

AN ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' STATUS IN CRISIS OF PUBLIC SERVICE REFORMS IN BOTSWANA

Nkobi Owen Pansiri

University of Botswana
Email: pansirio@mopipi.ub.bw

Philip Bulawa

University of Botswana
Email: bulawap@mopipi.ub.bw

ABSTRACT

Teachers' loss of professional identity is a growing concern in the 21st century educational thought. Much of the questions about this concern have to do with issues of equity, parity and comparability. These give rise to the debate about the social status of a teacher and how educational reforms have impacted on the perceptions of various clienteles about it. Grounded on the human relation theories of the scientific management and motivation model of equity theory and applying a desk-based documentary review and extrapolation, this article discusses an analysis of the status of teachers in the Botswana education system in the midst of ever emerging and changing public service reforms. It is argued that the reforms have only helped to put the status of the teachers and that of the teaching profession in crises rather than making it more attractive and appealing to potential teacher trainees. To some degree, this ignited teachers' loss of professional identity.

Key words: status of a teacher, teaching profession, public service reforms, professional identity, equity, parity and comparability

Introduction

This article is an analysis of the perceived status of a teacher in the Botswana education system. The analysis is based on personal experiences of the authors first as teachers themselves, secondly as education officers in the mist of public service reforms, thirdly as teacher educators, as well as readers and researchers in educational management, leadership and policy studies. It may not be easy to discuss the status of a *teacher* without mentioning that of *teaching*. The status of *teachers* is perceived on the basis of the social role teachers play in the society. It is the credit attached to their roles and functions that shapes views and perspectives of individuals and the public about the *practitioner teacher*. The constituency of people who come in close contact with a teacher is varied. These include learners, teachers themselves, parents, support staff, various education officials, media houses (that write about teachers, their work and that of education systems), researchers and public officials such as local authorities that are responsible for the development and provision of education as a social service, school governing bodies such as Parents and Teacher Associations (PTAs), school board of governors (BoGs) and school councils. There are also interested parties such as politicians, business communities, donor agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), human rights watch dogs and recruiting industry. This diversity of interested constituencies in education attests to the complexity of the perceptions of the status of a teacher.

Admittedly, justice to this analysis would therefore, be better if a study on the perceptions of a specific group of people was carried out to determine the extent to which the status of a teacher is perceived. In the absence of such survey, the discussion is likely to be hypothetical, based on personal experiences and may not represent an appropriate reflection of the critical issues about the status of a teacher. The danger therefore is that the analysis may run the risk of drawing untrustworthy assumptions and misleading conclusions. To play the cards safely though, we nonetheless hope this discussion challenges the readership, particularly the education sector, for a more focused research project on this subject. We therefore contend that this discussion stands to be a necessary provocative piece of work, which is mainly challenging the education system towards a pragmatic approach so that in the subsequent debates, the education sector benefits from a well sanctioned study on this topic. Hence we develop our analysis by and large on the basis of our experiences and broad extrapolation of literature around the subject.

A Teacher in Botswana Education System

In the context of this analysis, there are three types of teachers in the Botswana education system. These are those in the basic education sector and their related teacher trainers who used to be employees of the Ministry of Education & Skills Development (MoESD) under the Department of Teaching Service management (TSM). The description covers, primary and secondary school teachers of public schools and college lecturers. These were employees of TSM from 1976 to the end of April 2010 when the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM) under the New Public Service Act of 2008 took over the employment of all public servants including teachers. According to the latest TSM teaching establishment of May 2010, there are a total of 26 122 teachers. In terms of their distribution, these are 13045 primary, 12 538 secondary school teachers and 539 college lecturers (Pansiri, 2011). For one to be able to address the questions about the status of each of these categories of teachers objectively, one may need to have both quantitative and qualitative data regarding attrition rate. For example, data on trend showing desertion, deaths, resignations, retirement, and transfers would create a pathway to make some further analysis to establish predictable trends on the perceived status attached to each of the three categories of teachers. Unfortunately it has not been possible to access such data from TSM. In the absence of such data one relies on experiences and observations. In extrapolating the issues of status of a teacher in Botswana, we premised this discussion on the general understanding of the importance and uniqueness of a teacher.

