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교육학석사학위논문

Borrowing from Elsewhere

**: From Cross-national Attraction to Internalization of
the BTEP(Botswana Technical Education Program)**

in Botswana

외부로부터의 정책 차용

:보츠와나 기술교육프로그램의 정책 차용 과정을 중심으로

2015 년 2 월

서울대학교 대학원

협동과정 글로벌교육협력전공

공 병 규

Borrowing from Elsewhere
: From Cross-national Attraction to Internalization of
the BTEP(Botswana Technical Education Program)
in Botswana

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이 논문을 교육학석사 학위논문으로 제출함

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ABSTRACT

Borrowing from Elsewhere : From Cross-national Attraction to Internalization of the BTEP(Botswana Technical Education Program) in Botswana

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As its social, political, and economic situation changed, the educational policy focus of Botswana has shifted from general education to Technical Vocational Education and Training(TVET). The government of Botswana put a great deal of effort into promoting its TVET system during the 1990s by suggesting basic educational policy direction and relevant strategies. This endeavor came to fruition with the Botswana Technical Education Program(BTEP) introduced into technical colleges in Botswana in the early 2000s. The BTEP was the institution-based TVET program transferred from the Scottish Qualification Authority(SQA) based on a bilateral contract.

The BTEP case is notable in terms of studies on educational policy borrowing within the field of comparative education. In comparative education, there has been a

growing demand to explore various policy borrowing cases, as the complexity of the phenomenon has increased with globalization. The BTEP, as a borrowed program from the SQA, is expected to facilitate understanding of the micro-mechanism and process of cross-national education policy borrowing. Also, it provides more insight into the motivation to borrow a foreign education system in the face of a transitional moment, because it is a representative case of transitional policy measure organized by the Botswana government.

This research investigates the process of the BTEP introduction from the SQA into Botswana with the conceptual and analytical framework of studies on educational policy borrowing. The four-stages of policy borrowing suggested by Phillips and Ochs(2004) is adopted as a main analytical tool. According to the framework, the BTEP case is described as a policy borrowing process that includes 1) cross-national attraction, 2) decision-making, 3) implementation, and 4) internalization. By identifying the actors and motivations in each of the stages, this study gets close to the full circle of the policy borrowing process of the BTEP.

The findings of the analysis offer an insight into the future direction of the TVET policy in Botswana. The policy borrowing process of the BTEP proves that the Botswana government was heavily dependent on foreign experiences in reforming its TVET system. This is in part because it did not have the capacity to produce and manage the required knowledge. This weakness triggered a more or less inattentive policy borrowing practice that did not heed the contextual and practical issues. Hence, the Botswana government needs to raise knowledge management capacity for its independent policy development. In addition, this research provides implications for the

revision of the conceptual and analytical frameworks of educational policy borrowing studies. The findings indicate that recent policy borrowing practice is getting more complicated than before. Primarily, it is due to a growing ambiguity between borrowers and lenders as borrowers also have their own strategy to lend policies to others. Also, the concept of borrowing and lending is transformed into the market concept of buying and selling. That means that policy-makers recognize internationally renowned systems as marketable goods.

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keywords: educational policy borrowing, policy borrowing and lending in education, policy transfer, cross-national attraction, Botswana Technical Education Program, Botswana

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDAB	Austrailian International Development Assistance Bureau
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BTEP	Botswana Technical Education Programme
DTVET	Department of Technical Education and Training
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
HRD	Human Resource Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
MEG	Modern Economic Growth
MLHA	Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs
MoESD	Ministry of Education and Skills Development
MTTC	Madirelo Training and Testing Centre
NCE	National Commission on Education
NDPs	National Development Plans
NQF	National Qualification Framework
ODA	British Overseas Development Agency
QAA	Quality Assurance and Assessment Unit
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SQA	Scottish Qualification Authority
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

1.1.1. The Success Story of Botswana

Botswana is the miracle of Africa. This country was poverty stricken when it achieved its independence from the British colonial regime in 1966. Its GDP per capita remained at around 70 USD which was one of the lowest national income levels at that time. The investment on infrastructure was poor during the colonial period, because British colonial administration to Botswana only had marginal interest on its development. The poor infrastructure and low level of manpower development hindered its early development right after the independence. In 1966, there were only 22 who graduated university and 100 adults possessed secondary school diploma (Acemoglu et al., 2001, p.1). The national income heavily depended on agricultural industry such as crops and cattle. Migrant workers to mines in South Africa made a great contribution for their own family income. In this context, the government expenditure heavily relied on foreign aids, Most of this aid were from the British and the U.S. taking more than 60% of Botswana's annual budget on the first fiscal year (Lewin, 2011, p.1). In addition, the adverse natural environment posed a challenge for its sustainable development at the early stage of post independent period. It was a landlocked, thus increasing its trading costs. The dry condition of Botswana also triggered severe draughts regularly causing

cascade impact on its agricultural industry, which was the backbone of its national security and economic development. However, the crisis was converted into a miracle case in Africa. The mining industry contributed to this huge economic transformation(Whiteside, 1984). After the mining industry developed, it achieved high rate of stable economic growth of 7.7% average annual growth from 1965 to 1998(Acemoglu et al., 2001, p.1). Its income level spiked to 7,770(current USD) from \$70 in the 1960s(Worldbank, 2013).

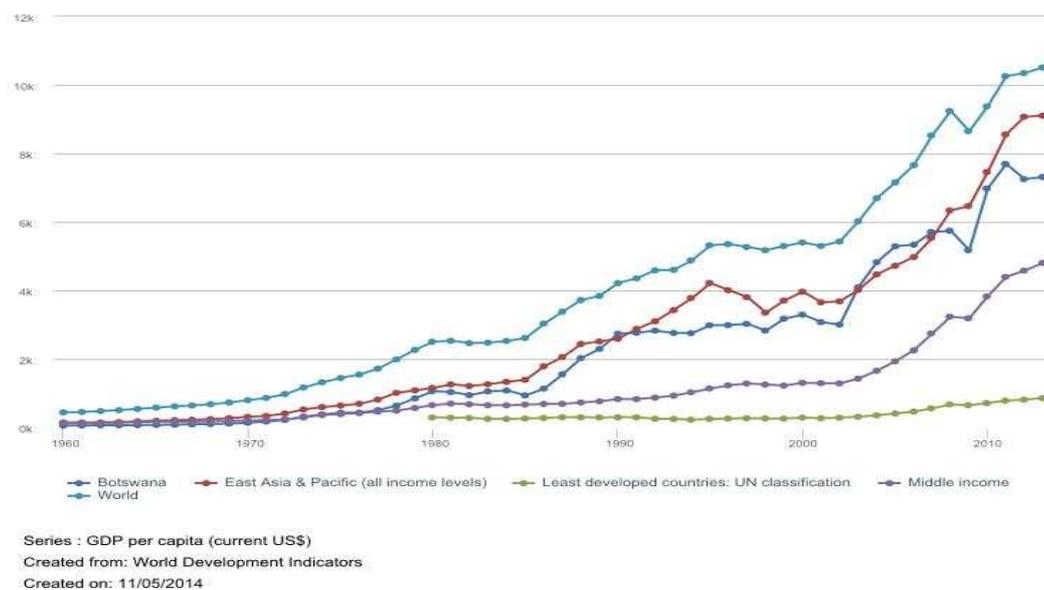


Figure 1-1. The Growth of GDP per capita(current US\$)
 Source: World Bank Data(data.worldbank.org.11/05/2014)

1.1.2. TVET Policy in Botswana

Despite such a great success in economic performance, Botswana struggled in securing quality workforce for its national development since its independence. Botswana suffered from a lack of skilled workforce to run its bureaucratic system right after the independence. Thus, its policy focus was on securing required workforce to fill in the key occupations in government bodies. This policy direction was well reflected on the Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development published in 1966: “the primary aim in the field of education is to create in the shortest possible time, with such financial means as may be available, a stock of trained local manpower capable of serving the country’s economy.”¹ Likewise, the effort to strengthen its education sector was closely linked to the national economic concerns. Botswana government put much effort in connecting the manpower planning to various education policy measures. Among them, the technical vocational education and training(TVET) policy, aimed at raising technicians and artisans for its economic basis, was given a growing attention from policy makers during the last half a century.

Initially, the Botswana TVET was relatively marginalized under the trend of emphasizing primary and higher education to secure basic and higher level of workforce. This trend was well reflected on the First National Commission on Education(NCE) in 1977, called “Education for Kagisano”(Education for Social Justice). However, with the growing concerns on its economic downturn and

¹ Transitional Plan, 1966, p. 52(Quoted in U. Kann and D. Taylor, 1989, Manpower Development and Education since Independence, Pula)

unemployment problem, political attention moved to the TVET sector. The second NCE in 1993 explicitly stressed the need to promote TVET sector for its national economic development. It had huge impact on developing the National Policy on Vocational Education and Training in 1997. It was the comprehensive policy strategy dedicated to the TVET sector in Botswana, suggesting specific policy measures to modernize the system. In this context, the Department of Technical Education and Training(DTVET) under the Ministry of Education and Skills Development(MoESD) launched the Botswana Technical and Education Program(BTEP) with the Scottish Qualification Authority(SQA). The BTEP was considered to be the first ever modernized and flexible TVET program in Botswana, effectively collaborating with the industry side.

1.2. Problem Statement

The research problems are derived from the above context as follows. First, there is no specific evidence supporting Botswana's advancement in independent policy development capacity as much as it achieved in economic performance. Botswana achieved a middle-income group status in 1996, entering into a new stage of development. Yet after achieving the middle income status, Botswana faced new challenges due to limited access to foreign assistance. Evidence supports that foreign aid to Botswana declined after its progress into a middle-income group. According to Mosley(1986, p. 235) and Hopkin(1994, p. 395), Botswana experienced substantial decrease in aid influx from the 1980s as it developed into the middle income economic status. It is assumed that the fast economic growth and its escape from aid dependence

may have triggered Botswana's capacity to work independently from foreign influence in establishing its own policy direction and knowledge bases. However, there is a lack of studies on whether Botswana transformed into the advanced status in formulating, implementing and evaluating its own developmental direction and relevant policy measures-

Second, although the introduction of BTEP was a representative case of policy borrowing in Botswana, not enough attention has been put to its initial motivation and internalization process. The BTEP introduction from Scotland was a historical watershed in Botswana TVET development in that it was an advanced and modernized TVET system. The BTEP introduction is regarded as an outcome of thorough educational policy studies and discussions during the 1990s, which was triggered by the report of national policy on education in 1993 and vocational education plan in 1997, and finally initiated in 1998. Also, it was the representative DTVET policy item, designed to modernize Botswana's TVET system through the policy borrowing measure after its failure of adopting German dual system by the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs(Wilson, 2000). Nevertheless, no research has been done to explore the specific policy borrowing process from the SQA to the DTVET. While some study results indicated the problems and failure of implementation and internalization of BTEP(Richardson, 2009; Mhizha, 2012), these reports only focused on the internalization process after the policy decision was made to introduce the BTEP from the SQA. By investigating into the detailed process of policy borrowing in Botswana, this study aims to contribute to academic and intellectual efforts to understand the educational policy borrowing phenomenon.

1.3. Conceptual and Analytical Framework

For the better understanding of the situation, the case of BTEP introduction from the SQA into Botswana needs to be investigated with a systematic conceptual framework. The BTEP introduction can be categorized into a policy borrowing case as it was an attempt to bring a foreign system into the home context. In this study, the four-stages of policy borrowing(Phillips and Ochs, 2004) is selected as an analytical framework and while being supplemented by the other conceptual frameworks of educational policy borrowing studies.

Comparative educators have sought for the foreign education systems in an effort to borrow them into the home context for a long time(Phillips, 1989, 2000, 2006, 2009). This intellectual practice was institutionalized as a systemic approach to the educational transfer studies. However, the meaning of policy borrowing is severely contested in that there are many terms which refer to a similar phenomenon such as ‘influence’, ‘copy’, ‘importing’, ‘appropriating’, ‘lesson-drawing’, ‘diffusion’ and ‘transfer’. Such terms all mean traveling ideas from one to the others. Nonetheless, there are three distinctive features for the term, policy borrowing when compared with the other similar terms.

First and foremost, policy borrowing is the term invented to avoid the meaning of policy copy and emulation in the process of policy transfer. The policy from one cultural context cannot be transplanted into the other context without conflicts and adaptations. There should be modifications and transformations made to such policy for it to fit into the given local context. In that sense, words such as ‘copy’ and ‘emulation’ cannot embrace the more complex nature of policy transfer phenomenon.

Secondly, policy borrowing is a term consciously adopted by the comparative educators who wanted to perform the analytical research. There are similar terms such as ‘lesson-drawing’ and ‘policy learning,’ but these are value added expressions. The terms ‘learning’ and ‘lesson’ indicate very purposive and narrow activities compared with policy borrowing(Levin, 1998). According to Steiner-Khamsi(2012), the term ‘policy borrowing’ is adequate for analytical research works with neutral meaning, which is open to the various policy borrowing activities regardless of its purpose and usage. In this regard, the term ‘policy borrowing’ is now widely accepted among the comparative educators.

Thirdly, the term policy borrowing has been sophisticated to provide more systematic analytical framework. Steiner-Khamsi(2012), the representative scholar who explores policy transfer and borrowing in education, picks the term, policy borrowing as it entails the concept of agency(animated agency who can perform the act of transfer policies). Also, Phillips and Ochs(2004) develops the term to be more specific and measurable. They define the policy borrowing as a very ‘conscious and deliberate’ adoption of the policy observed in the other countries, thus excluding the cases of authoritative policy imposition and the influence through various routes. This narrow definition can be contested but useful in providing some measurable components for analytical researches.

On this ground, this research adopts the definition of policy borrowing provided by Phillips and Ochs(2004), despite the fact that it is still contested and challenged in empirical sense. It is a technically well-refined definition through the historical study exploring the policy borrowing case between Britain and Germany. They suggested the

policy borrowing as one of the components inside of the educational transfer spectrum. The level of voluntariness of the policy transfer increases as it moves to the right end of the spectrum. They insist that the policy borrowing is a distinctive notion against policy imposition and policy influence. Phillips and Ochs summarize the feature of the policy borrowing in this way: “We shall use ‘borrowing’ to describe the ‘conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another’. ... In our view, borrowing is, strictly speaking, a deliberate, purposive phenomenon(Phillips and Ochs, 2004, p.774).”

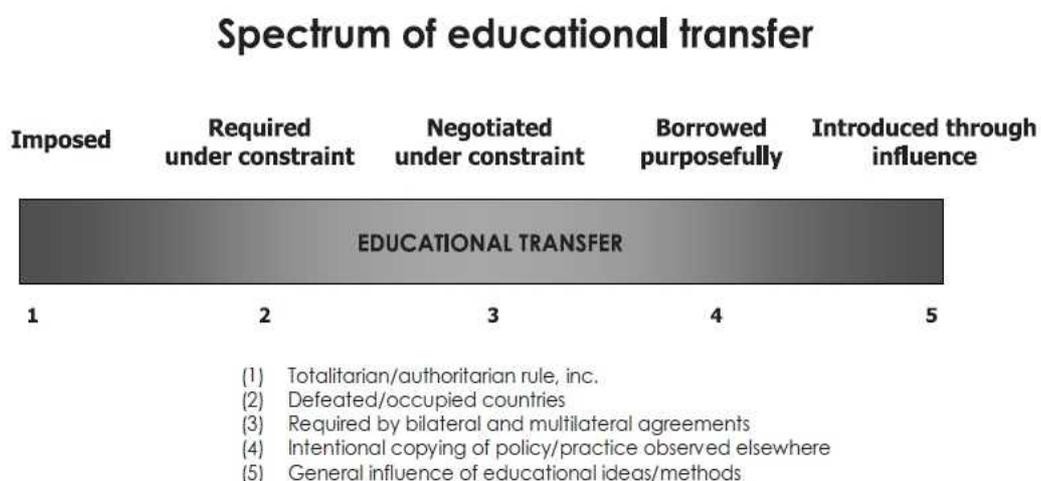


Figure 1-2. Spectrum of Educational Transfer
Source: Phillips & Ochs(2004b)

From the above definition, Phillips and Ochs(2004) made more systematic typology for the comparative education analysis, by structuring policy borrowing phenomenon with more sophisticated components of **process** and **context**. They enumerated the purpose of this systemic approach as follows:

- To provide a framework for thinking about the development of educational policy as a process
- To identify important factors in the context of policy transfer
- Specifically to examine which contextual factors are important in adopting educational policy.

(Phillips and Ochs, 2002, p. 328)

Accordingly, the policy borrowing was specified into the four stages. Phillips and Ochs(2003) assumed that there are the four steps in the process of policy borrowing as below:

- Cross-national attraction
- Decision
- Implementation
- Internalization

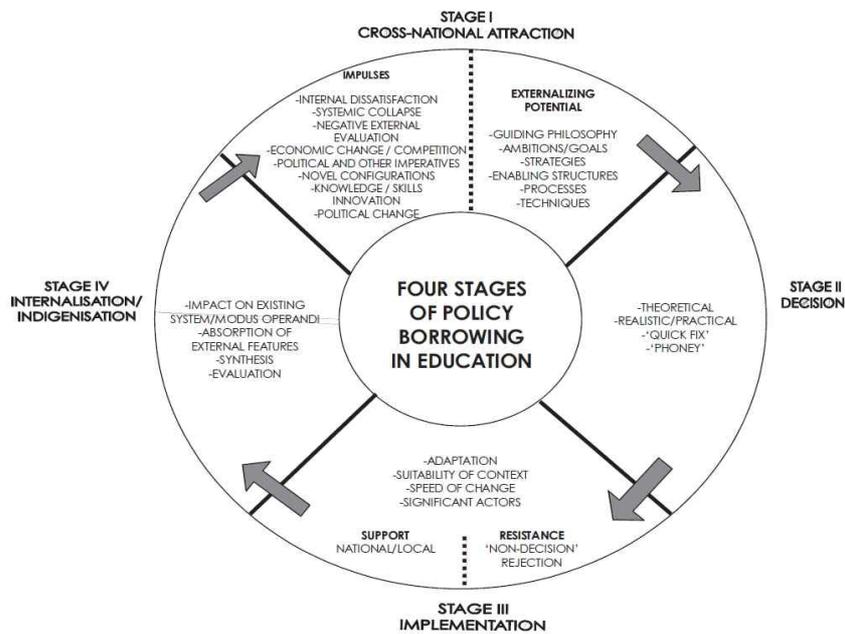


Figure 1-3. Four Stages of Policy Borrowing in Education
Source: Phillips & Ochs(2003)

According to Phillips and Ochs, the cross-national attraction stage is composed of the two conceptual components: the impulses and externalizing potential. Impulses indicate the catalysts for change and sometimes a pressure for policy transformation. There are various types of impulses such as internal dissatisfaction, political change, systemic collapse, negative external evaluation, planned or unplanned alliances and aftermath of extreme upheavals. However, Phillips(2006) admits that in spite of such systemic categorization, the micro-mechanism of policy attraction is still vague and complex, thus requiring more sophisticated touch on detailed component. After impulse for the educational borrowing was identified, policy makers were faced with the question of ‘what to borrow.’ This is the so-called “externalizing potentials”, which is composed of six foci of attraction. The six foci of attraction include the process of

policy development from guiding philosophy or ideology to process and techniques.

Educational policy borrowing can happen at any level of the below process.

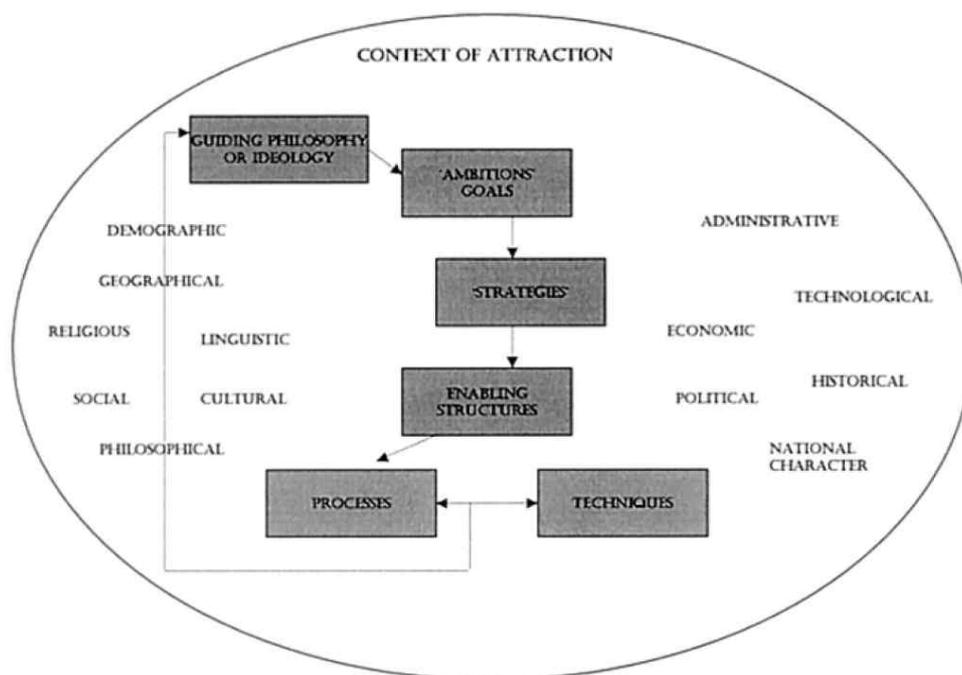


Figure 1-4. Structural Typology of ‘Cross-national Attraction’ in Education
Source: Ochs & Phillips(2002)

The “guiding philosophy” must be something which triggers the fundamental change in policy direction. For instance, education for equality, market driven privatization, and cost-effective policy operation can be this type of philosophy. Once the change is initiated at this level, the fundamental change is inevitable. The second level of “ambition and goals” is “anticipated outcomes of the system” indicating achievement in some level of standard, which entails more or less materialized policy direction. “Strategies(for policy implementation)” indicates enabling educational

governance and policy creation. “Enabling structure” is represented by education administration and financial supporting structure. It attracts most of the borrower’s interest in policy borrowing. As final steps, “process” and “technique” mean regulating norms of teaching style with curriculum and assessment guides, and teaching methods respectively. Each foci of attraction can attract any borrowers depending on their borrowing contexts. Thus, some countries may search for new guiding philosophy after experiencing dramatic political and social change, while others may have a deep interest in ‘borrowing from elsewhere’ about enabling structures due to their frequent failure in sustaining the educational system.

The second stage is the decision-making. There are four types of decision-making in policy borrowing. The first type is the theoretical decision-making. This means that the policy makers and politicians make a decision to borrow the foreign policy without considering practical components. They tend to stay at the discourse and political level of the policy reform and borrowing. The opposite one is the realistic/practical decision considering the real impact on the implementation of the borrowed policy. The third type is the quick-fix solution. Phillips and Ochs regard it as dangerous because it is the case when politicians bring in foreign educational policy without systemic comparative research on both sides of contexts. The last one is the phony decision. It is brought with the political enthusiasm to have an impact on their political power games without any serious follow-up policy measures.

