The Pervasiveness of Multi-School Teaching (MST) among Public Secondary Schools in Wakiso District (Uganda): Pedagogical Dilemmas, Handling and Way Forward

Sande Erunao Muwanguzi[*], Badru Musisi, Nicholas Itaaga

College of Education and External Studies, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda
*Corresponding author: ellymuwanguzi1@gmail.com

Abstract In response to the ever growing pedagogical ineffectiveness amidst financial distress among teachers in Uganda, the study explored immediate stakeholders' opinions about the pervasive practice of Multi-School Teaching (MST) among public secondary school teachers in Uganda. The study specifically sought to identify the prevalent forms of pedagogical dilemmas which the MST teachers face; explore how these teachers navigate through the dilemmas; and explore immediate stakeholders' views on how to forestall the problem. It draws on majorly qualitative and some quantitative data generated from 189 respondents including the teachers, head teachers, directors of studies and students. Data was generated from questionnaires, interviews, and focus group discussions. Analysis of data involved both thematic analysis and descriptive statistics. The study's findings discovered a multitude of pedagogical dilemmas faced by MST teachers. However, teachers revealed a number of pragmatic strategies they use to navigate through pedagogical dilemmas. In order to remedy the problems associated with MST, both containing and forestalling opinions were exposed. The opinions offered were only necessary but not sufficient in overcoming the existing pedagogical and financial tribulations among teachers. Thus, collaboration between the Government and immediate education stakeholders was recommended. Besides, an intense level of commitment (in terms of time) and view of teaching as a vocation was also recommended among MST teachers. Lastly, basing on plausible input of MST to teachers' work-income balance, another study about the influence of MST on teachers' pedagogical performance is imperative before focusing on the fight against the practice of MST.

Keywords: *multi-school teaching, economics of education, pedagogical ineffectiveness, pedagogical dilemma management*

1. Introduction

In many developing countries Uganda inclusive, one of the most used cost-effective responses private secondary schools adopted to overcome the pressures created by their meager resources, is employing teachers on a part-time basis. The case is however different among public schools where the Government recruits teachers only on full time contracts despite the inadequate remuneration offered. As a result, many of the recruited teachers in public secondary schools partly teach in private schools [1]. Their major intention is extra income generation to cope with the ever skyrocketing cost of living in Uganda [2]. However teaching being complex and ambiguous, practicing MST is not without pedagogical dilemmas arising from the synchronized need by these teachers to fulfill both their pedagogical obligations, as well as their financial intentions given the time and other resource constraints [3]. Are these teachers pedagogically cautious enough to navigate through the dilemmas that may emerge as a result of their engagement in MST? What is the position of the immediate stakeholders about this apparently illegitimate practice?

Although the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) in Uganda expect teachers to attend to their pedagogical responsibilities on a full time basis [4], the state of affairs is reported to be disquieting especially in Wakiso District [5,6]. About 68 percent of teachers in Uganda are reported to be engaging in MST [7]. As a result 35 percent of these teachers appear only two days in a week [6], others arrive at their respective schools, sign in the attendance books and disappear [8], while delayed and irregular attendance to lessons has continued to feature as tribulations of these teachers [5]. Despite the attempts by the Government to

periodically inspect schools, increase teachers' salaries [9] and the recent promise of the 2.3 billion UGX for teachers' SACCO [10] as well as the strict restrictions that were put on MST [11], the practice has persevered among teachers in Uganda [12]. The current study sought to investigate the pedagogical dilemmas faced by MST teachers, how such teachers navigate through these dilemmas and the immediate stakeholders' opinions on how to forestall the problem of MST.

2. Background

Although [13] refer to the term "teacher" as a person who has undergone training in learner instruction, in particular and education in general, the teacher of focus for the current study is a public secondary school classroom teacher operating in Wakiso District (Uganda) and also teach part-time in other schools (Multi-School Teaching). The term Multi-School Teaching (MST) refers to a knowledge-mediation practice of economic importance, in which teachers find employment in more than one school with reasons related to extra income generation and raising their standards of living [7]. The current study considers MST as an "illegitimate" academic-related extra income generating practice adopted by teachers through teaching in more than one secondary or non-secondary school. Scholars traditionally view educators as fulltime employees [14]. However, the need for extra income/financial motivation [15,16,17], as well as science teachers' shortage in the pathology of the teacher labour market [18], partly defines why many public secondary school teachers today have persistently continued engaging in MST. Other studies claim that it is after missing appointments in sectors of their interest that such teacher entrants adopt ill-practices such as MST [19,20] whose animated pedagogical handling is largely unknown. Pedagogy connotes the activity of educating or instructing or imparting knowledge and skills, or the context of learning and the actual operations thereof [21]. The current study borrows from Webster to define pedagogy as the teaching-learning practices used by teachers to impart knowledge and skills to learners. Since dilemma refers to the problem in which issues of right and wrong are at stake [22], the current study's pedagogical dilemmas are those teaching and learning-related conflicts which MST educators usually encounter as multiple and equally viable alternatives, each of which has advantages and disadvantages [23]. Some scholars view these dilemmas as the tensions between teachers' beliefs about their pedagogical work and the expectations of their employers [24].