Teacher As An Important And Unique Practitioner

We hold to the philosophy that a teacher is the treasure of any community's worth and wealth. When making the 2011 State of the Union Address to Congress, President Barack Obama of the United States of America said this about teachers as an acknowledgement of their contribution in the education of children and as nation builders "...it's time we treated the people who educate our children with the same level of respect..." (Obama, 2011). To appreciate President Obama's position, we do buy into the idea that a teacher is a practitioner with the power to remake the world (Pansiri, 2009). This is so in view of the fact that a teacher is expected to have expertise and huge professional wisdom and power to make the calibre of humanity that a society aspires to be.

Only the teacher is professionally trained and pedagogically skilled enough to develop learners' good attitudes. A teacher determines the quality of societal values and norms. Unfortunately this power of a teacher in developing learning attitude in his/her learners is often unnoticed. While the focus on excellence in academics is the immediate concern of any parent, only a teacher understands that education does not mean academic subjects alone. A teacher also knows that a classroom is a place for intellectual, emotional, cultural and social development of a child. Only a teacher perhaps, can explain how to develop a multi-dimensional person who is intellectually and socially fit. A teacher understands that, beyond recording good grades in subject content there are right attitudes. Attitudes here refer to a set of positive values and inspiration of the will power to be in school, and the desire to want to achieve more in the classroom. A teacher appreciates that a child's attitudes show in its ambition to excel, the confidence that a child holds in the self that he/she has the ability to do and do even better. Good attitudes enable children to establish appropriate personal and risk free principles in life. Positive attitudes drive children to make informed choices and acquire good habits for life. In view of this understanding by a teacher, then it is worth asking for high recognition and improved status of a teacher.

As indicated by Ryan et al (1998), the teacher's role is both socio-emotional and academic. They hypothesise that "in classrooms where teachers believe that attending to the socio-emotional needs of their students is important, adolescents will feel more comfortable interacting with the teacher and will be less likely to avoid asking for help" (p. 529). Further Wentzel (1998) pointed out that "the goals for education held by teachers...reflect desires for children to develop social and moral competencies as well as intellectual skills" (p. 202). Against these believes, we can safely claim that indeed a teacher is a very unique and important practitioner in humanity who deserves respect, appreciation and higher status in the society.

Theoretical Perspectives

The human relation theories of the scientific management and motivation model of equity theory provide useful lenses for the understanding of the contemporary issues in organizational behaviour. In the evolution of industrial revolution and the emergence of the turbulent business environment, with their emphasis on productivity, efficiency and competition, the schools of thought advanced by behavioural scientists such as Abraham Maslow, Douglas McGregor, Frederick Herzberg, Victor Vroom, and others (Cole, 2004; Smit et al, 2007) also emerged. Drawing upon the lessons of the classical management developed by Frederic Taylor in United States of America (USA) developed by Henri Fayol in France and Max Weber in Germany (Bolman and Deal, 1991; Bush, 1995; Bryman, 1986 and 1992), these behavioural scientists draw attention to the needs of human beings in an organization. They advanced ideas of "removing obstacles and encouraging behaviours that satisfy both the needs of the worker and the organization" (Smit et al, 2007:35). The human relations theory and behavioural sciences contributed to the rise of unionisation in organisational environment. Trade unions such as the Botswana Teachers Union (BTU), Botswana Primary School Teachers Association (BOPRITA) and Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union later re-named Botswana Sector of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU) exist to protect and promote the interests and status

of their membership (teachers in the teaching profession). With this background, the discussion on the status of a teacher cannot be complete without a reference to this theoretical nature of organisational behaviour and history and statutory function of these trade unions.

The Western education system, much from which developing countries uncritically borrow policies and learn from, does carry out some studies on the perceived status of their teachers. Such trends help the countries to regularly develop informed teacher management and teaching profession development policies towards improving the status of their teachers as well as those of their teaching profession. In their latest studies Hargreaves et al (2007) draw attention to viewing teachers from the perspective of the public as well as that of teachers themselves. They argue that in the United Kingdom (UK) the public holds a teacher and the teaching profession in high regard. Teaching is seen as rewarding and it is one of the highly respected careers. As such the teacher's status too is equally positively perceived – better rewarding and highly respected. Interestingly, teachers themselves hold a slightly shifted view. While they value themselves as very important, they however perceive the status of primary school teachers as lower and declining. They are not positive about reward and respect attached to their profession. They suggest that the public often lack awareness of the intellectual demands and responsibilities of the teachers' job. They feel that management of teachers is polarised with heavy external control and regulations, which do not consider the leverage of professional autonomy of teachers, which they feel they so much need. Hargreaves and colleagues found out that too much control over teachers and the teaching profession does not only interfere with their professional integrity, dignity and autonomy but also demystifies the teaching profession. However, it is useful to explore the status of a teacher in Botswana not only from the perspective of the models of the Western countries, but to also go a little further to the classical management and behavioural science theories. The behavioural sciences, in particular, provide theoretical lenses that could enable a researcher to better understand perceptions of teacher status.