The third stage is the implementation and this requires serious attention to the actors involved in the procedure, because there can be a gap between decision making and implementing actors. The speed of change and the level of adaptation are heavily

dependent on the level of acceptance/resistance by the implementing actors. The main thesis of the Phillips and Ochs is that the level of acceptance/resistance is dependent on the level of understanding on the contextual factors of the target education policy.

The last stage is the internalization. Phillips and Ochs suggest the sub-process of the internalization to be as in the following: 1) the impact on the existing system, 2) the absorption of external features, 3) synthesis and 4) evaluation. For the focus this research, the internalization stage is just briefly introduced as the BTEP is on the implementation stage and it seems that there is no systemic effort to have an evaluation on this program.

Such four stages of the policy borrowing framework are adopted for this research to make a “thick description(Rappleye, 2011)” of the borrowing case in Botswana. Among the above four stages of policy borrowing, the focus of the research is laid on the first three stages; cross-national attraction, decision and implementation. This is because introduction of the BTEP is still in the internalization process, which means it is not finalized yet. Furthermore, as pointed out in the problem statement, insufficient academic attention was put on the initial stages of BTEP introduction, although some studies tried to find the problem at implementation and internalization stages. Therefore, this study is expected to explore the details of cross-national attraction and high level decision making procedure.

1.4. Research Purpose and Questions

This study is primarily designed to examine the detailed process of policy borrowing from the SQA to Botswana through the BTEP introduction in perspective of the policy borrowing framework suggested by Phillips and Ochs(2004). The process will be explored from the initial stage of cross-national attraction to the last of internalization stage, thus making a coherence description on the event. There are two major purposes of the study. The first aim is to suggest future direction for the Botswana TVET policy. The second aim is to find implications for the educational policy borrowing study, by suggesting what was explained and not explained with the established conceptual and analytical frameworks of the study.

The research questions are presented as follows.

1. What was the detailed process of the policy borrowing?

- What were the policy impulses?(=what was ‘the conditions that have created the need to look to examples elsewhere’?)
- How were the borrowable components from elsewhere explored?
- What were the foci of attraction in BTEP case?
- Which type of the decision was made?
- What were the major factors influencing on the level of adaptation at the implementation stage?
- What was the evidence of the internalization?

2. Does Botswana BTEP case fit into the policy borrowing framework?

- Did Botswana have ‘purposive and deliberate act to borrow something’ from SQA? What is the evidence?
- Were there any components which did not fit into the policy borrowing framework? If yes, then why?
- What are the practical implications to the TVET policy in Botswana?

3. What are the implications of the BTEP case to the educational policy borrowing studies?

- What are the implications to the definition of the educational policy borrowing?
- What are the implications to the framework of the educational policy borrowing?
- What are the implications to the direction of the educational policy borrowing studies?

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study has two contributing points. Firstly, this study seeks to explore the policy borrowing practice in a middle-income country, where the government is still dependent on the foreign educational policy know-how and relevant knowledge, while it more or

less graduated from the financial dependence on the foreign countries. With the detailed description on the policy borrowing process of the BTEP, this research is expected to find the cause of the challenges in its implementation and internalization, and identify the future policy direction of the Botswana TVET policy.

Secondly, this study is designed to test the applicability of the Phillips and Ochs' analytical framework by adapting it to the Botswana case. In spite of its well established analytical structure, the coverage of the analytical framework is limited to the developed countries in that it was initially designed only for the policy transfer case between the developed countries. For this reason, Gita Steiner Khamsi(2012) points out that the approach of Phillips and Ochs has limited explanatory power for the current trend of global educational policy borrowing cases where many developing countries are engaged in various educational borrowing practices. Also, Phillips and Ochs are criticized for their narrow interest on the bilateral policy transfer among the specific reference countries, while marginalizing the emerging trend of globalization which triggers the global convergence of the educational policy ideas. In this context, the Botswana case is expected to provide implications for the academic discourse in educational policy borrowing study.

1.6. Research Method

This research adopted document analysis and semi-structured interview as its main research method. The government publications and reports were explored as the main information source to provide an insight into policy formulation for the case of BTEP

borrowing. The researcher visited Botswana National Archive and Statistics Office to collect more data and information not circulated through some government publications. Semi-structured interviews were also organized for the detailed information on its policy decision making procedure. In an effort to find the key persons who contributed to the BTEP introduction in the early 2000s, the researcher used the snowballing as a sampling measure. Through this way, 7 key government senior officials in the MoESD were invited as interviewees. Each of the interviews was coded according to the thematic categories suggested by the above research framework of the policy borrowing.

1.7. Limitations of the Research

This research has some limitations in its design. Firstly, only a limited number of insiders were available for the interviews. This is partly because it is already been more than a decade since it was started. Moreover, there were not many people who can tell the stories behind the policy borrowing from the SQA as the decision was made at the high level at that time. Even the current senior staffs were in a middle position in the early 2000s so that they sometimes had only limited information on the decision making procedures for the BTEP introduction.

Secondly, the TVET system was analyzed only from the view of the MoESD. The national TVET system in Botswana is fragmented into two main authorities: the Ministry of Education and Skills Development(MoESD), and the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs(MLHA). MoESD represents the institution-based TVET while the MLHA controls the industry-based training and private TVET institutions. The BTEP

was only applied to the institutions under the MoESD control. Thus, it can be hard to generalize the analytical outcomes into the industry-based training system and its private institutions controlled by the MLHA.

Thirdly, the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic during the period around 1990s and early 2000s is not taken into account as a major variant of the policy borrowing event in Botswana. It was confirmed that the AIDS pandemic had some level of negative influence on the public service provision in Botswana(Gossett, 2010). However, it was also mentioned that it was hard to find reliable data in education sector(Patel et al., 2003). During the research interview, the researcher received an impression that the HIV/AIDS pandemic affected Botswana's TVET but it was hard to find reliable data and information. Furthermore, there was an ethical concern on investigating the impact of the HIV/AIDS on BTEP introduction as it dealt with sensitive personal information.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Conceptual Background of TVET

The definition of TVET has been changed as its knowledge, skills and culture has been evolved. Thus, there are a bunch of different types of TVET that can construct the general meaning of TVET through inductive thinking. Machlean and Wilson(2009) suggests that there are a number of names indicating, so called TVET: apprenticeship training, vocational education, industrial arts, technical education, technical/vocational education(TVE), occupational education(OE), vocational education and training(VET), career and technical education(CTE), etc. In addition, despite the international effort to unify its terminology, still there is a lingering difference among institutions and nations in designating TVET. For instance, EU adopts the term as vocational education and training(VET), while United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) indicates the same area with the term of technical and vocational education and training(TVET). There is a growing tendency of merging general education with TVET so that it is difficult to set the clear boundary of TVET(Ellis, 2005). Hence, today the general meaning of TVET covers comprehensive notion, area, historical transformation, philosophical thoughts and worldwide practices. Then, how was this broad boundary of TVET established? To understand the current status of TVET, it is inevitable to look into the changing academic and policy trend on the development of TVET. The trend can be summarized as follows:

- TVET system has been taken up by the government and formalized.
- Its discourse and meaning has been expanded from the job specific to the holistic approach.
- There has been an international convergence of the TVET policy.

2.1.1. Formalization of the TVET System

Today, it is widely recognized that TVET policies are closely linked with national interest on economic development. Thus, most of the countries have formalized TVET systems controlled by governments and in some cases along with labour associations. However, the conditions were not like this until the 16th century in Europe. According to Thompson(1973), it was only the 16th century when the informal way of transmitting skills and knowledge started being formalized and institutionalized. Before then, most of the skills were transmitted from fathers to sons in a secret way(Nasir, 2012). As many crafts and skills became highly diversified and specialized, the process of skills and knowledge transmission was controlled and formalized by collective forces of separate guilds, which adopted apprentice system. Their education and training system was imitated and taken over by governments in the 17th century. There were a number of cases of policy borrowing and learning among European countries in the process of TVET formalization at that time as the governments recognized the power of TVET to promote national wealth and prosperity(Benavot, 1983). The formalization of TVET was dramatized by the First and the Second World War. In both of the war periods, the western governments centralized the control over TVET institutions and streamlined its

administrative and curriculum process. Also, both World Wars contributed to the great expansion of TVET programs in formal education system(Thompson, 1973; Maclean and Wilson, 2009).

The strong government support on TVET system during the 1920s and 1930s in Europe had significant influence on the formation of post-colonial education in most of the newly independent countries(Blakemore and Cooksey, 1980). The newly independent countries followed a similar route in establishing its TVET system(Benavot 1983). First, the central government took over the existing TVET programs and institutions, and found new tax resource by imposing special tax on industry. Second, they sought for the foreign aid and technical support to improve their vocational curricula and institutional operation system. The international development agencies played a pivotal role in spreading government centered vocational education system(Benavot, 1983; Mcgrath, 2002). They advocated diversified secondary education system, by emphasizing vocational track. The World Bank set the highest education budget portion on vocational education programs in the post-world war period, thus facilitating formalization of TVET system in developing countries².

2.1.2. Broadened Meaning of TVET

Though its definition and policy framework have been transformed according to the different national and historical context, it is observed that there is a general trend of

² But unlike the central government's policy direction, TVET was stigmatized in most of the developing countries because of their colonial experiences(King and Martin, 2002).

expanding the meaning of TVET during the last century, as economic and technological environment have been changed. Its meaning has been expanded through discussions and debates on conceptualization of TVET.

Firstly, the debate on human capital and human development theory promoted the thinking on the nature of TVET and its holistic approach. The TVET was conceptualized in accordance with the changing philosophy of economic development and human resource development paradigm. During the 1960s, in American context, manpower policy was at the center of economic development and TVET policy. The U.S government explained manpower policy as follows(Thompson, 1973): "Manpower policy is concerned with the development and use of human labor as an economic resource and as a source of individual and family income." However, the manpower policy had a limitation because it recognized human only as a resource for the national economic development, focusing on job specific skills. This idea was enhanced by the emergence of the human capital theory. Unlike traditional manpower policy mainly focusing on physical capital and human labour, the human capital theory was an innovative idea adding human skills factor in explaining economic growth, thus attracting more investment on education.

However, the human capital theory was criticized because it only considered human as an instrument of economic development not an end itself. Critiques were raised in academic circles, insisting on putting more comprehensive and human centered value on development ideas. Thompson(1973) emphasizes not to put a human factor on the economic equation, because human being is a total entity that cannot be separated from its skills development. He insists to adopt human development concept to expand

the limited boundary of human resource development discourse. Mehrotra(2005) also supports the idea of human development against human capital. He traces back to the origin of human capital theory and analyzed how it has been spread out all over the world. He considers human development idea suggested by Sen can be an alternative to the human capital theory, which didn't put much emphasis on basic human value and social justice. In a similar vein, the work of Tikly(2013) is innovative in the respect that he tried to re-conceptualize the TVET with the capability approach suggested by Sen and Nussbaum. He attempts to regenerate a more comprehensive notion of TVET to embrace the intrinsic human value. He criticizes the human capital theory for its ignorance to the poverty and equality issue.

Secondly, there is an ongoing debate on conceptualizing the TVET with different philosophical ideas on the nature of it. Rojewski(2009) suggests three pillars of philosophical ideas on TVET. First one is essentialism, advocated by Posser, which insists that TVET should be designed to serve national economic development and labour demand. This idea strictly follows government perspective at the expense of individual well-being and self-reliance. In contrast, there is a pragmatism suggested by Dewey(Hyland, 1993). He insists that students need to be equipped with vocational skills to enhance personal fulfillment. In his idea, students are not passive labour force serving for the national interest but the active participants constructing their own knowledge. Most of the debate on philosophical pedagogy of TVET is raised around these two contradictory ideas of the essentialism and pragmatism. However, these days, the debate was expanded as Miller and Gregson suggested more proactive position of TVET. They insist the role of TVET is to provide students with the solution for social

justice problems. In this position, called reconstructionism, students are expected to solve work place and social problems as a democratic citizen.

Thirdly, the conceptualization of the competence and skills provided new insight on human characteristics related to the job performance while expanding the definition of TVET(McGrath, 2002). Competence-based approach was developed in the human resource development(HRD) sector and widely accepted by the TVET administrators and researchers. According to Prahalad and Hamel(1990, p.4), competence is “the collective learning in the organisation especially how to co-ordinate diverse production skills and integrate multiple streams of technologies.” However, there is a tension between field management strategy which requires field and situation specific competence, and HRD literature which pursues generic and core competence of high abstraction. There are several reasons why the competence-based approach has been widely accepted(Le Deist and Winterton, 2007). Firstly, the fast changing nature of technology requires broadly defined transferable competence which is highly adaptive to different jobs and tasks. Secondly, the integrated labour market in Europe requires unified recognizable competence level, which promotes labour mobility across the continent. Thirdly, it is promoted by the European trend emphasizing accreditation of non formal learning experience. Core-competence is an output oriented approach, which does not require strict guidelines for contact time in formal learning institutions.

On the other hand, the UNESCO seems to prefer the skills development concept instead of the competence, which is quite similar to each other in policy implementation. However, it is not easy to set the clear definition of skills as the concept has been changed. In Global Monitoring Report(GMR) 2012, the UNESCO identifies three types

of skills; foundation skills, transferable skills and technical and vocational skills. Foundation skills are basic skills required to acquire the remaining two other skills. It can be acquired in primary and lower secondary education. Transferable skills indicate attitudinal and non cognitive domains which can be acquired outside of school. The GMR 2012 shows growing interest in foundation and transferable skills, thus blurring the boundary between academic education and TVET(King, 2012). Nevertheless, it is not a new trend. Psacharopoulos(1991) insists that the trend has been moved from the skill-specific training to the general training. Also, it is suggested that the emergence of knowledge economy and the advancement of information technology caused a mixture of manual and mental labour. This convergence has led the merge of TVET and academic curriculum at the secondary education level(Maclean and Wilson, 2009)..

By reflecting these various discussions on the TVET, the definition of the TVET was normatively set by the international development agencies, including the International Labour Organization(ILO) and UNESCO, pursuing Millenium Development Goals(MDGs). The two organizations reached an agreement in setting broad definition of the TVET in 1999 at the Korean congress:

Those aspects of the educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related sciences, and the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to occupants in various sectors of economic and social life(UNESCO, 1999).

The ILO(2008) suggests the following “holistic approach for skills

development”(Aggarwal and Gasskov, 2013, p. 8).

1. Continuous and seamless pathways of learning,
2. Development of core skills
3. Development of higher-level skills
4. Portability of skills
5. Employability

Also, the EU(2009) emphasizes the holistic approach in the TVET with the following education and training strategic objectives

1. Making lifelong learning and mobility a reality
2. Improving the quality and efficiency of education and training
3. Promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship
4. Enhancing creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training

In aggregate, the new concept of human development, competence and skills development expanded the boundary of TVET. It had led the emergence of the holistic approach on TVET at the policy discourse level. In practice level, this broadened meaning of TVET triggered the mixture of general and vocational education.

2.1.3. International Convergence of the TVET Policy

The above international trend indicates the convergence of the international TVET policy, as they assimilate into the similar type of TVET system. Gonon(2012) finds that the European countries widely copied and borrowed the TVET policy of the neighboring countries in the late 19th century, thus forming the “real global dimension in education policy(Gonon, 2012, p. 201).” Many countries participated in the World Exhibitions and learned to each other. One of the main sectors which drew many people’s attention was the TVET, as many exhibited items were the masterpiece of the artisans and technicians of the countries. It was France which led the world TVET policy trend in the early 1900s as it introduced institution based training system by vocationalizing the curriculum in its primary and secondary schools, and also by developing various types of the technical institutions. At the Paris World Exhibition in 1889, many European countries confirmed that the level of French artisans was remarkably improved thanks to its innovative TVET policy. After the World Exhibition, the French model was spread into many European countries thus converging the TVET policies.

Also, this convergence of the international TVET policy is observed in the post-World War period by the work of Benavot(1983). He proves that there was the international trend of “rise and decline” of the TVET policy in the 19th and 20th century. Through the quantitative analysis, he finds that there was the international decline of the TVET schooling in the post-World War period. The enrollments in the TVET institution were decreased in many countries and it was the general trend in most of the countries. He suspects the stigmatization of the TVET schooling as the main cause of this

phenomenon, but there is not clear evidence to explain this educational pandemic. He just concludes that the worldwide decline of the TVET schooling can be explained by the world system perspective and worldwide ideological currents.

Even now, the international convergence of TVET policy is in ongoing process with more diversified mechanisms (Badroodien and McGrath, 2005). The real mechanism of the international TVET convergence is relatively well identified comparing with the past. Firstly, the process spreading the TVET models is institutionalized by the specialized organizations such as the EU, ILO and UNESCO-UNEVOC. They collect the TVET policy cases and data to spread the best practice to the international experts and policy makers. Also, they lead the international debate and discourse of the TVET policy through the publications and regular forums. Secondly, the study on the wide spread of the National Qualification Framework (NQF) reveals that there are various actors in the policy borrowing and lending process, thus causing educational pandemic around the world (Allais et al., 2009). This spreading process is sometimes triggered by the international institutions (McGrath, 2010; 2012) and the regional policy harmonization agreements and widely accepted by the politicians with different motives. However, it should be noted that this recent policy convergence is not necessarily connected to the provision of high quality TVET programs in every region. There is an argument that the TVET policies were converged only at the discourse level while neglecting practical components for the local adaptation (Allais, 2012).

2.2. Developmental Context of TVET in Botswana

Modern educational development is dependent on the outer factors such as economic, political and societal conditions, because a formal education functioned as an instrument serving other purposes. Thus, it is inevitable to look around the surrounding context for better understanding of education policy formation. Likewise, as a subsector of education, the TVET is dependent on various external conditions. In this part, the focus will be narrowed down from the general developmental context to the TVET in Botswana. Through this procedure, the key factors influencing on the TVET system formation in Botswana will be identified.

2.2.1. Political, Economic and Societal Development: Success, Myth or Reality?

Botswana achieved miraculous development in Africa, now entering into the middle income economic status. It is generally considered as a great developmental feat because African continent is stigmatized for its perennial economic downturn after their independence from the European colonial states. Most of them suffered from political instability which caused cascading impact on its long term economic and social development. However, there is a lingering dispute over whether Botswana achieved genuine development. Its development status actually has two faces. Those who support the argument that Botswana achieved significant development mainly adhere to the view

that Botswana has a good political leadership and good institution which secure long term stable economic growth. There are two main academic figures leading this position; Acemoglu from the institutional economic studies and Samatar from the political economic studies. The Botswana's success story has been one of the main concerns of developmental economists for a while, who tried to analyze success factor of Botswana based on its institutional development. Also, it has drawn the attention of political economists because Botswana is considered to have established a stable political leadership. The common feature of these studies is that they search for the success factor through a historical research, which provides a plethora of contextual evidence of Botswana's success. On the other hand, there are scholars who doubt about the Botswana's genuine development in that it has large income gaps, heavy dependence on mining industry and debilitating political condition because of its corruption and authoritative move. This side of scholars insist that the 'miracle of Africa' suggested by Samatar(1997, 1999) should be reconsidered as it is biased by the exaggerated economic performance heavily depended on its mining industry performance. In such a view, Botswana did not achieve the genuine development, having low possibility to sustain its long term development due to its limited innovative momentum.

The first category of scholars who explores the Botswana's developmental history in a positive view is the institutional economists. They pursue a historical understanding to conduct an in-depth investigation on its contributing factors which enabled long term economic success. The basic academic premise of institutional economics is that: "Social, political and economic institutions shape human interactions and economic

transactions and thus contribute to economic development.”³ Acemoglu(2001, 2002, 2003) is one of the leading economic experts who shows his academic interest in Botswana’s economic success factor for a while. He defines economic success slightly different from the traditional economists who measure economic success with major economic growth indicators. In his research, an economic success is measured in terms of a long term economic success and its indispensable ingredient is ‘good institution.’ The ‘good institution’ can be translated into “institutions of private property”, which is effective in the following aspect:

Institutions of private property, therefore, require effective property rights for a large segment of the society, both against state expropriation and predation by private agents, relative political stability to ensure continuity in these property rights, and effective constraints on rulers and political elites to limit arbitrary and extractive behavior(Acemoglu et al., 2001, p.5).

He identifies such a “good institutions of private property” as a distinctive feature of Botswana economy comparing with the other African countries which have failed to sustain their economic success in spite of its good conditions. He adopts a historical study to find the enabling factors, specifically, the political elites who formulated the current stable nation states. According to his insistence, Botswana benefited from the ‘benign rule’ by the British colonial regime. Actually, it had a special colonial

³ Seidler, V. (2010). Why did Botswana end up with good institutions: the role of culture and colonial rule, Working Paper, Vienna University for Economics and Business. P. 9

experience comparing with the other neighboring countries since it was started with Tswana chiefs' voluntary request for the protection, thus named as 'protectorate' not colony (Steenkamp, 1991). The traditional political power of chiefdom, which sustained the inclusive political institutions⁴, was maintained throughout the colonial period and made a great contribution to the modernized nation-building process after the independence because the traditional inclusive political system was succeeded into the modern government bodies (Sebudubudu, 2009, p.17; Hjort, 2010; Hlavac, 2010). This stable and effective political leadership contributed to the government led economic development while managing budget surplus provided by diamond mines after the independence. This research findings suggested by Acemoglu et al. (2001) are reiterated in a research of Seidler (2010, 2011) and widely accepted by many studies exploring the Botswana's success factors⁵.

Also, there are the political economists mainly who investigated Botswana's exceptionality of African curse. The first who initiated this discussion is Samatar (1999). His pioneering book titled "An African miracle: State and class leadership and colonial legacy in Botswana development", illuminates on the Botswana's developmental case in terms of political class affairs. His basic assumption is that the development policy of

⁴ The major instrument for inclusive political institutions was the tribe meeting called Kgotla, in which the chief should be authorized on his plans through consulting with tribe male members. It was very effective political institution designed to check and balance the power of chief (Acemoglu et al., 2011, p. 9; Martin, 2008, p. 40; Seidler, 2010, p. 63). Kgotla played a central role in the process of nation-building by the process of thorough discussion and authorization of power. This instrument is estimated to have a positive impact on the early establishment of democratic system in Botswana with the hybridization of modern and traditional political system (Barclay, 2009, p. 28; Molutsi & Holm, 1990, p. 325; Odell, 1985, p.61).

⁵ There are a number of studies accepting this position according to the study of Hillbon (2008, p. 192); Beaulier & Subrick (2006), Harvey & Lewis (1990), Iimi (2006), Leith (2005), Mpabanga (1997), Owusu & Samatar (1997)

Botswana was steered toward class interest thus enhancing particular political and economic elites⁶. Fortunately, Botswana had political elites with high accountability. They cooperated effectively with new bureaucratic elites group in government to make a real social impact in policy implementation. Also, he points out that the ‘weak civil society’ was one of the decisive ingredient for the Botswana’s development in that it guaranteed relative autonomy of political and bureaucratic elites to push forward their own development policies without severe opposition. These conditions contributed to its political unity and policy coherence in the long term.