For a better appreciation of the current study's problem, two theoretical frameworks were borrowed. First is the Noble Cause Corruption framework which is a means-ends dilemma model which was intended to signal a problem of supposedly good ends achieved with legally dangerous means [25]. It was advanced by [26] who wrote about the violations committed by police officers for a noble cause, despite the debilitating effects it may cause to the vulnerable people. Although MST could be partly a successful means of attaining teachers' financial and pedagogical ends, their inability to carefully attend to the

associated debilitating effects on the vulnerable immediate stakeholders, leave the practice in danger. It is because of such effects that the current study borrowed another theory – Expectancy theory [27]. According to Vroom, people are motivated to behave in ways that produce desired combinations of expected outcomes. The theory is premised on belief for expected outcomes of actions taken especially if effectively conducted. In keeping with these two theoretical frameworks, considering MST as apparently an "illegitimate" practice in Uganda and its pervasiveness among public secondary school teachers signals the practice with morally good ends, though most likely to carry debilitating pedagogical effects. However, the Expectancy theory is aware of such effects since involving teachers believe that effective conduct of MST would enable them to attain both their expected financial and pedagogical outcomes.

The study was carried out in a Ugandan socio-economic setting where formal education was introduced in the late 1870's by Christian missionaries [28]. It was only after Uganda's independence in 1962, that the Government of Uganda took over education with the aim of fostering self-realisation and as a tool for social transformation [29,30]. Even then, teachers were expected to attend fulltime to the learners despite the financial distress which is traced to have started in the 1960's that started making teachers unsatisfied with their work [28]. At first, Parents' Teachers Associations (PTAs) were formed to boost teachers' low salaries, not until the 1970s when these salaries continued to deteriorate due to reduction in foreign grants for education, as Britain and USA did not agree with policies of President Idi Amin's Government. As a matter of fact, many teachers joined other sectors, some resorted to establishing extra income generating projects such as trading, taxi-driving and farming [28]. MST in particular emerged later in the 1990's after liberalisation of education, which introduced cutthroat competition between schools in which Uganda Certificate of Education/ Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UCE/UACE) final examinations scores stood/stand as their strongest survival bait [31]. As a result, private schools started sourcing for better teachers from nearby public schools on part-time basis to sustain this competition.

Today, teachers in public schools are reported to be showing low adherence to their pedagogical responsibilities apparently because many are engaged in MST [5,6,32]. It is therefore assumed that teachers who engage in MST must be undergoing certain pedagogical devastating dilemmas in their pedagogical service delivery (such as conflicting interests with those of their multiple employers, students and pedagogical means). Available research about MST concentrates on this practice as a finance enhancing mechanism to boast teachers' welfare [7,33]. Other studies capitalised on teachers' ethical dilemmas [34], while others relate to contradictions which individual teachers experience in their daily practice as a consequence of the complex and ambiguous nature of teaching [23,35], leaving the issue of MST teachers' pedagogical dilemmas largely unattended to. Besides, the ways in which these teachers navigate through such dilemmas and remain pedagogically relevant, as well as the immediate stakeholders' opinions about MST in view

of resolving its associated problems remain largely unknown. The current study believes that the issue of MST is too critical of not only ill-teacher practices in particular, but also the kind of education learners gain from schools in general and thus can hardly be left unexamined, hence the current study.

3. Literature Review

Existing literature about MST all over the world indicates that this practice often result from the need for extra income generation [7,15,33,36]. For example, according to [36] financial-related satisfaction teachers derive from MST is a major cause of their involvement yet [37,38,39] found this practice to be making teaching more interesting and more rewarding to the practitioners. However, these studies ignored the likely pedagogical dilemmas these teachers meet and yet the ways in which the involving teachers navigate through such dilemmas also remain unexamined. Other studies such as that of [40] and [41] used authors' own experiences to recount the satisfaction and commitment they got out of engaging in MST although in other countries like the US, teachers involvement in MST already finds its self in serious dilemma [41]. Could this twofold set of viewpoints, be one of the serious signals of pedagogical dilemmas MST could be facing in Uganda?