Developing from the classical management theory, Victor Vroom - a behavioural scientists introduced a motivation model of the equity theory (Pansiri, 2007). According to Pansiri (2007, p. 183) equity concerns itself with “issues of parity and equality in remuneration or perceptions of fairness in rewarding” employees. Teachers' status and social identity are determined by the comparative analysis of their pay or remuneration and conditions of service (Hoyle, 2001 cited in Hargreaves et al, 2007) as viewed and perceived, first between the teaching levels, that is primary against secondary and secondary against tertiary; and secondly, how it compares with professions of similar professional standing such as nursing and psychology. Jacobson, (1992, p. 37) says “workers believe that their pay is fair when equals are rewarded equally, and unequals are rewarded unequally”. In this view, teachers are equals and need to see fair remuneration, regardless of the level they teach. Pansiri (2008) therefore identifies this question of equity which is related to issues of parity, comparability and social identity as significant in the debate on teachers' status in Botswana. However, the struggle for improved status of a teacher in Botswana dates back to pre-independent Botswana.

Botswana education system is a legacy of the Bechuanaland Protectorate administration, and so is BTU. The formation of Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers' Association (BPATA) in 1937 in Mochudi at Bakgatla National Primary School as the first teacher organization in the Protectorate (Vanqa, 1998) was in itself a conscious attention drawing not only to the issues of the standard of education and that of their children but also to the concerns over the status of teachers at the time. Vanqa (1998) argues that when the Inspector of Education of the Protectorate, Mr H. J. E. Dumbrell allowed the formation of BPATA, he expressed caution that the organization would need to be monitored so that they do not focus of issues of conditions of service and salaries and that it remains non-political as was experienced in the then apartheid South Africa. This explains the reasons for the idea of forming BPATA in 1932 and only to be officially recognized in 1937. This was later re-named BTU.

The History of BTU and Its Achievement and Failures

Vanqa (1998) observes that BPATA was allowed to register as an association not as a union. After independence in 1966, BPATA wanted to register as a Union but conditions did not allow public service to unionize. Despite being an association, BPATA re-named a BTU. The struggle and desire to become a union continued until as late as 2006 when BTU registered as Union (Vanqa, 1998). This has now given the teachers' union the opportunity to bargain at equal power with the teachers' employer hence increased recognition by government. In this development, the employer cannot act on any thing that the union disapproves; otherwise the power of the industrial court would have to prevail.

However, a list of many things that the Botswana teacher organization has achieved since its inception as BPATA to the current BTU, much of which contributed to the improved status of a teacher in the Botswana education system, can be singled out. Pansiri (2000) argues that at independence, three types of teacher employers in Botswana “were local councils, (about nine), towns (about three) and Managers of Aided Schools who were largely churches and government whose particular attention was post-primary education” (p. 5). He also observes that at the time, staffing of schools was determined by the success or prowess of the employer; government had no control over the recruitment, selection and deployment of teachers; teachers were not organized in a profession at national level; each district or town was autonomous in the delivery of the education services and so, there was no across district or town transfer; career structure in the teaching profession was unheard of; trained teachers were concentrated in towns; local teachers were paid less than expatriate teachers; headship in primary schools and teaching in secondary schools were dominantly held by expatriate teachers. The status of a primary school teacher was therefore lower than that of a secondary school teacher. These issues bothered both the new Botswana administration and the teaching force at the time. Consequently, BTU as a voice of the teachers took government head-on on these issues.

