his five orientations as I intend to use them:

1. The Behavioural Skills approach, which concentrates on training a teacher to deliver
the curriculum by using certain methods, techniques and planning mechanisms;

2. The "model" approach, which I prefer to term the Applied Theorist. Tutors present the
trainees with certain models of, or theories about, teaching and learning. These may
draw on particular authors, such as Piaget, or certain ideologies, such as child-centred
teaching; they are invariably imported from North/Western sources. Trainees are
expected to understand, accept and apply these in their classrooms. While this
requires more than just skilled performance, the new teachers are not invited to
question, critique or develop the model in the light of local cultural contexts.
Consequently, this approach is often associated with a transmission mode of training.

3. The Academic approach, where the main emphasis is on studying the subject
discipline(s) and professional studies are added on as an appendix if at all. This is
more characteristic of secondary training than primary.

4. The Inquiry-oriented approach; Avalos talks of "heuristic-interactive" theories, and it
has much in common with the popular "reflective practitioner" model. All these
assume a constructivist view of knowledge; student teachers are expected to develop
their own understanding through analysing and critiquing both theory and practice,
and after graduation to be ready to exercise professional judgement in solving their
own classroom and curricular problems.

5. The transformational or "social reconstructivist" approach which derives from
Zeichner’s experience in Namibia. Here teachers are expected, with other
stakeholders, to play a role in creating a more just and equitable society.

(See Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1999: 215-6)

However, these are abstract models. To root them in reality, we need to look more
closely at the teacher educators themselves, at their careers and life histories, at the kinds
of training they have had, and the kinds of experiences and philosophies to which they
have had access. One of the assumptions of this paper is that such studies will help us
understand tutors better, both their espoused theories and their theories in action (Agyris
and Schon 1974). In particular the findings might clarify why colleges are often so conservative, and what might help them to become more innovative.

Even in the North/West there have been very few studies into the lives and work of teacher educators. One exception is a book entitled Teachers who teach Teachers (Russell and Korthagen, 1995), a collection of the accounts of a group of (mainly) North American university teacher educators who came together to support each other in developing and theorising about their own practice. Working in the “reflective practitioner” tradition, they stress that tutors must themselves be active learners, constantly posing questions and looking for better solutions, so they can “foster in their students an active acceptances of teaching’s inherent uncertainty, as well as the skills of reflective inquiry” (Richert, 1995:5). They point out that teacher educators need “knowledge, skills and attitudes in the field of human development – adult development, social psychology, counselling” (Korthagen and Russell, 1995:191).

Following in such footsteps, other small-scale case-studies have been published, such as Ross and Bondy’s (1996) account of how their perspectives and practices in preparing elementary teachers changed as a result of a series of action research projects.

In developing countries the paradigm of the “reflective practitioner” and action research have not (yet?) taken root. Long ago Beeby (1966) highlighted the role of teachers in educational development, postulating that progress in primary education, as he defined it, was limited by the levels of the general education and professional training of the teachers. Revisiting his thesis later, he pointed out the self-perpetuating nature of educational systems and the problem of where to break the cycle:

Teacher trainers in developing countries who do try to break with the old pattern usually get their ideas from travel in rich countries, or from books written there, and often hand them on, in the form of indigestible theory, to teachers who need practical guidance to take even simpler steps forward. The reformer’s most puzzling question frequently is: “Who is to re-train the teacher trainers?” (Beeby 1980: 465-6)

This question is still pertinent today. While teacher educators in university departments of education, like most university faculty, get little or no induction or training for the job, college tutors have been sometimes offered courses geared specifically to their work. In the mid-80’s Chancellor college at the University of Malawi ran a 2-year Diploma in Primary Teacher Education to prepare good primary teachers to become tutors in the teacher training colleges. In Papua New Guinea (PNG), professional development courses for college tutors have been run by Australian Universities. But such courses have their dangers and their failures. McLaughlin (1996) reporting an in-depth study of how PNG college tutors experienced their course, shows how cultural, linguistic and epistemological gaps need to be sensitively negotiated and bridged if the tutors are to be empowered to develop their knowledge and skills in new and relevant directions.
The most recent attempt to take this problem seriously comes from Namibia. In their post-independence education strategy, teacher education became the spearhead of reform, and this highlighted the need for staff development for teacher education. The National Institute for Educational Development, in co-operation with Umea University in Sweden, set up systematic in-service training for all college tutors, which developed into a postgraduate higher diploma in teacher education. The ideas and practices were based on the same principles as those underlying the reforms in the rest of the system (Shilambo and Dahlstrom, 1999), so that the tutors had to carry out ‘critical practitioner inquiry’ into their own practices, as well as training teachers to do it.

In an interesting analysis of teachers’ perspectives in The Gambia and South Africa, Jessop and Penny (1998) suggested that there was often a "missing frame" in the discourse: teachers talked about their work in terms of relationships (caring, encouragement, support etc), and in an instrumental way (delivering knowledge, conditions of service, status, etc) but rarely did they discuss how they helped pupils understand or “make meaning” out of their lessons. This study tries to identify “missing frames” in the discourse of the teacher educators in similar ways.

1.4 Methods

Data were collected by both survey and interview\(^1\). A questionnaire was administered to all the relevant college tutors, including: personal data, qualifications and teaching experience; their view on the curriculum and on students; perceptions of the good teacher and of how the college strives to produce them. Most questions were closed, but a few opportunities were given to set out their own ideas, and they were invited to agree or disagree with a number of statements. Most of the data was analysed using SPSS; open-ended questions were analysed manually.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a smaller sample of tutors drawn from the main subject areas and giving a balance of age, gender and qualifications. These interviews were intended to follow a modified life-history format (see Kelchtermans, 1993) in which "stories" are told, transcripts discussed, and statements agreed over the course of three interviews. Time and resources did not permit this; only one hour-long interview was carried out with each subject and although transcripts were sent to everyone for comment, only one tutor from each country responded. The data, therefore, is less rich and accurate than it might be. In Malawi Kunje and Stuart interviewed the tutors jointly, and during the same visit observed them teaching, which enabled some comparisons to be made between espoused and enacted practice. In Lesotho, Stuart interviewed alone, and the observations were carried out later by Lefoka and other teams members. Interviews were recorded and as far as possible transcribed; otherwise analysis was done from notes.

\(^1\) A copy of the interview schedule is in Appendix A. The questionnaire was very long; interested readers can get a copy (hard or electronic) from the MUSTER office at the address given on the back page.
The interviews provide insights into the tutors’ perceptions, while the survey provides some quantitative data and allows us to confirm, sharpen or extend our understanding. Other data on the colleges and the curriculum, which are necessary to set the tutors’ perspectives in context, were gathered from documents and from other MUSTER sub-studies.
CHAPTER 2

CASE-STUDY A: COLLEGE TUTORS IN MALAWI

2.1 Introduction

At the time of the study, the six primary teacher training colleges in Malawi had suspended their usual programmes in order to service the Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Project (MIITEP). A full account of this can be found in Stuart & Kunje (2000) and Kunje & Chirembo (2000), so only a brief summary will be given here.

After the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 1994, a large number of untrained teachers were drafted into Malawian primary schools in order to cope with the influx of a million new pupils. The MIITEP programme began in 1997 to train 18,000 teachers in six cohorts of 3000 students each. Each group of students spent three months in college, followed by 20 months of school-based training back in their jobs, and then returned to college for a month’s revision and final exams. The tutors were therefore teaching a compressed curriculum under considerable pressure of both time and numbers, and the study must be seen in this context.

2.1.1 Design and methods

The study involved two out of the six training colleges, chosen as case studies because they provided interesting contrasts, and because they were within easy reach of Zomba. Blantyre Teachers’ College (BTC) is mixed-sex and government-owned, while St. Joseph’s College is for women only, and is owned and maintained by the Catholic Church. Both teach the same curriculum. The data were collected in October/November 1998.

a) Survey. All the tutors in both colleges were invited to answer the questionnaire. There was a response rate of nearly 60% (13/20 tutors at St. Joseph’s and 16/30 at BTC).

b) Interviews and observations. Ten tutors at each college were selected as a purposive sample, taking into account their willingness to be observed (only one refused). Two were taken from each of the main subjects (English, Maths, Science and Foundations Studies) chosen to get a spread of age and qualification, and a gender balance that roughly matched the college staff profile. The remaining two slots were used to improve the spread. Tutors were observed teaching one class, and interviewed either before or afterwards.

2.1.2 The sample as a whole

The survey sample –those who responded - comprised 11 women and 18 men. Their ages ranged from 30 to over 50 years, with the biggest group in the range 41-45 years. Most held Diplomas in Education, five had Bachelors’ degrees, four had Masters’ and one a Ph.D. Data from other sources (cf Lewin & Kunje 1999) suggest that this group is
slightly younger than the average and slightly better qualified, but the differences are small. The gender balance is representative of these two colleges. Four of those interviewed did not return the questionnaire, and 13 of the 29 questionnaire respondents were not interviewed. Thus we have views from 33 tutors in all – 19% of the total Malawi complement of 175 college tutors. We believe it is sufficiently representative to provide us with useful data.

2.2 Tutors’ Career Trajectories

2.2.1 Initial entry and training

Very few had opted for a career in teaching at the start, though most now claimed to love their job. Several mentioned family role models or pressures: “my father wanted me to teach”; others said they went into it when they couldn’t get the training of their choice (nurse, engineer). Sometimes it seemed almost accidental: “I just filled in the forms”, “my teachers recommended me”; “I couldn’t wait until July to take up my University place”

The great majority began as primary teachers; 90% of the survey sample had taught in primary schools for periods ranging from 1-17 years. Of the interviewees, 17/20 had gone through primary teacher training\(^2\). Nearly half – mostly men - had also taught in secondary schools, for periods ranging from 1-22 years. Typically, a tutor’s first qualification was a Teaching Certificate, upgraded later to a Diploma. Nine of them - the older ones - went on to do the Diploma in Primary Teacher Education (DPTE) at Chancellor College in the mid-80s. Seven others - the younger ones - went on to take a 2-year secondary teacher training at Domasi TTC. The Ministry clearly saw this as an adequate preparation for being a tutor, but the interviewees said they also drew extensively on their own primary training and experience once they became tutors. Two without primary experience both said they had to struggle to fit in.

Three had had short-term jobs outside education, and some had more varied careers within it; two had been inspectors, two primary heads. One taught at a Distance Education Centre (DEC). The Deputy Principal had been a District Education Officer. One had had a full career in vocational/technical education, including running a college; it was unclear why he had been sent to a Teacher Training College and he was one of the most dissatisfied.

2.2.2 Becoming a tutor

Just as they had wandered into teaching, so many seemed to have come accidentally into the training colleges, and thereafter been moved around at the Ministry’s discretion. The

\(^2\) This contradicts the GTZ statement that ‘nearly 80% of tutors lack any firsthand teaching experience in primary schools’ [p.40, Report of the MIITEP Project Review, GTZ, Lilongwe, 1998]. I am indebted to Alison Croft for pointing this out. We suspect that since many of the tutors were trained at both levels, only the secondary training has been recorded. Or perhaps the DPTE was recorded as ‘post-primary’.
one crucial decision some people had taken was to apply for DPTE, but after that they had little say in what they did. Some were sent to secondary school for a time even after training for the colleges. From the interviews, few seemed to have felt much control over their careers. “I was sent/posted” to this or that school or college, was the most common recollection. Two of the women were ‘picked’ from their primary jobs to be assistant tutors in subjects where tutors were in short supply, then sent to do a secondary diploma, and returned to the college sector on a more permanent basis. Two other women said they had come to this particular college because they were following their husbands’ jobs.

2.2.3 Induction and inservice

As in most colleges world-wide, there was no formal induction or orientation period, but there seems to have been considerable informal help and mentoring. When interviewees were asked how they knew what to do when they started as tutors, most described how colleagues helped them, giving them books and a syllabus, and encouraging them to seek advice. There appears to have been a practice, particularly at St. Joseph’s, of allowing new tutors to observe others and to be themselves observed – perhaps this dates back to their training on the DPTE. It should be noted that whatever their original qualification, most tutors had to become generalists, and most taught at least three subjects, albeit usually in related fields.