There are more of study results supporting the view of Botswana as a ‘miracle of African.’ Raphaeli et al.(1984) conducted field visits for their research. They conclude that Botswana is successful in that it is equipped with the democratic and pragmatic bureaucratic system. To be specific, the Botswana government prioritized practical working mechanism which could draw a real positive impact on policy implementation, excluding other irrational factors in policy decision making. Also, it effectively utilized high skilled expatriates and foreign technical assistance to fill in the vacant position in running its government office, while having long term plan for gradual and systematic skills transfer from the expatriates to the indigenous workers. There are more of studies corroborating that Botswana government effectively takes advantage of foreign agencies and workers while pursuing its pragmatic policy goals(Gamajo, 2005; Hopkin, 1994; Whitfield et al., 2010; Parsons and Robinson, 2004, p.32). Some of the scholars(Gamajo, 2005; Jerven, 2010; Lewin, 2011) insist that Botswana is successful

⁶ Good and Taylor(2006) suggest a similar point but they criticize this legacy more explicitly. Samatar(1999) highlights the success of Botswana comparing it with the worst case of Somalia.

thanks to its diamond discovery and tight budget policy. Unlike the other countries cursed with abundant natural resource, Botswana adopted the tight budget plan in an effort to avoid budget deficit with its highly centralized administrative power(Nthomang, 2007, p.5) thus escaping from the ‘Dutch disease’. In some other literatures, Botswana is understood as a typical case of developmental state(Taylor, 2002).

To sum up, the success factors of Botswana can be presented as follows:

1. Sound political institution⁷: The intact traditional political leadership thanks to the ‘benign rule’ of British colonial regime allowed its high autonomy and self-directed development, which guaranteed the coherent and centralized government long term national policy without political instability.
2. Diamond discovery and sound budgetary management: The impact of diamond industry has absolute explanatory power for analyzing its economic success. The diamond mining industry is a huge income resource for Botswana government. Also, the government effectively utilized the budget coming from the diamond export by adopting an austere budget policy.

⁷ The sound political institution indicates a political stability thanks to the long period of domination by one specific political party, BDP(Botswana Democratic Party). BDP has been the stabilizer of Botswana politics but it is criticized to protect specific ethnic groups and economic class, Tswana people and cattle owners respectively(Poteete, 2007, p. 559; Tsie, 1996, p. 610). Thus, it is valid to insist that Botswana has a sound political institution only in terms of its minimum conflict and establishment of long term development vision based on its stable and dominant political power.

3. Bureaucratic pragmatism: This argument was suggested through research field visit to Botswana by World Bank staffs in the mid 1980s. They confirmed strong bureaucratic pragmatism in working for national development plan.
4. Effective use of foreign assistance: Botswana effectively responded to its urgent needs of high skilled workforce by accepting foreign technical assistance and expatriate workers⁸.

On the other hand, despite its prevailing image of “miracle of Africa”, it is contested as there are growing counter evidences on its miraculous development. As much as Botswana’s miraculous development is widely accepted, its limitation and chronic challenges, posed by various factors, are widely recognized. The antithesis on the positive aspects of development in Botswana culminates in the writing of Hillbom(2008, 2014). Unlike other articles criticizing some side effects and pitfalls in the Botswana development history, her thesis is critical in that she totally denies the ‘success of Botswana’ in the perspective of the “modern economic growth(MEG)” concepts presented by Kuznets(1973): “This modernization, which is the equivalent of development, is characterized by technological advances, high rates of growth, a rise in productivity, and structural transformation of the economy, society and ideology(Hillbom, 2008, p.193)”. In her insistence, Botswana is in a pre-development stage, which does not meet the specific criteria suggested as follows:

⁸ However, there is an antithesis on the positive effect on bringing expatriates into the public key positions(Mogalakwe, 2008)

1. High rates of per capita and population growth
2. High rate of rise in productivity
3. High rate of structural transformation of the economy
4. Rapid change in social and ideological structures
5. Participation in a globalized economy
6. A significant level of modern technology

Among the above items for developmental standard, Botswana only meets two criteria thus falling short of achieving the MEG. She suggests several failure factors of development in Botswana. Firstly, heavy reliance on primary production hinders the emergence of technological advancement and economic structural change. Live stock agriculture and mining sector are the two largest industries, but they have low industrial and technological connections with the other manufacturing sectors. Hence, its technological advancement is limited and its productivity stays low. Secondly, the Botswana government failed in transforming its industrial structure though it initiated various policy measures to boost its manufacturing sector. Thirdly, the urbanization in Botswana is not triggered by the growth of labour intensive industry thus causing high unemployment in urban area. This is a severe problem in countries like Botswana where people stay in non-productive urban area thus deserting productive rural areas. Fourthly, Botswana is the case of 'natural resource trap' because the mining sector dominates huge portion of national GDP and causing "indirect discrimination against a diversification of the economy(Sekwati, 2010)." Fifthly, its development procedure

worsened the social equity problem by securing assets of social elites while marginalizing other people. The social equity is very important factor for the MEG since it promotes the structural transformation by motivating many people to innovate their work procedure and to escape from *the status quo*. In aggregate, Hillbom proposes that we should look into the deeper structural transformation and its flexibility in an effort to measure the Botswana's developmental achievement, not its facial value such as an annual GDP growth rate and income level.

There are more studies pointing out the myth of Botswana's success in a more mitigated manner (Jerven, 2010; Lewin, 2011; Monageng, 2003; Parsons, 1993; Pegg, 2010). They present ambivalent stance on the miraculous development of Botswana as they accept the past shining days as a fact, while still doubt the future sustainability of its development model. In strict terms, they do not criticize the Botswana's development myth but point out its limited implication. They tend to consider that there are more of coincidental factors than of deterministic factors in its developmental success. Their questions are still closely related to the concept of 'genuine development', raising questions centering around: Is economic growth of Botswana sustainable without the effect of diamond industry? This question is compatible with the following questions: Was economic success of Botswana possible without diamond? Is Botswana free from the 'Dutch disease' and 'resource curse'? Was national wealth accumulated by the diamond industry booming converted into genuine social and human development for the economic structural change? If the answers for these questions are all "no", the Botswana's success story should be reconsidered from the bottom because it means Botswana is not the exceptional case different from the other resource blessed but

economically staggering countries.

After the 1990s, there has been a growing number of studies warning the Botswana's status, stating that the recent ambiguous development outcomes can pose a new threat to its long term political stability. It is largely because there is recurrent draught posing a serious threat to its agricultural industry, while its mining industry fails to find more reserves and increase productivity. As a result, its unemployment rate surges and rural farmers lose their economic ground in harsh environmental condition. The main problem is that its political elites are not ready to handle this new challenge as they stick to their own economic and political interest. Poteete(2007) points out that Botswana's economic success was possible thanks to its austere budget policy. However, the austere budget policy was not the strategic choice of the Botswana government. Rather, it was forced by the complicated external and internal political concerns. That is, the Botswana's success was achieved by chance in a way to maximize the benefit of dominant political party. Its long term dominant party, Botswana Democratic Party(BDP) achieved a wide political coalition during the post-independence era and it was possible because there was an external threat from the apartheid of South African government. Now, the major external threat has disappeared and there is an increasing diversity in its industrial and economic groups, posing a new challenge in securing its electoral votes. As its political homogeneity was broken, its policy also met a chance of great transformation. In this backdrop, there was increased number of populists who want to allure voters with the modernized policy vision. Tsie(1996) has a similar view, warning its end of the shining days as there are growing political conflicts and disparities between economic classes and ethnic groups. He argues that the stable

development of Botswana was possible thanks to its large political coalition formulated by the BDP, but as the oppositions gained more supports in the 1990s there were ever growing pressures to the political change. The dominant BDP wielded its political power and deeply intervened in the policy decision making procedure. In this process they neglected various demands of people⁹. As opposition party gains more momentum, BDP manages to change its stance to be more responsive to various minorities(Solway, 2002) but still they fail to mitigate the complaints and dissatisfactions of people. The common feature of these two critics is that they point out the political responsibility for the current economic and social downturn warning against a possible political failure. Further, there is the concern that as the current economic and social problems dismantle the political dominance of BDP, they turn into the patrimonial and authoritarian measures to retain their power(Soest, 2009).

In summary, through these counter evidences criticizing the myth of Botswana's success, challenging factors can be identified, which can undo the "miracle of Botswana" in the near future if it's not well dealt with:

1. Pressure to enhance diversification of industry through structural change:

There is mounting pressure on its mining dependent economy as it fails to increase its productivity, reserves and employment capacity. There are

⁹ Tsie(1996, p. 611) insists that the BDP and civil servant is closely linked together as they share similar academic and economic background. Thus, it is dangerous to assert that policy making in Botswana is free from political concern and only a technical matter. He argues that Botswana's development policy is not technical matter but a political matter, quoting the following comments of Roger Charlton(1992, p. 273): "the BDP has the power and the ability to intervene decisively and definitively if it wishes to do so, at any or all stages of the policy-making process, to secure and enforce its strategic policy priorities."

observations that mining industry already reached its plateau with depleting reserves thus staggering its economy. Now its mining dependent industry structure is the target of renovation. One of the main components to solve this problem is enhancing its skills and technological development.

2. Increasing social inequity problem: Growing gap between haves and not haves, and Tswana and non-Tswana people can be a cause for future political instability. The ever increasing vote rates of opposition party in general election proves its matter of urgency. Since independence, the developmental policy was established in favor of elites group. It would be hard to fix the problem without touching this biased policy direction.
3. Unemployment: From the 1990s, the unemployment issue has been at the top issue in that this causes generational conflict and urban unrest. It is closely linked with the industry diversification issue in that current industry structure cannot absorb the unemployed youth population.
4. Collapse of political coalition: The BDP maintained its dominance through the grand national political coalition since its independence. This coalition was the ingredient of long term national economic growth. However, the BDP lost many seats in parliament as they failed to respond to the demand from diversified population. This is feared to be an obstacle for establishing its long term developmental vision as in the past.

Those success and challenging factors of Botswana development need to be reconsidered in exploring TVET system formation because TVET system is closely

related to the national economic development thus receiving a huge political attention. In the following sections, the linkage between such a socio-political factors and education systems will be investigated.

2.2.2. Educational Development: Expansion and Challenges

The educational development in Botswana needs to be understood in this social, political and economic backdrop, which is presented above. Botswana is considered to achieve conflict free educational development comparing with the neighboring South Africa(Chisholm, 2007, 2012; Chisholm and Chilisa, 2012) Nevertheless, there have been pressures on educational reform due to various influential factors such as nation-building perspective, economic concerns and social cohesion. Meanwhile, it needs to be clearly noted that educational reform was one of the key political concerns to solve various national problems and mitigate public complains and dissatisfaction.(Weeks, 1993).

Colonial Development

From the start of modern education in Botswana, there has been conflicts surrounding educational issues and following pressures for reform. It was around the 1840s when the modernized education system was introduced into Botswana mainly through the London Missionary Society(Hull, 1987; Jotia, 2014; Mafela, 2010; Mgadla, 2003; Watters, 1973). Since then, the missionary education and traditional chieftdom continuously conflicted each other with educational decision-making issues(Chirenje, 1976). It was

the first educational reformation movement when the mission schools faced with resistance and low attendance level because of its low quality education. The church, who wanted to gain control over the region, tried to allure parents and students with bible education and basic 3 Rs, but most of Batswana wanted to have education with practical value. To meet this local educational demand, mission schools reformed its curriculum for increased relevance to real world of work in around early 1900s. This reform included opening of renowned Tiger Kloof Industrial School, which nurtured national elites and political leaders of Botswana and setting parent-teacher organizations to intervene in educational policy decision-making procedure.

However, the British colonial government was basically ignorant to the educational development in Bechuanaland protectorate(Dixey, 1997). The transformation in its policy was only started after British government was hard pressured by missionary groups and observing the success of black schools in the south of the United States. Also, the Phelps Stokes Commission reports had a great impact on the British colonial education policy stressing the ‘suitability’ of African education by referring industrial education. The other reports influencing on Bechuanaland protectorate was Sargent report, which pointed out the severe backwardness of education in the region and recommended a systemic control by the British colonial government. In 1928, after the continuous effort to invite active government control over education, Dumbrell was appointed as the first director of education in Bechuanaland. Thanks to his focus on the expansion of basic education, the number of enrollment in basic school expanded

dramatically during his time¹⁰.

The colonial education development was dominated by the missionary schools and the British colonial government, but it is important to understand that there were local contributions to its modern educational development and expansion(Colclough, 1976). The pressure for the educational reform and improvement for the quality education was from the native Botswana people. They considered education as a way to acquire advanced material skills and knowledge. Hence, they eagerly insisted to having the European advanced education for their children, and once denied they made their own community schools and fight against colonial government to acquire better education service. After the expansion of primary schools, they wanted to have the secondary school expansion. Under the leadership of chief Tshekedi, some of the secondary schools were establish to provide balanced education between industrial and academic, thus lowering brain-drain to South Africa(Mgadla, 1995, p. 354).

Post-colonial Development

After the independence, education policy was designed and organized based on the nation-building and human capital perspectives like the other newly independent countries. Botswana had been severely suffered from a lack of high skilled workforce since its independence. The government was in demand of high skilled workers who could plan and control the national affairs(Akoojee, 2005). However, there was a lack of human resources in comparison with the fast growing economy thanks to the discovery

¹⁰ According to Mgadla(1995), the number of students was expanded gradually: 5,000(1928), 7,000(1930), 14,000(1937), 21,231(1945), 24,300(1948).

of mineral resource. As a solution, the Botswana government actively utilized expatriate workers to fill in the gap, while establishing localization plans in the long term perspective¹¹(Gramajo, 2005; Raphaeli et al., 1984). Hence, the education policy can be understood as an effort to raise skilled workforce to replace the expatriate workers in public sector.

At the same time, the education policy played a key role in mitigating public complaints by providing equitable chance to the students. In this ground, the education policy was always influenced by the political intention of national elites who had a desire to complete nation building and enhance economic competitiveness. There were also high public demand for equity through education(Bray, 1991, p. 23). For two decades after the independence, the two desires from elites and public were aligned to each other with a sole educational purpose, the expansion of basic education. This process was largely led by the central government thus contributing to the emergence of highly centralized education system in Botswana(Maruatona, 2002; 2004). .

¹¹ Raphaeli et al(1984), describes this expatriate policy as follows: “The twin objectives of localization and implementation are thus pursued through parallel but separate channels in order to reduce potential conflicts between them.”

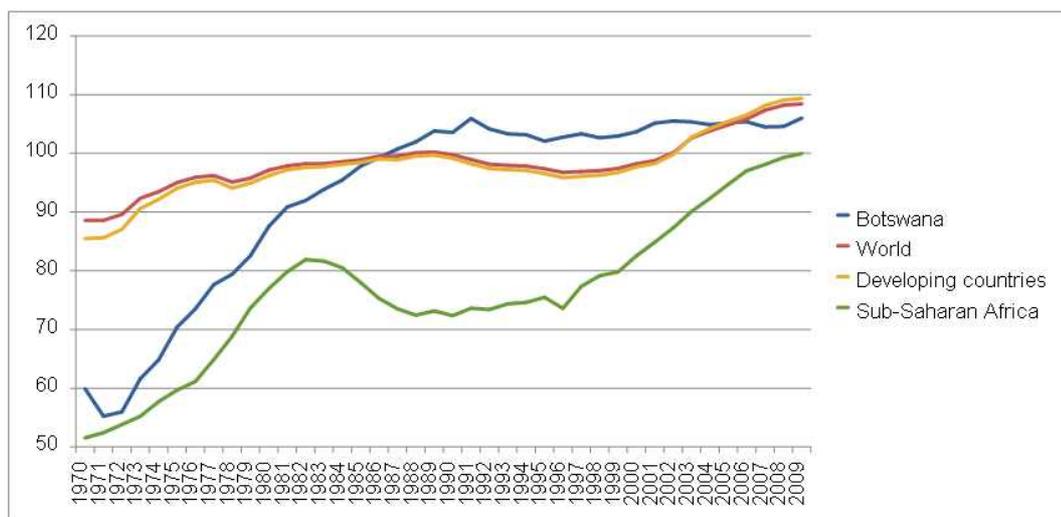


Figure 2-1. Primary School Enrollment Rate of Botswana
 Source: UNESCO UIS data(data.uis.unesco.org, 12/12/2014)

In 1977, the First National Commission on Education(NCE) was organized at the request of then president Ian Khama. The core idea was to secure the equitable educational access to its people, thus named as “Education for Kagisano”(Education for Social Justice). It was an important event in educational development history in Botswana in that it was the first education policy, not the manpower plan, thus illuminating on various aspects of the educational issues in Botswana mainly including equity and quality issues(Mafela, 2008; UNESCO, 2010). After the report of NCE was published, a high growth of primary education enrollment rate was sustained despite the world economic recession which caused a decrease in primary enrollment in most of the sub-Saharan African countries(see figure1). It was mainly possible in that the report recommended to abolish school fees for the basic education¹²to achieve the universal

¹² “Basic education” here includes 7 years of primary schooling and 2 years of junior secondary schooling.

basic education until 1980 - recommendation number 9. This recommendation was realized so that school fees for the basic education were abolished in 1980, thus entering into the universal basic education era.

However, the expansion of basic education in Botswana was regarded as a failure not a success of the educational reform (Tabulawa, 1997, 2009, 2011). It might be embarrassing to see an increasing number of complaints on its expanding basic education for most of the politicians and policy makers. The complaints sparked as there was an increase in the youth unemployment rate. Thanks to the universal basic education, most of the students had junior secondary school diplomas, but because of the global economic recession, their employment was not guaranteed. Also reduced duration of the junior secondary schooling from 3 to 2 years, in an effort to accomplish the universal basic education caused a quality issue of the graduate students. In this context, the second NCE was organized to solve the problems. As a solution it suggested 10 years of the extended basic education duration and vocationalization of the secondary education course (Tabulawa, 2011, p.439). However, still the bottleneck between the junior and senior secondary schools and youth unemployment were not dissolved as can be seen from the figures below. To sum up, the rapid expansion of the basic education was rather not a success but a serious challenge to the government and politicians.

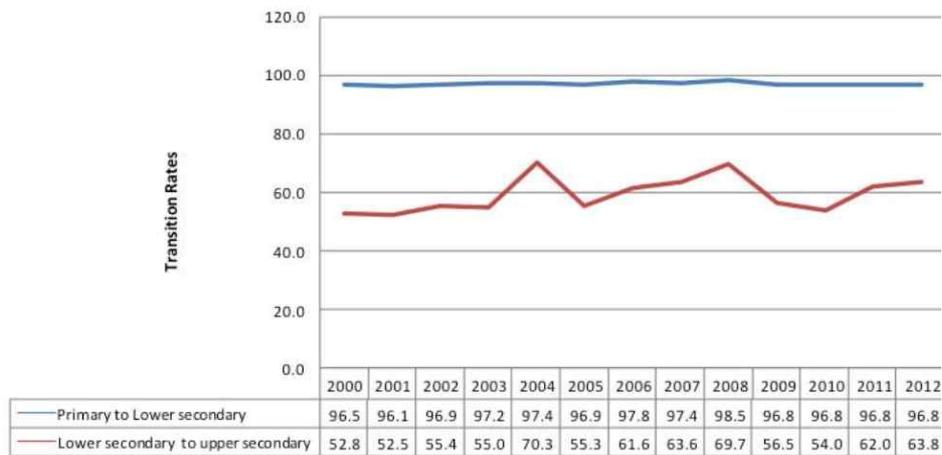


Figure 2-2. Transition Rates of the Secondary Education 2000-2012
Source: Statistics Botswana(2014, p. 7).

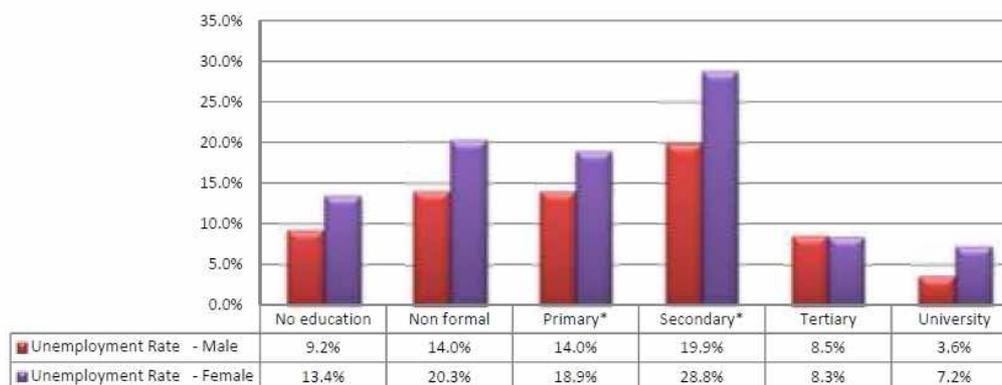


Figure 2-3. The Unemployment Rate by the Level of Education Attainment and Sex
Source: Statistics Botswana(2013, p. 17)

International Influence on the Educational Development in Botswana

As mentioned in the discussion on the factors of economic development in Botswana, the effective use of the foreign assistance and expatriate workers is regarded as one of the major contributing factors for its national development. The education sector in Botswana is also influenced by international organizations(Meyer et al., 1993, p. 466).

There are various donors in education sector since its independence: USAID(United States Agency for International Development)¹³, ODA(British Overseas Development Agency, SIDA(Swedish International Development Authority), GTZ(German Agency for Technical Cooperation), the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF and AIDAB(Austrailian International Development Assistance Bureau) and so on. In regard of ministerial development in education, there are more of close link between these institutions and the Botswana education authority. Thus, the educational development in Botswana cannot be explored without contributions of those international agencies.

- **Department of Curriculum Development and Evaluation:**
 Research and Testing Centre(USAID)
 Examination Unit(British)
 Publications Unit(British)
 Curriculum Development Unit(USAID, British, AIDAB)
 Teacher Aids Production Unit(UNICEF, Swedish)
 Educational Broadcasting(British, Swedish)
- **Department of Nonformal Education:**
 Literacy(German, Swedish)
 Administrative(British, USAID)
 Distance Education(British, AIDAB)
- **Department of Teacher Education(including teacher training colleges):**
 Preservice(British, USAID, Swedish)
 Inservice(British, USAID, Holland, EEC, AIDAB)
 Administration(British, USAID)
- **Department of Primary Education(British, USAID, AIDAB)**
- **Department of Secondary Education(British, Swedish, USAID, AIDAB)**
- **Planning Unit(British, USAID, Swedish)**

¹³ USAID was actively involved in the general education projects such as Primary Education Improvement Project(PEIP), Junior Secondary Improvement Project, and the Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems(IEES) in the 1980s and 1990s(Mautle and Weeks, 1994, p.339; Strudwick, 1989)

- **Technical Education(British, German, Swedish)**
- **Unified Teaching Service(British TBRS and Volunteers, Peace Corps, German Volunteer Service, Canadian University Service Overseas, Netherlands Volunteers, Australian Overseas Volunteers, UN Volunteers)**
- **Bursaries(British, USAID)**
- **Headquarters, including University of Botswana and Brigades(British and many others with special institutional links with universities in Amsterdam, Ohio, New York, Florida, Manchester, and Edinburgh)**

Source: Meyer et al.(1993, pp. 474-475)

However, there are studies revealing that the pursuit of international assistance in the Botswana education sector does not mean any weakness in the national institution in education sector. According to the study of Meyer et al.(1993), it is confirmed that the parents and students have their eagerness to reach an international standards of education. Hence, politicians and government authority ask to the international agencies first to gain modern educational philosophy and methodology. Meyer et al.(1993) finds it is the special feature because the international education standard was not imposed by foreign hegemonic or political powers, but Botswana found attraction points of the international standards for themselves. Hopkin(1994, 1996) scrutinizes characteristics of the Botswana educational authority in collaborating with foreign development agencies, in an effort to identify ‘peculiarity’ of the Botswana government in its capacity and working habit. He concludes that the Botswana education ministry has a high level of leadership in collaborating with the foreign agencies, saying that:

In utilizing the aid offered it has demonstrated the determination to incorporate it into its own developmental plans, thereby ensuring that both the deployment of the

aid and the outcomes are 'owned' by Botswana(Hopkin, 1994, p. 397).

