

EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY

IN BOTSWANA

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by

Rachael Anne Dixey

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ABSTRACTEducation and Inequality in Botswana, by Rachael Dixey

This study is of spatial inequalities in access to schooling in Botswana. The study can be seen in four parts. The first is a theoretical introduction, which argues the case for analysing schooling and education within a political, economic and ideological context, and for using a structuralist, as distinct from an incrementalist, position to explain the origin and persistence of spatial inequalities of access.

The second section is an historical one, containing work from primary and secondary sources. British colonization of African nations resulted in the importation of Western education and the distortion of the indigenous political economy. African reactions to Western education varied but in all British colonies a "struggle for the school" ensued.

Between 1885 and 1966 Bechuanaland emerged as a labour reserve for South Africa, with an undermined economy and an underdeveloped education system. The colonialists pursued an elitist education policy, closing schools in small villages whilst the traditional elite gained privileged access to higher levels of education. At Independence Botswana was one of the world's poorest countries and among the most educationally backward in Africa. Although discovery of mineral deposits and the development of the cattle industry have transformed the economy, the government acknowledges serious inequalities and widening income differentials.

The third section concentrates on the supply of schooling, and analyses the educational policies of both central and local government. Since Independence the government has harnessed educational expansion to manpower planning, channelling resources into post-primary schooling to facilitate "development from above". The District Councils are responsible for primary school construction but the planning and building procedure is inefficient. A substantial proportion of rural children do not have the opportunity to attend school, and rural education is inferior to that in large settlements. The government acknowledges that it has not achieved as much as it had hoped in equalizing opportunities.

Finally, a village study provides an analysis of demand for schooling, and attempts to describe the mechanism which is responsible for the widening income differences which are of concern to the government.

A comparative study of three villages on the edge of the Kalahari sandveldt showed that life chances are dependent upon access to cattle. However, cattle ownership is highly skewed and the commercialization of cattle farming means that the traditional largesse based on cattle is declining. Significant reproduction of the traditional class structure was found, together with a reproduction of the traditional spatial pattern which reflects it. Three main groups were observed, based on access to cattle. The economically dominant group used inherited cattle wealth to finance secondary education and hence to find modern sector employment. The second, "peasantariat" group engaged in circulatory migration to the mines and elsewhere, but also relied on subsistence income. A third group, most impoverished, was moving down the spatial hierarchy to be nearer to crop growing areas, due to the decline of wealth redistribution mechanisms in the village, and the inability to participate in the waged economy based on the lack of education.

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Figures	v
List of Tables	vi
List of Maps	xi
<u>Chapter 1:</u> Education and Development	1
<u>Chapter 2:</u> British Education in Africa: The "Struggle for the School"	31
<u>Chapter 3:</u> Botswana: Economy and Society	60
<u>Chapter 4:</u> British Education in Bechuanaland, with special reference to the Bangwato	91
<u>Chapter 5:</u> Government Plans for Education	151
<u>Chapter 6:</u> Educational Administration in the Districts	188
<u>Chapter 7:</u> The Village Economy	240
<u>Chapter 8:</u> The Educational Profile of the Villages	280
<u>Chapter 9:</u> The Relationship between Migration, Cattle- ownership, Crop Production and Education	327
<u>Chapter 10:</u> Conclusions	368
Bibliography	389
Appendices	414

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1.1 "Class Culture" Paradigm of Attainment	21
1.2 "Attainment - Resources" Paradigm	21
3.1 Income (by source) for Rural Households	89
5.1 Educational Status by Age	177
6.1 Agencies concerned with Education in the Districts	196
6.2 Organization of the Central District Council	197
6.3 The School Planning Procedure	199
6.4 The "Fit" between Location of Schools and Location of Population in Central District	222
6.5 Intra-District Disparities by Settlement Size (Central District)	225
6.6 Trained and Untrained Teachers by Settlement Size, 1975	227
6.7 Trained and Untrained Teachers by District, 1979	227
7.1 A Model of Land Use	247
7.2 Lorenz Curve of Cattle Ownership	263
8.1 Proportion of each age group enrolled in Mosolotsane and Shoshong, by sex	287
8.2 Proportion of days lost through Absence, by Sex and Standard	291-2
9.1 The Dynamic Relationship between Education, Cattleownership, Migration and Wealth Accumulation	331
9.2 Length of Education and Propensity to Migrate	338

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
Table 3.1	Labour Migration from Bechuanaland to South Africa, 1910-1940	78
3.2	Migration to South African Mines 1973-78	79
4.1	School Enrolment 1905	104
4.2	School Enrolment 1905 and 1930	112
4.3	Colonial Expenditure: Proportion of Colonial Revenue spent on Education and Other Sectors 1933/34 to 1937/38	114
4.4	Proportion of Expenditure on African Education allocated to each Sector within Education 1944/45 to 1948/49	114
4.5	Educational Provision in Selected Southern African Territories, 1938	116
4.6	Enrolment Rates and Number of Teachers by Tribal Area 1939	119
4.7	Estimated Expenditure of Tribal Treasuries on Education, 1938	121
4.8	Expenditure in Bangwato Reserve on Education as a Proportion of Total Revenue, 1938/39 - 1943/44	121
4.9	Educational Expansion under Mr. Dumbrell	128
4.10	Proportion of Pupils in each Standard, 1935-1960	128
4.11	Employment in the Protectorate 1947 and 1948	133
4.12	Number of Classrooms required to meet Demand (Minimum Estimates) by area, 1959	137
4.13	Proportion of Capital Expenditure spent on Schools, by Area, 1959	137

LIST OF TABLES (Cont'd)

	<u>Page</u>
Table 5.1 The Accelerated Rural Development Plan	163
5.2 Primary Sector Growth 1966-1976	176
5.3 Secondary Sector Growth 1960-1976	178
5.4 Proportion of Attenders in each Sector, 1968-79	178
5.5 Planned versus Actual Educational Levels 1979	179
6.1 District Council Areas and Population	194
6.2 % of Classrooms completed by the end of the Primary School Construction Programme, March 1976 to March 1977	219
6.3 % of Classrooms completed by March 1978 of the Primary School Construction Programme, March 1976 to March 1977	219
6.4 Distribution of Population and Primary Schools in Central District	223
6.5 Proportion of Population in Settlements of less than 500 people and settled at Cattlepost or Lands	223
6.6 Distribution of the Population by Settlement Type 1971	226
6.7 Distribution of the Population by Settlement size 1971	226
6.8 Classroom Construction and Fund Allocation by Area 1977/78	228
6.9 Proportion of Standard 7 Leavers with an 'A' Pass at the PSLE, by Area, 1968-72 and 1978, and Proportion of Standard 7 Leavers continuing to Secondary School	230
6.10 Proportion of School aged Population enroled, and Ratio of Boys to Girls enroled, by Area, 1971	232
6.11 Proportion of 1971 Population which has never attended School, and proportion of Total Population at Primary School in 1971, by Area	234

<u>LIST OF TABLES</u> (Cont'd)	<u>Page</u>
Table 8.8 Average Years of Schooling by Age and Village	288
8.9 Occupation of Pupils' Guardians, Shoshong	290
8.10 Occupation of Pupils' Guardians, Kodibeleng	290
8.11 Average Age at Entry to Standard 1	293
8.12 Attendance Rates, Kgamane School, 1978	294
8.13 Reasons for leaving school, Mosolotsane 1968-1972	295
8.14 Reasons for not attending School	296
8.15 Non Attendance by Sex	297
8.16 Payment of Primary School Fees	299
8.17 Distance in Time between Home and School	300
8.18 Distance between Wards and School in Kodibeleng	301
8.19 Proportion of the Population with Post Primary Schooling	305
8.20 Geographical Origins of Madiba Pupils	310
8.21 Features of the Four Schools	313
8.22 Hypothetical Options taken by Parents if Dissatisfied with the School	319
8.23 Hypothetical Investment Options	320
8.24 Results from the Headteachers' Questionnaire	322
9.1 Education, Migration and Income by number of cattle	334
9.2 Education of Migrants and Non-Migrants (of those absent at the time of the survey)	335
9.3 Education of Past Migrants and Non-Migrants	336
9.4 Proportion of Migrants with No Education by Destination	336

LIST OF MAPS

		<u>Page</u>
Map	3.1 The Republic of Botswana	63
	4.1 Bechuanaland, showing Tribal Territories and Land Tenure	95
	5.1 Government Aided Secondary Schools	180
	6.1 Proportion of 'A' Grades at the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination, by Area	229
	6.2 Proportion of School Attenders at Post-Primary Facilities, by Area of Origin	231
	6.3 Boy:Girl Ratio in School, by District	235
	6.4 Miners as a Proportion of the Population, by District	236
	7.1 The Study Area	243
	7.2 The 1971 Census Enumeration Districts in the Study Area	245

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

"There is considerable evidence that educational recruitment, placement and, to a lesser extent achievement, provide greater opportunities for some members of society than others. While it acts as a vehicle of social mobility, it can also help to preserve the position of those who are born into high-status families and make it more difficult for those from low-status families to improve their position. In spite of this, governments proclaim their dedication to equality for all citizens. This poses an interesting problem for the relationship between consensus and conflict in society."

(Peil, 1977, p.200)

In this short paragraph, Peil touches upon four major themes: that the acquisition of education leads to certain rewards; that access to education may be a mechanism for the reproduction of society in its existing form; that education is a political issue; and that issues of access and control over access to education are potential sources of conflict in a society.

For a geographer concerned with spatial inequalities in access to schooling these four themes have a number of implications if an attempt is to be made to explain the origin and persistence of spatial inequalities and not merely to describe them. Slater has criticised geographers for describing spatial patterns but not explaining spatial processes (Slater, 1976).

The aim of the research is to analyse spatial inequalities in access to education in an African State. The case study is Botswana, an African State where considerable spatial variation in access to schooling exists. In order to understand the process producing spatial inequality, it is necessary to establish the dynamic structuring the

organization of space; the role of education in development and in the reproduction of social formations; the contribution of "conflict" and "consensus" theory; and to place education within the politico-economic context.

Liberal Theories of the Role of Education in Development

A recurrent theme in the literature concerned with the Third World is the contribution made by education to national development, and the role of the school in societies which are undergoing rapid change. The great volume of literature concerned with education in developing nations testifies to its importance, perceived by both Western nations and the population of developing countries themselves.

Dore notes:

"We still believe that learning, knowing, understanding and thinking "civilize"; that education - the cultivation of human minds and spirits - is the foundation of a good and economically productive society; and that the improvement of education is a means to a better society."

(Dore, 1981, p.69)

The role of education in the "take-off into self-sustained growth", to use Rostow's phrase, was recognized by political leaders of African States at Independence. They invariably pointed to the neglect of the education system by the colonial governments as a contributor to, if not the cause of, economic stagnation. The school had a role to play in ameliorating stagnation in three ways: firstly it could engender the appropriate behavioural orientations, and a move away from an ascription-based set of values towards a system which encouraged individual initiative and entrepreneurship. Secondly, the school could allow the emergence of a highly qualified sector capable of stimulating

growth and acting as leaders in national economic development. Thirdly, the school was seen as presenting the opportunity to break down traditional political and economic inequalities, by allowing individuals equality of opportunity in access to schooling and hence to waged employment. Thus economic stagnation was to be escaped by presenting a means of socializing individuals, creating national development and reducing inequalities between geographical regions and social groups. The optimism of the new political leaders was fuelled perhaps by their own personal experience of social mobility gained through the education system, but also by a long history of theorizing on the role of education in economic growth.

Attempts to quantify the contribution of schooling to development had been made by Strumilin in 1925 (Strumilin, 1966) and since then by a number of social scientists, particularly economists (Walsh, 1935; Schultz, 1961, 1964; Becker, 1962; Blaug, 1969; Peaslee, 1969; Denison, 1966). Attempts were made to quantify the private and social rates of return to education, and by the late 1960s it was not questioned whether or not education was a, if not the, prime determinant of economic development. Cash wrote, in 1969, "This thinking has not been questioned openly, and it is ossifying into doctrine" (Cash, 1969, p.100).

The assumed importance of education to development, combined with the conviction that education is a basic human right has meant that in many developing countries the education sector has been the only sector to meet or exceed planned investment targets. Expansion of education has created a number of additional problems, however, generating unwanted, massive, rural-urban migration, placing strain on national budgets, and aggravating political tension. Further, in recent years, ideas about the role of education have changed. There has been the recognition that education in the developed, Western nations does not necessarily engender

greater socio-economic equality, and this line of thinking has also been applied to the developing nations (e.g. Barkin, 1975). Husen notes that, "the mood has swung from the almost euphoric conception of education as the Great Equalizer to that of education as the Great Sieve that sorts and certifies people for their (predetermined) slot in society". (Husen, 1977, p.411) In 1974, a group of World Bank authors wrote that formal education systems had been "irrelevant to the needs of developing countries for the past two decades" (quoted in Simmons, 1981, p.8).

Countries of the Third World have been observed as failing to reduce poverty, inequality and dependence on foreign aid. Within education, three categories of failings have been identified: the problem of the educated unemployed, caused by a mismatch between the needs of, and absorption capacity of, the economy, and the types of graduates produced by the schools; secondly, the high level of inefficiency within the schools, as measured by drop-out rates, poor quality of graduates, lack of equipment and so on; thirdly, continued inequality of access to schooling, in social and geographical terms. The latter has received attention from geographers and others, as being a tangible problem for which solutions may be proposed. Foster notes that data from LDC's indicate "massive and ubiquitous internal disparities in the provision of schooling on a spatial or geographical basis" (Foster, 1977, p.216). Harrison, writing in a more journalistic fashion, notes a similar phenomenon:

"Access is a matter of miles and money. School enrolment, absenteeism and drop-out rates increase in direct relation to distance from school. Even if schools were more evenly distributed according to population, the more sparsely settled rural areas would be at a disadvantage compared to towns. In the depths of the African bush you often meet little troops of children, shading their heads with dogeared exercise books, jogging along dirt roads soon after dawn, an hour or more away from the nearest school."

(Harrison, 1979, p.308)

This situation has arrested the attention of geographers; thus Gould notes:

"Spatial variations in opportunity of access to the various levels of the educational ladder present the geographer with a situation with which he is competent to deal."

(Gould, 1971, p.83)

Alternative Theories of the Role of Education in Development

The fact that the expected pay-off to the massive investment in education has failed to promote national development on the scale intended has prompted attempts to increase the internal efficiency of the school, and to increase attempts to reduce inequalities of access. It has also prompted the question of whether education, in the form in which it is offered, is able to promote development and equality. Further, the question has been posed as to whether education actively promotes underdevelopment and dependency in certain areas and nations. This line of thinking follows the paradigm shift in much social science from a functionalist perspective to that of a "conflict" approach. This difference can be observed in practice between what Simmons describes as the human capital or incrementalist view of schooling, and the structuralist view. Carnoy perceives a similar division, between what he sees as followers of the Schumpeterian model of imperialism, and of the Leninist model and/or dependency model, with their respective implications for education. The difference in approach is perhaps epitomized by the writings of Foster and of Carnoy, who reside in firmly opposite theoretical camps. Their differences have been aired at length in Comparative Education Review (Foster, 1975, 1977; Carnoy, 1975; Petty, 1975; Devon, 1975; La Belle, 1975), though at times Foster feels, "we would do well to abandon the rhetoric of functionalist

or conflict theory altogether" (Foster, 1977, p.214).

In his major work, Carnoy expands Schumpeter's and Lenin's theories of imperialism. Briefly, Schumpeter views capitalism as an anti-imperialist force; capitalism transcends the tendencies of nations to overcome others by conquest. Capitalism is a civilizing force capable of settling disputes and binding nations through peaceful commerce. Schumpeter's analysis was largely a reaction to Lenin's work, published two years previously. Lenin argued that imperialism was a necessary phase of capitalism, and the uneven development of nations was inevitable. Whereas Schumpeter stressed the positive effects of capitalism, Lenin saw that it had "created an international division of labour which benefitted a small percentage of the world's population, and actually impoverished many of the world's peoples" (Carnoy, 1974, p.42).

The dependency theorists, drawing on Lenin's work, see the dependency of developing nations on the Western, developed nations as a function of the economic relationship between the two. The spatial implications of dependency relationships have been drawn by Brookfield (1975) amongst others, who views the "centre" nations as dominating and exploiting the "periphery" nations of the world. Santos defines dependency as "a situation in which a certain group of countries has its economy conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy" (Santos, dos, 1970). The dominated economy can only expand as a reflection of the economy of the dominant economy.

The implications for education under the alternative theories of capitalist expansion are quite different. Neo-classical development theory (following Schumpeter) views schooling as a liberating process, turning "traditional" children into "modern" ones. Not only does education allow a child to be functional but also creative. Dependency

theory takes the view that education merely changes persons from one role to another within a situation of dependency, although the economic rewards to the individual of such a change might be high. The perceived "inefficiencies" of the school are not, in fact, dysfunctional, but directly related to the efficient functioning of the dependency relationship.

The Role of Space

It is necessary to explore approaches to the role of education in developing nations in more detail if an analysis of spatial inequalities in access to education is required. Although geographers have addressed the problem of reducing observed spatial inequality, the mechanisms which caused that inequality at the outset are little understood. Hence it cannot be said with certainty that the proposed solutions (put forward by geographers) will be successful. Little is known of the ecology of education in developing countries; neither are we clearly informed about the "contextual variables in regions and districts that are associated with the quantitative development of schooling" (Foster, 1977, p.215). This is particularly serious "If one believes, as I do, that thus far in a majority of LDCs the most serious form of educational inequality arises from regional disparities rather than from social, ethnic or "class" variables" (Foster, his emphasis, 1977, p.218). Foster, therefore, sees the "most serious" form of inequality arising from regional disparities rather than from other variables.

Foster's opinion appears to preclude the idea that space expresses the functioning of social processes, that space is socially structured and provides the most visible expression of societal and

economic forces. Although different cultures develop different ways of representing social relationships in space, space is always "a material product, in relation with other material elements - among others, men, who themselves enter into particular social relations, which gives to space ... a form, a function, a social signification". Space is thus a "concrete expression of each historical ensemble" (Castells, 1977, p.115). Harvey points out that, "without an understanding of social processes in all their complexity, we cannot hope to understand social space in all its complexity" (Harvey, 1973, p.36). An identification of the spatial component of social inequality is crucial to human geography but, "it must be recognized at the outset that many of the causes, consequences and manifestations of inequality are predominantly structural rather than spatial in nature" (Coates et al, 1977, p.5). The problematic becomes one of establishing the effect of the "structure" on space, or, as Castells prefers, of establishing the "structural and conjectural laws that govern its existence and transformation, and the specificity of its articulation with the other elements of an historical reality" (Castells, 1977, p.115).

It can be suggested that Foster's approach obscures an understanding of spatial inequality of access through failing to articulate spatial inequality with other expressions of inequality.

The Incrementalist Position

This basic criticism aside, Foster has contributed a number of ideas and a large amount of data which has proved useful in the debate. He exemplifies the incrementalist position. As part of a gradual process of development, Foster regards spatial inequalities as an unfortunate fact to be lived with for the time being:

" ... at present, we must accept the fact that in early and middle stages of development imparities in education and other types of provision usually increase and that growing inequality in the allocation of resources and levels of well being will occur. If maximization of the rate of economic development is the goal, these growing inequalities will have to be lived with."

(Foster, 1975, p.378)

As a result of historical processes certain groups surge well ahead of others in demand for, and access to, schooling; these "initial patterns of geographical inequality in access to schooling are remarkably persistent and areas or regions that obtain an early lead in educational development in LDCs are likely to maintain it" (1977, p.216).

He notes that the spatial diffusion of schooling tends to follow a similar pattern in most countries to which it is introduced. Likewise, the social pattern of recruitment into school is never random - "all studies indicate a skew in recruitment patterns towards the upper end of the socio-economic scale" (1971, p.24). All studies, he asserts, find that the children of occupationally and educationally advantaged parents, of urban origin, are most likely to attend school. Whilst this skewness is obvious, Foster is uncertain regarding the extent to which the "upper end of the socio-economic scale" is composed of new members, with their status resting on their newly acquired education, or whether this upper end is made up of the traditional elite who have used their privileged position to be amongst the first to consume the educational imports of the Westernized world. He notes that in Africa, "status reversal" was the "most usual result" rather than "status maintenance" (1977, p.219). That is, he hypothesises that children of the elite will tend not to be sent to school but that those of the lower classes will. He notes that colonial regimes tended to facilitate the recruitment of the sons of chiefs, but that these attempts were rarely

successful. Thus, although:

"... sufficient historical data do not as yet exist to adequately test this proposition in comparative perspective ... it is evident that in many areas the educational system played a significant role in the progressive erosion of traditional status differentials and the emergence of new, educationally privileged minorities."

(Foster, 1971, p.18)

Foster does believe that indigenous pre-colonial educational systems did serve status maintenance functions and reflected status distinctions. However, this was not the case for imported educational systems:

"The situation that emerged in those nations that imported Western schools was, however, very different, for it could hardly be expected that educational structures developed in the context of Western type systems of social stratification would continue to exercise the "status maintenance" function in societies whose indigenous systems of social stratification were radically different. In other words, the relationship between schooling and "social class" that existed in European nations could not obtain in most non-Western areas."

(Foster, 1971, p.16)

Where schooling is a transferred institution, introduced either by the indigenous elite or by the colonizing European power, "it can hardly be said that the schools are simply reflections of extant patterns of social, economic, or cultural differentiation, but rather that they are powerful independent forces in the creation of new emergent social and cultural groupings" (1977, p.215). Foster appreciates that his hypothesis regarding status maintenance and reversal are contentious and suggests that research should examine whether "different patterns of educational access are systematically correlated with other structural attributes of societies" (1977, p.223).

Foster notes that the question "Who gets educated?" is a salient

one in the new African states. As the modern sector of the economy in LDCs tends to be small, limited opportunities exist for waged employment. Drawing on Rado's "explosive model" of educational growth he explains that as educational expansion outpaces the increase in jobs and the "occupational currency" of a given level of education declines, an escalation in the demand for education occurs, as the private returns to education remain high. Thus once a primary education does not bring occupational success, the demand for post-primary education expands. After a time lag secondary school leavers become unemployed due to the constant oversupply of graduates compared to demand for them, and therefore demand for higher education occurs; "the genie is out of the bottle, and there seems to be no way of controlling the accelerating demand for education at all levels" (1975, p.380). Governments see themselves as "virtually powerless" to control this growing demand, and, being responsible to political constituencies, the "sheer instinct for political survival dictates that ruling elites attempt to provide schooling" (1975, p.380). In the meantime, side effects of an increase in the amount of education received by the population, in terms of a rise in urban, educated unemployment, and depopulation of the countryside, escalate.

The government is faced with the dilemma of pursuing its political objectives of equalizing opportunities throughout the nation, and its economic objectives of maximizing growth.

"Nowhere is the tension between egalitarian objectives and aspirations for economic advance more evident than in the field of educational planning, and several factors have conspired to make educational provision, both in terms of gross enrolments and differential access to schooling, one of the key political issues in the new states."

(Foster, 1971, p.14)

Foster further notes that whereas in the past governments saw educational

expansion as the "royal road" to economic development, in recent years it has been realized that increasing educational provision is by no means a sufficient condition for growth and it is evident that "the interrelationship between economic and educational development is far more complex than was at first supposed" (1971, p.14). Meanwhile governments continue to pour resources into education in the expectation of an ultimate economic pay-off, and for the political reasons outlined. Indeed, in the short run:

" ... the politics of educational development are likely to play a far greater role in determining the pattern of educational access than any strategies based on maximizing the economic contribution of schooling."

(Foster, 1971, p.32)

Three of Foster's themes have been touched upon. First is the discovery that spatial differences in access to schooling in African states are wide. Second is that a certain sector of society, that is, that which is educationally and occupationally advantaged, can obtain for its progeny further advantaged positions within the education system. However, Foster does not give a consistent theory as to why this should be so. Third is that the scene of educational planning is politically charged, with governments forced to juggle with political stability on the one hand and economic growth on the other.

Foster's speculations on the effect of the transferred institution of formal schooling on the receiving society can also be questioned. In suggesting that it is impossible for an imported institution to fulfil the same function in both the country of origin and of destination, the function of education may be confused with its specific form. Whilst in form the models of education brought from Europe presented drastically

different ways of socializing the young, the function of education in colonial times was the same as that in pre-colonial times. This confusion allows Foster to see only in a "very general way" that "schools do sort people out on the basis of achievement" (Foster, 1977, p.214).

Foster's analysis does not particularly enlighten us as to why "many of the new African states find themselves trying to run up a rapidly downward moving staircase" (1975, p.381). Although he has noted the importance of political factors in the expansion of education, and that access to education is a "key political issue", he still asserts that "educational expansion is subject to the laws of the market place" (1975, p.381). Further, he sees it as possible to engage in "careful tinkering with the market", if the principal goal is to maximize the contribution of formal education to development. We are not left with an understanding of why "the demand for education continues to grow with all its apparent unpleasant side effects" (1975, p.380), but only with the realization that "The African states are indeed now between Scylla and Charybdis" (1975, p.380).

The Structuralist Position

Simmons notes that in the past few years, (before 1981), "the balance of evidence appears to have tipped in favour of the structuralist's position" (Simmons, 1981, p.27). Blaug, not a structuralist, has "concluded that the incrementalist or human capital theory is now in "crisis", and its explanation for education "increasingly unconvincing" " (Simmons, 1981, p.27). Blaug predicted that the latter theory would "gradually fade away" (Blaug, 1976, pp.849-50).

Levi-Strauss provides an analogy which points the way towards a more useful way of viewing educational inequality. In his famous description of structural explanation, he states that structuralists do not seek explanation by examining the empirical level of reality. Rather than seeing the world as a "jumble of jig-saw pieces" in which no structure is discernible, rather,

"... if, as is sometimes done, the pieces are automatically cut in different shapes by a mechanical saw, the movements of which are regularly modified by a cam shaft, the structure of the puzzle exists not at the empirical level: its key lies in the mathematical formula expressing the cams and their speed of rotation, something very different from the puzzle as it appears to the player."

(Levi-Strauss, 1960, p.52)

With regard to education, therefore, it is intended to proceed from the "puzzle as it appears to the player", i.e. the spatial patterns of access to schooling, to the "mathematical formula expressing the cams and the speed of their rotation", i.e. to the controlling ideological and political forces which determined that particular spatial (and social) pattern. It is the failure to take this step which distinguishes the structuralist from the incrementalist. The latter fails to move into a study of what Giddens terms "structuration";

"To study structuration is to attempt to determine the conditions which govern the continuity and dissolution of structures or types of structures."

(Giddens, 1976, p.120)

A major concern of Giddens (1979) is that of social reproduction. The ideological dimension of education has been discussed by a number of writers interested in the way in which societies reproduce themselves. The French economic anthropologist, Meillasoux, set out to discover how traditional, "self-sustaining societies" transmitted their authoritarian

social structures from one generation to the next without incurring dramatic change. The societies which he studied were regulated by elders, whose absolute authority rested not upon physical strength, technical skills or access to technology. Rather, in order to perpetuate their authority and control access to positions of privilege, it was necessary to extend their knowledge beyond fundamental skills, to knowledge of customs, genealogies and magic. They made this knowledge their exclusive province by setting up institutional barriers (e.g. initiation schools) to regulate the transmission of such knowledge (Meillasoux, 1978A, 1978B).

How do societies which are not self-sustaining in Meillasoux's sense, but partially incorporated into a world economy, reproduce their structures? Althusser writes, "every child knows that a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year" (Althusser, 1971, p.123). The reproduction of a class society involves two aspects: firstly the reproduction of class positions, and secondly the reproduction and distribution of the individuals who will occupy those positions. As Parkin points out, two "conceptually distinct" yet intertwined processes underlie inequality in a class system. First is the allocation of differential reward to individuals in different class positions, and secondly is the non-random process of recruitment to those positions (Parkin, 1975, p.13).

Parkin sees the occupational structure as the basis for a class society. Quoting Blau and Duncan, he notes "The hierarchy of prestige strata and the hierarchy of economic classes have their roots in the occupational structure", and "Marketable expertise is the most important single determinant of occupational reward, and therefore one of the key elements in the system of class inequality" (Parkin, 1975, p.21).

Marketable expertise is gained through manipulation of the education system, and the "ability of well placed families to confer advantages on their younger members ... encourages a fairly high degree of social self-recruitment within privileged strata from one generation to the next". Without this "long term continuity provided by the kinship link it would still be possible for stratification to persist, but not class stratification in the conventional meaning of that term" (Parkin, 1975, p.14). Given the key role of occupational reward, "Class conflict may thus be said to reside in the attempt to gain access to, or control over, those institutions which govern the distribution of symbolic and material advantages" (Parkin, 1975, p.26).

The school is one such institution. The school plays a dual function in reproducing both the class positions and the individuals to occupy those positions; in reproducing politico-ideological relations, (the school "teaches "know-how" but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice" (Althusser, 1971, p.127)), the school enters into the reproduction of the positions which define social classes. At the same time appropriate attitudes and skills are reproduced in the individuals who will occupy different positions. Poulantzas adds a note on the relationship between the school and society. He asserts:

"To take an intentionally schematic example: it is not the existence of a school forming proletarians and new petty bourgeoisie which determines the existence and reproduction (increase, decrease, certain forms of categorization, etc.) of the working class and the new petty bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it is the action of the production relations of complex forms of economic ownership and possession on the labour process ... and thus the economic, political and ideological class struggle which has the school as its effect."

(Poulantzas, 1973, p.50-57)

In other words, the need to produce workers/bourgeoisie created the need for the school, and not vice versa.

Two stances have emerged. The first is that touched upon by Poulantzas, namely that the school is a reflection of the society of which it is a part, it is the "effect" not the cause, of a particular social order. The second is that explanation of a particular distribution of educational facilities lies in an understanding of the relationship between different groups in a society, or of "class conflict".

The 1970s produced a considerable volume of literature from educationalists operating from these two stances, the most important of whom will be mentioned here. These writers emerged in contrast to the functionalists such as Bell (1973) and Inkeles (1974) and to the "Neo-Roussian de-schoolers" (Husen's phrase, Husen, 1979, p.25), such as Illich (1971), Reimer (1971) and Christie (1971). Whilst many of the group using a "political economy" approach did not direct their thoughts to the Third World, they offer much which is of value. These writers can rather loosely be categorized into three groups:

1. Those concerned with the ideology of the school itself, the role of teachers and the curriculum, and who have explored the debate between education as an "independent" or "dependent" variable, e.g. Young and Whitty (1977), Erben and Gleeson (1977).
2. Those concerned with the differential attainment of different groups and the social functions of this differential attainment, e.g. Carnoy (1974), Byrne, Williamson and Fletcher (1973, 1975).
3. Those wishing to trace the historical development of formal schooling as it relates to the development of the capitalist economy, e.g. Bowles (1976), Gintis (1976), Barkin (1975).

The contribution made by the first group was to explore the debate

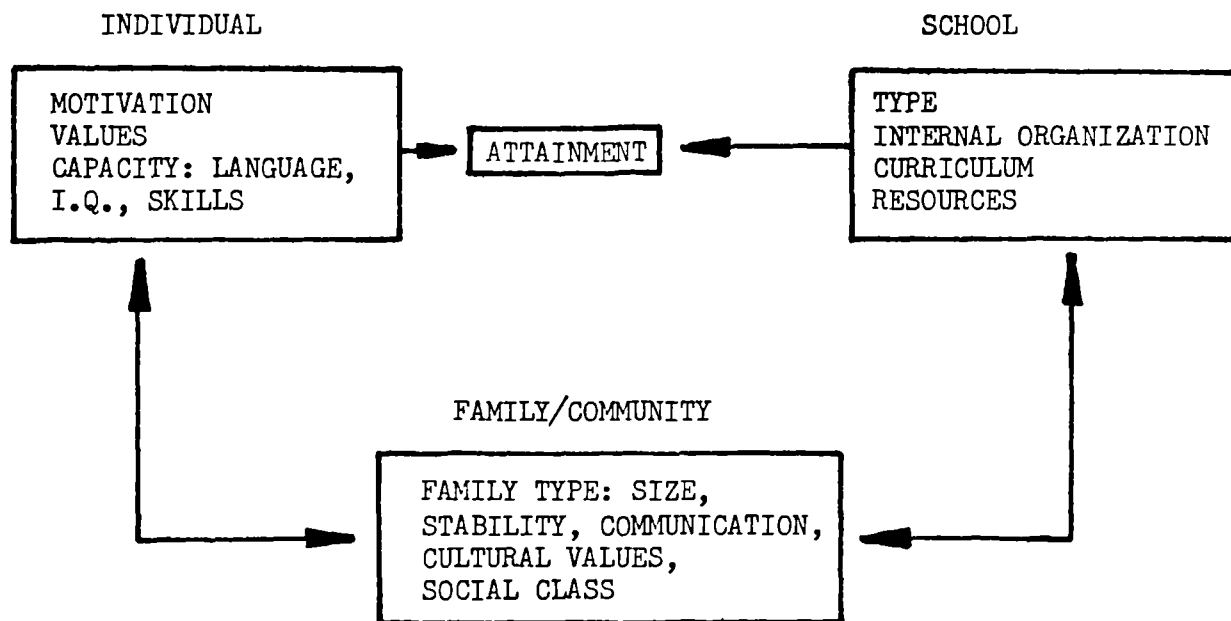
between education as a dependent variable, the function of which is to reproduce individuals in a form suited to the requirements of the capitalist economy, and education as an independent variable, being capable of changing the social structure through the vision of people free to choose the kind of society in which they wish to live (Young and Whitty, 1977, p.10). Whilst the role of those individuals motivated by faith in the power of education to effect change is noted (e.g. Patrick van Rensburg in Botswana), doubts are voiced about their ability to achieve any desired change in the long run. The second contribution of this group is to point out that to separate questions of access and distribution from the persons involved in the process, that is, from what access is to and from what is distributed, is fruitless. Thus the earlier studies, (e.g. that by Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1956), which explored the extent of educational opportunity experienced by various social groups, saw education simply as a quantifiable resource rather than as a "relation between people, their history and their environment" (Young and Whitty, 1977, p.16). Further, their "mechanistic view ignores the relationship of education to learning and reifies a process into an inert, determined quantum" (Holly, 1977, p.172). At the same time as this group criticizes those neo-Marxists (e.g. Althusser, 1969, 1971 or Levitas, 1974) who over-emphasise the role of schools as "cogs in the capitalist machine" (Young and Whitty, 1977, p.9) and the impossibility of escape from the "crushing influences of state apparatuses" (Erben and Gleeson, 1977, p.74), it also criticizes those who do not appreciate the complexity of Marxist analysis and who regard it as simplistic and over-deterministic, (e.g. Ravitch, 1977, or Husen, 1979, who describes Marxist analysis as "excessive reductionism").

The second group of writers seeks alternatives to the conceptualization of differential attainment based on behavioural, cultural or

motivational factors, and, drawing on the classical sociological tradition of Marx and Weber seek to provide a "conceptual schema which treats directly the distribution, control, and access to goods and services in the determination of life chances and seeks to discover what principles govern such distribution" (Byrne et al, 1973, p.49). Byrne et al (1972, 1973) show how the numerous studies looking at inequalities in attainment, using behavioural/cultural criteria (Bernstein, 1971; Coleman, 1966; Jencks et al, 1972; Walker, 1976) have themselves been used to legitimize failure. These studies make available "explanations of educational processes which legitimate failure by reference to universalistic criteria of achievement" (Byrne et al, 1973, p.43). Such explanations are necessary as, "situations of opportunity are also situations of denial and failure. Thus democratic societies need not only to motivate achievement but also to mollify those denied it, in order to sustain motivation in the face of disappointment and to deflect resentment" (Clark, 1960, p.569). Thus reasons for failure are located in the language codes or class culture of unsuccessful groups - "the responsibility for unequal results in schooling appears to lie outside the upper class, often in some fault of the poor" (Bowles, 1977, p.38). Byrne et al conclude that "the syndrome of behaviours which are ... arbitrarily taken to signify cultural deprivation, turn out, on inspection, not to have a cultural source in the usual sense. They are economically and politically conditioned" (Byrne et al, 1973, p.50). They therefore reject the "Class-Culture Paradigm of Attainment" (Fig. 1.1) and adopt a paradigm which includes national and local economic and political variables (Fig. 1.2).

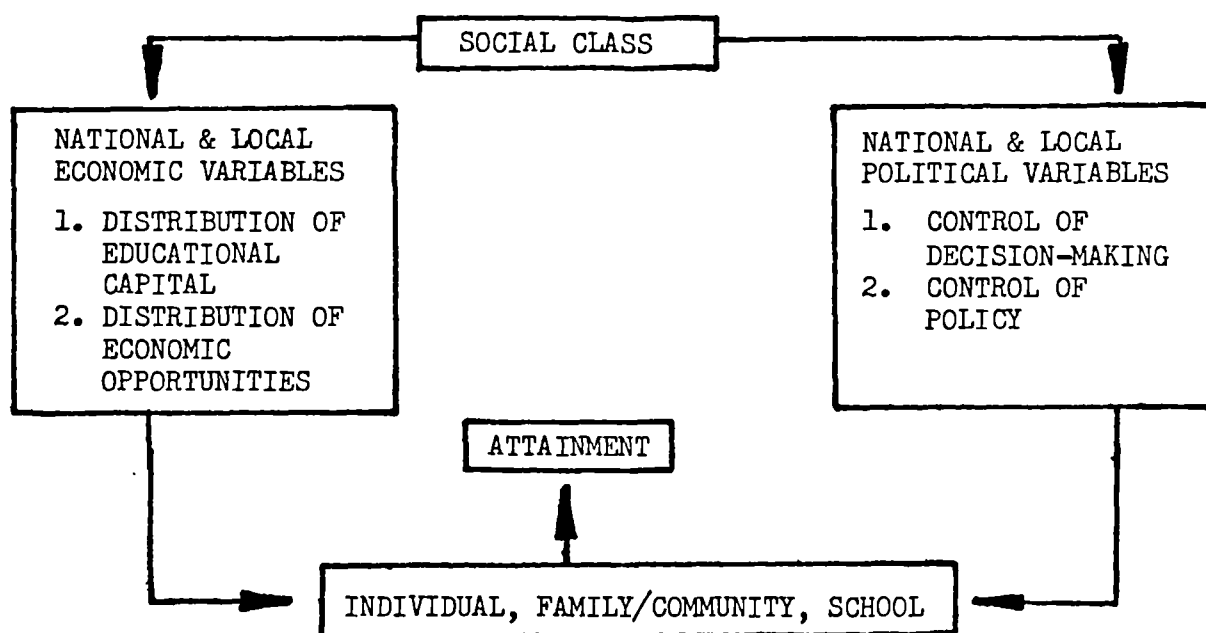
Carnoy (1974, 1975) also shows how responses to schooling are economically and politically conditioned, and provides perhaps the most exhaustive account of the workings of an educational system in a capitalist

Figure 1.1 "Class Culture" Paradigm of Attainment



Source: Byrne et al., 1973

Figure 1.2 "Attainment-Resources" Paradigm



Source: Byrne et al., 1973.

economy. His work is worth considering in detail. He notes that capitalism is distinguished from other forms of production in that expansion of production depends on the accumulation of capital by individuals who are then free to use it as they wish. Owners of capital, as the buyers of labour, have an important influence on the traits which workers must have in order to participate in the production process. Carnoy explains the call for universal education in nineteenth century England not as the philanthropy of well meaning industrialists, "since the schools were a primary instrument of capitalist society to reproduce capitalist relations in production, it was important to capitalists to get everyone into schools" (Carnoy, 1975, p.118), but rather a principal means of legitimizing the class structure by assigning to "objective" schools the function of selecting people for various positions in the socio-economic hierarchy. Inside the school, the focus shifted from the social class of the pupil to his ability to perform in objective tests, and therefore failure could be attributed to an individual's inability to meet the system's universal and objective criteria for success. The success of the school system depended on the worker's acceptance of it as the allocator of social roles. However, whereas the legitimization of schooling as the allocator of roles could overcome the crisis of social control in the transition to modern capitalism, this complete acceptance by the workers created new conflicts, in increasing demands for schooling. The pattern of demands for increased primary, then secondary and finally higher education is consistent with the need to produce labour in an increasingly complex production structure, to reproduce the hierarchical ordering of social roles and to respond to demands of workers as each level of education becomes universal. The rate of return to each level of schooling can be expected to fall as the supply of labour with that level of qualification expands more rapidly than the economy's demand for it. Schooling

continues to expand however, due to the continuing need to legitimize the social structure, despite the falling economic return to the capitalist. Meanwhile, as the private rates of return do not decrease at the same pace as the public rate, workers will continue to demand higher levels of education. Unemployment increases this demand, by lowering the income forgone in attending school, and increasing the economic pay-off of attending.

As higher and higher levels of education are opened up to the public, and perhaps per capita income rises, with both horizontal and vertical mobility, the percentage of income captured by different income classes remains the same, or becomes more unequal (Carnoy, 1975, p.124):

"The important point for our purposes is that the schools do serve to reproduce the income distribution structure from generation to generation more than they act to make that distribution random."

(Carnoy, 1975, p.119)

The third group of writers attempts to show how mass, formal and compulsory education arose more or less directly out of changes in productive relations associated with the Industrial Revolution:

"The critical turning points in the history of American education have coincided with the perceived failure of the school system to fulfil its functional role of reproducing a properly socialized labour force, in the face of important qualitative or quantitative changes in the social relations of production."

(Gintis, 1975, p.15)

Bowles (1976) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) provide a comprehensive account of the change from "learning by doing in the family" (Bowles, 1976) to the imposition of mass schooling. The movement for public elementary and secondary schooling in the U.S.A. originated in those States most dominated by the incipient capitalist class. By the turn of the century, with more of the lower classes attending high schools, a system of

stratified high schools developed, with the notion of tailoring education to the "needs of the child". The close relationship between the needs of a changing economy and changes in the school system allows Gintis to regard Illich's claim that "Liberation from the grip of schools could be bloodless" (Illich, 1971, p.49) as "no more than whistling in the dark" (Gintis, 1976, p.17). "In the final analysis, "de-schooling" is irrelevant because we cannot "de-factory", "de-office" or "de-family" " (Gintis, 1976, p.8-9). Likewise Bereiter's question "Must We Educate?" is also irrelevant (Bereiter, 1973).

The group of writers operating within the political economy approach has achieved a great deal of progress since the rather unsophisticated analysis of the 1960s when inequality was seen as simply a problem of removing social, economic and geographical barriers. Writers such as Taylor and Ayres, in their call to examine the "material and social environment (in its widest sense)" (Taylor and Ayres, 1969, p.15) and Katz (1968) in his attempts to dispel the myths surrounding the origins of modern education, have ensured that the reasons for differential access and attainment are firmly rooted in the political and economic framework, and not in the individual or family.

Several writers however, whilst not locating failure in the pupil, do not recognize that "failure" is functional to the capitalist economy. Given the need for a hierarchical occupational structure, an education system develops which ejects workers with different levels of education. The continual failure of certain strata to gain high levels of education is functional to the system. Changing conceptions of equality serve only to share this inequality more fairly, whilst not removing inequality itself (which, as Bowles, Gintis et al. have shown, is impossible without radically restructuring society). Thus the shift from a conservative concept of equality (equal inputs, unequal outputs), to the liberal

concept (equal inputs, equal outputs) to the radical concept (unequal, compensatory inputs, equal outputs) may have created Educational Priority Areas (in Great Britain), quota systems for secondary school recruitment (in Tanzania, Botswana) or compensatory grants (in Papua New Guinea) but has not removed the necessity for inbuilt inequality and for education systems to be structured in a pyramid-like fashion. The task, therefore, is to consider the ways in which inequality is structured, that is, to examine the ways in which inevitable inequalities are shared out amongst a population. A handful of writers in the past few years have focused on the conflict over access to schooling, and on the sharing out of inequality, drawing on the ideas of the writers outlined above.

Although no-one has attempted for Africa an analysis of income levels and class as Barkin has in Latin America, (he shows that "the Mexican school system is actually exacerbating social inequality" (Barkin, 1975, p.197)), Weis responded to the idea that educational systems served to maintain structured social inequality rather than offering opportunities for individual mobility. He compared recruitment into secondary schools in Ghana in 1961 and 1974. He concludes that:

" ... recruitment is actually noticeably less fluid than it was in 1961, despite large scale expansion that theoretically allows for democratization of access ... the secondary level of the educational system is acting increasingly to reproduce social inequality ... the data are still tentative (but) they suggest the emergence of a more rigid and closed class structure than existed previously."

(Weis, 1979, pp.50-51)

Weis adds that "Foster has since admitted that patterns of recruitment are apt to be less fluid over time than he had originally predicted" (p.43). Likewise, Olsen in Kenya concluded that there was no increase in equality of opportunity in secondary school recruitment as a result of large scale systematic expansion (Olsen, 1972).

Samoff in Tanzania has shown how "differential access to education has facilitated the perpetuation of a particular pattern of social stratification, which in turn has fostered class differentiation" (Samoff, 1979, p.49). He explains,

" ... access to wealth leads to access to schools, which in turn provides access to power. Church initiative and finance enable more schools to be opened, which enable Kilimanjaro children to be more educated, which enables them to provide a major portion of the national leadership. And it is the ties to the metropole, in this case via the churches, which both in the past and in the present provide access to the wealth used to expand schools."

(Samoff, 1979,
p.54)

Summary

The volume of literature concerned with the contribution of education to the development of nations indicates that formal schooling is seen as playing an important role. The independent African political leaders have pointed to the neglect of education during the colonial period as an important contributory factor to the lack of economic development. The work of economists which has attempted to quantify the importance of education to economic growth has been used to justify the large amounts devoted to education in national budgets.

Despite massive investment in education, the nations of independent Africa have not developed as quickly as their leaders had hoped, whilst internal social inequality has increased. The disparities in access to education apparent at independence have remained and in some cases, have widened. Such spatial inequality has attracted the attention of geographers.

Geographers have perceived their role as describing spatial inequality and suggesting spatial solutions; in the case of educational inequality this entails the provision of schools in areas not already served, and/or a more equitable distribution of educational resources.

However, Harvey argues that an understanding of social space requires an understanding of social processes (Harvey, 1973, p.36), and Coates notes that the causes and manifestations of inequality are predominantly structural, not spatial (Coates, 1977). It can be argued that the removal of spatial inequality necessitates an understanding of how inequalities originated and why they continue, and that this task involves an understanding of the links between spatial inequality and social, economic and political processes.

A division within geography may be seen between theorists who stress conflict as the dynamic behind change, and those who stress consensus. Within the geography of development this division is often described as that between the dependency theorists and the modernization theorists or dual economy theorists (e.g. see Slater, 1973). Within the field of education and development this division has been described as that between the structuralists and the incrementalists.

The liberal or incrementalist position sees schools as "powerful independent forces in the creation of new emergent social and cultural groupings" (Foster, 1977, p.215). The structuralist position, drawing on conflict theory, holds that educational systems are best understood in terms of how they reproduce the socio-economic order, together with its existing inequalities. Foster, who has been described as an incrementalist, suggests that research be carried out to investigate whether access to education is systematically correlated with other structural attributes of society. The structuralists commence from the position that this is so, to argue that:

"There are likely to be correspondences between the ways the educational system operates internally and operation of political and economic systems. That is, the basic structure of the social relations of the economy and its institutions - the degrees of inequality, the forms of authority, centralization of responsibility, and extent of subordination - are likely to be reproduced in the ways the schools operate."

(Simmons, 1981, p.25)

It has been established that education is an institution capable of conferring symbolic and material advantages through placing those with larger amounts of education in the more prestigious and materially rewarding occupational categories. Access to education is therefore a major mechanism used to ensure the reproduction of classes. This does not mean that education is used to minimize change in a society. Rather, education is a dependent variable which is manipulated to maintain the relative positions of each class, and the hegemony of the ruling class.

A structuralist methodology, it has been argued, can be distinguished by its shift of focus from the empirical level of reality, in this case from the spatial patterns of access, to the political and economic structures which determine those patterns. Thus, if education is seen as a mechanism for the reproduction of the status quo in terms of class positions, the implication is that the key to understanding the social and spatial distribution of access to schooling lies in an analysis of the interests and motives of the education providers. (Hence the concern here with central and local government policy.) If education is seen as a dependent variable it is necessary to investigate the political structures concerned with the provision of education, and also the economic structures which the education system is designed to suit. If it is argued, as conflict theorists do, that inequality is functional to society, and that political structures organize and legitimize such inequality, what is of interest is the way in which spatial inequalities in access to schooling are organized and perpetuated.

The structuralist perspective contains a number of implications for a thesis concerned with understanding spatial inequality of access to schooling. An attempt will be made to analyse the extent to which conflict rather than consensus characterized the development of educational systems in Africa; conflict that is, between different social groups and also between different goals (educational, political, commercial, religious) of the educational system.

The extent to which conflict characterized the control of education in Bechuanaland and in Botswana in the modern period will be considered, together with an analysis of the "interests and motives of the education

providers". An attempt will be made to assess the extent to which spatial solutions have reduced inequalities in access to schooling. A critical appraisal of the government's educational policies will be followed by a village study which will consider, amongst other things, the effect of government policies. An attempt will be made to demonstrate the operation of the mechanisms which are causing the widening income differences of which the government is so aware.

CHAPTER TWO

BRITISH EDUCATION IN AFRICA:

"THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SCHOOL"

Introduction

Foster has provided a starting point for the geographer concerned with understanding differentials in access to schooling:

"Present controversies over access to education must largely be understood in the context of the early spread of schooling in developing nations, for it is apparent that patterns of educational inequality are remarkably stable over time. Frequently, existing differentials can be traced back to the period of the earliest establishment of metropolitan-type schools in colonial territories or the importation of Western systems of education into independent states whose elites were anxious to modernize along Western lines."

(Foster, 1971, p.15)

The importance of tracing spatial patterns over time cannot be denied. Carnoy puts forward a model of school expansion in developing nations which views expansion as the result of a series of competing demands involving the interests of a number of political groups:

1. Demand from the owners of the means of production and the state bureaucracy for trained and socialized labour.
2. Demand from the owners of the means of production and the traditional elite that the social structure is passed down largely unchanged from generation to generation.
3. The demand for access to qualifications by workers, allowing their children upward mobility.
4. Demands from the school bureaucracy for greater power and resources. (Carnoy, 1975, p.119)

In the context of an African nation, it can be expected that the composition of each pressure group will be rather more complex than the model suggests, but it can be illustrated that education systems in Africa developed historically as a result of competing demands related to the needs of a number of groups. These include the colonizing British, the traditional elite, the emerging educated elite, and the 'mass' of the people. It will be argued that educational ideals and educational planning as such did not lie behind the expansion of Western-type schools into Africa, but that this expansion was related to the politico-economic, often short term goals, of each pressure group.

John Anderson has documented the development of the school system in Kenya from a similar vantage point, in "The Struggle for the School": He writes:

"Caught in the crossfire of the colonial struggle, the schools of the new nations of Africa have been subject to a sequence of conflicting pressures: evangelistic zeal, "rural development", aspirations to modernize, and political reaction. Each has left its mark on their final form."

(Anderson, 1970, p.7)

Anderson notes that underlying his attempt to analyse the pattern of conflicting group aims within which the development of formal schooling took place, is the increasing awareness of social scientists that conflict in a structured form plays an important role in the functioning and changing of societies. This paradigm shift was noted above. Anderson reminds us that Weber describes conflict as a situation where the efforts of one group are obstructed by the efforts of another in the achievement of goals, whilst "conflict" becomes a "struggle" when one group takes action to achieve its aims at the expense of rival groups.

In practice, the "Colonializing British" were not, of course, a homogeneous body. As Guy Hunter points out, there were several groups of Britons in Africa for different reasons and with markedly different aims, with a number of consequences for education. Hunter suggests four groups - traders, missionaries, settlers and government officials (Hunter, 1962). In terms of influences on thought regarding educational practice and on the "struggle" for control of the school, other groups must be included, such as anthropologists, explorers, scientists, political radicals of left and right, and so on. As can be expected, the history of Western education in Africa is closely related to ideas about "education for the natives" fashionable in Britain in each era. Certain sources document the conflict within colonial groups, e.g. that between mission groups of different denominations, whilst it could not be expected that foreign institutions could be introduced without reaction from the recipient African populations which sometimes would take the form of opposition.

The Missionary Age

Whilst the first missionary contact with Africa dates back to 1485, it was in the 19th century that contact was established on any scale. The evangelical revival of the late 18th century inspired the formation of religious groups such as the influential Clapham Sect. They realized the essential contradiction between slavery and the doctrine of Christian love and brotherhood. Missionary contact was only possible with the abolition of slavery. The establishment of missionary societies (such as the Church Mission Society in 1799) which allowed the rapid expansion of evangelical work during the 19th century was fuelled not only by anti-slavery sentiment and evangelical fervour, but also by

the realization of the commercial opportunities afforded by Africa. The latter theme was expounded in T. F. Buxton's "The African Slave Trade and its Remedy", 1839. This influential work pointed out that the new factories of Britain were producing goods in need of markets, whilst the need to import foodstuffs to feed the urban workers was growing (Williams, 1966, pp.179-197; Carnoy, 1974, pp.121-139). Cheap produce from West Africa had been available in London from the 1780s. Buxton put forward the idea that the slave trade had obstructed the growth of legitimate commerce.

In 1841 the British government agreed to finance the Niger expedition, in which Buxton hoped to assess the potential for trading stations along the river. Buxton wished to set up a new social order in Africa. To this end he adopted a four point plan:

- 1) a heightened campaign against the slave trade;
- 2) an attempt to use the power of the British government to encourage commerce;
- 3) the development of African agriculture for the export market.

He saw these points as the key to the regeneration of Africa, but to ease the spread of "civilization" an extra ingredient was necessary -

- 4) the expansion of moral and religious instruction to the natives.

For this reason missionaries were present on the expedition. The expedition gathered useful information about West African peoples, although the image of Africa was distorted to suit the aims of the expedition members:

"The darker the picture of African barbarism, the more necessary the work of the missionaries."

(Curtin, 1964, p.326)

Whether the principal aim of the first Britons in Africa was

trading or evangelizing, they were in agreement that the panacea was the spread of European civilization. As Hailey notes:

"The beginnings of education in Africa were laid in an age which assumed the intrinsic value of European civilization."

(Hailey, 1957, p.1222)

Christianity was equated with, and inseparable from, European civilization. Meanwhile education was essential for the training of Christians.

From the 1840s, the views of the missionaries clashed with other British opinion. The rise of scientific racism, abetted by Darwinism, saw a school of thought based on the ideas of polygenist scientists who used phrenology to question the educability of the African. A Royal Commission was sent in 1842 to enquire into the effectiveness of education in the coastal settlements of West Africa. The Commission concluded that the missionaries were wasting their time - Africans were incapable of retaining abstract ideas, and instead should be taught to work.