Since joining the college sector they had been offered very little continuing professional development. The survey sample had spent from 1-21 years in the colleges, the largest group having been there about 10 years. In-service support had been limited to short courses ranging from 2 days to 2 weeks; there appeared to have been a flurry of these around 1990 and since 1996. Such courses were mainly to tell tutors about new curriculum developments either in the schools or in the colleges: thus all were sent to the 2-week MITTEP ‘orientation’; others had been to a workshop on ‘population education’, and a few to subject-specific courses. Three – all from BTC – had gone to ‘trainers’ workshops’ to learn to write materials or assessment items.

The survey data suggested that such short courses were not seen as very valuable, perhaps because they originated in the demands of the system rather than those of the tutors. Most the younger tutors expressed their inservice needs in general terms of graduate qualifications: a B.Ed., a Masters. A few focussed on teacher education, saying “maths education” “supervision skills” or “different angles for training students”. The desire for formal academic qualifications, rather than short courses more directly relevant to their work, probably results from the link between qualifications and pay scales. Only those close to retirement or planning to set up in business said they had no need of further qualifications.

Very few had actually had opportunities for further study, because no relevant courses are available in-country and money is short for sending people elsewhere. Of our interviewees, five had studied overseas, two at Masters’ level and three at Bachelors. Two mentioned their plans for B.Ed. had collapsed due to lack of funds. One woman had financed her own further studies in Zimbabwe by teaching part-time in Botswana!
Another woman had been sent on a part-time counselling course in the region, but funds dried up and she was unable to complete.

The overseas courses did not seem to have been particularly useful. An English specialist had wanted to do an M.A. in TEFL, but he was not qualified for this, so he was steered into a general MA in Education and Development, which did not provide him with the knowledge and skills he needed. Others expressed enthusiasm for what they had learnt in UK, but on their return seemed unable to implement the new ideas: the college and/or their colleagues were unreceptive, the resources unavailable, the role of the teacher was too different. By contrast, the Zimbabwean courses appeared to have provided the tutor with a set of new ideas and practices that matched quite well with the MIITEP aims.

In sum, our respondents were a group of tutors who had good relevant professional experience, but who were academically underqualified for their job, having hit a ceiling at diploma level. Those who had done the special Teacher Education diploma had clearly made good use of it, but without any continuing professional development to update their knowledge and skills, the ideas seemed to have become rather fossilised. Those who had taken subject-specific diplomas in secondary education were less well prepared. For the few who went further, the courses were not always as useful or relevant as they should have been, particularly when the training was overseas. This raises important issues about what kinds of further study is most appropriate, and the need for structures to become supportive of change.

2.2.4 Future career plans

Asked in interviews where they thought they would be in five years time, the older ones were mainly looking forward to retirement, unless they were offered promotion or a transfer into "greener pastures" i.e. a better paid part of the system. Most of the younger ones appeared resigned to staying on. The survey data sharpened this up, showing that most would leave if they could.

Table 2.1: Future career plans: Malawi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preference</th>
<th>Number choosing</th>
<th>% of responses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stay at this college</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer to another college</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach in a university</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in a school</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in the Education Department</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find a job outside teaching</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>----</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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(Note: Multiple responses were counted, as some gave two options)

The reasons given were mainly "push" factors, summed up by one who wrote:

Very few promotion prospects, no further training, very few incentives, poor pay package.
Others indicated they would like more interesting work. Those wanting to go to a university said it would be more challenging, and offer opportunities for further studies. One holding a masters’ degree wrote: “I am not utilised to maximum benefit here”. The most favoured course was to move to the ‘education department’; presumably this meant more money, but "pull" factors cited included moving into management or being attached to a project. Several added that they enjoyed teaching and wished to remain within the profession, using their experience, for example in in-service work. Of those who wanted to work outside education all cited the poor prospects, lack of promotion, or lack of job satisfaction generally. One wrote: “the future looks dark in education these days”.

The pattern was quite similar between the two colleges, except that proportionately more tutors in St. Joseph’s wanted to stay put. They were all women and gave personal reasons, like enjoying the peace and quiet, or being nearer to the husband.

2.2.5 Current job satisfaction

We probed in different ways what were the satisfactions of the job, what they had found professionally rewarding, and what were the constraints and frustrations. It was clear that the frustrations currently outweighed the satisfactions. Although there was evidence of intrinsic motivation and of helping students, this was muted by the poor working conditions, under-prepared students, and a general feeling that there was nowhere to go.

Most of the tutors came across in the interviews as committed, caring teachers, still getting some satisfaction from their work and its status. In the survey 90% said the most attractive aspect of the job was “teaching my subject” and 75% agreed that “people think I am lucky to be a college tutor”. However, in response to a request to “tell us something that has pleased you recently....” some found it hard to think of anything in particular, and many gave rather general examples, such as: “I like to stand in front of my students and lecture”; “I am pleased when my students do well”; “I enjoyed TP supervision”; “the challenge of new learning”; “being in an all-women college”. A few mentioned in-service workshops, but for many, teaching practice had usually been the most professionally rewarding activity, and several talked about the pleasure of seeing students put into practice what they had been taught. However, under MIITEP opportunities for doing this are few.

Their frustrations were more varied and more vocal. The lack of opportunities for promotion and for further study figured most prominently, especially at BTC. There were many complaints about lack of materials, and about the poor level of the current students (discussed further below). There were also administrative complaints: one had not been paid for two months, and another felt that “MOE doesn’t understand primary teacher training; MIITEP is badly co-ordinated”. Lack of monetary reward when "acting" in a senior post, was also mentioned. One thought promotion criteria were unfair. They felt overworked by teaching six cohorts one after the other, with few breaks, and by an ever-increasing marking load from the field assignments. As they so seldom go on TP
supervision they had lost much money from the allowances, and it was said some commuted their annual two-week leave for K400.3

We asked specifically about college management, though it seldom arose spontaneously. The St. Joseph’s tutors were the most critical, with several perceiving the management as often absent, uncaring and uncommunicative. Two mentioned an unpleasant atmosphere of gossip and back-biting. Staff meetings were infrequent and ad hoc. BTC appeared slightly better managed, in that staff meetings did take place, with opportunities for staff to put items on the agenda. Tutors here seemed particularly aware of the budgetary crisis - as well they might, with buildings crumbling around them, and staff being retired - but tended to blame government more than college management.

Overall morale in these colleges was very low at the time of the study. The tutors appeared as a group who were once proud of their jobs but for whom this had now gone sour. “We have been disturbed by all these changes” said one. Indeed for the last 6-8 years they had been given one programme after another to implement, always with less time and dwindling resources to teach the same things. The last two years had clearly been very difficult and uncomfortable. They had no idea what would happen next - nor did anyone else at the time of fieldwork - so had little to look forward to, except retirement. It is perhaps remarkable and a great credit to their sense of professionalism that many have remained at their posts, caring about students to the extent of giving evening lectures; one might say they are fighting a rearguard action to defend the standards they were trained in and believe in.

2.2.6 A Gender analysis of the college staff.

The gender picture is interesting. In the Malawian education system as a whole women are in a minority. In our two colleges, overall women comprised 36% of the staff (30% at St. Joseph’s, 40% at BTC). In this small sample, there were as many women graduates as men, as Table 2.2 shows.

Table 2.2: Gender comparison of graduates among the Malawian sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree held</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of the survey both colleges were headed by women, one in an acting capacity. However, in both colleges most of the other posts of responsibility were held by men, with women having pastoral roles like warden or student advisor. For example, there were only three women Heads of Department (HOD), but five out of six pastoral posts were held by women. There were, however, some differences between the colleges. Most

3 400 Malawi Kwacha was worth about 10 U.S. dollars at the time of writing.
of the better-qualified women were at BTC; two out of the three female HODs were there, a woman was Teaching Practice co-ordinator, and women chaired two important committees. At St. Joseph’s, albeit an all-female college, the only senior management posts occupied by women were the Principal and head of Foundations Studies – both of them were members of a religious order. On this evidence, all-women colleges do not offer women staff more advantages, nor do they set up new role models for girls. Perhaps St. Joseph’s history, as a religious foundation, has shaped their ethos. It is also possible that the urban environment at BTC attracted or permitted more ambitious or better-qualified women.

Our interview data revealed deep differences in attitude between men and women towards professional women. Men tended to think there were equal opportunities for women, pointing to recent promotions, though two acknowledged women could face discrimination. Two men explicitly said teaching was “a good job for ladies” because they would be at home when the husbands returned from work. Other men said women were not interested, or lacked “courage”.

While our data suggests this may be true in some cases, all the women said it was much more difficult for them to achieve promotion in the colleges: you had to know the right people, to be better qualified than the men, and to work harder. This may well explain why more of the women had Masters degrees: the men did not need them so much. There is also evidence of women being more professionally active; in our sample equal numbers of men and women belonged to the Teachers’ Union of Malawi, and two women also belonged to other professional organisations, though no men did.

2.3 Perspectives on Teaching and Learning

An important aspect of the study was to explore how tutors see their role, what kinds of teachers they want to produce, what models of teaching and learning guide their practice, their views about their students, and what ‘personal theories’ they have developed.

2.3.1 Tutors as teachers

After both talking with them and watching them teach, we concluded that they saw themselves as conventional teachers rather than as professional trainers. Their teaching was often very similar to that found in secondary schools (see Stuart and Kunje 2000). They seemed puzzled when asked in what ways they found teaching adults was different from teaching children. One set of replies was that “in school we teach content, here we teach methods”. Another group focused on the student attitudes: adults were seen to be more mature, behaving better, less dependent, and having a goal to work for. But school students were seen as more alive, more enthusiastic, with more intrinsic motivation. One tutor remarked that “adults have to be handled carefully; if you miss teaching a class, you have to make it up.” On the other hand, another thought teaching in college was less hard work than in secondary school, because classes were smaller. One simply said: “they don’t have to stand up in class to answer!”
Although there is a section in the Teacher Trainers’ Source Book (TDU 1997) about principles of Adult Learning, stressing ways of respecting and building on prior learning, tutors still treated these mature trainees as "empty vessels"; they neither used nor valued the students’ years of teaching, or indeed their experiences as citizens and parents. Several reasons were given: there was no time; the experience was of little use (e.g. “when we ask them we don’t get the answers we expect”), or the students did not value it (“they feel whatever they did was bad, and expect that what they get here is the right thing”). These comments were quite revealing of underlying assumptions about the nature of professional knowledge, as discussed below.

2.3.2 Perceptions of the good teacher

We were interested in finding out what kind of ‘product’ they were aiming at. There was a fair degree of unanimity among the tutors, with survey and interview data all pointing in the same direction. It is striking that a good teacher is overwhelmingly described in terms of classroom skills and of personal and professional attitudes, while the ‘knowledge base’ of teaching figures far less prominently. Such comments as “knows the subject”, “is academically sound”, “knows what to do” only form about 15% of the comments (in both data sets). Even among these, descriptions of meaningful knowledge, such as “understanding learner needs” or “can interpret the curriculum”, occur very infrequently. There is no mention of “pedagogic content knowledge” and no one specifically mentioned “knowing how to teach the subject”.

Instead, the discourse is predominantly about skills, which to some extent reflects the curriculum (see Stuart and Kunje 2000). The respondents refer mainly to general skills, such as “uses a variety of teaching methods” and “is well-prepared”. Where specific, they tend to emphasis technical skills like planning lessons, writing schemes of work and keeping registers, making and using teaching/learning aids, and monitoring pupils’ progress. Interpersonal skills, such as helping individuals especially slow learners, keeping pupils interest, and good communication, certainly figure in both data sets, but less frequently. Only a handful of comments concerned “active and participatory learning” or “involving pupils in their own learning”.