However, he also points out some weaknesses of the Botswana education authority, which embarrassed the foreign partners. According to the interview with foreign agencies in Botswana, the Botswana government failed to find skilled and experienced officials and professionals to operate some development cooperation projects. This indicates that the Botswana's manpower development do not match with its economic development. There are warnings on a failure of the government officials to handle newly emerging problems in education sector, as the education problems become a complex social issue requesting more than quantitative expansion.

Despite such an ambivalent reputation on its strength in cooperating with the foreign agencies, there is a general consensus among the foreign agencies working in Botswana that the Botswana government usually organizes well-coordinated effort in planning and implementing cooperation projects(Hermans, 1974, p.109; Whitfield and Fraser, 2010). Also, it is confirmed that the Botswana government strategically utilizes foreign aid and cooperation for its problem solving: "As one Batswana interviewee shrewdly pointed out, the aid that has been given to date has helped the country to get where it wishes to go more quickly(Hopkin, 1994, p. 402)."

2.2.3. Formation of TVET System under the Influence of Foreign Agencies

Botswana TVET formation needs to be understood through an analysis on various

dimensions as aforementioned. There seems to be a general consensus that the TVET in Botswana has been relatively marginalized in formulating the government education policy comparing with the basic education. For nation building, Botswana focused on its basic and higher education for the last 50 years. However, the changing global economic trend and industrial transformation had an impact on its education policy to put more emphasis on TVET sector. This change was triggered from the 1990s as the government organized the second NCE in 1993, which insisted on revamping the TVET system innovatively with specific policy guides. Consequently, the TVET system formation in Botswana is in an evolutionary phase under the influence of international collaborators and internal reflections by various stakeholders.

One thing to note is that the Botswana TVET system is divided into two sections of 1) the MoESD which led institution-based training and 2) the MLHA which led industry-based training¹⁴. Under the MoESD there is a dedicated department for TVET called, DTVET, which controls polytechnics, national technical colleges and community based brigades. The MLHA controls the BOTA(Botswana Training Authority), the Madirelo Training and Testing Centre(MTTC), the Auto Trades Training Centre, the Roads Training Centre and the Construction Industry Trust Fund(Akoojee and McGrath, 2008, p. 47; Modise et al., 2007). Such a separation has hindered to organize a nationally unified TVET policy and its effective implementation. The BOTA is established to unify the fragmented policy frame but, still it doesn't seem to be on the

¹⁴ According to Eichhorst et al.(2012), the world TVET practice can be classified three types 1) school-based, 2) dual system, and 3) informal training.

right track(Masisi, 2004)¹⁵. In this part, the following TVET developmental history will mostly cover the MoESD side to explain the context for the emergence of the BTEP in Botswana.

TVET Concerns in Colonial Period

TVET has been a thorny issue since the missionaries came into the region and established its first modernized school system. The first social interest on the TVET was caused by an increasing attention to the relevant education for practical work. The education contents introduced by missionaries mainly focused on bible studies and 3Rs. However, tribal chiefs and most of the indigenous people wanted their children to learn practical skills which could contribute to the quality daily life.

In fact, attendance was low primarily because both in timing and curriculum mission education bore little relevance to the subsistence economy, and some parents were reluctant to release their children from vital agricultural pursuits to attend an institution offering little practical utility(Chirenje, 1976, p.409).

This was the first recorded education debate in Botswana history. It was triggered by the issue of adopting TVET components inside of the general education curriculum of mission schools. In an effort to achieve the education relevance and practical teaching, Botswana people organized the first education committee to supervise school

¹⁵ The national qualification framework(NQF) was introduced through the BOTA in an effort to integrate the system, but it had only a limited impact with delay in process(Tau and Modesto, 2011)

works and set the direction for curriculum. However, overall, the education in Botswana was relatively marginalized and TVET only had low contribution to its skills development. During the colonial period, low-skilled labour force in Botswana migrated into the mines in South Africa and acquired necessary skills in their workplaces(Jeeves, 1986; Morapedi, 1999).

Post-colonial Development

The Brigades Movement:

After the independence, the government of Botswana focused on workers for white color jobs for its government functioning, while expanding its basic education. In this condition, the TVET sector was relatively marginalized. Most of the high skilled positions were filled with expatriate workers, thus filling the skills gap effectively. The Brigades Movement was not initiated by the government, but it was started by an individual, called Patrick Van Rensburg, an expatriate from South Africa(Parsons, 2000). The brigade was the community based post-primary school, started with the establishment of Serowe Builder's Brigade(Rensburg, 1978). It was not just a school because it adopted 'learning to produce' concept. Students were workers themselves who provided selling products. Teachers were managers and trainers teaching students while making products(Graaff, 1980; Ishumi, 1988; Molwane, 1993; Rensburg, 1987). Hence, one of the objectives of running this school was 'cost recovery' for the further operation of the school. Also, it was designed to contribute to the social problem caused by youth unemployment of school leavers and primary school graduates, at that time of

the 1960s and 1970s(Ulin, 1974). Rensburg clearly mentioned about this social issue:

This lack of opportunity is primarily a consequence of inadequate resources: but it is also the result of the concentration of the available resources in providing a high standard of education and training, in an essentially non-productive way, exclusively to a chosen few, in the formal system of education and trade schools(Rensburg, 1978, p. 5).

The main reason for establishing the brigades was laid on the issue of productivity, financing and relevance of education, which was the recurrent issue in its own history of education. It was also a community based movement, not searching for the solution from the central government, thus adopting a self-reliance model. The brigades were not just schools, but operated as a community center dealing with various community issues. On the other hand, the Brigades Movement was a good policy measure to respond to the public complaints caused by a limited opportunity for further education after students finished their primary education. The government actively promoted the brigades to accept more students into the secondary education level. Because of its cost recovery nature, the government was able to easily expand its school facilities with a help of the Brigades Movement without spending much money on it(Hinchliffe, 1990).

However, it started dwindling as there was the increasing number of students entering into junior secondary schools. As the industry was developed, the competitiveness of the brigades also decreased. They could not compete with the private enterprises and there were a number of problems in operating the brigades(Yezo, 2013).

Also, there had a clear limitation in maintaining its initial motives as it was kind of imposed model from the outside by the expatriate, Van Rensburg(Henderson, 1974)¹⁶. In this ground, the central government, who secured enough budgets from its mining industry, started taking over the brigades from its local communities(Mupimpila and Narayana, 2009). Currently, their renovation project is in ongoing process.

German Dual System:

An introduction of the German dual system was initiated in the late 1980s. The German partner GTZ promoted its dual system, which was designed to train students in work places, in Botswana. The dual system had a very high reputation around the world, because it was considered as a panacea in that it successfully combined a school-based theoretical learning with an industry-based practical learning(Barabasch et al., 2009). However, according to Wilson(2000, p.3), among many countries who tried to replicate the system, it was only Singapore that was considered to be successful. It was because the dual system required cooperative and well coordinated industrial partners who recognized the value of education and training for the social development. Botswana also failed in its adoption of the German dual system due to its weak industrial base at that time.

Modernization Drive for TVET:

The government of Botswana started to have more attention to its TVET system only after it achieved the universal primary education and expanded its full support to the

¹⁶ It was also largely supported by the SIDA(Lauglo and Marope, 1987).

junior secondary level in the 1990s. The major problem was that though the country provided the universal basic education-including 7 years of primary and 2 years of junior secondary, an employment rate of the graduates stayed low(Tabulawa, 2001). The government realized it might require another solution for this conundrum, thus introducing a modernized TVET system. This recognition was reflected in the second NEC report in 1993(Vlaardingerbroek, 1999). It emphasized renovation of its TVET system and vocationalization of general secondary education(UNESCO, 2001; Weeks, 2002). Based on this national education policy direction, the first ever National Policy on Vocational Education was announced in 1997 with a close collaboration between the MoESD and the MLHA(Akoojee and McGrath, 2006, p. 48; Mutula et al., 2004). These policy papers recommended the expansion and upgrade of the TVET system while pointing out the deficiency of the industry-based training. This provided major mandate and rationale to start the BTEP by the DTVET under the MoESD.

BTEP(Botswana Technical Education Program) by the DTVET:

The BTEP was introduced with the influence of the modernization drive during the 1990s and the problems of adopting German dual system. The BTEP was developed by the Botswana MoESD in 1997 with a close partnership with industry and the SQA, whose actual implementation initiated only in 2001(Richardson, 2009, p. 4). The managing authority was the DTVET under the MoESD and they were provided with a technical assistance of the SQA, which dispatched experts who could support developing curriculum components and quality assurance systems according to the contract with the DTVET. Each and every curriculum developed with the qualification

blueprint of BTEP was designed to be administered by the DTVET and then its quality was assured by the Quality Assurance and Assessment Unit(QAA), and finally endorsed by the SQA in Scotland(DTVET, 2009, p.6). It was so-called outcome-based modularized TVET program and also pursued a flexible delivery mode with the distance education in specific qualifications(Odora, 2010; Richardson, 2009).

The BTEP is comprised of the qualifications with four levels: Foundation, Certificate, Advanced Certificate, and Diploma. Each of them provides varying components such as key skills, electives, mandatory and work experience, etc. It also provides specific contents to teach by suggesting Unit Specifications which illuminates unit title, learning outcome, performance criteria and evidence requirements, etc(Baliyan and Baliyan, 2013, p.205). Thus, with all these components, the BTEP seeks to provide a quality TVET program with employable skills. The BTEP includes an institutional component called Quality Assurance and Assessment Unit(QAA). The BTEP programs and its units are required to be validated and evaluated by the QAA's quality assurance system. Thus, the QAA was established under the MoESD when the BTEP was introduced by the SQA. It is designed to control validation and evaluation process, which used to be supported by the SQA technical assistance based on rigid manuals.

Given the brief sketch above on the developmental history of TVET in Botswana, it is noted that there has been recurrent issues of promoting TVET. The first issue is the 'relevance of the education'. During the colonial period, Botswana people wanted the education reform to have a vocationalized curriculum, because they thought the life skill was required for a daily production. This issue echoed in the other TVET reforms during the post-colonial period. The other one is a youth unemployment problem. The Brigades

Movement was widely accepted and promoted as it was recognized as an alternative measure to solve the problem of youth unemployment. The modernization drive of TVET in 1990s was also triggered by the concern on its increasing youth unemployment though it completed the universal basic education.

However, from 1990s, there has been a growing demand on upgrading its technical level. As its industry grew the industrial stakeholders requested the government to provide skilled labour to meet the industrial demand. Also the globalization trend and the emergence of the knowledge society required a high standard workforce to compete against the other countries. It means the modernization drive in the 1990s in Botswana symbolizes the start of new era in its TVET history.

Lastly, it should be noted that the development of TVET in Botswana cannot be understood without the contribution and intervention of the foreign influence. The Brigades Movement was initiated by the expatriate who brought the idea of Europeans, and the following German dual system was transferred from the Germany through the GTZ. Even after its modernization drive, the Botswana government actively sought for the foreign partners to borrow their system and experience. It means that the TVET history of Botswana is the history of educational policy borrowing, as it has never stood alone in pushing for its TVET reform.

2.3. Policy Borrowing

There are various study trends focusing on 'transfer' in social sphere, which is different from each other according to its research area, topic and academic circle but suggesting

their own way of definitions on this phenomenon.¹⁷ They all share some level of similarities in the respect that they explore micro mechanism of ‘transfer’, which assumes various actors and their interactions. Among them, policy studies pay particular attention to the policy transfer/borrowing phenomenon.

The study of educational policy borrowing was mainly developed inside of comparative education studies. Policy borrowing is recognized as one of the essential processes of the policy development and reform because in nature policies are developed through the process of bringing every possible information, experiences, research outcomes, ideologies and cases from elsewhere(Ball, 1998, p.126). Comparative educators also realized its importance in educational reforming procedure. One of the pioneers is Cowen. He presents general typology of educational transfer by setting three stages: 1) transfer, 2) translation, and 3) transformation. This basic conceptualization is widely supported by the other comparative educators. Also, Phillips is the key figure who provided basic concepts of policy borrowing with historical studies, but the comprehensive picture of the study trend was only recently synthesized by Steiner-Khamsi(2012).

¹⁷ The representative scholars who delved into the conceptual issue of ‘transfer were identified: Badie(2000), Cowen(2006; 2009), Dolowitz, Dolowitz and Marsh(1996; 2000; 2012), Heinze(2011), Heinze and Knill(2008), Holzinger, K. and C. Knill(2005), Phillips(1989; 1994; 2000; 2002; 2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2009; 2011), Phillips and Ochs(2003; 2004), Ochs and Phillips(2002), Rodgers(1962), and Steiner-Khamsi(2002; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2009; 2012). Given much of the literature, Marsh and Sharman(2009) and Spaans and Louw(2009) attempted to summarize various research patterns in different study fields.

2.3.1. Issues of Defining Policy Borrowing

The concept of policy borrowing is “one of the central concepts in comparative education; yet, it is also one of the most contested(Silova, 2012).” Though it’s a controversial issue, setting a clear definition on the policy borrowing is very important as a start of an exploration(Phillips, 2009, p.1073). In a simple description, the policy borrowing means bringing policy or system from elsewhere(cross-national) to make it fit into the home context, thus indicating transfer of policy ideas. It’s been drawn intellectual interest of the comparative educators for a long time discovering various empirical cases of policy borrowing(Featherstone, 1989; Glowka, 1989; Kwon, 2002; Husen, 1989; Ichikawa, 1989; Lingard, 2010; Nikandrov, 1989; Nilsson, 1989, Rambla, 2014; Vickers, 2011; Gruber 1989). Nevertheless, in many works of the comparative education, it is hard to find a single overarching term which can entail all transfer phenomena in the educational policy field(Perry and Tor, 2009, p.510; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p.8). It’s been a long time since the transfer of educational policy or idea was explored by comparative educators(Cowen, 2006; Phillips, 1989; 2009; 2010; Phillips and Ochs, 2004). There were many terms indicating similar attempt of moving policy or system of elsewhere into the home context, including policy learning(Hall, 1993), lesson-drawing(Rose, 1991) importation, appropriation, learning, bench marking, transplant, emulation, copying, borrowing and transfer. Since the interest in educational policy transfer was revitalized with the emergence of globalization issue, the terminological issue seems to be led by major two figures of Phillips and Steiner-Khamsi. There is a clear difference in defining the policy borrowing between the two. In

short, the term ‘policy borrowing’ used by Steiner-Khamsi is equal to the term ‘policy transfer’ used by Phillips, as he defines ‘policy borrowing’ as one of the kind in wide spectrum of policy transfer as bellow.

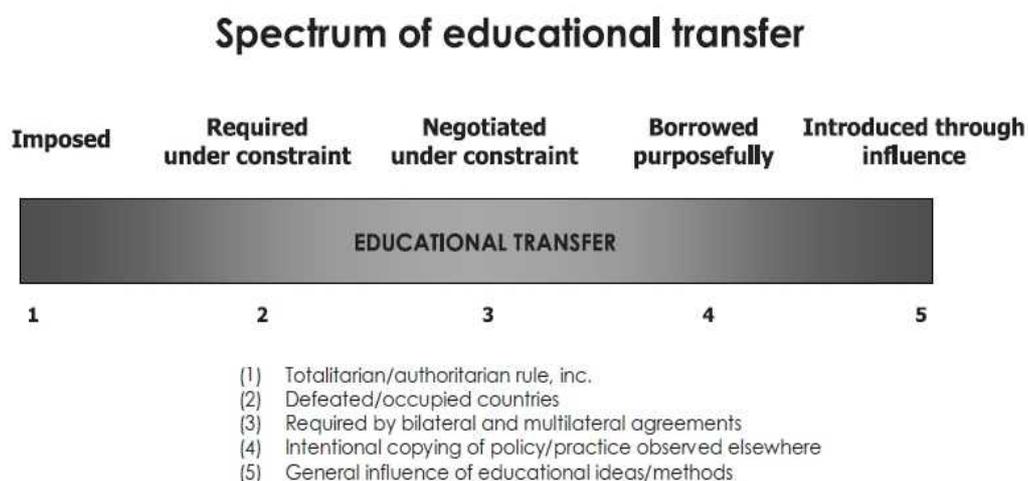


Figure 2-4. Spectrum of Educational Transfer
Source: Phillips and Ochs(2004)

Phillips and Ochs defined policy borrowing as follows:

In what follows we shall use ‘borrowing’ to describe the ‘conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another’. This raises an immediate question as to the degree of awareness that borrowing is in fact taking place. In our view, borrowing is, strictly speaking a deliberate purposive phenomenon [...] but the proper implication of the descriptor ‘policy borrowing’ is that the borrower had engaged in a deliberate act(Phillips & Ochs, 2003, p. 774).

The core concept of his definition on policy borrowing is “deliberate act” from the

borrower's side. It means policy borrowing is an act triggered by the demand of borrowing countries, not imposed or forced by the external actors. This definition narrows down the scope of policy borrowing acts into limited cases among developed countries, excluding the cases of developing countries which experienced colonial regimes and international development aids. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that by introducing a narrow definition on policy borrowing, Phillips and Ochs achieve a well trimmed research framework, which identifies measurable components in the policy borrowing phenomenon. A similar spectrum is found in the works of Perry and Tor(2009) and Dolowitz(2000), as they differentiate the voluntary borrowing from the conditional and coercive borrowing. This type of definition can suggest a normative standard to various practice of educational transfer by setting a level of 'voluntariness' as a judgmental criterion.

On the other hand, Steiner-Khamsi(2012) has a different perspective on defining policy borrowing. She recognizes that the past research on policy borrowing has a narrow focus on the politics of policy borrowing among developed world having only a marginal attention to the transfer between developed and developing world. She insists that the recent research trend of policy borrowing expands its research boundary to the developing countries where most of the educational policy borrowing occurs in forms of foreign aids and conditional loans. She also points out that there is a vague boundary between the conditional and purposive borrowing, as recipient countries are not just passive actors in policy borrowing but they show strategic and purposive moves in choosing foreign aid programs. Thus, it is confirmed that in her perspective, policy borrowing is a more comprehensive concept opened to various types of educational

policy transfer. In addition, she insists that the term policy borrowing (and lending) is the most appropriate word because “It is a term that is widely used in comparative education research, includes a notion of agency, is neutral with regard to the purpose and outcome of the policy transfer, and accounts for a focus on the receivers, as well as the senders, in the policy-transfer process (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p.8).”

The main difference between the two sides is the scope of defining policy borrowing. In case of Phillips and Ochs, they adopt the concept of ‘policy transfer’ as an umbrella term while identifying variants of the “policy transfer” cases. On the other hand, Steiner-Khamsi (2006, 2012) bound the various policy borrowing cases together with commonalities rather than focusing on the variants among them. For instance, Phillips and Ochs may exclude the case of conditional transfer between developed and developing countries from their policy borrowing study, as they regard that there is no “purposive and deliberate act” from the receiver’s side. However, Steiner-Khamsi may embrace the case of conditional transfer in her policy borrowing research boundary, regarding the difference between the conditional transfer and the purposive borrowing is only marginal in a globalized world where there is increasing dynamics of receiver’s and donor’s logic.

2.3.2. Mapping the Policy Borrowing Studies

Review of the Mappings

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in policy borrowing studies in various

academic fields(Waldow, 2012). In comparative education field, in especial, there has been a number of research efforts to examine educational policy borrowing phenomenon with various approaches for the last decade and they are still evolving and diversifying. As research interest was increased and the study attracted more of scholars from various fields, some of the key academics attempted to systematically categorize research trend of the educational policy borrowing. In this part, the three research outcomes which seek for the systemic categorization of educational policy borrowing will be introduced to map out a broader picture of policy borrowing studies in the comparative education field.

There is an outstanding effort to trace back to the history of the policy borrowing research by Silova(2012). According to her historical approach, she classifies an educational policy borrowing research into two categories of normative and analytical approach. One is normative research which searches for the best practice for the policy utility. This normative research trend prevailed in most history of the comparative education, as many actors working on policy borrowing practice in the international field had a strong conviction that there must be a normative standard increasing the effectiveness of educational policy transfer. According to her historical trace study, it is revealed that for the last century normative approach followed three developmental stages; “1) a belief in the possibility of educational progress and change, 2) a reliance on scientific rationality in achieving these goals, 3) the emergence of the comparative education ‘expert’ in the broader context of international and national education reform.” In short, the normative approach was led by an “instrumental value” for a national development and economic growth, thus requesting more utility-oriented

method. Consequently, the comparative educators were required to have scientific knowledge and methodology, which can handle the policy transfer in a systematic way. It can be said that the normative approach in policy borrowing has been used as a tool to spread the value of “Western enlightenment concept of progress.”

The other one is an analytical approach, which contrasts to the normative approach while complementing its weaknesses. The analytical approach attempts to critically analyze the previous normative approach in policy borrowing. In especial, unlike normative one which emphasizes ‘what can be imported’, the analytical approach focuses on its complex process by tracing trajectory of policy borrowing in various contexts. Policy borrowing is not the instrument for the other purposes but the object of the research as an end. It also expands its research sphere by emphasizing the importance of considering various contexts, thus adopting historical, economic, social and political contexts and perspectives of policy borrowing settings. Recently, there is a growing interest in analytical approach as its major academic progress has been led by some key figures such as Schriewer, Phillips and Steiner-Khamsi, who seek for better understanding of educational borrowing phenomenon itself.

The research work of Perry and Tor(2008) is one of the most ambitious attempt to summon up all the relevant research efforts of educational transfer into single table, thus mapping out the whole geography of educational policy borrowing studies. They suggest two critical points to consider for the categorization of educational policy borrowing: level of analysis and theoretical perspectives.

In regard of level of analysis, the trend of study is divided into two categories; micro and macro analysis. In micro analysis, the researchers focus on each of agents and

its surrounding contexts. Most research works of major scholars such as Steiner-Khamsi and Phillips are categorized into the micro analysis. They set the nation-states as major agents of policy borrowing and transfer, and explore specific and observable cases of micro policy borrowing. It has clear advantage in understanding detailed procedure of the phenomenon, but has weak point in drawing broader picture. On the contrary, the macro analysis tends to have a broader sight over the educational borrowing phenomenon such as international forces, trends and mechanisms. They pay a little attention to the specific contributing points in forming global trend while focusing on the result of the educational transfer such as a convergence of the international education.