Moreover, it is principally clear that teachers especially in public schools are meant to teach in only one school and thus acting otherwise is breach of contract [42]. This explains why the Government of Uganda through education policy makers put restrictions on MST [11] due to its susceptibility to employment contract breach as well as less time the involving teachers will accord to learners in each school. Yet in Ugandan public secondary schools, teachers have continued to teach in more than one school [12]. However, the pedagogical dilemmas these teachers generally face remain to be established. In fact, available studies do not specifically hinge upon those various dilemmas which MST teachers encounter; for example, a study by [7] only notes a positive relationship between MST and the involved teachers' welfare, but did not explore the associated pedagogical dilemmas which these teachers encounter. Besides, a study by [34] instead explored ethical dilemmas encountered by secondary school teachers in general and thus examined how these teachers navigate through such dilemmas. Their study did not only focus on ethics but also on teachers in general than on those engaged in MST. Other available studies such as [15,36,43] limit themselves to reasons for teachers' involvement in MST, and not on the pedagogical dilemmas these teachers encounter. Thus, the current study sought to not only examine these dilemmas but also the ways in which such teachers navigate through these dilemmas, as well as the immediate stakeholders' opinions on the way forward.

It should also be noted that, the ways in which teachers deal with dilemmas has been studied by different scholars basing on certain universal moral rules and other relativity approaches [34,44]. The current study was premised on pragmatism (what works) as a research paradigm to deal with how MST teachers navigate through the different pedagogical dilemmas and thus based on "inter-subjective" interpretations of reality [45,46]. In its ontological position the current study believes that, navigating through pedagogical dilemmas especially among teachers who engage in MST is out of individual teacher's choice of perception of what works for them better [47]. Existing literature instead indicates that some studies already found ways of navigating through dilemmas, namely; use of "trial and error", reflecting on what went wrong and then make future adjustments accordingly, or teachers simply giving up when they feel frustrated [48,49,50,51,52]. Besides, some teachers were reported to be making their pedagogical beliefs clear from the beginning to avoid the probable conflicts that may emerge [53,54]. However, none of these studies addresses themselves specifically to MST teachers' pedagogical dilemmas in the context of Uganda and used pragmatism as their view lenses.

Literature further presents the practice of MST to be replete with both pessimistic and optimistic voices on the plethora of pedagogical challenges which the involving teachers face [37]. Indeed as [55] notes, it is practically impossible for such teachers to effectively cater for both high financial returns and better pedagogical outcomes since the practice may occasionally end up serving the business (profit) motive at the expense of the pedagogical one given the time and other resource constraints [56,57]. On the contrary, [58] notes that, it is only because of insufficient knowledge about MST that some teachers are not sure of what they are supposed to do, why they should do it, and how it can be done. However, some studies like [59] and that of [60] contend the inspiration for MST by teachers to be the need to become more experienced and gaining self-confidence as they interface with learners of various schools. Although teacher dilemmas are widely acknowledged as being central to teaching [3], to the best of the current researchers' knowledge, there is no research in Uganda, specifically Wakiso District that has undertaken survey on MST teachers' pedagogical dilemmas, how they are handled and the immediate stakeholders' opinions about MST as an objective way forward.

4. Methodology

The study did not only employ an exploratory case study approach but also followed a pragmatism research paradigm. Under the guidance of Gay (1996) as cited by [61], the study used a 10 percent representation as the at least recommended number for exploratory case studies [61]. Therefore, six (6) schools out of about 57 public secondary schools in Wakiso District were sampled. Given the qualitative nature of the study, the researchers collected data from the study population until a point of infiltration. Thus 6 Head teachers, 6 Directors of studies, 18 teachers and 180 students were selected for this study. Three instruments were used – an open ended questionnaire, an interview guide and focus group discussion guide. Eighteen (18) copies of an open-ended questionnaire were sent to all the six schools for teachers. However, only 16 questionnaires (89%) were returned. Out of the planned 18 teachers for interview and focus group discussions, 15 (83%) of them accepted to

participate. Out of 180 students, only 165 (92%) attended focus group discussions. Two (2) focus group discussions with teachers were conducted and six (6) of them with the students as expected by the study. On the other hand, out of the expected six (6) Head teachers, 5(90%) were available for interview. Out of the six (6) expected Directors of studies, 4(80%) were accessed for interview. Three (3) out of the six (6) schools were selected from purely third world USE schools, and three were first world Government aided schools. Thus sub-groups in the population were represented in an equal proportion of 3:3. Reliability of the instruments was met by pilot-testing them. Whereas qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis; quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Finally, for ethical considerations, permission to collect data was sought from school heads. Participants were briefed about the study and were free to accept or refuse participation in the study. For their identity, synonyms were adopted while reporting findings. Lastly, COVID-19 Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) were observed.

5. Findings

The study first presented the respondents' bio-data in view of enabling a contextualised interpretation of the findings. Respondents included 10(63%) male and 6(38%) female teachers. These fell under the age brackets of below 25 years (n=2; 13%), 25-35 years (n=4; 25%), 36-45 years (n=4; 25%), above 45 years (n=6; 38%). Respondents' teaching experience below 2 years (n=3; 20%), 2-5 years (n=3; 19%), 6-10 years (n=2; 13%), 11-20 years (n=4; 25%), above 20 years (n=4; 25%). For marital status, married (n=8; 50%), Single (n=7; 44%), divorced (n=1; 6%). Teachers were therefore not only of appropriate experience to provide a variety of reliable answers, but were also highly faced with financial needs, as findings report majority of them to be married. On the other hand, student respondents in senior four (n=97; 59%) and senior six (n=72; 44%). Male (n=87; 53%) and female (n=78; 47%) students. These provided objective data about their MST teachers and shared their opinions as regards the way forward. The next section presents findings objective by objective.