Among the professional and personal attitudes, the most common characteristics of a good teacher relate to commitment: “dedicated”, hardworking, “interested in the job” and enthusiastic. Other professional aspects include being well organised and working co-operatively, while the group of comments around “calm, patient, coping with stress”, suggests some of the problems faced by teachers in Malawi. Many others refer in some way to relationships with children: good teachers are loving, friendly and interested in learners; they should be ready to help them, to listen and to encourage, and to be concerned with their problems. Another common phrase, especially in St. Joseph’s, was that a good teacher is "exemplary", meaning dresses and behaves well, is punctual and acts as a role model for pupils; only two or three mentioned aspects of professional awareness, such as going on courses or reflecting on one’s own teaching. A noticeable
gap is the lack of any discussion about discipline, particularly in the light of student memories of harsh corporal punishment at school.

Thus the ideal teacher is one who dedicated and well-organised, who prepares their lessons well, (presumably from the Teachers’ Guide since they do not need to understand the subject in depth), who uses a variety of teaching methods, and monitors pupil progress, with some attention where possible to individual needs. They are loving and patient, exercising a benevolent concern over the class, and exemplary in their dress and behaviour. This is a teacher whose role is restricted to delivering the curriculum according to given guidelines, rather than an autonomous professional or "reflective practitioner".

It is interesting that the tutors describe teachers in terms of discrete skills and attitudes; they do not use holistic images such as parent or facilitator, which we found to be common elsewhere. Though there is much stress on concern for children, the skills are more suggestive of traditional transmission teaching than the learner-centred, actively participatory methods advocated by the revised primary curriculum and, ostensibly, by MIITEP.

2.3.3 Tutors’ own teaching methods

Fairly traditional views about teaching also emerge from the tutors’ somewhat ambiguous answers to questions about their own pedagogy. In the survey, they all agree with the statement that “students learn best when in small groups”, but this conflicts with the relative lack of importance they attribute to class size in other questions, and a quarter still say they prefer to lecture to large groups rather than divide the class up. While 90% say students learn more from asking questions than listening to the tutor, nearly half agree that “teaching students facts is the most important thing a tutor can do”. Most of them claim to ask their students lots of questions. While this was confirmed by our observations, most of the questions were of the closed, recall type, and we saw very few students initiating questions or comments.

Interviews did not reveal a wide repertoire of teaching methods. Lectures, question and answer, discussion groups, demonstration or practicals covered the range, and observation confirmed that in practice there was even less variety. There was little evidence that tutors spent much time reflecting on their own learning or trying to improve their practice. Two said they had had to adjust their methods slightly to accommodate the weaknesses of the current students, though this seemed to indicate a return to lecturing instead of using groupwork. Two mentioned participatory methods, but more in the context of what students should do in school. Only two said they devised their own methods rather than following those suggested in the Student Teachers’ Handbook so they could vary them to suit individual class needs.

These ambiguities and inconsistencies suggest that these tutors do not hold a very clear learner-centred teaching philosophy.
2.3.4 Views on the college and its courses

Respondents appear quite satisfied with the college courses and with their own role in them. Nearly all of them disagree that “most tutors do not know much about teaching primary pupils” and 70% think that “college courses are well-designed to prepare students for primary teaching”. Most disagree there is too much theory in the college course and 70% do not think that the subject courses are difficult.

In interviews, the complaints concerned mainly the length of the course: they had to cram far too much into a short time and they wanted to return to the older form of a one- or two-year residential training. Otherwise over 80% were satisfied that most of the curriculum did not need much changing. However, 20% thought assessment needed a complete rethink, and 30% said the same about language.

Table 2.3: Changes perceived as needed in the Malawian college curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of curriculum needing change</th>
<th>% identifying this aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching methods</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course aims and objectives</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching aims and objectives</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge content</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills/practical work</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance to students</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment strategy</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition of language problems</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tutors appear to blame the perceived problems with teaching and learning on the students rather than on the college courses or their own teaching. While 75% think that tutors can help “to improve the academic ability of weak students”, at the same time they are very critical of students. Half think the student can’t study independently. Nearly all agree that students have weak study skills, and that their low language level prevents them learning effectively. About 75% think students have difficulty keeping up to date with college work, and 90% believe students have to work hard to pass exams. On the other hand, most disagreed that the courses were too difficult and 60% think that college tests are easy if students have a good memory. This is consistent with the importance they place on teaching facts.

Asked what would help them teach more effectively, they ranked enrolling better qualified and better motivated students as the most important, alongside more practical facilities and more textbooks. Asked what held students back, there was 100% agreement that the language level of the students was crucial, along with general low levels of achievement and motivation. It was noticeable, however, that no one seemed to have any proposals for remedying the perceived weaknesses, and no one had done anything other than offer extra lectures to students.
Table 2.4: Malawian tutors’ identification of student problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Seen as important/very important (%)</th>
<th>Seen as not a problem (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language level of students</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low academic level of students</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low student motivation</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of practical facilities</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of time</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large teaching groups</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of textbooks</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor library facilities</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, tutors in both colleges put the blame for low student achievement squarely on the students themselves, their poor language skills, low academic level and lack of motivation. Shortage of time, poor facilities and large teaching groups are seen as only partly responsible, with St. Joseph putting more emphasis on these factors than BTC. Notably few think poor library facilities are important, yet to the researchers the libraries appeared inadequate, and not friendly to students.

There is an interesting contradiction within their perceptions of the schools. While everyone, without exception, agreed that TP is the most useful part of the course, 90% think that students get little guidance from schoolteachers, and 70% think schools don’t provide examples of good practice. The interviewees frequently criticised aspects of the school-based component. There appears to be a wide gulf, and a sense of mistrust between tutors and schoolteachers, which does not bode well for the implementation of a training partnership between colleges and schools.

What emerges here is that the tutors do not hold clear positive views about learner-centred teaching. They believe in teaching facts, and think a good memory is useful; perhaps that is why they ask their students lots of questions. They say students learn best in small groups and by asking questions, but not everyone organises their teaching that way. The tutors sound satisfied – perhaps even a little smug – about the curriculum; the college courses and their teaching are fine, and if the students find things difficult this is due to their own limitations. What might be considered surprising is that nowhere in the interviews or open-response questions did tutors suggest ways of coping with the student problems they had diagnosed. This perhaps reflects a perception of their own role as itself professionally restricted, and a lack of a sense of agency, which would have enabled them to try to change the situation. The interviews enabled us to probe into this a little further.

2.3.5 Personal theories

We sought through the interviews to elicit something of their own personal or lay theories about teaching and learning as these might have developed over the years.

There emerged a rather technical view of training, apparently shared by most interviewees, which goes something like this: we tell the students what to do, let them
practice it, and they should be able to do it. Learning to teach often seems to be treated as quite unproblematic: “when one has enough content plus teaching strategies, he can disseminate it”. The role model theme reappeared as well. One explained, “they need residential training so we can shape them by our instruction and example”. Possibly the old DPTE training contributed to this consensus, as two tutors specifically quoted things they had learnt there. There was little evidence of tutors’ independent reflection, though two said “one keeps on learning”. One tutor was more explicit, explaining how she developed ways of making trainees use the methods they would have to use in the primary school, “they teach each other, and little by little they will learn”.

However, for some of the tutors, exposure to new ideas and people had stimulated reflection. Mr. F. was very impressed by the work of the Primary Community schools project and had worked as one of their trainers. He seemed to have developed a different “personal theory”. He described in detail how he explored his students’ difficulties, how he helped them find equivalents for maths concepts in the local language, and talked about how western methods could be adapted to the Malawian context. He pointed out, however, that in Malawi pupils expect teachers to tell them things, and if they don’t, the pupils think the teacher doesn’t know his job!

Another tutor, who had studied overseas, expanded at length on the differences both cultural and economic. He pointed out that the role of the teacher is different, saying, “here the teacher is thoroughly in charge, the child is less free”. On resources, he pointed out, “we don’t have the technology”, and then put this all in a developmental context, concluding: “we are going to advance [...] it will be a gradual process [...] the next two or three generations will come to that level.” It seemed that while he was aware of other possibilities, he did not personally feel impelled to be pro-active in bringing them about – another example of the lack of a sense of agency among the tutors.

2.3.6 Views of knowledge

The evidence suggests that most tutors hold a "transmission" or "banking" view of professional teaching and learning rather than a "constructivist" one. They seem to believe that there exists a fixed body of public knowledge, including facts, definitions and teaching methods, which students need to learn before they can be considered trained. There was a common assumption that there is one right way to teach. One said, “Students should do it the way I taught them”, and another, referring to mixed messages from teachers in the field, explained “we tell them this is the truth”. A further assumption is made that such "knowledge" can be applied directly in practice to any situation.

Such comments form part of a wider picture. Students are not being asked to reflect on what they have seen or done, so they can be helped to understand it better and to improve, but to learn “the right way”. Teaching is not viewed as a professional activity, where teachers must learn to use their own judgement as they respond to difficult, unique situations. “There is one pathway at the school that the teacher should follow [...]” remarked one tutor.
2.3.7 Intellectual attitudes

Few tutors seemed to be interested in educational innovation. Most disagreed strongly with the statement “Young lecturers have better ideas about teaching than old lecturers”. The professional atmosphere in the colleges appeared neither intellectually stimulating nor challenging. Asked in interviews to mention a book they had read recently, only four tutors could quote a title and author, and two just a title. Three others referred to textbooks they were using. One vaguely remembered a statistics book, another quoted resources from a workshop. Two said they “didn’t read these days”. There seems little support or incentive to develop one’s own knowledge and skills.

One can suggest many reasons for this lack of interest: the tutors’ low level of education, the physical and intellectual isolation of the colleges, the shortage of relevant books and journals, the tutors’ workloads, and perhaps the lack of incentives in the form of opportunities for further study.

2.4 Discussion of the situation in Malawi

This section will highlight some of the issues that have emerged from the findings described above, and in places relate these to other parts of the MUSTER study.

2.4.1 Recruitment and training of tutors

As the new Policy Investment Framework (PIF) recognises, college tutors need themselves to have been trained and worked successfully in the primary sector in order to be able to draw on that experience in training new teachers (MOESC 2000 p.22). If teacher education continues to comprise a partnership between colleges and schools, it is also important that there is mutual respect and understanding between the two sets of staff, which would be enhanced by tutors having recent and relevant experience of the schools. As far as gender is concerned, as the proportion of women primary teachers rises in Malawi, and as more are promoted to headteacher or Primary Education Advisor (PEA), it will be easier to recruit more women tutors so that they hold at least 50% of the posts, and to give them the support needed to take on management posts.

The most appropriate forms of professional development for new college lecturers need careful design. One set of decisions involves balancing subject upgrading with general professional and pedagogic training, and these are in turn linked to the kinds of primary teachers needed. Most primary tutors require some combination of three strands in their professional education: an in-depth understanding of one or two subject areas (content knowledge), practical knowledge of how these subjects can be effectively taught to different age groups (pedagogic content knowledge), and finally enough understanding of learning theory and child development to make their courses consistent with the overall aims of the programme (see Shulman 1987). Tutors typically mentioned only one strand, and indeed there are very few university programmes available anywhere that effectively
combine these components! However, Malawi has an unusual and useful example in the form of the old DPTE, which could be redeveloped at Bachelor’s level, and designed to incorporate recent developments in teacher education thinking from both the industrialised and the developing worlds. (cf MOESC 2000:20).

Linked to this are policy decisions about whether Malawian primary teachers should continue to be trained as generalists. There are, internationally, strong arguments for training some teachers as early years or infant specialists, whose focus is the child rather than the subject. In the Malawian context, this might also mean teaching in a local language rather than in English. Teachers of higher primary standards, where more subject knowledge and better English language skills are required, might then specialise in groups of related subjects rather than training to teach everything. This would have implications for the professional preparation of the tutors.

Whatever form it takes, there is a need for a professional education structure for college tutors, which includes orientation and induction when they move from schools to colleges, and provides for academic upgrading to the level where they feel confident both in the relevant subject areas and in their understanding of professional theory and practice. Career pathways should be laid out whereby appropriate people can seek promotion and further development that will bring both monetary and intrinsic satisfaction.

In deciding strategies for continuing professional development, a balance needs to be sought between returns to the individuals and returns to the educational system. Upgrading a small number of tutors overseas at a high cost per tutor will have little effect unless the system as a whole becomes supportive of change. Enough tutors need to be exposed to new ideas to form a critical mass of people who can stimulate and help each other. Short group study tours overseas, and/or courses in the region would seem more cost-effective options.