Perry and Tor(2008) also suggest theoretical perspectives as a criterion of classification of the educational policy borrowing studies. There are four major theoretical perspectives distinctive to each others: neo-institutionalist perspective, dependency perspective, phenomenological and cultural perspective and transcendental perspective. Firstly, neo-institutionalists insist that each of national actors is largely influenced by the world system and culture thus inevitably following international trend. It emphasizes macro level of forces rather than individual agencies in local level. It anchors on the belief that individuals tend to follow collective forces. This perspective considers educational transfer as a mediating tool formulating world system and convergence of education system, not considering it as an end point of analysis. Secondly, dependency perspective is similar to the neo-institutionalist in an aspect of adopting macro analysis, while its analytical points are placed on power relations forming binary international system composed of haves(donors and lenders) and not

havees(recipients and borrowers). Thirdly, there is a phenomenological/cultural perspective, mainly adopted by contemporary comparative education studies exploring educational policy borrowing. For scholars in this perspective such as Gita Steiner-Khamsi and David Phillips, advocates that educational borrowing is complicated phenomenon including various historical, social and cultural factors. They tend to think that the impact of imposed world system is relatively marginal in specific cases. They examine policy borrowing phenomenon itself as a target of the research while focusing on political motivation of national actors and specific process of policy borrowing. Lastly, there are scholars of transcendental perspective, who closely related to the phenomenological studies. They are different from the phenomenological perspective in that they pursue meta-theories adaptable to more various research contexts. The key figures are Luhmann and Shriewer, who suggested the meta-theoretical concept of “self-referential system” and “externalization” respectively. They are complementary but upper level of conceptual framework supporting the work of policy borrowing and transfer by scholars of phenomenological works. Luhmann insists that social system has self-organizing tendency as it reflexibly refers to its own historical and cultural trace when it is required to change. Meanwhile, Shriewer’s “externalization” concept is slightly modified version of the “self-referential system” as it adapted the same mechanism to the external settings, insisting that the social entities tend to find a solution at the external settings.

The third one is a categorisation according to the generational change of the policy borrowing research by Gita-Steiner Khamsi(2012). She categorizes research trend of policy borrowing into three generations. The first generation includes Brian Holmes,

Bernd Zymek, Jurgen Schriewer, and David Phillips. These scholars are recognized as the first generation because most of the fundamental concepts of policy borrowing were created through their comprehensive research efforts. Also, they opened a new paradigm of the comparative education research by focusing on 'local policy context' in policy borrowing. The second generation is composed of the scholars who adopted the basic concepts formed by the first generation. They reformulated the research boundary of policy borrowing while adopting, revising and denying the established primary concepts. Unlike the first generation, who mainly focused on developed world policy borrowing cases, the second generation scholars expanded their research subject to the developing countries, where the policy is imported and imposed by international grants and loans. Through many case studies, it is revealed that policy borrowing is not just international and cross-national anymore. The political dynamics responding to the globalization trend is diverse and there is a growing recognition on political maneuvering using international trend for a domestic policy reform. Lastly, the third generation is in the formation stage. It may not be easy to delineate all the generational researchers and summarize their research trend and characteristics. Nevertheless, Steiner-Khamsi(2012) suggests their main research trend as follows: 1) the shift from bilateral to international reference frames, 2) understanding the logic of systems and cases, and 3) methodological repercussions of 'policyscapes'.

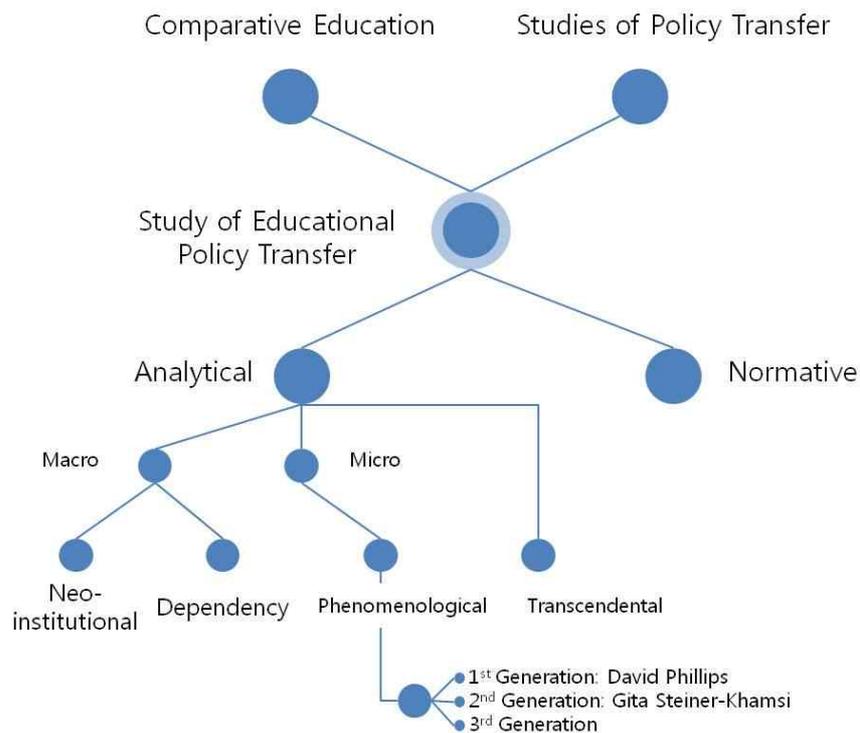


Figure 2-5. Synthesis of the Mappings

Synthesis of the Mappings

The aforementioned researches on the mapping of the study trends can be synthesized into the single diagram as above. In an education field, the comparative educationists are deeply involved in policy transfer studies, thus forming study of educational policy transfer. However, it does not necessarily mean that the comparative educators are influenced by the general policy transfer studies. Rather, they established their own niche with a long scholarly tradition. It is only a recent progress that the study of educational policy transfer is positioned in a broader spectrum of policy transfer studies(Steiner-Khamisi, 2012, pp. 6-7).

According to the categorization of Silova(2012), the study of educational policy transfer can be mainly divided into two categories of analytical and normative approaches. The normative approach considers policy borrowing as a useful tool for spreading ‘best practice’ in education and ‘normalize’ second and third world education. On the other hand, analytical approach provides descriptive and analytical narratives of policy borrowing. All the scholarly works mentioned by Perry and Tor(2008) are basically categorized into analytical approach because they critically analyze and describe the policy transfer phenomenon, not considering it as instrument for the spread of normalized educational ideas. Hence, the work of Perry and Tor(2008) can be positioned in the work of Silova(2012) as a sub-category of the analytical approach. Among the four theoretical perspectives, the third one of “phenomenological” perspective includes the work of David Phillips and Steiner-Khmsi. They are commonly grounded on the micro approach and put much emphasis on a reaction from the local actors and local adaptation of borrowed policies under the influence of various contextual factors. According to Steiner-Khamsi, the phenomenological research group, once again, is divided into the three generations as it expands its research boundary from developed to developing country context.

Positioning the Research

In this research, the Botswana BTEP case is explored with the conceptual and analytical devises provided by the phenomenological research group, who explore policy borrowing cases with the micro approach while focusing on local dynamics reacting to the international normalizing forces. Among them, the four stages of analytical

framework suggested by Phillips and Ochs(2004) will be adopted as the main analytical tool for this research. The ‘Oxford Group’ led by David Phillips has made a “thick description”(Rappleye et al., 2011) of policy borrowing while exploring the historical case of developed countries in Europe, North America and Far East Asian region. Most of the cases have long historical traces as they are phenomenon initiated from the 19th century. They mainly focus on finding the trace of historical policy borrowing, where it included a clear origin and trace of traveling policies and mediating agents. The framework is designed to explore the policy borrowing cases with the four stages of linear process as they want to establish linear and systemic analytical tool to adapt to the policy borrowing phenomenon. Basically, establishing linear analytical framework, such as the work of Phillips and Ochs(2004), looks valid because the systematic approach toward the phenomenon produces more practical knowledge which can provide implications for a future improvement of the policy borrowing practice. Also, Cowen(2006, pp. 568-569) points out the importance of integrating intellectual exploration of the non-linearity into the systemic grammar which can contribute to the real policy practice.

However, making general grammar to cover various real cases needs caution as they sometimes mislead the direction with a number of omissions and over-simplifications. The initial designers also recognize such loopholes and deficiencies of the model. They ask researchers to test the analytical framework in various contexts for its possible modifications:

We hope that it might be possible – on the basis of this collection of articles – to

test the analytical and explanatory models suggested by means of further examples from a variety of other contexts. Further comparative research would help to inform the applicability of our current four-stage model of educational borrowing to examine other types of educational transfer(Phillips and Ochs, 2004, p.22).

Also, as mentioned by Steiner-Khamsi(2012), the work of Phillips and Ochs is categorized into the 1st generational work which requires a modification and supplement from the recent research development by the 2nd generations in the following points:

1. Expanding research scope into the developing countries: Steiner-Khamsi sees a major difference between the 1st and the 2nd generation in the scope of research topics and objects. She assumes that there is a recent paradigm shift in policy borrowing phenomenon as a globalization trend prevails and it increases dynamics of borrowers and lenders. As a main thesis, she insists that unlike the first generation who explored developed countries and trans-Atlantic cases, the next generation examines broader setting of policy borrowing as it extends the research boundary into the developing countries.
2. Emphasizing economic dimension: As the developing countries are included in the study objects, conditional education borrowing, mainly triggered by the educational development aid, also became an object of the studies¹⁸. The cases of

¹⁸ As her research scope was extended to the developing countries' context, she tried to find the middle ground of comparative education studies and development studies. Thus, Steiner-Khamsi can be regarded as a key player who attempts to connect the study of educational transfer with development studies.

conditional education borrowing reveals that the recent policy borrowing in developing countries is closely related to the economic dimension, as their policy attraction is formulated according to its economic concerns.

3. Deterritorialization of the policy borrowing trend: Steiner-Khamsi emphasizes that there is a growing trend of deterritorialization in policy borrowing as many countries' reform is not influenced by bilateral interaction but by globalization trend and international standard in education. In traditional policy borrowing studies, it focused on tracing evident policy origin and final destination but as it is deterritorialized, it is less required to draw a clear map of policy borrowing and lending.

Given the above complementing points of the work of Phillips and Ochs, therefore, this research tests the applicability of the work of Phillips and Ochs in the new context of Botswana where the initial designers might not intend it to be adopted. Also, the new findings, which cannot be explained well enough with the main framework, will be interpreted according to the various conceptual frameworks suggested by the studies of educational policy borrowing. Through this process, this research is expected to produce implications to the Botswana TVET policy and the educational policy borrowing study.

“Scholars in policy transfer research tend to draw from education systems in the First World to make generalizations on policy borrowing and lending in the rest of the world. As mentioned earlier, this bias might be understood as a legacy from the past, when comparative education researchers predominantly analysed interaction across the Atlantic or within European states. To be fair, researchers in development studies, in turn, tend to neglect policy borrowing and lending research altogether for their object of study. Too often, policy transfer is framed in terms of coercion and imposition with little critical analysis of why and how decision-makers in Third-World countries actively borrow reforms, both for political and economic reasons, from elsewhere(Steiner-Khamsi, 2006, 676).”

2.3.3. The Analytical Framework of Educational Policy Borrowing

In this part, three research works, which attempt to establish analytical frameworks of educational policy borrowing will be introduced and compared to each other so that clarify major characteristics of the framework of Phillips and Ochs(2004). Then, the specifications of the framework will be introduced in detail and also it will explore a way to adapt the framework into the real case of Botswana.

Competing Frameworks

It's been a long time since comparative educators were interested in educational policy borrowing and transfer. However, it has been only a decade to make an attempt to establish systematic analytical framework in analyzing educational policy borrowing phenomenon. One of the pioneers is Phillips and Ochs, but before introducing the main analytical framework, it is essential to examine more various attempts to make distinct or somewhat similar frameworks.

Cowen is the scholar who inspired many recent works of educational policy borrowing in comparative education field, as he suggests the future direction of the study. He presents that there are three conceptual frames emerged in the recent educational policy transfer studies(Cowen, 2004, p.566): 1) transfer, 2) translation, and 3) transformation. He specifies, what is called, "transfer" into the three subcategories with more detailed description on them. The transfer refers to the "movement of an

educational idea or practice in supra-national or trans-national or inter-national space.” It means the initial moment when the ‘space-gate’ is opened. The translation is the stage when the transferred educational policy or idea is reinterpreted to fit into the local context with ‘shape-shifting.’ The last stage of transformation involves ‘metamorphoses’ of the borrowed components thus internalizing them. This idea is simple but important in that it represents the general frame of the most educational transfer studies conducted so far.

Spren(2004) explores the case of Outcome Based Education in South Africa. She adopts the analytical framework of Archer(1984)¹⁹ in which the stage of policy borrowing is divided into the three: 1) external transactions, 2) political manipulation, and 3) internal initiative. This categorization is designed to focus on the political discourse around the educational policy reform. The first stage of external transaction is triggered by the dissatisfaction of rivalry partisans. At the second stage of political manipulation the emerging political power dominates the process and pushes forward the reform. At the last stage, the dominant group recognizes the problems of implementation and corrects them, thus reinterpreting the borrowed reform within a local context.

The work of Dolowitz(2000) has been widely accepted by general policy transfer studies(Benson and Jordan, 2011). He studies trans-Atlantic public policy transfer between America and Britain. His analytical framework is well-established as it covers various factors to be considered for policy transfer studies as follows with the list of

¹⁹ Archer. M (1984) *Social Origins of Educational Systems*, London: Sage

questions.

- Why transfer? (voluntary, mixtures, coercive)
- Who is involved in transfer?
- What is transferred?
- From where? (past, within-a-nation, cross-national)
- Degrees of transfer
- Constraints on transfer
- How to demonstrate policy transfer
- How transfer leads to policy failure

(Dolowitz, 2000, p. 11)

Though he presents such a number of questions for a detailed description, his thesis can be simplified as three stages of 1) dependent variable, 2) policy transfer, and 3) policy outcome. The dependent variable means the contextual factors triggered the policy transfer. He advocates this much of ‘thick description’ as he believes: “In order to use policy transfer as an explanatory variable, one also needs to understand and explain the process of transfer(Dolowitz, 2000, p. 11).”

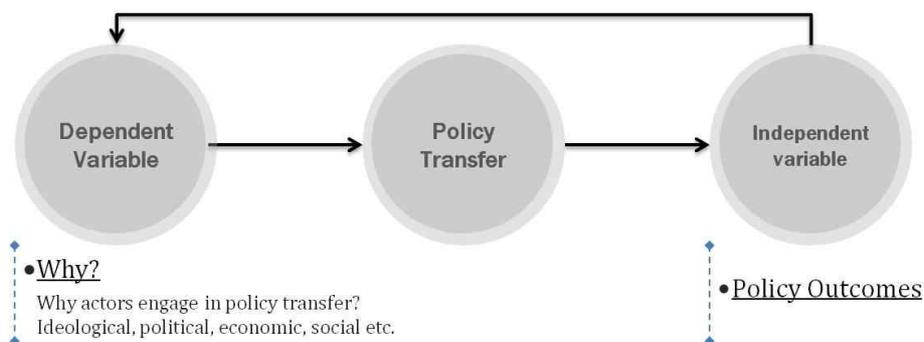


Figure 2-6. The Process of Policy Transfer by Dolowitz
Source: Dolowitz(2000, p. 11)

The three of frameworks have great affinity in that they are based on the linear

process of policy borrowing and transfer, despite of some level of variants. The three stages of Cowen(2004) is induced by generalization of various policy borrowing studies. They posit three linear stages of policy borrowing from initial transfer to transformation. It is confirmed that in other studies of Spreen(2004)-who refers to Archer(1984), and Dolowitz(2000) the similar structure is discovered. There is no explicit evidence that they have referred to each other, but it is clear that the linear process of policy transfer is commonly observed in different cases. Among them, in especial, the models of Cowen(2004) and Archer(1984) seem to share a great similarity as they set the three stages according to the level of internalization. Meanwhile, there is a distinctive feature of the model suggested by Dolowitz(2000) comparing with the two others. He thinks the initial motivation and final outcome is also very important component of the process.

The Framework of Phillips and Ochs(2004)

Given the fact that the three analytical frameworks above commonly seek for linear process of policy borrowing, the framework of Phillips and Ochs(2004), selected as the analytical tool for this research, is considered to be valid because it also assumes linear process of policy borrowing. In addition, this model is considered to be an optimal choice for the analysis because it effectively complements the weaknesses while integrating the strengths of the other models.

First and foremost, it provides a ‘thick description’ of policy borrowing process as the model of Dolowitz does. As mentioned above, the ‘thick description’ is the basis for a further explanation of the phenomenon. This model, meanwhile, is considered to have simpler structure than the model of Dolowitz, thus having more practicality. Secondly, it

also provides more systemic description of policy borrowing than the model of Cowen(2004) and Archer(1984). The two frameworks don't provide specific guides for the analysis more than three stages, but the framework of Phillips and Ochs(2004) suggests more specific sub-components under each of the process, thus providing more explanatory power. Finally, this model is designed to effectively analyze the contextual and political issues of policy borrowing, which are relatively marginalized in the analysis of the above three frameworks. It starts with the cross-national attraction, which requires to identify policy impulses, so that it leads the research into the in-depth political dimension of the policy borrowing process. In this regard, the analytical framework is selected as the main tool of this research.

Table 2-1. Composite Process and Components of Policy Borrowing

Composite process	Components	Sub-components
Cross-national attraction	Impulses	Internal dissatisfaction Systemic collapse Negative external evaluation Economic change/competition Political and other imperatives Novel configurations Knowledge/skills innovation Political change
	Externalizing potential(the six foci of attraction)	Guiding philosophy or ideology Ambitions Goals Strategies Enabling Structures Process Techniques
Decision-making	Theoretical Realistic/practical Quick fix Phoney	
Implementation	Adaptation Suitability of Context Speed of Change Significant Actors(support/resistance)	
Internalization	Impact on Existing System	

	Absorption of External Features Synthesis Evaluation
--	--

Source: Phillips and Ochs(2004)

Cross-national Attraction

The cross national attraction is the very key of the analytical framework, which has been explored in various cases(Cummings, 1989). This stage entails behind motives of the borrowing. It is composed of the impulses – “the conditions that have created the need to look to examples elsewhere”, and externalizing potentials – “the suitability of the ‘home’ conditions for particular kinds of educational transfer from such examples elsewhere(Ochs and Phillips, 2002, p.331).” This is a critical component because it reveals discourse of policy reform, not a practice itself. In practice level, we pays attention to ‘what’ was borrowed, but in discourse level we can consider more broad scene of the policy borrowing as it gives a question of ‘why’ , ‘by whom’ and ‘how’ it is borrowed, by focusing on the dynamic interaction among various factors(Silova, 2004, p.76). The impulses consist of more specific factors as suggested bellow:

- **Internal dissatisfaction:** on the part of parents, teachers, students, inspectors and others;
- **Systemic collapse:** inadequacy or failure of some aspect of educational provision; the need for educational reconstruction following war or natural disaster
- **Negative external evaluation:** for example, in international studies of pupil attainment such as TIMSS(the Third International Mathematics and Science Study) or PISA, or through widely reported and influential research by academics
- **Economic change/competition:** sudden changes in the economy(as recently

in South-East Asian countries); new forms of competition creating additional needs in training

- **Political and other imperatives:** the need to ‘turn around’ policy as voters become dissatisfied; responsibilities through aid donation or occupation following conflict
- **Novel configurations:** globalizing tendencies, effects of supranational education and training policy, various international alliances, for example
- **Knowledge/skills innovation:** failure to exploit new technologies
- **Political change:** new directions as a result of change of government, particularly after a long period of office of the previous administration

Source: Phillips and Ochs(2003, p. 778)

The externalizing potential is composed of the foci of attraction, which indicates the level of attraction points. Phillips emphasizes that at any level among the six foci of attraction, policy borrowing can occur. They are as follows:

- **Guiding philosophy:** equality of educational opportunity, for example.
- **Ambitions/goals:** ‘Education for All’, increased access to higher education, gender equality, for example.
- **Strategies:** additional funding, training, for example
- **Enabling structures:** new types of school, general organizational reform, for example.
- **Processes:** assessment procedures, grade repetition, reporting, certification, for example.
- **Techniques:** teaching methods, for example

Source: Phillips and Ochs(2003, p. 778).

Decision-making

According to the Phillips and Ochs(2004), decision making is the second step of policy borrowing. There are four suggested categories of it:

- **Theoretical:** governments might decide on policies as broad as ‘choice and diversity’, for example, and they remain general ambitions not easily susceptible to demonstrably effective implementation
- **Realistic/practical:** here we can isolate measures which have clearly proved successful in a particular location without their being the essential product of a variety of contextual factors which would make them not susceptible to introduction elsewhere; as assessment will have been made as to their immediate implementational feasibility.
- **Quick fix:** this is a dangerous form of decision-making in terms of the use of foreign models, and it is one that politicians will turn to at times of immediate political necessity. Examples might be various measures introduced in the countries of eastern Europe-often as the result of advice from outsiders- following the political changes of 1989.
- **Phoney:** this category incorporates the kind of enthusiasms shown by politicians for aspects of education in other countries for immediate political effect, without the possibility of serious follow-through. A modern example might be the case of American ‘magnet schools’ which attracted the attention of Kenneth Baker when he was Secretary of State for Education in England in the 1980s, or the current attraction to the American system of higher education in the context of the ‘top-up’ fees debate.

Source: Phillips and Ochs(2003, p. 780)

Implementation

The framework on implementation is composed of the four sub-procedures as follows Phillips and Ochs(2003, p.456):

- **Adaptation:** here we can observe the adaptation any foreign model will inevitably be subjected to within the context of the borrower system.
- **Suitability of context:** The degree of adaptation will depend on a large number of contextual factors.
- **Change of speed:** change might be speedy or long-term in nature, depending on the adaptability of particular policy measures. Given the potential need for revision of complex and well-established procedures, considerable time might elapse before the impact of new measures is felt.
- **Significant actors:** might be bodies like local education authorities, school boards, or boards of governors, or they might be individuals like chief education officers, advisers or headteachers. They might receive support in terms of national and local encouragement and financial incentive; or they might face blockage (inaction, delaying tactics, non-decision) on the part of those who can see ways to subvert what they regard as alien policy.

Internalization

As the final stage, there is an internalization stage where the borrowed policy is absorbed into the home context in various ways. The level of internalization can be evaluated in different types of standard as follows:

- **Impact on the existing system/modus operandi:** here, we can examine the motives and objectives of the policy makers, in conjunction with the existing system.
- **The absorption of external features:** close examination of context is essential here to understand how and to what extent features from another system have been adopted.
- **Synthesis:** here we can describe the process through which educational policy and practice become part of the overall strategy of the 'borrower' country.
- **Evaluation:** finally, internalization requires reflection and evaluation to

discern whether the expectations of borrowing have been realistic or not. The results of evaluation might then start the whole process again, with further investigation of foreign models to put right perceived deficiencies.