"He (the African) was not totally untrainable (but) ... well suited to menial and tedious occupations such as farming and unskilled labour."

(Lyons, 1970, p.13)

Under attack, the missionaries had to reassert that Africans were educable and redeemable. First however, savage and evil customs embedded in African culture had to be destroyed - traditional culture had to be replaced by:

"... something "higher", something new, something European. Clothe the savage, topple the pagan idols, silence the drumming, break up the extended family, encourage individualism, abolish polygamy."

(Berman, 1975, p.9)

During the further expansion of missionary work in the second half of the 19th century, the ideas of both sides of the debate concerning

what type of education should be offered converged to some extent, due to the influence of David Livingstone. He was an advocate of vocational rather than literary education. In 1857 he put forward his plans for African development, which would "open up the country to commerce and Christianity" (Groves, 1948). Until this time, missionary involvement had largely confined itself to coastal areas. The London Missionary Society had travelled as far north as Kuruman in Southern Africa, and work had begun among inland groups in West Africa, but in the main the interior of the Continent had not been touched. Livingstone's explorations, and later those of Stanley, brought the eventual penetration of the interior.

Stanley was an important catalyst to missionary endeavour -

"Both the Church of Rome and the Protestant Missionary Societies were anxious to enter this "heart of Africa", (the Congo) but until Stanley's journey they lacked the requisite path."

(Berman, 1975, p.14)

Stanley spurred a number of missionary bodies into action. In Portugal's territory of Angola, the Catholics were challenged by the incursion of a Protestant from the north into making sure their territory remained Catholic. Stanley was instrumental in bringing the C.M.S. to the Buganda court of King Mutesa, which in turn hastened the arrival of the rival White Fathers. Stanley thus acted as a catalyst for educational rivalries, but also the Congo basin became the focus for European political rivalries, culminating in the 1884-85 Berlin Conference to discuss spheres of interest in Africa.

The formalization of European power in Africa had a number of consequences for the missionaries. It gave them greater security against sometimes hostile local populations, but a major disadvantage was that the missionaries were often seen as agents of the colonial power.

Cetewayno of the Zulu commented in the 1870s, "first came a missionary, then a consul, then comes an army" (Groves, 1948, Vol.2, p.52). Berman suggests that the establishment of British control in Buganda, the crushing of the Ijebu in Yorubaland, and of the Ashanti, and others, could not have been achieved without active help from the respective mission bodies. Relationships between missionaries and government officials "on the ground" were of a pragmatic nature. The mission stations often produced the officials' source of fresh food and probably, of company. Co-operation was evident in matters of education. Mission stations provided a supply of semi-skilled workers required by the administration.

African Responses to the Missionaries

The enthusiasm of Africans for education varied. The differences in perception between donor and recipient of religious education was apparent at the outset; in 1485 the Portuguese men of God who presented themselves at the Court of Benin were "distracted to learn that the local ruler was more interested in obtaining armaments from them than he was in their version of religious truth" (Berman, 1975, p.1). Economic and military incentives lay behind many of the later requests for a missionary presence. In Southern Africa in the first part of the 19th century, Chirenje writes:

"Missionaries were known to procure and repair guns, weapons which had assumed an important role in hunting and warfare. Some chiefs hoped to learn how to manufacture weapons themselves, and others how to "make rain" by using the white man's method of building dams, an important skill in a semi-arid environment. Little wonder that early missionary reports depict the Tswana as more impressed by the white man's technology than by his Christian doctrine."

(Chirenje, 1976, p.405)

Numerous examples of the political and diplomatic use of missionaries by local chiefs can be cited (Omer-Cooper, 1966; Ayandele, 1966; Oliver, 1952, etc.). The chiefs of the Niger Delta were specific in what they wanted of the missionaries - they should "be capable of instructing our young people in the English language" (Ajayi, 1965, p.56) and to instruct "how to gauge palm-oil and the other mercantile business as soon as possible" (in Ajayi, 1965, p.133). Speaking of the chief of the Lozi, one British Official wrote, "Lewanika does not yearn for a knowledge of the Gospel" ... He wanted missionaries "to instruct his people to read and write, but especially to train them as carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths and for other trades" (Johnston in Caplan, 1970, p.58). The type of education desired by the Africans approximated more closely to that seen as desirable by the colonial powers, (though for different reasons) than to that offered by the missionaries. The local leaders were concerned that the introduction of new ideas and the deliberate attempts by the missionaries to change their societies would seriously undermine traditional political and social structures. This fear was often justified (Dachs, 1972, p.648).

Later, the International Missionary Council wrote:

"The missionary is a revolutionary and he has to be so, for to preach and plant Christianity means to make a frontal attack on the beliefs, customs, apprehensions of life ... and by implication ... on the social structures and bases of primitive society."

(Kraemer, 1938, p.342)

African societies differed in the extent to which they welcomed or resisted the incursion of such revolutionaries. The extent of the welcome was often based on the degree to which the values introduced by the missionaries differed from those of the recipient society. It is suggested that there was little cleavage between the values of Buganda

society, with its well defined achievement-orientated ethic and the political possibility of upward mobility to political positions for commoners, and those presented by the missionaries. Life at the Buganda court, for a page, "resembled the life in a great boarding school with its discipline and conventions, its pride of membership and esprit de corps" (Taylor, 1965, pp.37-38, quoting Mackay). Amongst the Buganda therefore, "schooling soon became an integral part of the social structure" (Berman, 1975, p.26). At the other extreme were the Masai. Berman however, suggests that the norms and customs of the Masai alone were not enough to keep the missions away; the colonial government's support of the tribe was an important factor - the government did not wish to arouse Masai anger by being seen to support an unwelcome missionary presence, as it needed their co-operation for its plans to re-locate the tribe on lands south of the Uganda railway. This provided a variation on the usual combination of allegiances.

In other areas, the missionaries were strongly resisted at first, as with the Ashanti and Ijebu, with acceptance coming slowly. In other tribes a reverse of this process operated, with early acceptance and later rejection. Berman cites the case of the Lozi:

"The Lozi rulers of Barotseland early understood the role of the missionaries and their schools in helping perpetuate Lozi hegemony, seriously threatened in the 1880's, in the surrounding area ... Lozi confidence in the P.E.M.S.* began to wane, however, when the missionaries failed to provide the kind of schooling the Lozi leaders felt was needed to modernize their State. The inability of the missionaries to fulfil Lozi expectations led the latter to demand secular schools which could be locally controlled and would perform functions deemed appropriate by the Lozi themselves."

(Berman, 1975, p.27)

* Paris Evangelical Missionary Society

The traditional elite wielded not inconsiderable power in demanding what it wanted. A post-primary school was established in Lagos in 1849 by the C.M.S. due to pressure from parishioners. Other denominations followed, in order not to lose converts. The Sierra Leonean James Johnson pressurized the C.M.S. to affiliate Fourah Bay College, until then a training college for the clergy, with Durham University in 1876. The kind of education required by the intelligentsia and prominent citizens of the larger West African towns was academic and post-primary in the last quarter of the 19th century. This type of education was as vocational as that requested by the Niger delta kings - as Ekechi has written of the Ibo, they:

" ... demanded the best of Western education not merely for its utilitarian purposes but also to use ... as a weapon against colonial exploitation. Hence they aspired to a good education and not merely a vocational education that would confine them to menial tasks and keep them under colonial tutelage forever."

(Ekechi, 1971, p.187)

Towards the end of the century a growing number of African societies became disenchanted with the education offered by the missionaries. This disenchantment emerged at the same time as growing calls for independent churches.

Despite the growing conflict over control of both schools and churches, the missions continued to expand their work. Rivalry between missions became more intense as their numbers grew and more geographical areas were occupied, whilst the presence of imperial control increased their confidence and sense of security. The Protestant societies in particular expanded their schools rapidly in the first decade of the twentieth century. In Uganda the C.M.S. had 72 in 1900 with 7,683 pupils. By 1913 it had 331 schools with 32,458 pupils. In Nigeria in 1901 the C.M.S. reported only 5 schools and 392 pupils. By 1911 they had 46

schools with 4,066 pupils. Other, non-British missionary societies reported similar increases in British Africa (see Berman, 1975, p.22; Groves, 1964).

The fundamental aim of the missions however, was not primarily educational -

"No missionary go(es) to Africa to study languages, nor is his chief aim to educate natives. His aim is to evangelize the African and make him Christian."

(Westermann, 1937, p.163)

The schools were simply the foundations on which all the work rested. The Catholic Bishop Joseph Shanahan in southern Africa from 1905 to 1932 concluded, "those who hold the school hold the country, hold its religion, hold its future" (quoted in Abernethy, 1969, p.41). This conclusion appears to have been reached by the colonial administrators in the first decades of the 20th century, and the missionary monopoly of education came to an end.

It was the missionaries however, who had set the whole process in motion, and, "once education was introduced into a colonial territory, the process could not be stopped or contained" (Kitchen, 1962, p.327). In that they were often the first settlers among African societies, the locations they chose established spatial patterns which were important for the future patterns of access.

Often sites were "chosen" however, at the traditional centre of political power, as at King Mutesa's court in Buganda, and Khama's court in Bechuanaland. This gave an already advantaged group an even greater social and economic lead. In other cases missionary contact caused new divisions in status. In Sierra Leone the missionaries concentrated on the Mende rather than on the Islamized northern tribes. Thus by 1938 80% of the mission schools outside Freetown were amongst the Mende, who

not surprisingly, now dominate the police, civil service and certain professions (Kilson, 1970, p.97). To the Creole population in Freetown, Fourah Bay College was available; the majority of degrees awarded there between 1878 and 1949 went to Creoles. Heyneman notes that the school roll of the Livingstonia Institute, established in Nyasaland in the 1870s, reads like a who's who of Malawian society (Heyneman, 1972, p.468).

The missionaries in Uganda, not able to spread the gospel over as wide a geographical area as they would have liked, adopted an approach of offering an academic education to "members of the influential classes". Mackay of the C.M.S. suggested:

"Let us select a few particularly healthy sites on which we shall raise an institution for imparting a thorough education even to only a few."

(quoted in Anderson, 1970, p.14)

King's College at Budo was therefore established, to be followed by equally prestigious Catholic colleges at Kisubi and Namilyango. Most of the leaders of Buganda society after 1900 and the leaders of the later nationalist struggles attended one of these colleges (Berman, 1975).

The missionaries had not only introduced Western education. As "revolutionaries" they had produced change in every sphere of life. As the centenary report of the L.M.S. wrote in 1899:

"The only way to get a just estimate of the missionary history of the past century is to read with it the story of material progress and of territorial expansion ... The extension of trade, the facility of colonization, the enlargement of territory, the scientific knowledge of the world and its peoples, the suppression of international wrongs, the possibility of free and useful intercourse between the different races, have been largely helped by the earnest labours of the band of unassuming missionaries."

(quoted in Dachs, 1972, p.657)

Dachs concludes on the role of the missionary:

"By their settlement they threatened independence; by their methods they eroded custom, integrity and authority; by their connexions they invited the imperial replacement of resistant African rule."

(Dachs, 1972, p.688)

In the field of education, imperial involvement was about to take over that of the missionaries.

The Twentieth Century - Intervention of Colonial Governments

Despite the obvious dissatisfaction in certain African societies with missionary education and the criticisms of that education by other British interests, the Colonial governments initially were unenthusiastic about taking responsibility for education after the turn of the century. Social services such as education were "initially seen by the great majority of Colonial officials as needing to follow economic development, not helping to stimulate it. Such a policy was in keeping with British imperial thinking at the time." (Anderson, 1970, p.36)

Despite this reluctance, government aid to mission education began in certain territories in the first decade of the 20th century, but it was not until the 1920s that the full importance of education in shaping African societies and as part of the apparatus of Colonial rule was recognized. A new approach emerged, based on the increased experience of educators in British Colonies, and on an awareness of the perceived failures of the missionary approach, which appeared to have contributed to political instability. The missionaries' attempts at the wholesale importation of Western ideas and customs were severely criticized, and the idea arose of preserving what was best in African cultures, and infusing the best from Western civilization.

The missionaries themselves embarked on a re-examination of their

aims and methods, having accepted that education was becoming the responsibility of the Colonial governments. Demand for education outstripped missionary ability to provide it. Lewis explains the origins of this demand in Nigeria:

"The demand was not the artificial product of nationalist agitators, nor was it induced by official action on the part of either government or missionaries. It was, without question, the genuine expression of a people who had come to realize in varying degree that their place in the changing world would be determined by the rate of educational advance and of the application of modern knowledge to their daily affairs."

(Lewis, 1965, p.42)

In 1924 the C.M.S. urged the British government to take a more active role in the development of African education. The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies was established in that year. It made its first policy recommendation in 1925, that "education should be adapted to the mentality and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all healthy elements in the fabric of their social life" (in Hailey, 1957, p.1166). The colonialists were concerned about the effect of outside influences on "stable" African societies. The Advisory Committee therefore sought a kind of education which promoted "the advancement of the community as a whole", which fitted the African to his environment, and which would contain safeguards so that "contact with civilization need not be injurious" (British Government, 1925, p.4). This line of thinking was based on experience in other colonies; Chirol's book, "Indian Unrest" (1910), which criticized the elitist nature of education and felt that it led to unrest, influenced officials in Africa, according to Hetherington (1978, pp.113-116). One writer was concerned that Achimota college in Ghana might produce "a class of useless, discontented, disaffected miserable men, and of such are the firebrands of agitation ... such leaders might become in time a very dangerous political force" (Stokes,

1930, p.178). The Advisory Committee and the conclusions of the missionary conferences in 1923 and 1926 reiterated fears that education could promote subversive activities.

In the 1920s Lugard's views of utilitarian education, put forward in his book published in 1922 rose to dominate thinking. He recommended literary training for the few who were "required for posts in which a good knowledge of English and accounting is necessary" (Lugard, 1922, p.442). Several missionaries criticized this narrowing of education - "The scope of education has been obscured by economic considerations of the Administration" wrote one C.M.S. missionary (Hooper, 1921, p.331, also Oldham, 1924, p.56). Lugard's views became increasingly influential however, and dominated thought behind policy until the Second World War. Underneath Lugard's reasoning lay the doctrine of trusteeship, and that the British were specially suited as colonial guardians.

His notion of "Indirect rule" contained four main elements. Firstly, it accepted that political change was inevitable, but change must be evolutionary and gradual. African social and political institutions were seen as peculiar to Africa and different from those which had control in Europe. African nations should be encouraged to develop their own solutions within institutions adapted to the local environment and to the "African" mentality. The second element was that a synthesis should develop which preserved what was best in African culture and combined with the best the West could offer. Change should therefore be selective. Thirdly, in order to bring this about, a process of education was required in order to develop the "native faculty for government ... But the process of educating the African to govern himself must take place through those institutions already in existence and understood, institutions which could be modified gradually" (Hetherington, 1978, p.137). The fourth strand was the policy to encourage the growth of a responsible African

elite. Just as the upper classes in Britain felt that they had a duty and a right to govern others, so the traditional African elite had a duty to its own people.

"These indirect rulers believed that the existing hierarchy in African society should be perpetuated. This theory led to support for the idea of educating chief's sons so that they would be better able to take part in modernizing tribal institutions."

(Hetherington, 1978,p.137)

The wholehearted application of Lugard's ideas had a number of important consequences for education. Firstly, it imbued the colonial administrators with a sense of mission. In 1922 the British Government wrote:

"There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level ... The principle of trusteeship for the natives is unassailable."

(British Government, 1922,
p.649)

Secondly, it implied a more cautious approach to education, with greater control or "selectivity" over what was offered. During the 1920s and 1930s the amount of information available about African societies grew rapidly due to the work of British anthropologists, Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski and Schapera and others. They were responsible for introducing the idea of a society functioning as an integrated whole where every facet of that society had a vital role to play. These functionalist theories bolstered the conservative reaction against rapid change.

Thirdly, related to the belief that a careful selection of what was to be offered from "Western civilization" was necessary, it was required that the schools should come under central control and be tightly supervised. This process, of the centralization of control, continued until

the end of the colonial age. In 1957 Hailey noted:

"It is now usual for the opening of schools to require official approval ... A school may be closed if it fails to satisfy these conditions."

(Hailey, 1957, p.1168)

In the Gold Coast laws were established which meant that the government had the power to close schools, and similar laws were enacted in Bechuanaland.

Criticism of British Educational Policy

Conservative ideas about educational development were criticized in the 1920s and 1930s. Critics of the conservative stance felt that the backwardness of African nations should be remedied as quickly as possible by massive injections of education. Professor Victor Murray and Norman Leys were prominent amongst the critics of British educational policy. In 1929 (but published in 1938) Murray wrote:

"There is a certain meanness about a good deal of African education. The Native is looked upon as a tool to be fashioned rather than as a new partner in an age long process of bringing the world out of darkness into light."

(Murray, 1938, p.117)

It was the "progressives" who now expressed confidence in their own society and what it had to offer Africa, in contrast to the caution demonstrated by the policy-makers. It was the former who now proclaimed, "that the white man has a genuine civilizing mission to perform in Africa is hardly open to question" (Barnes, 1932, p.148). There is some evidence to suggest that by the end of the 1930s the more progressive view of educational policy had begun to prevail. The Commissioners who reported on Higher Education in East Africa in 1937 noted the existence

of a "welter of conflicting aims" in education, and summarized the views of the "conservatives" and the "progressives", whilst having more sympathy with those of the latter. At the Seventh World Conference arranged by the New Education Fellowship in 1936, the Conference had "taken the unusual course of listening whilst Africans explained what they thought was good for Africa" (Hetherington, 1978, p.125). Thus the idea was emerging that Africans themselves should be involved in discussions about educational policy in Africa.

This was perhaps related to the fact that the "most vociferous critics" at this time, according to Lyons, were educated Africans themselves (Lyons, 1975, p.158). They were critical of the system of indirect rule, and of its implications for education. Towards the end of the inter-war period, the system of indirect rule appeared to lose direction:

"Indirect rule as practised during the inter-war years progressively lost its developmental goal; instead it came more and more to stress a static, unchanging conception of African societies and the need for keeping those societies isolated from disruptive modernizing influences."

(Lyons, 1975, p.122)

In Tanganyika for example, the British "let it stagnate in tropical silence between the wars" (Economist, 5.4.1958).

Whilst it was believed that the white man had a 'genuine civilizing mission', the policy of indirect rule allowed considerable procrastination. In the belief that education was to follow economic development and that innovation should take place within indigenous institutions, considerable lethargy developed. In certain areas this led to the development of independent schools, perhaps the most well-known of which were in Kenya. The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association became an important factor in Kenyan political history after 1931. By 1936 there were 50 independent

schools with 5,111 students.

Anderson suggests that much of the reason for stagnation in Kenya at least, lay with British colonial officials themselves, who were not in a position to appreciate educational problems or receive new ideas:

"The European official (in Kenya) tended to take an overall view of African education, seeing African development taking place gradually over an extended time scale. There was no sense of urgency, no understanding of the individual African's position, no empathy derived from personal involvement or reminiscence and hence on reflection there appears to have been a lack of incentive and drive. The signs of the times, such as the activities of the Young Kikuyu Association could not be interpreted correctly, and thus the rapid increase of Africans' understanding and their capacity for education never fully registered."

(Anderson, 1970, p.43)

Criticism of the state of affairs in African education, voiced by Africans and by progressive Britons was taken up, immediately prior to the Second World War, by Lord Hailey. His "African Survey" was published in 1938. Whilst Lugard had provided a bridge between the 19th and 20th centuries, Hailey, drawing on 40 years experience in India, provided for the 1940s what Lugard had provided for the 1920s. Hailey believed that Africans should play a greater role in their own development. He saw indirect rule as incompatible with the eventual, necessary, establishment of Parliamentary institutions. A change was now needed in the interests of long term political stability. Of the educated African, he warned:

"... the small educated element in Africa will grow, and will in time contain stronger leaders of African native opinion than will the circle of traditional authorities. If you do not associate the educated element with your own government system ... you will drive it into a political activity of which the first victims will be the traditional authorities themselves."

(Hailey, 1938, p.xi-xvi)

Hailey crystallized the criticisms of indirect rule which had been growing during the 1930s. The system bolstered the rule of often incompetent chiefs, whilst the institutions which had survived were increasingly anachronistic. Under indirect rule, "important groups were denied a chance to participate, while the role of the traditional elite was seriously restricted and distorted" (Hetherington, 1978, p.141).

Before the colonial governments had a chance to innovate, based on the realization that change was necessary, the Second World War erupted. The War disrupted educational development at a crucial time, when African aspirations were high and when the colonial governments were receptive to change. It brought new ideas to Africa via Africans who had served in the War. It brought political changes in Britain, with an anti-colonialist Labour Party. 1945 was a watershed in colonial administration; with the realization that eventual independence for the colonies was probable within the next generation, foundations began to be laid for this outcome.

Post War Expansion of Education

Post-war expansions of education were based, however, on the systems which had evolved thus far. Two major forms of inequality had become structural features of existing educational systems - spatial inequality and social inequality. The class structure of Britain was perceived by the colonialists as also existing in African societies. Thus in 1926 the Kenya Education Department had divided Africans into:

- " 1. The great mass of village life in the native reserves.
2. The citizens and craftsmen of the community generally.
3. The more educated and skilled professions required by state and commerce."

(in Anderson, 1970, p.41)

Education provided specifically for the sons of chiefs was present in many colonies (Hailey, 1957, pp.1187-88). The need for small numbers of educated Africans to work as auxiliaries to the colonial officials laid the foundations for a future class structure based on occupational categories. By the post-war period:

"African problems are no longer those only of the peasant farmer. A type of education appropriate to the needs of people who live outside the traditional environment has now become necessary, for we now have to meet the requirements of the rising African middle class."

(Hailey, 1957, p.1223
my emphasis)

This "middle class" had risen in some colonies well before others. In Ghana, the educated, non-traditional elite had organized itself as early as the turn of the century (Kitchen, 1962, p.327). In Gold Coast and other colonies the small numbers of relatively well educated grew to have an important impact on the form of education offered, a form based on academic English education which was suited to the requirements of the educated elite and their children but not particularly to those of the mass of the population.

Spatial inequalities within colonies were possibly greater than those between colonies. Rodney writes:

"Generally speaking, the unevenness in educational levels reflected the unevenness of economic exploitation and the different rates at which different parts of a colony entered the money economy."

(Rodney, 1976, p.266)

The situation in Gambia, for example, where Bathurst was the first settlement site of the British merchants, meant it had educational facilities which were always "greatly superior" to those in the rest of the country (Kitchen, 1962, p.319). This situation was repeated in many other colonies.

The considerable socio-spatial inequalities which existed were exacerbated by certain colonial government policies; for example grants-in-aid were only given to those schools considered to be efficient (Lewis, 1965, p.49). In some colonies education was made compulsory for certain groups but not others; Asian boys in Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu were subject to compulsory attendance in the 1950s. Northern Rhodesia introduced compulsory attendance for children aged between 12 and 16 living within 3 miles of a school in certain urban areas (Hailey, 1957, p.1169).

Expansion from this imbalanced base after 1945 is characterized by:

1. increased popular demand for education;
2. the continued unwillingness of the British to devote finance to education;
3. the establishment of local authorities to take charge of parts of the school system;
4. continued lack of policy direction from the colonial governments;
5. the emergence of manpower planning as the rationale behind educational expansion.

These five interrelated factors combined to produce one major problem as the root of conflict - that of how much schooling to provide, and where.

1. Popular Demand

By this time, "there can be little doubt of the earnest desire on the part of the Africans for education" (Hailey, 1957, p.1170). A British government publication of 1955 writes:

"Even the poorest Africans not only desire education for their children but are willing to make pecuniary sacrifices to secure it."

(British Govt., 1955, p.175)

The kind of education offered, whilst of concern to the British, may not have been to the "Africans" -

"To a great extent the argument as to whether there should be more of industrial and technical than of literary education did not concern the majority of Nigerians. The overriding complaint was that there was not enough education - of any kind - for the masses of the people. The key to understanding of the whole problem of education in Africa is the appreciation of the fact that the whole region thirsts for knowledge."

(Dike, 1962)

Education was perceived as the sole route to a higher standard of living, therefore, "African faith in education is often breathtaking" (Rose, 1970, p.13).

2. Lack of Financial Inputs

The principal obstacle to the establishment of more schools to meet this demand was the administrative policy of the British; before the War they had centralized control of school systems, which were now subject to financial inputs from the central colonial governments. Initially it was claimed that the war effort had drained resources, but as late as 1958 the British Colonial Office said of Northern Rhodesia that until more money became available for the building of schools, "no rapid progress can be expected", and "the practical prospects of providing full primary education for all children remains remote" (in Rodney, 1976, p.264).

Caution was still the dominant characteristic of the British approach:

"For the best of ultimate motives quality was to be preserved at the expense of quantity: foundations were to be firmly laid upon which the super-structure could rise securely, as and when circumstances (particularly those of finance) permitted."

(Tregear, 1962, p.9.)

It was argued that the rate of expansion forced upon education systems by popular demand had caused the near collapse of all standards (Hailey, 1957, p.1170). Further, the colonial governments were concerned about the effects on developing African economies of large infusions of educated labour:

"So long as the pace of development of African education systems was slow and measured, the products of the schools could be absorbed without undue stress into an administration and economy which was itself expanding only slowly."

(Tregear, 1962, pp.11-12)

In the 1950s the first effects of educated unemployed youth flocking to the towns began to be felt, effects which generated much discussion at the Addis Ababa Conference in 1961.

3. Local Control

One method of containing local discontent was to include the populace in the decision-making process and in the control of education. In 1947, a Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria wrote:

"The stage has been reached at which popular education will cease to be popular unless the communities concerned have a measure of local control; and popular share in the control depends on the creation of some machinery of local government."

(in Lewis, 1965, p.47)

The doctrine of trusteeship was still strong however; "such a development will require careful watching", and would involve "gradual delegation". During the late 1940s and 1950s such 'machinery' was developed in a number

of the colonies. Whilst it was generally assumed that primary education was one of the services most suitable for transfer to local authorities (Hailey, 1957, p.1173), this often meant that more of the financial burden of schooling fell on the local populace, whilst overall control remained with the Department of Education. In Kenya the Local Native Councils bore the financial responsibilities for all primary schools in their areas from 1949. In the Gold Coast and certain regions of Nigeria a local government law of 1931 authorized local authorities to build and maintain primary schools in order to prepare for compulsory education. In Bechuanaland the devolution of responsibility (but not of power) left many districts much worse off than before.

By the 1950s every British territory in Africa had an Advisory Committee or Board of Education on which Africans were represented. The establishment of an apparatus to incorporate Africans into decision-making, therefore, had a two-fold rationale: to off load some of the financial responsibilities, and to give an illusion of democratic control.

4. Lack of Policy Direction

There was still a remarkable lack of long term direction within educational policy. Rado makes the point that African educational systems were not designed, but "evolved through a series of grafts on to a late nineteenth century upper middle class rootstock" (Rado, 1972, p.462). Hailey relates the lack of planning to a quirk of the British:

"The British can no doubt plead that there is always value in an elasticity of method, and that systematization is often most successful when it waits on experience instead of following a rigid logic, but the fact remains that the British Colonial Governments have placed widely different and indeed inconsistent interpretations upon the policy indicated in the memoranda of the Colonial Office Committee."

(Hailey, 1957, p.1222)

Quantitative expansion did occur in the 1950s despite financial restrictions and lethargy. However, Rodney makes the point that the numbers attending school were always small in the pre-Independence days (Rodney, 1976, p.267). Whilst the "winds of change" may have been blowing fiercely in these years, colonial officials were aware only of a breeze. Anderson notes that in Kenya, the "relative inertia of the early fifties (was) followed so suddenly by the period of panic just prior to Independence" (Anderson, 1970, p.46).

5. Manpower Planning

In the mid 1950s manpower planning emerged as the force behind the rate of educational expansion. Although the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961 saw primary education as a "major factor in increasing agricultural productivity" (in Tregear, 1962, p.16), most of the development plans for the immediate pre-Independence years made post-primary education a priority at the expense of primary education. In Tanganyika, the Development Plan for 1961-64 saw the development of secondary education as the greatest need, and planned to expand the number of School Certificate candidates threefold and the number of Higher School Certificate candidates sixfold in the plan period (Tanzania, 1961, p.79). In Zambia the Development Plan for 1961-64 planned to spend nearly twice as much on secondary education as on primary (Burns, 1965, p.15). In the Independent Ghana's Second Development Plan secondary education was to receive £15 million from a total of £29 million. Burns goes so far as to say that "In all (African) countries", the expansion of secondary schools, of teachers' training colleges and of universities took priority over the expansion of schooling at the primary level (Burns 1965, p.18). Thus the demands of the independent governments and the owners of capital for

trained manpower dominated the rate of expansion of schooling in the 1960s; the benefit was gained by the educated elite who were in a position to place their children in secondary schooling, and not by the mass of the population who had not yet received the opportunity to benefit from primary school.

Summary

Walter Rodney is correct in his reminder that the British and other colonizers did not introduce education to Africa. Rather, they brought a new, formal education organization which either supplanted or supplemented the old (Rodney, 1976, p.263). The history of expansion of schooling in Africa however, is not one of the imposition by a colonizing power of a foreign institution on a thoroughly dominated population. Rather, it is the history of a series of competing claims to control transmission and consumption of education, where some groups had a great deal more power than others and where at times the interests of two or more groups coincided. With hindsight, the history of Western schooling in Africa may be seen as a gradual process of socio-economic domination, controlled by "agents of cultural liquidation" (Buchanan, 1975, p.35); rather, the facts suggests no clearly delineated educational policy but rather one of pragmatism and incremental decision making.

The early explorers and missionaries were agreed that the panacea for Africa was the spread of European civilization. The unassuming missionaries started a process which could not be stopped. By the first decade of the 20th century the missionaries had lost effective control of education as it was realised by colonial administrators that "those who hold the school hold the country". That the school was an effective instrument of control was also realised by Africans; the Lozi, Buganda,

Ibo and other tribes recognized its importance in maintaining their hegemony. However, the politico-financial power lay with the British. It was they who decided the amount to be spent on education, which in turn determined the quantity and also the quality of schooling provided. British caution and conservatism ensured that the amount of schooling provided did not satisfy the "Education Rush" (Sithole, 1959, p.52).

The system of indirect rule and the tendency for schooling to bolster the status of elite groups distorted traditional stratification. The base from which educational systems were expanded after 1945 contained social inequalities and attendant spatial inequalities which were not rectified before the neo-colonial period. Until manpower planning emerged as the expansionary force in school systems, (in the 1950s), the dynamic behind expansion lay with the second grouping in Carnoy's model; that is, within the framework of schooling established by the colonial authorities, with the traditional elite which wished to ensure that the social structure remained unchanged. With the call for increased numbers of educated manpower to allow economic development in the immediate pre- and post-Independence era, the wishes of the State bureaucracy and the employers of labour became paramount.

CHAPTER THREE

BOTSWANA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

The Geographical and Geo-Political Situation

Much of the character of Botswana can be explained by its geographical position in southern Africa and by its geo-political situation, adjacent to South Africa. The principal features of Botswana are its physical size, its semi-arid climate and its low population density. It comprises an area of 561,800 square kilometres, two-thirds of which are covered by the Kgalagadi desert. The country is essentially a landlocked shallow sand-filled basin at an average elevation of 1000 metres. The area not covered by desert comprises the more fertile strip in the east, and the Okavango swamps of the north west. Apart from the Limpopo, which forms the boundary with Zimbabwe, there are no permanent rivers.

Botswana's average annual rainfall is highly variable between districts, ranging from an average 254mm. (10 ins.) in the south west to over 711mm. (28 ins.) in parts of the north east. Large fluctuations occur in both monthly distribution and total seasonal rainfall. The coefficients of variability can be as much as 80% and transo-evaporation rates are high; drought is thus a recurring hazard. A word of enormous significance, therefore, to the Tswana is 'pula', meaning 'rain' or 'let it rain'. As Cooke and others have commented, "On adequate rainfall everything else ultimately depends" (Cooke, 1976, p.8). The importance of pula to the Tswana is illustrated for example, by the fact that rain making was the most important magico-religious function of the chief in past times (Prah, 1976, p.87), whilst a chief's popularity and reputation was often based on the frequency of good rainfall during his reign (Schapera, 1976, p.60).

The harsh environment and the scarcity and unpredictability of rainfall have a number of consequences for Tswana life. Firstly, as

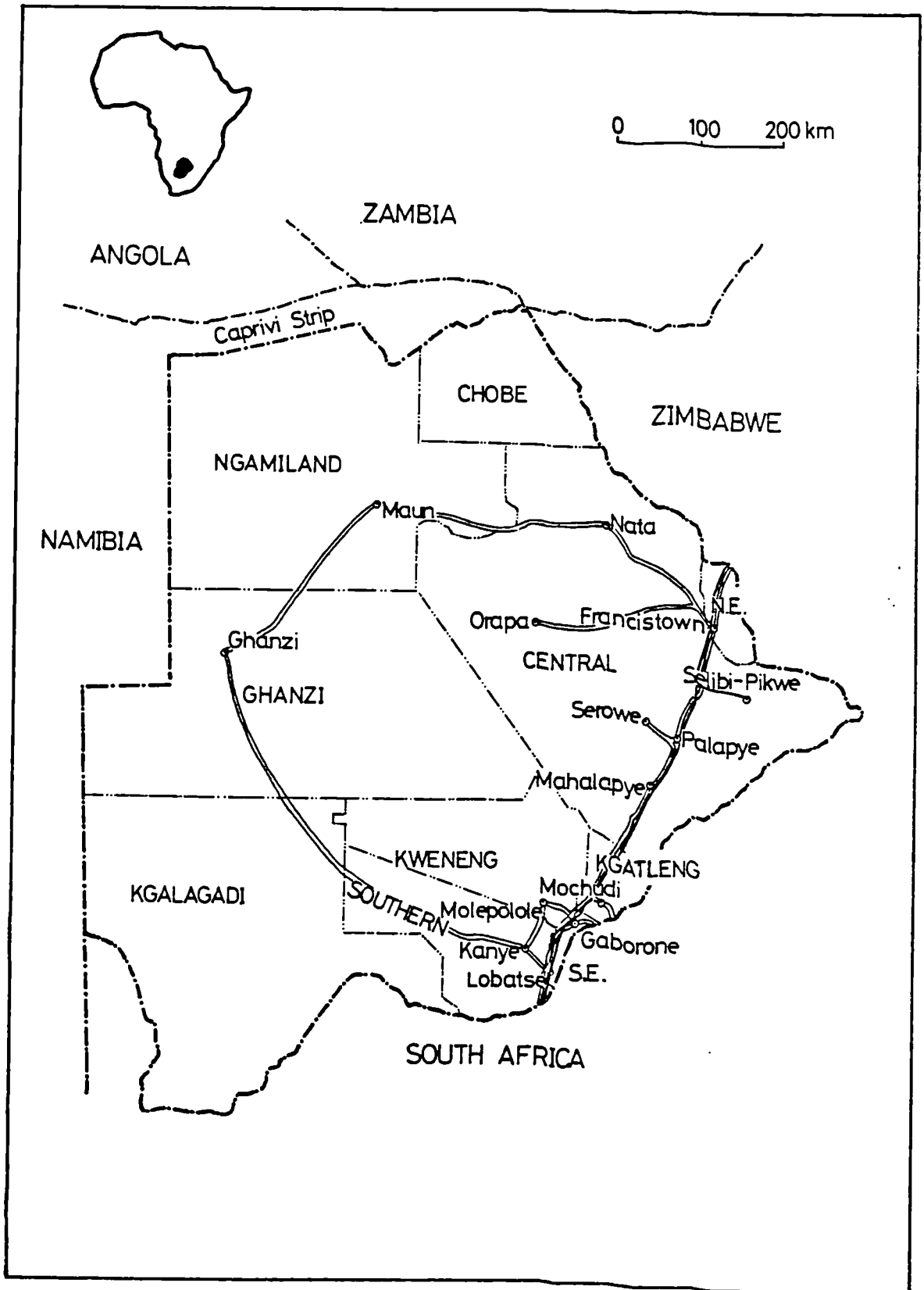
Schapera writes, "Villages were normally situated on the banks of rivers or at other places where water was readily accessible" (Schapera, 1976, p.36). The dominant tribal groups appropriated the most favourable sites, with perennial springs and wells. Subservient groups such as the Basarwa and Bakgalagadi were left to the less favourable sites with consequences for their economic welfare. Secondly, due to the probability of crop failure, cattle husbandry is preferred to crop cultivation. During the pre-colonial period, natural waters and lands outside the arable zones were shared by all. Under the chief's instructions, communal boreholes and watering points were constructed.

Thirdly, due to the scarcity of water, the population tended to concentrate into larger settlements than is the norm in most other African nations. If the village water supply ceased, the entire village would move to another site. Such concentration of population facilitated central political control; men were required to attend the "Kgotla" (chief's meeting place/court) and all were expected to winter in the village. The chief would give the order to plough at the beginning of the rainy season, at which the villagers would travel to their crop growing areas.

Fourthly, an elaborate social structure evolved with its own system of social welfare, to minimize the effects of the harsh environment on individuals and to enable the whole family group and tribe to withstand drought and loss of livestock. A major role of the chief was to distribute grain in times of need; whilst a number of mutually beneficial arrangements developed between wealthier cattle owning families and poorer households with regard to ploughing, cattle, harvesting and so on (see Hitchcock, 1976).

Thus the major features of Tswana life (viz. the importance of

Map 3.1 Republic of Botswana



cattle to the subsistence economy, the centralization of political control, the traditional systems of welfare and interdependence of richer and poorer families, and the reflection of the social structure in the spatial order, with the more dominant tribes in the most favourable sites) can be related to 'pula' or the lack of it.

The modern history of Botswana is punctuated by severe droughts. A series of economic depressions and drought continuing from the 1890s into the first decade of the twentieth century threw the Tswana economic system into a downward cycle of rural impoverishment, from which it did not recover in the colonial period (Parsons, 1973, p.328). Droughts affecting livestock increased in frequency from the 1930s (Prah, 1976, p.87). The drought of the first half of the 1960s was so severe that by the time Independence was proclaimed, 25% of the population was dependent on internationally organized famine relief.

The Independence period has brought its own water-related problems. These are two-fold; firstly, the development of a water system with local government boreholes and wells outside villages has affected the local social and political system, throwing up additional problems. Secondly, the water requirements of mining and industrial developments are enormous (Republic of Botswana, 1980, pp.173-75). Promises of the development of domestic water supplies to villages is an important feature in support for the government. The government's ambitious village water supplies project is not far behind its targets, and by 1985/6 it is hoped that all "villages" will be supplied. (The government does not define a "village".) Water in the 1980s, therefore, is an important political issue, with the popularity and reputation of the government resting on its ability to provide it as much as the reputation of the chief in the past rested on his rainmaking powers.

Botswana's dependence on her wealthy neighbour, South Africa,

receives attention both from writers briefly outlining the chief features of the country (e.g. Fordham, 1968, p.235-36) and from those concerned with the details of this dependence (Dale, 1976; Green, 1980; Parson, 1980; Leistner, 1973; Halpern, 1965 and others). Until the Independence of Zimbabwe, Botswana was surrounded by white dominated regimes.

The creation of Bechuanaland at the outset was due to the geo-political considerations of the British. As expansionism made its way into British colonial policy in Africa during the 19th century, the idea of federations of States in central and southern Africa under the suzerainty of the British Crown was mooted. The Boers had their own ideas about expansion northwards, and the proclamation of the Protectorate of Bechuanaland in 1885 was designed to stop Boer infiltration. The British were concerned with securing a "Road to the North"; Rhodes in particular wished to build a railway through Bechuanaland to reach the more fertile and inviting lands which were later to be named after him. As the first High Commissioner of Bechuanaland said at the time:

"We have no interest in the country north of the Molopo, except as a road to the interior; we might therefore confine ourselves for the present to preventing that part of the territory being occupied either by filibusters or foreign powers, and doing as little as possible in the way of administration."

(British Govt., 1960, p.37
see Rose, 1970, p.208)

The policy of holding Bechuanaland due to its strategic importance whilst doing little or nothing to develop it has had serious consequences for the development of Botswana. The existence of a fertile neighbour with massive mineral wealth which attracted international capital, has reduced Botswana to a poor 'periphery' nation, totally dependent on the 'centre' of South Africa, in a process which will be considered in more detail below. In the Independence period, attempts have been made to lessen this dependence, though this has taken the form of diversifying

economic dependence rather than becoming more independent. Botswana is faced with extreme economic dependence on South Africa combined with extreme political differences with its racist neighbour. Seretse Khama, speaking in 1979 said of South Africa:

"Unfortunately we find ourselves at their mercy. We have to deal with them whilst condemning them for their evil policies."

(SADCC Keynote address
in Green, 1980, p.53)

Botswana has negotiated more favourable terms within the Customs Union with South Africa, and has withdrawn from the use of South African currency and banking. Whilst important, these are tentative steps towards an economic 'independence'; full extraction from the "functional web of interdependence" (Nye, 1971, p.109) might not be possible or desirable.

The interaction of geographical and geo-political features can thus be used as the basis for exploration of the socio-economic and political structure of Botswana.

The Origins and Evolution of the Tswana States

The Tswana form part of a larger group of Sotho peoples, whilst the Sotho-Tswana group is itself one of the three major sub-divisions of the Bantu-speaking peoples (Wilson and Thompson, 1969). It is theorized that the Tswana originated in the Rift Valley Area and wandered southwards in a large number of small-scale movements of segmentary lineage groups. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Sotho-Tswana were settled near present day Johannesburg by 450 AD (Campbell, 1979, p.43). Oral history from the seventeenth century tells of a large number of fissions within the Tswana tribes. Ngcongco writes

that the antiquity of the Bafokeng cluster is widely attested. From this the Barolong and Bahurutse split, and later all the main Tswana groups in present day Botswana split from the main tribe. Earlier inhabitants of Botswana were the unrelated Basarwa or bushmen, pushed into the Kgalagadi by the dominant Tswana, and also the related but subservient group, given the generic name Bakgalagadi (i.e. "people of the Kgalagadi") who were also pushed into marginal areas.

Botswana's population today consists therefore of eight major tribes, related by a common ancestry, secondly of related subservient tribes, and thirdly of unrelated tribes, notably the Kalanga and Herero, and finally of the ethnically distinct Basarwa. The common ancestry of the major portion of the population and the absence of competing dominant tribes have had consequences for the political stability of Bechuanaland and later, of Botswana.

The Bangwato and the Traditional Economy

The important Ngwato group split from the Kgabo-Kwena in about 1790, and moved from the present day vicinity of Gaborone to the hills of Shoshong. During the pre-Mfecane period,* there was a considerable amount of trading between the Tswana and other groups (Alpers, 1973, p.120; Smit, 1970, pp.285-6; Parsons, 1974, pp.646-47). However, according to Parsons, "stockholding appears to be the vital clue to the explanation of the establishment and growth of economic and political power among Tswana dynasties" (Parsons, 1974, p.646). The ruling class of the Tswana bought metals from other tribes with goats, and then exported the metals to import the scarcer and more prestigious cattle. Cattle were

* Mfecane period - 1820-1840.

then lent out under the "mafisa" system to client clans and families. Mafisa cattle "therefore formed the contractual basis of political relations between the rulers and the ruled" (Parsons, 1974, p.647). Chief Kgari (1826-28) of the Ngwato, it is suggested, rationalized the system of socio-economic stratification that tied together the political structure of the Ngwato state.

The class structure comprised:

1. royals or "dikgosana", members of the royal lineage;
2. the 'batlanka' or senior commoners appointed as hereditary vassals to manage specified herds belonging to the royalty;
3. commoners, 'badintlha', Tswana from similar stock and perhaps distantly related to the dikgosana;
4. strangers, or 'bafaladi' (literally, refugees) who had been incorporated into the tribe;
5. 'malata' or serfs, such as the Basarwa.

The batlanka were expected to pay tribute to the chief and more importantly, to give support to the chief in the face of bids for power from members of the dikgosana. Kgari faced the problem which confronts all those in power, how to:

" ... institutionalise himself in power and perpetuate the succession of his descendants ... The next stage of development was to use the possibilities inherent in the State structure and the economic system to build up a kingdom covering extensive territory with a sovereign government and secure sources of revenue and allegiance."

(Parsons, 1974, p.648)

This stage was only possible after the disruptions of the Mfecane had ended.

Underpinning the social structure was a distinct spatial structure. The capital village occupied the centre of the territory, whilst within

this village the wards of the dikgosana were located at the centre, around the chief's kgotla, or court. Clustered around the dikgosana wards were those of the batlanka and commoners.

The Bangwato capital, Shoshong, had by 1842 grown to 600 households, and by 1866 included 30,000 people. There was also a serf/stranger village nearby, with 200 households in 1842. Residence in the capital established citizen rights of the State. A series of concentric zones began at the village edge; first were the arable lands (masimo), ideally within walking distance to allow a nightly return to the village; secondly were the cattle posts of the pastoral zone, which may have been between one and six days walk away; thirdly were the hunting areas which were reached in weeks rather than days. Search for grazing for the cattle-rich Bangwato households provided the dynamic for territorial expansion. The Bakgalagadi and Basarwa were not granted citizenship rights, and established settlements in the cattle-post areas where they worked with Bangwato cattle.

From the middle of the nineteenth century the Tswana kingdoms were visited by white traders. The first, George Cummings, reached Shoshong on 1st July 1844; he penetrated and exploited an existing trade network which transported ivory southwards to the Cape. The Tswana exported products from hunting - ivory, feathers and karosses, for knives, hatchets, wire, clothing, ammunitions and guns, and cattle. Cummings and David Livingstone introduced fresh supplies of guns and horses, which enabled the Bangwato and other groups to maximize their exports from hunting. The rival capital of the Kwena under chief Sechele was part of the Grahamstown-based Cape trading network, but Shoshong had grown to greater prominence than the Kwena capital by the 1870s.

"The Ngwato and Kwena kingdoms expanded and competed on the dynamic of the demands of the growing mercantile economy of the Cape, itself a direct extension of the rapidly growing

industrial economy of Europe. The Tswana economies were becoming a "periphery to the periphery" of European capitalism."

(Parsons, 1974, p.653)

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "Khama's Kingdom" (Khama III was Chief of the Bangwato 1875-1923) had emerged as the main beneficiary in the competition to capture production of ivory and ostrich feathers. Shoshong formed the link, the "essential entrepot" (Parsons, 1974, p.653) between southern and central Africa. To the south lay the other Tswana kingdoms, then the Boer territories and finally the Cape ports. The wagon trade established inequalities within the Ngwato Kingdom. Parsons writes:

"It was only the large cattle owners and self-employers who could obtain real benefits in cash value from sale of cattle and hunting produce in exchange for goods in the long-distance wagon trade prior to the 1880s."

(Parsons, 1974, pp.653-54)

Khama instituted reforms which were intended to ensure greater political stability. He allowed the batlhanka rights to own private property in the form of cattle and renounced certain royal rights to property. The privatization of property was a slow process however, and also involved the release of royal cattle from political and social reciprocities. Khama had considerable control over the trade/cattle economy whilst appearing to carry out a policy of economic liberalism. Parsons notes, "Khama controlled the land, labour and much of the machinery of production and between 1875 and 1878 brought the trading community under strict control" (Parsons, 1974, p.636).

The period 1887-1896 witnessed new developments in the economy of the Bangwato. British expansion into the Rhodesias prompted more trade with north-bound travellers and traders; the monopolistic British South Africa Company, and its subsidiary the Bechuanaland Trading Company, rose to challenge royal control of trading. At the same time, the demand

generated by the 'Road to the North' brought the height of economic buoyancy to the Bangwato Kingdom. One missionary likened the flow of trade and traffic to a "flood rising rapidly".

After 1896 the position began to change. The rinderpest epidemic of 1896 wiped out the greater proportion of cattle in the Bangwato area. The railway (1895) decimated the demand for wagonning. Although the economy which Khama had developed was not solid enough to allow the "take-off to self sustained growth", its economic decline cannot be related solely to the rinderpest pandemics, drought and other factors such as the market depressions and beginnings of labour migration in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Parsons notes that there were "also more positive factors of incremental management at work in under-developing the Bechuanaland Protectorate" (Parsons, 1973, p.385).

Market restrictions were enforced across the newly established colonial frontiers, to discriminate in favour of white settler agriculture. Parsons and others show that research, particularly by economists, has begun to reveal the political manipulation of under-development within the South African Customs Union and by the Bechuanaland colonial government's policies between 1899 and 1965. Also the role of the large capitalist corporations in determining colonial policies in the sub-continent, in particular the BSA, has received attention. Parsons himself "seeks to stress another factor in the management of development and under-development in Southern Africa; white actions were often in reaction against black attempts to promote their own "modernization" without dependence on white control" (Parsons, 1973, p.385). The period 1896-1910 can be regarded as a watershed in the economic history of Botswana as it marked the end of the separate economic development of the Tswana states. Khama's attempts to make his state self sufficient through involvement in commerce failed before his death in 1923. Parsons notes, finally,

that:

"By 1902 Great Britain had destroyed the pre-colonial State system of southern/central Africa upon which the strategic importance of Khama's country depended ... By overt political controls as well as "unseen" and natural factors affecting production and trade, interest groups in South Africa restricted the means of local production and manipulated the terms of trade to create a structure in which the black periphery paid invariable tribute to the white centre in capital as well as labour."

(Parsons, 1974, pp.661 and 672)

Colonial Rule; the Problems of Finance; the Institutionalization of Underdevelopment

The reason for the establishment of British colonial rule in Bechuanaland, it has been stated, was to block Boer expansion and to secure access to the interior, whilst "doing as little as possible in the way of administration". From the outset the British were acutely conscious of the cost of maintaining the Protectorate, which is one reason why they wished to hand over administration of the country to the BSA Company in the last century. In 1893 it was estimated by the British that the cost of maintaining the Protectorate would be £53,000 per year. A revenue of £13,000 including hut tax could be raised internally, leaving a bill of £40,000 to the British (Mockford, 1950, p.122).

The chief concern of the colonial officers therefore, was raising revenue. Massey writes that the institution of hut taxes was not intended, primarily, to force labour migration but simply to raise revenue:

"Reading the correspondence which they have left regarding tax matters, one gets the distinct impression that the colonial service was manned with a group of typical petty

bureaucrats obsessed with balancing their meagre budget ... and quite content to take advantage of the availability of wage employment for their subjects."

(Massey, 1978, p.1)

The Protectorate was perceived as a vast waste which had no resources to offer apart from its labour, which was useful to the British interests in South Africa. During the first 25 years of the twentieth century, Bechuanaland was a "colonial backwater that attracted no capital except in areas of white settlement and in sporadic attempts at mining, and even less administrative talent" (Rose, 1970, p.209).

The Colonial Development Act of 1929 was the first statutory recognition that Britain had a responsibility to develop its dependencies. The purposes for which money could be granted, under the Colonial Development Fund which the Act established were defined as "aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the territory, and thereby promoting commerce with or industry in the United Kingdom" (in Jones, 1977, p.33). The Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in 1929:

"If we can encourage and accelerate the development of the vast underdeveloped territories which lie within these Colonies and Protectorates, we can in the ordinary course expect that their purchases from this country (United Kingdom) will be increased. The object of this measure is by supplying a little money ... to accelerate, as far as possible, the development of the Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Dependencies, distinctly with a view - among other objects - of causing an increase in our export trade in a way which we think to be legitimate and economically justified ..."

(in Jones, 1977, p.33
my emphasis)

A major concern of British policy, therefore, was with the economic advantages to Britain. Bechuanaland appeared to offer few advantages, and during the 81 years of colonial rule, total development expenditure in Bechuanaland was only R17 million (1977 prices) and budgetary grants-in-

aid totalled R25 million. Lord Hailey writes that it was only in 1927 that the British government began to show any interest in developing the Protectorate, but by 1931 there was still no evidence of British consideration of future development (Hailey, 1957, p.271). Barnes described the "economic and biological stagnation" of the High Commission Territories in 1932 (Barnes, 1932), whilst Halpern ascribes the difficulties facing the HCTs in the post-colonial period to the "indifference, dishonesty, evasiveness, and deliberate neglect which characterized Britain's policy towards them for half a century" (Halpern, 1965, p.108).

The reason for lack of development which was constantly put forward was "lack of funds". Hut and poll taxes were levied from the last few years of the nineteenth century. The chiefs were awarded 10% of the tax collected as reward for their support in extracting monies from their subjects. In 1916, Khama's income from this source was estimated as £1,700 per annum. In 1919 a special levy was introduced, called the Bechuanaland Native Fund to raise finance for education and other projects.

The serious neglect of the Protectorate and the system of indirect rule which bolstered the position of the chiefs led to growing criticism by the 1930s. In response to the criticism, two proclamations were issued in 1934, dealing with Native Administration and Native Tribunals. The proclamations were "clearly influenced by the legislation which had been enacted in Nigeria and Tanganyika" (Hailey, 1957, p.502) and were designed to replace the powers of the Kgotla. The new procedures were such a departure from Tswana practice as to be unworkable, and caused serious clashes with the dominant chiefs, particularly Tshekedi of the Bangwato (Gabetshwane, 1961, pp.19-21). The 1934 proclamations were reworked after many years of discussion and were finally reissued in 1943, i.e. nine years after the reforms had been mooted. Native treasuries were created in each reserve in an attempt to reform the financial

structure of the Protectorate. A government tax was established to replace both the poll tax and the special levy (the Bechuanaland Native Fund). 35% of the total collected in each territory was paid back to the Native Treasuries for use in the reserves.

Although the 1930s were regarded as a time of administrative vigour under the High Commissioner Colonel Rey, the reforms instituted were not well designed. The proclamations of 1934 caused resentment from the chiefs, and relations between them and the administration was permanently soured. The proclamations concerning financial arrangements created a situation where some tribes were less well off, and carried more financial responsibilities than before, whilst the measure also created the basis for greater inequality between tribes; the tax base in some reserves was far smaller than in others.

A number of economic missions were sent to the Protectorate between 1933 and 1965 to report on the financial and economic position. The Pim mission was perhaps the most notable, but it did not recommend that loans should be made available for development. The Symon mission of 1954 recognized the need for substantial improvement in the standard of government services and recommended that funds should be made available.

It was only after it was realized that the Protectorate would not be incorporated into the Union of South Africa (a possibility which had hung over the country from the beginning of the century) that the first loan was made available. However, this first loan, of £91,360 in 1956 was allocated to the housing of government officials. The Morse mission (1959) made recommendations for the allocation of the series of loans granted between 1956 and 1960. All the loans were earmarked for the development of an administrative as distinct from an economic infrastructure, and were to be repaid at comparatively high interest rates

(Jones, 1977, p.27). British aid in the six years before Independence was in the form of 40% grants and 60% loans, tied to the purchase of British goods and services which were procured through the Crown Agents in London (Jones, 1977, p.30).