2.4.2 Tutors’ Perspectives

As described above, most tutors have a transmission model of knowledge, have little understanding of learned-centred education, and hold a deficit view of students.

An alternative view of professional knowledge would put the student-teacher at the centre as an active constructor of their own knowledge, making sense of the situation by drawing on many sources, including their own past and present experiences and their own, often tacit, situated knowledge of that particular classroom (Eraut 1994, Calderhead 1987). Such a view would encourage tutors to make more use of trainees’ own experience, and would encourage discussion of alternative ways of handling classes rather than insisting on "the right way".

Though modern teacher education discourse distinguishes between public theoretical knowledge about teaching, which can be acquired formally, and the personal "craft" or practical knowledge, which resides in a teacher’s own practice and skills and which is
best acquired through experience, the Malawian colleges do not appear to recognise such a distinction. They seem to teach and assess both kinds in the same way.

In a course that puts so much emphasis on skills development this denigration of experiential understanding is something of a paradox. One clue may lie in the differential status accorded to different kinds of knowledge. It was very clear that tutors believed that their own knowledge, acquired – no doubt laboriously – through training and from books, was what counted. The practical experience and craft knowledge of students and primary schools was correspondingly discounted and students came to accept this deficit view of their own prior experience.

2.4.3 The missing frame

Just as there were missing frames in the teachers’ discourse noted by Jessop and Penny (1998) there seems to be similar “missing frames” in the Malawian college discourse. There is a much stronger emphasis on teaching than on learning. The “good teacher” is perceived in terms of personal characteristics, and of professional attitudes and skills, but seldom in terms of knowledge and understanding or in terms of making learning meaningful for pupils. Indeed, the tutors’ perceptions of their own task are consistent with this; they aim to tell, show, and model “the right ways” of being a teacher, and they assess whether students can recall what they have been told, but tutors have not developed themselves, nor do they encourage trainees to develop, a deep personal understanding of what it means to be a teacher. As Jessop and Penny put it: “the dimensions of ownership and reflective action are missing” (1998:399).

2.4.4 Malawian teacher education in the wider world

We have commented above on the difficult times through which the tutors have passed. Closed off for years by a political dispensation which discouraged many kinds of innovation and initiatives, and with limited economic resources, the college staff have survived by recycling ideas and practices which internationally are considered to have been superseded.

But how and what to update? Issues here concern global transfers of knowledge and their adaptation for use in appropriate ways. Educational research in the North – and for once this includes important Russian work such as that of Vygotsky – on intelligence, cognition and learning, are presumably of universal significance, insofar as these help us to understand the development and functioning of the human brain. Yet at the same time it has also become clearer how all kinds of learning are mediated through culturally-specific contexts, relationships and norms.

The difficult task facing teacher educators in a country like Malawi is to gain a sufficient understanding of what international research is saying, and then having sufficient courage and judgement to decide how this can be fitted to the local contexts. We have reported elsewhere (Stuart and Kunje 2000) how the MIITEP curriculum materials for Foundation Studies use concepts and findings taken from Northern/Western educational research, and how the tutors often seem unable to translate these into examples and terms that would be
meaningful for Malawian teachers. Instead, the students learn definitions by heart, but do not understand how this information can help them improve classroom learning.

The task of adaptation calls for building research capacity into the colleges, including skills, time, resources and professional support. It also requires a different view of knowledge, a critical stance which regards propositions as provisional and open to refutation and further development. In this perspective knowledge is socially constructed rather than fixed and given.

But this in turn implies a different social relationship with students, in which both become co-enquirers. As Mr. F. said, this may require even greater social change, so that students will take more responsibility for their learning, and not expect to be given answers. At the same time, college tutors need to be empowered with a stronger sense of agency so they can act individually and collegially to improve the system. Whether this is compatible with wider social norms and structures in Malawi is beyond the scope of this discussion.
CHAPTER 3

CASE-STUDY B: TUTORS AT THE NATIONAL TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE IN LESOTHO

3.1 Introduction

In Lesotho all pre-service primary teacher training now takes place at one institution, the National Teacher Training College (NTTC), which was founded in 1975 to replace the seven small denominational training colleges. It is affiliated to the National University of Lesotho (NUL), and though the college conducts its own assessment under the moderation of an External Examiner, the final results have to be passed by the University Senate. For some years there have been discussions about granting it autonomy as the Lesotho College of Education, with its own budget and governing body, but at the time of writing this had not yet happened.

The college is situated on the edge of Maseru, the capital city. In 1997 there were 866 students, but capacity has since been increased by the building of new hostels and numbers are planned to rise to over 1000. There were, at the time of the study about 100 staff, organised into Primary, Secondary and Inservice divisions. This study is concerned only with the 44 members of the Primary Division.

Originally all the three-year programmes led to the award of a "Certificate" but at present the college is in the process of replacing these with three-year "Diploma" programmes, in order to raise the quality of teachers. In principle, students are now expected to have higher entry qualifications, and the new courses are designed to focus more on subject content knowledge than on pedagogy.

At the time of the study, three courses were running in the Primary Division:

1. Primary Teachers' Certificate (PTC). This was being phased out.
2. Diploma in Primary Education (DPE). This was a relatively new 3-year inservice programme designed to prepare serving teachers for posts of responsibility.
3. Diploma in Education (Primary) (DEP). This was the new 3½ year programme designed to replace both PTC and DPE. The first cohort entered in August 1998 for the one-semester "bridging course" covering English, Maths, Science, and Sesotho, intended to upgrade students' subject content and study skills before they began their professional training.

3.1.1 Design and methods

The questionnaire was administered to all tutors in the Primary Division at a special meeting, which resulted in 36 questionnaires being completed, a response rate of over 80%. Ten tutors were interviewed, selected from English, Maths, Science and
Professional Studies departments to represent varying lengths of service at the college, different ranks, and a proportionate gender balance. We also used four pilot interviews with primary tutors in the MUSTER research team, which added insights from other departments, making a total of 14.

In all, there is data from a total of 38 tutors out of 44, since two tutors were interviewed although they did not fill in the questionnaire.

3.1.2 The sample

The whole sample comprised 12 men and 26 women. Of those surveyed, just over half the tutors (58%) were between the ages of 36-45 years, and another third were older, with six being over 50. Only three were younger than 35, and 61% were over 40. The women tended to be slightly older, with 39% of women being under 41 compared with 42% of men, and 22% (5) of the women being over 50, compared with only 1 man. Most were Basotho, but there were four expatriates, one from India, the others from African countries.

Religious affiliation is an important aspect of both education and politics in Lesotho, so it was interesting that the largest group (42%) belonged to the Lesotho Evangelical Church, with only 33% being Catholic; this is roughly the reverse of the proportions of schools in the country belonging to these two churches. All the tutors except two claimed affiliation to a Christian church, indicating perhaps the continuation of the old link between teacher training and the missions.

All the respondents but two were graduates and a third had Masters degrees. A third did not have any professional/educational qualifications. By age, there appeared a slight tendency for the younger ones (36-40) to lack professional qualifications. The two non-graduates, and some of those without teaching qualifications, taught practical subjects. Five held Senior Lectureships, with the rest being on lower scales; some were Lecturers but half were still only Assistant Lecturers, even though they had served a number of years in the college. Scrutiny of college documents suggests this was a representative sample.

3.2 Tutors’ Careers Trajectories

3.2.1 Initial entry and training

The original motivation to become a teacher differed according to age. The older ones seemed to have entered the profession for intrinsic reasons; or because of a ‘role model’ in their parent or admired teacher, while the younger ones seemed to have come in more

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4. It was intended that Pulane Lefoka and Janet Stuart should interview teachers jointly, but due to pressure of time this was not possible. Stuart’s own experience of teaching at the National University of Lesotho some years earlier provided her with contextual knowledge, and some of the interviewees knew of her. However, a local interviewer might have been able to pursue certain themes in more depth. On the other hand, as a familiar ‘outsider’, Stuart may have been the recipient of certain confidences that would not have been articulated to a compatriot. The methodological implications are complex!
often as a second choice, or even as a last option. Some got drawn in accidentally, or through teaching while waiting for Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC) results. A number of them “came to enjoy it”, usually quite early on while working as untrained teachers, or on their first Teaching Practice (TP); they decided to remain in the profession and, when possible, studied further.

Most college tutors had trained to teach at secondary level. Of those surveyed, 74% had some secondary experience, ranging from 1-20 years, the median being 5 years. About 40% had primary experience – 12 of the women, and three of the men – ranging from 1-25 years, though most had done six or less years. Four of the women also had infant teaching experience. Some had taught at both levels. Three – two women and one man – had not taught in a school.

One of the older women explained that she had wanted to train as a primary teacher but at that time anyone who came to college with COSC rather than Junior Certificate (JC) went automatically into the Secondary Teachers’ programme. While some talked of their great interest in younger children, and had made the switch by choice, others said they ended up in the Primary Division as a result of staff shortages. Overall, few of these tutors have their roots – or their hearts – in primary education, and indeed the survey respondents overwhelmingly agreed that “most tutors do not know much about teaching primary pupils”. This is serious, particularly as there seems a slight trend for the younger tutors to be even more oriented towards secondary than the older ones.

Most of the tutors had gone through several training stages, often interspersed with periods of school teaching, as opportunities opened up, or as higher qualifications were demanded. Typically, they trained at NTTC – only four had attended the old church colleges - and later went to NUL to take a B.Ed. Some then proceeded to M.Ed. either at NUL or overseas.

3.2.2 Becoming a tutor

The move to NTTC was in most cases deliberately chosen by the individual concerned. The job is perceived as having more status and to be less stressful than school teaching. In the survey, most agreed that “my friends think I am lucky to be a lecturer”. It is also seen as financially advantageous. This is true of the higher grades, and tutors have pension rights which until recently were denied to school teachers, but two new recruits were dismayed to find they were paid less as assistant lecturers than they had been as high school teachers.

Typically, one answers an advertisement, and is then interviewed by the Public Service Commission. Tutors gave a variety of reasons for applying to the college: some just wanted a change, others saw it as a chance for “furthering their studies”. One did it only for the pension. Some people said they were invited, or called; this was during the staffing shortages of the 80s. Two were first employed as Intern Supervisors. One applied at his parents’ urging; one was asked by her Church to fill the Religious Education post.
One or two were so keen to come that they accepted a post in a department or division other than the one they had applied to or were qualified for.

In spite of this, NTTC has suffered from considerable staff turnover. Nearly half our sample had taught there for only 6 years or less. There were 3 brand new tutors, 8 who had joined in the last 23 years; at the other end of the scale three had been there for more than 15 years. The current director explained that a determined effort had been made recently to fill vacant posts.

3.2.3 Jobs outside teaching

Though 13 mentioned other jobs, a number of these were education-related, as broadly defined, such as: health educator, research officer, INSET trainer, assistant registrar and assistant education officer. Of the others, three had worked for the UN or NGOs as coordinators or programme officers. One had been a private artist, another had worked in rural cottage enterprises. Others included a planning officer, a loans officer in a bank, and one had been a miner for a year. It was mainly, though not exclusively, the tutors in practical subjects – home economics, development studies, agriculture and arts/crafts who had worked outside education, and proportionately more men than women. Two interviewees had taught in South Africa. Thus, only a small number of NTTC tutors had broader experience of the world of work and of other perspectives to share with their students.

3.2.4 Training, Induction and inservice

None had been specifically prepared for their role as teacher educators. The only relevant local training programme was the ‘Diploma in Primary Supervision’, which ran for a few years at NUL in the early 1980s to train Intern Supervisors, and which two of the interviewees had completed.

NTTC has no formal induction or preparation for new tutors. Informal induction is sparse and differs by department, with some offering more help than others. Peer observation is unknown. Tutors with only secondary training may start teaching content, and graduate later to methodology; this happens particularly in English. Otherwise, they learn on the job, drawing on memories of their own training – often for secondary teaching - getting some help from colleagues, and using what books they can find. In the case of Professional Studies, some tutors appear to have relied largely on what they had been taught at NUL in Educational Foundations courses; this would imply that what is being offered to NTTC students may be 15-20 years out of date.