Source: Phillips and Ochs(2003, pp. 780-781)

The framework has been adopted and tested by various researchers exploring the case of educational policy borrowing(Jansen, 2004; McDonald, 2012; Ochs, 2006; Rappleye, 2011; Shibata, 2004; Stuart, 2013). Phillips and Ochs(2004) also attempted to test their framework for themselves in various cases of policy borrowing. The book titled “Educational Policy Borrowing: historical perspectives” is composed of the historical cases of educational policy borrowing where the framework was adopted as an analytical tool. In addition, the framework is modified by the other scholars who considered it as a valid attempt. Rappleye(2006, 2011) is the representative scholar who actively supported and modified the framework adopting it into the various contexts. His research work guides the basic structure of this research as he found implications for modification of Phillips and Ochs’ framework through the case study of policy borrowing which strictly followed the steps suggested by the framework(Rappleye, 2011). Also, Johnson(2006) creates a modified analytical tool for comparative educational development study in developing countries which experienced colonial regimes. He focuses on the concept of “volunteerism” included in the definition of policy borrowing suggested by Phillips and Ochs(2004), and according to the level of “volunteerism”, he makes four stages of policy transfer: 1) telling(imposed), 2) rebelling, 3) compelling(development aid) or selling(market driven), and 4) gelling(internalizing as its own knowledge source). His thesis is considered to be an

important provision because he highlights the mechanism of economic and political dimensions of the educational transfer in developing countries.

In summary, the framework of Phillips and Ochs is selected as a major analytical tool of this research, in that it provides a solid structure, which has been supported and widely discovered in the similar studies. Also, this model is open to modifications as commented by its initial designers. The adoption of the framework into the Botswana case is expected to produce ample experiential data and implication for both understanding of TVET development in Botswana and policy borrowing habits in the countries of economic and political transition.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHOD

The research target is the process of BTEP introduction in Botswana from 1997 to the current state(2014). In spite of its short time scope, it was never easy to find relevant information in that there were not many people remained who knew the specific stories behind of the inception stage of the BTEP. There are three reasons for that. Firstly, it was not easy to get access to the high level policy anecdote telling about true stories behind as most of the current senior officers were junior members at that time. Secondly, most of the high senior officers in the DTVET at the time of BTEP inception were expatriates who now returned back to their home countries, thus causing information gap in Botswana side. Lastly, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which brought a huge damage to the country(Reynolds, 2008), seemed to cause a number of early retirements of the senior members who could tell the past stories. Hence, there were a severe loss of the information and institutional memory on the BTEP introduction. Overall, the policy impulse and decision making requires behind stories which is rarely opened to the public. Thus it was most important to find key documents and interviewees for the information gathering.

3.1. Document Analysis

The document analysis followed the suggested guidelines by Phillips(2004) used in his research of the German case of policy borrowing. It was mainly a historical approach analyzing various documents from academic books to diaries. Specifically it is

suggested as below(Phillips, 2004, p, 59):

- Official documents(archival records, legislation, Cabinet papers, ministerial publications, parliamentary debates)
- Scholarly analyses(academic books, pamphlets, belles-lettres)
- Accounts of travelers and others(popular books, diaries, memoirs)
- Journalism(newspapers, periodicals)

The researcher mainly explored the academic internet search engines to find electronic documents. Most of the first hand data and government documents which cannot be found in the internet were collected by the two times of field visits for a week of duration for each. The researcher visited the Botswana National Archive and the National Statistics Office to collect key national reports and publications. The list of documents is as follows:

- Ministry of Finance and Development Planning(2006), Mid-term Review of NDP9. Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Ministry of Finance and Development Planning(2000), Mid-term Review of NDP8. Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry(1998), Industrial Development Policy for Botswana. Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs(1997), National Policy on Vocational Education and Training. Gaborone.
- Republic of Botswana(1994), The Revised National Policy on Education April 1994. Gaborone: Government Printer.

- Republic of Botswana(1993), Report of the National Commission on Education 1993. Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Republic of Botswana(1993), National Commission on Education Report on External Study Tours. Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Republic of Botswana(1977), Report of the National Commission on Education. Gaborone: Government Printer.

3.2. Semi-structured Interview

Phillips(2004) suggests that traveler’s tale, journals and personal diaries are valuable information sources for the educational policy borrowing research, but for this research they were replaced with the semi-structured interview. The behind stories of the BTEP introduction were explored by the interviews with the key stakeholders of BTEP in Botswana. Most of the interviewees were high level government officials such as DTJET head of office, vice-president of technical college, tasks-force manager inside of the Ministry of Education and Skills Development and former Deputy Permanent Secretary²⁰. The interviewees were all composed of the senior members of TVET in Ministry of Education and Skills Development. It was because BTEP case covers a decade long history from 1997 to the current state, requiring senior members who have been looking through the whole process from the inception to current situation. The interviewees were selected through the snowballing method. Each of the interviewees recommended next key person who could tell the whole story of BTEP introduction in

²⁰ The Deputy Permanent Secretary is the key public official who controls and drives the real policy with field expertise and experiences(Bray, 1991, p.28)

view of the high level government policy makers. It was found that there were only a limited number of people who could tell the real stories behind the BTEP introduction as it required the information on high level decision making procedure. Each of the interviewees was given the letter of interview request and guiding questions on the interview topic.

Table 3-1. List of Interviewees

Ministry	Affiliation	Specification
MoESD	DTVET	Senior Staff member
MoESD	DTVET	Senior Staff member
MoESD	-	Former president of technical college
MoESD	-	Former Deputy Permanent Secretary
MoESD	QAA	Senior Staff member
MoESD	QAA	Senior Staff member
MoESD	FCTVE(Francistown College of Technical and Vocational Education)	Vice President

3.3. Data Analysis

The data collected from document analysis and interviews was analyzed with thematic coding suggested by the framework of Phillips and Ochs(2004). Each of the policy borrowing procedure was applied to the collected data and stick to the procedure and thematic issues of policy borrowing.

Table 3-2. Research Framework of Policy Borrowing

Composite process	Components	Sub-components
Cross-national attraction	Impulses	Internal dissatisfaction Systemic collapse

		Negative external evaluation Economic change/competition Political and other imperatives Novel configurations Knowledge/skills innovation Political change
	Externalizing potential(the six foci of attraction)	Guiding philosophy or ideology Ambitions Goals Strategies Enabling Structures Process Techniques
Decision-making	Theoretical Realistic/practical Quick fix Phoney	
Implementation	Adaptation Suitability of Context Speed of Change Significant Actors(support/resistance)	
Internalization	Impact on Existing System Absorption of External Features Synthesis Evaluation	

Source: Phillips and Ochs(2004)

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

4.1. Cross-national Attraction

The cross-national attraction requires broad background information affected by various external factors such as economic and political conditions. That is why each of the impulse and externalizing potential is suggested by two categories of national context and Ministry of Education context, to merge macro and micro level cross-national attractions into the analysis.

4.1.1. National Context

Impulse

The main macro-impulse to adopt BTEP from Scotland is considered to be formulated by the ‘systemic collapse’ of Botswana education. There was a public dissatisfaction on the government failure in educating qualified youth who were equipped with employable skills, though it has expanded its basic education to 10 years of period. This impulse was strengthened when politicians sensed dissatisfied voters thus requesting ‘turn around’ policy measures. It imposed a mounting pressure on the dominant political party, Botswana Democratic Party(BDP), forming ‘political impulses’ for educational reform. It seems that it was started from the early 1990s when the president organized the Second National Commission on Education(NCE). The major supporting insistence

on this assumption was suggested by Tabulawa(2011, p.439):

Given the depressed nature of the economy at the time youth unemployment emerged as a political 'hot potato' in the early '1990s, standing at 41% of the 15-24 age group, compared to the total unemployment rate of 21% reported for the labour force as a whole in 1993/1994(Leith, 2006). This sparked the education 'relevance debate' that started taking shape in the late 1980s(Tabulawa, 2002).

This insistence of Tabulawa was also corroborated by the government official documents. The report of the NCE in 1993 stated its main purpose of research is “To review the current education system and its relevance; and identify problems and strategies for its further development in the context of Botswana’s changing and complex economy(Republic of Botswana, 1993, p.5).” There are more evidences that BDP tried to make a breakthrough by adopting new education policy measures, since it was pressured from its political opponents and lost its supporters as there was an increasing income gap and youth unemployment issue. In this respect, Tabulawa suspected that the second NCE was organized out of BDP’s political concern:

The timing of the appointment of the Commission, the latter’s submission of the report and of the release of White Paper, the Revised National Policy on Education(RNPE)(1994a), all give credence to the political interpretation of events I am advancing here; the Commission was appointed in 1992, submitted its report in 1993, and government released the White Paper in April 1994, eight months

before the General Election(Tabulawa, 2011,p. 439).

One of the main points of report of the second NCE in 1993 was promoting vocational education, designed to handle the issue of skills development and unemployment issue. Thus, it can be said that the promotion of TVET policy after the 1990s was stemmed from its political concern worrying about its ‘de-legitimization crisis’ because of its policy failure. The below figure indicates the ruling BDP has been losing its vote count to the oppositions.

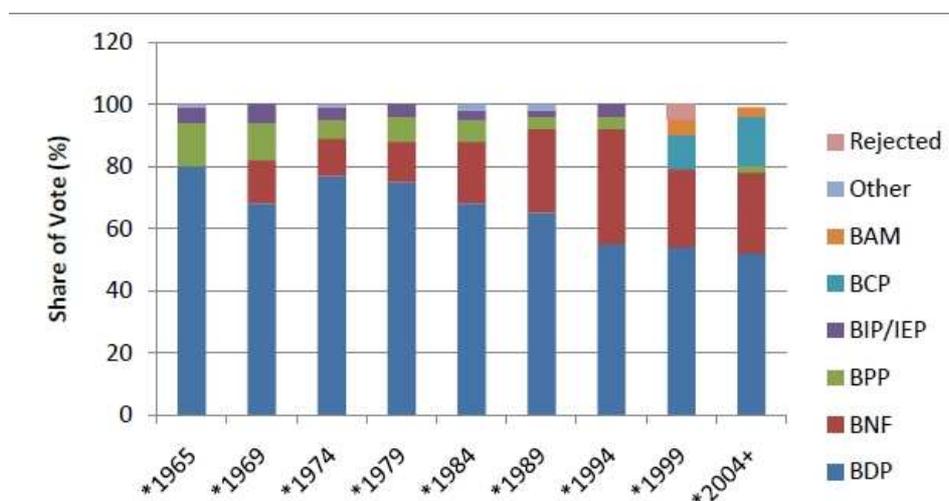


Figure 3-1. Share of Vote by Election Year in Botswana
 Source: Taylor(2003) and EISA(2007), quoted in Barclay(2009, p.50)

It also needs to be noticed that the economic recession, which caused huge youth unemployment problem in Botswana from 1990s was due to global economic recession. It was not the government itself who has a sole accountability for its policy failure. Hence, in a broader context, ‘global economic change’ had an impact on its TVET promotion.

Externalizing Potentials

Phillips(2006, p.57) assumes the policy borrowing is accompanied by some inquiries asking contextual factors. He presents the following steps to identify borrowable components from elsewhere:

- The circumstances in the “home” country that create the need to examine experience elsewhere that might be “borrowed,” that is, the preconditions for attraction.
- The nature of the inquiries that identify those features in a “target” country that might inform policy in the “home” situation
- The contexts in the “target” country that have created those features of its educational system that have attracted attention
- The compatibility of the contexts in the “target” and “home” countries
- The means by which “external” aspects of educational provision can be “internalized”
- The efficacy of such “internalized aspects”

Source: Phillips(2006, p. 57)

Through this process, it is expected to find the foci of attraction for policy borrowing. That is, through the above process, the borrowable components are identified among six foci of attraction: 1) guiding philosophy or ideology, 2) ambitions/goals, 3) strategies, 4) enabling structure, 5) process, and 6) techniques. The important point is that the borrowable components should be identified through a deliberate analysis on the ‘compatibility of the contexts’ between the two different policy settings.

There is an evidence that Botswana also followed a similar steps of inquiries as

suggested above by Phillips(2004). It can be found in the works of the Second NCE in 1993 which had research reports called “National Commission on Education Report of External Study Tours(Republic of Botswana, 1994)” This tour was organized at the onset of the commission thus exploring various country cases which could provide implication for Botswana policy development. It is regarded as the right evidence that Botswana government had some level of purposive action to borrow education policy from elsewhere as it stated: “Given the demands of the terms of reference which call for a very innovative look at the education system, that is a comprehensive vocationalisation of the education system which has hitherto not been implemented in Botswana in any serious manner(Republic of Botswana, 1993, A2-1)²¹.” This comment indicates that they sought for externalization for the solution of its internal policy problem by referring to foreign policy cases. The specifications of the tour can be found in the table of annex 1.

On the visit to each of the countries, the report explicitly presents ‘lessons learned’, which indicates what are the points of attention. Most of the comments are dedicated to the specific structural and systemic issue inside of education system. For instance, it is widely found that there were concerns on teacher salary, students per class, educational structure, administrative procedures and duration of training. In this respect, the policy tour is assumed to fail to look into the contextual factors and comparing with the home

²¹ However, there was no mention about why the given countries were selected as a destination of policy tour, but it briefly commented that ‘the Commission looked at various education systems with a view to selecting countries whose education systems have aspects relevant to the Commission’s mandate’(Republic of Botswana, 1993, A2-1).

context, while putting much attention to the ‘enabling structure’ and the ‘process’.

However, this report shows broad interest on each of the visiting countries as it explores various borrowable components from the target countries where the commissioners found some policy attractions. On the visit to Germany, in especial, there are two lessons concerning about the ‘contextual issue’ of possible policy borrowing from the German dual system.

- Apprenticeship training within the dual system of vocational training is very popular and the general attitude among youth towards blue collar jobs is very positive. Industry on the other hand is very much committed to training, realizing the need to have a well – trained workforce.
- The German dual system of vocational training is very complicated but proved interesting and gave the Commission an insight into current vocational training efforts in Botswana which have been somewhat simplistically presented. It has to be realized that educational systems are highly context dependent, e.g. on socio-economic situations, and therefore any lessons should be taken carefully.

· Source: Republic of Botswana(1994, pp.A2-12-13)

On the report of visit to Kenya, it specifically mentions about the negative lessons²² learned from the Kenyan experience as follows:

²² “wherein mistakes from other contexts serve as cautionary tales(Perry and Tor, 2008, p.521).”

- It is isolated from the local environment. What the children learn in school have no relevance to the reality in the community. More use could be made of skills available in the community.
- The assumption that a vocationalised curriculum above can solve unemployment is false.
- Vocationalisation can be expensive and Kenya has not been able to provide resources needed.
- The Universities have not been able to adapt to the vocationalised structure.

· Source: Republic of Botswana(1994, p.A2-72)

Though it is hard to find a clear reflection of the policy tour results in the recommendations of the Commission's report, it is certain that the policy tour was deliberately organized with intention to draw lessons from the foreign cases. This report indicates that the Botswana government had the externalization tendency in the face of the education reform referring to the diverse foreign cases.

4.1.2. DTVET Context

Impulse

The above macro-impulses formulated the impulse at the level of DTVET, as it was institutionalized through a series of national strategy papers. The political leaders sought

for political legitimacy through the vocationalized education policy. In this context, there were a handful of research papers checking the condition of Botswana TVET systems, which provided some policy implications and recommendations. These ‘texts’ was passed to the DTVET and reinterpreted by the DTVET members. This linear process was confirmed on the bellow interview with the former senior DTVET officer.

We had an overarching policy on education which is called revised national policy on education 1994. And it puts in that policy that it was clearly stating we should expand the TVET system. And it's again in that policy it suggests that we have to develop a specific policy for TVET. That's why in 97 we had national policy on vocational education and training. But again in national policy on vocational education and training states very clear that apprenticeship scheme which was developed under Ministry of Labour was very limited it was not producing enough artisans. We had very low industrial base in Botswana which provide apprenticeship for them to qualify. They had to get their company first. So we were getting very very few who were getting apprentice space within industry. So the 1997 policy quoted what's in need to have institution based training to in parrellel with apprenticeship and other forms of training that taking place, so that we could begin to absorb more people into the TVET system through institutional based training. That's how we came up with the BTEP system(An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

The DTVET officials seemed to recognize that they had a mandate to promote an

improved institution-based quality TVET faced with ‘systemic collapse’ of industry based artisan training provided by the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs (MLHA). Also, there could be a policy evaluation for the former apprenticeship system mainly led by the MLHA. The negative evaluation outcome and ‘internal dissatisfaction’ on that system formulated new impulse for the next policy borrowing, BTEP introduction. In other words, it seems that the weakness of the existing artisan training system of the MLHA was somewhat scandalized (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, p. 207-208) to provide a rationale for the reform inside of DTVET. His interview was corroborated by the other second hand data provided by the scholarly work, which collected the evidence of failure adopting German Dual system into Botswana training system by Wilson (2000).²³

Despite the fact that there were policy recommendations to supplement industry-based training with institution-based training, however, still there seems to be a huge gap between the mandate and policy borrowing from the SQA because it did not give enough answers to the questions such as: Why was it a policy borrowing not an internal policy reform? and why was it from the SQA not from the others? Suggesting these questions seems to be valid in the respect that they already had enough lessons-learned

²³ There are several comments collected by Wilson (2000, p.12) as follows:

“There was widespread agreement that the current apprentice-training system... does not function well... Due to the insufficient number, small size, and dispersed locations of enterprises in Botswana, this German rotation system has not been feasible. It appears the MoLHA soon reverted to the ‘old’ British ‘Block-Release’ system, which involves nine months in enterprises and three months, or two terms of 13 weeks, in educational institutions (Wilson et al., 1999, p.3-1).”

He also noted: “The Department of Vocational and Technical Education of The Botswana Ministry of Education has decided to replace the apprenticeship training system with an in-school training system at its Vocational Training Centres (VTCs).” (Wilson, 2000, p. 13) Thus, it can be considered that the interview comment above seems to firmly coincide with the research outcome of Wilson.

from the past failure in borrowing German dual system. One of the interviewees insisted that they could take the alternative pathway by revising the existing system.

Q: What was the reason that Botswana selected the SQA as a partner to have BTEP at that moment?

A: That is why I am here because I also asked about it. When I joined(BTEP), what I was interested to know was why it was SQA and why did Botswana decided to go and came up with a new program though we had other programs that were running on the other side. I was looking at the National Craft Certificate(NCC) program and told to myself “no the NCC is established itself in this country.” In industry even up for now, people know about NCC. It is a common program that industry knows and industry has been using all along. It is well-known. So I was asking myself; why did they come up with a new program when this one has existed(An interview with a government official, Dec 4, 2014).

Then, through some interviews of DTVET senior officials, the new types of impulses, which could provide answers to the given questions asking the validity of policy borrowing from SQA, were identified at the level of DTVET: the pursuit of ‘international recognition’ and ‘marketability.’ It means that DTVET borrowed the foreign TVET policy in an effort to gain international recognition and marketable position in the region, thus excluding the choice of revising its former system with an internal review. Firstly, the government of Botswana pursued international recognition by borrowing internationally renowned and compatible TVET system. This aspect was

reveled in the interview.

When we designed the BTEP system because you know that we had the training for industry we are also the part of global world, we looked for our partner that can keep the BTEP qualification internationally recognized on the onset. And that's why we started working with SQA because benchmarking with SQA... We also realized that SQA was recognized other places like Canada, and Australia, Europe. That's why we started working with SQA for quality assurance and our qualification system (An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

Secondly, the DTVET also searched for the system which could attract the other neighboring African countries expecting possible 'exportation' of the policy in the future. It means they sought for the 'marketable' foreign policy in the borrowing. One of the key insiders explicitly explained their pursuit of marketability through policy borrowing.

But we also wanted to have TVET system that we can also sell to other countries, where we can say to SADC member countries why don't you bring your young people come and training Botswana has its own system and we charge them fees and such like that. As part of using the education to make it contribute to economic growth, it needs to be through the TVET system. That's what we are trying to do through the TVET system (An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

It was interesting to find such impulses because these impulses – the pursuit of international recognition and marketability - were not illuminated on the national strategy papers which provided major policy recommendations and mandates to the DTVET.

Meanwhile, it was not the first case wherein the Botswana government sought for international recognition and lending position through the policy borrowing. There is a tradition in Botswana government to involve internationally recognized figures, thus securing its policy attractiveness with high quality documentation. It is also useful to gain its internal political legitimacy by adopting internationally recognized educational standard, while gaining lending position among neighboring African countries. It seems to be started from the First National Commission on Education(1977), so called “Education for Kagisano”(Education for Social Justice). The composition of commission member reveals its internationality:

Table 4-1. List of the First National Commission on Education Members

Name/Position	Affiliation
Professor Torsten Husen	Director, Institute for International Education, University of Stockholm(Chairman)
Dr. Akliu Habte	Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs, Ethiopia
Dr. N.O.H. Setidisho	Rector, University College of Botswana and Swaziland
Dr. James R. Sheffield	Director of International Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University
The Honourable B.C. Thema	Member of Parliament
Mr. Peter R.C. Williams	Lecturer, Institute of Education, University of London

Source: Republic of Botswana(1977, p. 2)

According to the above table there were only two Botswana members in Education Commission among six members. The chair was internationally recognized education scholar, Torsten Husen. According to Swartland and Hartwell(1994), this composition reveals the government's clear intention to have high quality report which could attract foreign aid. Also, it should be noted that after finalizing the report, it was swiftly circulated around the African countries. This is the evidence that Botswana government wanted to achieve leading position among the neighboring African countries, while pursuing international trend and standard.

Still, however, it needs to be noted that these two impulses can be understood in the context of the DTVET. They more or less seemed to be the outcome of reinterpretation of the national policy strategy texts by the DTVET officials. There were no mentions or mandates to borrow foreign policy or international exchange in the government policy papers²⁴. These unique impulses might be triggered by the internal culture of DTVET at that time around which sought for active international references and exchange programs. This internal culture was led by the leaders of DTVET. The fact that the DTVET was once very actively involved in international exchange programs, but the situation just changed only recently.

In the past, the DTVET fortunately we had the director who was very visionary. We used to attend the UNEVOC and also during the days of BOTA Mr. Maduma happened to be the president of the Southern African some kind of UNEVOC. We

²⁴ There are some country cases where the national TVET policy papers explicitly recommend to promote international cooperation for their TVET policy development such as Ghana, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and India(Aggarwal and Gasskov, 2013, p. 41)

used to go to Malawi with those missions on UNEVOC, Namibia sometimes²⁵. Those days it was very active but these days it's not(An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014).

I would say we have been a much more functional department. We had challenges at that moment that we did not used to have at that time and we had many employees and we were very international department and that has changed during the last five years that I have observed everything(An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014).

During the field visit to have the interviews, the key person who has actively sought for international exchange and cooperation was identified. He was the deputy director under the expatriate director of the DTVET in the 1990s when there was booming in TVET policy promotion. The researcher tried an in-depth interview in an effort to establish biographical story of him, as he was regarded as a unique figure who represents the developmental history of TVET in Botswana. Through the interview with him, it was revealed that he drove many international exchange programs, researches and projects while he and his colleague designed and promoted the national TVET policy for themselves. That is, they were the designers, administrators, researchers and implementers for themselves.