First, the organization established a forum that allowed the voice of teachers on conditions of service and teachers salaries to be heard. Secondly, teachers got the opportunity to address questions of status and salary disparities between expatriate/white and local teachers; male and female teachers; primary and secondary school teachers; teachers of rural and urban schools; local authority, mission and government school teachers. On the basis of teacher organization's concerns, government established a department of Unified Teacher Service (UTS) in 1976 which later became TSM – the first public service reform on teacher management (Republic of Botswana, 1975). This became the single employer of public school teachers in Botswana – primary, secondary and colleges.

In view of the UTS Act as a reform, and under the pressure of BTU, government brought in teachers from various local authority and private system of management under one employer. The department of UTS employed and provided unified management of the teachers. This reform hoped to encourage a more professional guidance in the administration and management of teachers. TSM moved lips and bounds to address gender issues in the teaching profession. It introduced the 25% maternity leave allowance policy which was then not applicable to teachers. Before this reform, a teacher was not allowed to fall pregnant. Teacher pregnancy was simply self dismissal from the service. A teacher could only re-apply for a new contract of employment after maternity duration of more than three months. TSM created a pay structure where male and female teachers earned the same salary. According to Pansiri (2000), by 1996 the following public service policies were extended to the teaching profession following bargaining activities by the BTU:

- Feeding time for nursing female teachers fresh from maternity leave
- Full salary for teachers on maternity leave for the first two children
- Hotel occupation for 14 days on official duty out of duty station
- Subsistence allowance
- Leave concession

- Car allowance for those in senior management positions
- Reimbursement for use of own vehicle on official trips
- Medical aid
- Car and property guarantee scheme
- Paid study leave for 12 months on full salary and half salary for the subsequent years on the leave

These policies raised the conditions of service of the teacher to that of any public officer and thereupon improved the status of teachers very significantly. Despite this huge list of achievement, BTU did not just grow and succeed in addressing teachers needs. It experienced serious challenges and failures. Teachers' unique issues continued to unfold with the emergency of reforms in the public service. These challenges are discussed below.

Public Service Reforms And Teacher Identity

TSM, BTU and teachers have not walked the talk together since the late 1980s. Many of the problems of teacher organization polarization, tension and fragmentation can be attributable to the public service reforms. The reforms, for example, gave rise to the development of splinter groups from BTU. We will show this in details later in this discussion.

When we assumed inspectorate, we also pursued our academic career in the field of educational management. During the few years of practice, we got emotionally concerned about the status of primary school teachers in the Botswana education system. As a consequent we got motivated into observing the status of a primary school teacher in Botswana. We noted that despite all efforts to improve the teaching profession in Botswana, the status of primary school teachers leaves a lot to be desired. We noted the prevalence of signs and symptoms of frustration and displeasure, teacher burn out, and feelings of being unappreciated among teachers. We however concluded that loss of the status of teachers in Botswana education system is historical, given the development of the country's education system along the ever evolving public reform schemes. The public service reforms of the 1980s seem to have increased the pace of shuttering the status of the teaching profession and that of a teacher in Botswana. This analysis therefore chronicles the development of such reforms.

First was the 1981 Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) (Evans & Yoder, 1991). This United States of America-Botswana partnership project established an academic department of Primary Education in the Faculty of Education of the University of Botswana (Evans & Yoder, 1991). The University of Botswana started providing "in-service [diploma and degree] programmes for supervisory staff and teachers involved in primary education" (Evans & Yoder, 1991:39). Primary education then was made up of practitioners whose highest professional qualification was 'certificate in teaching'. Since the introduction of PEIP, teachers' desire for upgrading from certificate training to either diploma or degree in education grew very fast. Those who obtained degree qualification were sent to Primary Education Colleges as lecturers, while those who obtained diploma went back to primary education either taking up senior management positions or appointed to the inspectorate or in-service departments of the then Ministry of Education as education officers. The more teachers upgraded to higher professional qualifications, the stronger their desire for increased status and professional identity. Pansiri (2008:192) argues, "primary school teachers put themselves under pressure to obtain higher qualifications in order to create opportunities for re-deployment into secondary teaching or colleges of education" where they felt the status of a teacher was better.