It was clear that when they had first come to the college many had not known what to do, and did not always get the help they needed. One reported a conversation with a colleague thus:

I asked him: What kind of things do we do here at NTTC? And he said: ‘just teach as you have always taught, there is nothing new here’. But whenever I got
to class, I would realise that teaching at tertiary level and training a teacher needed some kinds of skills, which I thought I lacked and, honestly, I don’t know how I survived. But in the department, there was a lady who was very helpful. I learnt a lot from discussions with her.

In the survey, 19 respondents – just over half – reported having attended some INSET courses; 11 had participated in more than one. Most of the courses were short, ranging from three days to three weeks. Topics varied. Noticeably, 6 staff had been given training in Early Primary work – to run a particular specialisation – via courses and study tours ranging from two weeks to three months, and some of this group had been on more than one such course. Five others had done a one-week “time management” course, three done short courses related to assessment, and two reported a week-long course on research methods. Others included Arts and Crafts, computer, Special Educational needs, communication skills, book-writing, and “effecting change”.

It seems that there has been no consistent staff development policy. Only one recent director had tried to make this a priority by seeking scholarships for tutors. More typically, staff were sent on courses or to gain further qualifications when money was available in conjunction with one of the donor-funded projects. Out of the 14 interviewed, three had done their masters’ in the UK, and two in the USA. One had recently completed a Masters by distance learning supported by visiting tutors from the University of Bath. One had also been to Australia on a 6-month study tour. Two had recently been sent on month-long study tours to look at Early Childhood Development in South Africa and Namibia.

The impact of such kinds of in-service is hard to evaluate; the overseas training in particular, though stimulating, was not always relevant. An older tutor told how she had been sent to the USA to be trained for a specific role, but how on her return she found project had ended and she went into a different kind of job. Another who studied in the UK said, only half jokingly, that although the course had been an "eye-opener", he had had to "reverse what he had learnt" because of the lack of resources in Lesotho schools. By contrast, the study tours to neighbouring countries were rated as very interesting and relevant.

While everyone thought local workshops useful, and nearly half cited recent workshops as being among their most rewarding recent professional experiences, the longer the course, the more valuable they were said to be, which probably represents a yearning for further study with its attendant promotion prospects. Interviewees expanding on INSET needs suggested that regular workshops for all were essential, especially on methods, to “expand and deepen the syllabus”, or for upgrading in one’s own subject. Another priority was to help those trained and experienced at secondary level to learn more about primary teaching and how to prepare teachers for it.
3.2.5 Job satisfaction and future career plans

While the picture is somewhat mixed, and overall college morale was not particularly high, many showed enthusiasm for their work, and for most the advantages seemed to outweigh the drawbacks. The survey respondents ranked most aspects of their work, except teaching practice, as “very attractive”. They mentioned several other professional activities they had enjoyed, including extra-curricular activities, helping students after they had graduated, induction of new staff, attending workshops and developing the new Diploma.

Among the interviewees, only two were explicitly unhappy; almost all the others expressed strong intrinsic satisfaction with their job, e.g.

- It is rewarding to teach people who will be teaching thousands of children – it has a multiplier effect
- I enjoy being with the students
- I encourage them to teach even though they will be poor
- I like the challenge

Their anecdotes in response to “what pleased you recently about your job?” typically concerned students taking responsibility for their own learning, producing good results, or performing well in school. The frustrations they expressed were mainly about conditions of service, the college management, the heavy workload and the large classes, which prevented any one-to-one work with individual students.

Conditions of service are a source of concern to many. Assistant lecturers earn no more than high school teachers, the only advantage being a pension. There are no ‘perks’ in the form of loans as at the University. Promotions are therefore crucial, but they are hard to get, and the criteria are opaque. Officially posts are advertised and insiders compete with outsiders on equal footing, but there are suspicions that “who you are matters more than what you can do”. Those without postgraduate degrees complain there is no fair selection procedure for scholarships.

In spite of such problems both survey and interview data show that most would stay on at the college, particularly if salary and conditions could be improved. Table 1 shows a breakdown of the responses to the survey question “If you had a choice, would you like to…?”
Table 3.1: Future career plans: Lesotho

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preference</th>
<th>Number choosing</th>
<th>% of all responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stay at the college</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer to another college</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach at University</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in a school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in education department</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find a job outside teaching</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Multiple responses were counted, as some gave two options)

Over half said they would stay at NTTC. Some would like to move within tertiary or go to the Ministry, but only five people (12%) considered leaving education. This – taken together with the reasons, often of a positive professional nature - suggests relative satisfaction, though it must be remembered that a number were nearing retirement. Closer analysis, however, revealed a strong gender difference: while only a third of the women would consider moving, half the men do. Of the women, 70% think it is the best job they can get, but only 27% of the men.

Reasons given for wanting to stay included altruistic ones such as: “I want to develop students’ skills; it’s an important job for the country”; - intrinsic ones: “I enjoy it; I’ve been here some time, and accept its ups and downs”; “I want to see it grow through my contribution”, - and instrumental ones: “it’s near home”; “there are reasonable benefits”. One wrote simply: “I feel a commitment to teaching and I enjoy my work a lot”.

Reasons for wanting to move included both ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors. Those wanting to move to the Ministry mentioned both lack of incentives at NTTC and a “desire to broaden my work”. Those wishing to go to the University said they wanted more challenge and more chances of professional development. Reasons for transferring to another college, which would have to be outside the country, but might well offer much higher rates of pay, included: “gaining more experience”; “going where my subject is given more importance” and complaints of “low pay, poor students and few challenges”. People wanting to move outside education quoted mainly a lack of job satisfaction.

3.2.6 College structures and management

NTTC has a long history of staff dissatisfaction with management and this theme often surfaced spontaneously in the interviews. Roles were seen as hierarchical, and staff perceived a distance between "us" and "them". Those coming in from other institutions remarked on the apparent disorganisation: meetings called and cancelled at short notice, lack of agendas, lack of information on the new DEP programme and on changes in the college status. Others complained about the difficulty in getting materials, the lack of vehicles for TP, and so on. It was suggested that the bureaucracy might improve once the college became more independent of the Ministry and had its own budget.
The college has a strong departmental structure. Tutors seldom teach more than one subject, though some have in the past been shifted between maths and science, or between their subject and Professional Studies, or from Secondary to Primary Division. Staff appeared to live and work in groups of 2-6 in their departmental offices, rarely meeting with others. It was said that in staff meetings issues are presented in top-down fashion, and there are reputedly no Head of Department meetings for thrashing out common problems. Within departments, some appeared to have collaborative cultures, others authoritarian ones; some meet regularly, others don’t; some share workloads out evenly, others do not. Staff satisfaction, therefore, may depend partly on their relationships within their departmental team. Notably, few reported activities or responsibilities outside their teaching, such as pastoral roles or extra-curricular activities, and few seemed involved in college committees. The comment: “one just does her work” seemed to sum up a significant aspect of the college ethos.

The lack of liaison and/or duplication between subjects and Professional Studies was commented on as affecting the teaching of the curriculum. People said there were no formal links, but informal contacts in some cases ensured that students were taught in their subject areas how to apply concepts that had already been introduced in Professional Studies.

3.2.7 Gender Analysis

In Lesotho teaching is a largely feminised profession, particularly at the primary level. At the time of the study, out of 11 Heads of Department (HOD), 9 were women and 2 men. Of the Senior Management, three were men (including the Director) and two women (including the Assistant Director for Academic Affairs). In interviews, only one respondent thought it was easier for men to get promotion: two (both men) thought there was positive discrimination in favour of women, two thought there were equal opportunities, and five were unsure or vague. This last may be explained partly by the lack of clarity over promotion criteria. One interviewee thought the tendency to promote women to high posts was causing instability in marriages, since it conflicted with the traditional role of women as junior partners – although he himself claimed to be in favour of affirmative action.

3.3 Perspectives on Teaching and Learning

The picture that emerges is complex. The tutors come from a variety of backgrounds and experiences, and expressed a wide range of views. At times the survey data was inconsistent with what was said in the interviews. No one model of teacher training emerged. The college does not seem to have a widely shared philosophy or sense of mission. As one interviewee pointed out, there is no “mission statement” anywhere. In this atmosphere, the tutors had apparently developed their own ideas and in the interviews most were able to articulate their reflections and personal theories.
However some patterns can be perceived. Most of the tutors are strongly subject-oriented and some views seem to be shared within a department. There were some marked differences between older and younger tutors and some gender differences.

3.3.1 Views of themselves as teachers of primary trainees

The tutors had deliberately chosen to come to NTTC, and to the extent they saw it as tertiary rather than secondary education, they had adapted their methods, modelling themselves on university tutors rather than on schoolteachers. However many found problems in adjusting to a suitable approach, especially if they had been secondary-trained.

Some felt this was straightforward. A new tutor in professional studies – herself quite anxious about her role - was told by a colleague not to worry about supervising TP as “he had also never been in a primary school classroom and he did not find it too difficult”.

More reflective tutors had developed their own practices to deal with the new situation, and some were able to articulate some of their personal theorising. Another recently arrived tutor said:

*I feel I have to adjust the way I actually taught in the past. Even when for instance I actually started working on my course outline, I had to put myself in the position of a primary school teacher. I had to think of some of the approaches that I thought might be appropriate for her, you see, and I think it is very challenging. I attended one trip organised for the primary school teachers in [district], … that’s where I actually started to gain some of the most important things about teaching in the primary school and all that.*

A more experienced tutor explained how she thought about it:

*I was put into the Primary Programme, so I had relearn, to teach myself how to teach students who were going to be Primary Teachers [How did you do it?] I had to imagine … how I would behave if I were a Primary School teacher. So I tried to teach these trainees as if they were my Primary School pupils […] when I am teaching pedagogy for example, I say, “Now you are my class in a Primary School, so how would you approach this lesson?” so we do it naturally. It works.*

Another stressed the affective side:

*you have to train the teacher so that you make her feel like the young child itself, so that she will be able to transfer that when she goes into teaching. […] The training must make her […] fit to the level of a young learner.*

She went on to give an example of how she tried through role play “to make teachers feel what young children feel”.

31
3.3.2 Perceptions of the good teacher

There was a fair degree of agreement about the ideal teacher, with most tutors embracing a person-oriented approach. There was a much stronger emphasis on personal and professional attitudes – such as kindness, patience, dedication and commitment – than on either skills or knowledge. The skills mentioned tended to be complex interpersonal skills – such as involving and motivating pupils, diagnosing and dealing with pupils’ needs, supporting slow learners – rather than the discrete technical skills of lesson planning or delivery. The teacher’s knowledge base seemed to be of less importance, and expressed vaguely as “knowing the subject” and “understanding children”.

Many described the good teacher in terms of "holistic" images. The most common was that of a facilitator or interactive teacher, where “teaching is dominated by doing”, and who “creates an environment conducive to pupils giving their own opinions.” Another common phrase was that they should be an exemplar or role-model for children. Others said: “like a parent”; “makes pupils feel at home”; “makes learning pleasant and unthreatening for pupils”; or “has the spirit of teaching”.

One summed it up as follows:

*a teacher who involved her students in learning, who kept the students motivated, who brought the students’ experiences into class*

There was some indication of an age differential. Older tutors tended to include more personal qualities; two referred to teaching as a “calling” and when asked if born or made, they tended to emphasise “born” over “made”. But the phrase “role model” - in the sense of offering example of morals and good behaviour - came from both old and young and seems an abiding image.

Thus the ideal teacher nurtures the pupils with loving care and dedication; she runs a child-centred classroom using a variety of methods, has good social and interpersonal skills, and adapts the curriculum to the needs of individual learners. She has high “professional” –moral and ethical - standards of behaviour and acts as a role model. It is assumed she knows the subject content and something about child development, but she is not expected to develop or change the given curriculum.