Labour Migration

Despite the prominent place of migration to the mines in the life of the Tswana today, it was only in the twentieth century that migration began to take place on a significant scale. Although as early as 1840 Batswana were working on South African farms, and the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the 1880s created the beginnings of a larger flow of labour, it was not until 1899 that the first regulations were issued regarding labour recruitment.

From the outset, actions were taken by the administrations of the South African provinces and by the Protectorate administration which indirectly or directly stimulated labour migration. The hut and poll taxes instituted by the British administration necessitated a search for cash by the Tswana. The success of mining operations on the Rand lay in maintaining low production costs. This was achieved firstly by keeping wages at the lowest possible rate, on the assumption that the miners, as migrant farmers, were able to supplement their mine wages from their agricultural produce. Mining wages were cut by 30% in 1897. Secondly, the highly centralized control of the labour supply was achieved by establishing a labour recruiting monopoly, which could then effect the low wage levels and the standardization of food and accommodation costs (Taylor, 1982).

The Chamber of Mines established the Native Recruiting Corporation

in 1912. The flow of labour was greatest from the areas nearest to South Africa. The cattle wealth of the Bangwato immured them, initially, from the pecuniary imperatives to migrate. Khama banned recruitment in his area until 1903 but then had to lift the ban due to the worsening economic situation. The Bakgatla excluded recruiters from their territory until 1937. Chiefs were aware of the social disruption caused by migration; at the same time, they were aware of the financial benefits, and were actively involved in recruitment where this allowed the raising of taxes (Kowet, 1978, p.90).

By the 1930s, labour migration had become an "outstanding feature of the modern economy" (Schapera, 1953, p.31). Schapera writes that after 1930, labour migration became much more common, and another writer in 1932 remarked, "the country only keeps itself going by sending its manhood abroad to seek employment" (Barnes, 1932). In the 1930s, the Resident Commissioner, Colonel Rey, wrote to the Chamber of Mines to ask for consideration of an increase in the quota of labour from the Protectorate. This would "enable the Administration to get in a certain amount of additional Hut Tax" (Rey, quoted in Taylor, 1978, p.6). In 1947, Schapera's data show that nearly half all adult males were working away at any one time, ranging from 40% in the south east to 26% amongst the Bangwato. Changes in the rate of migration between 1910 and 1940 provide an index of the structural transformation of Bechuanaland into a labour reserve.

Table 3.1 Labour Migration from Bechuanaland to South Africa, 1910-1940

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total in South Africa</u>	<u>% Miners</u>
1910	2266	52
1920	2578	68
1925	3820	73
1930	4712	74
1935	10314	72
1940	18411	79

(Source: Schapera, 1947, p.33 and p.222.)

Poorer households had no alternative to migrant labour. Schapera estimated in 1947 that to meet its expenses (such as taxes) each household would have to sell one head of cattle per year, and only one quarter of all households could afford to do this. The pressure for outmigration continued into the 1980s. In the mid-1970s it was estimated that to meet its PDL (Poverty Datum Line) requirements a household would have to sell five beasts per year. A herd size of 55 is required to allow an annual off-take of 5 (Lipton, 1978). The Rural Income Distribution Survey (1974) showed that only 5% of rural households have more than 51 cattle. Kerven notes, "Selling of cattle to meet basic costs is no more a viable option for most households ... than it was in the 1940s" (Kerven, 1979, p.7). In 1972 the FAO estimated that 81% of households in Botswana could not meet their food requirements from their own crops.

In real terms, mine wages fell between 1911 and 1969 (Cooper, 1979).

The mining companies paid the bulk of their black work force "less than the costs of its production and reproduction" (Bardill in Kerven, 1979, p.34).

In the early 1970s the Chamber of Mines in South Africa adopted a five point strategy which had a number of implications for Botswana. It wanted to mechanize certain tasks to replace unskilled labour, concentrate on the 'career miner' and not take on novices, rationalize labour-recruiting costs, to internalize the labour force to a larger extent, drawing on labour from the Bantustans , and to rely on a larger number of sources of labour to spread the risk of a sudden failure to recruit in any one place. The result has been a decline in the number of recruits from Botswana (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Migration to South African Mines 1973-78

1973	28,450	1976	40,400
1974	27,100	1977	38,275
1975	33,350	1978	23,230

(Source: Cooper, 1979)

Between 1976 and 1981 the labour force in Botswana was expected to grow by 65,000, whilst formal employment opportunities were expected to increase by only 2,000. The Commissioner for Labour in Botswana said in a paper on labour migration in 1978, "Bearing this in mind the Botswana Government sees the system of migrant labour as a safety valve in the short term." (Maswabi, 1978, p.2)

Labour migration is both a politico-economic safety valve at the national level, and also a socio-economic safety valve at the level of the household. Massey's data show that the type of individual seeking Mine work has changed little since the 1940s, as indicated by Schapera's data. In the 1970s, 70% of migrant miners had no education, 90% owned less than 5 cattle, 50% of their families had less than 10 cattle, and 20% had made more than five visits to the mines (Massey, in Cooper, 1979).

The Evolution of Political Structures

Political structures in traditional tribal Africa tend to be regarded as unchanging and timeless; recent research however "has revealed over and over again how fluid the traditional situation was" (Zolberg, 1966, p.130). This was certainly the case in pre-colonial Bechuanaland. The imposition of British administration interrupted the fluidity and evolution of indigenous political structures. From this point, 1885, the political structure became syncretistic, i.e. it began a process of amalgamation and integration with sets of values other than its own.

In most African nations:

"African and European social systems have inter-penetrated with the result that new social systems embodying diverse and conflicting elements have come into being."

(Fallers, 1975, p.294-95)

Especially in the first years of integration, the traditional leader is "subject to the demands of a poorly integrated value system" (Vengroff, 1975, p.41). According to Vengroff, the population in Africa today can be divided into the rural mass which largely adheres to tribal norms, the educated elite engaged in government and the service sector which

responds in accordance with "Western bureaucratic norms", and the local-level elite, of chiefs, headmen and councillors, whose value orientation contains a poorly integrated combination of the other two (Vengroff, 1975, p.41). Although much simplified, this model may be used to describe the political structure of Botswana.

In pre-colonial times, the chief occupied a position of unique privilege and authority (Schapera, 1952, p.52). The British, with their policy of indirect rule, together with the wish to minimize administration costs, did not interfere with local political affairs:

"Under pressure of budget, British administration, personified in the district commissioner, was no more than the thinnest lamination laid upon the local government of the chiefs."

(Edwards, 1967, p.640)

Whilst in theory the chiefs could be called to account by the administration, the former enjoyed almost unchallenged power. The administration intervened in tribal affairs only through the chief -

"... failure to support the chief caused more trouble and publicity than Whitehall was prepared to tolerate from a poor and unimportant dependency."

(Gillett, 1975, p.103)

If the administration failed to support the chief, it faced the danger of arousing the chief's opposition to measures which it was hoping to introduce. The bolstering of chiefly powers led to inefficiencies and stagnation, which the Proclamations of 1934 hoped to rectify. The legislation was successfully blocked by Chiefs Tshekedi and Bathoen, and during the 1940s and 50s differences of opinion between the older chiefs and the administration became more frequent.

In the mid 1950s the educated Tswana other than the chiefs, realized that there was hope of gaining political power through channels other

than by alignment with the chiefs, i.e. through elective government. In the past, Khama III and the other chiefs had defused the threat to their authority from the educated elite by incorporating them into government or by providing them with jobs. Bathoen, and also Seretse Khama began to realize that the "winds of change" which could sweep away imperial privilege might also dispose of chiefly privileges, as the two were so intertwined. In this belief, Seretse Khama renounced his right to the Bangwato chieftainship. Only in 1954 (not 1934) were the chiefs' powers limited by proclamation, whilst the first serious attempt to democratize power came in 1957, with the African Local Councils Proclamation. The colonial period, with its last days from 1957 to 1965, has been described as one of:

"... chiefly autocracy intensified and corrupted by British over-rule and only towards the end marginally affected by British attempts to constitutionalize and temper its character."

(Gillett, 1975, p.104)

Changes at the local level were overtaken by the constitutional changes at national level occurring from 1960 to Independence in 1966. The emergence of political parties in Botswana has been considered in detail (Kowet, 1978, pp.153-156; Campbell, 1979, pp.173-175; Nengwekhula, 1979, pp.47-76). The Legislative Council which had been formed after the considerations of the Constitutional Committee in 1959, and which was based on the idea of the existing Joint Advisory Council, became the new forum for political action. The new Council was composed of 35 members, Europeans, traditional chiefs and educated younger men, often progressive farmers or teachers; these "educated young men" were "naturally drawn together by interest and age, and frequently by education at a common South African institution" (Edwards, 1967, p.144). This element of the Legislative Council, which "personified the educated elite of the territory" (Edwards, 1967, p.145) found itself in reaction not

against the government or the Europeans but against a new political party which had arisen independently, the Botswana People's Party (BPP). The African members of the Legislative Council who had worked with the government were criticized as "servants of colonialism". In the face of criticism from the BPP the eight non-chief members of the Council formed the Botswana Democratic Party under Seretse Khama. From the outset the BDP were the favoured party of the colonial government rather than the BPP, Botswana Independence Party (BIP), or later, the Botswana National Front (BNF).

In the initial stages, the founders of the BDP were reluctant to "engage in politics" (Edwards, 1967, p.151). It soon became apparent that the BDP contained "the moderates and conservatives, mostly the wealthier and better-educated, anxious to work with the existing administration to obtain independence in a manner that would ensure steady social and economic progress" (Campbell, 1979, p.174). The BDP gained a large majority in the 1965 election (28 out of 31 seats).

In the Independence period, it is suggested that the key political issue is that of conflict between the chiefs and the modern party politicians, or between those of ascribed and of achieved status (Wiseman, 1977, p.75). The establishment of a Parliamentary apparatus for the post-colonial period has involved a bicameral assembly, with an elected National Assembly and a House of Chiefs with little real power. The powers of the chiefs have been drastically reduced since Independence - "the supremacy of the government over the chieftaincy appears by now to be complete" (Stevens and Speed, 1977, pp.382-3). The chiefs have been hampered by their lack of unity and weakness in operating effectively in a modern political context. The government has skilfully retained a role for the traditional authorities alongside the more democratic institutions, hence reducing potential conflict. The chief now has a

position of status rather than of power, but as the government relies on the chief to help implement its policies (as the colonial government did) the chief has a certain amount of influence with the government.

The political stability which exists in Botswana owes a great deal to the successful transformation of tribal institutions into autonomous district authorities. Further, at the national level, the opposition parties have never seriously challenged the domination of the BDP:

"The economic elite of big cattle owners which controls the BDP largely corresponds to the educational elite, and the emergence of a radical intelligentsia without property or employment and capable of influencing the rural masses still lies in the future."

(Gillett, 1975, p.105-6)

The Political Economy of the Independence Era

The BDP had two main advantages on coming to power. Firstly, as since its inception it was orientated to the problems of the post-Independence era, rather than to gaining Independence, it therefore did not have to make the difficult transition from a nationalist movement to an independent government. Secondly, the serious neglect of the country by the British, and the fact that Independence came at a time of severe drought, with one fifth of the population dependent on internationally organized famine relief, meant that the situation could only improve. International aid was easily secured by the new government and directed into development projects.

At Independence Botswana was one of the poorest twenty countries in the world. The economic history of the country since then has been affected by two main factors, the commencement of an improved weather

cycle, and the discovery of large quantities of minerals. The good rains have allowed the cattle population to increase from approximately one million in 1966 to three million in 1976. The annual tonnage of the two main food crops increased seven fold in the same decade.

De Beers found a major diamond deposit in 1967 and in the same year Bamangwato Concessions Ltd. found 33 million tons of copper-nickel ore 200 km. away from the diamond deposit. The establishment of new government departments created a 70% increase in government employment between 1964 and 1969, and the building of the new capital, Gaborone, created work in construction. High rates of economic growth continued into the 1970s; the rains remained good and by 1973 the annual cattle off-take had risen to 200,000 head. The international price for beef doubled in this period. The construction of infrastructure to service the mining areas created jobs and stimulated the transport, trade and service sectors. From 1969 to 1974, the growth of total output exceeded 20% per year over the 5 year period. These growth rates have not been sustained, but economic growth in the first Independence decade has been remarkable. Real per capita income tripled; the GDP increased from Rand 32.9 million in 1965 to Rand 192 million in 1973-4 or 10% per annum in real terms. Formal sector employment grew from 47,804 jobs in 1972 to 71,380 in 1976. The renegotiation of the 1910 Customs Agreement with South Africa in 1969 meant that customs receipts valued Pula 30 million in 1974/5, or 20 times greater than their value in 1968/9.

The picture this draws appears as one of unqualified success. Two qualifications must be made however. Firstly, whilst economic growth has been dramatic, the external dependency of the country has actually increased. Jack Parson notes:

"Economic growth was associated with a reordering of the economy rather than through a change in its constitution as a dependent economy."

(Parson, 1980, pp.47-48)

Growth was not induced from within - three-quarters of government development expenditure from 1966-1967 to 1980-1981 was raised from external sources, whilst much growth has been due to investment by non-Tswana in particular sectors, such as mining. The mining enterprises in particular are highly capital intensive and employ few Tswana. A development process which could become self sustaining has not been initiated. The direction of growth is largely due to the actions of the dominant political party. As a capital owning, conservative class, it was in their interests for development to take place within the strictures of the existing economic framework. Indeed, this is seen as inevitable; in May 1973 the government wrote, "dependence on resource-based export industries as a primary source of income is unavoidable if sustained economic growth is to take place" (Botswana, 1973, p.2). Although it was hoped that the indigenous mining enterprises would create a greater capacity for self sustained growth than they have, the BDP is content, "in the short term" for Botswana to remain a labour reserve, in order to provide a "safety valve".

The nature of the cattle owning, educated class which manoeuvred itself into political power at Independence has also meant that the needs of the uneducated, non-cattle owning peasantry have remained incoherent. In 1970 the (then) Vice President, Masire, wrote that one of the four "most important" economic goals of the country was "to promote an equitable distribution of income, in particular by reducing income differentials between the urban and rural sectors through rural development" (Botswana, 1970, Preface).

The Bank of Botswana's 1976 Annual Report documented the failure to achieve this goal:

"The huge increase in GDP since 1967/68 has almost certainly been accompanied by a worsening in income

distribution, not only as between citizens and non-citizens but also between citizens."

(Bank of Botswana, 1976, p.20)

It points to the figures on levels of imports as the "most telling lack of real growth". The wide income differentials and lack of effect on the mass of the peasant population of the government's development plans was predicted from the early 1970s (Holm, 1972; Jackson, 1970; Ronald, 1972), and documented by the Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS) (Botswana, 1975) and by subsequent analysis of the Survey data (Colclough and Fallon, 1979; Molomo, 1979; Lucas, 1979B). RIDS found that income differentials were not only wide but widening. The wealthiest 10% of rural households received 39% of total rural income, whilst the poorest decile of rural households received only 1.5% of total rural income. The poorest 40% of rural households receive almost the same proportion of total rural income as do the richest 1%. Cattle ownership is highly skewed, with 45% of rural households having no cattle. 5% of rural households owned 50% of the herd in the survey area (RIDS, 1975, pp.109-113). During the same period, the government has attempted what has been called both a "capitalist transformation of the cattle industry" (Parson, 1980, p.49) and "the Government's way of removing the poor from the rich man's land" (Ngwato Land Board, 1978, p.1). The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) was a response to the deterioration of grazing and damage to the physical environment. It plans to enclose land and lease it to individuals or groups, and to replace the traditional system of unfenced, communal grazing land. There is concern about access to land for small cattle owners, and to those now living on land which will be enclosed (Hitchcock, 1978).

The government is aware of inequality of income. It has been

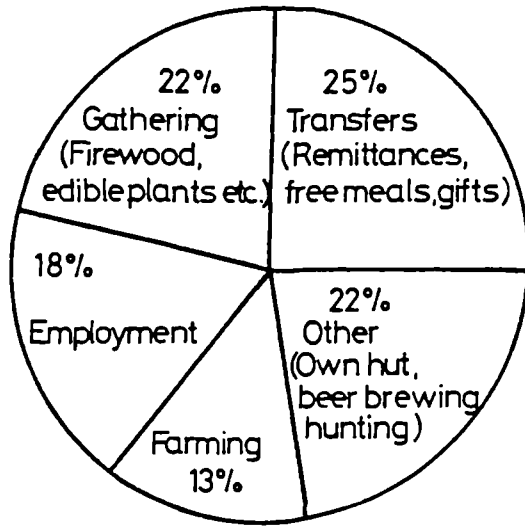
suggested, particularly by Cooper (1979) that the government's acceptance of a dual economy model, with poorer subsistence farmers and richer urban workers obscures the real mechanisms of wealth accumulation or exclusion from wealth accumulation. In 1978 Lipton made recommendations to the government on the assumption that a dual economy model existed. The data from the Shoshong village study and also from the RIDS reveals that the wealthy rural cattle owners are also the better paid urban workers; the poorer unskilled workers and miners are also the poor rural subsistence farmers. A simplistic dual economy model does not hold for Botswana, and obscures the relationship between particular strata of rural society and particular strata of urban society. Figure 3.1 indicates the complexity of the situation.

Summary

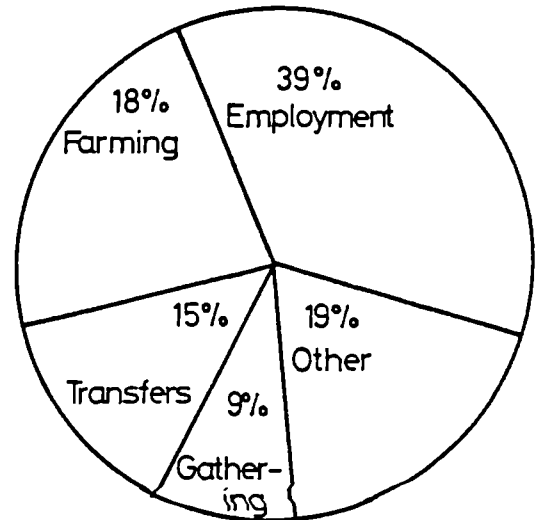
Q. N. Parsons, referring specifically to the Bangwato, provides a precis of the economic history of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and demonstrates "how a vigorous African economy became subordinated to the special conditions of capitalism within southern Africa as a colonial region" (Parsons, 1974, p.672). The colonial government operated a policy of benign neglect, investing in administration but not development. The lack of income earning opportunities and the pressure to pay taxes resulted in the migration of particularly male labour to the South African mines, with profound effects on the economy and culture of rural Botswana.

The unfavourable physical environment has resulted in the importance of cattle husbandry rather than crop production to the subsistence economy. The environment also led to a settlement structure where the population concentrated into a small number of large villages, which facilitated

Figure 3.1 Income (by source) for Rural Households



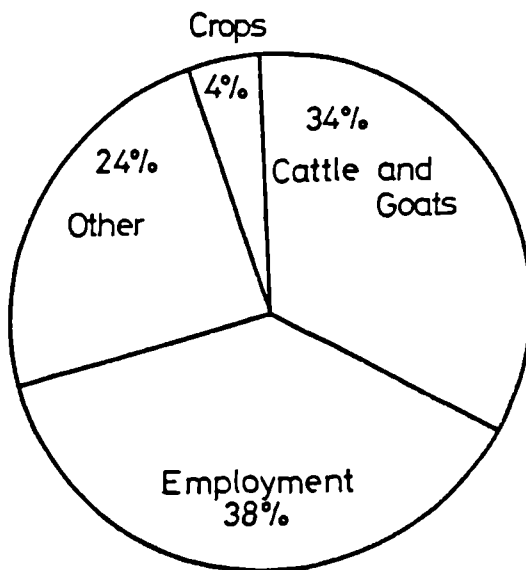
Poorest Households (lowest 10%)
Average income: P160 p.a.
(70% in kind)



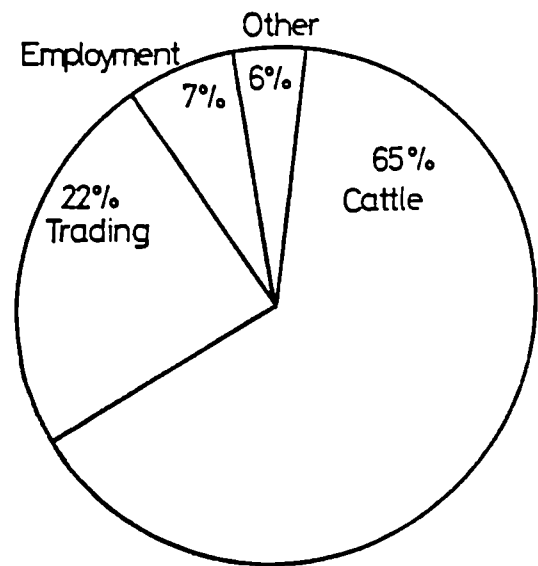
Lower Middle Income Households
(15-50 percentile)
Average income: P430 (50% in kind)

(a) (b)

(c) (d)



Upper Middle Income Households
(60-95 percentile)
Average income: P1 670 (40% in kind)



The Richest Households (99.0-99.9)
Average Income: P9 140 p.a. (30% in kind)

Source: Rural Income Distribution Survey

political control but excluded inferior tribes.

After Independence the economy underwent rapid expansion whilst its external orientation remained. By the time that the rate of expansion had slowed (by the mid 1970s), a number of studies charted the widening income differentials and the continuing inequalities in access to facilities such as schools. Structural underdevelopment remained. This may be related to two factors - the position of Botswana within southern Africa, and the nature of the Tswana ruling class.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRITISH EDUCATION IN BECHUANALAND,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BANGWATO

The Nineteenth Century

By the time that the missionaries of the London Missionary Society introduced formal, Western education to the Tswana of present day Botswana, a number of white travellers had already made contacts with, and provided accounts of, the Tswana. The first contacts were made with the aim of assessing the potential for cattle trading with the Tswana. In 1805 the latter were described as a "peaceful people living under civilized and prosperous conditions" (Campbell, 1979, p.145). During the first quarter of the 19th century the Tswana were visited by an assortment of traders and adventurers, and routes were established to the larger Tswana settlements. These initial visitors were followed by missionaries. The establishment of the Kuruman mission station in 1817 provided a "power-house" for the London Missionary Society, an important "starting point and a refuelling station for missionary journeys into the unknown" (Thema, 1946, p.1).

The missionaries were received cordially but not without reservation by the southern Tswana. The major cause of conflict hinged on the fact that the Tswana made no distinction between religious and political leaders, and therefore the tribal chiefs were concerned that the missionaries would undermine their authority. Following the initial contacts made by traders, the missionaries were perceived as a further, valuable source of trade to the southern Tswana - "secular benefits were expected of the missionary and were crucial to the bargain" (Dachs, 1972, p.648). When the missionaries first settled with the Tlhaping, "the day after his initial instruction in July 1813 to receive "instructors", Mothibi* had asked for what seemed all along to have been in his heart, viz. for a gun" (J. Campbell, quoted in Dachs, 1972, p.648).

* Chief of the Tlhaping

Early reports suggest that the Tswana were more impressed by the missionary's technology than by his Christian message, whilst the chiefs' fears that they presented a threat to the established order were well founded.

"By their military activities during the southern Sotho invasions of the Difaqane, their engagement in trade, their new agricultural techniques and their diplomatic contact with the Cape, they drastically affected Tswana society."

(Dachs, 1972, p.648)

From the 1840s, the missionaries of the LMS began to expand their activities to the northern Tswana groups settled in what is now Botswana. The impetus for expansion came from the newly recruited David Livingstone. He opened a mission station among the Bakgatla in 1844, and at the Bakwena capital in 1845. He visited Shoshong, the Bangwato capital in 1842. The arrival of German missionaries caused Livingstone to call for more British occupation of the northern territories, and an appeal was made to the British government to ward off Boer settlement by securing the 'Road to the North'. (The Road to the North was the main route from the Cape up to the Rhodesias, and was the beginning of what Rhodes later hoped to be the route linking "Cape to Cairo".) The missionaries used the "Road" as the basis of their appeal to the British government -

"This was initially a missionary assertion that in terms of secular politics the road along the Bechuanaland mission stations was the key to the balance of power between British colonies and Boer republics ... Livingstone therefore demanded the exercise of British power to protect 'the English route to the North'."

(Dachs, 1972, p.649)

Missionaries Robert Moffatt and John Mackenzie were likewise strongly committed to extending the British Empire. Mackenzie wrote in 1876, "people who are living under English law are in a far more advantageous

position as to the reception of the gospel than when they were living in their own heathen towns" (quoted in Dachs, 1972, p.630). British rule was perceived as the best way to expand their own religious interests and to deflate opposition from the chiefs. Until British protection was granted to Bechuanaland in 1885, the missionaries campaigned vigorously to this end.

With the establishment of mission stations - among the Bangwato in the 1850s and as far north as the Batawana by the 1870s - came the first Western schools. The concept and practice of formal learning were not new. Initiation schools were institutionalized and learning by rote was practised. However, it was important to the missionaries to teach reading and writing, not only as these tended "to promote civilized habits among the children" (Phillip, 1828, Vol.1, p.249), but also as it was a fundamental principle of the protestant churches that every convert should have access to the Bible. There was a need therefore to establish schools wherever the church went, and the missionaries regarded "even a minimal ability to read the Scriptures the height of educational achievement" (Chirenje, 1976, p.409).

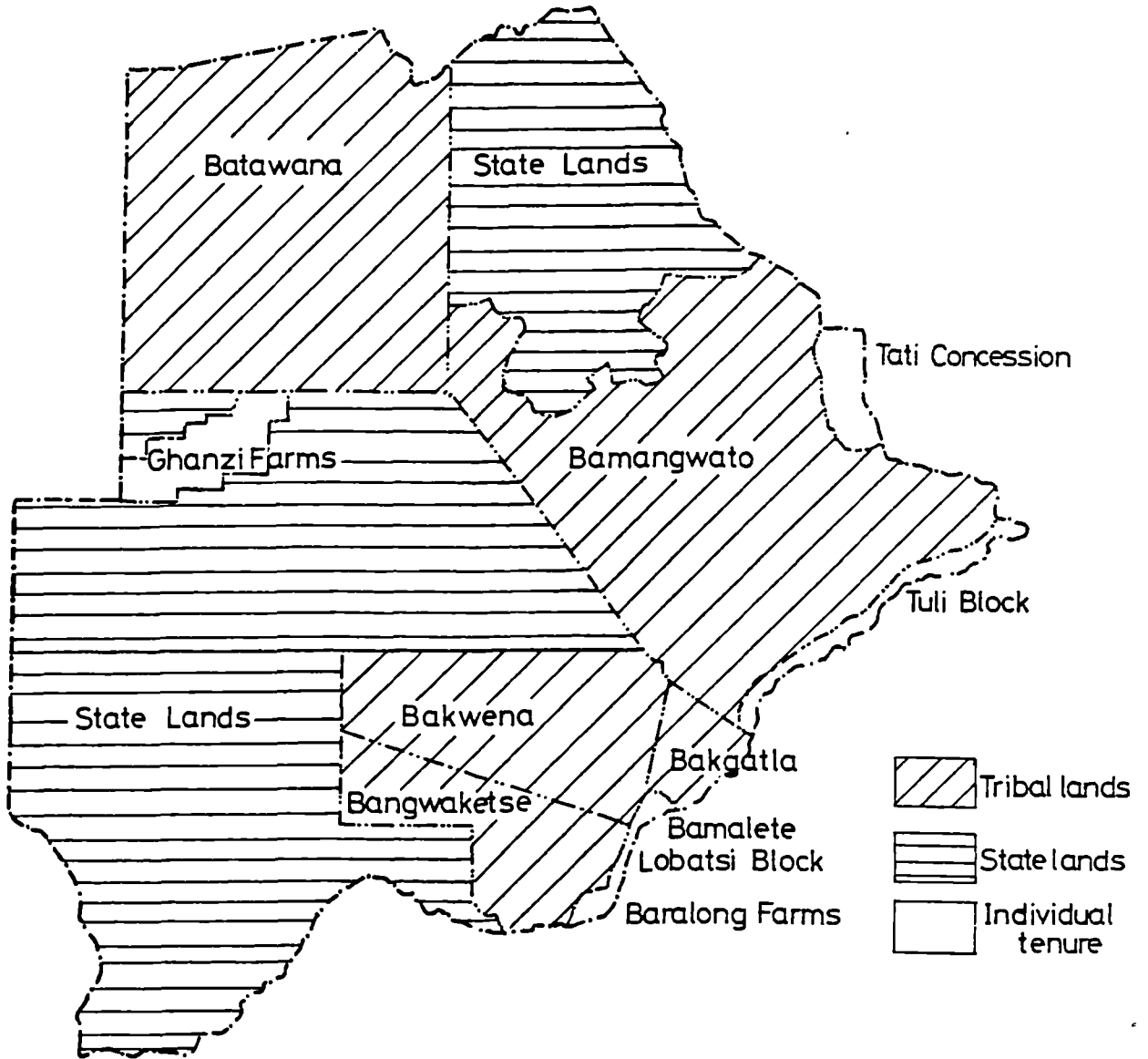
The schools presented an arena in which the conflict between old and new values and way of life was highlighted.

"Children who chose to become bathu balchuku ("children of the book") and refused to participate in the ceremonies venerated by the bathu balechulo ("traditionalists") caused considerable friction in Tswana households"

(Chirenje, 1976, p.411)

The rift between the traditionalist Chief of the Bangwato, Sekgoma and his two baptised sons led to civil war in 1866. Upon the elder son, Khama, becoming chief in 1872, the relationship between the missionaries and the tribal political leaders did not automatically become smoother.

Map 4.1 Bechuanaland, showing Tribal Territories and Land Tenure



Source: Kowet, 1978, p.44.

The issue at the heart of conflict between the missionaries and Khama was that of the delineation of authority; Khama found it impossible to distinguish secular issues from religious ones. In 1890 he warned the resident missionary Hepburn, "I cannot allow any teacher to act and speak as if he was a chief in my town" (quoted in Chirenje, 1976, p.412). The conflict reached a climax in 1891 when Khama removed all church meetings to his Kgotla, whilst Hepburn exhorted people not to obey the chief. Khama regarded himself as head of the Christian church in his territory.

Khama recognized the political advantages of education, despite the conflict over authority. Schooling involved the function of extending his sovereignty, both socially and spatially. In sending teachers out from the tribal capital to the spatial margins of his territory, he could observe the peoples living there, and stave off Afrikaans expansionism. According to Parsons, the development of elementary education had the function of "intensifying and extending the Ngwato State idea in this way" (Parsons, 1973, p.136). Four teachers were sent from Shoshong to Ngamiland in 1881, and other schools were established at "out-stations".

The second function of education at this time was in consolidating the social changes which were taking place in response to economic changes. By the 1870s Khama had developed an efficient trading state. When the first white traders and missionaries introduced guns and horses to the existing trade network, Khama was able to maximize the production of ivory and feathers. Shoshong became the "essential entrepot between Southern and Central Africa" (Parsons, 1974, p.655). By 1878 Shoshong had six stores run by white general merchants and in 1879 it was estimated that Shoshong exported an average of £30,000 worth of ivory each year. Khama realized that the lack of right of the lower classes to hold personal property was an economic and political drawback. He

therefore extended this right to the batlanka in 1875 and to the bafaladi headmen in 1896. New wealth had been created through waggoning and the expansion of trading.

By the 1890s, when the practice of attending school had permeated below the elite, this elite began to acquire education in addition to that offered locally:

"Wealth was certainly the criteria by which it was possible for the sons of headmen to proceed to education in the Cape."

(Parsons, 1973, p.242)

Considerable wealth, i.e. in excess of £100 was required per year to keep a son at school in the Cape.

"Education at the Cape went hand in hand with increasingly complex alliances of marriage in consolidating the families of some of the batlanka and bafaladi headmen together with the sons and daughters of the dikgosana into a new and broader Bangwato elite. Educational and marital links developed dynastic and socio-economic class connections firstly with other Tswana states and secondly across southern Africa."

(Parsons, 1973, p.238)

The new elite's demand for post-elementary education coincided with the phase, 1887-96 of even greater levels of trading activity created by British expansion into the Rhodesias. The Road to the North became busier. Whilst the new wealth allowed more families a surplus for schooling, social discrimination worked against the continuation of studies beyond a certain level (Parsons, 1973, p.243). Khama's personal wealth allowed investment in school buildings. (His annual income was estimated at £3,000 in 1874.) In 1894 a central elementary school was opened in the new tribal capital Palapye, built at Khama's expense and costing £578. Also in existence were 9 or 10 ward schools which acted as feeders to the main school.

The establishment of "Khama's" school indicated the growing dis-

illusionment with the education provided by the missionaries, but also indicated the large amount of enthusiasm for education per se. In 1898 Khama ordered poles to be cut for five new ward schools. The missionary Willoughby noted, "The desire for education in Khama's country is widespread. There is hardly a village, hamlet or even a cattlepost where the spelling book is not studied" (LMS Annual, 1900-01, p.263).

Considerable educational work was carried on at outstations, using Bangwato teachers trained at Kuruman. Motloutse, for example, with a population of 700, had a school enrolment of 152 with 14 teachers. Part of the reason for the emphasis on schooling in the outlying areas was the reaction of the missionaries to growing independence at the centre, in the tribal capital. Under the missionary Hepburn, relations between the LMS and the Bangwato had never been so poor. When Khama took over administrative control of the church and of education in 1891 the reasons were political rather than to do with the levels of satisfaction with education itself.

To contain the new Bangwato elite Khama had to find a new mechanism of control once he had abolished that of wealth, or the right to hold wealth. Control of access to education and church membership allowed Khama such a mechanism of social control. A letter from the missionary Jennings to the LMS headquarters comments on this relationship - "Khama is the state - and the state means Khama. Khama also means (the) church." Later, in 1922, Khama said "I govern by means of the church" (quoted in Head, 1981, p.26).

Parsons notes:

"Patronage of church interests became a touchstone of allegiance to the State, and wealth became more than ever before evident as the criterion of participation in church affairs, and therefore of access to formal

education ... Church membership was basically the prerogative of the existing political elite - the dikgosana (aristocratic) families who had surplus cattle and game produce to convert into cash. But wealth also enabled those batlanka (commoner) and bafaladi (settler) families who controlled surplus earned from cattle, agriculture or wagon hiring, to gain access to the political elite via church membership."

(Parsons, 1973, p.198)

After 1897 church membership included more advantages than ever before. The actions of the missionary Willoughby (who took over from Hepburn in 1892) aided Khama's ability to control the new elite by restricting church membership to those who were literate. In October 1896 an illiterate was presented for church membership by seven deacons and was refused by Willoughby. Marriage rites became difficult to obtain. In effect, church membership had become restricted to a self-perpetuating elite. In the main school in Palapye, the British headmistress Miss Young noted that "many children had the same family name" (Parsons, 1973, p.243). English lessons were available to those who could pay for them - the fees for English lessons at the school were £2 a year and for Setswana lessons 5/- per year.

Misunderstandings surrounding the building of the Tiger Kloof school irretrievably damaged the already poor relations between the Bangwato and the LMS. Both the Bangwato elite and the LMS wanted an expanded educational institution. A suitable site acceptable to the tribe was in their capital, Palapye. However, the missionaries did not wish to accept land offered by Khama as a gift, and Khama would not accept a freehold purchase of land by the LMS, as this opposed cultural norms. In 1898 the LMS purchased land in Vryburg, Transvaal, but until 1901 allowed Khama to believe that the institute would be located in his country. Upon opening, the institute was boycotted by the Bangwato, who sent pupils to Lovedale instead.

Churches began to be independent from missionaries in the North Cape from 1886. The departure of Willoughby from the Bangwato in 1903 allowed greater independence there also. By this time Willoughby had realized the inadequacies of the education which the LMS offered. In 1898 he had been sent to the Cape and to Basutoland to compare their schools with those in Bechuanaland. He reported, "I am bound to tell you that we are very far behind" (quoted in Chirenje, 1976, p.412). Later he wrote:

"At present we are outdone in all that pertains to the progress of the tribe (except perhaps in a purely spiritual sense) by every Society and Church in South Africa. Our schools are a disgrace to us ... the present chaotic and wasteful condition is capable of doing nothing more than to bring the LMS sooner or later into public contempt."

(in Parsons, 1973, p.244)

Khama, from the outset, had allowed only the LMS to operate in his territory.

Disillusionment with missionary education was not confined to the Bangwato. Other Chiefs no longer gave their wholehearted support, and criticized the lack of practical content in the curriculum. In 1904,

"Bathoen tolerates, if he does not support, the small school at Kanye ... Rauwe at Selepen identifies himself with a school wholly unconnected with the Europeans ... Sebele had to be rebuked for the manner in which he spoke of the educational efforts of the LMS, and Mokgosi for his entire indifference to school affairs in his village. Indeed, it is this condition of indifference, rather than active hostility to mission schools, which has the most depressing effect upon all educational work in the Protectorate."

(Sargant, 1905, no page numbers)

The departure of Willoughby from the Bangwato capital marked the end of half a century of missionary influence on Bangwato political life. Two processes had overtaken missionary influence. Internal to the tribe

had arisen the influence of the educated elite, and external to the tribe was the new influence of the British administration.

After the Anglo-Boer war the High Commission for the Conquered Territories was established, together with an educational advisor for the "Native Protectorates". Bechuanaland at this time was enduring a famine; Tswana confidence and morale dropped in parallel with the rise in British confidence once the "map was really red". School attendance fell - "The decline in educational fervour among the majority of people at the nuclear national settlements of Serowe and Shoshong may be seen as the cultural index of the loss of practicable political and economic national self sufficiency" (Parsons, 1973, p.274).

In meticulous detail Parsons (1973, 1974, 1975) shows how Khama's carefully laid economic foundation was destroyed:

"In the peaceful years that followed the South African war the colonial system connived to extract the surplus while the economy of the Bamangwato reserve gradually lost ground in production because of the restrictions of political boundaries and declining terms of trade. The way was laid for the politico-economic equation of "development" with white control."

(Parsons, 1974, p.666)

The market for cattle collapsed between 1902 and 1911 and for the first time the Bangwato had to export their labour on a wide scale. The rate of labour migration in these years was directly related to slumps in the Bangwato economy. Scott suggests that Khama realized that labour migration was socially disruptive and wished instead to modernize the local economy and deploy labour there (Scott, 1958, p.209). However, the economic depression of the first decade of the 20th century became institutionalised in the South African Customs Union of 1902.

Khama's plans for self-sufficiency were thwarted by colonial needs -

"... the Ngwato state was a Tribal Reserve which ipso facto must subsidise the export of labour and other primary produce, but must not challenge or isolate itself from the financial and other institutions which affected market values."

(Parsons, 1974, p.669)

Khama's attempts to develop a strong trading economy to provide for self-sufficiency were finally dashed with the failure of his trading company.

"The deliberate destruction of "Khama & Co." in 1916 by the British Authorities on behalf of the BTA's backers, removed Bangwato capacity to resist the downward spiral of "structural under-development" within the southern African politico-economic system."

(Parsons, 1974, p.671)

Underdevelopment and the Education System

The beginnings of the underdevelopment of Bechuanaland's educational system can be traced to the first decade of the 20th century. The collapse of Tswana morale and wealth and the withdrawal of missionary efforts left a vacuum which the British administration was reluctant to fill. The LMS claimed to have few resources for secular education - "we cannot lose sight of the fact that our funds are contributed for religious purposes" (BNA RC 6/1, letter from Willoughby to the High Commissioner Nov. 22nd 1900). The LMS appealed to the administration to take more interest in educational matters:

"We are confident that Your Excellency is at one with us in the belief that a native population which possesses some knowledge of the rudiments of education is better fitted for taking its place in the political economy of the Country and is also less likely to give political trouble than one sunk in ignorance and its consequent superstition ... it is the duty of the State to take the deepest interest in the education of its subjects."

(BNA RC 6/1, Willoughby to the H.C.
Nov.22nd 1900)

For political rather than educational reasons, the administration instigated a series of reports to investigate the state of education. The first, in 1901, by J. Ellenberger, dealt only with the southern Protectorate. It established that grants should be given, to reward the educational efforts of the "natives".

Upon payment of the first grant the government wished to know how the money had been spent and therefore commissioned the Burns Report of 1904. Burns noted that the biggest change since the Ellenberger Report was in the use of English - "the scheme of work (is) practically that of English schools ... this new development was a result of pressure from the people, who were all clamouring for the introduction of English in the schools" (Burns in Thema, 1946, p.22). Burns was struck by the "want of system and method in the management of schools" (Burns in Thema, 1946, p.23).

The Sargant report of 1905 provided a more comprehensive review and made important recommendations which, if acted upon, would have provided Bechuanaland with a progressive and adequate system of education. He described the Protectorate as being in "an exceptionally backward state" educationally (Sargant, 1905, p.1, BNA RC 6/1). Despite the concentration of the population into a small number of large villages, facilitating educational provision, enrolments were low. Sargant paid his visits to the schools at

" ... a time of year when children were taken away by their parents for ploughing and other agricultural operations. Out of 1029 scholars upon the rolls in the schools visited, 650 were actually present, that is 63% of the total ... Children are sent to the lands or cattleposts at great distances from the towns and sometimes live there for many months at a time."

(Sargant Report, 1905, p.12)

Table 4.1 School Enrolment 1905

Village	Tribe	Population	Pupils	% total pop.enrolled
Molepolole	Bakwena	5,000	164	3.2
Serowe	Bangwato	17,000	117	0.6
Shoshong	Bangwato	3,000	60	2.0
Ramutse	Ramalete	3,000	154	5.1
Mochudi	Bakgatla	6,000	600	1.0
Selepen	Bakhurutse	5,000	163	3.2
		<u>39,000</u>	<u>1,258</u>	Mean <u>2.5</u>

(Compiled from figures provided in the Sargant Report.)

Attendance was particularly problematic amongst the Bangwato, and was blamed by Sargant on the inefficient organization of the LMS and by their lack of "special knowledge of the habits of South African natives" (Sargant Report, 1905, p.13). LMS teachers were quasi-independent and a large proportion were women, which offended traditional customs of the Tswana. The main school at Serowe for example, was run by autocratic Miss Sharp who was responsible to the Mission Board in London, not to the local missionaries. Sargant recommended "The government should stop the whole block grant to the LMS and the missionaries should boycott the school. Short of such extreme steps as these, there is no check upon Miss Sharp" (Sargant Report, 1905, p.15).

Sargant's conclusions were disheartening. There was "no sufficiently organized system of education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate", there was a "tendency for the control of schools to pass from the hands of

missionaries into the hands of the Chief and the people, and for the disorganisation of education to increase", and the attainment of scholars was "below the standard which might be expected as the result of the effort which (had) been expended upon them" (Sargant Report, 1905, p.15). The establishment of private tribal schools was an obvious sign of discontent with mission schools. Khama had established a rival school in Serowe, staffed by his nephews and grandsons. Likewise other chiefs had established their own schools, although the quality of education within them was no better than in the mission schools.

Sargant wished to reverse the tendency for schools to slip away from white control. He claimed that the natives held "an almost unbounded belief" in the powers of the British administration and that they expressed "a great desire for the exercise of such powers in all matters which do not touch tribal customs and traditional ways of gaining a livelihood" (Sargant Report, 1905). He suggested setting up school committees on which administration and missionaries could be represented and "some slight representation be also given to natives", so that the independent schools would "fall in line" with those controlled by the missions (Sargant Report, 1905). Sargant also suggested the institution of an educational levy in each tribal reserve to enable "natives" to contribute directly to schools, and that some form of local government be established to manage schools. In the margin of the copy of the report filed by the administration was written, "No, no, no - everything possible is wanted for administration". That is, all available monies were to be spent on administration, not on machinery to manage schools.

Khama was placed in a difficult position regarding an educational levy. He did not wish to appear unprogressive regarding education - in 1904 he told a Government Commission that he was "very much in favour of education", and he "tried to impress" upon the people the advisability

of working to pay fees for their children's education (South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-05, Vol.IV, p.249, p.252). However, he only "encouraged" and "tried to impress"; he did not use greater force to persuade school attendance. Neither would he press an educational levy on the tribe. He was concerned about dissension among the Bangwato. After the Rraditlodi Incident (Schapera, 1970, p.204-5) where a group of dissidents left the tribe, Khama's power was shaken and he no longer ruled with the same firmness. If he introduced an educational levy, others might object; he could not jeopardize his weakened rule by introducing a potentially unpopular measure. In 1908 Lloyd reported to the LMS that there was "very little interest shown in education both at Serowe and Shoshong" (in Parsons, 1973, p.262). This was quite different from the earlier enthusiasm described by Willoughby.

The other tribes organized their educational levies and administration several years before the Bangwato. Bathoen imposed an educational tax of 2/- in 1903 on all Ngwaketse men and Sebele did likewise on the Bakwena in 1909. They also organised school management committees. Seepapitso, regarded as a progressive chief, persuaded the administration to provide a medical practitioner for his tribe, improved Kanye's water supply, and exhorted parents to send children to school. The abolition of fees following the use of the levies to pay teachers' salaries caused a spurt in enrolment but no advance in the quality of education. Khama resisted the imposition of an educational levy and the Bangwato did not begin to pay such a tax until 1928, 5 years after his death.

The educational levies imposed by the chiefs competed with a number of other levies payable by tribespeople. The hut tax had been imposed by the British in 1899 as a means of raising revenue. Later, a poll tax became payable by all able bodied men. Additional levies were imposed by the chiefs, for example that of £5 imposed on every able bodied

man by the Kgatla Chief between 1903 and 1932. "Few of these levies had any economic justification. Most served the personal enrichment of the chiefs" (Kowet, 1978, p.99). In 1919 the levy system was institutionalised by the colonial government and became part of the poll tax as a "native fund".

Unlike the hut and poll taxes, educational levies could not be enforced. No records show how much was raised for education or how it was spent (Thema, 1946). By all accounts however, and despite the other demands on tax payers, the levies enabled more children to attend school. This was not the case in Khama's territory however:

"But at the largest centre of all in the Bechuanaland Protectorate the work of education has not made progress as at the other centres ... The missionaries are convinced that there will be a great improvement in the interest of education among the Bangwato, if they can be persuaded to tax themselves for the purpose."

(Letter from Rev. Brown to Administration,
Mafeking, July 15th 1912, BNA S45/2)

The provision for education in the largest village of the Protectorate still consisted of a dual system because of earlier conflicts. The LMS school was held in "half a building", and Khama's own school was held in his Kgatla in no building at all. In 1923, eleven years later, the position was the same when a delegation from the LMS visited Serowe to discuss education in the Bangwato territory. The Rev. Neville Jones pointed to the division of responsibility for education as being detrimental to the tribe. He appealed to the pride of the tribe, saying that the Bangwato ought to be "on a footing of equality with other South African tribes". He suggested that the school system of the Bangwato should be the responsibility of an educational specialist and that a committee should be set up comprising the Chief, the magistrate, and other representatives. Chief Sekgoma who had that year taken over from

his father as chief, gave a written reply to the deputation which clearly stated his feelings:

"Why should you trouble me so much ... The schools are mine. I have never asked help from you. You have your own schools at Tiger Kloof and you will never see me interfering in its administration as you have built it with your own money. Therefore let us alone in our things."

(Chief Sekgoma to LMS, 4th June, 1923, BNA S601/6)

Sekgoma was maintaining the attempt at self-sufficiency in education started by his father. His father's attempt at economic self-sufficiency had failed, and so too, eventually, did the attempt at educational independence.

In other tribal areas, the system of school committees had been established. This was one outcome of the Sargant Report. His other recommendations were not acted upon until the 1930s - 25 years later - and neither were regulations for school committees drawn up until then. A mood of disappointment descended immediately after the Sargant Report had been publicized, due to the reluctance of the administration to act (Thema, 1946, p.28). The first school committee meeting was held on 12th July 1910 among the Bangwaketse. Willoughby wrote, "The only criticism that one feels inclined to offer at present is, that the native element on the committee is not large enough or varied enough to secure a true representation of the people" (quoted in Thema, 1946, p.42). Between 1910 and 1933 when the Bangwato became the last tribe to establish a school committee, the educational network was slowly brought under some form of central (white) control.

The committee system had two main effects. The missionaries virtually lost control of educational administration; government grants to education were paid directly to the tribes through the committees. The missionaries did not protest about their loss of control; they were

embarrassed by their lack of success in providing schooling, whilst their interests were closely aligned with those of the colonial government anyway. However, the system left virtually no room for voluntary effort. Mission societies could only receive financial assistance for their schools if they built on Crown Lands. Bechuanaland became almost unique in Africa for its limited missionary involvement.

The second effect was to arouse the people's interest in the running of schools. According to Thema, "the direct contact of the people with educational work was far more responsible for awakening their interest in education, and for increasing enrolment" than was the abolition of fees (Thema, 1946, p.45). Although in 1911 the committees were described by the High Commission Territories Educational Advisor, Dutton, as working "extremely well", by 1926 he claimed that they "could never provide that professional leadership necessary for success" (Thema, 1946, p.45). He suggested that the government should assume direct control of education.

During this period the administration had asserted control over a number of aspects of tribal life. Although under indirect rule, the administration appeared to continue "as it had in the past with the chiefs and tribal leaders in charge, this was not strictly the case" (Campbell, 1979, p.167). In fact the colonialists had:

"... assumed and exercised powers in internal sovereignty by imposing taxation, defining tribal land, appropriating other land to the Crown and issuing land titles and by proclamation had curtailed and regulated the powers of the chiefs."

(Campbell, 1979, p.167)

In 1920 a National Advisory Council without legislative power, was formed, consisting of 36 members, chiefs and representatives from the main tribes, to discuss grievances with the Protectorate government. The European

community, growing in numbers, established a European Advisory Council the following year.

The period from 1927 to the end of the Second World War saw social change accelerated, increased labour migration, consolidation of central control and improved educational provision. Lord Hailey notes:

"... it was not until 1927 that the imperial government began to give any sign of a practical interest in the means necessary to improve the economic and social services."

(quoted in Halpern, 1965, p.108)

The period began with Tshkedi Khama taking charge of the Bangwato (1926), Dumbrell becoming inspector of schools for the Protectorate (1928), and Colonel Charles Rey becoming Resident Commissioner. All three had important contributions to make. Tshkedi "lost no time in demonstrating that he had every intention of following ... a vigorous education policy" (Dixon, 1966, p.100). Meanwhile, "Rey was a "doer" and soon to be seen travelling the ghastly roads of the Protectorate to assess the situation for himself. For eight years he fought a bitter battle with the British government for funds to develop the country" (Campbell, 1979, pp.167-68). Rey instituted dramatic, but often unpopular changes.

Until the 1930s the chiefs had enjoyed almost unchallenged power. They had become less accountable to the people -

"... owing to the support of the chiefs' authority by the protecting power, there is an inclination to depend less today than in times gone by on the opinion of the people in moulding policies."

(BNA File S323/6).

If the tribe objected to a chief's actions he could threaten to ask the administration to intervene. If however, the administration disagreed with a chief's actions it was not quick to discipline him as his support was essential in introducing changes. Attempts to curb the chiefs'

powers were made in 1934, in the Native Administration Proclamation. The Resident Commissioner (in this case, Rey) now had to recognize and confirm the appointment of chiefs, and this recognition could be withdrawn at any point. The chief was not allowed to exact levies without the RC's permission, and the chief was to appoint a Tribal Council of councillors with whom he was to confer (Bech. Prot. Govt. 1938 Vol. XXVII).

To Tshkedi and Bathoen, the strongest chiefs, this represented "a step towards white domination in the familiar South African pattern" (Gillett, 1975, p.101) and they resisted it strongly. Tshkedi had already clashed violently with the administration (Campbell, 1979, p.168; Rose, 1970, p.209; Gabatshwane, 1961) and he managed to delay the implementation of the Proclamation in his territory for a decade.

In 1938 Tribal Treasuries were established, under the District Commissioner's supervision. Proclamation number 35 of 1938, The Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Treasuries Proclamation, consolidated the Native Fund payments with the payments of the General Tax, and 35% of the tax collected in each reserve was to be credited to its Tribal Treasury. Chiefs could now only spend money in line with approved estimates. Through this and a number of other measures, a local government apparatus was legally established as part of the central administration rather than as a semi-independent parallel authority, as in the past.

Education too, was legislated for in a series of laws which emerged as Proclamation 26 of 1938. In order to open a new school the permission of the Director of Education was now required. The RC was given the power to make, amend and repeal laws regarding the appointment and discharge of teachers, the nature of subjects to be taught, school hours, the age of entry, and the constitution, appointment of, powers and duties of the school committees. The RC also had the power to close schools.

The Proclamation was largely the result of suggestions put forward by Dumbrell.

When Dumbrell assumed responsibility for education in 1928 he found 31 schools under Tribal Committees, 5 in Crown Lands, 39 under the IMS, 6 under the Church of England, 1 under government control and 4 others. In these 86 schools were 6,522 pupils. Attendance had not increased greatly since Sargant's Report 23 years earlier, as indicated by attendance in five large villages (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 School Enrolment 1905 and 1930

	<u>Pupils</u> (Sargant) 1905	<u>Pupils</u> (Dumbrell) 1930
Serowe	117	500
Molepolole	121	350
Ramotswa	154	238
Moshupa	20	123
Kanye	121	275
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black; margin: 0;"/> 533 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black; margin: 0;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black; margin: 0;"/> 1,486 <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black; margin: 0;"/>

Source: Sargant Report and BNA S148/2

Dumbrell attempted to visit all the schools in the Protectorate in order to give a comprehensive review. Many schools involved several weeks of travel. There were "a few near far-off Ngami; some where mandated S. W. Africa meets the Protectorate, some in distant Lehututu and Ghanzi, and others on either side of the railway line which extends from Mafeking to the S. Rhodesian border. And more than 50 miles to the West of that line are schools stretching out into the Kalahari" (Report

on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate Jan. 1929-June 1930, BNA S148/2). Conditions in Ngamiland made it impossible for pupils to proceed beyond standard 4, whilst the situation among the Bangwato remained in a "bad state", with schools which were "utterly inadequate" (Report BNA S148/2, p.10). The stalemate, with two school systems operating still existed in Bangwato territory.

Dumbrell admitted that the administration was penalising the Bangwato for its obstinacy in conforming with other areas;

"I am bound to admit that an expenditure of a mere £200 per annum on education is in no sense giving this Tribe a fair return for its contribution to the Native Funds recently increased as it was from 3/- to 5/- for each Hut Tax payer and amounting last year to £4,170."

(Report BNA S148/2, p.6)

The mission schools in the Bangwato area were in a dire financial position. On 31st March 1930 the LMS had a debit of £149.12s.11d. and needed £256.10s. until March 31st 1931 for salaries alone. In a letter dated 7th July 1930 Dumbrell wrote, "it is very obvious that they (the Bangwato) and their schools are being starved" (Dumbrell to Mafeking BNA S148/2).