PEIP coincided with the 'two-year Junior Secondary Education programme' of the late 1980s. This reform saw the sudden mushrooming of government sponsored community junior secondary schools all over Botswana. These schools also attracted graduates of PEIP in the senior management positions. The primary school teacher qualification upgrading therefore increased their professional status, especially that it created

opportunities for diversified career progression. A degree holder, for example, would hope to become a head teacher, or an education officer - inspectorate, or an education officer - in-service, or a college lecturer or would transfer to a junior secondary school for better accommodation or for better prospects of progression. Conditions of service at secondary school in terms of accommodation, salary and teaching through specialization were seen to be much better than those at primary school levels. Conditions at teacher training colleges for lecturer were seen to be even much prestigious in terms of professional autonomy, accommodation, salary, guaranteed opportunity for further education sometimes to overseas universities, and guaranteed posting to an urban or peri-urban centre.

Second was the 1989 Job Evaluation exercise (Pansiri, 2007). This reform also affected the status of the teacher and that of the teaching profession. This exercise re-defined teachers' salaries and re-graded them into new scales. The salary re-grading lumped newly appointed and more experienced teachers up to the rank of senior teachers into one salary scale or band. This meant that the fewer inexperienced newly recruited teachers who just completed from colleges found themselves earning the same salary with the majority of the more experienced teachers in the service. This reform caused unhappiness to the teachers and led to the Botswana first strike of two weeks long primary school teachers' national industrial action and demonstration – the 1989 primary school job evaluation unsatisfied teachers (JEUT). Emerging from this development was the formation of the Botswana Primary School Teachers Association (BOPRITA), breaking away from BTU, as an expression of a protest against BTU, which they thought was becoming a powerless and toothless organisation.

Members of the BOPRITA, a BTU splinter group were well and more experienced primary school teachers (from senior teachers downwards) who just got disgruntled due to the sudden salary lumping which disregarded their experience. This group of teachers felt betrayed by the BTU in the wake of job evaluation exercise which reduced them to low pay, while seen as raising salary scales of new and inexperienced teachers. BTU was unable to bargain for this category of primary school teachers. The teachers therefore argued that BTU leadership disowned them at the time of need. The problem was worsened by the fact that BTU executive and other leadership portfolios were held by school heads and teachers from secondary and tertiary institutions. So, the primary school teachers of lower ranks lost confidence in their own organization and argued that BTU was not representing them well, hence their quick move to form their own association.

The same view dominated the minds of junior secondary school teachers, who also felt that BTU was an arm of government. Their observation was strengthened by the fact that BTU primarily and predominantly organized and ran the primary education sports and music activities of the Ministry of Education, instead of focusing on issues of teacher welfare. As a consequence, junior secondary school teachers formed the Botswana Federation of Secondary School Teachers (BOFESETE) and later re-registered as Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union (BOSETU). As if that was not enough, the college lecturers too formed their own Association of Botswana Tertiary Lecturers (ABOTEL) currently re-registered as Trainers Allied Workers Union (TAWU). This, therefore, goes to show the damage that the 1989 Job Evaluation exercise did to polarize the teaching profession as well as confusing the status of a teacher.

Third, were the 1994 Schemes of Service and related Parallel Progression in the public service (Republic of Botswana, 1993; Director – TSM, 1994; 1994a). The salary scale that resulted from these reforms came up with the salary progression scenario as per Table 1.

Table 1: Teachers Parallel Progress Salary Scale

B1 - entry salary scale for artisans – teacher with certificate qualification	C4 – entry salary scale for technicians – and teachers with a diploma qualification	C3 – entry salary scale for professionals – and teachers with a degree qualification	C2 Salary scale for deputy school heads of Primary school 1	C1 Salary scale for school heads in Primary school	D4 Salary scale for deputy school heads of Junior secondary school	D3 Salary scale for school heads of Junior secondary school and deputy school heads of Senior secondary school	D2 Salary scale for school heads of Senior Secondary school and Deputy school heads of Colleges of Education	D1 Salary scale for heads of Colleges of Education
---	---	--	---	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Republic of Botswana, (1993)