It should be noted that such views of the teacher are rather different from those outlined in the preamble to the new DEP. Here the aims indicate an “extended professional” view of the teacher, who would be capable of developing the curriculum, of evaluating their own and others’ work, and of acting “as agents of change within their communities.” The document lays much more emphasis on cognitive skills and the ability to solve professional problems, rather than just dealing with children and their needs in the classroom (NTTC 1997:11). Our data suggests that the new image, with its different requirements, had not yet permeated the college discourse.
3.3.3 The college product

Tutors are not sure how far the reality of training matches their rhetoric. When they were asked more directly what sort of teacher the college aimed to produce and how far this was achieved, a rather blurred view emerged, at least from the subject staff. It is perhaps summarised by the one who confessed:

\[
\text{I really do not know. I think they are well-prepared for their work. They have been given enough content, they have been given enough resources, they have been given enough practice under supervision, so they should be more or less good teachers. As I said, though, it also depends on their commitment.}
\]

Some said that NTTC graduates were better teachers than those trained by the University because they had the “skills to go to the level of the child”. There were only isolated references to self-evaluation, and to teachers as change agents or reflective practitioners.

This ambivalence about their task is shown in a striking way in the survey, when tutors were asked to exemplify how the college ensured that students became good teachers. Much the most common answer was to “send them on Teaching Practice”, followed by “teaching them skills”, giving them content, and by developing their professional and ethical attitudes, in that order. This suggests an uncertainty, perhaps even a lack of real understanding, about how their own work can and does contribute to the development of young teachers. It is also contradictory, in that many expressed quite negative views of the schools’ contribution to training.

3.3.4 Teaching methods

It was clear that tutors were seldom able to model for the trainees the kinds of learner-centred, interactive teaching which they espoused, and that some felt quite frustrated by this. Everyone agreed – most of them strongly - with the statement “students learn best in small groups”, and “smaller teaching groups” was ranked top among the factors which would help them teach better, just as “large groups” was seen as a barrier to student achievement. But in the survey, lectures are said to be the most frequent teaching method, though practical work, large group discussions and small group discussions also happen quite often – in that order. Individual tutorials are very rare; two mentioned inviting students needing help to visit their offices out of hours, but two others lamented there was no time for such support.

However, some interesting gender differences appeared in the survey data, with the men – a slightly younger group of tutors – expressing more authoritarian, didactic and traditional views, while the women appeared more student centred, and more interested in processes. For example, half the men – but only a few of the women – agreed that they “prefer to lecture to a large group”. Half the women disagreed that “the most important thing I can do is to teach my students facts”, while three-quarters of the men agreed. Overall, most tutors disagreed that “students learn more from listening than from asking
questions”, but a third of the men agreed with this. Everyone claims to ask their students lots of questions, especially the younger group. There are, of course, some inconsistencies here.

It was reported that in teaching on the inservice diploma, where groups are smaller, tutors used a wider range of methods: giving reading in advance, group discussion, project work, role play, getting students to challenge and critique. This data suggests that tutors do have quite extensive repertoires of teaching approaches, but that the large groups of initial trainees are not conducive to using them.

3.3.5 Personal theories about practice

A more detailed analysis showed that while departments appear to have different approaches, individual tutors also differ widely when talking about what they do and why.

- **Maths**: among those interviewed, the maths tutors articulated some of the most specific approaches, perhaps because the subject is a challenge to teach. In the former PTC course, they used to integrate content and methods carefully, liaising with Professional Studies. Discussing in-service Diploma work, one tutor explained how she had used a kind of action research mode to help these teachers adapt the primary syllabus to small children, and another put forward a critical constructivist approach, saying:

  … The way I teach them really is to try and get them to relate theory with practice by drawing from their own environment things that are happening, and try to derive mathematical concepts from that …. So I did a little bit of research into the kinds of games our people played and the kind of games the rural children played and then I took that and I used those kinds of games to derive mathematical concepts.

- **Science**: here tutors tended to support an academic content-based approach – only one mentioned science as ‘process’ - but found it difficult to integrate content and methods satisfactorily. One tutor explained that in the old PTC:

  most of their science [was] more or less related to the primary science syllabus... We carry out some experiments in the lab or they explore the environment. When they learn to classify, for example, they collected materials from the environment and so on and so forth. So what we do with them, is what they should do in the primary class; they should consider the learner.

But another differentiated his own teaching from that of the school:

    I wouldn’t expect one to use the same methods to the college students and to the primary school students. …. Their state of mental development is not quite the same.
• **English**: This department also found it hard to integrate content and methods, and tutors held differing views. One commented:

> We have to give them a lot of content because you cannot give them methods for things they do not know. But it should have been the other way round - more Professional Studies than content

A tutor newly recruited from high school teaching was happy to have been given the content to teach rather than the methods, as he found it more interesting:

> if I have to teach them what they are going to teach at Primary it would be boring for me, and I think that what they are going to teach at Primary will not be so difficult, so they will find solutions by themselves...so they must get knowledge that is a little bit higher than what they are going to give their students...

A more experienced tutor explained how she integrated the two:

> After teaching them the content, now we go to the methods. We say, now, let’s see, you have learnt what a noun means - ... how are you going to teach that? Sometimes you group them and say - ‘now, in your different groups, come up with methods for teaching this topic’ - and then they come up with good methods.

• **Professional studies**: The departmental approaches were consistent with the general perception, described above, of the good teacher. The child-centred approaches were foregrounded here by a new tutor who seemed to be taking her role very seriously:

> They should learn to try to understand their pupils and, of course, they should be friendly to them so that, should the child have any problem, they can go to the teacher and say what their problem is. And of course I want to equip them with the 'how' - the 'how' to teach what they have to teach - in such a way that they reach all the pupils in their classroom

Asked how the department would achieve their aims, the theme of being an exemplar, a role model, came through:

> you make them teachers through the methods that you use – through your own talking to them. The examples that you give to them, yes.

But some voices were rather more didactic:

> We actually lecture and discuss these issues in different courses, [such as] philosophy of education;[...] some were geared to creating a proper attitude among the teachers.
One subject tutor expressed concern that it was not enough for professional ethics to be taught just by the Professional Studies Department, saying “I wish we could all speak the same language”, implying that such a theme should be an integral part of the whole training programme.

A developmental view, again stressing attitudes and commitment, came from a very experienced tutor when asked whether she thought teachers were born or made:

*The basics have to be there, then they have to be polished.* [So how do you nurture their potential?] *Encourage them, bring them forward.* That’s what I do in class with the shy ones. *I encourage them to introduce classroom groups, and to talk in groups, to explain, and to teach others.* So, with encouragement they come out of themselves.

...I hope they have learnt to do things themselves [...] to improvise, [...] I hope they have learnt to behave professionally [...] I hope they have some ethics [...] I wouldn’t like to have good teachers - people can teach maths and science and have the content, but who do not behave themselves like teachers.

There is, therefore, a wide variety of interesting and insightful perspectives on teaching and learning, but no shared conceptual framework of what it means to prepare a teacher, nor how that can and should be done.

3.3.6 Views of the college curriculum

Interpreting the data is difficult here, because the curriculum was in a process of transition. For example, in response to the question “Does the present college curriculum in your subject need changing?”, it was not clear which programme they had in mind. All that can be said is:

- most people appeared largely satisfied but thought some adjustment was needed
- the aims and objectives were thought appropriate by most respondents
- the main problems were seen with assessment strategy and language, with some dissatisfaction apparent over the balance between knowledge and skills

In the survey, two-thirds agreed that “the college courses were well-designed”, and that they were not “too difficult for students”, but in more open-ended questions, several pointed to the curriculum overload. Some indicated that the students needed more time to study and others suggested some form of specialisation.

Respondents in the survey, especially the women, tended to think there was too much theory, but that there was an appropriate amount of methodology. When asked what should be the balance between subject content component and the professional or methods components, most interviewees wanted either equal amounts, or a bias in the direction of professional components. As the new DEP curriculum is structured around a ratio of 70% subject content to 30% professional/methods, it seems that this is currently a contested area.
3.3.7 Teaching Practice and the schools

There was much more consensus about the school experience. While 90% think it is the most useful part of the course, they are very critical of its implementation and organisation. They are doubtful whether the college prepares students properly for teaching practice: while 2/3 think students have good subject knowledge and teaching skills, a quarter think they can’t manage a class, and a third believe students’ professional attitudes are poor. Most rate arrangements for TP as less than satisfactory, singling out supervision by college staff, and the practical arrangements for student travel and accommodation, as particularly weak. Many do not feel that the schools selected offer examples of good teaching, nor do they believe that students get a good quality of school experience.

Asked what could be done to improve matters, most highlighted the college role rather than the school, saying there should be more visits by tutors, more of both preparation and follow-up, and more micro-teaching. In general, they put less emphasis on efforts from the school side, though a couple of tutors noted how important those might be. More typically, tutors expressed a suspicion of the schools as old-fashioned, uncooperative or even counter-productive, and only one lecturer seemed to welcome teachers as partners. Again, there seems to be no enthusiasm here for a more school-based course.

3.3.8 Tutors’ perceptions of students

While most tutors rate students as “satisfactory” or even “better than expected”, staff also complain about their low academic standards, particularly in English language, and their apparent lack of motivation. There is general agreement that students lack study skills, but also that the overloaded curriculum, crowded timetable, and perceived inadequate facilities, militate against independent work. There is no personal tutoring system and a couple of tutors expressed frustration that they had no time to give individual help and advice.

The survey asked respondents to rank factors that prevented students from achieving higher standards of work. This produced the following order:

- Large teaching groups
- Language level of students
- Low student motivation
- Low academic level of students
- Lack of text books
- Lack of practical facilities
- Poor library facilities

As asked to compare the students with those in school, tutors teaching the in-service Diploma said they found the students more mature, challenging, motivated and
responsible. The teaching could often make use of their experience, and the small classes permitted a more interactive style. Even those teaching PTCs, who come straight from school, found them more responsible and motivated than high school students – “they know where they are going” and in less need of personal counselling, having passed through the turbulence of adolescence. A recently arrived tutor noted that he did not have to give them notes, and could require them to do some independent study:

Most of the work actually has to be done by the students. We regard them as mature and they must be in a position to do everything for themselves. Whatever I give them it is for the purpose of guidelines and they should actually be free to express their ideas, as what they do here is geared to their future lives, most of them are serious. They are unlike when they were at high school level when most of the time they had to be pushed from behind to do their work. But I still feel I’m a teacher and if they don’t perform well, I have to say something about it.

It is not clear from our data how far this is rhetoric, how far reality, but it does imply a tertiary attitude towards teaching. NTTC is not just an enlarged high school; tutors recognise that students came to NTTC as a second choice, and even if they are often critical, many also appear to believe in their students’ potential. After all, many of the tutors themselves came to their present jobs through this route.

3.3.9 Views of knowledge, learning and culture

Consistent with their university qualifications, most of the staff appeared open to new ideas and aware of the tentative nature of knowledge.

A teacher cannot just stay on with the theory that he acquired say at high school or university level ...... theory, content, whatever, knowledge keeps on changing.

Several spontaneously mentioned an interest in research; the college policy was to encourage research, although no time or resources were allocated for this. Half of those interviewed could give both title and author of a book they had recently read, three more could talk about a specific book on a topic, but had forgotten one or both of the details, and only three said they read very little now.

There was a general acknowledgement that teacher education was a complex task, and two explicitly embraced life-long learning: “you have to have the attitude of a learner as a teacher”. Overall there was not a great emphasis on reflection, however, and the term was mentioned only by one tutor. On the other hand, the importance of teachers’ practical, craft knowledge was acknowledged, especially when teaching in-service courses.

Most averred the ideas they got from overseas could be applied in Lesotho, perhaps with some adaptation. Talking about bringing in ideas from Western books, a science tutor saw no cultural conflict in teaching scientific process skills:
I mean whether it's American or African child, he should have the skills to observe things properly [...] The ideas can be applied to Lesotho.