In all, £6,765, or 5% of the Hut Tax was spent on education in the whole Protectorate in 1929/30. With an approximate total of 30,000 Batswana receiving this amount, and the white population of 300 receiving £4,266, expenditure per head was £0.22p and £14.22p respectively. The Tswana made comparisons of the money spent, and this "helped to foster a certain amount of discontent" (Report of Sub-Committee on Education in the BP and Swaziland BNA S148/3). Of the total spent on native education, £5,322 came from the Native Fund (i.e. native taxes) and only £1,443 from central government. From this same amount, provision was made to allow the sons of chiefs, headmen and other "influential natives" to

Table 4.3 Colonial Expenditure: Proportion of Colonial Revenue spent on Education and Other Sectors 1933/34 to 1937/38

Year	Administration %	Economic Development %	Social Services %	Education %	Other %	Total £
1933/34	45.0	23.8	15.1	4.9	11.2	185,523
1934/35	45.2	25.3	11.4	3.6	14.5	182,523
1935/36	38.2	17.2	14.6	3.9	26.1	206,794
1936/37	35.5	17.7	11.1	3.7	32.0	233,321
1937/38	34.3	17.0	12.8	4.2	31.7	251,370

Source: BNA 103/9/2

Table 4.4 Proportion of Expenditure on African Education allocated to each Sector within Education 1944/45 to 1948/49

Year	Educational Administration %	Salaries %	Teacher Training %	Bursaries %	External Grants %	Capital Building %
1944/45	37.9	38.0	6.1	8.8	2.6	6.6
1946/47	34.0	45.7	5.5	9.7	1.4	3.7
1948/49	45.4	37.3	6.4	9.4	1.5	0

Source: BNA 103/9/2

be sent for secondary school studies. It was felt that the heirs to the chieftainship should be "kept in touch with modern times". Whilst in general it was accepted that "Education does not aspire to raise the few but rather to leaven the masses" (Report BNA S148/2 p.34), exceptions were to be made for the sons of political leaders and for exceptionally bright children. To the latter end, an examination at the end of standard 6 was suggested, with five students to be sent to secondary school in the Cape at a cost of £20 each per annum.

Dumbrell initiated experiments with schools at cattleposts in an attempt to break down the spatial constraints on school attendance and to include more boys (Board of Advice, Nov.12, 1931, BNA S98/10). Fifteen years later, in 1946, the project was still at the experimental stage:

"Those who are well informed about the rigours of cattlepost life in Bechuanaland, the unsettled and highly migratory life of these denizens of the bush will not be surprised."

(Thema, 1946, p.61)

Dumbrell also pointed to other hindrances, such as malnutrition, which, "in the major part of the Territory is rife - indeed, alarmingly so" (Thema, 1946, p.61). Dumbrell estimated that 30% of school children were unable to learn anything through lack of nourishment. Education was severely hampered by the lack of facilities to train teachers. Dumbrell claimed that the territory was motivated by tribalism rather than nationalism, and therefore there was no point in establishing a teacher training college as it would be used only by that tribe in whose area it was located.

Following Dumbrell's initial report, a Board of Advice for African Education was set up (1930). The Bangwato were to be made to conform to the rest of the Protectorate in its educational administration and salary scales. Educational practices were to be standardised throughout the Protectorate and examinations and certificates introduced at standard 6, the end of the primary course.

Table 4.5 Educational Provision in Selected Southern African Territories, 1938

1. ENROLMENT

	Population Aged 6-18	Boys Enroled	Girls Enroled	Total	% Enroled	Boy:Girl Ratio
Bechuanaland	52,102	4,607	9,522	14,129	27	48:100
Basutoland	132,109	26,475	41,868	68,343	51	63:100
Swaziland	30,654	4,966*	-	4,966	16	-
S.Rhodesia	230,000	55,001	49,482	104,483	45	100:89

* Boys and Girls

2. TEACHERS

	Total Teachers	Male	Female	% Qualified	Teacher:Pupil Ratio
Bechuanaland	253	179	74	26	1:55
Basutoland	1,306	950	354	40	1:52
Swaziland	121	55	66	26	1:41
S.Rhodesia	2,418	1,930	488	30	1:43

3. FINANCE

	Government controlled Funds for Education	Pence per head of Population aged 6-18
Bechuanaland	£17,696	34
Basutoland	£65,076	49
Swaziland	£ 7,036	23
S. Rhodesia	£89,539	38

(Derived from Figures in BNA S103/9/1, Education, Native, Policy)

Social Changes in the 1930s

Between the beginning of the century and the 1930s the domestic economy had been transformed. Schapera's first anthropological works during the 1930s describe a society in flux. By then labour migration had become an "outstanding feature" of the Tswana economy, without which the people could not maintain their standard of living (Schapera, 1970, pp.30-31). Social changes following the absence of large numbers of men included the weakening of the family structure, and a disruption of the local work force (Schapera, 1947, pp.162-193). The division of labour had changed, such that women were not debarred from many formerly "male" tasks (Schapera, 1970, p.27). Perhaps the most far reaching consequence was the decline of respect for traditional authority:

"In the towns the men experience the relative freedom of a different culture, in which the domestic sanctions no longer affect them directly, where the laws and taboos of tribal life may be broken with comparative impunity, and where the authority of the father and the chief is replaced by that of the employer and policeman. They enter into individual contracts, and secure earnings formerly unknown; they acquire new habits and new tastes, and also new vices. On their return they soon become intolerant of the traditional forms of family control."

(Schapera, 1940, p.242)

The lack of discipline permeated to non-migrant, young boys. A Church Council meeting in 1932 noted that "boys are nowadays lawless and uncontrolled" (quoted in Schapera, 1940, p.239). Authority had become diffuse: the colonial regime had taken over many of the powers of the chief whilst still operating a policy of indirect rule. The church did not present an alternative code of authority. (Only 23% of the Tswana belonged to a church and only 7% of the Bangwato did so (Schapera, 1970, p.47)). New social distinctions had emerged however, based on "religious and educational groupings, and new distinctions based on the

degree of "civilization" to which people have attained. The structure of the tribe has therefore become much more complex" (Schapera, 1940, p.310. My emphasis). Schapera felt that education had created divisions in Tswana society between those whose life chances had changed through education, and between generations:

"The children not at school envy their more fortunate companions, and resent being deprived of the same opportunities, with the result that they become sulky and recalcitrant. The school children on the other hand, acquire a feeling of superiority through learning to speak English and wearing comparatively good clothes, and so often affect to despise their parents as illiterate and uncouth."

(Schapera, 1940, p.240)

Schapera felt that two factors which lent a certain amount of stability continued to operate - the importance of subsistence farming in economic life and the social pressure exerted by the kinship network. The loss of labour through migration and schooling led to the formation of new task-sharing relationships. It became "fairly common" to hire outside help in, for example, field clearance (Schapera, 1940, p.120). In the attempt to alleviate the loss of labour, parents were likely to send their children to school for only one or two years. This resulted in an educational pyramid with a very broad base. In 1937 70% of all pupils were in the first two standards and less than 3% in standard six, (which was actually the eighth and final year of the primary course). In 1938 22% of the Territory's children were enrolled in school. Schapera gives the impression that parents were unable, rather than unwilling, to send their children to school -

"The people appear on the whole to have realized the advantages of education, especially as the preparation for life that nowadays involves so much contact with Europeans."

(Schapera, 1940, p.236)

Reforms in the 1940s

Dumbrell had been energetic in reporting on the weaknesses and anomalies of the educational system. His suggestions, together with the support given to the colonial regime by the Proclamations of 1938, allowed the administration to consider a major reorganization of education to be effected in the 1940s. Two main considerations lay behind this unprecedented initiative. One was that, apart from the quality of education being very poor, and enrolment low, there was a great deal of regional variation in enrolment levels (Table 4.6). The need for spatial planning was realized.

Table 4.6 Enrolment Rates and Number of Teachers by Tribal Area 1939

Tribe/ Area	School aged population	No. of Pupils	% enroled	No. of Teachers	Pupil: Teacher ratio
Bangwato	20,456	4,790	23	96	49
Bangwaketse	4,717	1,538	32	33	46
Baralong	1,224	199	16	6	33
Bakwena	5,288	1,107	21	20	55
Bakgatla	2,771	1,191	43	31	38
Bamalete	1,257	265	21	7	37
Batawana	8,432	236	3	8	29
Batlokwa	389	295	75	9	32
Lobatse Crown Lands	400	159	39	6	26
Kgalagadi	1,086	426	10	11	38
Tati	3,190	1,196	37	22	54
Ghanzi	2,233	51	2	3	17
Chobe	571	149	26	3	49
TOTALS	52,014	11,602	22	255	

Source: BNA 103/9/1

Secondly, it was realized that the education provided in the Protectorate was not efficient at producing pupils capable of secondary schooling and therefore of employment in government service. In 1939 the administration made its first clear statement about manpower planning:

"In order to meet the demands of the people and to conform with the Government's policy of employing Africans in the lower grades of the administrative and technical services, it is necessary to provide within the territory such facilities as may be practicable for secondary education, which is at present provided in the Union at considerable cost to the pupils and is therefore within the reach of the very few."

(1939 Meeting of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Board of Advice on African Education BNA S103/9/1)

A third factor behind the reorganization, one that was a constant feature of the British administration, was the aim to rationalize costs. Earlier, in 1903, the administration had been conscious that any money granted to education would allow less for administration, and in the 1920s concern was expressed about the burden on the British taxpayer of Bechuanaland being unable to balance its budget. In 1919 the Native Fund had been created, taxing every male 3/-, raised to 5/- in 1923 for education, medical work and development projects. In 1938, with the establishment of the Tribal Treasuries, a fixed sum, 35% of the Native Fund collected in each reserve was credited to the tribe. The responsibility for allocating finance to education and other social services was then removed from the administration to the tribes. However, this exacerbated one of the problems which the proposed reorganization of education had hoped to alleviate. Each tribe chose to spend differing amounts of its revenue on education. The Rolong for example, chose to allocate only 18% of its revenue to education, whilst the Bakwena allocated 43% (Table 4.7). The missionaries did not finance any educational efforts in the tribal areas, and from 1938 tribes had to pay for all new school

Table 4.7 Estimated Expenditure of Tribal Treasuries on Education, 1938

Tribal Reserve	Estimated Revenue	Estimated Expenditure on Education	% Revenue Spent on Education	Number Enroled
	£	£		
Bangwato	20,415	8,927	43.6	8,270
Bakwena	7,118	3,079	43.2	2,197
Rolong	1,932	346	18.	255
Batawana	3,849	1,100	28.6	734
Bangwaketse	9,692	2,489	25.8	2,974
Batlokwa	819	320	39	360
Bakgatla	5,011	1,600	32	1,335
Balete	2,896	634	22	486

Source: BNA 104/1/1

Table 4.8 Expenditure in Bangwato Reserve on Education as a Proportion of Total Revenue, 1938/39-1943/44

	Expenditure on Education	Total Revenue	% Revenue Spent on Education	% Expenditure on Education spent on Capital Projects
	£	£		
1938/39	4,660	14,868	31.3	-
1939/40	5,098	14,782	34.5	-
1940/41	6,083	N.D.	-	-
1941/42	6,450	17,653	36.5	-
1942/43	7,020	17,432	40.3	-
1943/44	8,122	18,370	44.2	-

Source: BNA S104/1/1

buildings themselves (BNA S103/9/1).

The reforms of the 1940s, then, attempted to rationalise and upgrade education, reduce costs and centralize control to a greater extent than had already been achieved in the 1930s. The reorganization had a number of spatial implications. In 1939 the Inspector of Schools wrote:

"I personally feel it would be far better policy to open fewer schools and expend the same amount of money in securing the services of trained teachers, although I realize that we do not wish to stifle the enthusiasm for education."

(BNA S588/4/2)

The aim of the Reorganization Committee was to close schools in some areas and strengthen those in others, or in his own words, "to improve the schools in certain main centres instead of spending money on many schools scattered over thinly populated areas" (BNA S287/3). This would involve the closure of schools "where there is a relative wastage of effort and money" (S103/9/2), the re-siting of schools and the strategic location of qualified teachers. A hierarchy of schools was to be established, comprised of "village schools" providing sub-standard A to standard 2 (the first four years of schooling), "central schools", with qualified teachers providing up to standard 4, and "district" or "middle" schools providing the full 8 year course. A meeting of the Reorganization Committee in April 1941 decreed that in the Bangwato territory by the beginning of 1942 no school other than the district school in Serowe was allowed to provide more than the first 6 years of schooling, and no village school could go beyond standard 2. If parents wished their children to receive education beyond that provided locally, their children would have to migrate to school (BNA S287/3).

In a letter from Tshekedi Khama to the District Commissioner in March 1941, he noted that the reorganization within the Bangwato area would have the most effect on the Tswapong and Bakalaka tribes. In fact,

any tribe living outside Serowe, where the Bangwato dikgosana were concentrated, were penalized by the reorganization. Tshekedi raised the problem of accommodating boarders from central and village schools in Serowe (BNA S287/3). Despite reservations the Bangwato school committee accepted the proposals in May 1941 (BNA S287/3).

The plans were, of course, unpopular with the ordinary people. The administration was attempting to impose the rationalization of schools plus several other supporting measures. The Board of Advice on African Education in January 1941 had decided to "rigidly enforce" the proclamations of 1938 which meant that over aged pupils could not attend. Numbers enrolling at school were to be controlled by fixing a period of two weeks after the beginning of each term for enrolment, and a period of three months for fee payment. Also the responsibility of the community for erecting teachers' quarters was underlined (BNA S103/9/2).

During 1941 representatives of the administration toured the Bangwato reserve to put the reorganization proposals to the people. The proposals were enforced in a heavy-handed way. In decisions concerning which schools were to be closed and which upgraded, tribespeople and headmen had to indicate that they were worthy of a school. On June 10th 1941 a meeting was held at Ratholo attended by villagers and representatives of the administration.

"There was an extremely turbulent discussion as to why the children from Manadi (a nearby village) were not attending school and both the parents and the headmen were blamed for lack of interest. There can be little doubt that the headmen are largely responsible, as they seem to have little or no control over their people."

In fact the Manadi villagers had scattered in search of fresh arable lands, due to soil erosion of their present lands.

"The temper of the meeting was such as to preclude any discussion of the restrictions suggested by the Reorganization Committee. These should be imposed by the School Committee."

(Emphasis in original. BNA S287/3)

On June 12th a meeting was held at Goo-Tau. The villagers were warned that unless attendance and the state of the school building were improved, the teachers would be removed to an area where schooling was more appreciated. The headman explained that poverty and lack of clothing caused poor attendance, whereupon,

"the Chief's representative promptly refuted this by pointing out a number of children not attending school who were very smartly dressed."

(BNA S287/3)

On the same day, at Lecheng, the people's claims for separate schools at Malaka and Matlakola were regarded as unwarranted. However, if the villagers produced evidence that sufficient school aged children existed, and showed "practical signs of genuine desire for a school", then the position would be reconsidered. To serve clusters of villages it was decided, in some cases, to build a completely new school at a site in the bush equidistant from the villages to be served. Sketch maps drawn by administrators of the areas around, for example, Dagwe and Mozoa, show selected sites at distances of up to 8 miles from the village to be served (BNA S287/3).

The Case of Nshakazhgwé School

The villagers of Nshakazhgwé appear to have protested most loudly. At a meeting at Sebina on August 5th 1941, it was decided that the school for the area should be sited at Sebina and the larger school at Nshakazhgwé closed. It was noted that the villagers at Nshakazhgwé:

" ... showed no desire at all to assist in any way and adopted an uncompromising attitude. It was explained to the people of Nshakazhgwé that there could be no change in plans and they were warned that if they persisted in their intention of carrying on an unauthorized school the provisions of the law would be invoked against them."

On 25th August 1941 the villagers wrote to the Director of Education:

"It is with regret that we place before you our complaints against the force with which we are pressed to accept the new scheme. (The) Main points of complaint are as follows: 1) that our children with the enrolment of 167 pupils should attend school at Sebina school, a distance of 6 miles away. 2) the distance to be walked by children from 6 to 12 years of age. 3) that our complaints regarding the above have been rejected without consideration. 4) that we have no voice in matters affecting our own life and interests."

The Director of Education did not reply, but in an internal memo wrote:

"Admittedly enrolment at Nshakazhgwé's is higher than at Sebina's ... but there can be no doubt that Sebina's is the most central position for a school, and I consider the people of Nshakazhgwé have exaggerated the distance from Sebina's. As money becomes released for development so it may be possible to grant "lower primary schools" to these villages but in the special circumstances of financial stringency I agree that the people of Nshakazhgwé's are being obstinate and obstructive. Their complaints have been heard with patience, and have been given every consideration."

Having received no reply to their letter, the villagers wrote again on the 7th October 1941. The Director of Education replied that he could not enter into correspondence with nameless writers, and that "school work for the present must be discontinued". The D.C. added at the bottom of the letter, "My advice to you is to cease being stubborn. Hard headed people always hurt themselves."

The villagers did not reply until 2nd December 1941. They found it disquieting to be seen as "stubborn and hardheaded". "We are only

sorry as to the loss of our school ... we are claiming our rights ... Thinking deeply into the matter it appears that we are on political affairs." With this shrewd comment, the correspondence ended, and the school remained closed (BNA S287/3).

In December 1941 Dumbrell laid down regulations for school buildings and equipment. He wrote to the D.C. in Serowe to state that unless village communities created buildings which conformed to the "Model School" in Serowe within 6 months of that date, village schools would be closed. Further, no school should be allowed to open unless it had a blackboard for each teacher, and suitable accommodation for teachers. By October 1942 the reorganization was not working as well as it had been hoped, mainly as parents did not want to send their children away to the central and district schools. By November 1942 it was noted that the "Ngwato Tribal Treasury has almost reached its limit ... in respect of expenditure on education" (BNA S287/3). No funds were made available from the administration for the building of village schools, but help was to be given to build more middle schools, to take the place of district schools, and to be built in additional centres to the tribal capital. In 1944 £27,000 was released, for the whole territory, for this purpose. The R.C. noted that the schools were "lucky to get it" (26th Session of the African Advisory Council S104/1/2).

At the 1944 session of the African Advisory Council Bathoen of the Bangwaketse and Pilane for the Bakgatla commented that it was wrong to limit the numbers of pupils entering middle schools. Chiepe for the Bangwato agreed with the rationale of the administration, that it was better for a few to receive a good education than for many to receive a poor one. The Director of Education pointed to the lack of teachers as the main reason for limiting numbers of pupils, whilst the development of a secondary school and technical schools would have to wait until "the

Fairy Godmother in the shape of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund provides the money" (BNA S104/1/2).

The financing of education sparked off much debate in the early 1940s. The administration was impelled to limit spending due to the tremendous costs of the war effort in Europe. At the 24th Session of the African Advisory Council in May 1943 Tshekedi of the Bangwato gave a detailed account of revenue and expenditure on education in the Territory and concluded that it was impossible for education to progress if financed under the existing Tribal Treasury arrangements. Evidence was presented to show that educational provision had regressed since 1938 when the system was established. Among the Barolong for example, the percentage of unqualified teachers had increased since 1938. The tribes received sufficient applications from qualified South African teachers but could not afford to employ them. Numbers of children enrolled in school declined in 1942. In 1943 it was estimated that 80% of schools were understaffed. In the same year, £500 was added to the fund for awarding scholarships to the sons of chiefs and exceptional children to attend post-primary school.

Post-Second World War Plans

No major decisions were made during the last few years of the Second World War. With the end of the War, a new Director of Education, Mr. Jowitt, was installed and a five year plan for the development of education drawn up. Jowitt's first impressions of education in the Protectorate were bleak:

"Such conditions as prevail in the Bechuanaland Protectorate would not be tolerated in any other dependency. Enormous classes with the most inadequate

Table 4.9 Educational Expansion under Mr. Dumbrell

	<u>1928</u>	<u>1945</u>
Schools	86	135
Pupils	6,522	21,231
Expenditure from Native Fund	£4,253	£17,204
Expenditure from All sources	£7,331	£35,384

Source: BNA S104/1/3

Table 4.10 Proportion of Pupils in each Standard, 1935-1960

Year	S T A N D A R D							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1935	56.4	16.6	11.3	6.3	4.8	2.9	1.1	0.6
1940	46.4	19.5	14.8	8.6	5.0	3.0	1.5	1.2
1945	41.1	19.9	13.1	8.7	7.9	5.2	2.5	1.6
1950	35.6	18.9	14.1	10.6	9.6	6.2	2.3	2.3
1955	33.3	20.8	15.1	11.3	7.9	7.0	2.5	2.1
1960	32.0	20.9	16.4	12.0	7.8	5.9	3.2	1.8

Source: BNA 103/9/2

equipment are being taught in the mass by dis-credited methods at the hands of unqualified teachers."

(BNA S104/1/2)

There was no legal necessity to limit the numbers taught by one teacher, or to provide a certain proportion of qualified teachers. If the rule requiring a minimum provision of 10 square feet for each pupil was enforced, 60% of the pupils under instruction would be excluded. Despite Jowitt's reports, an infusion of central funds was not forthcoming, and the period 1945 to 1950 was characterized by an intensified power struggle between the administration and the people over control of education, with the chiefs siding with one faction or the other depending on the issue.

At the 23rd Session of the African Advisory Council back in 1942, Bathoen had suggested that it was time that Africans were allowed to become secretaries of the School Committees; he questioned the need for missionaries on the committees and the chairmanship of the D.C. (BNA S104/1/1). By 1948, the Director of Education wrote that the African Advisory Council, "more and more tends to regard itself as the unofficial opposition" (BNA E412/EN in S104/1/2). The chiefs criticized the Education Department and called for a reform of the School Committee system; a memo of 1948 noted that:

"School committees, following the trend of other tribal institutions are now showing an increasing wish to run themselves, without Government or missionary guidance, in their case, to the almost certain detriment of education ... Progress in African education in the territory depends above all things on the closeness of European supervision over, and close contact with, African supervisors, teachers and pupils."

(Education Policy, Native, Development of, during War and Post-War Period 1948 in BNA S104/1/2)

In August 1948 Jowitt wrote, "it would be undoubtedly beneficial for the educational system to develop more central control, as against

the ineptitude of the system of devolution, without such control, established in good faith ten years ago" (BNA E412/EN in S104/1/2). He therefore proposed to give more control to the European Officers of the Education Department. The Education Inspectors submitted reports each month on what had been happening in each reserve, of which Jowitt remarked, "neither the chiefs nor the councillors have any conception of what is being done" (BNA S104/1/2). At the D.C.'s conference later that month, the issue of the composition and working of the school committees was discussed. Jowitt was anxious however, that the chiefs should not find out that such an item was on the agenda, as they would take it as an endorsement of their criticism. The D.C. for Francistown suggested that the minutes of the meeting on this issue be withdrawn -

"I would like to see the withdrawal of this note from the Depts. altogether ... After all, our intentions are to get things done rather than to get them talked about."

(BNA E412/EN in S103/1/2)

The administration accepted that the school committees were cumbersome and inefficient. In September 1948 Jowitt, in a letter to the R.C., wrote:

"I should welcome wholeheartedly the application of the principle referred to in His Honour's concluding paragraph, namely that we should seize the opportunity of fuller intervention (direction?) in connection with education ... The African teachers, almost to a man, desire it, and are unceasing in their complaints about the neglect and ineptitude of committee management."

(BNA S104/1/2)

It is not known what decisions were made regarding the school committees, but evidently the administration did not seize the opportunity of "fuller intervention" too forcefully. A note the following year gave the opinion that a certain amount of decentralization could remain:

"Education in other colonies based on a more centralized system has not shown such conspicuous or edifying results that a less centralized system cannot be tolerated here, and as long as ultimate control remains vested in the Central Government no advantage is seen in forcing upon the Africans a policy they dislike."

(BNA S104/1/3)

The administration in this period planned to further rationalise the education system, again with a view to saving money. At the 28th Session of the African Advisory Council in 1947, the chiefs again questioned the limitation of numbers in schools. The R.C. replied that it was a matter of principle:

"... whether it is better to admit all and sundry to the school or whether, having regard to our very strict financial limitations, it is better to concentrate on those who are most likely to profit from education."

He told the chiefs that the Director of Education intended to make the standard 4 examination "stiffer than hitherto so that it would only be the better pupils who would get to the middle schools" (Minute in BNA S103/1/2).

Later that year Jowitt discussed with the administration the option of closing some schools to pay for qualified teachers, that is, to replace quantity by quality. It was pointed out that neither quantity or quality existed. Only 30% of school aged children were enrolled and only 25% actually attended. Of the Batawana only 8% were enrolled. Also there was the problem of "public opinion", with the prospect of a similar response to changes as to the reorganization of the early 1940s.

However, this turned out not to be such a problem after all. A letter from the D.C. in Francistown, 1.8.48, noted:

"I had a long talk with Tshekedi about education. To my surprise he is strongly in favour of quality rather

than quantity and is prepared to sacrifice numbers of small, inefficient schools for a few good ones with higher paid teachers. I am certainly in favour of quality but always thought we would be flying in the face of public opinion. Did not Gardener meet opposition in Kgatleg on something of this sort last year? Tshekedi said that if the thing were properly explained to the people by the Native Authorities there would be little difficulty."

(BNA S104/1/1)

The administration used the school building regulations as an excuse to close schools. In 1949 the administration remarked,

"There are several instances which we can quote where schools have been closed down on instructions from the Director of Education because the communities for which the schools were opened could not put up school buildings."

(BNA S104/1/1)

Enrolment fell in the years 1945-49, the reasons for which were not known. "The continued fall in enrolment in the schools is mysterious. As far as I can see the only likely cause alleged is the poor quality of teaching. The trend ... is unusual in an African territory." (18.10.49 BNA S103/1/1). The considerable drop in enrolment affected both sexes equally, with wastage being particularly heavy at the end of sub-standard B. Whilst the Education Dept. ascribed the reasons for the drop in enrolments to factors internal to the schools, additional causes may be found in the state of the economy of the Protectorate.

Colonial reports for these years show that a great deal of hardship was being endured. Increased migration to the mines correspondingly increased the burden of work on those left behind, such that there was a "considerable falling off in the efficiency of crop production" (Colonial Annual Report, 1946, p.39). The lack of efficiency resulted in further pressure to find waged work:

"Employment for cash wages is now an essential if the family food supply is to be maintained."

(Annual Report, 1946, p.40)

Due to the limited local employment, those wishing to find employment were "forced to proceed to the industrial and mining areas".

It was necessary that children left the village in search of food - "in some areas children left school to go to the cattleposts where milk and game were available" (Annual Report, 1947, p.26). Enrolment fell by 18% nationally in 1947, and by 33% in the Bangwato area.

Job opportunities did increase inside the Protectorate during this period. By 1948 1,420 Africans were employed in government service, and earned between £2 and £20 per month. This top wage was much higher than that paid to workers in other sectors (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11 Employment in the Protectorate 1947 and 1948

	<u>1947</u>		<u>1948</u>	
	Number Employed	Wage per month	Number Employed	Wage per month
Agriculture	2,000	£2.5s.	2,700	£2.
Mining	600	£3.10s.	1,030	£4.
Building	250	£10.	175	£4.
Government Service	no data	no data	1,420	£2.-£20.
Domestic Service	1,460	£2.10s.	1,410	£2.6s.

(from Colonial Annual Reports 1947 and 1948)

In some sectors wages fell between 1947 and 1948 yet the cost of living increased in the post-war period. In 1946 a "bag" (180lb.) of maize meal cost £1.16s., in 1947 £2. and in 1948 £2.1s.5d.

With economic hardship and the difficulties of funding education from tribal revenue, "primary education remain(ed) in the doldrums" in these years (Annual Report, 1947, p.4). Of the 16,708 pupils in the country's 145 primary schools in 1947, 63% were girls. 683 pupils attended the 5 middle schools, and 57 were involved in post-primary school study. £2,206 was spent on bursaries out of a total educational expenditure of £42,963 (Annual Report, 1947).

Secondary education was advanced in the post-war years, mainly due to the efforts of the Tswana and not to those of the British. The building of Moeng Secondary school was "entirely due to the initiative of Chief Tshekedi and his people" (Annual Report, 1947), who raised £100,000 through a cattle levy on the Bangwato (Gabatshwane, 1961, p.29). Although the provision of secondary schooling fitted in with the administration's views on manpower planning, articulated earlier, it was unwilling to devote funds to secondary education. In 1949 the Director of Education was told that the Protectorate's expenditure "is still higher and revenue less than His Majesty's Treasury would wish" (BNA S104/1/2). An earlier attempt at secondary schooling, Tati Training College, had failed due to financial difficulties after the government refused to invest any money in it. A second attempt, Forest Hill School, also failed, due, according to Jowitt, to the failure of people to send their sons and to "the cash-value conception of education that is still prevalent among Africans" (Thema, 1946, p.98). Post-primary education was sought in South African schools. In 1946, Thema counted 214 pupils in South African secondary schools, (123 boys, 91 girls).

The sudden increase in the numbers of Africans employed by the government may have appealed to the "cash-value conception of education" and caused the demand for secondary education to increase. The chiefs had been calling for the government to provide funds for secondary

schooling since 1944, when they discussed the difficulty of obtaining places for their own children at schools in South Africa. In 1949 their demands for aid to the newly established Moeng school and to the mission school St. Joseph's, the only schools providing secondary schooling, were given a boost when the Union of South Africa announced that from 1950 it was to increase its fees for students from Bechuanaland to between £50 and £70. At the African Advisory Council of 1949 the chiefs claimed that this was prohibitively high and called for funds to build more secondary schools inside Bechuanaland.

Tshekedi and Bathoen pursued the matter further. They realised the ideological reasons behind South Africa's actions, and recognized that Bechuanaland students might not be admitted to Union schools even if they could afford the fees. They attacked the government for the amount it spent on education for the white population compared to that spent on Tswana children. Tshekedi produced figures to show that the government spent £19 per head per annum on European children and 4s.4d. on each African child, if the entire school aged population was considered. Tshekedi proclaimed:

"Though professedly Native interests should come first in the Protectorate, we find that in Bechuanaland the education of the African children is starved whilst the education of the European children is fed to the full."

(in Gabatshwane, 1961, p.32)

The Director of Education evaded the issue, but did say that there "might be a case" for the establishment of a junior secondary school.

Later in 1949 the British themselves realized the need to upgrade schooling in the Protectorate and to provide secondary schooling. This was related to pressure from the Union to annex the Protectorate. It was predicted that the "spotlight of publicity will be turned on the

Territories" (BNA S323/6) and therefore it was necessary to "clean up" the Protectorate as much as possible. It was also realized that there was a need to educate the Tswana before the demand for self-rule became too strident - 1950 was a year of "intense political trouble" (BNA S588/4/2). Little was actually done however. Each annual colonial report from the mid 1940s to the mid 1950s started its section on education with a statement of the problem, which was often taken, word for word, from the last annual report:

"The fact that two thirds of the country belongs to the Kalahari Desert, that there are eight main tribes, that communications are primitive and distances vast, and that financial resources are far from commensurate with urgent needs - these combine to make the administration and promotion of African education unusually difficult."

(Colonial Annual Report, 1946,
p.34)

In 1949 36 pupils attended secondary school at Moeng and 46 at St. Joseph's. The government granted £2,349.12s.6d. to bursaries for 86 students at secondary level in the Protectorate and the Union. Meanwhile primary schools continued to be closed down. Nine were closed in the Bangwato reserve in 1950. The reasons were:

"Shifting of population; lack of staff and in one case the absence of pupils for a long period, participating in initiation school rites. This illegal practice had been carried on for the third year in succession despite warnings."

(Colonial Annual Report, 1950,
p.20)

The British continued to provide schooling on their terms - irregular attendance was discouraged by striking off the names of those who did not attend. In the Tati area, children attended on alternate days, herding cattle on the intervening days; "such irregularity in attendance renders progress impossible and is being actively discouraged" (C.A.Report,

Table 4.12 Number of Classrooms required to meet Demand (Minimum Estimates) by area, 1959

<u>Area</u>	<u>No. Classrooms needed</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>No. Classrooms needed</u>
Bangwato	120	Ghanzi	25
Tati	55	Kgalagadi - North	10
Bakwena	50	Kgalagadi - South	10
Bangwaketse	45	Baralong	5
Bakgatla	30	Bamalete	0
Batawana	30	Batlokwa	0
		TOTAL	380

x Source: BIA S/04/1/4

Table 4.13 Proportion of Capital Expenditure spent on Schools, by Area, 1959

<u>Area</u>	<u>% Capital Expenditure on schools</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>% Capital Expenditure on schools</u>
Tati	98	Bamalete	52
Barolong	94	Bakwena	43
Bakgatla	93	Bangwato	41
Bangwaketse	88	Kgalagadi - S	37
Batlokwa	66	Kgalagadi - N	Nil
Batawana	59	Ghanzi	Nil

~ Source: BNA S/04/1/4

1950, p.20). The Education Department realized that its actions were not popular:

"I agree that it is most difficult in the Protectorate to limit numbers because of opposition from the tribe, for such opposition has been very forcibly brought to my notice ever since I have been here,"

wrote Jowitt in 1950 (to D.C. Serowe 13.2.1950, BNA S493/9). Also, from his point of view, the position was worsening:

"My experience suggests that each year makes it more difficult to introduce the firmer control desired, control essentially in the interests of the children."

(BNA S493/9)

By 1951 there were 130 pupils at secondary schools in the Protectorate, and junior secondary day schools were under construction at Kanye and Mochudi. The Annual Report for 1951 is the first to devote space to secondary schooling. In 1952 the Report noted that the average pupil's school career lasted four years, with an average admission age of $8\frac{1}{2}$. Due to the "skeleton staff" at the Education Department, "little progress" had been made (C.A. Report, 1951, p.24). There were 17,489 pupils at primary school, 182 at secondary school and 5 at university, one of whom was in the U.K.

Economic Changes in the 1950s

The 1950s saw developments in employment opportunities in the Protectorate; a bonemeal factory opened in Francistown and the Lobatse abattoir opened in 1954. A division was emerging between those willing and able to take advantage of the new farming methods and those who farmed in traditional ways. In 1954 the Annual Report noted:

"In each area there are outstanding men who have quickly appreciated the new methods and have applied them on their fields with very satisfactory financial results."

(C.A. Report, 1954, p.27)

It noted that "considerable numbers of ploughs, harrows, cultivators and planters have been purchased" (1954, p.27). In 1953 the Report had noted that "Africans are taking an increasing part in the direct export of stock" (C.A. Report, 1953, p.22) but also it stated, "few Africans will provide for the herding of their stock ... their care goes little beyond the survival of the fittest" (1953, p.26). That year, 23,000 Tswana were away working in South Africa. It would appear that a small group of cattle owners were in a position to make substantial financial gains from their farming, helped by the new abattoir, whilst record numbers of men went to the mines, leaving cattle unherded. The "progressive" farmers generated a surplus with which to invest in schooling. In 1954 the Annual Report noted:

"The present tendency is to send more boys to school at an earlier age, instead of their being employed as cattle herds until ten to twelve years of age before seeking schooling."

(1954, p.41)

By 1953 1,500 were employed in government services earning between £5 and £56 per month, and 1,800 were employed in "trade and industry" earning £6 per month. These figures presented a real financial incentive, perhaps for the first time, to parents to invest in schooling.

The 1960s

By 1961 the UNESCO/ECA Conference of African States, meeting in Addis Ababa had recommended that education should be universal, compulsory and free, that secondary level schooling should be provided for 30% of

primary school completers, and higher education for 20% of the secondary level completers. Meanwhile the position in Bechuanaland had perhaps never been as dismal, and the country was not in a position to contemplate the implementation of the Addis Ababa proposals:

"The stark facts are that Bechuanaland is short of teachers, short of classrooms, and short of equipment to a degree that threatens collapse of the whole system .. Schools everywhere are bursting at the seams and the situation worsens each succeeding year as more and more children are crammed into classrooms already grossly overcrowded."

(BNA SM84)

There had been a "marked deterioration in most primary schools" (SM84). In the years 1953 to 1962, £ $\frac{1}{4}$ million had been spent on education - "this was a high price to pay for the end result of only 35 students who were successful at school certificate level, who are the only ones who can be regarded as having had a really sound education", wrote the Education Department in 1963 (BNA S588/4/2).

Unless better teachers were provided,

" ... the dreary pointless cycle of half baked teachers producing half baked students who in turn become half baked teachers producing more half baked students will continue."

(BNA S588/4/2)

Rigid border controls imposed in July 1963 meant that the supply of teachers from South Africa was restricted. The unsatisfied demand for secondary schooling was "enormous", with potential students "flocking" to the larger villages, resulting in "grave moral dangers" (BNA S588/4/2).

The government recognized the need to create a "brave new localized world" yet it discussed ways of centralizing control of education even further and felt that local bodies should lose their executive functions; the Director of Education informed the administration that "centralization

seemed inevitable and could be made to function satisfactorily" (BNA S588/4/2). There was a great deal of debate in government circles at an official level regarding the function of education to a state which was moving, however slowly, towards independence.

A memo of January 1962 provides one such discussion and is worth quoting fully. It notes that education and other social services are of great importance in

" ... countering disruptive and subversive influences which unopposed could wreck the best laid plans ... Stability can only be provided if there exists a substantial number of people who have sufficient stake in the orderly development of the country ... It has often been said that the best guarantee of orderly progress is the emergence of an indigenous middle class. This is partially true but overlooks the fact that a middle or bourgeois class has historically been a source of attack from all sides and only rarely holds the balance of power. It is therefore, also necessary to develop a stable, contented and reasonably progressive class at the base of the pyramid ... In the Bechuanaland Protectorate we cannot wait until general prosperity has silenced the malcontents and agitators and has disarmed those who, from behind the iron curtain or within the centres of subversive activity elsewhere in Africa, train and supply them."

It was necessary to provide "an effective set of ideals, i.e. the ideals and ideas of Western society". Whatever their shortcomings, Western ideals were better than "the fast disintegrating tribal societies of Africa. Unless the Western way of life and the economy which supports it is opened up widely and quickly to them there is a grave risk of African societies, forced to abandon their traditional ways, finding themselves drawn irresistably into the orbit of the Soviet bloc" (BNA S588/4/2).

The creation of such a "stable, contented and reasonably progressive class" required greater emphasis on secondary schooling, and so too did the manpower requirements of the economy. Thus:

- " ... certain primary conclusions are inescapable i.e.
- 1) the mass of children should have means of education,
 - 2) among the mass the elite should be able to continue their studies to the limit of their capacity."

(Oct. 1961 BNA S588/4/2
my emphasis)

An additional £131,048 was approved in 1964 for the expansion of secondary schooling. This "expansion" however, followed the same logic as the earlier reorganization proposals for primary education. Development was to concentrate on St. Joseph's, Gaborone, Mater Spei, Moeding and Seepapitso, whilst financial support was to be gradually withdrawn from the Bangwato school Moeng, Kgari Sechele School in Molepolole and Isang's school in Mochudi. In response to the public outcry to the proposals, the government said, "it is government's policy to weld a nation rather than encourage a purely tribal outlook". Regarding Moeng, the Bangwato allowed themselves to "remain steeped in sentiment and unalterably attached to the college founded by their great chief". They were not aware of "financial realities". A total of £327,891 was given to secondary schooling in 1964. The government commented,

"We agree that the emphasis is on the brighter pupil who can be expected to go on to University ... they must have first priority in the sharing of limited development funds."

(BNA S588/4/2)

The emphasis on secondary schooling compared with a relative de-emphasis on primary schooling. There had been no startling changes in the Bangwato area between 1935 and 1959. As the financial resources of the government were so "slender", the maximum contribution through self help was to be encouraged. Direct government help was only to be expected for primary schooling in desert and urban areas;

" ... the former cannot take time off from the battle for survival while the latter owe no particular

loyalty to any agency other than their employers."

(BNA SM84)

The situation in urban areas had begun to arouse concern in 1960, particularly in Lobatse. The D.C., in an appeal for better education in the town, claimed:

"It will be readily agreed that the only hope these children have of becoming useful citizens in the future is contact with classroom discipline ... There is a rising tide of Nationalism in Africa and this applies to the comparatively quiet backwaters of Lobatse as much as the larger centres of Southern and Central Africa. Today therefore, the accent should be very much on youth, for if adequate schooling is not available then the uneducated youth of today can so easily become the rabble of tomorrow."

(BNA SM84)

The Lobatse primary school was one of the handful chosen to be included as a recipient in a UNESCO fund raising scheme. The UNESCO "Chronicle" in March 1962 listed Bechuanaland's educational needs as 500 primary school classrooms, housing for 1,200 teachers, 2 residential teacher training colleges for 180 students and one secondary boarding school. It realized a fact of which the colonial government appeared to be oblivious - "The average man lives at subsistence level and cannot contribute the ready cash required for the classrooms" (BNA S277/2). Help from the charitable agencies of the Westernized world was therefore necessary. Money was raised on the basis of appeals for individual schools; the appeals were worded in fairy tale language calculated to evoke scenes of "Africa". The Tsetsebye school appeal for example, read:

"The village is governed by a headman, Busang, who holds his court in the shade of a great beobob tree, whose mighty trunk is 50 foot in girth. He is an old man now, and although versed in the wisdom of the forest, he knows no English, nor can he read or write. In 1956 Busang, together with the elders of the village, decided that they must educate their children."

(BNA S277/2)

The scheme raised money amounting to several thousand pounds for a number of schools, including the once energetic Palapye school, where, "on August 21st 1961 one class had 113 children and was being taught by a girl who had herself left school in December 1960" (BNA S277/2).

Foreign aid was also sought in the building of secondary schools. Sweden became interested in Patrick van Rensburg's Swaneng School in 1964, and expatriate secondary school teachers were sought. The colonial government however, wished to make sure that "their educational heritage and outlook is similar to the British" (BNA SM84).

The government produced its first comprehensive plans for education in 1963, to cover the years 1963-68. The principal objective of the plan was to increase the number of secondary school graduates; "the funds available for education should be applied in the best interests of the country to: training of school teachers, secondary and higher education, scholarships for the most gifted" (BNA S588/4/2). Achievement rates in the existing secondary schools were poor. Of the 134 boys and 144 girls who completed Form One in 1960, only 39 completed Form Five in 1964, and only 27 obtained certificates. £1,150,000 was to be spent on expanding the secondary school system. £25,000 was set aside for capital development at Patrick van Rensburg's Swaneng School, though the government had doubts about the radical nature of the school. "This is in my opinion a very dubious venture" wrote the Dept. of Education in May 1963 (BNA S592/6). The numbers enrolled in secondary schools rose from 541 in 1960 to 1,036 in 1964.

Tertiary education also received an infusion of resources. The University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland opened in 1964, located in Basutoland, and with finance from the British government, the American Agency for International Development, the Ford Foundation, the

World University Service and the World Council of Churches. Courses at the UBBS did not include medicine, veterinary science, engineering or architecture because of the "expense involved" (BNA SM84). At the other end of the spectrum of educational provision, the first nursery school was established in Gaborone. It was intended to be exclusive;

"To control admission and to maintain satisfactory standards it will be necessary to charge fairly substantial fees amounting to possibly £5 per month per pupil."

(BNA S588/4/2)

Meanwhile, there had been little change in the primary school sector for many years. The 1963 Plan noted that the same problems confronted primary education as in 1934. Provision had not kept pace with population growth and less than 50% of primary school aged children were enrolled. Of the 36,000 pupils enrolled in all grades in 1960, only 382 passed the Standard 7 examination. Legislation for the primary sector, dating from 1938 was "hopelessly and sometimes embarrassingly out of date" (BNA SM84).

The 1963 Plan, rather than correcting the urban/rural inequalities in the provision of schooling, exacerbated it. It decided that the need of children in urban areas "calls for special attention" (BNA SM84):

"Buildings in the smaller villages should be of a simpler type while in the large centres it is felt that the stage has been reached where a plain block of rooms is not adequate. In the urban and semi-urban centres schools with the normal range of facilities such as toilets for staff and pupils, offices, staff rooms, manual work rooms and libraries are required."

(BNA SM84)

A 12 classroom school was "required immediately" in Lobatse and a third school was needed in Gaborone. Discussion surrounding the plan did note that "there is a very great variation in physical conditions and in

standards of teaching at primary schools" (BNA SM84). Another concern of the Plan was the unequal numbers of boys attending school compared to girls. It noted that although most parents were anxious to send their children to school, the boys,

"... persuade their parents to allow them to exchange the boredom of the classroom for the freedom and more satisfying education of the veld."

(BNA S588/4/2)

By the time the Plan was made official, it was known that Independence was close at hand, and the first political parties had been formed. The extent of political activity alarmed the Education Department, which embarked on a series of discussions of how to deal with it. In September 1964 the Acting Director of Education wrote:

"A ban on pupils' attendance at political meetings would, I think, have the opposite of the desired result."

(BNA S535/7)

The following month a circular was sent to principals and head teachers of all schools, school inspectors, education officers and teacher training colleges, warning of the dangers of pupils and teachers spending too much time on political discussion - "it is possible to spend too much time attending to politics at a time when school work is very important". "Political" behaviour of teachers "cannot be permitted" (BNA S535/7).

In March 1965 the country attained full internal self government and on September 30th 1966 Botswana became fully independent under its President, Seretse Khama. The education system at this time has been described by Halpern. Approximately half the relevant age group attended school, whilst only 6% of the first year intake complete the seven year course. Only 3% of those entering primary school in 1957 carried on to secondary school in 1964. Between 1953 and 1960 the

numbers enrolled in primary schools doubled, to 36,000 in 1960 and to 48,000 in 1964. Although the school population rose by 55% between 1960 and 1964, the number of school buildings increased by 20% and the teaching force by 18%. Halpern notes the enthusiasm for education -

"The appetite of the Batswana for education is illustrated by the fact that most tribes spend up to seventy per cent of their Treasury Funds on it, while, in addition, African parents have to find money for school fees."

(Halpern, 1965, p.308)

In 1960 £134 was spent on the education of each white child, compared to £7 on that of each African child. Halpern makes the point that not only was 18 times as much spent on the education of non-Batswana, but also it would be difficult to provide a worthwhile education for £7 per year. He describes the system of school management as "administratively complicated, wasteful and confused" (Halpern, 1965, p.310). In short:

"Educationally the Batswana are probably more backward than any other people in Africa which has been under British rule; they are challenged only by the Swazi for this dubious distinction. Certainly in Bechuanaland as a whole, the schools are, in the opinion of experts, worse housed and worse equipped than any in British-administered Africa ... It would be difficult to find anywhere in the world with such overcrowding."

(Halpern, 1965, pp.307-08)

Conclusion

A history of British education in Bechuanaland provides some of the explanation for the spatial disparities in access to education apparent at Independence. The system of funding education, where each tribe would choose to spend differing amounts, and the administration's policy of concentrating resources at a small number of central points

partially explains regional disparities. The aim of the chapter was not simply to chart the diffusion of schools however, but to understand the motives of the providers and to estimate the extent of conflict and clash of interests within the education system.

From all parties concerned, commitment to education per se was limited. The missionaries were strongly committed to the extension of the empire, to both "Commerce and Christianity". Schooling was a necessary prerequisite for the spread of Christianity, whilst "Christianity" was indistinguishable from "Western civilization". Conflict was inherent from the outset in the relationship between chiefs and missionaries, in a situation where chiefs did not distinguish secular from religious power. The chiefs were committed to the maintenance of their own authority. Chief Khama maintained his authority firstly by allowing only the LMS to operate in his territory and also by keeping individual missionaries in their place. At the same time, he used education, the instrument of the missionaries, as his own instrument of control. To ensure economic growth Khama extended the right to hold property to classes other than the dikgosana. Once wealth was abolished as a means of entry to the elite, Khama needed an alternative mechanism of control. This he found in education. Elite status began to be defined in educational terms. It was therefore essential that Khama, not the missionaries, had control of access to education.

The economic vigour of Khama's territory in the last decades of the 19th century saw a correspondingly high level of enthusiasm for education. The destruction of that economic vigour was paralleled by a decline in enthusiasm for education. The British administration responded to the missionaries' claim that an educated populace was "less likely to give political trouble". The administration however, was

committed first and foremost to minimizing administration costs in a situation where it perceived no point in developing the country. The Sargent report produced disillusionment in the Batswana, and only eight years after the intervention of the British administration, there was "little interest" shown in education by the local people.

Successive Directors of Education indicated the need for greater central control. By 1933, under the school committee system, all schools were effectively under white control whilst tribes, such as the Bangwato, which showed reluctance to conform, were penalized financially. At the same time as control was removed from the tribes, greater financial responsibilities were placed upon them.

By the 1940s, according to Schapera, new social groupings had emerged based on educational differences. A discernible alignment between the chiefs and the administration can be observed, after the clashes of the 1930s. Chief Tshekedi can be seen to agree with the British on the "quality versus quantity" debate. The chiefs and the remainder of the traditional elite began to call for secondary education before primary education had reached the mass of the population, in the same way that in the 1890s the elite began acquiring better primary education in the Cape before elementary education had permeated the rest of the population.

However, the administration's reluctance to invest in education resulted in Tshekedi establishing his own secondary school, later shunned by the British. Only in the 1950s when the administration wished to increase the supply of educated manpower did it seriously consider secondary education. In the meantime it concentrated on the need for a small pool of clerks, and on the need to educate chiefs' sons, thereby fostering an elitist, bottom heavy educational structure. Legislation almost curtailed missionary activity, and the rigid enforcement of regulations

led to native schools being closed. The spatial reorganization of the 1940s further dampened development outside all but the largest villages.

Restrictions imposed on educational development ensured that the new economic opportunities of the 1950s were enjoyed by a small minority. The economic hardships of the 1940s with increased labour migration and a subsequent decline in primary school enrolments led to the emergence of both "outstanding men who have quickly appreciated the new methods" of farming, and of men more impoverished than before unable to "provide for the herding of their stock". Although it was not until the early 1960s that the administration articulated the need to create a "stable and contented" middle class, its actions throughout the century ensured that this was a natural outcome.

The underdevelopment of the country's education system is perhaps best exemplified by a comparison of Palapye in 1899 and in 1960. In 1899 the village contained one large primary school with "nine or ten" feeder schools in the wards; "the desire for education in Khama's country is widespread ...". By 1960 UNESCO adopted the only school in Palapye as the beneficiary of an appeal launched in the United Kingdom for funds for a classroom. Within 60 years, the educational self sufficiency of the Bangwato had been converted into dependence on the West.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR EDUCATION

Introduction

At the time of Independence, "the magnitude of the educational challenge facing Bechuanaland was staggering for so poor and under-developed a country" (Halpern, 1965, p.312). Upon taking office, the newly created government of Botswana was faced with a number of difficult decisions. At the first National Assembly in the new Parliament President Seretse Khama stated, "We are in the humiliating, but essentially challenging position, of not knowing the basic facts on which to found our plans for the future" (in Khama, 1970, p.3). Knowledge in the form of statistics and maps was lacking. Basic physical and social infrastructure were deficient if not totally absent, whilst a base from which to provide for industrial development was hopelessly inadequate. Most important of all, wrote Seretse Khama four years later:

"The colonial government failed to recognize the need to educate and train our people so they could run their own country. Not one single secondary school was completed by the colonial government during the whole seventy years of British rule. Nor did we inherit any properly equipped institutions for vocational training even at the lowest level of artisan skills."

(Khama, 1970, p.3)

Considerable variation existed between areas in the provision of schools, teachers and equipment, in enrolment ratios and in the quality of buildings. The system of financing primary education from tribal revenues partly accounted for this variation. By 1966 the government was spending 20% of its recurrent budget on education, but resources were insufficient to cope with the numbers which continued to enrol. By 1966 approximately half the school aged population, 66,000 pupils, were enrolled in primary schools. Quantitative problems were matched by

qualitative ones - 48% of the teaching force possessed no training.

In choosing development priorities the government had to decide what proportion of development finance should be allocated to education, and which sectors within the education system should receive priority. It also had to decide on the role education should play in developing the country and therefore what approach it should adopt towards educational development.

Government Aims 1966-1980

With the education system in a poor state at Independence and having few strengths to offer, the government had a number of options in deciding an education policy. Patrick van Rensburg's school at Serowe presented an alternative model to the formal, academic education offered by other secondary schools (see Van Rensburg, 1978B). In the face of hopelessly inadequate primary school buildings, the government could have opted for vocational, non-school based education, and adopted some of the egalitarian ideas being discussed and implemented in other parts of Africa.

In the event, the Government adopted the guidelines set down by British consultants at Independence, and the educational strategy ever since has been closely related to manpower planning and to the labour needs of the developing economy. The reasons for this choice were related to the development goals decided in the early years of Independence.

The Government saw its wish for true political independence being realized through acquiring financial independence. Therefore, "Fundamental to the plans and policies of the Government is a determination

to make the country a financially viable entity in the shortest possible time" (Botswana, 1970, p.12). The British Economic Survey Mission which assessed the country's potential for development immediately prior to Independence recommended policies which would not increase the budget deficit in the short term, and which would secure growing independence from British grant-in-aid in the medium term. Whilst it was known that considerable mining deposits were waiting to be exploited, the government had no resources to invest in mining development and therefore it was considered that this should be left to private initiatives. Mining revenue would only affect the development budget in the long term.

The Mission reported against a background of austerity, emphasising the need for stringent financial management. In this they echoed recommendations of the colonial government. Given the pessimistic forecast for mining and industrial developments, and the financial stringency required to reduce financial dependence, the implications for primary education were gloomy. The Mission stated its priorities for education clearly:

"Our investigation is concerned primarily with the creation in the shortest possible time, with such financial means as may be available, of a stock of trained local manpower capable of servicing the country's political and economic growth."

(Botswana, 1966,p.72)

The Mission recommended ways of using resources within the primary school system more effectively, but felt that "no increase in Government recurrent expenditure on primary education ... can be expected in the near future" (Botswana, 1966, p.72). First priority was therefore given to the expansion of the secondary and higher levels in order to provide skilled manpower, whilst the primary sector was not to receive extra funds. The Government accepted these priorities.

The Transitional Development Plan, 1966, the First National Development Plan (NDP), 1968, and the Second NDP, 1970, all stressed the need for significant increases in provision for teacher training, higher education and technical training. The targets set by the three plans for intake to the first year of secondary school in 1975 rose from 775 to 1,700 to 2,760 in the three respective plans.

A highly educated sector was needed in order to localize existing positions within the Public Service and to staff the expanding economy. From the outset, the government was faced with an imbalance between the economy's manpower needs and the actual outputs of the educational system. The latter were not providing the right amount of graduates with the right kind of qualifications. The government wished for a small proportion of highly educated graduates capable of taking executive and managerial posts and a mass of people, who, for the time being, would receive an education which orientated them to remaining in the rural sector. Instead the system was producing school leavers not capable of assuming skilled positions and not wishing to remain in the rural areas.