²⁵ Botswana was the host of the UNESCO-UNEVOC forum titled, 'Learning for Life, Work and the Future' in 2000. By suggesting and hosting the regional TVET forum in Botswana, the DTVET shared its own TVET experience and established the regular regional TVET network(UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2000, 2001)

Because we work as that when you are employed as public servant, even when you come up with the ideas that become government idea, they don't become your idea. So, there were true people who were driving this. It was myself and one lady who has passed away Marianne Nganunu... So we made sure that every time there was a new development plan we pushed in as part of the Ministry of Education submission, ideas of how we could further develop a TVET system in Botswana (An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

They had a number of policy tours in order to refer to the foreign systems and participated in various international forums. They entered into the international experts' network and secured regular contacts with the international experts. This might help to solve their TVET problems at home. In addition, it was confirmed that he was the member of UNESCO-UNEVOC E-forum, thus having frequent exchange and communication with his international colleagues. It seems that it was natural for him to find answers by referring to the international cases. There were flooding ideas and opinions which could give implications to the home context.

I remember I went to Seoul... We were in Seoul to attend international conference on TVET in Korea. And we started to get this idea so far, how we can go further to develop our system... I have been writing papers, presenting at UNESCO conferences other for in Africa and over the world making presentation attending international conferences and workshop on TVET. I was on the UNESCO-UNEVOC

forum where experts of TVET exchange ideas on daily basis, sharing idea there is anything. Then I was doing I think I am stuck I can just sending question through forum to other experts working on the project and asking “is there anybody who have similar problem you can share with me?” ... I also tell you that I am a member of UNESCO-UNEVOC E-forum. In this electronic forum, there are experts in TVET to communicate to interact to exchange ideas and it has experts from Australia to Canada from Korea anywhere in the world. So we interacted with experts through that forum(An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

Interpreting this phenomenon, the pursuit of international recognition is understandable as there are a number of policies borrowing cases influenced by the impulses of ‘globalization pressure’ and ‘tendency of policy harmonization’. Specifically, the global harmonization trend has been transferred through the major actors who were the part of the international network organized by the international organizations, exchanging ideas frequently. This seems to trigger the policy borrowing in an effort to establish internationally recognized TVET program.

Moreover, it is probable that the pursuit of international recognition in the DTVET was partly due to internal competitions caused by the fragmented TVET system, though it was not surfaced well enough during the interviews. The TVET system in Botswana was largely fragmented as there are two leading administrative bodies: the MLHA and the MoESD(Akoojee and McGrath, 2006). Then, the MoESD system is divided into the brigades and technical colleges. Arguably, these fragmentations might bring tensions and conflicts between the institutions, thus turning their attention to the international

authorities which could legitimate and certify their dominance. Given the fact that the both ministries had some level of tension on interpreting the Vocational Training Act(1998)²⁶, the DTVET might want to pursue the international recognition to prove its competitiveness as a major TVET program provider in Botswana. The DTVET was also in rivalry against the brigades(Akookee, 2005, p. 25). Through the review of the Brigades Movement in 2001, the DTVET criticized its inadequacy and inefficiency and decided to take them over to control under the DTVET. Considering the fragmentations among various TVET providers in the public sector, it is valid to assume that the international recognition was actively pursued by the DTVET in an effort to legitimate its take-over of the brigades from communities and suggest an alternative to the industry-based training of the MLHA.

However, the pursuit of marketability cannot be well-explained by the existing concepts and study results in educational policy borrowing. Though there is a case of policy borrowing where the survival of the borrowed system depended upon “being borrowed by others(Steiner-Khamsi and Quist, 2000, p.298)”, the marketability seems to require somewhat different logic of explanation. It is also different from the above case of Botswana government in 1977 when it circulated its national policy document to the neighboring countries to promote its policy, because the concept has been converted into the ‘selling’ from the ‘lending’.

²⁶ The legal frame was established to harmonize and unify the fragmented TVET operation in Botswana, but as we can see from the title “Vocational Training Act”, not the “Vocational Education and Training Act”, there is a tension between the two ministries in interpreting the coverage of the law. The MoESD tends to think they are not under the coverage of the law as it is for the “training” not for the “education”(Akoojee and McGrath, 2006).

Externalizing Potentials

When the BTEP was introduced into Botswana, there was a lack of attention to the specific context of target countries, and effort to compare home context with the target country context. Instead, it seems that the concern on externalizing potentials – identifying borrowable components from the other contexts with a systematic approach – was relatively marginalized due to the more concern on international recognition and marketability of the borrowing policy.

According to the interviews, the difficulty of policy borrowing from elsewhere was more or less recognized by the insiders as it required more time and money spending to modify the foreign policy to make it fit into the home context. One of the interviewees insisted that there was no clear imperative to borrow from the SQA for launching a new institution-based TVET program in Botswana technical colleges. According to his opinion, there must be a better chance of revising the existing TVET system because it was cheaper and more workable solution.

That if you bring something new it becomes expensive but we had already something that was established, where this country look at this program and if there is a need to modify it so that it addresses our needs. If you feel that it doesn't address our needs and expectations, our country just review the program and make it a better program for this country. That was my question. Also for me I thought that was the cheaper way and the fact that it was already established I saw no reason to bring the BTEP but it is already here, so...(An interview with a government official, Dec 4, 2014)

Before making a decision to borrow policy from the foreign countries, there must be a consideration on the contextual factors which enables the foreign system to work well in its home context. However, throughout the interviews with various insiders, it was hard to find the evidence that there were a sufficient investigation comparing the different policy context between Scotland and Botswana. There were no dedicated research institutes gathering foreign information and conducting systemic analysis on the contextual differences. Instead, the international recognition through the alignment with the international standard seemed to be the major concern for cooperating with the SQA. Thus, it can be suggested that the contextual factors emphasized by Phillips(2006) were not sufficiently considered due to the pursuit of international recognition and marketability.

In regard of the six foci of attraction(what to be borrowed), it seems that Botswana chose ‘enabling structure’ and ‘process’ by adopting curriculum and quality assurance system from the SQA. However, recently, there is the reflection that there should have been more attention to the different foci of attraction such as teacher training and relevant government strategies for the successful transfer from Scotland:

But I think we didn't do enough in developing in the vocational competencies in terms of practical skills of the trainers. I think that is why they tended to be lack of confidence and that is the reason why they resisted to the BTEP(An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

It is assumed that the implementation failure, which can be found in above interview, was partly due to its insufficient attention to its contextual compatibility to the Scotland system, which was resulted in an inadequate selection of borrowable components.

In summary, in cross national attraction stage, it was revealed that the Botswana government actively sought for foreign policy cases to establish its own national TVET strategy as its leading political party was hard pressured to reform its education system to cope with the emerging social and economic problems. However, it was not the national strategic plan that explicitly directed the government to borrow policies from elsewhere. More specific level of attraction for borrowing was formulated inside of the DTVET as the macro level impulses for educational reform were recognized and reinterpreted in the department. They added more impulses for the borrowing such as pursuit of international recognition and marketability, while somewhat neglecting the concern on the issues of contextual compatibility.

4.2. Decision-making

Most of the insiders believed that the decision-making for BTEP introduction was firmly grounded on ‘theoretical’ reason, which became a main drive for reformation in home context while neglecting the points for real implementation. It seems to be valid since there are a number of evidences collected through the interviews, indicating similar points.

I also did the request, as far as possible, we build on what we have, because I still strongly believe that BTEP program is very good program. It is a matter of how we manage and deliver them, that's why we see some challenges(An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

BTEP is not bad, it's only the way we implemented it. I think we went wrong in the implementation. Maybe what we could have done we could have immediately few years after piloting can make review, looking our experiences. What has been a success and what has been a hiccup, so how can we improve? For reasons, like I say, the only cry for hiccup with it there are certain things like assessment and practical attachment. That is where we could have made things right. But it was very good program(An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014).

However, there was not a clear point of considering it as a “good program” while they admitted the failure in its implementation. This can be converted into the questions: how can be the failed policy regarded as a good program? and what does it mean by the good program here? These interviews reflect their view that the BTEP was attractive as it had solid structure in theoretical perspective. At the same time, however, this tells us that they paid less attention to the practical components for the real implementation and contextual adaptation.

The decision-making can be seen with a different view. From a view of the government officials, who worked for genuine improvement of TVET with pragmatism, it was natural to seriously concern about the theoretical and practical components which

could ensure the success in implementation stage. However, it might be different from a view of politicians who didn't have expert knowledge and vision on TVET. This aspect was also pointed out by the interviewee:

They(politicians) have supported it without knowing how expensive it is. Sometimes you can support something but only when it comes to the reality it becomes something else. So I don't think they supported it because they thought it contributing improving its economy. But even if you want to improve your country it takes time. And it goes with money(An interview with a government official, Dec 4, 2014).

4.3. Implementation

Some of the studies on the BTEP focused on the implementation stage. They pointed out there must be a huge gap between its design and implementation(Richardson, 2009; Mhizha, 2012). These researches commonly concluded that the DTVET as a control tower of BTEP failed to cope with the real situational complexity in implementation. The same problem was identified from this research, as most of the interviewees already recognized the gap between design and implementation of BTEP. However, there was more complicated issue of the gaps between various actors inside.

4.3.1. Adaptation

In terms of adaptation, there must be low level of adaptation to the local context. One of the interviewees exactly pointed out what was missing in its implementation stage:

The other thing that I think is that they brought it here they came here to support us. But instead of us adapting it to our situation, I don't think we did that. Instead we adopted it. We didn't make it adapted to our context. I think that the best thing is to make the program adapted to our context, not adopting it. It may be a good program where it comes from, but if you adopt it in a different country it may not suit. So you need to adapt it so that it meets the given context(An interview with a government official, Dec 4, 2014).

This is the comment directly touching the point of “adaptation” suggested by Phillips and Ochs(2004). It indicates that most of the procedure was unidirectional. The SQA delivered seed ideas and key concepts without considering what already existed in Botswana TVET context. Because of this procedural feature, the intake from the Botswana side was very slow and also it triggered some level of resistance from the DTVET staff members.

In addition, a lack of understanding on the contextual issues caused more complicated problems as the BTEP system included the components of Outcome-Based Education. This was a totally new concept of teaching and learning for the TVET sector of Botswana as it did not provide conventional way of teaching guidelines. This

dramatic change caused a mis-interpretation of OBE in Botswana as stated below, as the possible influence and paradigm shift in teaching was not properly analyzed and predicted.

If it's a new program and new things all together, people would have different interpretations. [...] It was the mis-interpreted learner-centered to mean the students would learn their own. So it needed quite a lot of convincing. It does not simply mean that you are the facilitator you make students learn by giving them tasks that will treat their learning (An Interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

4.3.2. Significant Actors

Some of the challenges in implementation can be attributed to the transfer gaps between various actors, who have participated in the process of BTEP introduction into the Botswana TVET system. The major groups of actors can be categorized as follows: 1) SQA, 2) DTVET officials, 3) senior teaching staffs, and 4) junior teaching staffs.

The first gap was spotted between the SQA and selected Botswana participants for the capacity building workshops. One of the interviewees who are now the manager of technical college admitted that there were only a few people who really understood the basic concept and structure of BTEP when the SQA left after finishing the consulting. This initial gap between the SQA and Botswana participants might cause more serious problems in its implementation.

I don't think there was much support from SQA because there were few people who knew the system and how it was that. And now they are teaching people at head office, who are not going to be involved in implementation (An Interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

The second gap was between the DTVET and technical colleges. Many interviewees commonly pointed out that there was a gap between the DTVET officials and the teaching staffs in technical colleges. After the SQA left, the DTVET was required to lead the process of spreading the know-how of BTEP implementation to the teaching staffs. However, it seems that the transfer from the DTVET to the technical colleges was not successful. It was not smooth enough to sustain its policy set up.

The last and most important points were laid on the generational gap between the senior and junior teaching staffs. Through the interviews, it was widely recognized that the transfer from the former to the next generation was insufficient as they had different academic and career background. The current senior teaching staffs are equipped with ample field experiences as they have their own industry background. They are also the supplement of the left expatriate workers, who had learned on practical skills and knowledge to run TVET programs from them. In contrary, the current junior staffs have insufficient field experiences though they have high academic qualifications. Some of the senior interviewees regarded it as a main obstacle for the successful BTEP implementation.

The thing is that colleagues developing that they are no fashion designers or interior designers they never went through any studies...If you don't come with expertise, and with this confidence to guide the content of the program... there is the issue(An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014).

At first in our generation we were recruited from industry, but as time went on now when they recruited new staffs these were just people from the universities some from the polytechnics who has never worked. So it was a big problem even now it is still continuing because you get someone who comes from university of Botswana he comes into and teach but they never had industrial exposure(An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014).

When you look at the education history who is working in the TVET, most people had the lower qualification but they were well-experienced...but they were not to that level of education. But now this crop has more education, but they don't have the experience. Now that's the challenges and experiences actually shown that people who are very good in TVET would be those who are gone through the TVET itself(An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

The above three statements from different interviews commonly point out that the current generation of junior teaching staffs have insufficient field experiences and required expertise, though they are equipped with high academic qualifications. The

former director of the DTVET admitted that the training was not sufficiently provided to the junior teaching staffs requiring more subject skills and relevant field experiences. As a consequence, there was a resistance from the side of technical colleges who felt the reform as an unbearable challenge.

4.4. Internalization

Q: So, how did you internalize the system and how did you learn this very complex idea that has not existed before in Botswana?

A: Because of their support, I think that was necessary support. They supported what we needed while spending time with us here. Because even the terms that we used were unfamiliar. So they had to take times with us so that we internalized their process and those terms.

Q: So was there any resistance and conflicts with SQA. In internalization there must be opinion differences.

A: There were always because everything was new. But at that time we were actually taking it (An interview with a government official, Dec 4, 2014).

The above dialogue demonstrates that the interviewee from the DTVET has ambivalent assessment on its intake level. The newly introduced concepts and terminologies interrupted the understanding of staffs. Most of the staffs were forced to adjust to the new system and it required huge efforts and time. The BTEP introduction from the SQA is in ongoing process. The SQA still supports and intervene in the BTEP

procedure through the regular visit and audit. In this sense, it is hard to assert that Botswana was on the stage of internalization in the policy borrowing.

Nonetheless, the interviewee thinks that this internalization process also improved their knowledge and capacity somehow. The evidence implies that Botswana is getting close to the stage of internalization. There is a growing recognition on the need of self-evaluation of the BTEP implementation.

Because it ever since it was introduced, it was never reviewed. That is why it is looks like it does not gain ground in this country. Is that... Maybe we should have reviewed it a number of times by now to make it better for this country. But it is now only being reviewed(An interview with a government official, Dec 4, 2014).

Maybe what we should have done is to review immediately few years after piloting, looking our experiences: 'What has been success and what has been hiccup, so how can we improve?' (An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014)

There is also recognition on a changing situation as the contract with the SQA came to an end. They realize that the BTEP is not a foreign system anymore, but rather it is given to their own hands for internalization. There is a positive sign of internalization potential in the future.

I remember the Chief executive of the SQA. His last visit was when I was the principal of Joaneng Technical College and I organized the graduation ceremony.

That was 2009, then he said that BTEP was now yours and you could do what you wanted to suit your conditions. They laid the foundation, but now it's up to our people. It's now our product and play around with it. He told me: "You don't have to just copy what Scotland has done." (An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014)

I think over time from inception.... The way it was done has some sort of morphed. Now people sort of trying to make it work for them, because no body to bring them. We use the Scottish we don't understand what this people work and writing. Now we are the one involved in writing and really... yes... now we are finding our own way. How to make it work for us(An interview with a government official, Aug 15, 2014).

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary of the Findings

The BTEP introduction into Botswana has been investigated and described using Phillips and Ochs'(2004) four stages policy borrowing process framework. That promoted a deeper understanding of BTEP's policy borrowing process and illuminated various contextual factors that influenced the process. Moreover, it revealed how the Botswana government responded to the perceived socio-economic crisis by developing a new national policy agenda, and how it realized its national vision into a specific policy reform in the education sector. It was a good way of looking into the policy-making conditions of a middle income country, which is on the way to lowering its dependence on foreign aids and spending more of its money on public policies.

The promotion of TVET in Botswana was one of the turn-around policy measures to put in place the political de-legitimation crisis of the dominant political party. This crisis was triggered by the changing internal and external socio-economic conditions. In the 1990s, in spite of its stable economic condition, there was serious social concern regarding its ever-increasing youth unemployment rate in parallel with the mounting pressure to diversify the industry. At this juncture, the political attention turned to the education system that was criticized for its inability to nurture skilled youth.

The Botswana government responded quickly to its perceived crisis by producing new national vision on education suggested by the Second National Commission on Education in 1993. That marked a change in educational policy direction into the TVET

sector. The political resolution of bolstering the TVET sector resonated through the consecutive policy papers, which accepted the recommendations of the Second National Commission on Education. This provided major mandates for reforming the TVET system. The DTVET, a major administrative body of TVET accepted the mandates as reformation standards. The mandates suggested an expansion of the TVET system, an upgrade in training requirements, and creation of an institution-based training system as a complementary measure for the industry-based one.

The education reform was accompanied by the aspiration to borrow foreign policies. Botswana has a tradition of referring to foreign policies when it came to reforming its own educational policy. The Botswana government invited the internationally recognized education scholars to its education reform in 1977, and it organized a large international policy tour before designing its educational policy reform in 1993. The technocrats in the cabinet drove the policy borrowing impulses. They were actively involved in the network of international TVET experts and they borrowed some international cases for their own new TVET policies. They were not only administrators who sincerely followed the government mandates but also providers of their own mandates by reflecting their ideas in government policy documents. They took up the ambivalent role of acting as administrators, who implemented the policy with the given mandates, as well as researchers, who planned and designed policies based on their research.

Instead of revising the existing TVET system in Botswana, the DTVET, as a main body of controlling TVET in the education sector, decided to borrow the policy of the SQA when it was pressured to reform. The SQA was chosen as a partner because the

DTVET saw the chance of gaining international recognition and a marketable position in the system. However, the borrowing from a foreign country came at the expense of sacrificing an indigenous TVET system that could easily have been adapted to its own context. The contextual concerns were relatively marginalized as decision makers were preoccupied with the pursuit of international recognition and marketability. This initial configuration posed a threat to the future implementation of the BTEP.

There were a number of challenges in the implementation stage of the BTEP in Botswana technical colleges. This was partly due to the gaps between various actors inside of the system. First and foremost, the transfer from the SQA to DTVET was not enough to sustain the borrowed system in the long term perspective. Many DTVET officials and teaching staffs did not understand the basic concept of the program. Also, as the TVET system rapidly expanded, there were a number of newcomers to the technical colleges, but most of them were not properly equipped with field skills and experiences in spite of their high academic attainment. Due to the combination of these problems caused by the gaps between various actors, the implementation of the BTEP faced various types of resistance. Currently, there is a move to evaluate and modify the BTEP as the contract with SQA is coming to an end. This motivation for self-evaluation can be seen as a sign of internalization potential.

5.2. Implications for the Botswana TVET Policy

As introduced in the literature review, Botswana has been praised for its stable economic development for the last several decades, entering the middle income group in the mid 1990s. However, as Botswana's socio-economic situation transformed, new challenges such as unemployment, industrial diversification and inequality arose. These problems required new methods of problem-solving; further, they posed a threat to the dominant political party which has not lost power since the independence. The promotion of TVET in the education sector was adopted as a transitional strategy in this context and the BTEP was borrowed from the SQA as part of this national strategic plan.

Phillips and Ochs(2004) defined policy borrowing as a deliberate and purposive action from the borrower's side, while other types of transfers such as policy imposition and conditional transfer do not have such a characteristic. Accordingly, the suggested "voluntariness" – a deliberate and purposive action from the borrower's side - can be used as the evaluation criteria of judging whether the Botswana government showed a level of "voluntariness" in its policy borrowing. It was assumed that the improved level of autonomy in choosing partners brought more ownership and implemented power, leading to better adaptation to the local context than the imposed one. However, through this research, it was revealed that the borrowing process was not as 'deliberate' as was expected; this is discussed in the next paragraphs.

Firstly, the Botswana government lost a chance of having self-reflection on its former TVET system. It did not have systematic evaluation of the former TVET system before initiating new policy borrowing process. It was once widely accepted that

industry-based training had to be complemented with institution-based training. Some insiders believed they could find alternatives by modifying the existing system, while others wanted innovative system from abroad. However, the policy borrowing from the SQA came at the expense of the chance to develop an indigenous TVET system based on Botswana's own experiences. Instead, teaching staffs were imposed of the BTEP and they were required to adjust to the changing system, which was not easy for most of them. The reform Botswana borrowed, which was the former dual system from Germany, was reformed by the Scottish system, also the other borrowed system. There is a clear repercussion on this policy practice:

I was actually hoping that this would be rather stopped a little bit because in Botswana you have a situation that you have many different education systems which I believe rather need to be aligned than bringing again and again and again something new. Of course I mean one of the main reasons for benchmarking is to learn from the best practice, but then you know to translate that into the existing context... (An interview with a government official, Dec 3, 2014)

Secondly, the problem can be attributed to the insufficient attention paid to the contextual issues of borrowing. To have a cross-national attraction is totally different to adopt an actual foreign system into the home context(Phillips, 2009). That is why the complexity of the contextual issues is sometimes called the final “puzzle” of policy borrowing studies(Cowen, 2006). Despite its complexity, contextual consideration has been recognized as the key issue of policy borrowing because it determines how far the

borrowed policy can be adapted into local settings(Cowen, 2006; Phillips and Ochs, 2003, p.457). Nevertheless, the case of BTEP shows that the Botswana government only paid a marginal amount of attention to contextual compatibility. This was partly due to its pursuit of international recognition and marketability, which is considered to be the major motivation for its policy borrowing from the SQA. The low level of contextualization was not necessarily due to the pursuit of international recognition and marketability. It needs to be noted that there might be an impassible gap between the international standard and the local level that cannot be narrowed in a short amount of time.

Thirdly, the Botswana government did not expect complicated practical issues in its BTEP implementation. It was difficult for the technical colleges to ensure the quality of their education while rapidly expanding their size. Nevertheless, the government pushed the project through without sufficient understanding of the practical components of the BTEP implementation. During the implementation stage, the technical colleges were rapidly expanded, and there were increasing vacancies because of the decreasing number of expatriate teaching staffs; this caused a generational shift in teaching staffs. Moreover, it seems that the quality assurance of the new recruitment and in-service training policies was sub-standard. As most of the senior officials in the DTVET admitted, the newcomers had insufficient field experience, so that most of the classes had low relevance to real practices in the work places.

In summary, the policy borrowing practice of the Botswana government showed ambiguous features as it was in a transitional stage of moving from a conditional transfer to purposive borrowing. At the time, Botswana had progressed to middle

income status, but it still required technical support from foreign countries for its TVET reformation. However, the amount of foreign aids it received decreased because of its advanced economic status, so that the government decided to sign a contract with the SQA to borrow its system. The DTVET more or less showed a “deliberate and purposive action” in identifying its own deficiency and searching for adequate partners, but this was not enough because Botswana lacked the independent research capacity to examine and analyze foreign systems. In this regard, the DTVET was passive in the actual transfer from the SQA and inattentive in its implementation process. Though some senior officials took on the dual roles of researching and implementing, the plan to lead the policy development with policy-makers’ self-directed learning was clearly limited(Dunlop, 2009).