Only one expanded on this topic at length: he wanted Basotho culture to be modified so as to encourage pupils to ask questions and put forward their own ideas with confidence. He hoped traditional taboos about sex would be broken so that pupils could talk more freely about their problems and discuss such things as AIDS. The following quotation exemplifies some of his views:

Our children have been taught to keep quiet and let the parents speak. You only answer if you are questioned or you talk when you are spoken to and that element really bothers me. I would like to see them a little bit more open, a little bit more confident, being capable of presenting their own opinion without fear of reprisal, and appreciation should be shown in that regard once students are capable of coming out.[ ...] I think if I saw a student of mine creating that kind of environment, then giving the students a hearing and maybe helping - directing - with their questioning, then I would feel very happy about that.

This seems to be an example of someone looking for new pathways. Overall, however, the evidence reported here suggests that the NTTC is not a place where the staff regularly reflect together on their practice, identify problems, and look for more satisfactory solutions and work towards them. The culture, ethos and organisation do not seem conducive to such approaches (Stuart, Lefoka & Morojele 1997). In the absence of good induction and staff development programmes to challenge ways of thinking, and without strong direction from the top, new staff are socialised into the same traditions. There seems to be little incentive, particularly under the current conditions of service and promotion, to work for change and renewal.

3.4 Summary and discussion about the NTTC

The study was undertaken when the college was in a time of transition, busy reconstructing its programmes, and hoping to become an autonomous tertiary institution, with sole responsibility for training primary teachers, apart from the new part-time B.Ed. being introduced at the Institute of Education at NUL. At the same time, there did not appear to be any clear policy for teacher education emanating from the Ministry of Education. The composition of the college staff and their views on teaching and learning are therefore of key importance in Lesotho's education system, since they may, albeit unconsciously, be determining the kind of teachers Lesotho will have in the future.

3.4.1 The staff and the college

The Primary Division tutors at NTTC are a mainly female and middle-aged group. They are relatively well qualified academically, though not all have professional qualifications. While three quarters have secondary experience, less than half have taught in primary schools. A third have masters’ degrees, but very few have had any preparation for
training teachers, and not all of them are in the Primary Division by choice. Although women head many of the departments, the Assistant Director for Primary is a man.

There has been no consistent staff development policy. Only half reported any in-service training, and this was mainly in the form of short courses of less than three weeks duration. A few had been sent to do graduate study overseas, and some others had, on their own initiative, followed part-time post-graduate courses while remaining on the job. There was no formal induction programme for new tutors, and informal help was sparse, varying between departments. On arrival they were given course outlines and then left to do their own reading and research. All wanted more induction, refresher and upgrading courses. A particular need they expressed was help for secondary trained tutors to reorient themselves towards the primary sector. New appointees seem to have had even less primary experience, and it appears there is no intention to reverse this trend.

By their accounts, the tutors had not set out to be teacher educators. Most of them had worked their way up the career ladder by taking what opportunities they could to upgrade their qualifications; thus they had arrived in their present posts by their own efforts and decisions. This may partly account for the frustrations some felt when opportunities for further study were not forthcoming. As this is the only college in the country, opportunities for movement are limited, except to NUL. Paradoxically there are now fewer opportunities in South Africa than under apartheid, both because of the cut-backs there in TTCs, and because of the radical restructuring of the teacher education curriculum. Whereas formerly Basotho teachers would have been seen as progressive compared with South Africa, they now represent an older tradition which the new reforms across the border have gone beyond.

In general staff indicated a degree of intrinsic satisfaction with the job. Most enjoy their teaching, feel their work is quite important and on the whole are pleased with the students they turn out. In spite of some dissatisfaction with conditions of service and discontent with college management, most of the women intended to stay on at the college, though the men were much more likely to want to move.

The frustrations of the job relate mainly to conditions of service and to the way the college is run. Starting salaries are on a par with high school teachers, and as there is only one college, opportunities for promotion are limited. Tutors feel, however, that the criteria for granting these, and for overseas scholarships, are unclear and subject to bias.

The college management is perceived as remote and hierarchical; there appears to be cooperation within departments but not across them. Staff do not feel themselves to be part of the decision-making process. There seems to be little participation in collegial activities apart from teaching. Some expressed feelings about being under-utilised, their energies and ideas not being accepted, and having no power to change anything.

There seems to be plenty of scope for further professional development for the staff. Even if funds for study leave are limited, if there were different organisational priorities time and support could be made available for staff to undertake research and to study
part-time, for there is evidence of both capacity and motivation. Hopes were expressed that the college might be able to teach B.Ed. courses which would itself constitute professional development for interested tutors. Another possibility – though not mooted by these respondents – would be to open a branch campus in the mountain areas.

3.4.2 Teaching and learning

It became apparent that there have been up till now two quite different teaching environments at NTTC, depending on the programme. Both the preservice programmes (the old PTC and the new DEP) are taught in large groups (50-200) and this causes considerable frustration to many tutors. They feel forced to lecture, and have little interaction with individual students. This is particularly unfortunate as these students come with low COSC achievement and poor English language skills, so need much individual help and practice. Students have to take all subjects, even those where they are weak or unmotivated.

Teaching on the in-service programme - the old DPE – means working with mature, experienced teachers in much smaller, subject-specific, groups. Though this can be a challenge for new or young tutors, the older and more experienced ones perceive the students as fellow-professionals, treat them as adult learners, build on their experience, and use a much wider variety of teaching methods. One had intuitively developed a kind of action research approach in adapting the curriculum to their needs. However, this programme is being phased out and unless other in-service courses are developed everyone will be teaching the pre-service students on the DEP.

It is not entirely clear why the classes for the pre-service programmes have to be so large, except that this organisational pattern was set up in 1975 and has become a college tradition. The college is almost fully staffed, most people have less than 10 hours a week of class contact, and at least one department signalled a willingness to teach more hours but with smaller groups. This would permit the more adult-oriented interactive approaches to be used also with pre-service students.

3.4.3 The task of preparing teachers

Even though there is some consensus about the good teacher, there seems much doubt and ambivalence about how to train new teachers for the role. Many tutors articulated the dilemmas familiar to teacher educators world-wide, and they often framed these within subject-defined perspectives, rather than from the view of the programme as a whole. Thus, subject tutors are torn between teaching content and teaching methods and are unsure whether to model primary methods themselves or just teach about them. (No one suggested using the large groups to show how to handle similarly large classes in primary schools.) Professional Studies tutors seem to have a rather clearer vision, at least at the rhetorical level, though they are not able to say precisely how they will produce ‘professionals’. The evident lack of cooperation and communication between these two sets of tutors must weaken the overall structure of the course.
Although they are aware of the students' academic and linguistic weaknesses on entry, some tutors insist that they are turning out acceptable teachers, prepared with both content and methods. Others, perhaps harking back to an older vocational tradition, worry that the course is not permeated by a sense of professional ethics. They hint that students are not motivated, come to teaching as a last resort, and may not “behave as teachers [should]”. It is noteworthy that in the DEP curriculum itself, it is not clear either where, when or how such professional attitudes should be instilled.

Relations with schools constitute another area of concern and perhaps of confusion. Tutors are mainly not primary specialists and therefore have little experience of primary schools. Although they insist teaching practice is the most useful part of the course, they seem to doubt teachers’ ability to contribute much to training students and to have little contact with them. Indeed, it is not clear how far their espoused child-centred teaching approaches are in fact practicable in typical rural Lesotho primary schools – one did question this – and there is little evidence in the curriculum that students are prepared for large and/or multigrade classes.

3.4.4 Tutors’ Perspectives

An interesting aspect of the study was the wide variety of individual views expressed on the nature of teaching and learning, and of preparing teachers. The tutors – clearly a group of well-educated, intelligent and thoughtful people – seemed to have each developed their own ways of conceptualising their work, partly shaped by their previous careers and partly by their experience so far of NTTC, and in particular of their subject department.

To some degree, there was a shared consensus about good primary teaching. The main discourse was about child-centred teaching, about understanding children, and dealing with the needs of the individual. Many tutors, especially the women and the older ones, seemed to be focussed on the personal, interactive and affective nature of teaching, rather than on the cognitive aspects. Neither the teachers’ knowledge base nor pupil learning were strongly foregrounded - these would seem to constitute some “missing frames”, as indicated by Jessop and Penney (1998).

This image may have its roots partly in the church colleges of the past, and partly in the ‘child-centred’ movement of the 1970s and 80s in Britain; how it relates to Basotho culture is unclear. Although the image is a holistic one, stressing the caring personal relations rather than technical efficiency, it portrays the teacher in a relatively limited classroom role, as one who would deliver the curriculum rather than develop it. There were only isolated references to self-evaluation, to teachers as change agents or reflective practitioners.

As was noted above, the new DEP programme puts forward a different view. How soon this changed image will filter through is debatable. The curricula of the older programmes had been adapted and developed gradually within the departments, and were at this stage felt to be “owned” by all the tutors concerned. The DEP, by contrast, was
still seen by some as an alien imposition. Even though it was developed by a Task Force of college representatives alongside an Irish consultant and the Senior Management Team, and discussed at staff meetings, it will probably take time before tutors absorb the new messages into their teaching.

This raises wider issues about curriculum development and innovations in TTCs. We have said elsewhere that the curriculum exists in several forms: documents, in the minds of the tutors, as delivered and experienced in the classroom (Stuart 1999). Most of our respondents agreed with the statement “Older tutors have better ideas than younger ones”, suggesting that traditions may put a brake on change. It seems that colleges are seldom at the forefront of change, and evidence from this study confirms the conservative nature of much teacher training.

3.4.5 Does NTTC have a vision?

The college has been on the receiving end of a number of initiatives and innovations – mostly donor-funded - since it started. Staff have been overseas, some have experience of SA, many consultants have visited, and a UK university supports part-time masters courses. While individuals read books and are aware of different theories and models of teacher education, the college as a whole does not seem to be developing its own coherent vision of how teachers can best be prepared for teaching Basotho children today. Lively intellectual debates are not taking place. The colonial impact is still seems strong. One might view NTTC as a sort of repository of a number of imported models, lying like geological strata, with tutors dipping into different layers of discourse for different purposes, and perhaps for different audiences. Perhaps the most important task for the new millenium is the creation of a clear, coherent vision for teacher education in Lesotho.
CHAPTER 4
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS

This concluding chapter brings together some of the answers from the two case-studies to the main research questions and raises issues for further exploration. The differences and similarities found are related to wider contextual factors, including historical, economic, political and cultural aspects of the society, which cannot be fully discussed here.

4.1 Who becomes a college tutor, how and why?

Almost all staff have been teachers, but whereas in Lesotho less than half have primary teaching experience, most of the Malawian tutors began as primary teachers. This is partly due to earlier policies of training good primary teachers specifically for the tutor role. Having had to work their way up through the system, most are middle-aged, though the NTTC in Lesotho tries to recruit younger people. In Malawi many are close to retirement.

Qualifications vary with the country’s wealth and with the opportunities offered for academic and professional development in the education system as a whole. Thus in Lesotho almost all tutors are graduates, and about a third have masters degrees, while in Malawi the majority of tutors have only diplomas; most of the rest have bachelors degrees and a few have masters.

Women dominate the NTTC, whereas in Malawi the majority of tutors are men, though the number of women is increasing through affirmative action. This reflects the different social and economic positions of women in the two countries.

4.1.1 College contexts

There are some striking differences in attitude, ethos, and organisation between colleges in the different countries, with repercussions on the tutors’ careers and perspectives. In Malawi the colleges resemble glorified secondary schools, in timetable, teaching methods and atmosphere. The MOE controls the budgets, and determines the curriculum; assessment is by an external exam board. Tutors are "posted" to colleges by the MOE, and directed to workshops; they seem to have little control over their own careers or professional development.

In Lesotho, the NTTC has tertiary status, long since affiliated to the National University, and is now due to move from MOE’s jurisdiction to become an autonomous “college of education”. Staff are much freer agents; after taking what opportunities they can to upgrade their own qualifications, they apply to NTTC, and some continue studying of their own accord. NTTC controls its own curriculum and sets its own exams under
moderation from an external examiner, though the results have to be approved by the university Senate.

Whatever the status of the college, the role of management is crucial, and in neither country has much support been given to the professional development of the senior management teams, such that they would be able to run their institutions both efficiently and effectively.