5.1. Pedagogical Dilemmas Faced by Teachers Involved in MST

The study discovered that MST teachers face a number of pedagogical dilemmas, whose data codes were categorised into three themes, basing on the source; (1) Schools' and teachers' competing pedagogical interests; (2) Students' and teachers' conflicting pedagogical interests; and, lastly, (3) Competitive pedagogical means for an examination oriented education system.

5.1.1. Schools' and Teachers' Competing Pedagogical Interests

The most common pedagogical dilemma under this first objective relates to the way MST teachers manage their assessment and feedback procedures versus the needs of

their employing schools' management. One teacher for example narrated that,

Despite the heavy workload I hold, my private schools' administrators compel me to mark the students' examinations scripts as soon as possible. Since I always have scripts for my other schools, I always decide to use students to help me in marking so that I can meet the deadline. I am aware of not objectively assessing learners by using students in marking, but cannot also meet the immediate deadline as required by my bosses minus doing what I do; yet I need to satisfy the demands of my bosses (Teacher Q, Teacher Interview).

The challenge in the above case for the teacher is to decide how best he/she can meet the required deadline so that his/her job remains standing. This implies that fear for loss of jobs is a major cause of teachers' pedagogical dilemmas, as teachers always have to devise all possible means to satisfy the needs of their bosses even when such means endangers their pedagogical milieu.

Teachers also reported that, there are school policies that obstruct their pedagogical interests when handling certain issues related to learners during teaching and learning such as classroom control, learners adhering to certain pedagogical requirements and their (students) general response to pedagogical practices. Some schools did not only rebuff teachers from punishing disobedient students, but also discard them from asking for practical books from the learners, leaving teachers in pedagogical dilemma. For example, one teacher noted that,

In one of the private schools I teach, students are untamable, they always upset me in class after all their Head teacher said they should not be canned. I always find myself puzzled of whether to quit or just teach anyhow and go. Even when you try to use alternative means of punishing them, they hardly accept and yet the school administration never pays attention to such acts (Teacher N, Teacher Interviews).

Similarly, another teacher reported that,

My Head teacher in the Government school discourages students from buying my practical books, on grounds that they are competing with the collection of other school requirements yet the school demands for better grades in my subject (Teacher M, teacher interviews).

As seen above, it is clear that the teachers' highly valued pedagogical requests are sometimes suppressed by their bosses. This further means that although teachers yearn to effectively teach learners, some school administrators seem not to be supportive. However in a related concern, one Head teacher noted that,

It is a science teacher's responsibility to improvise for effective teaching and learning. Imagine the little fee we charge for requirements such as lunch and toilet papers is hardly paid by students, what about adding the burden of buying practical books of which some parents do not understand them. Most teachers use this as an opportunity for earning an extra income (profit motive) than a pedagogical one (Head teacher X of a third world school, Head teacher interviews).

Thus basing on the above narrative, teachers undergo dilemmas that may appear to be pedagogical but in actual sense are apparently financial dilemmas. In further support of this statement for example, one teacher who is also a UNEB examiner narrated that,

Due to the effect of the COVID-19 that alternated the schools' calendar, marking of UNEB examinations was conducted concurrently as teaching and learning was also progressing in schools that were not marking centers. One of my Head teachers never wanted me to report for marking so as to remain teaching at his school, yet the same school employed me because of my expertise as an examiner. It was hard for me to make a suitable decision since either way, pedagogical though hidden in financial challenges surfaced on my side (Teacher R, teacher interviews).

In a different case, some schools indirectly force teachers into certain illegitimate pedagogical practices and as such, involved teachers especially from public schools that do not engage in such practices find themselves in serious pedagogical dilemmas of deciding the right path. Teacher P for example narrates that,

Apart from my Government school, I teach two other private schools. Head teachers of these two schools always wanted me to teach students through the leaked UNEB examination paper very early in the morning before candidates sat for it. As a professional teacher, I am always worried of my qualifications, as well as students' future and yet refusing to act as required would cause termination of my contract with these two extra income generating schools (Teacher P, teacher interview).

Another teacher from a first world school reported that,

MST is highly prohibited in this school and some of us just utilise the gaps in our teaching time tables to rush and teach other private schools. One day my Government school Head teacher personally found me teaching in a nearby private school. I had to choose between stopping the lesson and get back to school or confronting him for constructive negotiations on the matter (Teacher K, teacher interviews).