In 1968, out of a total male labour force of 160,000, 24,457 were employed in the waged sector in Botswana, 1,250 were self employed in Botswana, and 42,000 worked in South Africa. The balance, 91,793 subsisted in the rural sector. The Second NDP noted the "considerable under-employment of the rural labour force" (Botswana, 1970, p.12). Thus, "the immediate goal is to increase the number of job opportunities within the country and to encourage private initiative wherever it is evinced" (1970, p.12). The position of Botswana as a labour reserve was to stay as this performed important functions for the Botswana economy:

"The Government has ... no intention of interfering with this flow of labour to the Witswatersrand; on the contrary it recognizes that the mines offer vitally needed employment to men who would otherwise be out of work."

(1970, p.12)

In the short term, rectifying inequalities in income was not a priority; "A more equitable distribution of income among the people is a long range objective of government policy" (1970, p.12). The aim of financial independence precluded certain types of development;

" ... in health and social services, it has not been possible to assign the priority truly wished. Government is aware of the widespread desire for better medical services, but the stringent financial situation necessitates reliance on foreign project aid for any improvement in this field."
(1970, p.12)

Meanwhile the government would put its scarce resources into providing the educated leaders who would facilitate development, bringing advantages, in the long run, to all. During the Second NDP period, 1970-75, investment in primary education was to be directed "mainly to the upgrading of standards rather than to increasing the quantity of education" (Botswana, 1970, p.99). Improvements in primary school facilities were to be achieved as far as possible through "self help", and with funds raised by local authorities. Universal primary education was a long term goal, but "in the short term the goal must be to ensure the maximum productivity of the existing system" (1970, p.99).

The development of the nation as a whole was to take priority over the development of the individual:

" ... a greater contribution to the development of the country will be made by one child receiving the full course and well taught, than by two, who, being only half taught, lose what little they have learnt very quickly."

(1970, p.99)

In addition, policy was to be determined on the basis of its contribution to economic rather than purely educational objectives. Policy regarding age of pupil entry was made in this way; "though from

a purely educational standpoint the objectives of lowering the age of entry to primary school may have much to commend it, the implications of such a policy would be the creation of a body of fourteen year old primary school leavers". Problems would then arise of absorbing these into the work force as they would be too young. The Plan re-introduced Agriculture into the curriculum, as "the great majority of pupils would inevitably be forced to seek their livelihoods in the rural economy" (Botswana, 1970, p.99).

The language of educational plans in the Independence period is peppered with economic terms, "input-output", "wastage", "productivity", "projections of demand". Diversification of the curriculum was necessary to develop "a skilled, versatile, labour force with the right kind of relevant background" (Botswana, 1970, p.103). Thus the right type of instruction was that which would provide the right type of labour force.

Projections of demand for the type and numbers of skilled manpower needed were based on studies of the occupational structure of Zambia. It was assumed that the structure of Botswana's economy would resemble that of its northern neighbour, which was also based on two dominant sectors, mining and agriculture. From this comparison it was estimated that approximately half the secondary school intake and half the university intake should follow Maths and Science courses. It was projected that 25% of the pupils completing the secondary course should continue to higher education, with the rest receiving vocational training or entering the work force. Lower down the system, "it is planned that 50% of Form III pupils should leave to enter the work force" (Botswana, 1970, p.103).

The Central Bursaries Committee was reorganized "to ensure the production of the right mix of high level manpower" (1970, p.97). The award of bursaries to higher education was to be geared specifically to

meeting the identified manpower demands. The predicted "slight over-supply" (Botswana, 1970, p.96) of graduates from Forms 3 and 5 in later years would allow the upgrading of jobs from Category II (requiring at least Form 5 to Category I (requiring a degree or diploma), and of Category III jobs (requiring Form 3) to Category II. (The government thus contributed to the "inflation" in qualifications which occurs in many African countries today.)

Thus, the government saw it as possible and desirable to manipulate every aspect of the education system to ensure the production of a labour force which fitted its plans for development. The short term wishes of the mass of the population (for primary schooling) needed to be shelved for the long term good of everyone, whilst those lucky enough to go to secondary school should be made aware of their good fortune:

"Entrance to secondary school is a privilege as the statistics show and every attempt must be made to ensure that secondary students are constantly aware of their duty to the community which has sacrificed to educate them."

(1970, p.103)

The Second NDP established a youth policy. It recognised the disruption of the traditional patterns of social relationships caused by development and the strains imposed on young people. It noted that of the 10,300 primary school children who left school in 1969 only 5,600 had completed the primary course, and only 23% of these could expect a secondary school place. The possibility of producing a generation of deeply dissatisfied youth was clear to the government.

The youth policy comprised three elements: encouraging Brigades and other groups to provide training opportunities (to produce skilled rural workers), the continued review of the primary school syllabus to suit the needs of those for whom primary school was terminal, and the

encouragement of youth organizations such as the Scouts and Guides, to provide character training (1970, p.109). A great deal was expected of the Brigades. Although they were originally conceived to meet needs in rural areas, it was realized that "if a grave undersupply situation is to be avoided in the short run the brigade trainees will have to be absorbed into the modern sector in significant numbers" (Botswana, 1970, p.108).

Thus, for the remaining years of the 1960s, after Independence, the focus was on forcing changes in the school system to meet the manpower requirements of the economy. This involved the channelling of resources into the higher levels of the education system, expanding Brigades training to produce artisans, and introducing ways of inducing the majority to remain in the rural sector. The maintenance of Botswana as a labour reserve at least ensured the possibility of employment at South African mines.

Even by the time that the Second NDP was published, doubts had begun to be expressed by the sponsors of the secondary school expansion programme (SIDA, CIDA, US AID, ODM) about the rate of expansion and about the ability of the economy to absorb the planned graduates. Also the wisdom of the continued reliance on "self help" for the development of primary schools was questioned, as was the low level allocation of funds to artisan, technical and commercial training.

The economic progress made in the first years of Independence had drastically increased the need for trained (as opposed to educated) manpower. The number of expatriates employed had grown very rapidly, resulting in political embarrassment for the government. New attempts were needed to correct the structural imbalance between the different levels of education and training. The government recognized the need

for a detailed analysis of the manpower situation, whilst the financial sponsors required such a survey before committing further funding. A survey was therefore carried out by expatriate consultants in 1972, with the aim of compiling a comprehensive outline of the national occupational structure of the skilled workforce.

The survey reported in 1973 and provided valuable guidelines for the Third NDP 1973-78. The survey regarded the shortage of skilled workers as the major constraint on development of the country. It presented detailed projections of the needs for skilled and educated workers (Botswana, 1973, Chapter 3), which had important implications for the education sector. The general strategy behind development in education was based on two major aims: to provide manpower for all the demands projected in the survey and to localize all posts in the economy apart from a small number of top level positions, and secondly to expand educational facilities to provide for the annual needs of the economy after localization had been achieved, but not to produce a surplus of graduates. The latter aim presented a delicate planning problem.

The survey was instrumental in guiding the government towards paying primary education more attention. It highlighted the "crucial importance" of primary education (p.74), and that primary education involved a greater proportion of the population than any other sector of education. Two problems faced primary education in the coming plan period (1973-1978). The percentage enrolled in primary schools was expected to rise from the present (1972) 50% but the percentage going on to secondary school was to remain at 20%. The proportion continuing to secondary school would decline. Secondly, the rate of expansion of primary schooling would grow faster than the rate of creation of employment in the formal sector, resulting in increasing numbers of primary school

leavers with no hope of waged employment.

Although the survey directed the government's attention to primary education, it was decided that the problems which had been highlighted merely illustrated the difficulties of change. It was therefore decided, for the first half of the plan period, 1973-1975/6 to continue to concentrate on post-primary school education and to investigate the problems in primary education in more depth.

The Accelerated Rural Development Plan 1974-76

At the same time, the government realized that it had made a commitment to rural development in the early 1970s, and tangible evidence or results of this commitment had not yet materialized. The Second NDP (1970-1975) had planned that the rural areas should now benefit from the investment in mining and industry during the first plan period, 1968-1973. Four main factors lay behind the implementation of the Accelerated Rural Development Plan (ARDP). Firstly, Botswana had gained budgetary self-sufficiency; the last U.K. grant of R1.9 million had been paid in 1972/73. Botswana had negotiated with SIDA to help with school building and with NORAD to build health facilities. Secondly, there was a need for rural infrastructure. Thirdly, a Rural Development Unit had been established in Gaborone, and District Development Committees (DDCs) in the district headquarters. This was a major step towards providing an effective district planning apparatus. Fourthly, a general election was due in 1974.

In November 1973 Ministers were given 48 hours to suggest proposals. Proposals which were accepted were nearly all physical construction projects:

"The ARDP had as a primary objective that projects should be visible on the ground by a target date of 30th September 1974. Various "invisible" projects were proposed but dropped."

(Chambers, 1977, p.xi)

The programme was extended twice, and finally ended in March 1976. It provided new facilities in 27 large villages and 195 small villages and spent P21.2 million. It provided classrooms, school stores and latrines, teachers' houses, health posts, clinics, boreholes, roads and a number of other facilities. (Table 5.1) 489 furnished classrooms and 425 teachers' houses had been added to existing stock, and some of the rural-urban imbalance had been redressed. The ARDP forced changes in the district planning and implementation procedure; the process became more streamlined and effective. Ineffective Ministries at central level were exposed.

The ARDP can also be criticised however. Due to the speed with which projects were implemented, designs were not always the most suited. The actual cost of projects rose by an average of 54% (the cost of classrooms rose by 63%), due to contractors' ignorance of conditions and also due to the fact that the government was not in a position to bargain. It simply wanted the work carried out as quickly as possible. The projects were not selected in a logical manner; classrooms for example, were built in an ad hoc fashion and not after analysis of existing pupil: classroom ratios (Chambers, 1977). The Councils disguised their actual poor construction rate by employing contractors; the Council work units were "slow, expensive and inefficient" (Chambers, 1977, p.xii). It took eight council workers eight months to erect two classrooms in Tsabong.

The ARDP achieved its target, therefore, at considerable cost, whilst the amount spent varied considerably between districts. (Table 5.1) However, the government comfortably won the 1974 election, and the primary school system had made important gains.

The need for a review of primary education was raised on a number of occasions before the Manpower and Employment Report of 1972 finally

Table 5.1 The Accelerated Rural Development Plan

1. Expenditure on Major Projects

<u>District</u>	<u>% of Rural Population</u>	<u>% of ARDP Expenditure</u>	<u>Per Capita Expenditure (Pula)</u>	<u>Number of new Classrooms per 1000 Population</u>
Central	42	31.8	20	0.76
South East	4	6.3	42	0.58
Southern	16	16.6	28	0.70
North East	5	3.1	16	1.01
Ghanzi	2	4.4	48	0.95
Kgalagadi	3	6.7	60	2.10
Kgatlang	6	7.9	34	0.72
Kweneng	12	12.6	27	1.07
North West and Chobe	10	1.2	27	0.31

2. Number of Primary School Facilities constructed by the end of the ARDP

	<u>Larger Villages</u>	<u>Smaller Villages</u>	<u>Target</u>	<u>Number actually completed March 1977</u>
Classrooms	184	305	516	489
Teachers Quarters	182	243	429	425
Storerrooms	30	67	98	97
School Offices	9	28	37	37
Latrines	490	106	542	596

3. Cost Escalation

	<u>Original Project Estimate: Pula</u>	<u>Post Tender Revised Estimate: Pula</u>	<u>% Increase of Final cost from Estimated Cost</u>
Primary School facilities	1,867,500	3,043,500	63%
Primary School Storerrooms	69,000	115,500	67%
Clinics & Health Post	323,400	388,800	20%
Govt./Council Housing	1,380,600	2,050,800	49%

Source: Chambers, 1977.

prompted the government to undertake such a review. A Commission to review the entire education system was appointed in 1975 and it reported in 1977. It provided a firm basis upon which to construct a revised education policy; the National Policy on Education was published as Government Paper No.1 of 1977 and was approved by the National Assembly in August of that year.

The National Commission on Education

The National Commission on Education (NCE) 1977, produced a report which consisted of two volumes. The first, *300 pages long, contained* discussion of the entire educational system and 156 recommendations. The second volume, longer than the first, contained ten papers on particular educational issues.

At the heart of the reappraisal of the existing system was a carefully worded criticism of the over-emphasis on post-primary education. It noted that a superstructure of post-Junior Certificate and post-Cambridge courses had been created, at enormous expense, for which insufficient numbers of students qualified. It noted that the manpower approach had been used "sensibly" but that its drawbacks should be noted. The manpower approach,

"... all too easily becomes associated with a hierarchical employment and salary structure, in which a rather small group have a monopoly of high salaries and modern sector employment. Others who want to enter the same kinds of jobs are prevented because they are "not needed", or because they cannot be employed at prevailing salaries. In fact however, one may argue that cause and effect work the other way, and that it is restrictions on the number of job entrants, caused by limitation of education and training, that make it possible to maintain a salary structure with excessive differentials."

(Botswana 1977A, NCE, Vol.1.
para.3.15, p.39)

In this statement the authors indicate that they regard education as a dependent, not an independent variable. (Earlier the Commission had written "There is little that education can do to counter basic economic forces or to offset the effect of national wage and employment policies " (1977, p.16).)

In a period where income differentials were widening, and a "rather small group" had a monopoly of high salaries, the NCE recommended that more attention be paid to the primary school sector.

The Commission noted that thus far, the manpower approach had "been allies" with the demand from wealthier sections of the community for secondary education (p.39). However, the NCE proposed a reappraisal of the way in which the country met its manpower requirements, realising at the same time that restriction of educational opportunities when access to secondary schooling yielded such high private returns would perhaps not be politically feasible. The NCE did not propose a scaling down of post-primary education, but it did feel that it was "neither wise nor possible" to continue expansion given the present high costs of secondary and tertiary education and the present salary differentials for educated people. "New pathways to learning at the secondary level" were required, whilst the absorption capacity of the economy, and the relative costs of educated manpower to employers needed reorganization.

The Commission proposed a strategy which would "require substantial reorientation" of the government's educational policy. The main changes would include, firstly, "immediate priority for quantitative and qualitative improvement in primary education", provision of nine years of schooling, with all children attending three years of junior secondary school by 1990, a reorientation of the curriculum, introduction of a national service scheme for Form 5 leavers, "greatly increased emphasis"

on part-time learning and out of school education, and elimination of the discontinuities in the present system (p.51).

Access to Primary Education

In its opening paragraph on primary education, the NCE noted that,

" ... in several respects this sector is in disarray. Government has not been in control of recent expansion, nor has there been any coherent policy for future development."

(p.53)

Between 1972 and 1976 there was an increase of 54% in the number of primary school pupils, or an average annual rate of 11.2%. Official statistics were known to be inaccurate. Unaided schools would add between 5,000 and 10,000 pupils to the official figures of 126,000 pupils in 335 schools. Much of this rapid growth could be attributed to the ARDP, to the provision of school meals under the World Food Programme, and to the reduction of primary school fees in 1973. The rapid growth was not controlled however, there were many schools being opened without the knowledge of the authorities, whilst the number of teachers to be employed was decided in a "haphazard fashion" (p.57).

The establishment of unaided schools was related to the first problem which the NCE identified - that of physical access to schools. Due to the traditional population settlement pattern of large "agrostads", it was usual to have relatively large schools of 350-400 pupils in the main population centres. Financial constraints faced by local authorities had meant that the more remote villages were not served.

"Now however ... if the public primary system is to be made accessible to all ... public schools will have to be established, or unaided schools taken over, in isolated rural villages."

(p.59)

This was especially so as the trend could be seen of families tending to remain for longer periods at their cattleposts and lands (Syson, 1972). The approach was to be twofold: to encourage people to live in communities large enough to justify the provision of a school and other services, and to provide a scattered network of rural schools. The NCE felt that the local councils should be obliged to provide a school wherever there were sufficient numbers of children to justify them. Such a number was deemed to be twenty, to justify a one teacher school.

The obligation to provide schools in urban areas was no less pressing.

"The presence of out-of-school children on the streets or tomorrow of a large urban population of unschooled adolescents could constitute grave social dangers."

(p.61)

However, the need for a policy on rural schools was pressing. The NCE noted that the first decade of Independence had brought benefits to some but not others. There were "serious inequalities in the provision of education, especially between urban and rural regions" (p.20). There was a great disparity in educational opportunity between the urban areas, the more populated eastern areas along the line of rail, and the vast rural hinterland in the Centre and West. Instead of compensating for the disadvantages of rural areas,

"... the present system increases their disadvantage ... Given the strong association between education and earnings, the maldistribution of educational opportunities tends to reinforce the inequalities of income distribution."

(pp.20-21)

One of the additional papers published with the NCE's report was a spatial analysis of Botswana's primary school system. This composed four levels of a spatial and economic hierarchy; 1) the three chief

towns, Gaborone, Francistown and Lobatse, 2) five district capitals, 3) twenty-two traditional villages with a population of between 1,000 and 5,000, 4) forty-nine villages with a population of less than 1,000. Some of the findings are presented in Figure 6.6.

The paper concludes that the allocation of human and physical resources is unbalanced. The least qualified teachers, the lowest ratio of trained teachers to students and the lowest ratio of physical equipment per pupil were found in the rural areas. Only half as many children in the rural areas were successful in the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) as urban children. Of those who did pass, pupils were more likely to continue to secondary school if they had urban rather than rural origins. The authors felt that:

" ... greater emphasis should be placed on the spatial dimension in Botswana's educational planning development ... spatially, the area of neglect is rural Botswana - where eighty per cent of the population lives."

(pp.6.23-6.24)

Access to Secondary Schools

A second additional paper investigated access to secondary schools. The findings showed that the location of the pupil's home could be a more important factor in gaining a secondary school place than was his or her grade at the PSLE. Grades (A, B1, B2, B3, C and D) are allocated and students chosen from the higher grades first until all places are filled. The pupils submit a list of three schools which s/he would like to attend, saying whether this would be as a boarder or day pupil. Students living within three miles of a school are required to name that school as first choice. If it is possible to lodge with relations outside the home area, this information is also submitted.

The paper compared the proportion in each of the four levels of the spatial hierarchy which obtained each grade, with the proportion of each grade receiving places at secondary schools. Due to the policy of headmasters offering day places to weaker students from within the three mile limit in preference to abler students from outside the radius, a number of discrepancies arise. Urban 'A' students were less likely to receive offers of places in secondary school due to urban schools quickly filling their quota of day pupils, and urban students tended not to be accepted in other schools if rejected by the local school.

'B' students from district headquarters were more likely to receive places than urban or rural 'B' students. This is due to the siting of secondary schools in district headquarters and the relatively small numbers of 'A' and 'B' students found there. Also, "schools will usually choose a low-quality candidate who can walk to school in preference to a better student who cannot find local accommodation" (p.7.15).

The investigation showed that after 'A' students were placed, allocation of remaining places became "rather arbitrary". "Headmasters may be inclined to select students from primary schools and families that are known in the larger population centres" (p.7.15). Village students who gained places with only a low grade 'B' grade "must have had special connections, such as relatives living near the school who enabled them to attend as day students and provide financial help" (p.7.16). (Selection is made by the headteachers of secondary schools and by the Senior Education Officer (Secondary).)

The conclusion of the investigation was that secondary school places were not allocated in an "equitable and effective" way. Students from larger communities "enjoy a considerably better chance" of going to secondary school than suitably qualified students from rural areas. The

investigation felt that the uneven distribution of educational resources among primary schools meant that even the fairest way of allocating places to students with passes at PSLE would still not be fair to rural students. It suggested a partial quota system, to take the top 10% of standard seven leavers in each primary school.

Further Recommendations of the NCE

Despite the ARDP the NCE noted a serious backlog in the supply of buildings to existing primary schools and new primary schools. In 1976 there were 3,918 classes but 2271 classrooms, leaving 1,647 classes without accommodation. The double shift system relieved the situation, but 661 classes still met in the open. The number of new classrooms needed was growing at a rate of 300 per year but only 100 were being built per year. The government had allocated P16.5 million for primary education over the plan period 1973-1978 even though it itself had estimated that P20 million would be needed. The reason for this was given as "budgetary constraints", but,

"... the Commission notes that a programme likely to total P15 million has recently been negotiated with the World Bank for post-primary education. We cannot ourselves conceive of any capital programme in the education field having priority above providing decent accommodation for those children sitting in the sun, rain and wind."

(1977A, p.66)

The Commission recommended a review of the government's capital spending priorities.

The NCE recommended that those communities which had shown initiative in erecting buildings through self-help should be rewarded by being first to have their schools taken over by the government, and to have qualified

teachers posted to them.

The NCE made a number of other recommendations concerned with education but not directly related to the question of access. It noted that 81% of the 1,487 untrained teachers in 1976 had only standard 7 education themselves. Even trained teachers were not well prepared, lacking practical skills in the classroom, and teacher turnover rates were high. "The problem was more severe in small and medium sized villages than in the towns or district headquarters" (1977A, p.68).

The Government Response to the NCE

The government adopted, in the main, the proposals of the NCE as policy, though it differed on the rate of implementation of some of the proposals. The government now intended to "give greatest emphasis to primary and non-formal education" (1977B, p.3). The government noted the inequalities between areas: "children in rural areas are not getting an equal chance to obtain a good education" (1977B, p.2). It hoped to improve access through a continuation of the school building programme, take-over of unaided schools in the 1980s, and provision of small schools in remote areas, where "feasible". It does not give guidelines on what constitutes feasibility. It decided to abolish primary school fees from 1980.

In secondary education the government agreed that the present curriculum was "academic, designed for a select few". It proposed a change in the purpose of education to Junior Certificate level, with more continuity between primary school and secondary school, and greater emphasis on basic language and number skills. "Access to secondary school will be more equitable", and it proposed to adopt a 5% quota

system (not the 10% proposed by the NCE). However,

" ... since intermediate school places will be limited for the present, and entry into secondary schools will bring economic benefits, those who gain entry must bear a proportion of the costs ... This will mean approximately doubling the tuition fees."

(1977B, p.7)

The government was to give "high priority" to develop opportunities for people to learn out of school, and for vocational education (1977B, p.11).

Whilst the content of the government's education policy had changed due to the influence of the NCE, the rationale for the policy had not changed. Education policy was still determined by manpower requirements, but with a slowing down in the rate of economic growth, manpower requirements were changing. It was still the case that, "The policy is designed to increase the outputs of appropriately educated and trained Batswana to meet our manpower needs" (1977B, p.13). What was "appropriate" in terms of the numbers educated and the type of education gained had changed, but there was no fundamental reorientation of government values concerning informal and out-of-school learning. Meanwhile the NCE's attempts to make access to secondary schooling more equitable were offset by the government's decision to double tuition fees.

The Fourth National Development Plan 1976-1981

The NCE was published in April 1977 and the Fourth National Development Plan (NDP) in May 1977. The plan was in a position to take advantage of the findings of a number of research reports, including the NCE and the Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS). The plan recognised a number of factors, that "rural development has more to do with ensuring a fair distribution of the nation's wealth than with maximizing economic

growth", that "rural development now appears harder to bring about, but even more necessary, than was appreciated in 1973", and that "the Government's limited capacity to implement projects is a greater constraint on rural development than the shortage of finance" (1977C, p.67).

The Plan reiterated that "All Batswana, wherever they live and whatever their social background, should have equal access to services that the government provides - such as education, health and water supplies" (1977C, p.67). The government therefore appeared committed to providing equal opportunities. One problem it faced in realizing this commitment was that the population is "extraordinarily mobile" with "complex patterns of migration within, and emigration from the rural areas" (1977C, p.68). As understanding of the patterns of settlements and migration was crucial to the rural development strategy, the government appointed a major survey to investigate migration patterns.

Although there was a general awareness that the population was tending to move from larger centres to smaller settlements, the government decided to make major villages the "primary targets" for the provision of income-earning opportunities and an economic and social infrastructure. The Plan proposed to spend P39 million on educational projects, from 1976 to 1981, and recurrent expenditure on education was to grow by 15% per year. It reiterated that "education is the key to development" (1977C, p.101) and that it wished educational resources to be used to the best advantage in pursuit of the national objectives of economic growth, social justice, economic independence and sustained development. Yet it again pointed to the "most binding constraint on the expansion of educational opportunities - that of recurrent costs" (1977C, p.101). To meet the demand for buildings in the primary school sector development expenditure of P20 million was required, yet only P16.5 million would be allocated in the budget. Expatriates during this period stated that finance was

not the most binding constraint, but rather, lack of skilled manpower whilst the simplistic equation that education led to development was also questioned.

The Fifth NDP 1979-1985

In November 1980 the government published its fifth development plan. In its opening policy statement it listed as an objective, "to increase educational opportunities, and to reduce inequalities of educational opportunities, so far as resources permit" (1980, p.99). It commented on the progress made under previous plans, and concluded that expansion of the primary school system had fallen short of meeting equality of opportunity; "many children at lands and cattleposts do not have access to primary schools" (1980, p.99). In 1980 similar statements were made as had been made a decade earlier:

"In particular there are significant differences in the quality of primary education, and therefore of educational opportunities, between towns and larger villages on the one hand, and smaller settlements on the other."

(1980, p.99)

Despite the obvious lack of primary facilities in certain areas, the plan noted that as "during the next few years, in most regions ... access to primary education will become near-universal", it intended to establish junior secondary schools to provide nine years of basic education for all children.

The fourth NDP had shown that only a small proportion of primary school leavers found paid employment. The fifth NDP took up the concern for the "unemployed" group, and suggested that "preparation for employment in the modern sector is only one way in which education should be

promoting economic development" (1980, p.99). Education should be made more relevant to the rural economy, and there was to be a revision of the content of education at all levels.

Also, the government wished to review the large amounts which were allocated to education. Demands were also pressing from other sectors - health, water development, communications - and also spending on security and the newly created defence force had increased.

"Hence education, which in the past has been generously treated, in the immediate future will have to operate within more severe constraints."

(1980, p.100)

Thus the government appeared pledged to equalize educational opportunities in a situation where, by 1980, "the general pattern is still highly unequal" (1980, p.104). At the same time, total resources allocated to education would become less generous, whilst junior secondary schools to extend the school life of some would take up a portion of those resources. Also, whilst access to primary education was to be extended, access would be to an education which would less effectively equip a child to compete for a job in the modern sector, due to the new "rural economy" orientation of the curriculum.

The operation and building of primary schools was still left in the hands of local councils, even though these were known by now not to be particularly efficient; their works departments were "slow, expensive and inefficient" (Chambers, 1977, p.xii). Although there was a "marked improvement" in some districts in implementing primary school building programmes, in others there was a "noticeable deterioration" (1980, p.104). Meanwhile "there has been a major improvement in Government's capacity to implement secondary school projects" (1980, p.105).

Growth of the Education System

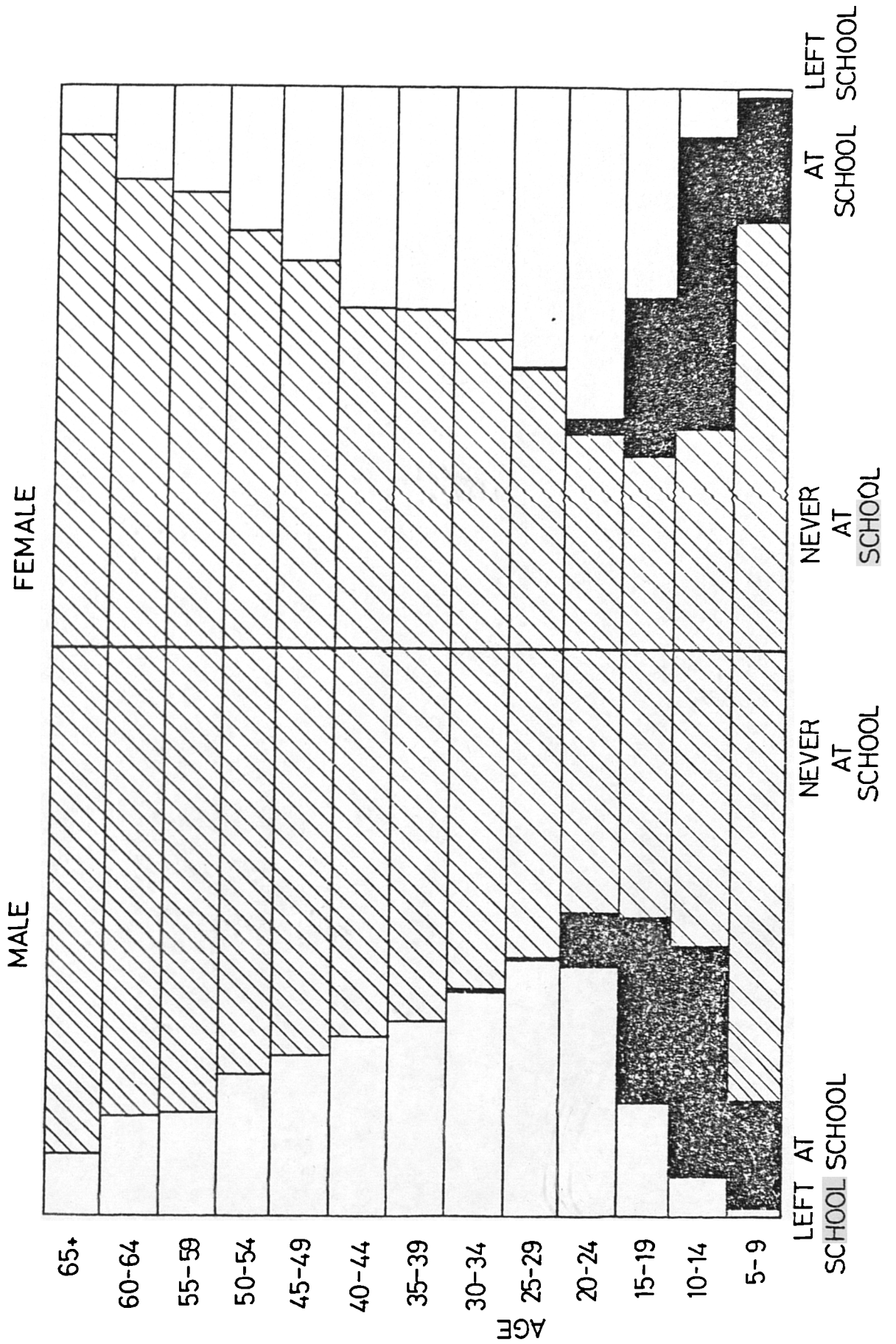
Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show the steady increase in the size of the primary and secondary sectors. The wider availability of education is indicated in Figure 5.1 by the educational attainment of each age group. The educational pyramid remains "bottom heavy"; in 1968 96.4% of those attending an educational establishment were enrolled in primary schools, and in 1979 this proportion had fallen to 90.01% (Table 5.4).

Table 5.2 Primary Sector Growth 1966-1976

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	% Unqualified Teachers	Classroom Shortage as % of requirements
1966	251	71,546	43	N.D.
1967	252	71,577	39	34
1968	257	78,963	38	29
1969	280	82,214	40	35
1970	282	83,002	40	36
1971	288	78,442	40	37
1972	294	81,662	32	31
1973	308	95,511	28	39
1974	316	103,711	33	42
1975	323	116,293	36	44
1976	336	125,588	38	43

Source: Education Statistics, Ministry of Education, Gaborone

Figure 5.1 Educational Status by Age



Source: derived from data in Botswana Government, 1972

Table 5.3 Secondary Sector Growth 1960-1976

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. Boys per 100 Girls
1960	5	561	124
1961	5	618	136
1962	6	764	138
1963	8	976	145
1964	8	1,036	148
1965	9	1,307	130
1966	9	1,531	123
1967	9	1,854	129
1968	9	2,299	123
1969	10	3,099	116
1970	11	3,905	113
1971	13	4,740	108
1972	15	5,564	112
1973	15	6,152	110
1974	15	7,055	107
1975	15	8,434	105
1976	15	9,558	98

Source: Education Statistics, Ministry of Education, Gaborone

Table 5.4 Proportion of Attenders in each Sector, 1968-79

Year	% in Tertiary Education	% in Secondary Education	% in Primary Education
1968	0.15	3.90	96.4
1972	0.29	8.11	91.60
1976	0.40	9.9	89.70
1979	0.49	9.5	90.01

Source: derived from Education Statistics

Table 5.5 shows that the government achieved more than its set targets for growth in 1979, except in the training of teachers for primary schools and the provision of Botswana secondary school teachers. By 1980, there were 22 secondary schools (Map 5.1), almost half of which are located in the south eastern corner of the country.

Table 5.5 Planned versus Actual Educational Levels 1979

	Actual Level 1976	Planned Level 1979	Actual Level 1979	% Increase	% Achievement of Plan Target
<u>Primary Education</u>					
Enrolments Trained teachers	125,600	147,850	156,890	25%	106%
Classrooms	2,434 2,271	2,556 -	3,100 3,050	27% 34%	121% -
<u>Primary Teachers' Training</u>					
Enrolments	562	863	696	24%	81%
<u>Secondary Education</u>					
Enrolments Botswana teachers	9,558 113	11,437 246	12,125 215	27% 90%	106% 87%
<u>Brigades</u>					
Enrolments	1,117	1,551	2,449	119%	158%
<u>Botswana Polytechnic</u>					
Full time students	81	100	139	72%	139%
Short course students	284	420	396	39%	94%
<u>University (Botswana campus)</u>					
Botswana degree students	290	-	479	65%	-
Botswana diploma students	92	-	193	110%	-

Source: Botswana Government, 1980

Map 5.1 Government and Aided Secondary Schools



- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Maun Secondary School | 12. Madiba Educational Training Centr |
| 2. Letlhakane Secondary School | 13. Molefi Secondary School |
| 3. Tutume Community Centre | 14. Gaborone Secondary School |
| 4. Francistown Secondary School | 15. Naledi Secondary School |
| 5. Mater Spei College | 16. St. Joseph's College |
| 6. Shashe River Secondary School | 17. Kagiso Secondary School |
| 7. Matshege Secondary School | 18. Moeding College |
| 8. Selibe-Phikwe Secondary School | 19. Lobatse Secondary School |
| 9. Swaneng Secondary School | 20. Seepapitso Secondary School |
| 10. Palapye Secondary School | 21. Moshupa Secondary School |
| 11. Moeng College | 22. Kgari Sechele Secondary School |

Source: Botswana Government 1977c.

Summary

It was argued above that in the transition from a dependent to an independent State, Botswana did not undergo fundamental change. In common with other African countries Botswana's economy rests on a limited range of exportable primary produce; the external base of the economy has remained. Parson states that Botswana's error is in its belief that it can change its status from a small dependent nation dominated by South Africa to that of an autonomous centre of growth through developing links with capitalist centres outside southern Africa. For example, the development of a large scale capitalist cattle industry with its market in Europe is seen as a means of achieving autonomy from South Africa. Botswana's error is in assuming that dependency is merely a regional phenomenon, and that the new relationships are not "seen as creating new links of dependence, domination or deformation of the structure of production" (Parson, 1980, p.50, my emphasis).

Parson suggests that in the Independence period Botswana may have actually increased its external dependency. The government may have seen a contradiction in its intention not to interfere with the flow of labour to South Africa. The point was that "the mines offer vitally needed employment ..."

In the same way that the structure of the economy was unaltered but expanded, the education system too, was expanded from its existing base. Education systems in independent African countries have often been criticized for their "over emphasis upon expansion rather than upon reform" (Colclough, 1976, p.49) and this criticism may be levelled at Botswana. The government accelerated the strengthening of the post-primary sector begun by the colonial government in its last years of office. The chief aim of the new government was to create financial self sufficiency in the shortest possible time. The main obstacle was

seen as the lack of skilled manpower.

At this stage the government knew that:

" ... demand for education was outstripping the financial and manpower resources available, and that standards were falling, but the solution proposed was control over enrolments, including the phased exclusion of over-age students ... few countries could have got away so easily with so blithe a neglect of primary education."

(Jones, 1977 ,p.108)

The government's decision not to depart in any radical way from the course set in the pre-Independence period, not to make rapid changes in its rural infrastructure, but to aim for steady growth in GNP, directed from above, meant that the rural population would continue with its poorly developed primary schools. The Transitional Plan left provision for primary schools to the new local government machinery, the Councils and to "self help".

The alternative to expensive secondary schooling in the Brigades model, was not adopted. Rather, the model came under "pressure and attack from many within it and more outside it" (van Rensburg, 1980, p.86). The model is unpopular not only with government but also with pupils and parents, who see it as a poor alternative to an academic education. Perhaps a major reason for the failure of the Brigades on the scale intended by van Rensburg is that their aims, "no matter how worthwhile ... are, in essence ... the aims of expatriates and resident Europeans" (Henderson, 1974, p.179).

The achievement of rapid economic growth in the modern sector (and hence to fulfil the national principles of "economic growth" and "self reliance") was seen as the best way to generate rural development in the long term, (and hence to fulfil the national principle of "social justice"). The focus in educational terms on a small section of the population was

therefore seen as justified. The sentiment that it was better to educate one child well than two poorly echoed the colonialist's focus on the "brighter child" and the "quantity versus quality" debate. By the early 1970s the government had adopted a manpower planning approach to the development of education.

The adoption of this approach further maintained continuities from the pre- to the post-Colonial period; "there is substance to the criticism that the manpower plan implied a strategy that essentially protected, rather than challenged the status quo - both in education and in skilled labour", wrote Colclough, the author of the 1973 "Manpower and Employment in Botswana" (Colclough, 1976, p.149). The approach neglected or ignored a number of issues; the standards required for different jobs were determined arbitrarily and were "heavily influenced by those set at a much earlier date by the Colonial administration" (Colclough, 1976, p.150). The large disparities in unit costs between primary, secondary and tertiary education (university education cost 100 times more than primary, and secondary 10 times more than primary) were not challenged. Thirdly, it was assumed that the acquisition of education at a certain level enabled individuals to perform adequately and effectively in skilled positions. Evidence suggests that this assumption is wrong.

Colclough comments that it is "fashionable" to criticise the confidence placed in manpower planning in the 1960s. Critics have questioned the policy of "Planning People" (Bienefield, 1973) and others have questioned the accuracy and usefulness of long term manpower projections and their translation into educational policy. Lipton (1978, p.236) has called for a second manpower plan, indicating that such plans do perform a useful function and are as accurate as other long term economic plans.

It can be debated whether the manpower planning approach and the emphasis on post-primary education was the best way to achieve the goals established at Independence. The government responded at the time to perceived shortages in its wish to create the right structural balance of manpower to attain the goals of self reliance and economic growth. (Some would argue that internal education and manpower policies make little difference to self-sufficiency.) However, in terms of balancing the annual output of the education system and the needs of the economy, it was evident that the correct formula had not been found when in 1980 the government commented on the considerable underemployment in the rural areas (Botswana, 1980, p.43) and in 1978 when Lipton wrote, "The scarcity of trained Batswana has become the most serious constraint on increased employment of the untrained" (Lipton, 1978, p.151). There were insufficient numbers of trained Batswana for the posts available and to allow localization to proceed at the desired rate. The latter is a constant source of political embarrassment. By 1972 74% of middle and senior levels of Central Government were localized (Botswana, 1973, p.114) compared with 24% in 1966 (Luke, 1966, p.17). However, the Daily News in 1978 could comment, "To be sure, the banks have localized the up-front positions of teller, ... but there is still only one Botswana branch manager in the country" (in Morgan , 1979, p.236). Whilst the government could not satisfy the demand for skilled manpower in the 1970s, neither could it provide jobs for all those leaving the education system. The problem of generating employment opportunities will be returned to later.

It was only in the latter half of the 1970s that the Government decided to give top priority to the primary school sector. The focus on primary schooling did not imply a disengagement from a manpower planning

approach. Rather, it was felt that greater inputs to the primary sector would result in better results from the secondary sector, whilst the lack of vocational orientation in primary schooling and the subsequent unemployment of standard 7 leavers represented a potential political problem. Further, a slowing down of the rate of secondary schooling expansion was planned, and therefore for a larger proportion of primary school leavers, primary education would be terminal. (In 1975/6 44% of children completing standard 7 continued to secondary school. In 1985/6 a projected 25-30% will continue (Lipton, 1978, p.10)).

By the 1980s a significant mismatch - between school leavers, their expectations and jobs - is expected (Lipton, 1978). With fewer than 5,000 new formal sector jobs created in 1978 and an estimated 18,500 standard 7 leavers (let alone the numbers of non-primary school educated) entering the workforce each year by 1986, an excess supply of primary school leavers is expected. Meanwhile the peak year of Form 5 output is planned as 1980. After this point there will be excess demand for secondary school leavers.

In 1973 Colclough had called for the redesign of the primary school curriculum to make it "truly terminal" (Botswana, 1973, p.ix), that is, of some other use than as a background to secondary schooling. This need was reiterated by Lipton. He also recommended that "primary school intakes should not expand unless leavers' unemployment rates are falling" (Lipton, 1978, p.235), thus relating "primary education for all" to the capacity of the economy to provide jobs for all.

Whilst it can be debated as to whether the government's policies enabled its goals to be reached, a more fundamental criticism may be made of the goals themselves. Independence did not signal a restructuring of access to opportunity but a continuation of colonial ideas, with a

comprador bourgeoisie heavily influenced by the British Economic Mission. The goal of financial independence precluded heavy investment in rural infrastructure, primary schools, health and social services. The distribution of wealth and income since Independence has become less, not more equal; wage increases in the government sector (the largest employer of skilled labour) have been awarded due to increases in the urban cost of living. However, "after each succeeding Salaries Commission, the differentials since 1961 have been largely tampered with rather than fundamentally restructured" (Cooper, 1979, p.19). Urban wages are transferred into cattle, explaining the configuration of income sources of the richest households shown in Figure 3.1 . It is the holding of a Junior Certificate which marks the educated with prospects of a well paid job, from the uneducated. The former are likely to become relatively scarcer and the latter relatively more numerous, with consequences for respective wage levels.

A potential bifurcation which could become self-reinforcing was forecast before Morgan commented in 1979, "In such a bifurcation the interests of the salaried - especially the bureaucrats - remain close to those of the ruling party" (Morgan, 1979, p.242). The government succinctly described the division between rich and poor in its latest development plan:

"The fundamental challenge of development is still to reduce poverty ... Most Batswana who do not have formal employment and do not own substantial property (whether cattle, freehold land or business assets) are poor by any standard and many of them are poor in absolute terms - that is, they have difficulties obtaining even the bare necessities of life; a rough index of the size of the problem is that three-fifths of the labour force or about 250,000 people mainly depend on low-productivity work in agriculture and in the informal sector; this number is growing fast ... At present the most productive employment opportunities are available only to a privileged minority."

(Botswana, 1980, p.23)

The government accepts that "the distribution of income in Botswana is quite unequal" (Botswana, 1980, p.45). The attack on poverty is seen as taking place through rural development and employment creation. The government may be less willing to accept its role in the creation of the unequal distribution of income through its education policy. The re-orientation of the primary curriculum to allow greater integration with the needs of rural areas is to proceed at the same time as the continued selection of minority, decreasing in relative size, for secondary and tertiary schooling. Jobs requiring a Junior Certificate yield an income ten times the average (Cooper, 1979) whilst government jobs, which provide for 90% of university graduates (mainly due to the bonding system) are to be found in the capital and other large centres. The rural areas are thus drained of the more educated. The bifurcation between those who have not yet received the opportunity to attend primary school plus those for whom it is "truly terminal" and those for whom it is not, between the salaried and the non-salaried, and in spatial terms, between the rural and urban dwellers is reinforced.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN

THE DISTRICTS

Introduction

It has been stated that the organization and running of primary schools and the implementation of national educational policy for primary schools is the responsibility of local government agencies. In terms of reducing inequalities in access to schooling, local authorities therefore play an important role. Lines of authority between central and local government are not clearly drawn however, and the relationship between the District Councils, the District Administration and the Central Government is complex. Analysis of the development of this relationship is a necessary background to a description of the work of local authorities and an evaluation of the effectiveness of the educational planning at the primary school level carried out by them.

The Machinery of Local Government

There are four main institutions of local government at district level: the District Council, the District Administration, the Tribal Administration and the Land Board. Before Independence, local government was conducted by the tribal administrations. In effect this meant personal rule by the chief, advised and constrained by the tribal council (the elders) and by the District Administration. The head of the latter, the District Commissioner (DC) was an expatriate who reported to the colonial government.

In 1966 nine District Councils were established, corresponding to the eight main tribal divisions plus the white farming bloc and State lands of Ghanzi. The Councils consist of elected councillors, paid Pl440 per year, under the aegis of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (MLGL). The chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen comprise the tribal

administration, with the main task of administering justice. The chiefs may also hold office as Land Board Chairmen, and have a number of traditional and ceremonial duties. The Land Boards and sub-Land Boards have the function of holding tribal land in trust, and allocating land for residential, arable, grazing, industrial and commercial use. They took over this function from the chiefs, and act on behalf of the District Councils. The District Administration comprises the District Development Committee (DDC) with its staff, and is the principal representative of central government in the districts.

A number of independent African nations which instituted a local government apparatus have become disillusioned with the ability of local government to implement plans. Authority therefore has tended to be recentralized and local councils neutralized (Johns and Riley, 1975, pp.309-314). In many former British dependencies in Africa the colonialists saw local government as a means of gradually devolving power to the indigenous people. The emerging African political leaders however, regarded local government reform as a delaying tactic which obscured the real issue, the need to democratize the central government apparatus (Wraith, 1967, p.267).

The situation in Botswana was different. The government not only instituted local councils at Independence but in the early 1970s was strengthening them:

"The growth of strong district councils is being encouraged (by the Government) and it is intended that they will increasingly become the focal point of rural administration, responsible for promoting the general well being and development in their area."

(Tordoff, 1974, p.302)

One reason for such support is that the councils were not seen as part of the administrative machinery left behind by the colonial government.

In fact the elected councils were regarded by the Independent government as part of the attempt to counteract the power of the chiefs.

Although the District Councils had the support of the new political elite, they were weakened by not having the support of the traditional political leadership, the chiefs. Moreover, dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of Councils grew within central government between 1966 and 1970. The ability of Councils to carry out their statutory functions, that is, of providing a rural infrastructure of primary schools, clinics, roads, water supplies, of drawing up development plans, running primary schools, collecting taxes, collecting trade licencing fees etc., was called into question as early as 1967.

The two major problems were the quality of Council staff and the ability of Councils to raise the money to implement all the projects which were required of them. Picard notes that, "often councillors were unable to deal with the day-to-day workings of the Council, and in many cases could not handle the complexities of issues facing them" (Picard, 1979, p.291).

By 1970, the future of the Councils and their relationship with Central Government had become a major issue of debate in government circles. Decisions regarding the future of the Councils however, were made by administrators within the Ministries rather than by politicians. Gunderson's exhaustive analysis of the Botswana political system argues that it closely approximates Weber's "administrative State" (Gunderson, 1971, p.7); it was administrators at the Ministry of Financial and Development Planning (MFDP) and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (MLGL) who decided the future of the Councils, not politicians. Essentially, the attack on the council structure was seen by the MLGL as an attack on itself. The MFDP called for the structure to be dismantled and for greater centralization. Two Peace Corps volunteers produced a

report for the MFDP which recommended the transfer of the Councils' powers to an enlarged District Administration; the report felt that the council system was "inherently inefficient and expensive" and could not facilitate rural development (Baur and Licke, no date).

Meanwhile a report was produced for the MLGL by a team of experienced consultants who felt that the Councils could be made into effective agents of change and development, but they required strengthening with extra staff and finance. In the early 1970s the MLGL took steps to strengthen the Councils. It brought Council staff under the jurisdiction of the Unified Local Government Service, creating a salary structure which would attract qualified staff who were usually "creamed off" into Central Government service.

The MLGL also began to supplement the development expenditure of Councils with direct grants. Councils were expected to raise their own revenue but it became apparent that they were hardly able to balance their statutory recurrent expenditure. Except for one Council, all were in financial deficit by 1972. Deficit grants to Central District comprised 19% of total Council expenditure in 1971/72, 22% in 1973/74, and 62% in 1975/76. Councils thus became increasingly dependent on Central Government and lost much of their financial autonomy.

They also lost a great deal of their authority, as a much strengthened District Administration was created in the early 1970s. District Development Committees (DDCs) were established as non-statutory planning and co-ordinating bodies to facilitate development at the local level and strengthen the presence of Central Government representatives in the districts. The government required a more effective district planning structure than the Councils provided. The NDP 1970-75 had promised that surpluses from mining would be invested in rural development, but

this promise had not yet materialized. The DDCs facilitated the implementation of the ARDP, but at the same time weakened the Councils.

New posts of District Officer (Development) (D.O.(D)) and District Officer (Lands) (D.O.(L)) were established, filled by expatriates. The relationship between the D.O.(D) and the Councils has never been clear, and Central Government Ministries were clearly confused over the relationship (Picard, 1977, pp.24-26).

Naturally, the Councils were dissatisfied with the new arrangements and the reduction in their authority. The Government Paper No.1 of 1972 describes Councils as "key agencies in an expanded rural development programme" (Botswana, 1972, p.21). However, it is the DDCs which formulate District Development Plans. Picard suggests that the Councils are, in fact, "administrative extensions of central bureaucracy. Their challenges to Ministerial policies and actions thus have little, if any, impact on decisions at the national level" (Picard, 1979, p.300). The strength of the District Administration, the provision of staff from a Unified Local Government Service and increased financial dependence on Central Government effectively mean that councillors are excluded from the decision making process. Picard concludes, "it would be premature to suggest that the system represents a decentralization of decision making" (Picard, 1979, p.308). This inevitably affects the organization and work of the Councils.

Organization and Work of the Councils

The nine administrative districts vary in size from the vast Central District, 145,165 square kilometres, and containing 42% of the country's population in 1980, to the South-East, only 2,032 square kilometres. The variation in size and population density has implications for the

capacity of each Council to provide basic social services for its population (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 District Council Areas and Population

Council	Area (Sq.Km.)	Population 1976	% of Total Population	Population per Km ²
Central	145,165	260,400	42	1.8
Kweneng	38,107	75,800	12	2.0
Southern	27,231	96,400	15	3.5
North West	129,998	62,200	10	0.5
Kgatlang	7,244	37,600	6	5.2
North East	5,323	30,600	5	5.7
South East	2,032	24,300	4	11.9
Kgalagadi	109,724	18,000	3	0.2
Ghanzi	104,707	14,700	2	0.2

Source: Fgner, 1978, p.2

Councils carry out their statutory duties through a committee system. Each Council is obliged to appoint an Education Committee and a Finance Committee and any others which it regards necessary. These committees, composed of councillors, meet regularly and report to the quarterly meetings of the full Council.

Councils raise recurrent revenues through the Local Government tax on income, Land Rents, Domestic Water Fees, Trade Licences, Stock Sales Commission, and until 1980, primary school fees. Decisions affecting Council revenue may be made at Central Government level, such as that to abolish school fees.

The role of the Councils, by the late 1970s had evolved into one

of representing constituents, suggesting motions at Council meetings, discussing what should be included in the District development plan, and ensuring the effective operation of a number of Council departments. These departments include the Works department, responsible for constructing facilities laid down in the District Plan, and the Education Department, responsible for ordering and distributing school supplies, equipment and furniture, posting and disciplining teachers, reporting on problems of access, private schools and disputes in communities (see Figure 6.1).

Central District Council

Central District Council has 38 councillors and operates through six Committees (Figure 6.2). In 1976, 12 councillors remained of the 37 originally elected in 1966. Council meetings take the form of an address by the Chairman, reports from Committees, presentation of Councillors' Motions, discussion and referral or rejection. Meetings usually last for two full days. A typical sample of minutes of Council business from one meeting is:

- "Cllr. Kabalo: What are the reasons for not including Mphoeng and Tapalakoma schools in the District Development Plan?
- Reply: An oversight; Cllr. should have included the schools during the plan period; a project addendum will be made.
- Cllr. Mabogo: Livestock control bye-laws in Serowe should be extended to Palapye and Tsienyane areas.
- Reply: Accepted.
- Cllr. Matlhare: Additional classrooms should be built at Ratholo school to complete 14 classrooms.
- Reply: Referral to Education Committee.
- Cllr. Phiri: Remote schools like Mmeshoro, Thlbala and others should be fenced.
- Reply: Referral to Works Committee."