According to Parallel Progression policy of March 1993, and as per the above salary scale scenario, certificate holders were called *artisans* and could not progress beyond C1; diploma holders were *technicians* and could not progress beyond D3 and degree holders were called *professionals* and could progress beyond D3

salary scales (Republic of Botswana, 1993). TSM therefore had adopted the “level of operation” (primary-artisan, junior secondary-technician, senior secondary and colleges-professional) as the unit of analysis in grading teachers’ salaries (TSM, 1994a). As a result of the bargaining of the BTU, the structure for primary school teachers was changed through *Teaching Service Directive No 3 of 2007* (Director – TSM, 2007). The scale of the primary school heads was elevated to D4 – the equivalence of deputy school heads of a junior secondary school. According to Pansiri (2007), both the 1994 and 2007 teachers’ salary structure dispensations disregarded issues related to recognition of level of risks, qualification, responsibility, accountability and parity. Fundamentally, the Revised National Policy on Education of 1994 had improved entry qualifications to teaching from certificate to a minimum of diploma. The teachers’ pay policies consistently ignored this RNPE framework, hence fixing salaries of primary school teachers first to C1 and now to D4 and that of junior secondary school teachers to D3, senior secondary to D2 respectively. This grading and policy contradictions affected the morale of teachers especially those with higher qualifications in the lower levels of operation (Department of Primary Education - DPE, 1998). Classification and remuneration of teachers according to ‘levels of operation’ has been a misdirected theoretical approach in terms of equity and parity, and as such it remained a critical issue that threatened the status and harmony of the teaching profession in Botswana, even today. As Pansiri (2008, p. 192) observed, primary school teachers tried every opportunity to upgrade their qualifications as a way to increase their chances of “re-deployment into secondary teaching or colleges of education”. Teachers compared themselves first among their different levels of operation. Secondly, they looked beyond their profession and compared themselves with practitioners such as nursing, social work and others. As they see the difference, then they judge and rate their own status.

Fourthly, Performance Management System (PMS) of 1999 and its subsequent innovation of Performance Based Reward System (PBRS) of 2004 (Bulawa, 2011) have not benefited the teaching profession. A study by Bulawa (2011) shows that members of the senior management team in senior secondary schools are very concerned about the inherent problems in the PMS for the reform to make any meaningful impact on the improvement of teaching and learning. For instance, participants in the study were doubtful about the level of skills available to effectively implement the PMS; lack of effective leadership in schools to lead the reform process; and the grossly inadequate funding allocated for effective implementation of the PMS. Furthermore, they expressed

concern about teachers endless workshops intended to familiarise them with, endless change in the language of PMS and the dominant language of the business and industry that has no relevance to schools' core business of teaching and learning (Bulawa, 2011). In terms of language such as objective and target setting, for example, a teacher has to quantify knowledge acquisition, skill development, behaviour modification, and attitude change. This approach diverts teaching from being a collective activity to a strictly individualised practice. Some of the PMS requirements such as development of performance plans, and processes of performance review, resulted in too much paper work that took away a lot of teachers' and school management's time away from role of teaching and learning as well as management of schools. These same requirements which are mandatory have also threatened the job security of teachers and members of school management teams (Bulawa, 2011) so much that some decided to take voluntary retirement (see Table 1). To many teachers, since its introduction, the PMS is seen more as an innovation that is deviating teachers from their professional mandate of teaching since it is seen as more relevant and inclined to industry and corporate world. They argue that they have not experienced any improvement in the academic results of the students since the inception of the PMS (Bulawa, 2011).

Fifth, the 2008 Public Service Act which came into implementation on 1st May 2010 has not been helpful to the education sector. The Act stipulates that, "The public service shall consist of persons who ... immediately before the commencement of this Act were part of the Teaching Service, including teachers in Government schools and persons who held Government aided posts in private school" (Republic of Botswana, 2008, p.187). This Act effectively nullified TSM Act and transferred teacher to the Directorate of Public Service Management (DPSM). DPSM is the new employer of teachers and responsible for the teaching profession and the conditions of service for teachers. This new dispensation means that teachers are now public officers and are managed through general conditions of service that are applicable to any other public sector. There is no provision for the uniqueness of 'teaching' as a profession. Following the 2011 national public sectors industrial action, heads of schools and their deputies are being asked to resign their membership from unions because they are members of the organisational management. This is as a result of the Industrial Court Case No UR 12/11 of 2011. The judgement argues that under sections 45 (2) of the Public Service Act of 2008 school heads and deputies are members of management, and that under sections 48 (3) of the Trade Unions and Employment Organisations Act, trade unions have no *locus standi* to represent school heads and their deputies because these are members of the management and that section 47 of the Public Service Act of 2008 bars members of senior management from engaging in strike or action of strike. This ruling has serious implications to the teacher unions. Teachers are further divided, now along the lines of responsibility in school leadership. Most of the teacher unions are led by persons who themselves hold key leadership positions and these have invested a lot of resources (time, energy and finance) in their unions. The case has so far caused a huge stalemate in the teaching career and the status of a teacher and that of the teaching profession in Botswana.