According to the above two narratives, the teachers are in pedagogical dilemma whether to follow the fundamental set pedagogical principles and guidelines, or mind about extra income generation through undertaking a pragmatic decision in their pedagogical performance. In such a case, the teachers find themselves contradicting with their bosses. The findings under the above theme agree with [34] that bosses of private for-profit schools do not allow teachers a chance to independently exercise their powers in decision making. In further agreement with the findings, [3] cautions MST practicing teachers to expect dilemmas as a result of their multiple interactions at their different work spaces. However, the findings disagree with [53] and [54] who note that teachers should make their pedagogical beliefs clear from the very beginning in order to improve their relationship with their bosses, instead of accepting whatever the bosses put on them.

5.1.2. Students' and Teachers' Conflicting Pedagogical Interests

This theme deals with pedagogical dilemmas that arise from conflicts as a result of time, commitment, and competence constraints. Although teachers are expected to be versatile instructors of learning, they at times find themselves constrained and thus get deeply stuck in serious pedagogical dilemmas in teaching-learning environment. Teacher M for example noted that,

In my Government school, I am an Upper secondary level teacher who does not teach senior one. Last year I was connected to a private school on part-time basis in which I was asked to teach senior one whose curriculum was recently changed by MoES. As a professional teacher, I was puzzled whether to "mechanically" teach these learners after a few collegial consultations than missing out the extra income I expected from my new part-time job in this private school, or not to accept the offer (Teacher M, teacher interviews).

In close relation to the above, another teacher narrated that,

In trying to pedagogically satisfy all the four schools I teach, I have not only failed to have lunch on a daily basis in my rushes through these schools, but I reached an extent of introducing a lesson to students which was meant for another class in another school, only to realise in the mid of the lesson. Besides, one school scheduled my lessons on Sunday and even night hours which are weird for effective learning and such proceedings always leave me puzzled about the kind of professionalism I am exhibiting in my struggle for extra income generation (Teacher Z, teacher interview).

The above statements mean that, some teachers no longer put value to the core elements effective pedagogical service delivery and the financial motive seem to be an overriding ingredient in the overall teaching-learning environment, especially regarding the teachers involved in MST.

Teachers further reported that, at times they fail to concentrate when delivering lessons and end up into ill-instruction of learning whose reversibility instead signals students about the teachers' pedagogical incompetence. For example one teacher noted that,

Every year during UNEB examinations season, it is my responsibility to prepare a Fine Art paper that requires organising objects for candidates to draw. During one season, I misinterpreted the arrangement of objects in one of my schools and only realised when I had rushed to another school. I felt puzzled of whether to go back and change the setting after a full hour which I assumed to compromise my competence in the face of my students and bosses, or to leave my students fail the paper because of the mistake I had done (Teacher K, teacher interviews)

In close relation to the above, during one of the study's focus group discussions with teachers, one teacher reported a colleague who had taught a wrong mathematics question to one of her schools and only realised when she was teaching it to another school. She was puzzled whether to incur a cost of immediately rushing back to clear her mistake or leave them with the mistake until she was to go back to that school. Thus, many teachers are always too cautious about compromising their competences in the face of students and would rather maintain ill-pedagogical approaches and wait for the long term pedagogical consequences. This means that even if teachers are aware that they are not capable of certain pedagogical areas, they hardly undertake necessary steps to objectively overcome them.

In general, the above findings are partially in disagreement with [59] and [60] who concluded that, MST enables teachers to become more experienced and gaining self-confidence when interfacing with learners of various

schools. However, the study findings agrees with [55] who notes that it is practically impossible for such teachers to effectively cater for both high financial returns and better pedagogical outcomes, since it may end up serving the business (profit) motive at the expense of the pedagogical one.

5.1.3. Competitive Pedagogical Means for an Examination Oriented Education System

Under this theme, there are pedagogical dilemmas that arise from schools' cutthroat competition, fuelled by the existence of impressive UCE/UACE final examination grades as their strongest survival bait for these schools. As schools struggle towards overriding this competition, MST teachers are forced to devise means of supporting this aspiration and they in most cases find themselves in dilemma given the heavy pedagogical workload they have to deal with in the multiple schools. For example one Director of studies reported that,

Here, our candidate classes are always pre-occupied with different assignments and assessments mostly by fulltime teachers and thus MST teachers hardly find time to assess and revise with their learners given the time constraints. Students keep on complaining for being worse off with subjects of MST teachers and yet confident with those of fulltime teachers. As we administrators keep on putting these MST teachers on pressure, they find themselves puzzled of which alternative pedagogical practices they can employ or to quit their extra income generating private schools (Director of studies J of a first world public school, Director of studies interviews).

In close relation to the above, administrators of some private schools do not appreciate individual differences and end up forcing the impossible out of MST teachers, hence cause dilemma to the involved teachers just as one teacher noted,

At first I did not know that my employment in my extra income generating private school was because my students were academically performing well in my Government school. I kept on trying all the possible pedagogical means in this private school but students were not impressively passing as expected by my bosses and they kept on pinning me without considering the kind of students they were admitting (Teacher B, teacher interviews).