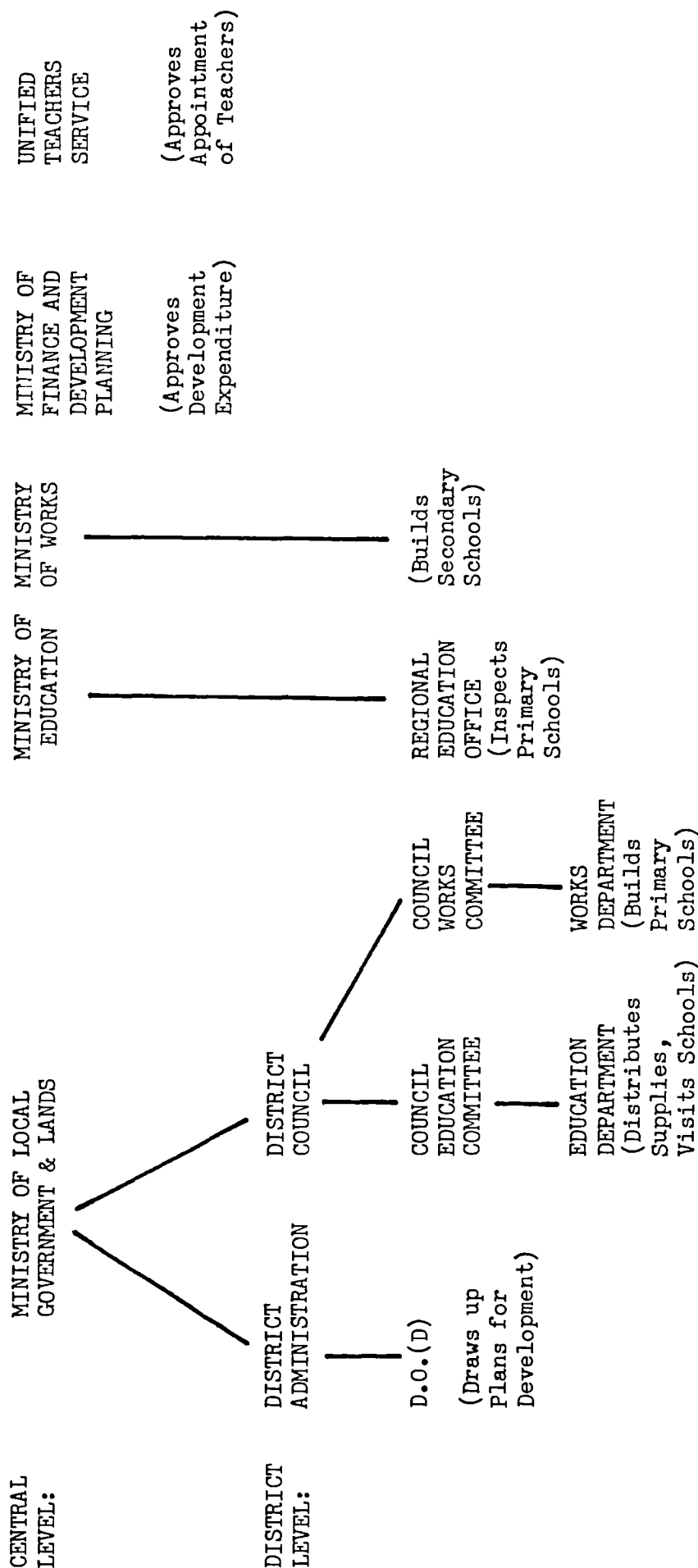


Figure 6.1 Agencies concerned with Education in the Districts

Source: compiled after Fieldwork

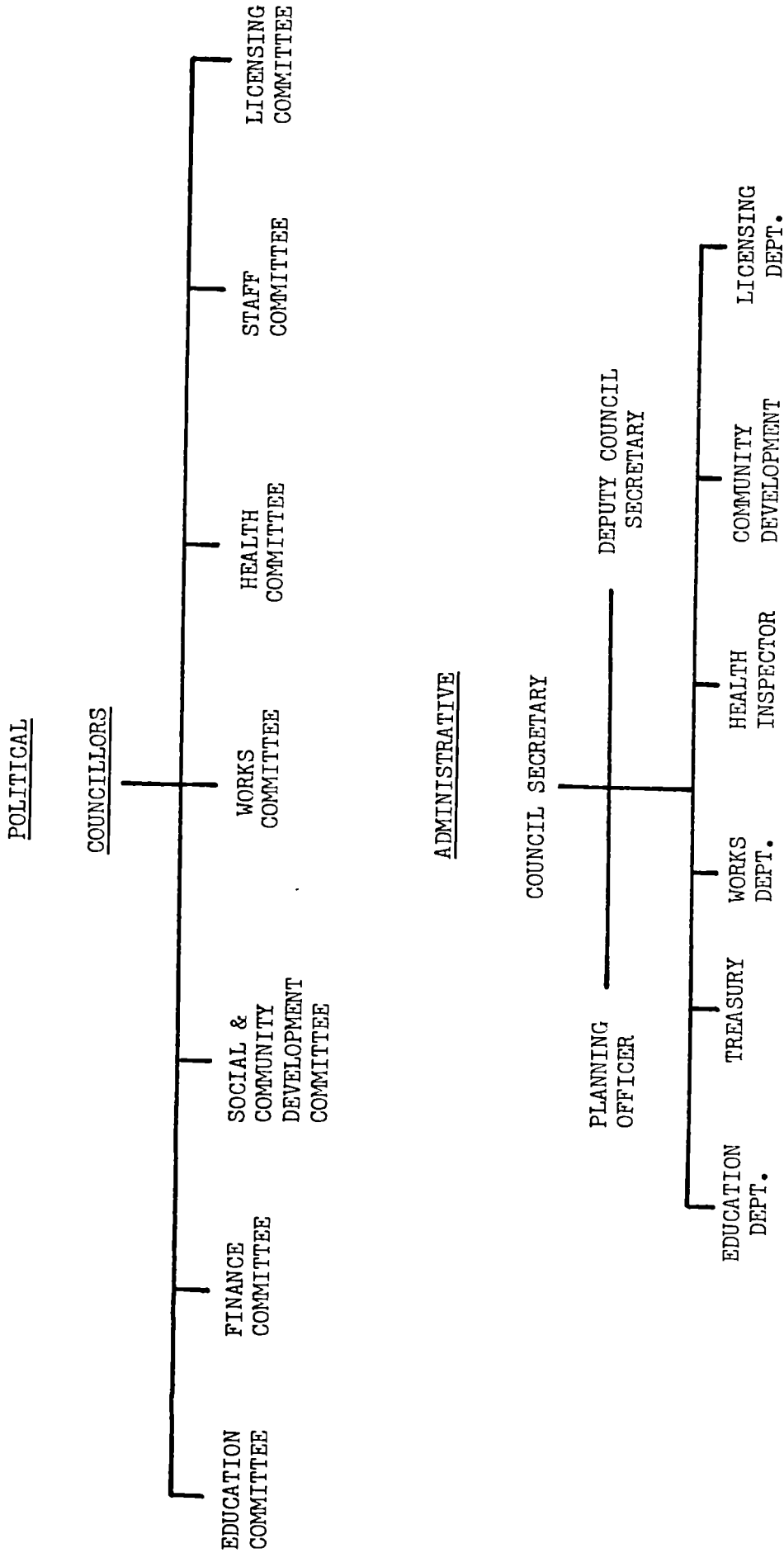


Figure 6.2 Organization of the Central District Council

Source: compiled after Fieldwork

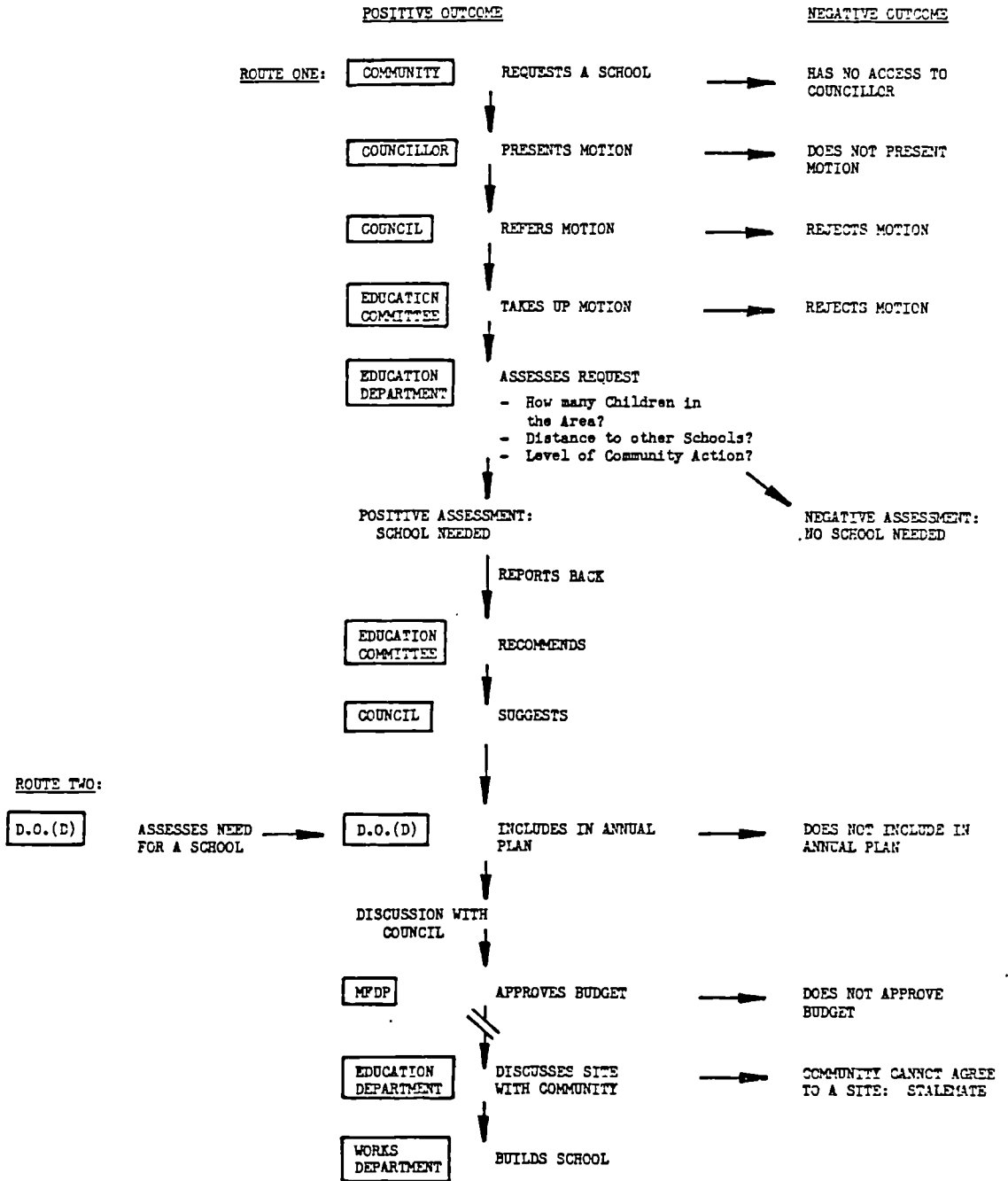
A recurrent item of discussion during 1976, 1977 and 1978 was the concern at the lack of consultation by Central Government, for example, when proposals were made for increasing local government tax (Minutes, 17.12.1976). In 1977 Councillors reacted "bitterly" to the fact that points made by them are not taken seriously; "MPs are given more privileges" (Minutes, 24.6.77).

Later in 1977 the Chairman of the Council said, "I am worried ... that Council's autonomy and status as a political and democratic local authority are being systematically reduced in favour of undemocratic institutions" (Minutes, 16.12.77). In 1978 the Chairman stated, "Council should manage its own affairs and only in times of great need should it call upon the Ministry for help" (Minutes, 21.7.78). Decisions are taken at central level over which the Council has no control. At one meeting a councillor asked, "Why is the money to erect Kgotla offices left out in the district estimates?". The reply was, "Cut by Gaborone". Councillors frequently raised the issue of their allowance (that it should be increased), that they had much inferior conditions of service compared with M.P.s, that they were never invited to the Salaries Commission and that their work was not recognized or appreciated.

The Role of the Education Committee and Education Department

Since the role of the DO(D) was strengthened, the process of planning new school facilities is less clear cut. The process is outlined in Figure 6.3. Councillors bring requests for schools to the Council which passes them to the Education Committee. The Committee is backed by the Education Department, which investigates the need for a school. Reports are sent back up the hierarchy, and the Council submits suggestions to the DO(D) for inclusion in the district plan. However, the DO(D) can include in the plan other communities where there is a need,

Figure 6.3 The School Planning Procedure



Source: compiled after Fieldwork

and does not necessarily include those suggested by the Council. Of the thirteen schools included in the 1979/80 Annual Plan, only two had been discussed by the Council as requiring additional facilities.

The time period between a community requesting a school and the building of a school may take several years. The case of Thini school illustrates some of the problems of locating schools and the inefficiencies of the planning process.

The Case of Thini School

Councillor Kelepile presented a Motion in 1975 for a school at Thini, near Tutume. The Education Department visited the village to assess the request in October, 1975. At a well attended meeting, it was put forward that children either did not attend school at all, or did so irregularly in Tutume, 5 km. away through the bush and across the large unbridged Tutume River, or 14 km. away by motorable road. Three children had drowned on their way to school in 1972, and during the rainy season children tended not to attend at all. The community had raised P3,000 towards the cost of a school.

The visitors suggested that the area settled by the villagers was their lands area and that they should move closer to the nearest village with a school.

"Headman Thini excitedly stood up and protested that this place was his residence and settled here long ago by the order of the late Chief Tshkedi Khama. He ... had lived there since 1945. It is a 'mockery' to say that he and his people live at Masimo."

(Education Department report,
6.10.1975)

The Education Department concluded "the desire for a school is great" and "strongly recommended" one to be built.

Two years after the presentation of the original motion, during which no action had been taken, Cllr. Kelepile introduced the motion again in March 1977. In September 1977 the motion was reintroduced and it was noted that the Minutes of March 1977 had failed to include the motion.

In November 1977 at an Education Committee meeting Cllr. Kelepile repeated the arguments for a school at Thini, and claimed that his motion had been missed out of three consecutive Council meetings. He stated that the villagers were now very frustrated, and had even presented a delegation to the Council meeting, only to be told that there was no record of their request. Cllr. Kelepile deplored the effect of this on his relationship with the community. The Planning Officer replied that there were already three schools in the area of Thini and that there were more pressing needs in other areas. However, due to the "self help spirit" evident in Thini, it was resolved to build a school there.

However, before the November meeting at which it was resolved to build a school, the Education Department had revisited Thini, in September 1977, to discuss the siting of the school. The people "unanimously agreed on the site in the meeting ... the people of Thini were very glad".

After the November meeting the village was visited again but this time agreement could not be reached on the exact site for a school. Two sites were proposed, one near headman Thini's house and the other half way between his house and that of his half brother. The Councillor was in favour of the latter as it was central, whilst a "businessman", a sponsor of the school, favoured the location chosen by the headman. The "Meeting nearly ran into pandemonium" when the Councillor stated that a central site would serve a larger number of children. Eventually, "after an argument Cllr. Kelepile sided with the people because as he said,

he did not wish to lose the four classrooms allocated to Thini community ... Tribalism is not yet strangled within in Bokalaka area and we are feared if the school is built far away from Thini community it may become a white elephant" (Education Department report, 28.2.1978).

By 1979 Thini school had been built. It appears in the 1979/80 Annual Plan's inventory of schools as having four classrooms, eight toilets and a store - but as yet, no pupils.

Issues raised by the Education Committee and Education Department

The Education Department plays a useful role in reporting on difficulties of access to schooling and the particular problems facing certain areas. It provides details of the approximate number of children in an area, the distance to the nearest school, the presence of private schools and the living conditions of the people. It makes recommendations for action. The Department supplies information to the Education Committee and Council, but this information is not always used.

Meetings of the Education Committee (to which the Department reports) reveal information on four sets of issues. Firstly, they indicate the poor physical condition of many schools, reflecting, perhaps, hasty construction and lack of maintenance. Palapye school is not the only one where classroom blocks are reported as "very dangerous to pupils and teachers" (Minutes, 10.10.1978). Many smaller problems of maintenance were evident, of teachers' quarters not being rain-proof, of ceilings falling down, of toilet blocks collapsing. Lack of equipment and desks was frequently mentioned; at one school a teacher lived in the head-teacher's office due to lack of accommodation (Education Department report, 1.7.75). A number of reports were made of contractors not finishing jobs or of causing long delays. One near-complete school had remained

unopened for two years after the contractor left.

Secondly, visits by the Education Department and Councillors to rural areas draw attention to the trend of people settling permanently at the lands. In 1977 one Councillor stated, "people spend most of their time on the fields and cattle stations" (Minutes, 16.8.1977). At one school the headteacher complained that it was not possible to hire a cook as all the villagers stayed at the lands (Minutes, 14.8.1974), and one Councillor drew attention to an area where villages are "growing". Another reported that where a school had been built in a lands area, "new villages are springing up around the school" (Minutes, 10.10.1977). At one school, Marapong, 268 children attended from Marapong itself but the roll was swollen due to 462 children attending from Sebina village, 25 from Nshakagwe and 4 from Nyamambisi. Marapong was nearer to the lands of villagers from these three villages (Minutes, 4.10.1975).

The Department reports many hundreds of children not attending school. The failure of the school building programme to reach remote villages and the trend of outward migration results in private schools being opened. The total of these in Central District is not known. In 1979 twelve were known to operate by the DO(D) and another four were to be taken over by the Council that year. A further three schools were investigated by the Education Department in 1978. In addition to private schools, "night schools" operate, offering elementary schooling to over-aged children.

The Council shows concern about private and night schools established without some element of central control. Once a school is started, the Council is obliged to take some action, to register it, and to discuss whether it should be aided or taken over. A request for a night school at Mmpashalala was turned down; "Council is not able to finance the

school as a similar request would be made by other villages" (Minutes, 8.11.1977). Most schools, however, start as private, community schools and are taken over by the Council.

A third set of problems is conflicts between the community and teachers and between teachers and the headteacher. A large number of entire, lengthy meetings of the Education Committee are taken up with conflicts and transfer requests. Such conflicts can have an effect on attendance. In one criticism of a headteacher it was asserted, "as a result of her poor relations with the public the school enrolment goes down every year" (Minutes, 14.6.1978). In other cases, petitions were presented from parents or teachers asking for the removal of particular teachers or the headteacher. Many requests for investigation into inefficiency or misconduct are received by the Education Department each year, and the Committee has the power to recommend a teacher's transfer. In this way a check is maintained on behaviour, but the Committee also backs teachers in the face of opposition from the community, and particularly from the Tribal Administration. Clashes between teachers and the traditional political elite are not infrequent. Although the traditional elite (largely synonymous with the tribal administration) has weakened powers, the chief still commands enormous support from the people. Support from the chief gives traditional legitimacy to new ideas, development projects and reforms. Refusal of the chief or headman to endorse a project can lead to its failure. Thus primary schools may be boycotted if not located in the chief's favoured position, and PTAs and VDCs are almost impossible to operate if not supported by the chief. At one committee meeting it was noted that "this business of headmen interfering with school matters seems to be increasing in Central District" (Minutes, 12.5.1977).

A fourth set of problems is those which arise in attempting to site

a school. In some cases a dispute arises after the work has begun; in Shoshong for example, the villagers stopped the contractors after the foundations had been laid for a teachers' hostel (Minutes, 10.5.1978). In most cases, however, disputes arise at the planning stage, either where a school is expected to serve several small villages and each wants the school sited close to it, or where a school is to serve one village but influential individuals dispute the location. Such disputes can result in serious delays.

Major Planning Issues at the District Level

An aim of educational planning at the district level is to distribute primary school facilities equitably. Two major issues have emerged to complicate the planning process in terms of the spatial allocation of schools - the changing settlement pattern and the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. It is clear that the Education Department performs a useful role in data collection at the grassroots level. However, it has the power only to recommend, and its recommendations are often disregarded. The three main parties involved in planning - Central Government, Councils and the District Administration - face the issues in different ways. The solutions favoured by each and the action taken reflect the complex relationship outlined above, and the different, often competing, interests of each group.

1. Changing Settlement Patterns

The growing realization that the traditional system of land use and the traditional settlement patterns were undergoing change was the major impetus behind the establishment of the National Migration Survey in 1977.

Whilst in the past villagers wintered in the home village and migrated during the growing season to lands and cattlepost, a trend has emerged of people settling permanently outside the villages. The scale of this rural-rural migration is not known. Reasons for the migration were outlined above, viz. the decline of chiefly authority means that villagers are no longer compelled to return to their villages, water has been provided in lands areas, and villagers may see it as more economic to have one home and to be close to their agricultural bases. However, evidence from Syson (1972, 1973) and from the village survey (Chapter 7) indicates that those moving down the settlement hierarchy are the poorest, most disadvantaged stratum. They are the least efficient farmers, whilst migration from villages further removes them from services such as schools.

Lack of information regarding settlement patterns brings serious problems for the planning of new facilities. In a situation where the government wishes to provide primary schooling for all children, the planning problem is that of ensuring that the distribution of schools is related as closely as possible to the distribution of the population. Those concerned with educational planning - Central Government, Government consultants, District administrations and District Councils - have had a varied response to the problem.

The geographical coverage of the primary school system was questioned by the NCE. It recommended that the Government should recognize the changing settlement pattern, but encourage people to live in settlements large enough to justify the provision of services. This policy should be complemented by providing a "more scattered network of rural schools" and the NCE recommended the provision of one-teacher schools wherever there were 20 children or more (Botswana, 1977A, p.59).

The Central Government Response

The Central Government incorporated the recommendation into its National Policy on Education. It intended to improve access to primary schools through the continuation of the school building programme, the phased take-over of unaided schools, and the provision of small schools in remote areas where, (here the policy is vague) "population concentrations make this feasible" (Botswana, 1977B, p.4).

A memo from the MLGL in 1978 titled "The Location of Primary School Facilities" gave guidelines for the location of schools. It stated, "it is reasonable to expect children to walk up to 5 km. to school; older children may perhaps be expected to walk further than this". A settlement with a total population of 1,000 or more within a radius of 5 km. would justify an annual intake into standard 1; a settlement of 500-1000 would justify an intake every other year, and a population of 500 "might justify" a one teacher school as suggested by the NCE. That a population of 500 "might justify" a school is surprising given that the 1971 census showed that 50% of the population lives in villages of 500 people or less.

The MLGL stated that in the take-over of private schools priority should be given to those where there were already buildings as this demonstrated an established demand from the people, and that they were enthusiastic. The MLGL noted that "not all demands for new facilities can be met", and firmly placed responsibility for final decisions about allocation of resources with the local authorities. Councils "should therefore make the final decisions themselves ... only those with knowledge of local conditions can draw up viable building programmes" (Savingram, 7.9.78, Ref.LG/3/8/4).

The NDP 1976-81 made little comment on the changing settlement pattern. It still saw the large villages, not the smaller villages, as a "major

asset" and as "primary targets for the provision of social and economic infrastructure" (Botswana, 1977C, p.70).

The latest NDP 1979-85 took a slightly different approach to urban and rural development. That is, it did not have separate chapters on rural and urban development as did other NDPs. Rather, it did not see urban and rural development as "separate issues" (Botswana, 1980, p.91). Whilst this approach acknowledged the links between urban dwellers and their rural origins, and that the dichotomy was false in some respects, it also implied increased control from the centre regarding land settlement policy. It noted, "the relationship between various types of settlement can only partially be dealt with within the district planning process" (Botswana, 1980, p.92). It proposed a hierarchy of centres; primary centres, including the towns and major villages, secondary centres such as the new mining townships of Orapa and Jwaneng, and tertiary centres, the "basic settlement units" for 60% of the population. As such the plan represented a step forward from previous plans. It proposed to provide a water supply for every village with a population greater than 150 and a primary school and health post in each village with a population of more than 500. It again stressed the

"... increasing need to make provision for small communities at land areas and in some cases at cattle posts."

(Botswana, 1980,
p.109)

Whilst the Government appeared committed to recognizing the needs of those in small villages, it was still content to leave the planning of development to the District authorities, it did not offer definitions of "lands" and "cattleposts" and it directed development to villages with a population of 500 or more.

The District Development Committee Response

The fifth National District Development Conference of 1978, a meeting of all those involved in district administration, discussed the implications of the national policy on education. From the Conference there was:

" ... a general acceptance of schools in lands areas - although schools in good sized villages are preferred - but these need to meet certain criteria (which need to be established). For example, there must be an element of permanence of settlement and a sufficient supply of children to people the school."

(Botswana, 1978A,p.40)

It called for investigation of the reasons for settlement outside villages "before consideration can be given to locating a school" (Botswana, 1978A, p.48).

The Conference noted that parental involvement with the building of schools was declining, concern was expressed at the disparity between urban and rural facilities, and it felt that the councils' maintenance capacity required investigation.

Twelve months later, at the sixth Conference, similar issues were raised. Conference noted that more thought needed to be given to the spatial dimension of planning; "It was pointed out that few District Plans had considered these issues, shown how links exist between settlements and what is located in each settlement" (Botswana, 1978B, p.183). The Conference felt that the provision of services should not be constrained to existing villages, which "were created by chiefs for ease of administration and may not be suitable for a modern Botswana" (Botswana, 1978B, p.183). The session on settlement planning finished with "a final plea ... for the formulation of a strong policy upon settlements and their development" (Botswana, 1978B, p.184).

The five year plan for Central District 1977-82 commented on the NCE's recommendation to provide schools in small villages. It noted that average costs would rise due to the expense of building in remote areas, but that there would be considerable benefits for remote area dwellers. It set aside P13,908,300 for capital expenditure on new primary schools, taking over unaided schools, P500,000 for the upgrading of schools and P300,000 for the upgrading of existing schools (Botswana, 1977D, p.183). Slightly less than half this amount (46.5%) was to be spent on secondary education over the same five year period.

Despite the commitment, in principle, to building schools in remote areas, this commitment is not shown in the Central District Annual Development Plan 1979/80. Of the thirteen villages included in the Primary School Construction Programme, the only new school was in Seleka, with a population of 1,543 and with a school already. Two of the schools to receive additional classrooms were in the large village of Mmadinare. Each area to receive classrooms and other buildings was described as a "village" in the 1973 "Guide to the Villages of Botswana" (Botswana, 1973), except one, a "village/lands", population 777 and another, a "village/cattlepost", population 927. No villages of 500 people or less were included. There is no practical discussion at the district level of one-teacher schools.

The district staff appear committed to schools in "non-village" areas. In 1976 a memo noted that in the long term, school provision should follow the settlement pattern; schools should not only be built in administratively large villages - "provision of schools must also be a priority in any new settlement areas" (DDC File 7/1, D.O.(D)'s Office, 16.3.76). In practice this commitment is yet to be demonstrated.

The Council's Response

The response of councillors to the establishment of schools in lands and cattleposts may be seen in the minutes of council meetings and of Education Committee meetings. Councillors present motions which often take the form of requesting facilities for their areas.

At the meeting of 24.6.1977, Cllr. Phiri requested a health post at Marulamantli. It was rejected as the area is a cattlepost - "People should not be encouraged to erect small villages anywhere they like". At the meeting of 16.12.1977 a motion was put forward that Council should not issue licences to hawkers in lands and cattlepost areas, as they encourage people to stay out of the villages, which become "ruins". The motion was referred to the Licensing Committee. Another motion complained that nurses had started to visit a lands area outside Gweta, and were requesting a health post there. This time Council decided that the nurses should continue their work.

The March 1978 meeting shows that the Licensing Committee had supported the motion and therefore would not issue trading licences in non-village areas. The Education Committee likewise supported the general feeling of the Council. In 1976 a delegation from Nyamambisi attended the Education Committee meeting, requesting a school at Marobela, their lands area and where they spent most of their time. The Committee agreed that Nyamambisi would be left with no people, that it would "encourage people to scatter all over and request schools to be built everywhere they go", and that development projects would be delayed by the growing tendency for people to live at their lands (Education Committee minutes, 7.10.1976).

In 1977 Cllr. Phiri requested a school in a cattlepost area which contained new villages:

"Committee resolved to turn down the request pointing out that instead of people scattering all over and requesting schools to be built where they settle, these people could be moved to places like Serule and establish homes there."

(Council Minutes, 13.4.1977)

Again, at a special Education Committee meeting, the "Committee felt that village grouping should be encouraged, schools should not be built anywhere, even at cattleposts" (Education Committee minutes, 20.5.1977). Two months later, Cllr. Phiri pointed out that "parents spend most of their time on the fields and cattle stations" and "most" young children are left alone in villages. He suggested that primary schools be given boarding facilities. The motion was dropped - it was "out of step with present development" (Council Minutes, 16.8.1977).

Clearly, conflicting stances on the provision of primary schools outside villages exist. The Government in its latest NDP wrote:

"The need to build schools for small communities will become more pressing as the country approaches universal primary education and as the Government encourages families to settle outside villages for the purpose of developing arable agriculture."

(Botswana, 1980, p.109.
emphasis added)

The District Administration is conscious from a planning point of view of the necessity to provide schools in those areas where the population to be served is settled. In practice however, there are schools and classrooms still required in established villages; caution regarding permanency of new settlements results in slow progress.

The elected councillors face a dilemma as they see a need to provide what their constituents want, that is, schools in the areas in which they live, but they are conscious of the effect on their power base of a drift from the villages. More than one council meeting has commented on the difficulty of registering voters at the lands, whilst the job of tax and

other revenue collection is more difficult and expensive. They therefore do not welcome settlement outside villages.

2. The Tribal Grazing Land Policy

Agriculture is frequently referred to by the government as the "backbone" of Botswana's rural economy. It engages 80% of Botswana's rural households and contributes 35% of rural income. Recognition of the importance of cattle farming to the economy led to the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), set out in Government Paper No. 2, 1975. The object of the TGLP was to divide all tribal grazing land into three zones, commercial, communal and reserved. (Tribal land comprises 71% of the total land area; freehold land, mainly large ranches held by non-Tswana, 6%, and State land, under the direct control of the Government, 23%.)

The grazing policy for Tribal Land was aimed as a conservation measure (to ensure better use of the range), and as a measure to improve cattle management. Botswana's beef trade depends heavily on access to EEC markets. Botswana thus has to meet stringent EEC disease control standards. The lack of fencing in tribal areas, the intermingling of herds and the lack of efficient herd management has hindered the development of effective disease control methods, and serious outbreaks of foot and mouth disease have occurred.

The TGLP represents a major departure from the traditional use of land. Recognising this, the Government spent considerable time and effort, during 1975 and 1976, on a major campaign to explain to the people the implications of the policy. The policy meant that in the designated commercial areas, ranches were to be demarcated and exclusive rights

given to individuals and groups on 50 year leases. Modern management techniques could then be applied. Ranches were intended for large cattle owners or groups of owners. Communal areas were to be set aside for small owners, the majority of cattle owners, with an upper limit on the number of cattle any individual could keep. Reserved areas were to be set aside for future grazing, crop growing, wildlife and mining.

After public discussion, the idea of stock limits in communal areas was dropped. Basic zoning plans were completed for all districts, and the plans were operationalized for commercial areas first. By 1980 200 ranches had been demarcated and 25 allocated. Approximately 10% of Botswana's total land has been designated commercial, with provision for between 700 and 900 ranches. Progress has been slower than expected. The plan has met two problems. There was less unused range land than originally thought, and the non-livestock owning population of cattleposts was more substantial than expected.

However, the strengthened Division of Land Utilization is to continue its ranch demarcation process for several years. Meanwhile during the 1979/85 NDP the focus will shift to the communal areas. A range of projects designed to aid the small farmer are to be introduced.

A number of expatriate consultants were involved in investigating the implications of the zoning procedure. The major concern which emerged was that of providing for communal needs in commercial areas. That is, there were large numbers of non-stock owners or small owners in commercial areas, for whom land would not be available once ranches were formed. The Government itself in its initial White Paper brought up the problem: "Some fear that the small owners will be forced to move and the rich will come to control all the land" (Botswana, 1975, p.27).

Information gathered from large owners in Central District however, would seem to justify this fear. When they were asked about non-stock owners, "more often than not, the answer is, 'They will have to move'" (Hitchcock, 1978, p.1). A letter from the Ngwato Land Board in 1978 stated that the policy in commercial areas "has become notoriously known as the Government's way of removing the poor from the rich man's land" (Land Board to Chairman, Central District Council, 24.2.78, ref.L/E/3/1(b)).

In two surveys of areas of the Sandveldt in Central District designated as a commercial zone, 2,781 people were found at 129 locations (Hitchcock, 1977; Ebert et al., 1976). Thus substantial numbers of people live in the commercial areas, and moreover, they have become more dependent on employment with large cattle owners, and less dependent on hunting and gathering. Also the mafisa system is declining and more households are moving out from villages to cattleposts (Hitchcock, 1978, p.5). The ARDP meanwhile, failed to reach the Sandveldt area.

Solutions to the problem of non-stock owners and small owners in commercial areas have been put forward (Odell, 1976; Hitchcock, 1977; Wiley, 1977), which focus upon the provision of communal areas within commercial areas. These communal areas would comprise service centres with surrounding land for crop growing, a reliable water supply, a school, a health post, a cattle crush and kraal.

The idea of a communal service centre was also put forward by those (again, expatriates) concerned with the detailed planning of commercial ranches. The first commercial area to be established in Central District, the Lepashe First Development Area, contained 158 children, only 22 of whom attended school. The assistant Remote Areas Development Officer wrote that this warranted the establishment of a new school. A meeting in 1977 attended by those in Central District with interests in land use planning also called for attention to non-stock holders in commercial

zones and stated that schools, health posts and stores should be provided in communal areas between commercial farms (LUPAG discussion paper 26.1.77, D.O.(L)'s Office, Serowe).

The TGLP therefore highlighted the fact that large numbers of people live in remote areas, designated commercial zones, who were not provided for in terms of physical and social infrastructure. These populations include children without the opportunity to attend school.

The Government has not commented on the numbers of non-stock owners and small owners in commercial areas or the idea of communal service centres. It has stressed the need to make provision for "small communities at lands areas and in some cases at cattleposts" (Botswana, 1980, p.109), but does not say whether these schools at cattleposts will be in commercial or communal areas.

The response of Tswana local authorities, the Land Boards and the Councils has been diffident. In 1978 the Ngwato Land Board wrote:

"The Ngwato Land Board feels that since the initiation of the TGLP in 1974, no firm policies were ever put forward to guide the public and authorities concerned."

(24.2.78 ref L/E/3/1(b))

Council minutes between 1976 and 1978 show little discussion of the TGLP. In 1977 references were made to the perceived growing powers of the Land Boards. (The TGLP has involved the strengthening of Land Boards. The MLGL has carried out a programme of staff training after the Government asserted, "Efficient Land Boards are crucial to the successful implementation of the TGLP" (Botswana, 1977C, p.79).) Council felt that it would lose revenue and autonomy if it lost what control it has over the Land Boards. Council also exhibited the traditional view that people should have their main home in the village and that settlement outside villages should be resisted. One Councillor commented, "TGLP requires

farmers to go out to farms so who will remain with the children at home?" (Council minutes, 24.6.77). Thus "home" is regarded as the village and the measure of providing schools near to farms is not considered, whilst that of providing boarding facilities at primary schools is considered.

Evaluation of the Council's Effectiveness in terms of Improving Access to Schools

The Government has consistently repeated that it is content to leave the planning and construction of primary schools to local authorities. The effectiveness of the Council in improving access to schooling may be measured in two ways: the extent to which the Council takes account of changing settlement patterns and attempts to provide schools where the people are settled, and the ability of the Works Department to carry out construction programmes.

1. Council Construction Capacity

The Councils have consistently failed to meet the construction targets set out in the NDPs. Egner's 1978 report on Rural Development comments that by 1981, Councils would have failed to implement the greater part of their development programmes.

"More seriously, by that time, if no additional maintenance capacity has materialized, many of the rural capital assets created before 1978 will have begun to crumble or rust away."

(Egner, 1978, p.44)

The NDP 1976/81 set extremely high, in fact unattainable, annual targets for Council building programmes. For example, the actual 1973-1976

rate of classroom and health facility construction was to be tripled in 1976-1979 and the construction of quarters for nurses and teachers doubled. Several Councils were not aware of these targets (Egner, 1978, p.16).

The targets set out in the NDP 1976/81 were based on what it was thought was achieved during the ARDP. In fact the Government later admitted that the rate of construction under the ARDP was misjudged, and therefore the building capacity of the Councils much overestimated (Botswana, 1980, p.85). Thus in the building of primary school classrooms the stock in 1976 was 2,102 and the target in the NDP 1976/81 was for 3,340 classrooms by 1979. In fact 647 were built, falling 591 short of the target. Commenting on this in the NDP 1979/83, the Government notes that the maintenance of additional physical infrastructure already provided was a major task for Councils, whilst "the manpower and resource implications of the targets were not well known, partly because the Districts themselves were not involved in drawing up the new targets" (Botswana, 1980, p.85).

In 1976/77 the White Arkitekter report (1978) showed that in the education sector programme and basic health services programme, only 16% of the facilities planned for construction that year were completed by the end of the period. 46% of the facilities were under construction but for 31% contracts had only been signed and for 7% no progress had been made at all. In a report to SIDA on building programmes for 1976 to 1978, it was noted that the performance of different Councils differed considerably (Table 6.2). Councils with modest programmes were able to complete their plans whilst others, notably Central District, with large programmes had more difficulties completing them. Table 6.3 shows that by March 1978, Central District had completed only 51% of its 1976-1977

Table 6.2 % of Classrooms completed by the end of the Primary School Construction Programme, March 1976 to March 1977

	Completed	Under Construction	Materials Ordered/ Contract Signed	No Progress
Central	10	35	39	15
North East	-	53	31	16
Kgatleng	88	22	-	-
Kweneng	22	37	26	15
South East	60	-	20	20
Southern	58	21	16	5
Kgalagadi	25	25	-	50
North West	-	22	88	-
Ghanzi	50	50	-	-

Source: Report to SIDA on the Implementation of Education Sector Programme, MLGL, ref.3/8/2, July 1978.

Table 6.3 % of Classrooms completed by March 1978 of the Primary School Construction Programme, March 1976 to March 1977

	Completed	Under Construction	Materials Ordered/ Contract Signed	No Progress
Central	51	42	7	-
North East	48	28	26	-
Kgatleng	100	-	-	-
Kweneng	88	4	8	-
South East	100	-	-	-
Southern	100	-	-	-
Kgalagadi	100	-	-	-
North West	100	-	-	-
Ghanzi	100	-	-	-

Source: Report to SIDA on the Implementation of Education Sector Programme, MLGL, ref.3/8/2, July 1978.

programme, and 10% of its 1977-78 programme (Report to SIDA, July 1978, MLGL, ref.LG/3/8/2).

The White Arkiteker report cites a number of reasons for slow progress, including the shortage of trained staff, the lengthy tendering process, the unwieldy practice for approval and transfer of funds to the Districts and the lack of flexibility of funds (White Arkiteker, 1978, p.14). Egner however, asserts that the Councils' performance as development agencies equals that of Central Government. The implementation performance of Central Government fell by 5.6% per year up to 1977 (Egner, 1978, p.37). The Councils performed at least as well as Central Government during that period, but this was achieved at the cost of diverting manpower and recurrent funds into development work.

Lack of trained manpower at the district level has been a problem since Independence. In 1980 the Government could still say that lack of sufficient trained manpower continued to be a constraint on rural development projects during 1976-1980 (Botswana, 1980, p.85). Not only were there large numbers of vacancies in Council offices, but in 1980, only 45% of the staff was qualified to do their jobs. One reason for the continuing problem of skilled staff shortages, apart from the lack of inputs in terms of training and finance, is the duplication of staff, with Central Government carrying out construction programmes in the districts through the Ministry of Works and the Council's own Works Department also working at district level. The White Arkiteker report commented:

"In a country where skilled manpower is the single most limiting factor, it is debatable whether this geographical duplication of duties is justifiable."

(White Arkiteker, 1978, p.8)

2. The 'fit' between the Location of Schools and the Location of the Population

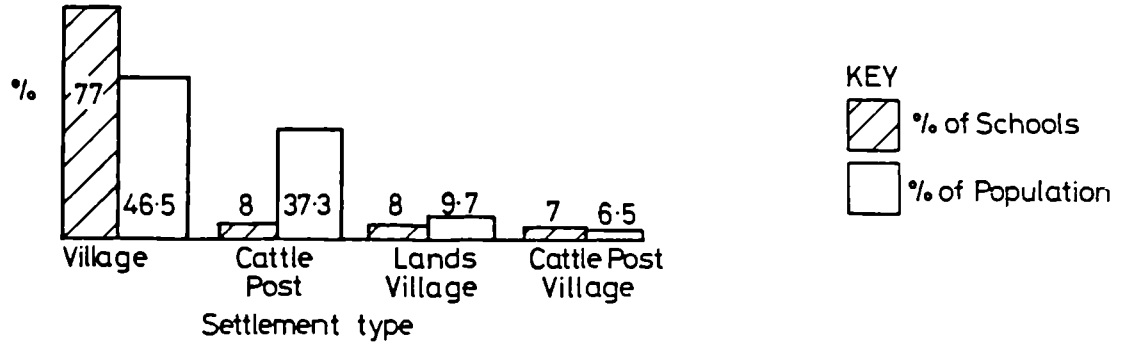
Sufficient detail on the location of all schools in order to assess the goodness of fit between the location of schools and that of the population is not available except for Central District. There are two ways of describing where the population lies - by settlement size and settlement type. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show that substantial proportions of the population live at lands and at cattleposts, and in settlements with populations of less than 500.

Few schools were found in villages with a population of less than 500, even though over half the population lives in such villages. (Table 6.4) Figure 6.4 indicates the extent to which the location of schools and the location of the population is not congruent. The figures for Central Mahalapye, for example, show that whereas 87% of the schools are located in villages, only 47.9% of the population is. Conversely, 19.3% of the population is found at cattleposts, but only 3% of the schools are. There are no schools in lands areas yet 21.5% of the population live in such areas.

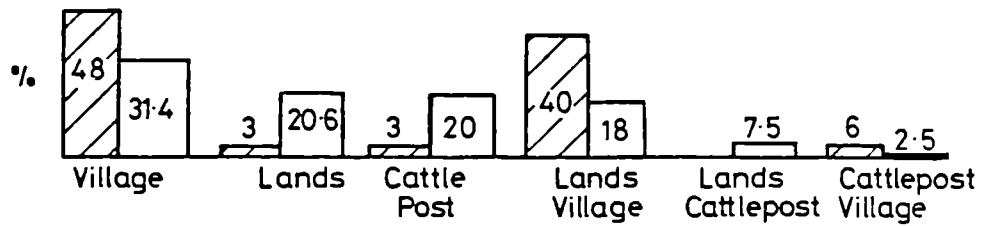
There is not a straightforward relationship between size of settlement and opportunity to go to school. The North East for example, has a high proportion of its population in villages of fewer than 500 (60.6%) yet also has one of the highest proportions of children in school compared with other districts. Also, small villages (of fewer than 500 people) may be located close together, with a school in one of them which serves the others. Thus in Central-Letlethane, more of the population lives in settlements of fewer than 500 than in the rest of Central District, yet more of the population of Letlethane is within 8 km. of a school than in any of the other three regions of Central District (Table 6.5).

Figure 6.4 The "Fit" between Location of Schools and Location of Population in Central District

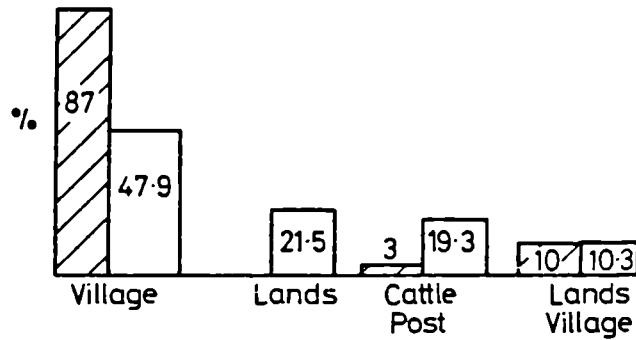
1. Central-Letlekhane



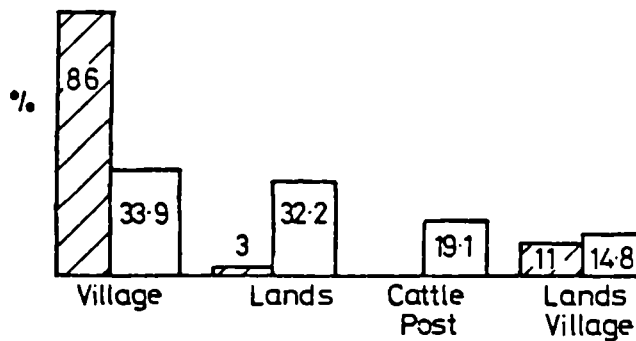
2. Central-Mmadinare



3. Central-Mahalapye



4. Central-Serowe



Source: derived from data in Botswana Government, 1973

Table 6.4 Distribution of Population and Primary Schools in Central District

	% of Population at Lands	% of Population at Cattleposts	% of Population in villages of less than 500	% of Schools in villages of less than 500
Central Serowe	32.2	19.1	53.3	6.6
Central Mahalapye	21.5	19.0	50.0	4.7
Central Mmadinare	27.3	20.7	53.3	4.0
Central Letlekhane	0	37.1	67.0	0

Source: derived from data in Botswana Government, 1973

Table 6.5 Proportion of Population in Settlements of less than 500 people and settled at Cattlepost or Lands

	% of Population in Settlements of less than 500	% of Population at Lands and Cattleposts	% within 8 km. of a School	% of Children at School as proportion of 5-14 Yr.olds, 1971
Central Serowe	53.3	51.3	53.1	52.0
Central Mahalapye	50.0	40.5	58.9	49.8
Central Mmadinare	53.3	47.4	56.3	51.0
Central Letlekhane	67.0	37.1	60.8	32.4

Source: derived from data in Botswana Government 1973

Further, Letlekhane had the largest proportion of its population within 8 km. of a school yet the lowest proportion of children enrolled. Letlekhane also had the smallest proportion of its population outside villages, at lands and cattleposts, yet the lowest proportion of children enrolled.

The impact of a failure to provide schools at lands and cattleposts and in small villages, therefore, is not clear. There are other reasons why children do not attend school apart from those of physical access. However, with 51.65% of the national population living in villages of fewer than 500 people, and with 37.5% of the population living at lands and cattleposts (see Tables 6.6 and 6.7) the provision of schools in small villages and at lands and cattlepost areas must increase opportunities and hence speed the process of equalization of opportunity.

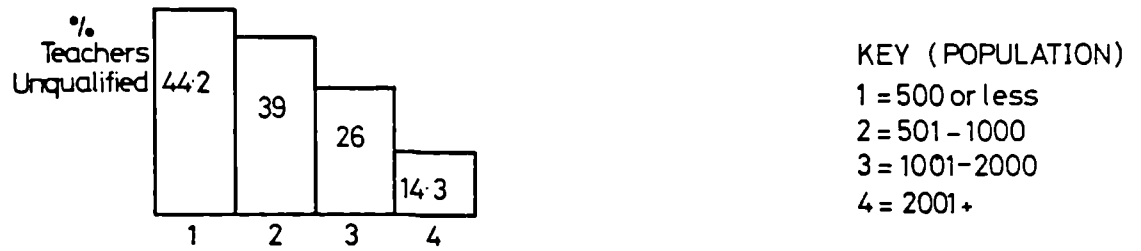
Inter- and Intra-District Inequality

The NDP 1979/85 noted, with regard to primary schooling, "There is slightly less inequality between districts than in 1975, but the general pattern is still highly unequal" (Botswana, 1980, p.104). The urban areas remain relatively advantaged in terms of qualified teachers and equipment. The urban areas have fewer classes with no classrooms, and they achieve more passes in the 'A' grade at the PSLE. Within Central District, significant variations were found between settlements of different sizes in terms of the proportion of unqualified teachers, of 'A' passes at the PSLE, pupil-teacher and pupil-classroom ratios (Figure 6.5).

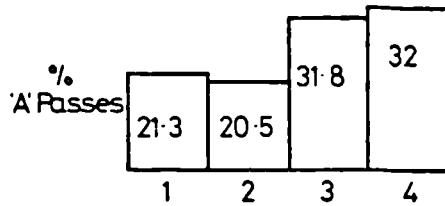
The distribution of qualified teachers throughout the districts became fairer throughout the 1970s, although significant differences remain (Figures 6.6 and 6.7). In 1971 the coefficient of variation was 67%, in 1975 70% and in 1979 42%. Likewise, new classrooms are distributed more fairly; whilst there was little improvement nationally in the number of classrooms needed (39% of classes in 1973 had no classroom

Figure 6.5 Intra-District Disparities by Settlement Size (Central District)

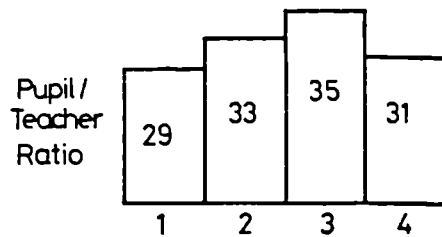
1. Proportion of unqualified teachers by settlement size.



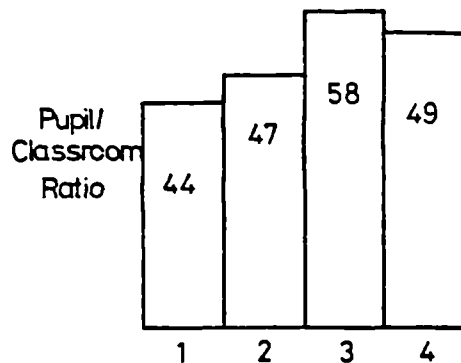
2. Proportion of 'A' passes at P.S.L.E. by settlement size.



3. Pupil/teacher ratio by settlement size.



4. Pupil/classroom ratio by settlement size



Source: Derived from data in Botswana Government 1979 and Botswana Government 1973

Table 6.6 Distribution of the Population by Settlement Type 1971

	Village	Lands	Cattlepost	Other (i.e. Urban or Farms)
Central Serowe	48.6	32.2	19.1	-
Central Mahalapye	52.3	21.5	19.0	7.0
Central Mmadinare	52.4	27.3	20.1	-
Central Letlekhane	62.9	-	37.1	-
Chobe	98.6	-	-	2.4
Ghanzi	54.3	-	-	45.6
Kgalagadi	76.6	-	1.5	21.7
Kgatleng	47.6	42.6	9.7	-
Kweneng	48.4	50.8	3.0	-
Ngamiland	70.9	2.8	27.0	0.6
Ngwaketse	43.4	42.7	13.2	0.5
N.E.	80.9	7.2	5.2	6.5
S.E.	71.9	14.7	-	13.2
TOTAL *	49.8	24.6	12.9	12.7 *

(* includes towns not listed here, e.g. Gaborone, Lobatse)

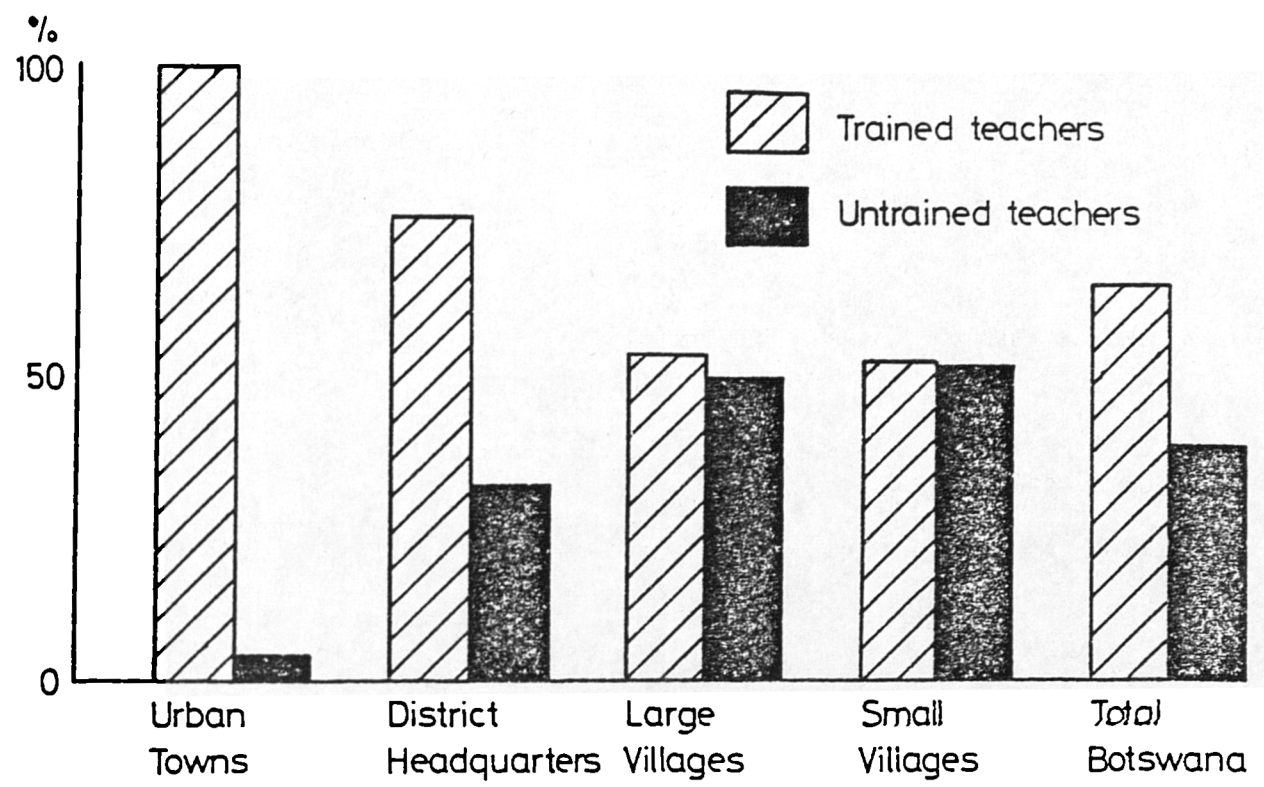
Source: Botswana Government, 1972.

Table 6.7 Distribution of the Population by Settlement size 1971

	% of Population living in each Settlement size:		
	1000+	500-1000	under 500
Central Serowe	36.7	9.9	53.3
Central Mahalapye	31.3	18.6	50.0
Central Mmadinare	28.0	18.6	53.3
Central Letlekhane	28.3	4.0	67.0
Chobe	28.9	32.8	38.1
Ghanzi	34.6	19.7	45.6
Kgalagadi	17.7	28.0	54.2
Kgatleng	29.8	15.2	54.9
Kweneng	33.9	7.7	61.1
Ngamiland	28.6	2.5	68.8
Ngwaketse	25.2	11.5	63.1
N.E.	39.3	-	60.6
S.E.	65.5	6.3	28.0
TOTAL	37.90	10.45	51.65

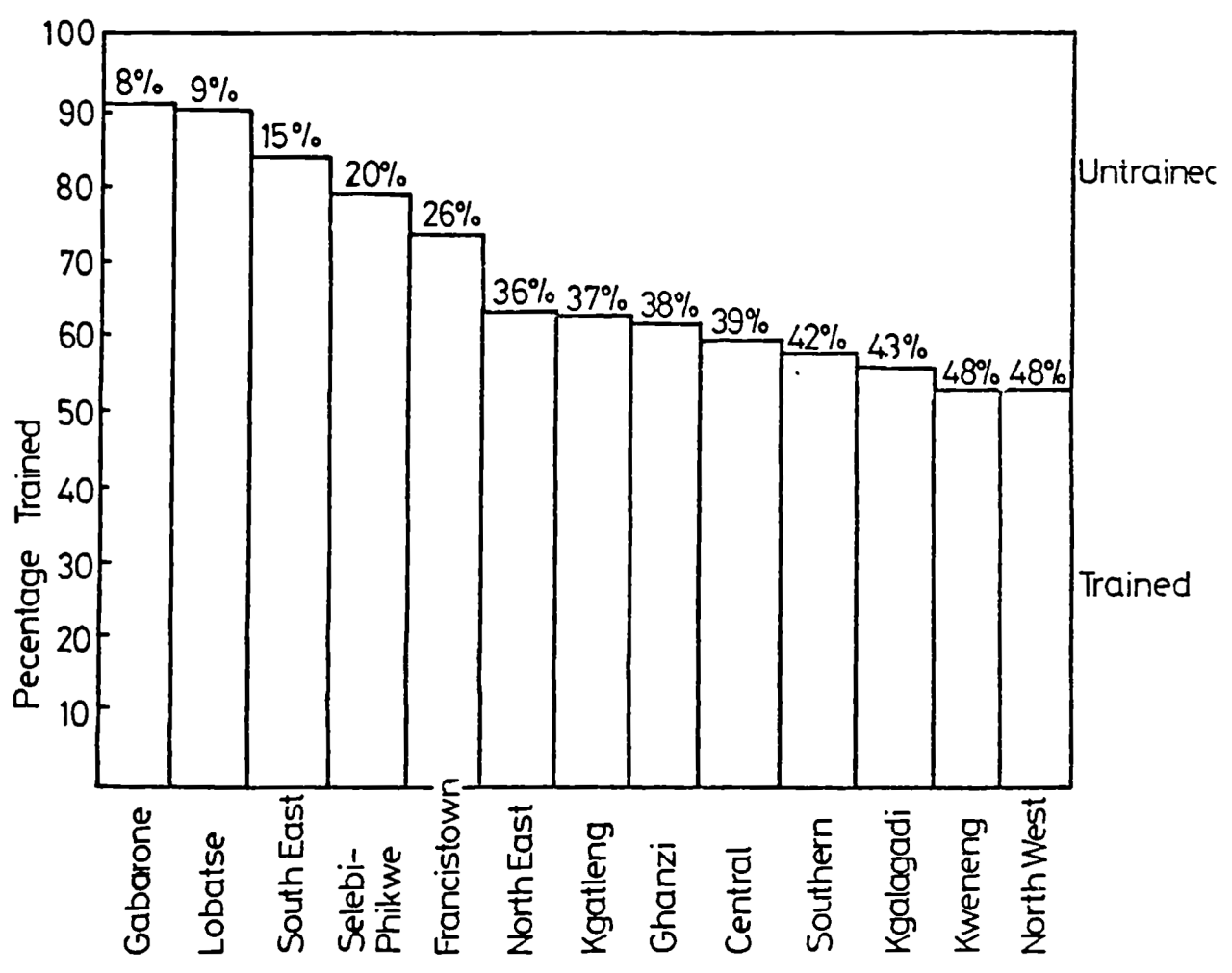
Source: Botswana Government 1972

Figure 6.6 Trained and Untrained Teachers by Settlement Size, 1975



Source: Botswana Government 1977A, Vol.2.