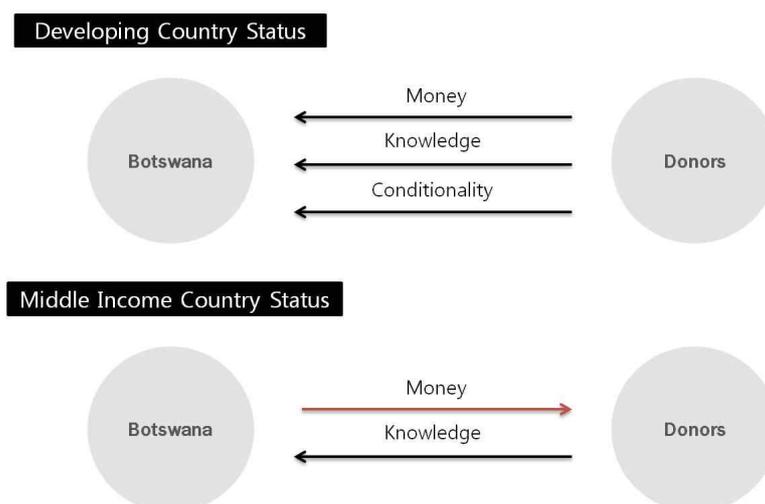


Figure 5-1. The Change of Policy Borrowing in Botswana

This means the ownership level of Botswana government needs to be upgraded to

the knowledge management level from the budget control level. Also, the DTVET needs to upgrade its research and knowledge capacity by networking with the other TVET providers in Botswana; they can share their ideas and facilities, combining their strengths and experiences.

5.3. Implications for Policy Borrowing Studies

5.3.1. Toward a New Definition of Policy Borrowing

The BTEP case in Botswana provides implications for defining policy borrowing. The definition of policy borrowing, provided by Phillips and Ochs(2004), is limited to meaning “purposive and deliberate action”; it is not clear enough to explain the case of Botswana. As Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe(2004, p.48) pointed out, the clear boundary between purposive and conditional transfer has been blurred, as the recipients have their own strategic and purposive ways to attract foreign aids. The case of the BTEP seems to be between “negotiated under constraint(conditional policy transfer)” and “borrowed purposefully(policy borrowing)” as aforementioned. It seems as though the Botswana government purposefully borrowed the program as the DTVET clearly identified the deficiency in the TVET system, and showed interest in the SQA system; however, in terms of its knowledge capacity and economic status, Botswana also featured conditional policy transfer. The DTVET could not design and implement its own system as it had a lack of experience and knowledge. In addition, it was not easy to get foreign aids as Botswana graduated from its status as a developing country. In this regard,

Botswana had no choice but to enter into a contract with a foreign institution, in their case the SQA. To better explain this transitional context, the meaning of the “purposive and deliberate action” in policy borrowing may need more specification.

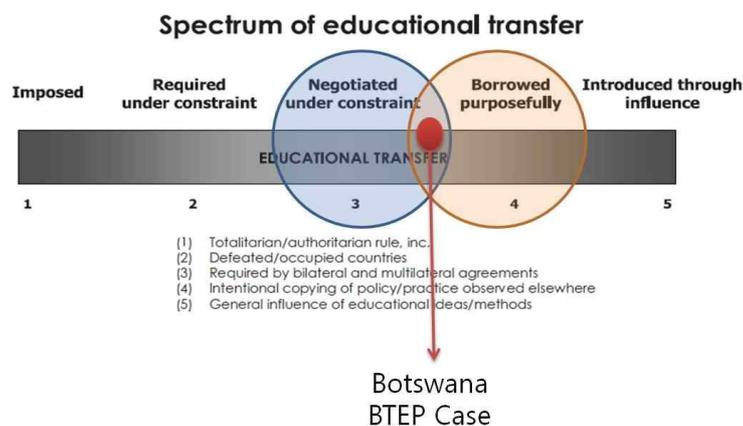


Figure 5-2. Positioning the Case of BTEP in the Spectrum of Educational Transfer

5.3.2. Implications for the Analytical Framework of Policy

Borrowing

The BTEP case also provides implications for the four stages of analytical framework Phillips and Ochs(2004) designed. Firstly, it proves that the analytical framework can be applied to the extended context of educational borrowing from a developed to a developing country, though its initial designers derived the framework from the European case. This means that just as in developed countries, Botswana had some level of purposive and deliberate action to borrow foreign policy. It was the DTVET that initially showed interest in borrowing from the SQA with its own cross-national

attraction. Therefore it was possible to complete the full circle of the four stages of policy borrowing process constituting a “thick description” of the policy borrowing process.

Secondly, it was revealed that the interactions among various actors involved in the cross-national attraction stage created more dynamics. For instance, the political leaders and the DTVET officials had different impulses. The dominant party had its own political impulse to reform the current educational system, while the DTVET officials felt that borrowing was necessary for Botswana’s reform to gain international recognition and marketability. That is, the impulses for educational reform suggested by the politicians were repackaged using the borrowing impulses of the DTVET officials. Also, the DTVET technocrats played a key role in formulating the TVET reformation measures and following policy borrowing procedure; they were active “importing transmitters(Tanaka, 2003)” by bringing foreign knowledge and cases into Botswana through the international policy tour and regular experts’ gatherings. They were not passive policy implementers who just followed the government’s mandates and political orders, instead they were active policy researchers and designers who persuaded politicians and projected their ideas onto major national educational strategy papers.

Thirdly, the BTEP case implies that the impulses are in a causal relationship, though Phillips and Ochs just suggested a list of impulses. The main drive for educational reform came from a political impulse, but the political impulse was caused by a cascade effect that began with the global economic crisis and systemic collapse of education system which triggered internal dissatisfaction.

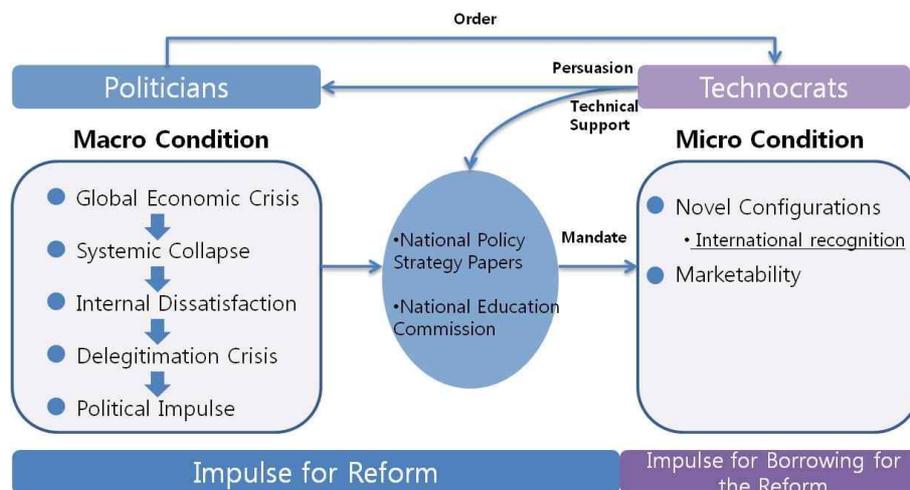


Figure 5-3. The Impulse Mechanism of the BTEP Case

Finally, the four stages of policy borrowing need to be differentiated from the general reform procedure²⁷. In the Botswana case, the impulses at the macro level were not the policy borrowing impulses but they were rather the impulses for educational reform. The Second National Commission on Education suggested the recommendations for the policy reform but it did not specify any specific policy borrowing measures. The direct impulse for the policy borrowing just appeared at the DTVET level. This means that most of the impulses suggested by Phillips and Ochs(2004) overlap with the impulses for general educational reform. Notably, the general reform procedure shares most of the procedures from decision-making to internalization with the policy borrowing procedure. Hence, development of new conceptual framework is required for more sophisticated research on the policy borrowing mechanism, so that it can differentiate the borrowing from the general policy reform procedure.

²⁷ James and Rodge(2003) also emphasize disentangling general policy making procedure from policy transfer.

5.3.3. Toward a New Conceptualization

The four stages of the policy borrowing process could contribute to a “thick description” of the BTEP case, thus offering detailed information on the borrowing process. Given this thick description, the analysis is complemented by the other conceptual establishments in the field of educational policy borrowing. In this part, further interpretation on the case of the BTEP can be accomplished through the other concepts suggested in various educational policy borrowing studies. This section will also point out limitations of the current establishments in explaining new findings of the BTEP case, as a way of suggesting further research direction.

Interpretation Via Other Policy Borrowing Studies

The conceptual frameworks established through studies on educational policy borrowing contributed to explaining the case of the BTEP introduction in various ways. The findings of this research can be interpreted according to the suggested concepts and former research findings of various policy borrowing studies because they corroborate the former findings and conceptualizations of the studies as follows.

1. Cross-national attraction as a natural human instinct(Ochs and Phillips, 2002, p. 325): Botswana case confirmed that it is a basic human instinct to have cross-national attraction to toward foreign systems and to adopt them into the home context. Key senior officials in the DTVET accepted global society as a real entity, as they were involved in various international academic networks and

regular gatherings through international organizations. For them, it seemed natural to draw more lessons from the foreign experiences. The technocrats actively sought foreign knowledge and experience, thus taking on the role of importing transmitter(Tanaka, 2003). They were not just local recipients in a globalized world, but they were already a part of a global trend transforming the international policy geography(Rapplee, 2011).

2. Externalization as a means of gaining certification from the foreign authorities(Halpin and Troyna, 1995; Steiner-Khamsi, 2002, 2006): In a political perspective, the Botswana case shared a commonality with the other cases of policy borrowing in that the government sought an externalization strategy in the face of reformation pressure to gain certification from foreign authorities. That the Botswana government sought international cases in the face of its educational is a conventional reformation tactic.
3. The role of policy tours in the policy borrowing phenomenon(Gonon, 2004; Phillips, 2009; Whitty, 2012): Policy tours are seen as a major instrument for triggering cross-national attraction. Phillips investigated various European cases of policy tours that brought the comparative education perspective into the home context, which invoked political discourse on educational reform. Most of the interviewees experienced a number of foreign policy tours to the destination where they had cross-national policy attraction.
4. The role of international organizations and the “zones of contact(Clifford,

1997)²⁸ in policy borrowing(Gonon, 2004; Grek, 2012; Jakobi, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004): Some scholars have shed new light on the role of international organizations and various experts' forums, because they are recognized as a key node of policy borrowing and lending. The UNESCO-UNEVOC influenced the key decision-makers in the DTVET. Also, international forums such as the Seoul Summit provided new impression and motivation to the TVET reform in Botswana serving as “zones of contact.” The case of Botswana indicates that further attention should be paid to the electronic forum, which played a key role in transferring new policy ideas and triggering new policy generations out of its dynamics.

5. The relationship between “institutional memory” and “recycled reform”(Steiner-Khamsi, 2009): Institutional memory is the collectively formulated memory of groups or organizations. Steiner-Khamsi points out that once the institutional memory is lost, it is more possible to borrow policies from foreign countries or revive past policies with a different name tag. She found such a case of “policy recycling” in developing countries. Moreover, in the case of Botswana, many gaps existed between institutions and generations, thus causing a loss of institutional memory. Even most of the senior interviewees did not know what previous TVET sectors were comprised of, even though past cases have many commonalities with the current TVET issues.

²⁸ Quoted in Gonon(2004, p.136).

Limitations of the Policy Borrowing Studies

The Botswana case indicates that the traditional binary categorization of borrower/lender needs to be revised as the Botswana government took the dual position of the borrower and the lender. The Botswana government was not the passive recipient of policy borrowing, as it actively sought to occupy the lending position in the region. The government involved internationally renowned educational experts in the First National Commission on Education in 1977 and circulated its policy report to other African countries. The BTEP was also borrowed from the SQA as a part of lending strategy in the long term; hence, it should be noted that the policy borrowing phenomenon is much more complex than its existing conceptualization in educational policy borrowing studies.

It seems that the paradigm of policy borrowing and lending is being converted into policy buying and selling. This market concept of policy borrowing has not been well-investigated in the field of educational policy borrowing. Steiner-Khamsi(2012) emphasizes to examine the economic dimension of the policy borrowing but the economic dimension only indicates the foreign aid to the developing countries in her studies. In this research the economic dimension was confirmed to be expanded into the 'marketization' of policy borrowing in the case of Botswana. Here, the policy borrowing was rather buying the SQA system through a contract; at the same time, Botswana wanted to 'sell' this system to neighboring countries by attracting international students.

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Annex

Annex1. Policy Tour and its Specifications

Nation	Focus of interest
Mauritius	Structure and Content of the Education System Pre-Primary Education Measures to Improve the quality of primary schooling Teaching of science and technical/vocational subjects in the secondary school Pre-vocational training program of the IVTB Mauritius College of the Air Mauritius Institute of Education Post-secondary technical and vocational education
Germany	Distance Education Streaming of the education system into academic and vocational particularly at secondary education level Curriculum of the vocational and academic streams-Time allocation to broad subject areas Apprenticeship program Technical Teacher Training Vocational and Technical Education Structure Training of Instructors and Lecturers for Technical Education Apprenticeship Training Curriculum Out of School education and training
Ireland	Vocational and Technical Education Higher/Tertiary Education Policy The place of entrepreneurship in Curriculum Pre-school/Infant Classes Institutions of Productivity/Management/Entrepreneurship Language policy in instruction
Singapore	General Structure and Content of the Education system Technical and Vocational Education Pre-School Education Vocationalisation of School Curricula Primary Education and Language Policy Streaming of Primary and Secondary Schools Teacher Education Distance Education and Out-of-School Training
South Korea	General structure and content of the education system Administration of Education Primary Education and Curriculum Strategy Vocational and Technical Training Vocationalisation of Secondary Schools Streaming of Secondary Schools Occupational Training Distance Learning Pre-school system Structure and Content Secondary Education Teacher Training Strategies Out-of-School Training

Zimbabwe	<p>General Structure of Education</p> <p>Distance Education</p> <p>Rural Pre-school education</p> <p>Extension College/Non-Formal Education</p> <p>“A” level Education</p> <p>Education with Production-ZIMFEP</p> <p>Higher Education Administration</p> <p>Teacher Training</p> <p>Technical Teacher Training</p> <p>Vocational and Technical Education</p> <p>Teacher Management</p> <p>Private Secondary Schools</p> <p>Apprenticeship Scheme</p>
UK	<p>Structure of the education system</p> <p>Pre-school/primary school administration</p> <p>Mixed ability teaching/Remedial teaching</p> <p>Certification of Vocational qualifications</p> <p>New Technical and Vocational Education Initiative</p> <p>Administration of examinations</p> <p>Higher Education Policy and Financing</p> <p>Distance Education/Open University</p> <p>In-service training strategies</p>
Sweden	<p>Overall structure and content of the education system which is supposed to be</p> <p>One of the most vocationalised systems</p> <p>The compulsory schools(basic education), its structure and syllabus</p> <p>Upper Secondary Schools(Gymnasium) its structure and syllabus</p> <p>The examination system and evaluation</p> <p>Adult education</p>
Denmark	<p>Vocationalisation in the formal school system</p> <p>Apprenticeship training programme</p> <p>Adult education and educational research</p>
Malaysia	<p>Technical and Vocational Education</p> <p>Curriculum for basic education</p> <p>Vocationalisation of the education system</p> <p>Secondary Education Curriculum</p> <p>Science Education</p> <p>Teacher Education</p> <p>Training of Teachers/Teachers Conditions of Service</p> <p>Language Policy for minorities</p> <p>Distance Education</p> <p>Education of Street Children</p> <p>Pre-School Education</p> <p>Administration of Education</p>
Japan	<p>Vocational and technical training strategies</p> <p>Policy on science and technology</p> <p>The general education system</p> <p>Service of teachers</p>
Zambia	There are no specific interest delineated
Kenya	There are no specific interest delineated

Source: Republic of Botswana, 1993

Annex2. Interview Request Form

LETTER REQUESTING AN INTERVIEW and INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

My name is Byoung-gyu Gong, and I am a master degree student in Global Education Cooperation Programme of Seoul National University.

I am writing to invite you to the interview of my research project to document **educational policy transfer in Botswana TVET system**. This research is designed to explore the historical fact of international influence in formulating Botswana TVET system and major policy. Through the interview, the interviewees will be requested to share their personal experience, memory and reflection of developing Botswana TVET system during the near past, **focusing on Why, What and How of international influence in shaping its TVET policy**. In cooperation with Raymond, the project coordinator of BEAR project in Botswana, I have identified a list of individuals who played prominent roles in founding and shaping the development of Botswana TVET system during the last decade or so.

The majority of interviews will be conducted while I stay in Gaborone for BEAR project workshop (from 1st to 5th of November). If the selected interviewees allow more time, the individuals will be interviewed either via telephone or e-mail as a follow-up interview. The interviews will be recorded digitally and interviewees will be provided with paper copies of the final transcripts [and, if desired, a CD of the audio recording]. As per research guidelines of Seoul National University, all interviewees retain the right to review and edit their interview transcript before the final version is deposited, and, if they wish, to place restrictions on the availability of the interview or to specify conditions under which it may be accessed by researchers. sincerely hope that you will consider participating in this important effort to document the history of educational policy transfer in Botswana TVET system. Please feel free to contact me as specified below with any questions. An information sheet on the project is attached for your reference.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Annex3. Guiding Interview Questions

(*The bellow questions are not mandatory questions to be answered. They will be reorganized according to the interviewees' opinion.)

Background Information

1. Would you briefly introduce your academic background and career path to reach the current post?
2. When you first came into the DTVET, what was the situation (general atmosphere of administration offices, policy decision mechanisms and general TVET system) like?

Cross-national Attraction/Decision-making

3. Was the BTEP started with the initiative of Botswana or the SQA? (Was Botswana the one who first approached to the SQA?) If 'yes', what was the reason to select the SQA as a partner?
4. Before the BTEP and SQA came, what was the condition of Botswana TVET system and DTVET? What was the strength and what were the challenges?
5. Before the BTEP, why did the government of Botswana start to emphasize skills development in its national strategy and mid-term plans? And who was the key person (politician or academic figure) to insist the enhancement of skills development and TVET?
6. In policy formulation, does DTVET refer to the other nation's TVET system?
7. Why and how did the DTVET refer to the other systems?
8. Were there any projects/policy formulations without consulting or participation of foreign partners/contractors?
9. While you were in DTVET, how many business travels to foreign countries did you have? What was the major purpose of that?
10. What was the motivation of Botswana government seeking for international cooperation and technical assistance?
11. Was there any political pressure to reform its TVET system?
12. Were the government workers free from political pressure in pursuing new policy initiatives?
13. What was the main interest among policy, curriculum, education philosophy, and implementation system in policy borrowing from the SQA?

Implementation

14. What were the major challenges in implementing the BTEP?
15. Was there any resistance during the implementation? If yes then why?

Internalization

16. Do you think the DTVET internalized the BTEP as its own system?
What is the evidence for your answer?
17. Was there any attempt to evaluate the BTEP implementation?
18. What is the most influenced feature by the BTEP introduction?
19. Do you think the DTVET have knowledge initiative in designing and implementing its own policy?
 - If “yes”, from when does the DTVET start to have knowledge initiative?
Do you have evidence?
 - If “no”, can you explain how the DTVET supplement the knowledge gap and deficiency in formulating its policy?

요약(국문초록)

보츠와나에서는 사회, 정치, 경제적인 상황이 변화함에 따라 교육 정책 방향이 기존의 일반교육중심에서 직업기술교육(TVET)중심으로 전환되었다. 보츠와나 정부는 1990년대에 새로운 교육 정책 방향과 전략을 제시하면서 직업기술교육(TVET)을 적극 장려하기 시작하였다. 이러한 노력의 결실로서 2000년대 초 보츠와나 기술교육과정(이하, BTEP)이 도입되기에 이른다. BTEP은 학교 기관 중심의 직업기술교육 프로그램으로서 스코틀랜드 자격 기구(SQA)와의 양자협약을 통해 전수 받은 것이었다.

BTEP의 도입 사례는 비교교육학의 교육정책차용 연구의 관점에서 볼 때 상당한 의미를 가진다. 비교교육학에서는 그간 세계화로 인해 교육정책차용 현상이 한층 더 복잡한 양상을 띠게 되면서, 보다 다양한 정책 차용의 사례를 발굴 할 필요성이 꾸준히 제기되었다. 보츠와나의 BTEP은 스코틀랜드의 SQA에서 차용된 프로그램으로서 국경을 넘는 교육정책차용의 구체적인 과정과 미시 작동원리를 이해하는데 기여할 만한 사례로 평가된다. 또한, BTEP은 보츠와나 정부가 시대적 전환기를 맞이하여 내놓은 하나의 교육적 정책 대안이다. 그러므로, 이 사례를 통해 전환기적 국면에서 국가가 어떠한 동기로 해외의 교육정책 사례를 차용해 오는지에 대해서도 면밀하게 관찰해 볼 수 있다.

이 연구는 보츠와나 BTEP의 도입 과정을 교육정책차용 연구의 개념과 분석 틀로 접근한다. 보다 상세한 정책차용의 과정을 들여다보기 위해 Phillips & Ochs(2004)가 제시한 ‘정책 차용 4단계’를 주된 분석틀로 사용한다. 이 분석틀에 따르면 BTEP의 도입 과정은 1) 국가 간 정책적 유인요소 발생, 2) 정책 결정, 3) 실행, 그리고 4) 내재화의 4단계로 세분화된다. 각 단계마다 영향을 끼치는 인물 및 기관과 이들의 동기를 파악하면서

이 연구는 BTEP 정책 차용 과정의 구체적인 실체에 접근해간다.

이 연구의 분석 결과는 보츠와나의 직업기술교육 정책 방향에 일정한 시사점을 던져준다. BTEP의 정책차용 사례는 보츠와나 정부가 직업기술교육 정책 개혁을 추진하면서 외국의 경험에 크게 의존했다는 점을 보여준다. 이는 일견 보츠와나가 필요한 정책적 지식을 생산하고 관리하는 역량이 부족했기 때문이라고 할 수 있다. 보츠와나 정부는 이러한 역량 부족으로 인해 정책 차용 과정에서 정책적 맥락과 실용적인 요인을 충분히 고려하지 못한 것으로 나타났다. 그러므로 보다 독립적인 정책 개발을 위해서는 보츠와나 정부가 지식 관리 역량을 보다 강화해야 할 것으로 보인다. 또한 이번 연구는 교육정책차용 연구에도 일정한 시사점을 주고 있다. 이 연구의 결과는 정책차용 현상이 이전보다 더 복잡해지고 있다는 점을 분명히 드러낸다. 우선, 기존에 세워두었던 ‘빌리는 자’와 ‘빌려주는 자’의 경계가 갈수록 모호해지고 있다. ‘빌리는 자’는 단순히 빌리는 위치에 머무는 것이 아니라 스스로 적극적으로 ‘빌려주는 자’의 위치에 오르기 위해 다양한 나름의 전략을 구사한다. 한편, ‘빌리기’와 ‘빌려주기’라는 정책차용의 개념이 ‘사기’와 ‘팔기’의 시장경제 개념으로 전환되면서 그 복잡성이 증대하고 있기도 하다. 이는 정책 입안자들이 국제적으로 널리 인정받는 교육 시스템을 하나의 시장성 있는 ‘상품’으로 생각하는 사례도 있다는 사실을 말해주고 있다.

주요어: 교육정책차용, 정책전이, 정책적 유인요소, 보츠와나 기술교육 프로그램, 보츠와나

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