The dilemma in the above narrative is that, the teacher has to decide on whether to confront the bosses and admit failure of producing impressive examinations results due to the kind of students they have or deciding to quit and protect his plight. The findings in the above two statements imply that, the pedagogical dilemmas teachers undergo might force many to turn the teaching-learning milieu into a game in which the most strategic player takes it all. In fact, some MST teachers transfer pedagogical strategies used in their original schools to be implemented in their new schools for example, sketchy notes, to supplement class notes as well as spotting what to teach to students in targeting UCE/UACE examinations. However, some of these practices have caused further dilemma to such teachers as narrated by one teacher during one teachers' focus group discussions;

In my Government school, when I proposed sketchy notes (summarised handouts) to supplement students' *notes, I was supported by the administration by photocopying those notes for students and they started excelling in UNEB examinations. My dear, when I introduced it to my private school, they welcomed it but told me to meet the involved financial costs from my salary since the school had no such resources. Worst of all, this private school is always demanding for impressive examination scores from us as teachers (Teacher D, teacher focus group discussions)*

As seen in the above narrative, it is clear that teachers may adequately play their role but sometimes letdown by their bosses. The dilemma in the above narrative for example is that, the teacher becomes puzzled of whether to incur the photocopying costs or illegally solicit for money from the students, or even to leave them to continue performing poorly academically.

There were also teachers who reported pedagogical dilemmas arising from their unintended consistent use of ill-pedagogical means whose inconsistencies are only realised after getting exposed to resourceful persons. It is upon the teachers to decide how to act in such notwithstanding pedagogical circumstances thereafter. One teacher for example said,

In one of my extra income generating private schools, they provide UNEB examiners as resource persons for candidates especially towards sitting for their final UCE/UACE examinations. This examiner one time taught students using a simpler/easier means (using formulas for easy retrieving of points by students) of which even some points I had earlier taught were wrong. I realised I had to go back to my Government school and change the format in all topics but I was time constrained. Besides, students in this private school started looking at me as pedagogically incompetent and opted for the other resource person in the face of my bosses. I seriously remained puzzled of what to do next (Teacher H, Teacher interview).

The above narrative implies that, although teachers may persevere in such circumstances, they find themselves in a dilemma as to how to address their pedagogical standards so as to remain employed in their extra income generating schools. Findings from this theme are in agreement with [31] who reported that, the inadvertent proliferation of private schools has forced these schools into cutthroat competition in which UCE/UACE examinations scores stand as their strongest survival bait. The findings are however in disagreement with [56] and [57] who urged that teachers are very busy people and engaging in making summarised handouts for learners may create extra stress for them instead. The next section explores the different ways in which MST teachers navigate through pedagogical dilemmas.

5.2. How MST Teachers Navigate through Pedagogical Dilemmas

The findings under objective two of the current study reported no clear cut principles on how MST teachers deal with pedagogical intricacies. It is by individual teacher's pragmatic beliefs, priorities, knowledge, awareness and ability to reflect on alternatives, that teachers interface with these dilemmas. However, what works for one teacher may hardly work for the other, although the

dilemma could be of the same scenery. For example, there were teachers who revealed that, in their struggle to equally help students across schools, improvising for constrained pedagogical means and uniformity for effective assessment of learners was reported, just as one teacher narrated,

For the ten years I have spent practicing MST, I have always been setting a single paper across all my four schools so that marking them does not become a burden to me. Besides, in schools where I can hardly get the required laboratory equipments to carry out practical lessons, I just borrow them from my other well resourced schools and return them after my lesson (Teacher R, teacher interviews).

In this case, the above teacher decides to simplify what others may view as an impossibility to ensure continuity of his pedagogical effectiveness. However, there were some teachers who, when faced with such dilemmas, rather continued acting ineffective pedagogically mainly due to lack of innovativeness and creativity. Some of these teachers fear to take action (such as actions taken by teacher R) due to the uncertainty of the likely consequences of their actions. The above finding is in agreement with [62] who encouraged teachers to improvise and innovate when resources are not available. It also agrees with [58] who notes that it is only because of insufficient knowledge about the dynamics of MST that some teachers are not sure of what they are supposed to do, why they should do it and how it can be done.

There were also teachers who revealed that, to avert the dilemmas that emerge out of conflicting with their bosses, they instead ensured friendship with them as a way of getting helped easily in overcoming dilemmas that may arise out of conflicting interests between the two parties. One teacher for example narrated that,

I realised that befriending my bosses was the only way I would easily get redeemed from pedagogical dilemmas, since the friendship would apparently enable them agree with me whenever I proposed any pedagogical requirements. This further helps me to understand them better so that we do not always conflict in our decision making on matters concerning the teaching and learning environment (Teacher Q, teacher interviews).