In summary, there are interesting lessons to learn about the ever emerging public service reforms, and their implications to the status of a teacher and that of the teaching profession in Botswana since 1966. The reforms did very little to improve the status of a teacher. For example, the teacher retention problem (Table 2) between 2008 and 2010 raises questions about either teacher management or teacher motivation.

Table 2: Teaching Service Terminations

Date	Compulsory	Voluntary	Resignation
2008	7	268	112
2009	28	251	113
2010	9	321	80

Source: Pansiri (2011)

It can therefore be argued that the latest reforms reverse much that was achieved in the early formation of UTS to the time of Bechuanaland education system. First, it is clear that our education system has not decolonized the Bechuanaland teacher management system that allowed disparity (primary teachers who happened to be locals were on low salary while secondary teachers who were expatriates were on a higher salary). Secondly, the three factional or sectional organisations (BOPRITU, BOSETU & TAWU) are modified legacy of a colonial apartheid system of divide and rule, hence their formation according to the levels of teaching or operation. Thirdly, this fragmentation is a result of blind-dividing remuneration policies that created an unfortunate psychology of the profession reflecting inferiority and superiority complexes among the teachers. Fourthly, in this factional/sectional fragmentation, teachers are stuck in identity problems between BTU and their sectional organizations, so much that in some cases teachers maintain dual membership – that of BTU and the new level of operation section. Fifthly school heads and deputies are separated from teachers in terms of their union associations. This affects adversely the image and status of a teacher and the teaching profession in Botswana. What has been local versus expatriate teacher case of Bechuanaland has shifted to become a divisive ‘level of operation’ and ‘portfolio responsibility’ syndrome of Botswana.

Challenges faced by the Ministry of Education and Skills Development and teacher organisations (BTU BOPRITA, BOSETU and TAWU)

The teacher organisations and the Ministry of Education and Skills Development (MoESD) are facing huge challenges. A caring teaching service management needs to be concerned about making every possible effort “to attract and retain qualified and experienced [teacher who] are highly needed for economic and technological development” (TSM, 1994a:2). The MoESD needs to deal with the following policy related issues towards equity and parity in teacher management in Botswana:

- ✓ Synchronisation of teachers Pay structure - abolish level of operation syndrome
- ✓ Review reforms and make them friendly to teacher and the teaching profession

Equally important teacher organisations should face the following challenges:

- call for totally new schemes of service that recognizes teachers’ qualification, responsibility, experiences and accountability
- Work on strategies to decolonise the Buchuanaland legacy of divide and rule and move towards professionalizing teaching by eliminating the current factionalisation, sectionalisation and fragmentation that has marred the teaching profession
- Address teachers problem of dual membership (BTU, BOPRITA or BOSETU or TAWU) by moving towards professionalization of the teaching profession and possibly consider the development of Teaching Service Council

Conclusion

Teachers in Botswana are distressed. The latest teacher retention data (Table 2) bear testimony to the fact that teachers make voluntary retirement, some joining other sectors in new jobs and others making departmental transfers to jobs that are not related to their professional training, and some resigned – a clear sign that teachers are losing their professional identity. This loss is partly due to the growing perceptions of the low status that is attached to the teacher and the teaching profession. The major factors contributing to the poor status of teachers were the public service reforms which divide teachers instead of uniting them. It is therefore, recommended that teacher organisations and government should engage each other to focus on reforms that address the issues of unity, equity and parity in teacher management for improved status of both the teacher and the teaching profession.