Figure 6.7 Trained and Untrained Teachers by District, 1979



Source: Botswana Government, 1980.

in 1973, compared with 35% in 1979) the shortfall was shared more evenly throughout the districts. The coefficient of variation in the proportion of classrooms required was 52% in 1971, 41% in 1973, 38% in 1975 and 36% in 1979. Much of the improvement is due to the ARDP (Table 6.8).

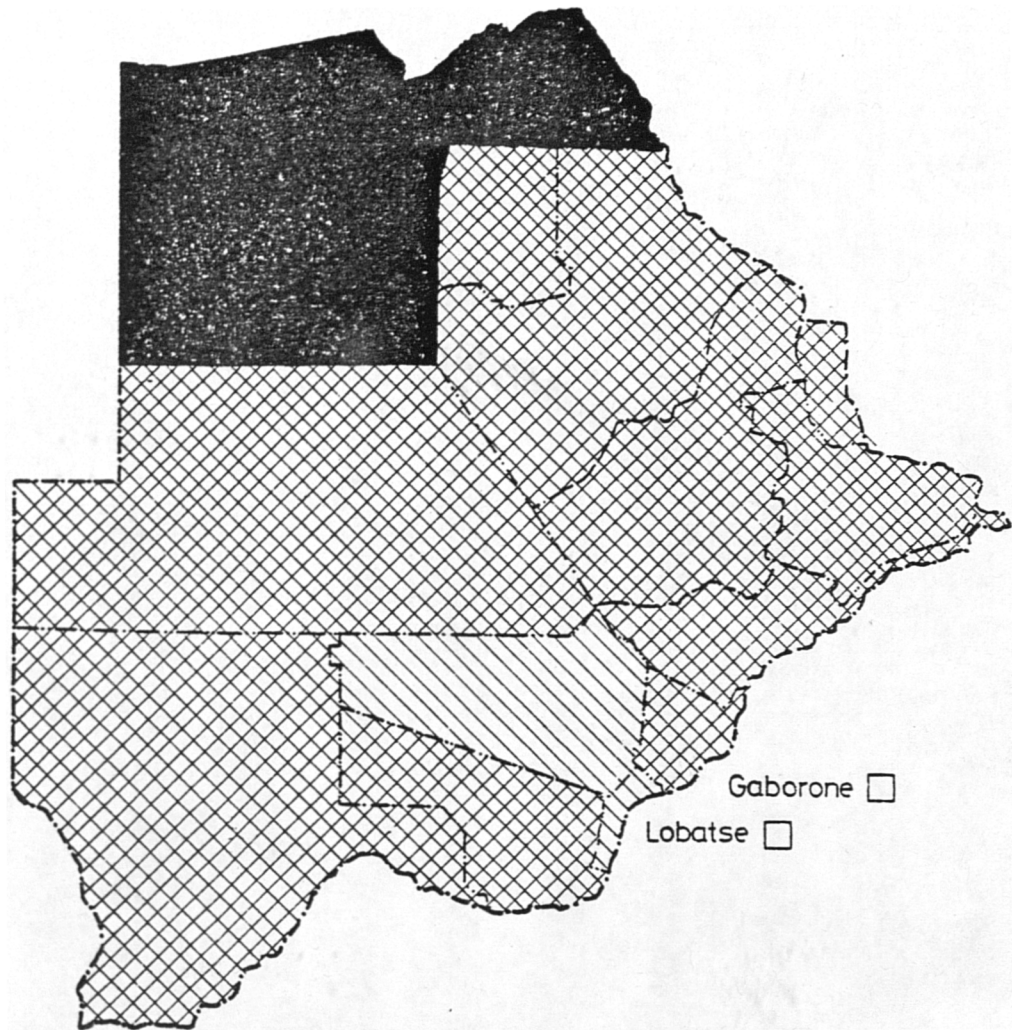
Although resources in the form of qualified teachers and classrooms are more evenly distributed, the proportion of 'A' grade passes at the PSLE have become less evenly distributed. The coefficient of variation for grade 'A' passes was 64% in 1971, 74.5% in 1974 and 79% in 1978. 37.3% of school leavers in Lobatse achieved an 'A' pass, compared with 2.7% in the North West (Table 6.9 and Map 6.1).

Table 6.8 Classroom Construction and Fund Allocation by Area 1977/78

Area	% of Total Population	% of Total Schools	% of Total Funds for Primary School Construction 1977-78	% of Class-rooms needed as proportion of Total Classes 1979	% of Class-rooms complete at end of 1977/78 Construction Programme
Central	42	38	40.5	38	10
Southern	15	11.4	16.3	41	58
Kweneng	12	10.7	14.6	34	22
Ghanzi	2	2.7	4.2	14	50
North West	10	7.6	6.9	49	0
North East	5	8.3	6.3	18	0
South East	4	3.4	4.4	25	60
Kgalagadi	3	5.5	2.8	49	25
Kgatleng	6	6.9	3.5	32	88

Source: Compiled from data in Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Report to the Swedish International Development Authority, July 1978.

Map 6.1 Proportion of 'A' Grades at the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination, by Area



Key: % of 'A' Grades at the Primary School Leaving Examination as a proportion of Total Grades

30-40%	□
20-29%	▨
10-19%	▩
5-9%	⊠
4 and below	■

Source: derived from data in Primary School Leaving Examination, 1978, Ministry of Education.

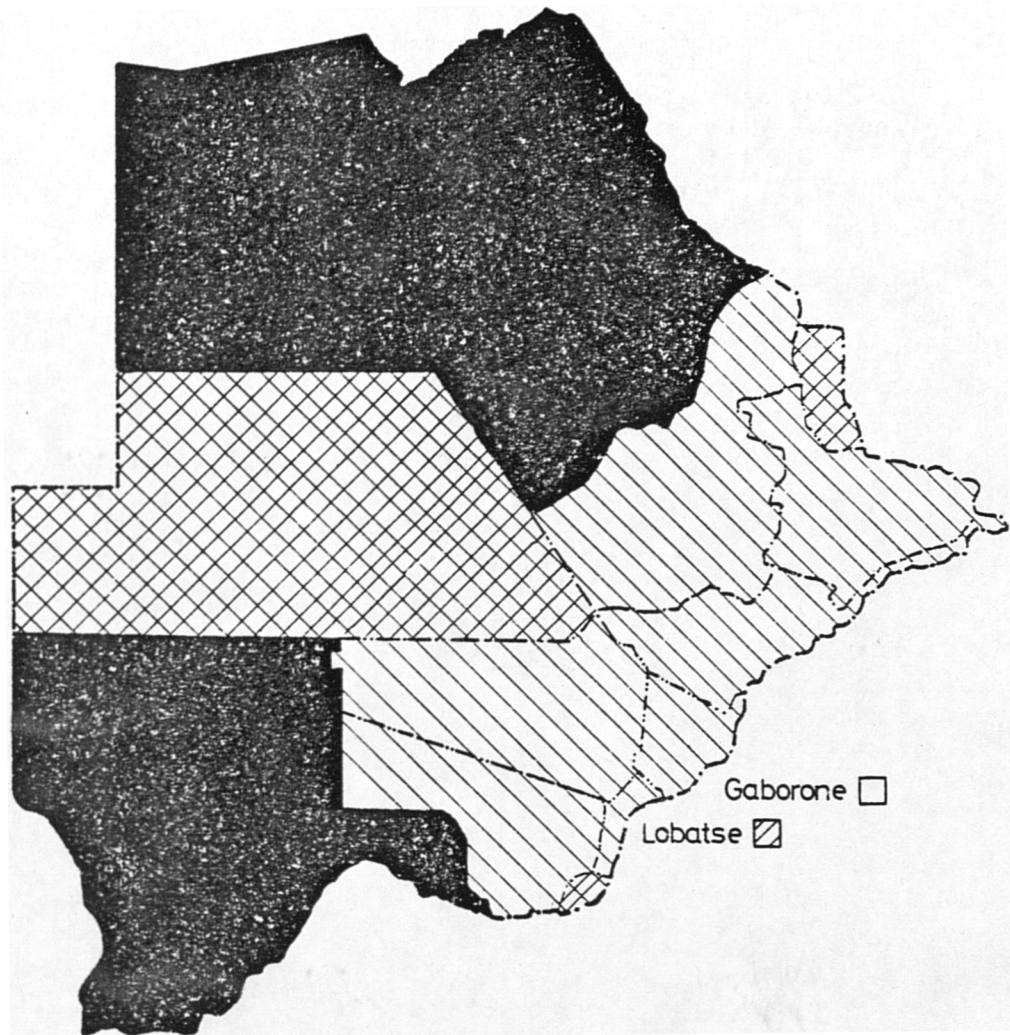
Table 6.9 Proportion of Standard 7 Leavers with an 'A' Pass at the PSLE, by Area, 1968-72 and 1978, and Proportion of Standard 7 Leavers continuing to Secondary School

Area	% with 'A' Pass, Average for 1968-72	% with 'A' Pass, 1978	Difference 1968-72/1978	% of Standard 7 Leavers going to Secondary School Average for 1969-71
Gaborone	20.4	30.4	+10	36.3
Lobatse	15.6	37.3	+21.7	29.3
Francistown	14.7	13.7	- 1.0	35.3
South East	14.1	18.6	+ 4.5	18.9
Central	8.2	8.0	- 0.2	22.7
Kweneng	7.8	12.6	+ 4.8	34.6
Kgatleng	7.1	8.0	+ 0.9	28.0
North East	5.7	9.6	+ 3.9	17.8
Southern	4.3	6.4	+ 2.1	22.7
Ghanzi	3.9	6.2	+ 2.3	12.9
Kgalagadi	3.1	7.6	+ 4.5	13.9
North West	2.0	2.7	+ 0.7	16.5
	—	—	—	—
National Average	8.2	13.4	+ 5.2	24.0
	—	—	—	—

Source: compiled from data in Primary School Leaving Examination, 1978, Ministry of Education and Education Statistics, Ministry of Education.

The proportion of attenders in post-primary facilities is shown, by attender's district of origin in Map 6.2

Map 6.2 Proportion of School Attenders at Post-Primary Facilities,
by Area of Origin



Key: % of School Attenders at Post Primary Institutions
as a Proportion of all Attenders

- 15.1% and above
- 10.1 - 15%
- 7.6 - 10%
- 5.1 - 7.5%
- 5.0 and below

Source: Compiled from data in Botswana Government, 1972.

Table 6.10 Proportion of School aged Population enroled, and Ratio of Boys to Girls enroled, by Area, 1971

Area	% Children enroled in 1971 as a Proportion of the 1971 Population aged 5-14	Number of Boys per 100 Girls
Gaborone	80.9	84
Ghanzi	72.8	109
Francistown	69.2	77
Lobatse	68.0	87
North East	64.0	108
South East	54.8	74
Kgatleng	54.5	71
Central-Serowe	52.0	93
Central-Mmadinare	51.0	90
Central-Mahalapye	49.8	83
Chobe	39.1	157
Kgalagadi	33.5	93
Ngwaketse	32.5	64
Central-Letlekhane	32.4	129
Kweneng	30.7	62
Ngamiland (North West)	29.5	105
	—	—
National Average	44.8	84
	—	—

Source: Derived from data in Botswana Government, 1972.

The relationship between the provision of qualified teachers and results at the PSLE is not clear. There was a reasonably high correlation (+.53) between the proportion of trained teachers and the proportion of grade 'A' PSLE passes in 1978. The situation is complicated as qualified teachers are posted to remote areas for two years after graduation, where schools are disadvantaged in terms of equipment and where there may be little tradition of attending school.

The 1971 census suggests that a smaller number of children attend school than does the Ministry of Education. The census figures show a great deal of variation in the proportion of the primary school age group enrolled, from 80.9% in Gaborone to only 29.5% in Ngamiland (Table 6.10). The ratio of boys to girls also varies considerably, from 157 boys to 100 girls in Chobe, to 62 boys to 100 girls in Kweneng (Table 6.10).

In those cases with a low enrolment ratio, a large proportion of the adult population had also never been to school. 60% of the variation ($r^2 = (+.770)^2$) in enrolment rates is explained by the regression on the enrolment rates of the adult population (calculated from 1971 Census data) (Table 6.11). There was a weak correlation between the enrolment rate of primary school aged children and the proportion of miners in the population ($r = + 0.11$). It has been suggested that boys take over the tasks of absent miners and therefore enrolment rates are affected. Also miners tend to have little education compared with the rest of the population and therefore are not likely to have children with above average levels of education.

The proportion of miners in the population, however, does appear to affect the boy:girl ratio in school. 53% of the variation in the sex ratio is explained by the regression on the proportion of miners in the population ($r^2 = (+.73)^2$). In Chobe with 157 boys attending for every 100 girls, miners constituted 0.7% of the population; in the Kweneng, with 62 boys attending for every 100 girls, miners constituted 8% of

the population (see Maps 6.3 and 6.4).

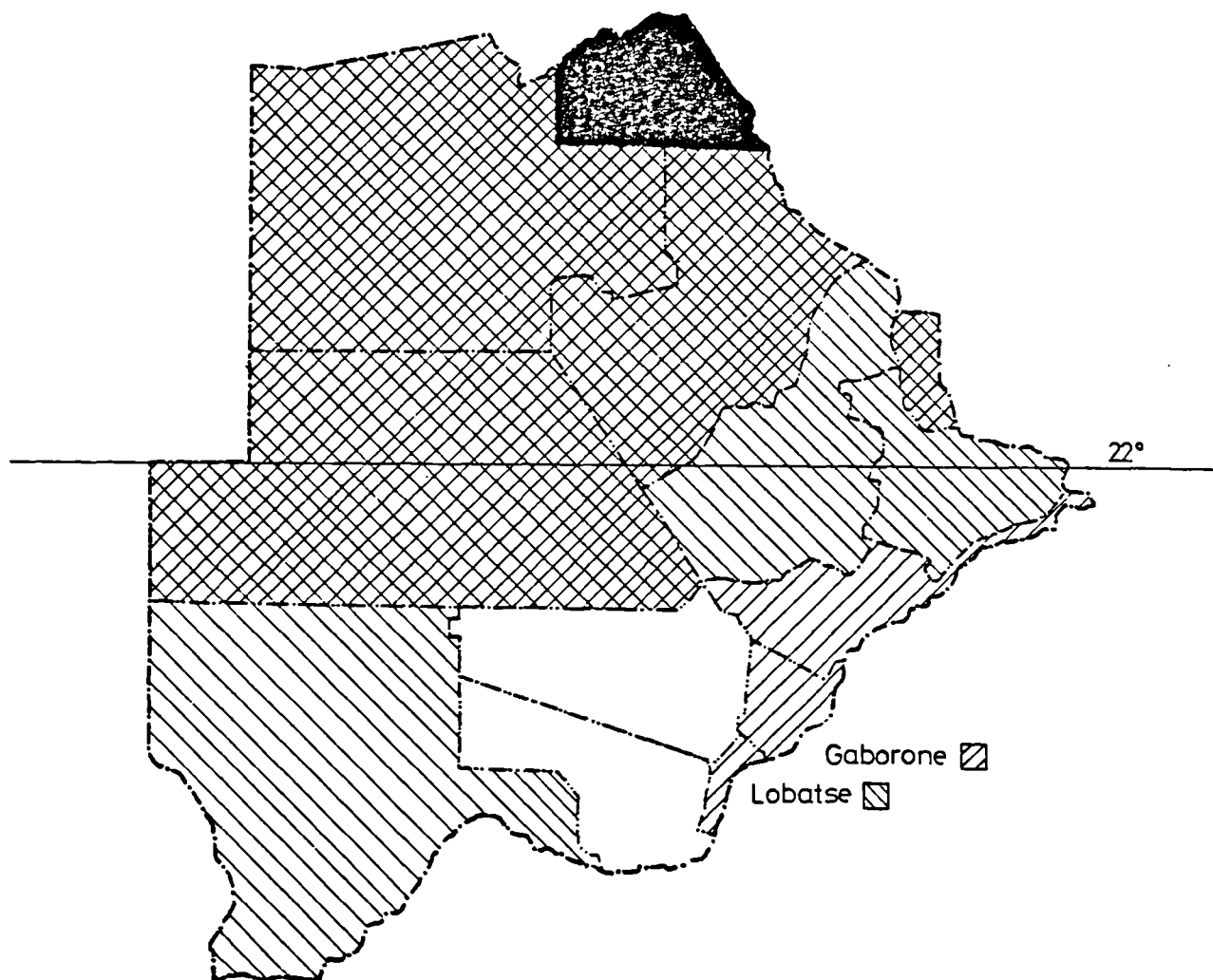
There was no correlation between enrolment and the proportion of the population living outside villages, at cattleposts and lands. Also there was a weak correlation between the ratio of boys enrolled and the proportion of the population living at cattleposts ($r = + 0.19$). It can be suggested that as the population lives at the cattleposts there is no need to send boys there to herd.

Table 6.11 Proportion of 1971 Population which has never attended School, and proportion of Total Population at Primary School in 1971, by Area

Area	% of Population never at School	% of Population at Primary School 1971
Gaborone	40.2	16.1
Lobatse	46.8	16.0
Francistown	49.4	16.3
North East	55.0	21.1
South East	61.0	17.7
Kgatleng	62.7	17.7
Central-Mmadinare	63.7	14.7
Central-Serowe	66.0	15.4
Central-Mahalapye	67.8	12.7
Chobe	68.5	10.9
Ngwaketse	73.9	10.5
Kgalagadi	74.3	10.4
Kweneng	76.9	9.7
Ghanzi	79.5	6.0
Ngamiland (N.W.)	80.0	7.8
Central-Letlekhane	81.4	8.8
	—	—
	67.5	12.9
	—	—

Source: Derived from data in Botswana Government, 1972.

Map 6.3 Boy:Girl Ratio in School, by District

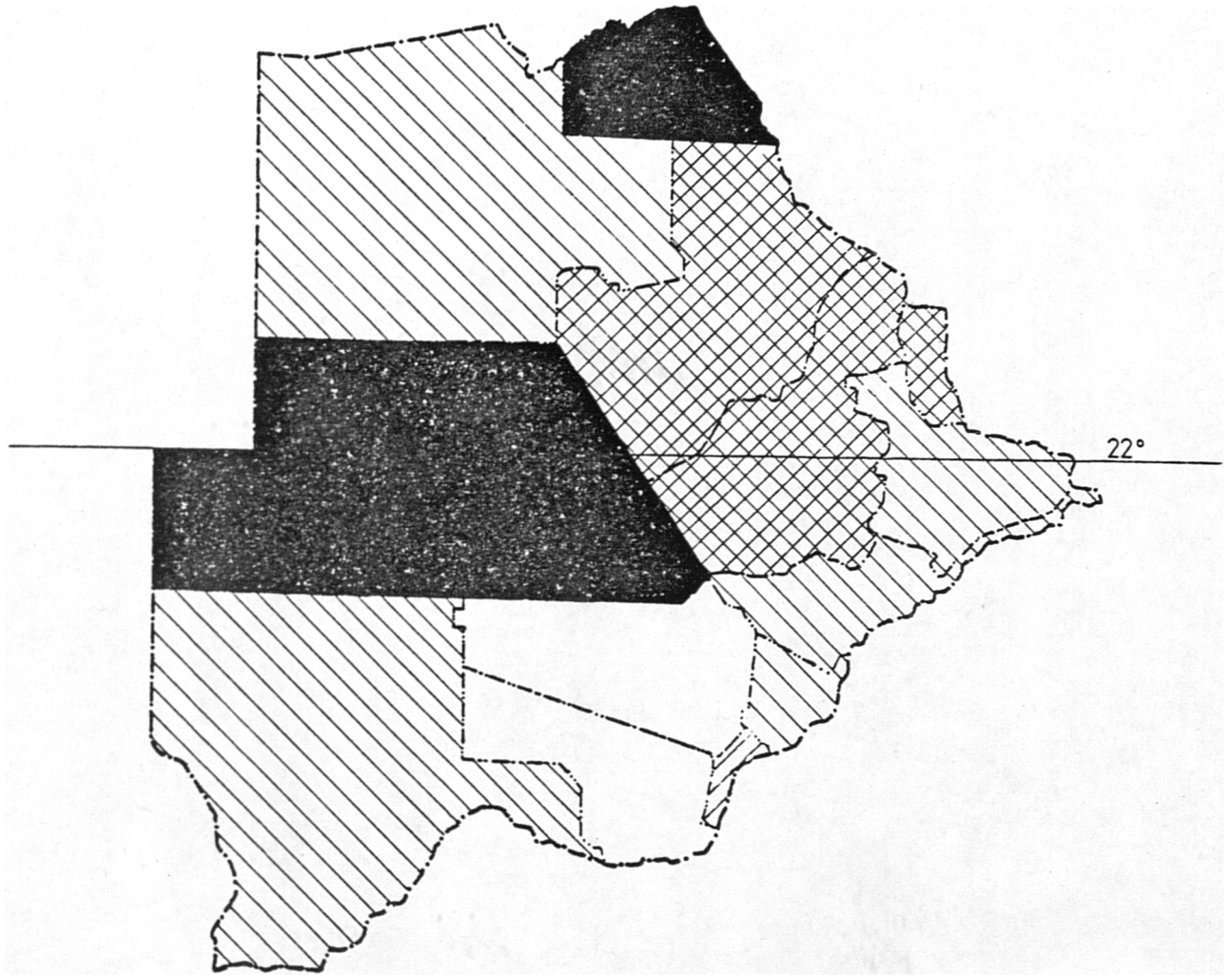


Key: Number of Boys per 100 Girls enrolled

65 and below	□
66 - 85	▧
86 - 105	▨
106 - 150	▩
151 and above	■

Source: Derived from data in Botswana Government, 1972

Map 6.4 Miners as a Proportion of the Population, by District



Key: % Miners as a Proportion of Total Population

- 7.6% and above
- 5.1 - 7.5%
- 2.6 - 5.0%
- 1.0 - 2.5%
- 0.9% and below

Source: Derived from data in Botswana Government, 1972

Summary

Two points emerge from the discussion of education at the District level. One is that a distribution of educational facilities to produce greater equality is hindered by the power struggle between local and central government and by their often conflicting interests. The second is whether a more equitable distribution of resources has the effect of producing a more equitable distribution of access to formal sector jobs, and hence to a more equitable distribution of income.

Speculation may be put forward as to why the Councils have survived, given that they have been severely criticised, that their initial autonomy has virtually disappeared, and that Central Government's commitment to decentralized decision making is ambiguous. It can be suggested that the Councils are part of the "style" of politics in a country proud of its open, liberal reputation. The Councils represent "symbolic" political activity (Edelman, 1970, p.5). The political elite in Gaborone is willing to leave the day-to-day running of the country to administrators (Gunderson, 1971; Vengroff, 1972) and the structure of local government is the outcome of a power struggle between administrators at the MFDP and the MLGL. The ambiguity of the Central Government, together with the wish not to create a particularly strong (and hence potentially oppositional) structure at the local level, have resulted in the Councils having little power and poor quality staffing.

However, the Councils have responsibilities - most importantly in the present context, for the building, organisation and maintenance of primary schools. Councils have responsibility without power and without adequate resources.

The differing interests of the Central Government and of Central

District Council were seen with regard to the building of schools outside villages. A policy change from a situation where relatively large schools are located in permanent settlements is essential if all children are to have the opportunity to attend school. The Government, whilst appearing committed to the provision of schools in small villages and lands areas is slow to issue directives to that end, and continues to allocate large sums to the post-primary sector and to large settlements. The Councils are resisting any legitimisation of the changed and changing settlement pattern, and continue to penalise those moving down the spatial hierarchy. The Education Department has reported the large numbers of children living outside the reach of schools, and the TGLP has highlighted the numbers living in the Sandveldt. For the Government, committed to the cattle industry and therefore to the better management embodied in commercial ranching, the population resident in commercial zones is an embarrassment.

Analysis of the groups involved at the district level aids an understanding of the inefficiencies in the planning and implementation process. A more complex issue however, is whether policy designed to distribute schools and resources fairly between areas is the right policy to promote equality of opportunity. It was seen that Letlekhane, with a higher proportion of the population living within 8 kilometres of a school than in the other three sub-districts, has the lowest proportion of children at school. There was no correlation between the proportion of population living outside villages and enrolment. The more equitable spread of qualified teachers has not led to a more equitable distribution of 'A' and 'B' passes at the PSLE. Meanwhile, factors such as the boy:girl ratio in schools are affected by variables external to the school. Investigation at the village level is required to address the issue of the importance of factors external to the school system, (hence

Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

At the District level however, two explanations can be put forward for the failure to minimize inter- and intra-district inequalities. Either the attempt to balance resources between areas has been too piecemeal with inadequate investment; that is, the policy is right but there has been too little of it. Or, the problems of providing equality of access to education cannot be solved by policy external to the education system, but only by re-structuring certain aspects of society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE VILLAGE STUDY

The Village Study

Prior to arrival in Botswana, the Shoshong area had been chosen as a possible location for the village study. This was for two main reasons. Firstly, social science researchers have tended to concentrate in the south of the country, within a certain radius of Gaborone, whilst the Shoshong area was relatively unresearched. Secondly, as Shoshong was important to the pre-colonial history of Botswana, it was hoped that well established communities lived there. This was in fact the case.

As soon as possible after arrival in Botswana (i.e. in September 1978) contact was made with Mr. Monamoodi, Chief of Shoshong. He arranged accommodation for one year with one of the more influential families in the area. Shoshong therefore provided accommodation and a base for the entire period of fieldwork.

Living with the Mosinyi family over a length of time provided invaluable experience and welcome contact with a family and kinship structure. It was possible to observe at close quarters the organization of a household, domestic arrangements, relationships with other kin, and so on. A certain amount of time was spent at the beginning of the field-study period establishing contact with villagers, and finding a means of travelling around the area, before embarking on a structured household survey.

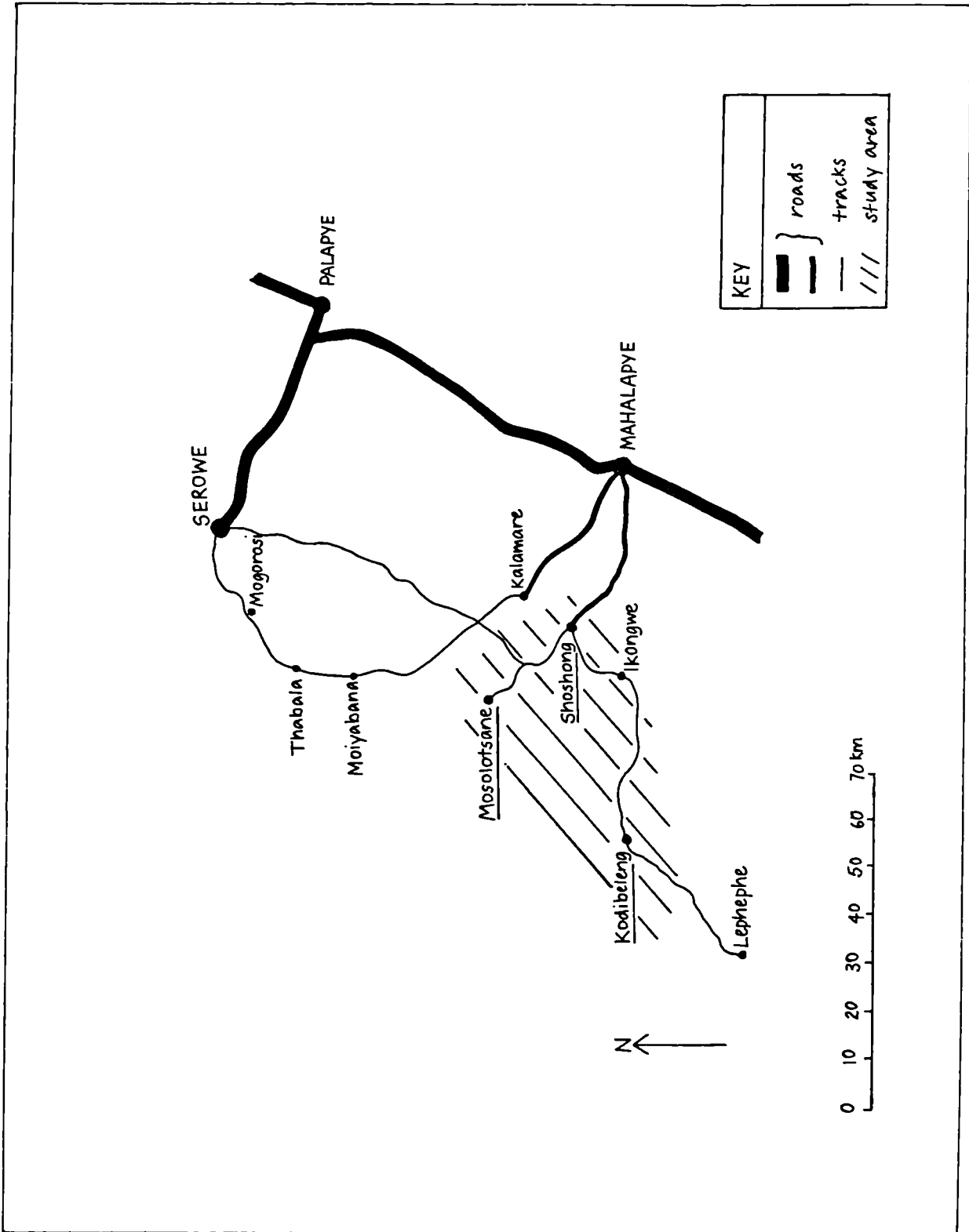
The Study Area

Shoshong is in Central District, approximately 40 km. west of Mahalapye. Mahalapye is on the main, tarred, north-south road route and also on the railway line. The road linking Shoshong to Mahalapye

was very poor until a new, though not tarred, road was opened in April 1979. Prior to this, Shoshong could be cut off in the rainy season. Further west of Shoshong the terrain becomes sandier and the roads are simply tracks cut out by the small amount of traffic, usually farmers on their way to the cattlepost, or cattle traders. To the north of Shoshong, immediately behind the village are a range of low hills which cut the village off from Kalamare, and which are not penetrable except on foot.

The villages of Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng were chosen as sites for data collection in addition to Shoshong, as the four schools in the area are located in these three settlements. Map 7.1 shows the study area, and the other villages in the vicinity. The 'Guide to Villages' 1973 and the Population Census, 1971, give statistical data for the area. Shoshong is by far the largest village in the study area, with a de facto population of 3,138, a de jure population of 7,010 and with 498 of its 735 dwellings occupied. The Guide to Villages lists 64 "localities" or satellite settlements for Shoshong, 27 of these localities are in census areas 60, 61, 62 and 63, which form the lands area closest to Shoshong. (Map 7.2 shows the census area, and Table 7.1 the population of each.) The remaining localities are in census areas 31 and 33. 15 of the 64 localities, or 23%, have a borehole, 14 or 21% a well, 5 are on the site of a pan and one has a dam. Thus 44% of the sites have a permanent source of water and are equipped to attract a permanently settled population. Some of the localities are very small; 29 have 10 or fewer dwellings, 24 have between 11 and 40, and 3 have more than this, with the largest at Ikongwe, with 65 dwellings. (There is no information for 8 of the localities.)

Mosolotsane is approximately 25 km. north west of Shoshong and is



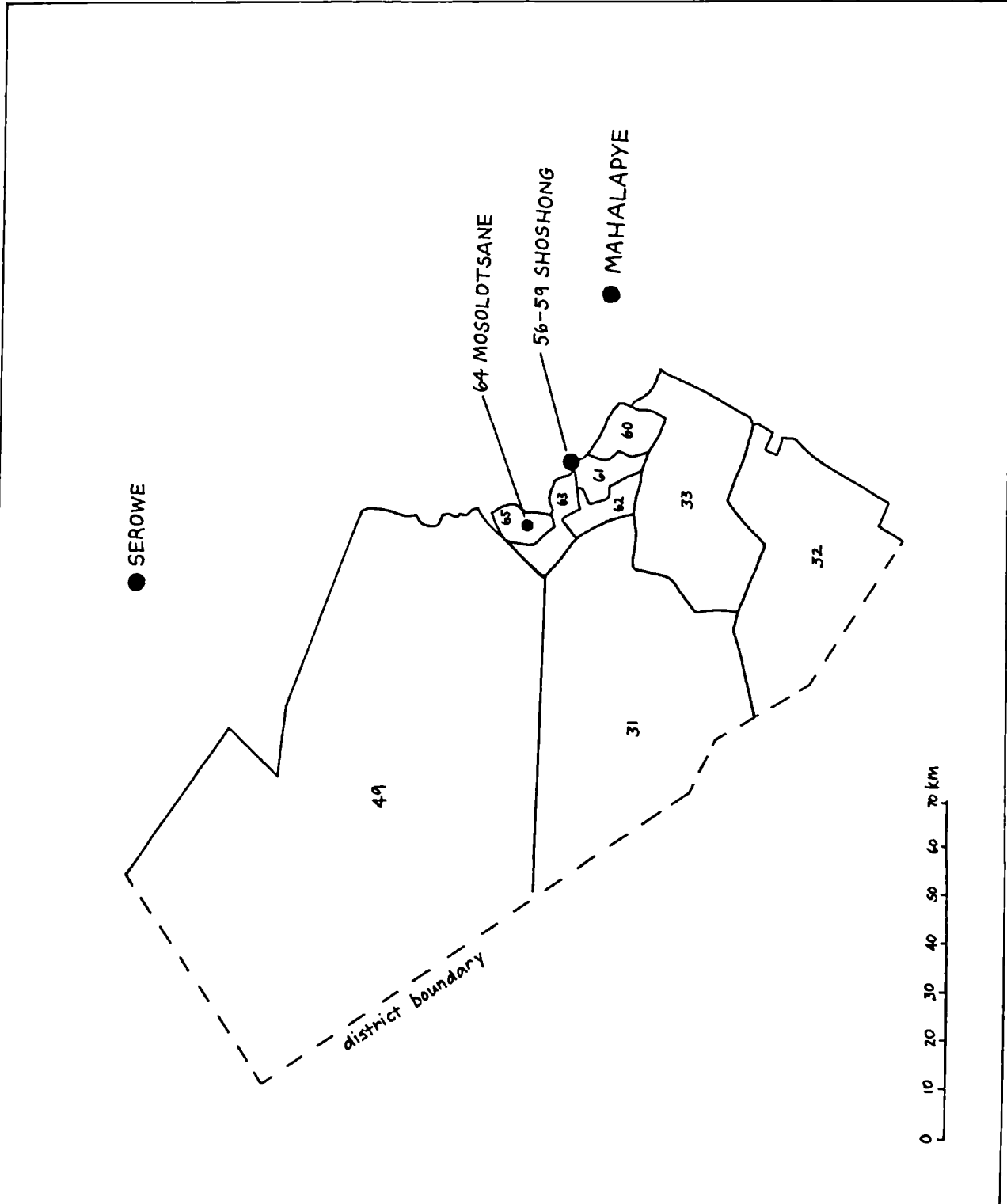
Map 7.1.1 The Study Area

described in the Guide as a village in its own right. It has a population of 690 and 159 dwellings, of which 111 are occupied. Its lands area, census district 65, has a population of 379, in 3 localities.

Kodibeleng is named as Kudubeleng in the Guide to Villages. It is approximately 45 km. south west of Shoshong, in census area 31. In the Guide it is included twice, both as a cattlepost for Mahalapye, with 26 dwellings and no water supply, and as a locality for Shoshong, with 24 dwellings and a well. It does in fact have a well, and rather more than 26 dwellings. Kodibeleng is not officially a 'village', and there are no population figures available. It is not listed at all in the population census, though it can be assumed that its population is included with that of Lepephe. The census gives Lepephe a population of 1,355 but the Guide lists only 7 dwellings there, with no all season water supply.

Kodibeleng's population is therefore not known. Indeed, as a 'non-village', it would be difficult to know exactly which settlements to include as part of its population. Kodibeleng is comprised of several wards scattered over a wide area. However, it does function as a village, with one headman and a village 'centre' where the school and clinic are located. It is one of the few 'non-villages' to have a school. Kodibeleng was perceived by local people as a growing centre. Its estimated population (i.e. estimated by me) is approximately 500. It is difficult to get to, with one vehicle passing through the village about every ten days. (Kodibeleng will be described here as a village, despite the ambiguity surrounding its status.)

The terms 'village', 'lands' and 'cattlepost' are used to refer respectively to the main residence of the household, the area where the



Map 7.2 The 1971 Census Enumeration Districts in the Study Area

household grows its crops, and the area where cattle are kept. Generally, the household operates over three locations and may have dwellings in each. The winter is spent in the village; the women travel to the lands, or masimo, for the summer and the men travel periodically between the lands, cattlepost and village. If a household is not wealthy enough (and most are not), to pay herders, male members may be away at the cattlepost for months at a time.

An ideal model of the system of land use would be a series of concentric zones with the village in the centre, ringed by the lands and then by the cattleposts. In practice, topography, soil exhaustion and the presence of small settlements surrounded by their lands, in cattlepost areas, distort the pattern (see Figure 7.1).

Not all households conform to the three home model. This will be discussed at greater length later, but generally, whilst those tribes with right of residence in a main village such as Shoshong or Serowe may have lands and a cattlepost, other tribes, particularly the Bakgalagadi may only have one dwelling. That is they live in a 'village' (such as Kodibeleng) which is a cattlepost area and grow crops and keep cattle close to the village.

Thus for different individuals the same locality may be described variously as lands, cattlepost or village, depending on how they use it. Also an area may be officially designated as of one type, but locally defined as another. The picture is further complicated by the fact that some households are moving to live permanently at their lands and cattleposts. This is discussed in Chapter 9, whilst the problems for the government of a changing settlement pattern were discussed above. There are therefore at least four different groups: firstly those with three dwellings, and operating over three locations; secondly, those who have

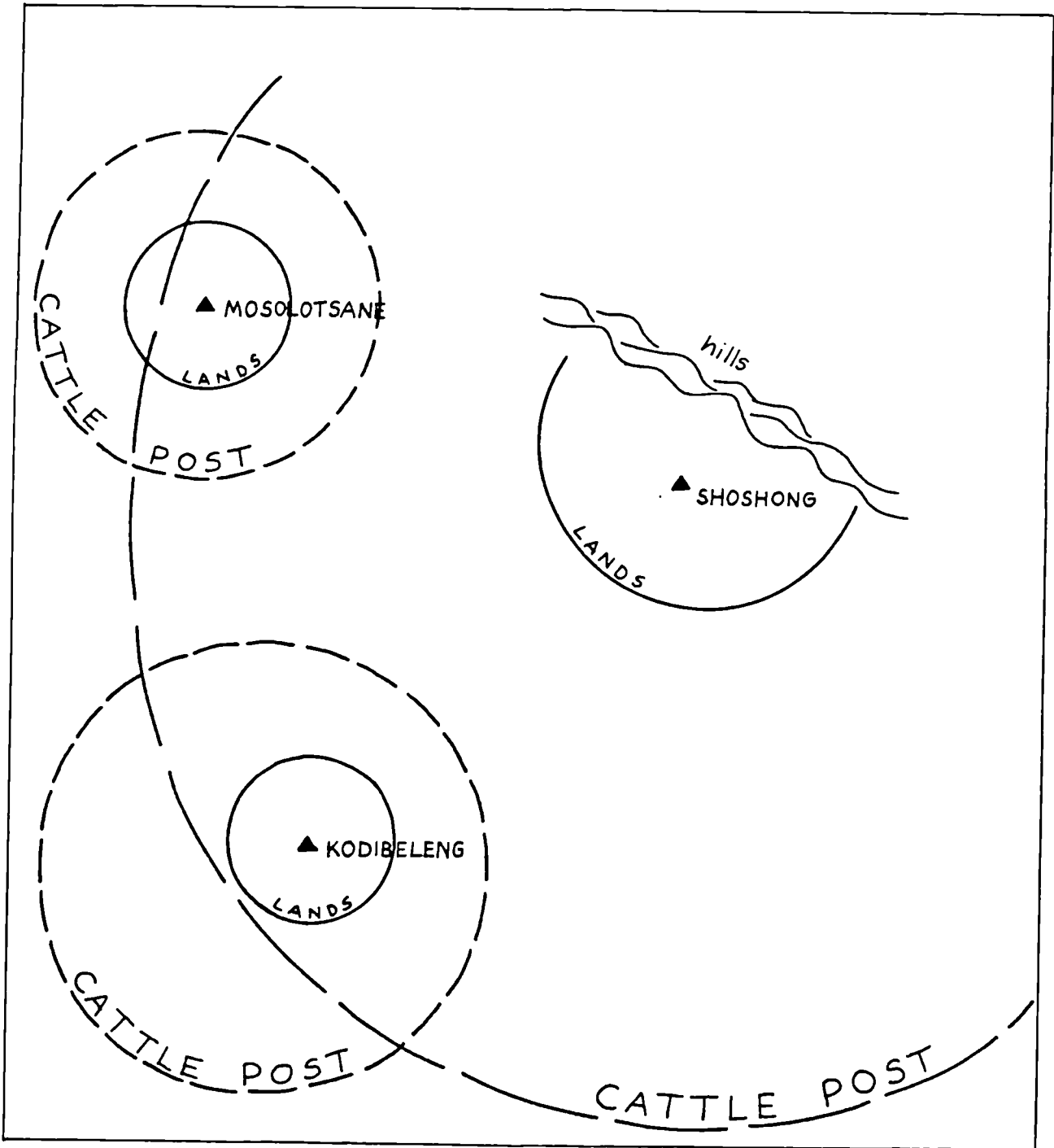


Figure 7.1 A Model of Land Use

withdrawn from crop growing due to opportunities in waged employment but who retain a cattlepost; thirdly, those who have their lands and cattlepost close to the village and therefore have only one home; fourthly, those who have moved permanently from a village to base themselves at the lands or cattlepost.

In summary, Shoshong (census areas 56-59) and Mosolatsane (census area 64) are the only settlements in the area officially defined as villages. They have a combined population of 3,822. Census areas 60, 61, 62, 63 and 65 comprise lands areas, with a population of 1,953. The areas 31, 32, 33 and 49 are cattlepost areas, although area 49 also includes lands areas, with a total population of 5,150. Areas 31 and 49 stretch out into the Kalahari desert and include the cattleposts of some of Serowe's wealthy farmers. It could be said that of a total population of 11,474, 33.5% are village dwellers, 49.5% cattlepost dwellers, and 17% lands dwellers. It must be remembered that the 1971 census was the first to enumerate people according to where they were at the time of the census, not according to where they 'belonged'. Most importantly, the census was carried out in the winter months, when there was no crop growing activity at the lands and when those with a village home would be expected to be there.

Table 7.1 Study Area Population, 1971

Census Area	Type of Settlement	Number of dwellings	% occupied	Population
56-59	Village (Shoshong)	735	67%	3,132
60	Lands	122	38%	406
61	Lands	172	26%	334
62	Lands	154	33%	440
63	Lands	201	44%	394
64	Village (Mosolotsane)	159	69%	690
65	Lands	38	84%	379
31	Cattlepost (including Kodibeleng)	278	83%	1,355
32	Cattle Post	340	82%	2,044
33	Cattle Post	266	81%	1,168
49	Cattle Post/Lands	268	39%	583

Source: 1971 Population Census

Data Collection

A range of data collection activities was undertaken in Botswana. Time was spent in the National Archives in Gaborone, and in the Central District Council and Education Department Offices in Serowe. However, the main data collection activities occurred in the village study area. Central to the village study was a structured household survey, which was supported by four other means of collecting data, a children's questionnaire, a headmaster's questionnaire, school registers and participant observation.

1. The Household Survey

The aim of the household survey (hereafter referred to as 'the survey') was to compare the three villages, Shoshong, Kodibeleng and Mosolotsane, in terms of wealth, income sources, school enrolment, migration, tribal origins and social structure. To collect the data a questionnaire was designed (see Appendix A) for mothers with primary school aged children. By interviewing mothers with primary school aged children, it was hoped to include as many children of that age range as possible, so as to identify children who may not be attending school and to compare them with those who were attending.

The questionnaire was not finalized until three months had been spent in the village. This time was necessary to ensure that the 'right' questions were asked, to make diplomatic visits to the other villages and to enable villagers to grow accustomed to me. The questionnaire was translated into Setswana, and a Setswana speaker with good English then translated it back into English, and any corrections to the Setswana made. Two villagers who had received some secondary schooling were employed to

assist. One worked with me in Shoshong and Kodibeleng and the other with me in Mosolotsane. They were also involved in framing the questions. The questionnaire was piloted in Shoshong and some alterations made.

In Shoshong, households were chosen at timed intervals on straight lines walking from the centre of the village, taking into account population density and relative size of the three main wards. In Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng a sample was taken from each of the wards. Most households had primary school aged children; those which did not but which were selected were not interviewed.

The interviews were usually conducted in the household's compound and took between one and two or more hours. The main respondent (the mother) answered questions put by one of my two helpers from the Setswana version of the questionnaire, of which there was one copy. I also had the English version, and would write down replies in a notebook. Each interview was written out again, in the evening, with any other observations.

No households refused to take part and 102 households were included, which gave data on 1065 individuals. Detailed data were collected on each household's cattle ownership and management, crop production, etc. Also, details were collected about each individual in terms of educational, occupational and migration history, plus the usual demographic data, age, sex, marital status and relationship between each member of the household. A section of the questionnaire included questions on the mother's attitude to schooling.

A small number of households were contacted at Tobela, a lands area to the east of Shoshong. Tobela was within a day's journey of Shoshong, but Kodibeleng and Mosolotsane were lived in for the duration of the field-work there. It was usually not possible to carry out more than three

interviews per day, due not only to the amount of time which the interview took, but also by the pre- and post hospitality, and by the time taken to walk to some of the locations. In Kodibeleng several hours walking lay between wards, and in Mosolotsane data was also collected at a small hamlet, Mmanakalengwe, an hour's walk from Mosolotsane.

On returning to England, the data were coded, transferred to case cards for each individual and each household, and then placed on computer file. SPSS was used to analyse the data. All tables in the text, unless stated otherwise, are taken from the household survey data. The respondents are referred to as 'the mothers' and their husbands as 'the fathers'.

Table 7.2 Number of Individuals included in the Survey, by sex

	Shoshong	Tobela	Mosolotsane	Kodibeleng	Total
Male	158	16	169	151	494
Female	194	20	198	159	571
Total	352	36	367	310	1,065

Table 7.3 Number of individuals included in the Survey, by age group

Age Group ¹	Shoshong and Tobela		Mosolotsane		Kodibeleng		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-6	62	15.9	83	22.5	53	17.1	199	18.5
7-14	95	24.3	87	23.6	70	22.6	253	23.6
15-21	56	14.4	49	13.3	49	16.1	156	14.5
22-40	100	25.8	88	23.9	75	24.2	265	24.7
41-60	52	13.4	50	13.8	46	14.8	150	13.9
61-80	23	6.0	10	2.7	13	4.2	47	4.3
81+	0	-	0	-	2	0.6	2	0.18
TOTAL	388	100	367	100	310	100	1065	100

1. These age groups were chosen as relevant to schooling; i.e. the primary age range is defined officially as 7-14, whilst the 15-21 age group could be expected still to be in some form of education.

2. The Children's Questionnaire

116 school pupils were interviewed individually in their schools in Kodibeleng and Mosolotsane, and asked 20 questions (see Appendix B). The aim was to assess the amount of work which they performed in the household, whether they had siblings not attending school, and their aspirations for secondary school and jobs. A further aim was to supplement the household survey. Questions were asked about cattle, ploughing, and lands. Some households which were included in the household survey also had one or more of their children interviewed, which provided a cross-checking of information. Children were only interviewed in Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng, not Shoshong.

3. School Registers

A large amount of information was contained in the registers of the four schools. In addition to attendance rates and age and sex of the child, they contained data on the household head's sex, occupation and relationship to the pupil, reason for pupil's absence, and for ex-pupils, reason for leaving. (These data are used in Chapter 8.)

4. The Headteacher's Questionnaire

In order to assess the extent to which the four schools in the study area were typical, a short questionnaire in the form of a letter was sent to all 130 headteachers in Central District. 52 (40%) replied, providing useful comparative and anecdotal material (see Appendix C). (These data are used in Chapter 8.)

5. "Participant Observation"

Considerable time was spent in the villages, at the lands and cattle

Table 7.4

Tribal structure of the three Villages

%	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>		<u>Kodibeleng</u>	
	Household Survey N = 388	Household Survey N = 367	Children's Questionnaire	Household Survey N = 310	Children's Questionnaire
Bangwato	12.5		2		2
Bokaa	37.5	5.0	3		
Baphaleng	50.0	12.5	11		
Bakgalagadi		62.5	65	92.6	89
Bakalaka		10.0	10	7.4	6
Basarwa		2.5			
Batswapong		2.5			3
Bapedi		2.5	2		
Herero			7		
	100	100	100	100	100

Source: The Household Survey and the Children's Questionnaire

posts, attending the Kgotla, PTA and Botswana Council of Women (BCW) meetings, talking to teachers and other officials (agricultural Demonstrators, Family Welfare Educators, Tribal Administration staff) and generally observing rural life.

Problems

Whilst the coverage of the household survey in the smaller villages was adequate (in Mosolotsane data were collected on 367 individuals from a population of approximately 700 and in Kodibeleng on 310 from a population of approximately 500), the coverage in Shoshong was less adequate, (only 352 out of a population of approximately 3,000). In Shoshong a proportionate quota sample was made from each tribe.

Although Setswana was learnt, fluency could not be claimed. There was bias therefore towards the views of English speakers, whilst interpreters were depended upon to explain nuances, ambiguities and complicated phraseology.

Transport in the study area was a problem. Few villagers had access to vehicles and roads were poor or non-existent. The area was toured variously with the district nurse, the councillor and a cattle trader. Extensive travelling in the bush to assess the numbers living outside the villages and outside the reach of schools was not possible, whilst the National Migration Survey was designed to carry out that task.

An Historical Outline of the Area

The survey found nine different tribal groups in the area. Their present location is the result of the history of the past 230 years. Each tribe has a specific socio-economic relationship to the others. The area was first inhabited by the Basarwa, or bushmen, who were pushed west and northwards by the Bakgalagadi. The Bakgalagadi - a blanket term meaning "people of the Kgalagadi" - were in turn pushed west and northwards by the other Batswana tribes which had wandered from the Tswana heartland of the Transvaal. The Bokaa regard themselves as the first settlers in the area, circa 1750. After the Bokaa ("people of Kaa") split from the Rolong, they moved northwards, attracted by the line of low hills surrounded by a large plain. A gorge in the hills yielded a constant water supply, whilst the hills, complete with caves, were useful for defence.

The Bangwato arrived in 1770, by which time the Baphaleng had also settled. A great deal of fusion and fission took place in Tswana tribes during this time; the Bokaa and Bangwato were at times enemies and at times allies. The Bangwato left Shoshong for a time and wandered northwards, past present day Serowe to Mosu, where Khama the Great was born. Seeking refuge from the Matabele they returned to the Shoshong hills in 1838. The Bangwato were always regarded as the dominant group of the three tribes.

During the first half of Khama's reign, Shoshong was the centre of the most important kingdom in the territory, later to become Botswana. As the Bangwato capital it attracted the early traders and missionaries who ventured northwards from the Cape. In 1832 the trader Hume spent time there, and in 1842 Livingstone arrived. He noted,

"The Bokaa live on a very high range of dark coloured, naked basaltic rocks ... Directly in front the rocks are nearly 700 feet high and on top of them ... perched like eagles' nests (are) the little huts of the Bokaa."

(Livingstone, 1961, p.21)

Returning ten years later the number of huts had risen from 600 to 900 -

"There are at least 6000 souls in the locality" (Livingstone, 1961, p.190).

Livingstone identified Shoshong as an important staging post on the "Missionary Road to the North". He also noted that the "Bangwato have a habit of spreading themselves through the Bakalihari country and living for months among that people ... it seems a most desirable point for diffusing the knowledge of the gospel" (Livingstone, 1961, p.191). The Bangwato observed by Livingstone maintained cattle posts throughout the area, at which their Bakgalagadi and Basarwa serfs worked.

In June 1852 the adventurer James Chapman wrote that the "town" of Shoshong comprised 2000 huts, "built at the base of the very rugged Bangwato hills" (Chapman, 1968, p.49). By 1852 the villagers had moved down from the security of the hills, and the period of peace and prosperity was broken only by the final attack of the Matabele in 1863. In 1853 Chapman wrote that "the Bangwato are more a trading than a warlike people and desire to live at peace with the surrounding tribes" (Chapman, 1968, p.151). Shoshong entered a period of unparalleled prosperity, which was outlined above.

Rev. Schullenburg of the Hermansburg Mission was the first missionary to establish himself in Shoshong. He was joined by Mackenzie of the LMS in 1862. Schullenburg departed soon after Mackenzie's arrival, and the latter remained until 1876. He built a house, "more picturesque than symmetrical" (Mackenzie, 1871, p.249) in the mouth of the gorge, and also a church and school buildings, the foundations of which can still be seen.

In the 1860s Mackenzie estimated the village population as 30,000. In 1879 a traveller, Major Pinto put it at 15,000. However, in 1899 the site was abandoned as the water supply had become inconsistent. Chief Khama moved the entire village to Palapye, and then to the present capital, Serowe, in 1902. From Serowe Khama operationalized a decentralization policy, sending out population groups to fringe areas to prevent rival settlement from other tribes, to maintain wells, and to diffuse political power. He sent approximately 3000 people back to Shoshong in 1900, under the political leadership of his younger brother, Kgamane. The Kgamane family has dominated the political life of the village since that time.

In 1909 the LMS missionary Lloyd counted 1,600 Bokaa, 1,400 Baphaleng and a small number of Bangwato. The Bangwato ward occupied the centre of the village at the foot of the gorge, monopolizing access to the water emanating from it.