However, many of these teachers discovered that some of their friendly Head teachers in some private schools did not address their pedagogical complexities and this was because they were also not independent in their decision making. One teacher narrated that,

At first I thought that by befriending my Head teacher, I would get solutions to some of the pedagogical dilemmas I would encounter. However, my Head teacher hardly addressed my pedagogical dilemmas concretely. I instead needed to befriend the school Director in order to secure definite solutions to some of my pedagogical dilemmas (Teacher L, teacher's interviews).

These findings agree with [34] that some Head teachers find some dilemmas far beyond their positions; have fear of potential consequences of getting involved, or feel that there is nothing they can do. The findings however disagree with [51] who urged that dilemmas are not always solved but can be resolved through individually managing them in different ways. There were therefore teachers who try all possible ways including counseling and guidance of learners, daily and careful preparations

for what and how they teach, as well as taking their time to reflect whenever pedagogical dilemmas come their way. One teacher reported that,

With my 15 years experience in MST, whenever I face pedagogical dilemmas, I do not rush into finding immediate solutions to avoid making careless mistakes. I instead keep on trying various options until I overcome the problem. My students sometimes feel that they have won but in the end through my "trial and error" strategies, I overcome all sorts of dilemmas related to my pedagogical proceedings (Teacher A, teacher interviews)

This finding is not only in agreement with [34]'s suggestion that reflection on what happens as well as use of "trial and error" approach in resolving dilemmas sometimes works, but also is in agreement with [49] that once teachers keep on trying different approaches to solving their dilemmas, they finally succeed. The finding however is in disagreement with [52] contending that, teachers fail to reflect on what goes on wrong so as they can try to use various means to overcome their pedagogical dilemmas.

There were also teachers who solved their pedagogical dilemmas by not only working harder in presence of their bosses to attract their attention and confidence whenever they (teachers) appear at school, but they also sought always for constructive collegial support in circumstances where they felt conflicts would occur either with bosses, fellow colleagues or with their pedagogical means. For example, teacher R reported that,

My fellow teachers have highly helped me to deal with different pedagogical dilemmas. They have helped me to punish "big headed" students in my class, some have enabled me understand the new Ordinary Level curriculum better while other senior colleagues have advised me on how best to confidently handle various pedagogical tribulations (Teacher N, teacher interviews).

Although teacher N's argument is in agreement with [63] who argue that at times teachers decide to pass over a specific decision to a colleague in case the decision surpasses their position, the narrative is in disagreement with [34] and [24] that advice given by colleagues does not necessarily turn into usable advise by the teacher in dilemma, depending on individual teacher's perception. However, given the competitive nature of education institutions characterised by resource constraints, it is impossible for MST teachers to perfectly navigate through all pedagogical dilemmas, and thus the dilemmas are most likely to keep on recurring. Never the less, the next section attempted to raise the immediate stakeholders' opinions about MST.

5.3. Immediate Education Stakeholders' Opinions about the Way Forward on MST

Respondents were asked to propose ways to forestall the problems related to MST. Data regarding this objective was obtained through interviews held with Head teachers, Directors of studies and teachers as well as Focus group discussions conducted with teachers and students. In the analysis of their responses, Head teachers reported that most of the MST practicing teachers might have joined the profession because of the ease with which

teachers secure jobs after completion of their training. Others are not teachers by profession and are just concocted educationists who fail to secure jobs in their areas of professionalism and deicide to hide in teaching. One Head teacher narrated that,

Unless teacher training institutions deal with the prevailing fire-brigade teacher recruitment system that opened the door in for many unqualified candidates, the education system must be ready to receive many more finance-oriented entrants to become MST teachers, especially those that missed appointments into professions of their interests (Head teacher P, Head teacher interviews).

The above Head teacher's narrative agrees with [19] and [20] arguing that, most of the entrants become teachers unwillingly after missing opportunities into professions of their interests, and more often are the ones who indulged in a myriad of mal-practices including illegitimate MST.

Most of the teacher respondents over stressed the need by the government to fulfill teachers' needs such as; allowances, adequate salaries as well as opportunities for professional development if they are to step down MST. It was clearly revealed that extra income generation though with other related pedagogical factors, were the major contributors to MST and unless attended to, MST will remain in public secondary schools. One teacher narrated that,

Our take home packages from our public secondary school jobs cannot adequately "take us home". Therefore, our persistent involvement in MST is majorly to have our ends meet. Unless the Government adopts policies that will redeem us from financial distress, MST will always be part of our daily operations (Teacher Y, Teacher focus group discussions).

The above narrative is in agreement with [7,15] and [17] who all agree that financial motivation due to inadequate salaries is the most driving force for teachers' involvement in MST. The narrative is however in disagreement with [9] who reported that, despite the attempts by the government to periodically increase teachers' salary, MST is still reigning as a problem among most public secondary school teachers [12].