References

1. Bolman, G. L., & Deal E. T. (1991). *Reframing Organisation: Artistry, Choice and Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher
2. Bryman, A. (1986). *Leadership and Organizations*. London: Routledge
3. Bryman, A. (1992). *Charisma and Leadership in Organizations*. London: Sage Publications
4. Bulawa, P. (2011). *Implementation of the Performance Management System in Senior Secondary Schools in Botswana: The Perspective of the Senior Management Team*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, James Cook University, Australia.
5. Cole, G. A. (2004). *Management Theory and Practice*. 6th ed. London: Thomas Rennie
6. Director - Department of Primary Education, (1998). *Departmental Submission to the 1998 Salaries Review Commission: A Paper Covering All Sections and Units of the Department of Primary Education*. Gaborone: Ministry of Education [copy available in the Ministry of Education].
7. Director – TSM, (1994). *Teaching Service Management Directive No.1 of 1994: Implementation of parallel progression for teachers*. Gaborone: Ministry of Education [copy available in the Ministry of Education].
8. Director – TSM, (1994a). *Teaching Service Management Directive No.3 of 1994: Schemes of service for primary school teachers*. Gaborone: Ministry of Education [copy available in the Ministry of Education]
9. Director – TSM, (2007). *Teaching Service Directive No 3 of 2007: New salary Structure for Primary School Teachers*. Gaborone: Ministry of Education [copy available in the Ministry of Education].
10. Evans, E. M. & Yoder, J. H. (1991). *Patterns of Reforms in Primary Education: The Case of Botswana*. Gaborone: Macmillan Botswana
11. Hargreaves, L., Cunningham, M., Hansen, A., McIntyre, D., Oliver, C. & Pell, T. (2007). *The Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession in England: Views from Inside and Outside the Profession*. London: Department for Education and Skills
12. Jacobson, S. L. (1992). Performance-related Pay for Teachers: The American Experience. In H. Tomlinson. (Ed.). *Performance-related Pay in Education*. (pp. 34-54). New York: Routledge
13. Obama, B. (2011). State Of The Union Speech of 2011. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/25/obama-state-of-the-union-_1_n_813478.html. Retrieved on 25th January, 2011
14. Pansiri, O. N. (2000). *The Perceived Status of Primary School Teachers in Botswana Education System*. Unpublished Master of Education Dissertation. Gaborone: University of Botswana
15. Pansiri, O. N. (2007). Teacher Remuneration: A Critical Policy Review in Botswana. *Pula - Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 21. No. 1. pp 199-217
16. Pansiri, O. N. (2009). Officiating at Letsholathebe Primary School Prize Giving Day on 10/10/2009. Available University of Botswana Library
17. Pansiri, O. N. (2011). *Keynote address to the National Primary School Heads Conference*. Unpublished Paper available in UB Library. Gaborone: University of Botswana
18. Republic of Botswana, (1975) *Unified Teaching Service Act – Chapter 62:01 Of 1975*. Gaborone: Government Printer
19. Republic of Botswana, (1993). *Report on the Implementation of Parallel Progression for Teachers*. Gaborone: Ministry of Education [copy available in the Ministry of Education].
20. Republic of Botswana, (2000). *Miscellaneous Civil Application No 307 of 2000: In a matter between Botswana Teachers Union and The Director Teaching Service Management*. Gaborone: Attorney General Record [copy available in the Attorney General].
21. Republic of Botswana, (2008). *Botswana Public Service Act No 30 of 2008*. Gaborone: Directorate of Public Service Management

22. Republic of Botswana, (2011). *Trade Dispute Case No UR 12/11 of 2011: In a matter between Botswana Secondary School Teachers Union & Botswana Public Employees' Union and The Directorate of Public Service Management*. Gaborone: Attorney General Record [copy available in the Attorney General].
23. Ryan, A. M., Gheen, M. H., & Midgley, C. (1998). Why Do Some Students Avoid Asking for Help? An Examination of the Interplay Among Students' Academic Efficacy, Teachers' Social-Emotional Role, and the Classroom Goal Structure. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. Vol. 90. No .3. pp 528-535.
24. Smit, P. J., Cronje, G. J. J., Brevis, T. & Vrba, M.J. (2007). *Management Principles: A Contemporary Edition for Africa*. 4th ed. Cape Town: Juta
25. Vanqa, T. P. (1998). *The Development of Education in Botswana - 1937 - 1997: The Role of Teacher's Organizations*. Gaborone: Lentswe La Lesedi
26. Wentzel, K. R. (1998). Social Relations and Motivation in Middle School: The Role of Parents, Teachers, and Peers. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. Vol. 90. No. 2. Pp 202-209.