4.2 What induction and professional development programmes are available for tutors?

4.2.1 Induction

No formal induction is offered to new tutors. In Malawi there was considerable informal support and guidance (perhaps drawing on the traditions of the former Diploma in Primary Teacher Education) but in Lesotho virtually none, even for those without primary experience. Some tutors, reflecting on this, had worked out their own approaches carefully, but others must have simply drawn on their own training experiences and copied college practice.

4.2.2 In-service/continuing professional development (CPD)

We found no staff development policy nor any clear career structure. Many tutors would like to upgrade their academic qualifications for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons, but opportunities are limited both by funds and by the lack of suitable local programmes. In Malawi all staff are sent on short workshops to be told about developments in school or teacher education curricula; in Lesotho tutors exercised more personal initiative, but opportunities were sporadic, and the courses usually short.

All tutors expressed the need for refresher courses in both subject and professional areas; orientation to primary teacher training is a particular need for secondary-trained tutors. Some were ambivalent about the value of overseas scholarships, since although an “eye-opener”, the courses were not always relevant. By contrast, experiences in other countries of the region had been found very valuable.

In-service is only valuable if the lessons learnt can be applied in one’s own classroom. The institutions studied here did not seem to offer much support for implementing new ideas brought back from courses.
4.3 How do tutors perceive their work, with particular reference to their views on how young teachers acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need?

4.3.1 Tutors’ perceptions of their own role

The differences seem to be related both to their own qualifications and to the ethos of the college. While Malawian tutors see their work as similar to high school teaching, their Basotho counterparts feel themselves to be tertiary lecturers, expecting more independence from their students.

4.3.2 View of the good primary teacher

There are both contrasts and similarities. In both places tutors stress commitment, caring relationships and setting a good example. In neither is much stress laid on pupils’ learning outcomes; this seems to be one of the “missing frames”. Otherwise, the discourse is rather different. In Malawi it is about skills and behaviour: the good teacher delivers the curriculum efficiently by using a variety of skills and techniques, that can be listed, learnt and applied. In Lesotho the discourse is child-centred: the good teacher adjusts to the level of the pupils, through her understanding of their needs. There is a strong nurturing element and the images are framed more as holistic approaches than as discrete teaching skills. Asked to rank characteristics of “effective schools” it was noteworthy that the Basotho ranked “children take responsibility for their own learning” much higher than Malawian tutors.

4.3.3 How the college produces such teachers

There was more confidence among Basotho tutors than Malawian that their products might match up to their intentions, but neither group had well-developed strategies for achieving this. The general Malawian view was that learning to teach was relatively unproblematic: “we tell them what to do, let them practice it, and they should be able to do it.” In Lesotho, tutors’ views varied much more, seeing learning to teach as a complex task. Some key terms were: “discuss, model ways of teaching; bring them to the level of the child; give them content and methods; teach them to behave as teachers.”

The missing frame here is “reflection” – with a few exceptions, neither group suggested that people learn to teach through a process of reflecting on their actions, or that teaching might be seen as a problem-solving process. Though some individual Basotho tutors were themselves reflective about their practice, the college ethos and organisation were not conducive to this.

4.3.4 Views of Knowledge

The contrasts probably partly reflect the differences in level of academic qualifications, but also the different historical and cultural contexts. In Malawi most tutors held a rather
closed view of knowledge as something out there, fixed and given, which was to be transmitted to students. Public propositional knowledge was given precedence while the student teachers’ personal experiential knowledge was devalued. Most strikingly, tutors implied there is “one right way to teach”, which students must learn.

In Lesotho tutors held a relatively open view of knowledge, although not explicitly constructivist. Most could discuss books which they had read recently and some were interested in research and new ideas, aspiring to be "lifelong learners". Although they taught propositional knowledge in the form of theory, and expected students to apply this, at least some also recognised the value of teachers’ experiential and situated knowledge.

These differences are not surprising given Malawi’s recent experiences of authoritarian rule – colonial and indigenous –and lack of contact with centres of intellectual debate. Lesotho’s long symbiotic relationship with industrial South Africa, as well as its deliberate links with the West during apartheid, must have helped create a more open system. Overseas scholarships may, in some of these cases, have been important.

4.3.5 Tutors' own pedagogy

Tutors in both sites perceive a dilemma. They feel they need to “cover the syllabus” and “teach” – as they understand the term – their subject content, including Education, but some are also aware that they should be modelling ways of teaching used in the primary school. In both countries, the primary school curriculum espouses a learner-centred approach; the Basotho tutors had internalised this more deeply than the Malawian ones, but it seemed they were able to put this approach into practice better on INSET courses than on the pre-service ones.

4.3.6 Tutors’ views of students

Most Malawian tutors tend to see students in deficit terms, as empty vessels to be filled with the correct ideas and skills. Again, this is partly context-specific as MIITEP students are less qualified than previous trainees. Some Basotho tutors take a more learner-centred, developmental approach, and some do expect them to be (relatively) independent learners. Most seem to accept that their students are at the college because they could not get to University, and try to do their best with low achievers, believing that sometimes they can bring out unexpected potential. In both countries tutors see students’ English language skills as a major barrier to achievement, and Lesotho’s new curriculum tries to address this.

4.4. Overall Approaches to Teacher Education

In terms of the Zeichner typology quoted above, Malawian tutors were almost all working within the “behavioural skills” approach, with one individual taking a more inquiry-oriented stance after seeing this demonstrated locally. In Lesotho, the predominant approach was the “applied theorist”, in that tutors were trying to give
students a (mainly) child-centred model to implement locally, regardless of context. There were indications that some individual tutors were trying to work in inquiry-oriented ways, especially with in-service teachers. The rhetoric of the new pre-service curriculum contained some aspect of the academic approach, with elements of reflective practice, but it was unclear how far these might be implemented.

4.5 Issues for further discussion

The studies raise some general issues about colleges and their staff that have wider applicability for anglophone countries of Africa, and perhaps further afield.

How can tutors have both primary experience and academic standing?
As academic standards for primary teachers are raised, tutors need to be graduates, and so are increasingly drawn from secondary teachers, but such people often have little understand of, or sympathy for, primary schooling. Unless and until the profession becomes all-graduate, suitable primary teachers must be upgraded deliberately to take on the role of tutor.

Is primary Teacher Education seen as post-secondary, 'professional tertiary' or higher education? Where should it be located?
There are pressures towards all-graduate teaching forces, but evidence from some industrialised countries, notably the USA, suggests that university initial training courses can be fragmented and disoriented. Dedicated, monotechnic, colleges of education may be able to deliver better professional training, providing they can also maintain the necessary academic standards. Even more important may be the quality of vision, leadership and management at the colleges, and their receptivity to innovations.

What kinds of staff development are most valuable, and where should it take place?
Suggestions include:

- Provide in-service locally or regionally, part-time, and college-based.
- Introduce new ideas through visiting consultants and/or short study tours in region, occasionally overseas; ensure local adaptation through action research.
- Focus on the college to ensure a critical mass of tutors for debate and support.
- Link this to career structure providing incentives for development.
- Content should include not only refresher courses in subjects and in educational theory, but also in adult development, supervision and counselling skills.

What is appropriate pedagogy for TTCs?
This is a very under-explored area. At the very least the same philosophy should permeate both the teacher training curriculum and the primary curriculum. The trainees should be able to reflect on their own experience, comparing it explicitly with the espoused primary school approach. Since the relatively low academic level of entering students is unlikely to alter in the near future, tutors need to devise appropriate content and pedagogy which recognise student needs and are geared to developing their potential.
Decolonising teacher education?

Some TTCs seem to display evidence of several different imported approaches/models of teacher education, lying somewhat like geological layers below the surface: colonial missionary origins where teaching was a vocation; skills-orientation from behaviourist psychologists; traces of Piaget; a rhetoric of child-centred pedagogy from 1960s Britain; an academic focus on subject knowledge; an occasional touch of social constructivism, and so on. Basotho staff were more aware of alternative Western models, while Malawians accepted the prescribed ideas without questioning, but neither group had looked critically at what was imported, or tried to relate the training of teachers both to their own traditions and to the demands of modern schools in a developing society, as Namibia has tried to do.

How can teacher education programmes be a fulcrum for change?

It is not possible for tutors holding a fixed, transmission view of knowledge to train teachers to work in open, learner-centred constructivist ways. One cannot effectively teach what one has not experienced and understood. The introduction of new approaches to teaching/learning needs to start with the TTCs and their staff, rather than in the schools. In other words, a paradigm shift in the college tutors’ understanding of theory and practice has to take place before this can be implemented in schools.
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APPENDIX A

MUSTER:
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRAINING COLLEGE LECTURERS:

The following questions formed an outline to guide the interview, but were be adapted to suit the context, often being used in a different order.

1. Patterns of career development
   - Can you tell me how you came to be a tutor at this college?
     [probes:- were you previously a teacher at primary, secondary?
     - why did you go into teaching in the first place? any of your family teachers?
     - why did you move to teacher education?
     - can you remember anyone who was particularly influential in your career decisions?
     - anyone who helped or supported you at any stage?
   - What about your colleagues - have they had similar careers?
   - [I see there are x males and y females at this college] is this a better career for men or for women?
     [probe: is it equally easy for women to get promoted?]

2. Training for the job
   - Have you had any training for the job of teacher educator?
     [probes:- when you first started as a lecturer, how did you know what to do?
     - was there anyone who showed you, or acted as a role-model for you?
     - were you able to draw on skills learnt elsewhere?
   - have you attended any inservice courses, workshops or other programmes of study?
   - What kinds of in-service training, or professional development, would be most helpful to you?
   - What do you think your colleagues would say?

3. How they go about their work
   - How would you describe your work here?
   - Can you describe a typical day in your life at the college? Say, a day last week?
     [probes: check details such as:
     - the workload: contact hours and other duties
     - teaching styles/methods: lectures, seminars, tutorials, practicals
     - what resources they have available, what they use]
   - How does/do the course(s) you teach relate to the rest of the programme?
   - Can you describe a recent incident that made you feel really pleased/ feel that the job is really worthwhile?
   - Can you describe a recent incident that you found difficult or troubling in some way?
   - How was it resolved?

4. Perception of their job
   - How do you feel in general about your job?
     [Probes: What do you find most rewarding about your work here?
     - Most difficult?]
   - If you were given a second chance, would you choose a different career?
     [Probes: why, or why not?
     - What do you find difficult? Easy?]
5. Perceptions of ‘good teaching’ and the ‘good teacher’
- Can you describe the best teacher who taught you?
[Probe: what made him/her so good?]
- And the worst teacher you remember?
[probe: what made him/her so bad?]
- what do you think a person needs in order to be a good teacher?

6. Perceptions of trainees
- What do you think motivates young people to go into teaching nowadays?
  [probes: Is it mainly a job for women or for men?
  - do you think the motivation is different? Why?
  - are women as likely to be promoted as men?]
- Can you describe the best student-teacher you have ever taught?
  [probe: can you say what it was that made him/her so good?]
- What do you think prevents all your students from achieving such a high standard?
  [probes: motivation? academic level? course too difficult? teachers born not made?]

7. Their own personal and/or espoused theories of teaching/teacher training
- How does being a teacher educator compare with being a classroom teacher:
  [probes: do you find it easier, more difficult?
  - in what ways do student teachers differ from, say, high school students?]
- So how do you go about preparing these new teachers for their work?
- If you had to cut the training course by a third, what would you cut out and what would you keep?
  [probes: What do you think is most useful in helping a student to learn to teach?
  - content or ‘methods’ course?
  - the ‘theory courses’ (educational foundations, professional studies etc.)
  - what about the teaching practice?]
- what is the most interesting book or article you’ve read recently about teacher training?
  [probe: encourage them to say what was in it, why it was interesting, if they have used the ideas]
- What are the three most important things a young teacher needs to learn at the college?
- How does the College make sure that they have learnt these things?

8. Perceptions of changes
- What are the major changes in the College since you came here?
- To the best of your knowledge, have any of these changes been influenced by overseas aid?
  [probes: If so, how?
  - do you consider these influences positive or negative?]
- How do you think the College will have changed in ten years’ time
  [probe: how might your job change?
  - Where do you hope to be ten years from now?
  - If the government could improve one aspect of the College, what should it be?
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