Focus group discussions with teachers further revealed that, it is only after offsetting managerial weaknesses of some Head teachers of Government schools using drastic measures, that the problems associated with MST can be overcome. Head teachers were reported to be supporting the perpetrators of MST for financial and other related reasons. One teacher for example revealed that,

Many MST teachers easily silence their Head teachers in Government schools by promising them part of their salary every month and thus are left to go on with whatever they wished. Unless regular inspection of what goes on in these schools is adopted, the problems that come with MST are here to stay (Teacher M, Teacher focus group discussions).

In close relation to the above, strengthening of institutional policies and practices; increasing teachers work load as well as embarking on rigorous infrastructural development in public schools was also reported as a strong mechanism for overcoming the evil of MST. One Director of studies reported that,

We have always pleaded for more buildings so that we can effectively contain the ever increasing number of students we admit in this school, but all in vain due to financial constraints lamented by the Government. The ministry instead advised us to have daily double shifts which *have given a chance to many teachers to part-time teach due to lack of adequate work load here (Director of studies S, Director of studies interviews).*

These findings partly agree with [20] that policy makers have a limited mandate to deal with teachers' ill-practices. There was thus call for revision of disciplinary actions taken by education policy makers. The findings further agree with [36] that the introduction of double shifts as well as teachers' limited work load are major gaps left for teachers to continue engaging in illegitimate MST.

Another paramount reported opinion by stakeholders in curbing pessimistic outcomes of MST was discovered during students' focus group discussions. While many of the students saw no problem with teachers not being in school on daily basis, others advised their teachers to be "calculative" in their MST so as not to harm their (students') pedagogical needs. It was also revealed that, there was no clear procedure known to students for lodging in complaints related to teachers' malpractices directly to the MoES, which made them to remain with a variety of inconsistencies related to teachers' MST unreported and thus unknown. One student for example noted that,

We even spend a full month without seeing some of our teachers and when we report to the Head teacher, he just assures us that he will handle, but nothing he does. I wish we had any other option of where we can report some of our teachers so that something can be done to them (Student A, student focus group discussions).

This narrative also agrees with [20] that once every stakeholder becomes aware of procedures for lodging in complaints about teachers' inconsistencies, unreported incidents will appear before the respective authority hence action will be taken against perpetrators.

Findings under this third objective has provided an overview and identified a concern of good practice in the remedy of MST and the associated tribulations to be complete stoppage of the practice. However, interviews with Head teachers and directors of studies as well as focus group discussions with teachers and students revealed some optimistic views in support of the practice. For example, respondents agreed that, MST did not only enable involved teachers to improve their pedagogical competences, but also enabled teachers to become proud of their teaching profession, as well as becoming hard workers in the need to always utilise fully their reduced time in school. As such, the practice can instead be enhanced among the practitioners but with averted severance of its pessimistic consequences.

These findings are in agreement with [25]'s Noble cause corruption framework as well as Vroom (1964)'s Expectancy theory for viewing MST as an illegitimate practice and yet involving teachers expect and belief in its positive outcomes, despite the likely debilitating effects. The findings further agrees with [7,38,39,41] who contend that MST enhances teacher interests, commitment and overall satisfaction with teaching and thus easily reignites their enthusiasm and commitment to remain pedagogically

focused. They thus utilise their creativity to enable their schools to achieve bottom line objectives. The findings however disagree with [56] and [57] who argue that MST may cause additional stress to the teacher and his/her general classroom environment which often cause them to feel negatively towards their pedagogical work. These studies wonder whether teachers really have the time to teach multiple schools in a way that does not compromise their pedagogical work.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Basing on its objectives, this study did not only detect a multitude of pedagogical dilemmas MST teachers face, but also a variety of pragmatic ways they use to navigate through the dilemmas. Besides, both containing and forestalling opinions to remedy the problems associated with MST were discovered. Also, [27]'s Expectancy theory and [25]'s Noble cause corruption framework were found to be partly explaining the dynamics behind the pervasiveness of MST, as well as a better understanding of the proposed handling strategies by the MST teachers. It was therefore concluded that, given the composite nature of teachers' pedagogical practices, MST can hardly survive without pedagogical dilemmas originating from not only time constraints, but also from the need to remain professional amidst competing mean-ends human existents among involving teachers. The study further concludes that, the opinions offered to remedy the problems associated with MST are only necessary but not sufficient in generally overcoming the existing pedagogical and financial inconsistencies among MST teachers. Hence, this study suggests that, there is need for a harmonious collaboration between the Government through the MoES and other education stakeholders, to work in line with the current study's postulated opinions by the immediate stakeholders. It is further recommended that, an intense level of commitment (in terms of time) and view of teaching as a vocation is expected from MST teachers if they are to objectively meet their expectations, as well as avoiding the liable stress and burnout. Although MST is apparently considered illegitimate and can hardly address all pedagogical and financial tribulations among teachers, its apparent contribution to work-income balance cannot be underrated. Thus, it is paramount to first undertake a study to ascertain the influence of MST on teachers' pedagogical performance, before concentrating on the fight against this practice.

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