Other tribes in the area were not allowed to settle in the main village. The Bakgalagadi lived in small settlements on the edge of the sandveldt, congregating at the cattleposts of the dominant tribes. This settlement structure remains today. (Table 7.4)

The Bakgalagadi living in present Mosolotsane originated further south, from Lepephe. For the past 100 years this group has settled at various points along the 100 mile corridor between Lepephe to the south and Moiyabana in the north. They settled in or near the present site

in 1920. The Bakgalagadi under their chief Mabedi provided labour for the Bangwato under Khama. They were not allowed personal property in the form of cattle but were the 'badisa' (herdsmen) of the cattle belonging to the dominant groups in Shoshong. These cattle were used for ploughing and milk; subsistence was supplemented by hunting, but all skins had to be paid as tribute to Khama. Labour was organized by Khama in age-group regiments to carry out specific tasks, such as to dig and maintain wells.

Mosolotsane was consolidated as a village in the 1950s and today comprises seven wards, reflecting the different origins of the inhabitants (from Moiyabana, Lepephe, Thbala). The origins of the people now living in Kodibeleng are not known, but it is probable that they are of similar stock, as they had kin in Mosolotsane, Lepephe and Moiyabana.

The Bases of the Economy:

1. Cattle

Life in the villages revolves around cattle. On the economic level they provide the most flexible, versatile and durable form of investment. On a social level the large cattleowner is respected; he is able to confer patronage and favours to other members of the community. On a political level the large cattleowner gains access to power and influence in village affairs. Cattle and cattle affairs provide a constant source of conversation; cattle in themselves are seen as beautiful and worthy of praise. Everyone in the villages aspires to own cattle. Other aspirations (to become educated or employed) are means to the main goal of acquiring cattle. In 1854, Chapman wrote:

"All the natives love their cattle greatly. A wife may be maltreated by her husband without anyone interfering, but they exhibit the utmost concern and affection for their cattle, meeting them as they come to the fold and examining their condition."

(Chapman, 1971, p.191)

The emotional commitment to cattle is not to be minimized, but at times it can be overstated. Alverson, referring to Tswana poetry, has written "The cow is not here a saleable commodity, an item of exchange. It is an object of ecstasy" (Alverson, 1978, p.127).

The facts of the rate of cattle sales would, as Lucy Syson pointed out in her survey of stock sales in the Shoshong area, show that there is "no reluctance to sell cattle" (Syson, 1972, p.57). The sale and exchange of beasts within the villages was common. The sale and exchange of cattle was given impetus and a formal framework by the opening of the Lobatse **abattoir** in 1954, but export of cattle to South Africa from the area has occurred since the beginning of the century.

The prime importance of cattle therefore lies in their economic value whilst their social and political significance reinforce and reflect this. The monolithic importance of cattle to the household economy is not difficult to understand. The unfavourable physical environment renders crop growing a precarious occupation. A surplus of grain with which to trade is seldom, if ever, generated. During the colonial period the only major alternative to an income derived from cattle was that from migrant labour. The lack of viable alternatives to cattle herding remains in the post-colonial period. Cattle have a number of qualities which their cash or kind equivalents do not; cattle can be seen to multiply, they can be hired out in small units, they are essential for ploughing and can supply meat and milk.

The Shoshong area is well known for its cattle wealth. The area stretching from Shoshong to Serowe has numerous cattleposts; one reason

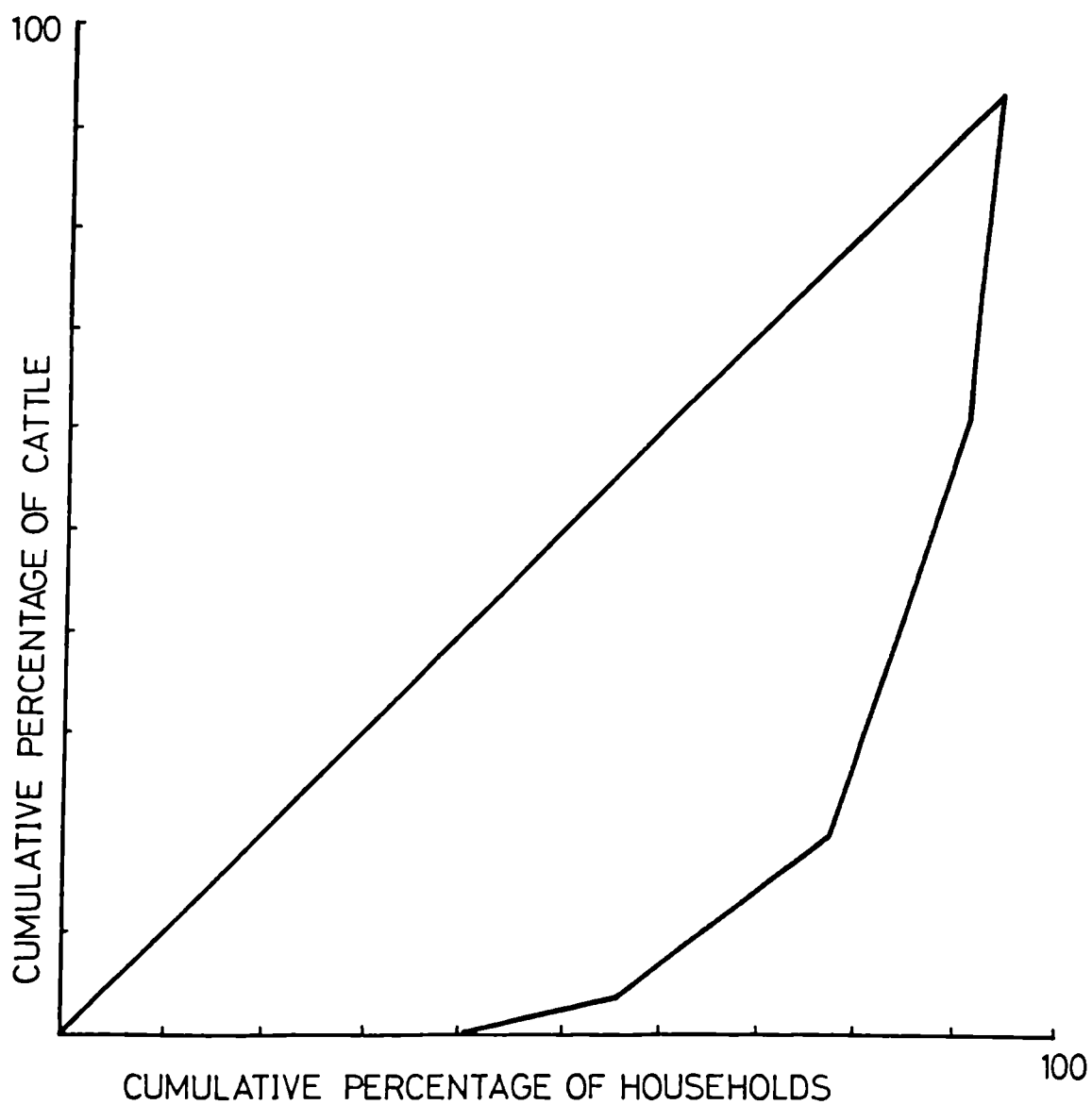
for this is the concentration of members of the wealthy Bangwato royal lineage. An Agricultural Survey carried out in 1968/9 found that the Shoshong area contained 68,175 cattle, 40,550 goats and 15,591 sheep. "Shoshong people are about three times as rich in cattle as the national average" (Fosbrooke, 1971, p.182). In the last century, Chief Tshwene of the Bokaa had 13 cattleposts around Shoshong with over 100 cattle at each. The richest man in Phaleng ward at the time of this survey owned 4000 head. As noted by all other village surveys, cattle ownership is highly uneven (Table 7.5 and Figure 7.2).

Table 7.5 Cattle Ownership in the three Villages

<u>No. of Cattle</u>	<u>% Households</u>		
	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
None	43.7	47.5	40.7
1-12	15.6	12.5	12.1
13-40	21.9	30.0	23.1
41-60	3.1	5.0	11.0
61-100	9.4	0	3.9
101+	6.2	2.0	9.1
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

The pyramid of ownership is characterized by a broad base of those with no cattle (44%) and a small apex of owners with large herds. The sample population does not reveal the full variation of cattle ownership which is found in Shoshong. The aristocratic families (or dikgosana) enjoyed a wealth in cattle which far surpassed that of the ordinary villager.

Figure 7.2 Lorenz Curve of Cattle ownership



GINI COEFFICIENT = 0.74

Cattle ownership in the three villages

<u>No. of cattle</u>	<u>% Households</u>
None	44.3
1-12	13.0
13-40	24.6
41-60	6.3
61-100	4.3
101-200	4.6
201-500	1.0

A herd of between 40 and 60 is enough to support a family without other sources of income, to allow a span to be formed for ploughing and to withstand the effects of a prolonged drought. If those with less than 40 head are added to those with no cattle, 82% of the sample population do not have enough cattle to support themselves without other means.

Disregarding the top stratum of extremely wealthy Shoshong families, variations in cattle ownership within villages are similar (Table 7.5). Under Khama III's reforms relating to private property, the headmen of the Bakgalagadi were granted ownership of cattle before other villagers, creating a hierarchy of wealth which persists.

Female headed households emerged as a distinct group in relation to cattle ownership. Whereas 33% of the male headed households stated that they had no cattle, 73% of the female headed households had none. The lack of access to cattle experienced by women occurs firstly as women are not expected to either manage cattle (to make decisions as to when to sell, etc.) or to work with cattle (to herd, milk, etc.). Therefore, any cattle which a woman does own will remain at the cattlepost of her male "guardian". Secondly, female headed households are poorer in assets (including cattle) and therefore cannot raise sufficient capital with which to purchase cattle. Female headed households with no male labour form the poorest stratum of village society. Independent women (i.e. those without husbands or guardians) nevertheless regard stock as an investment and aspire to cattle ownership as do the rest of the community. Women often build up goat herds, to which the sanctions regarding cattle do not apply.

Cattle in the villages were acquired in three main ways, through inheritance, purchase and "mafisa". The large cattle owners have usually inherited the majority of their herd. Cattle are passed down from father to oldest son. It is his duty to share the herd between his brothers and mother. In practice the herd may be kept together and managed as a single unit. This

enables a more efficient use of labour. However, many villagers felt that to split the herd would reduce potential conflict. A daughter may receive cattle from her father, which are managed by her brothers, and also from her mother's family. Daughters however, do not inherit equally to sons. During the father's lifetime beasts may be set aside for different children, which remain with the main herd and cannot be sold without the father's permission. Individuals may receive cattle as payments in, for example divorce settlements, as compensation, and so on. Each beast in a herd belongs to an individual family member. Such a practice reduces conflict and uncertainty.

Purchase is the second major way of building up a herd. This is the main way in which cattle have been accumulated by the Bakgalagadi families, reflecting their more recent acquisition. Men buy cattle from each other, whilst the large owners import more expensive breeding stock.

"Mafisa" is a reciprocal arrangement of loaning cattle. It takes a specific, known form, where an owner places several head under the long term management of a family, who are paid a cow after an allotted period, usually one year. The receiving household gains draught power, milk, and the payment of a breeding animal. The owner, however, receives most benefit. He is relieved of herdsmen's wages and watering fees and his herd is spread over a wide area. (This is advantageous as it minimizes the risk of disease, allows for variation in the quality of grazing and disguises the magnitude of individual wealth.) Most mafisa arrangements in the three villages were between relatives, and mafisa does provide one way in which wealth can be redistributed throughout one family. There were also a number of Bakgalagadi who took in mafisa from non-relatives in Shoshong.

More households took in mafisa than gave it out (Table 7.6). Holding mafisa cattle allows access to cattle for families which would

otherwise face hardship, and lowers the number of households without access to cattle (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6 The Scale of "Mafisa"

<u>% Households</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Giving mafisa	15.5	12.5	25.5
Taking mafisa	15.5	17.5	37.0

However, few households mafisa more than a dozen cattle; mafisa cattle cannot be sold, and several holders complained that they were not compensated satisfactorily by the owner.

Table 7.7 Cattle Acquisition

<u>% Cattle owning households which acquired cattle by:</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Inheritance (father)	41	43	44
Inheritance (mother)	6		6
Purchase	35	47	50
Mafisa*	17	10	
**	—	—	—
	100	100	100

* i.e. these cattle are the payments from mafisa.

** /Lobola or brideprice was not paid in the Bangwato area.

The practice of mafisa is declining in the three villages. At one time it was a most important means of redistributing wealth. Its decline can be related to the increasing commercialization of cattle farming, and to the divergence between farmers who farm in the traditional way and those who farm commercially. The largesse which is based on cattle is declining as more cattle are withdrawn from the reciprocity process. "Commercial" farmers are no longer willing to mafisa-out cattle, as their views on cattle management may differ from those of the mafisa recipient; inspanning cattle reduces their market price, and therefore cattle are not loaned for ploughing. Those who in the past received benefits in kind (calves) from large owners now tend to receive cash (which is often not equal in value). Routes to cattle ownership are therefore declining for those without access, whilst the market price paid to cattle owners is increasing.

Table 7.8 The Contribution to access to cattle by Mafisa

	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
% Households with no cattle	44	47	40
% Households with no cattle or Mafisa	37	32	22

The large cattle owners tend to maintain their herds at cattleposts which may be between 30 and 100 or more miles away from the village. The small owners are more likely to keep their herds at their "lands" (masimo) or close to the village. The latter is difficult in Shoshong. As early as 1844 the traveller Cummings wrote that cattle were kept at "Sundry distant cattleposts" (Fosbrooke, 1971, p.182). The lack of grazing

and sufficient water near to the village, added to the dust and inconvenience of large numbers of cattle close to a large human settlement facilitated the development of the "three home rural dweller". A minority in the Bakgalagadi villages maintain cattle posts (Table 7.9).

Table 7.9 Location of Cattle

% Households where cattle are kept at:	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Cattlepost	80	15	33
Lands	20	37	24
Village	-	48	43
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

Less labour is required when cattle are kept close to the crop growing areas, whilst only the larger owners had the capital to install boreholes at the outlying cattleposts. The small owners would water their cattle at the council boreholes, which are usually located near villages. (The borehole at Mosolotsane watered 500 cattle every day.)

The large and small owners differed too in their use of labour. Economies of scale are gained by the large owners; one herder can manage 100 head when the cattle are watered at a borehole. If cattle are watered from a well, labour requirements are triplicated. The large owner also has an advantage in that the same amount of labour is required for 10 cattle as for 100. Wealthy owners rarely work with their own cattle, except in the capacity as overseer. Most owners, large and small, utilize labour from within their own (extended) household (Table 7.10).

Table 7.10 Relationship of Herdsmen ("Badisa") to Cattle Owner

% Households where herdsmen are:	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibelen</u>
Household members	55	82	90
Other relatives	23	12	5
Non-related, paid	22	6	5
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

It is customary for rich families to utilize labour from within their extended family of poorer relatives, and thereby redistribute (and retain) wealth within the family. Often a boy may be adopted at an early age so that he can perform the function of herder later in life. Owners in Shoshong were least likely to use household labour, and approximately one-quarter of the households hired labour which was paid in cash and was not part of the family. This type of arrangement is new and illustrates the movement towards contractual agreements and away from deferred reciprocal agreements under which one or both parties feel responsible for the other's welfare.

The large and small owners differed too in the way in which they sold cattle. Several of the large cattle owners in Shoshong formed a Marketing Co-Operative in 1974, mainly as a reaction against the low prices paid by cattle traders. By selling to the Botswana Meat Corporation (BMC) directly they gained a greater profit. The Co-Op has various entrance requirements and membership is closed - several owners from Mosolotsane wished to join but were told that the Co-Op was "full".

Most villagers sell to traders. The two most important traders

are a son and father Boer team who provide an important service to small farmers. The small farmer is spared the risk of trekking his cattle to the railhead, and he receives his price in cash. BMC pays by cheque, which can act as a deterrent. The large owner has greater control over the marketing of his cattle and also over the time of sale. Most owners sell when grazing is poorest, in the winter. This coincides with low prices. Syson noted that "few people were able to take into consideration market prices or the condition of their stock" (Syson, 1972, p.56). Small farmers tend to sell off those beasts which will command lower prices; with a small herd, they cannot afford to sell adult, breeding stock. They maintain a small number of fully grown beasts and sell off the younger, smaller beasts. Such beasts may only raise half that paid for fully grown beasts.

A changing pattern of cattle ownership could therefore be seen in the villages. Farmers appeared along a continuum from "traditional" to "commercial" in the way they perceived and managed their herd. Those with traditional beliefs (e.g. that castrating young bulls prevented them growing) tended to be those with small herds. Agricultural extension work was geared to the large owner. Farmers using modern management techniques tended (but were not always) those with larger herds, who wished to ensure the maximum take-off to be sold to the BMC. They tended to hire labour, and to decrease involvement in traditional reciprocal agreements with other villagers. Access to cattle was therefore becoming more limited; this has important consequences in view of the other functions of cattle, such as their importance to arable agriculture.

2. Arable Agriculture

Arable agriculture depends on two vital ingredients - rain and the

means to plough. The farmer who has the means to plough as soon as the first rains fall stands at an advantage. Having the means to plough usually means having access not only to cattle, but to enough cattle from which to form a span, and to the labour needed to train the span. Crop growing has always taken second place to cattle husbandry, but villagers are enthusiastic about "ploughing" (a term used to denote the whole agricultural cycle from ploughing to harvesting). Ploughs were introduced to Shoshong in about 1892. During the last century Shoshong's "masimo" were closer to the village itself than they are now. With soil exhaustion and an increasing population, areas were farmed at greater distances from the village. This meant that working at the lands by day and returning home at night was not possible, and therefore women (who are responsible for crop production) tend to remain at the masimo for most of the growing season, October/November to June.

It is apparent that fewer people plough today than in the past. In the last century, (1854) missionaries in Shoshong wrote of the "extensive fields of native corn, some of which was unrealed from the abundance of the season" (in Fosbrooke, 1971, p.184).

Men are responsible for the task of ploughing due to the involvement of cattle. All households, therefore, including female headed households, are dependent on male labour in order to begin the crop cycle.

Several options are available if a family lacks the necessary cattle with which to plough. A small proportion of the Shoshong sample had hired a tractor, at a cost of approximately P7 for a small plot. A common ploughing arrangement is that where a household exchanges its labour power for the use of draught power; the fields of a cattlemaster are ploughed first and then the same cattle are loaned to the labourers to plough their fields. Such arrangements are declining in importance,

whilst those based on immediate reciprocity are becoming relatively more important. Thus fewer people are willing to "put-in-hands" (an arrangement where one relative helps another but is not repaid until a later date). Instead arrangements are preferred which end as soon as the task is completed. According to Curtis,

"This ... represents a significant shift of emphasis of relationships away from those reflecting the authority of the intergenerational family towards those reflecting the relationships of the individual household of man and wife."

(Curtis, 1972, p.79)

The usual plot size is between 10 and 14 acres, though the whole plot tends not to be used in any one year. Wealthy families control more land, as they can mobilise more labour and ploughing power. (The Mosinyi family for example, had 200 acres.) Sorghum is the most commonly grown crop, with maize, millet, "dinawa" (varieties of beans) and water melons also grown. 1977/78 was a good crop growing year. Households were asked how many "bags" (one bag equals approximately 70 kg. of grain) they had grown that year. The average number of bags produced in Shoshong and Mosolotsane was just over 5 whereas in Kodibeleng it was 23. The latter reflects the presence of a small number of households in Kodibeleng which invest in modern methods of crop production.

Evidence from the villages suggests that those who plough are not necessarily those with all the required resources, but those who are most dependent on their subsistence income. Even though women generally have more restricted access to the means of ploughing, more female headed households than male headed households ploughed in the dry year of 1978/79. Likewise the Bakgalagadi are more likely to plough, even though they are less likely to own cattle with which to plough. Only 6% of the Bakgalagadi did not plough in 1977/78, compared to 29% of the Bokaa and 38% of the

Baphaleng. Ploughing appears to be inversely related to herd size. Farmers with more than 100 head were less likely to plough than farmers with between 20 and 40 head, reflecting the "commercial" use to which large herds are put.

Whilst those most dependent on their subsistence produce are most likely to plough, they are also most likely to experience crop failure. Yields from female headed households tend to be poorer than those of male headed households due to dependence on hired inputs, late ploughing and planting and lack of labour. In the good year of 1977/78 30% of female headed households which had ploughed produced no crops, compared with 14% of male headed households. Of the households which produced no crops, but which ploughed in 1977/78, 32% had no adult male members, and 68% had no cattle. For those producing 8-12 bags, the modal number of cattle owned was 14, whilst for those producing 21-40 bags the number was 40.

In the past wealthier households distributed grain to those in need. 31% of the sample in Shoshong, 27% in Mosolotsane and 22% in Kodibeleng said that they had received gifts of grain in the past year. An alternative way of acquiring grain was to work at another's lands. 18% of the sample in Shoshong, 22% in Mosolotsane and 26% in Kodibeleng said that they had sold their labour in the past year.

One trend in the villages was that a number of households had stopped ploughing altogether and relied on bought food. They either had an income from cattle sales or from an urban wage earner, or (usually) from both. Some wealthy families continue to plough and produce enough to sell small quantities to other villagers. At the other end of the continuum are those families who are dependent on their subsistence income, but due to poverty, are unable to invest adequately enough in their crop production to ensure good yields.

3. Beer Brewing

Most families use a portion of their grain harvest to brew beer. The importance of beer brewing to the poorer households has greatly increased in the last several decades. 90% of households in Mosolotsane, 78% in Kodibeleng and 66% in Shoshong said that they had received some cash through beer sales in the previous twelve months. Beer brewing is a vital supplement to the village economy, especially to that of the smaller villages. 77% of the households in Mosolotsane, 74% in Kodibeleng and 34% in Shoshong said that beer brewing was the most important source of income apart from other agricultural produce.

The rise in the importance of beer brewing can be related to the growth of the mine labour economy. For women who are household heads or whose husbands are away, it is an income which can be produced with little labour, in the village. Returned miners, with spare cash, demand vast quantities of beer. The profit which can be realized is high, but income from brewing is difficult to estimate. Much of the money earned in this way simply circulates through the village, from one household to another. Most women brew irregularly, to raise cash for special purposes or when grain is available. A small number of households brew continually and make large profits. These households have decided to regard brewing as a business and reinvest profits in cattle, better housing or education. A handful of independent women earn as much as P500 a year from brewing.

Although beer brewing is regarded as a women's occupation, 30% of female headed households earned no income from brewing, compared to 18% of male headed households. This may be related to the poorer crop yields of female headed households. A number of women migrants from Shoshong to Mosolotsane explained the move in terms of the smaller village providing

more opportunities to sell beer.

Few other subsistence production activities existed. The poorest families collected thatching grass from far out in the sandveldt, to sell. This work requires a large labour input for little reward. A small number of men were involved in making and selling karosses.

4. Labour Migration

Lack of employment opportunities in the villages mean that in order to participate in the waged economy, villagers must migrate. This is an accepted fact, and few villagers expect to remain in the village throughout their working lives, though all hope to retire there with an accumulation of cattle. High rates of labour migration, periodic absences at the cattlepost and at the lands and the term-time absence of secondary school pupils mean that the villages are, at times, literally half empty.

Half the adult population of Mosolotsane, and 60% of the population of both Shoshong and Kodibeleng had moved, at one time, for a period of more than nine months. 47% of the adult male sample population of Shoshong was absent at the time of the survey, and 31% of its adult female population. This figure is higher than that for Mosolotsane or Kodibeleng (Table 7.11). More people from the Bakgalagadi villages had moved in the past whereas more were absent from Shoshong at the time of the survey. This suggests that migration from Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng is of short duration, or circulatory, whilst the movement from Shoshong is for longer periods. This point is clarified by looking at the occupations of past and present migrants from the three villages (Table 7.12). 71% of the migrants from Mosolotsane had gone to work as miners, compared to 34% of migrants from Shoshong. Miners usually sign a contract of nine months

Table 7.11 Location of Adult Survey Population at the time of the Survey

%	<u>Shoshong</u>		<u>Mosolotsane</u>		<u>Kodibeleng</u>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
At home	53	69	70	95	67	88
In other large village	8	11	6	-	10	6
In other small village	3	-	4	2	-	-
In Gaborone	8	8	4	-	5	6
In South Africa	14	-	13	-	8	-
At School	5	6	2	-	3	-
At the Cattle- post	8	4	2	3	5	-
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 7.12 Occupation of Migrants (Males only)

	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Mining	34	71	70
Wage - trained	20	-	6
Wage - untrained	7	9	14
School/ training	11	1	3
No job	16	9	-
Botswana Defence Force	7	9	7
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

and then return to the village. They may stay for several months or several years before signing a further contract.

Few men in Mosolotsane have no experience of life at the South African mines. Men in their 70s at the time of the survey participated in this migration in their youth, indicating that it has occurred for most of this century. Migration from "Khama's country" was never on the same scale as that from less economically buoyant areas nearer to South Africa. According to the 1971 census, 21% of males aged 15-54 were absent from the "Central-Mahalapye" area, compared to 40% from Ngwaketse and 38% from both the Kweneng and Kgatleng. District figures however, disguise the variation in rates of migration between villages within Central District. Figures gathered at the TEBA recruiting office in Mahalapye (through which the great majority of miners pass) show the difference between Machaneng and Mosolotsane. Machaneng is a village on the east of the railway line, with a similar population size, but one which is wealthier in cattle and which is non-Bakgalagadi.

Table 7.13 Migration to the Mines from Shoshong, Mosolotsane and Machaneng 1968-78

Number of Migrants Year	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Machaneng</u>
1968	227	69	5
1969	265	53	4
1970	264	66	1
1971	305	66	3
1972	269	56	4
1973	301	59	3
1974	215	50	4
1975	350	99	11
1976	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.
1977	299	89	21
1978	228	67	12

Source: Mine Labour Recruitment Office, Mahalapye

Of the total adult population (migrants and non-migrants), 10% of the adult males of Shoshong were employed in the government sector in the "administrative class". They would earn between P800 and P3,000 per year. A further 3% worked in the "industrial class" and would earn between P600 and P1,100 per year. Only 2% of men from Mosolotsane and 9% from Kodibeleng are in any form of waged employment apart from mining. A similar percentage from each village was employed by the Botswana Defence Force, but this employment option is unpopular with parents. The size of the flow of cash back to each village from regular, urban employment, (which is crucial for investment in education and cattle) is impossible to estimate, but that the flow is much larger to Shoshong than to the other two villages is unquestionable.

Summary

The village economy is based on cattle, crop production and remittances. The large numbers of cattle in the Shoshong area is not due to a larger proportion of the population compared to the national average owning cattle, but to the presence of a small number of very wealthy owners. As shown by the RIDS for the rest of the country, cattle ownership in the villages is highly skewed. Divisions in ownership exist between female and male headed households and between the batlanka, favoured in the past by the Bangwato, and the badintlha, or commoners. If a herd size of more than 40 head is that required to support a family without other income sources, 82% of households require other income sources.

Access to cattle has been made more difficult by the decline of the practice of mafisa and the rise of commercial farming. Large owners do not want cattle used for purposes which would reduce their market value.

The largesse based on cattle is therefore declining.

Access to a span for ploughing at the optimal time is essential to successful crop production. Again, traditional arrangements surrounding crop growing are declining. Those most likely to plough are those most dependent on crop produce, and not those with the better resources; those most likely to plough were also those most likely to produce poor yields. Those households producing no crops after ploughing were likely to have no cattle and no male adult household members. A trend emerged of some families which were almost totally dependent on arable produce and others which had stopped ploughing and were dependent on remittances. Beer brewing was an important supplement to income.

The lack of employment opportunities in the area results in a high level of migration. The destination of migrants since the beginning of the century has been the mines of the Witswatersrand. Different patterns of migration emerged from Shoshong and the Bakgalagadi villages. Whereas three-quarters of male migrants from Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng were absent at the mines, only one third were from Shoshong. 20% of migrants from Shoshong enjoyed a skilled job, resulting in Shoshong being richer in remittances than the other two villages. (Miners are not paid particularly high wages whilst not all of it tends to be remitted (Taylor, 1982).)

Level of education is the factor which determines the destination of the migrant; a rather different level of education is required to work as a miner in South Africa to that required in skilled work in the capital and larger settlements of Botswana. It can therefore be expected that educational levels vary between the villages. The educational profile of the villages will be examined next.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EDUCATIONAL PROFILE OF THE VILLAGES

Introduction

As Shoshong is an old established village and has had some form of schooling for over 100 years, whereas the schools in the other two villages are of more recent origin, differences in the educational levels of the adult populations could be expected. With the provision of Council schools in Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng it could be expected that differences in educational attainment would be reduced between children in the three villages. The aim of this chapter is to describe the educational attainment of different age and tribal groups and to assess what progress has been made in reducing differences in attainment. Some reasons for non-enrolment will be examined, and the effect of the schools themselves, the teachers, the type of political organization in the village, and the parents' attitude, on enrolment rates will be discussed.

Educational levels of the Adult Population

Educational attainment varied considerably between the three villages. Fewer adults in Shoshong had not received any schooling, whilst many more had continued to secondary school than in the smaller villages.

Of the 'mothers' only, interviewed, (n = 102), 18% in Shoshong had no schooling, compared with 75% in Mosolotsane and 89% in Kodibeleng. The educational attainment of the husbands of the women interviewed, 'the fathers', was lower than that of their wives; in Shoshong 40% had no education, compared with 85% in Mosolotsane and 70% in Kodibeleng.

The higher attainment of women is attributable to the traditional

Table 8.1 Educational Attainment by Village and Sex (all Adults)

%	<u>Shoshong</u>		<u>Mosolotsane</u>		<u>Kodibeleng</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
None	40	18	66	53	67	55
1-6 Years	26	41	18	19	14	22
7 (PSLE)	15	28	16	26	14	19
8-10 (JC)	18	9	-	2	-	3
11-12	2	4	-	-	5	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

sex imbalance in primary schools. Women who had established their own households were more likely than other women to have some education. 53% of "independent" women had some schooling compared to 33% of those living with husbands. Unmarried mothers were more likely to have some schooling (50%) than were married mothers (29%) and this difference could not be attributed to age.

It could be expected that family members of female headed households would have more education than those in households headed by men. In the former, there is less need for children's labour due to a lack of assets, (especially cattle) and those women heads are themselves more likely to have some education. In fact for the adult population there was no statistically significant difference in educational attainment between adults in female headed households (n = 107) and those in male headed households (n = 275). 50% and 48.6% of the respective groups had never attended, whilst 8.8% and 8.3% respectively had been to secondary school.

Attainment varied considerably according to tribal group. These differences reflect the settlement of the Bakgalagadi, Bapedi and Basarwa in the marginal villages.

Table 8.2 Educational Attainment by Tribe

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>% with some education</u>
Bangwato	95
Bokaa	58
Baphaleng	59
Bakgalagadi	33
Kalanga	77
Bapedi	40
Basarwa	0

Intra-village differences exist however, and are shown by the attainment levels of each ward (Table 8.3). Significant differences between wards existed in Shoshong. 36% of the Bangwato had received some secondary education (Table 8.4).

Table 8.3 Educational Attainment by Ward (Adults only)

1. Shoshong

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>% with no education</u>
Kgamane	Bangwato	5.0
Bokaa	Bokaa	40.4
Baphaleng	Baphaleng	39.0

Cont'd ...

Table 8.3 (Cont'd)

2. Mosolotsane

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>% with no education</u>
Kalanke	Bakgalagadi	52.3
Mosolotsane	Bakgalagadi	62.7
Moloi	Bakgalagadi	63.9
Sehako	Bakgalagadi	78.0
Tobela	Bakgalagadi	67.7
Makalaka	Bakgalagadi	65.2
Baphaleng	Baphaleng	43.7
Pebane	Bapedi	80.0
Mmanakalengwe	Kalanga	16.7

3. Kodibeleng

Mojatau	Bakgalagadi	78.6
Keiterele	Bakgalagadi	50.8
Mathibatjela	Bakgalagadi	47.6
Mogoiwane	Bakgalagadi	48.6
Molau 1	Bakgalagadi	33.3
Molau 2	Bakgalagadi	58.4

Table 8.4 Educational Attainment by Years in Shoshong

<u>%</u>	<u>Bokaa</u>	<u>Kgamane</u>	<u>Baphaleng</u>
None	40.3	5.0	39.8
1-6	41.3	23.2	40.5
7 PSLE	14.0	35.8	12.5
8-10	3.7	21.0	6.5
11-12	.7	15.0	0.7
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

25% of the Bangwato adults had received their education in the tribal capital, Serowe. Similarly, 15% of the relatively well educated Kalanga had received their education in Francistown, the largest settlement of their original tribal area. Of the Bakgalagadi adults who had received some education, only 55% had been schooled in their home village; 25% had received schooling in Shoshong.

Educational Levels of the Child Population

A comparison of the enrolment of the school aged population with that of the adult population shows that progress has been made. In Mosolotsane for example, the number of children with no education is half that of the adult population (Table 8.5). The gap between the villages in terms of non-enrolment, and between the non-enrolment of girls and boys has been reduced (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5 Proportion of the Adult and Child Populations with no Education

<u>% with no Education</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>		<u>Mosolotsane</u>		<u>Kodibeleng</u>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Child Population	30	3	33	28	25	24
Adult Population	40	18	66	53	67	55

The variation between tribes has also been reduced (Table 8.6). However, the marginal Basarwa and Bapedi have seen little or no improvement in enrolment rates.

Table 8.6 Proportion of the Adult and Child Populations with no Education by Tribe

<u>% with No Education</u>	<u>Child Population</u>	<u>Adult Population</u>
Bangwato	15	5
Bokaa	25	42
Baphaleng	15	41
Bakgalagadi	27	67
Kalanga	17	23
Basarwa	100	100
Bapedi	50	60

The Gini coefficient of inequality was 70.3% for the adult population and 31.1% for the child population.

However, whilst some "catching up" by the smaller villages and non-elite tribes has occurred (due no doubt, to the reduction in the need to travel to other villages to find schooling (Table 8.7)), there remain considerable differences in attainment. Fourteen year olds in Shoshong had an average of 6.9 years of schooling whilst fourteen year olds in Mosolotsane had an average of 3.9 years (Table 8.8). 60% of Mosolotsane's male 8 year olds, 40% of the 9 year olds and 25% of the 10 year olds were not enrolled (Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1 Proportion of each age group enrolled in Mosolotsane and Shoshong, by sex

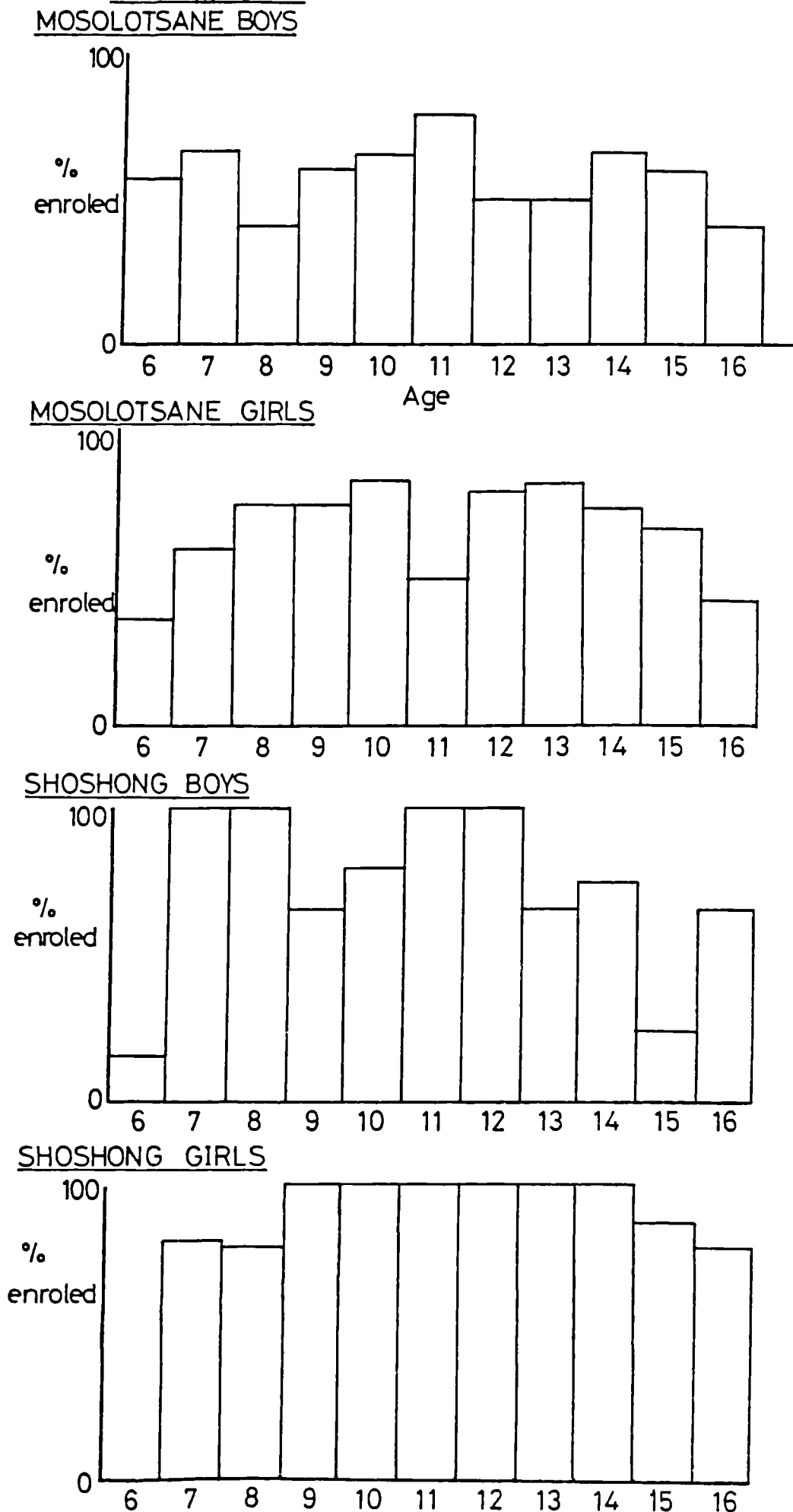


Table 8.7 Location of Primary School for Adult and Child Populations,
by Tribe

	<u>Bangwato</u>		<u>Bokaa</u>		<u>Baphaleng</u>		<u>Bakgaladi</u>		<u>Kalanga</u>	
	Adult	Child	Adult	Child	Adult	Child	Adult	Child	Adult	Child
% Schooled in Home Village	75	91	85	86	97	89	52	98	55	79
Non Home Village -										
Shoshong	-	-	8	2	-	1	25	1	20	16
Mosolotsane	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-
Other small village	-	9	-	-	-	5	2	1	10	-
Other large village	25	-	2	12	3	-	-	-	15	-
Town	-	-	4	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 8.8 Average Years of Schooling by Age and Village

<u>Age</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
7	1.2	0.7	1.0
14	6.2	3.9	5.6
21	5.2	2.5	4.2
30	3.5	1.3	2.3
40	1.5	0	0
50	1.0	0	0
60	0.7	0	0

The School Aged Population within the Villages

The village school aged population could be divided into:

1. Those attending primary school.
2. Those who had never attended.
3. Those who had attended but dropped out before completion.
4. Those who completed primary school but did not continue to secondary.
5. Those attending secondary school.

Data from School Registers

A useful source of information on attenders was the school registers kept by each school. Analysis of registers relating to 520 pupils at Kgamane school shows that 24% of pupils lived in female headed households and 76% in male headed households. 60.4% of girls and 68.4% of boys gave their father as head of the household, indicating that one third either lived in three generational households or in households which did not contain their father. The occupation of pupils' guardians gives an indication of the employment structure of Shoshong. (Table 8.9)

Those in waged employment amount to less than 10%. It is interesting to note the absence of "miners"; this appears to be a term applied only to "career miners" and not to "farmers" who undertake mine contracts. The employment structure of Kodibeleng, also taken from school registers, contrasts with that of the larger village (Table 8.10).

Table 8.9 Occupation of Pupils' Guardians, Shoshong

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of pupils</u>	<u>%</u>
Farmer	322	61.9
"Housewife"	109	20.9
Traditional Doctor	3	.5
Nurse	2	.3
Blacksmith	1	.1
Police	3	.5
Driver	5	.9
Teacher	6	1.1
Government Worker	7	1.3
Minister (Church)	1	.1
Headman	1	.1
Carpenter	2	.3
Shopkeeper	5	.9
Miner	1	.1
Butcher	6	1.1
Painter	1	.1
Clerk	1	.1
Not known	45	8.6
	<u>520</u>	<u>99.1</u>

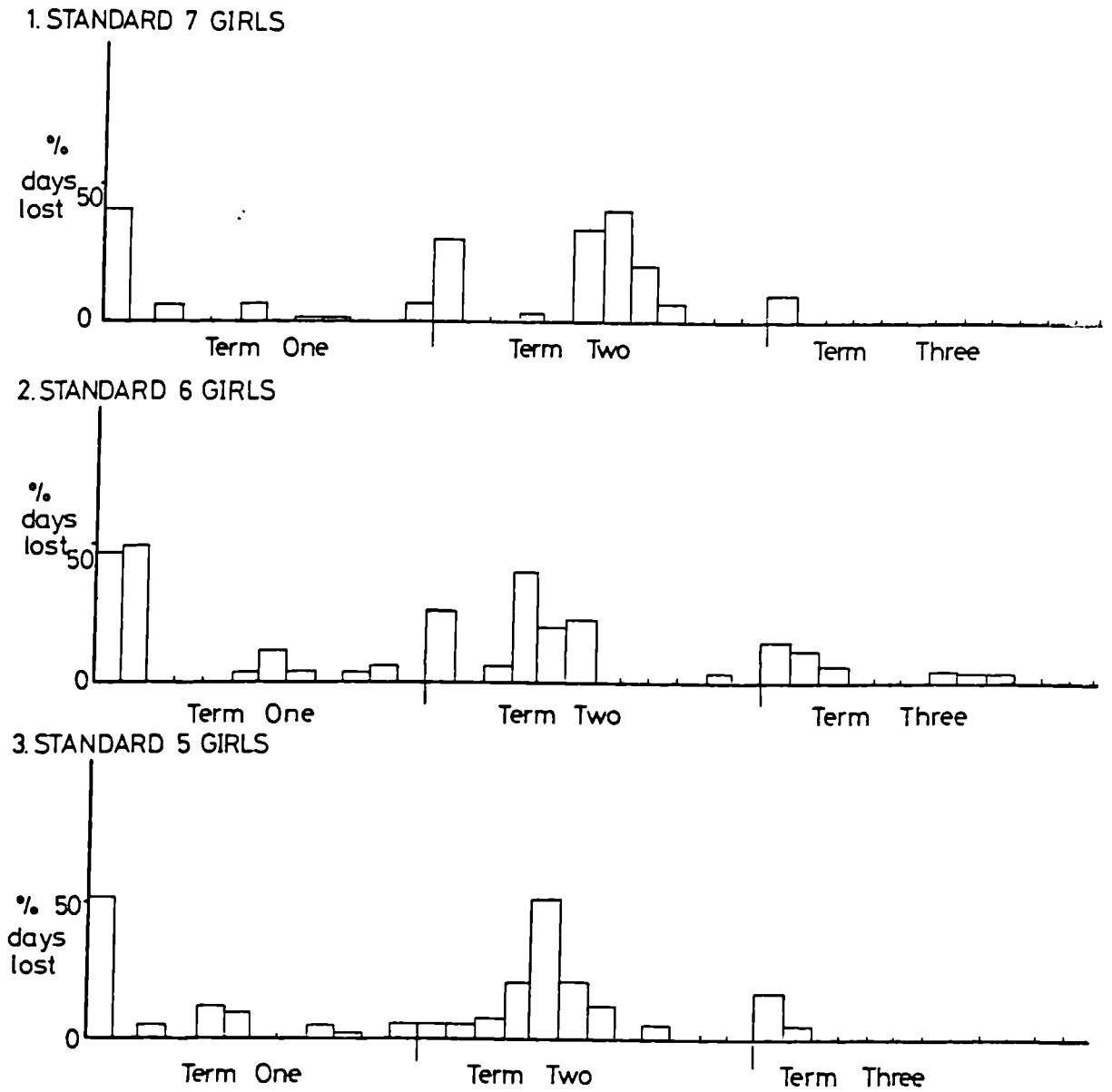
Source: Kgamane School Register

Table 8.10 Occupation of Pupils' Guardians, Kodibeleng

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>%</u>
Farmer	144	92.3
"Housewife"	8	5.1
Teacher	4	2.5
	<u>156</u>	<u>99.9</u>

Source: Kodibeleng School Register

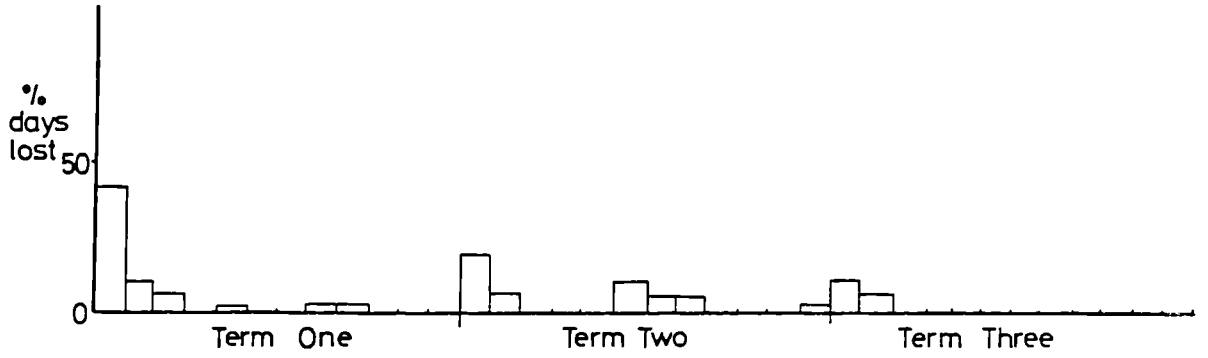
Figure 8.2 Proportion of days lost through Absence, by Sex and Standard



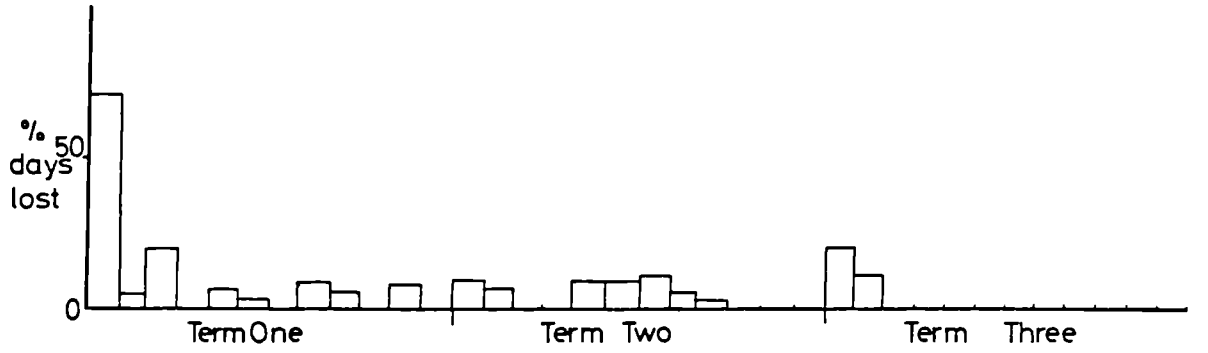
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Figure 8.2 (Cont'd) Proportion of days lost through Absence,
by Sex and Standard

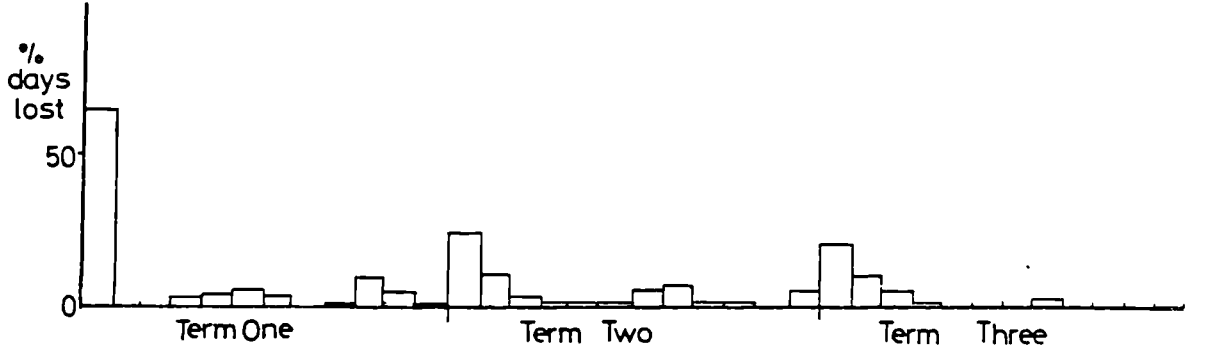
4. STANDARD 7 BOYS



5. STANDARD 6 BOYS



6. STANDARD 5 BOYS



Source: School Registers

Analysis of registers from the four schools shows that the age at which children start school has declined steadily since 1966. The presence of older children, or young adults, has declined. In 1973 in Shoshong school ages ranged from 6 in standard 1 to 19 in standard 7. By 1978 the oldest pupils were 16. Wider age ranges exist within standards. In 1978 in Shoshong school there were children aged between 6 and 9 in standard 1, and between 11 and 15 in standard 5.

Table 8.11 Average Age at Entry to Standard 1

<u>Year</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
1966	10.9	10
1967	N.D.	N.D.
1968	9.2	9.0
1969	7.8	8.3
1970	N.D.	N.D.
1971	9.2	7.6
1972	N.D.	7.3
1973	7.2	7.4
1974	6.8	6.6
1975	7.0	7.1
1976	6.6	6.9
1977	6.1	6.6
1978	6.3	6.3

Source: Registers from the four schools

Attendance Rates

Attendance rates are generally high (Table 8.12). Constant truancy is disguised as non-attenders are struck off the register after an unexplained absence of six weeks. Attendance registers clearly indicate that girls are absent during harvest months, and attendance is

higher in the winter months when villagers have returned from the lands (Figure 8.2). The data indicate that once a child is enrolled, poor attendance is not as great a problem, as was indicated, for example, by Sargant (Table 8.12).

Table 8.12 Attendance Rates, Kgamane School, 1978

	BOYS				GIRLS				
	<u>Term One</u>		F	<u>Term Two</u>		<u>Term One</u>		<u>Term Two</u>	
	Standard Enrolled	Average attendance		A.A.	E	A.A.	E	A.A.	
1	12	11.4	12	11.3	19	18.8	18	17.7	
2	13	12.6	14	13.6	20	19.8	16	15.8	
3	20	19.2	14	13.5	19	18.8	15	14.7	
4	11	10.7	14	10.8	27	26.6	27	26.6	
5	18	17.5	11	10.6	20	19.7	21	20.2	
6	16	15.1	18	14.8	16	15.7	16	15.8	
7	17	16.9	15	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	19	18.2	

Source: Kgamane School Register

Data on those who had once attended school but dropped out was also provided in the school registers, which gave the reason for leaving (Table 8.13).

Table 8.13 Reasons for leaving school, Mosolotsane 1968-1972

Reason: %	<u>1968</u>		<u>1970/1/2</u>	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Non payment fees	12	21	4	5
Transferred	26	7	36	33
Deserted	46	43	24	20
Dead	1	2	-	-
Required by parents	6	7	-	5
Mentally handicapped	3	-	-	-
Illness	-	2	-	4
Pregnancy	-	3	-	-
Completed	16	14	36	33
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Mosolotsane School Register

The main difference between 1968 and the years of the early 1970s is the larger number leaving as they had completed. There is a significant drop in wastage due to non-payment of fees, and an increase in transfers, indicating either an increase in migration to other villages, or the greater likelihood of continuing at school despite the move. Due to the large number who 'deserted' it is difficult to draw conclusions from such data.

Households interviewed in the villages were asked the reason why their children were not attending school; Table 8.1' includes both drop-outs and those who have never attended.

Table 8.14 Reasons for not attending School

<u>Reason % Households</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
No fees	17	28.1	12.2
Refusal of child to attend	3.4	6.2	1.4
To help parents	.6	.6	1.4
Child "given away"*	2.0	-	3.6
Marriage	.6	-	-
Mentally handicapped/ illness	2.0	2.4	-
Don't know	35.3	38.5	60.4
Too far from school	-	1.2	2.1
Completed	38.7	16.2	18.7
	-----	-----	-----
	100	100	100
	-----	-----	-----

* i.e. sent to live with another (usually wealthier) household from an early age.

Again, a large number of parents gave a "don't know" answer which was not particularly useful, and which therefore does not enable conclusions to be drawn. Over twice as many left as they had completed in Shoshong, compared to the other two villages.

The household survey showed that 67% of the boys and 68% of the girls in the school aged population which was not attending school had never attended, whilst the remainder had dropped out of school. Non attendance was higher in the Bakgalagadi villages, with 30% of the school aged population not attending in Mosolotsane, 25% in Kodibeleng and 13% in Shoshong. Variation also occurred by sex, with 30% of the boys and 18% of the girls not attending.

Table 8.15 Non Attendance by Sex

	<u>Shoshong</u>		<u>Mosolotsane</u>		<u>Kodibeleng</u>	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
% not attending	30	3	33	28	25	24

School Attendance and Household Decision Making

Although the school aged population could be divided according to their situation vis a vis school attendance, as on page 289, it is more accurate to divide households into those which send their children to school and those which do not. It is the household which decides how to employ its resources, including how many children to send to school. Although a number of respondents did say that a child refused to attend school, the decision to attend is usually made by the household, not by the individual.

The aim of each household in the villages is to make itself as economically secure as possible. The household therefore makes decisions with this goal in mind, with the wellbeing of the household rather than of the individual paramount. In deciding whether to send a child to school the household considers the costs and benefits, in the light of imperfect knowledge and according to its perceptions, and then makes a decision.

Households could be divided into those which sent all their children to school, those which sent some and those which sent none. 16% of the households in Shoshong, 39% in Mosolotsane and 33% in Kodibeleng had children aged between 8 and 16 at the time of the survey who were not enrolled in school. 25% of households in Shoshong, 51% in Mosolotsane and 42% in Kodibeleng had members born after 1960 (i.e. aged between 19 and 8) who had never attended school.

The household has to bear the direct costs of schooling - fees and uniforms - and the indirect costs, or the opportunity costs of children's labour. The direct constraints on enrolment, i.e. the direct costs and the spatial constraints of distance between home and school, are easier to illustrate than the indirect costs.

School fees during the period of study were P1 (60p) per child per term. In return the child received a free school meal every day. Most families did not have difficulties raising this amount, but some had problems presenting the cost at the right time. Eleven children were suspended from Shoshong school, for example, in the second term of 1978, for failing to produce fees, due to parents' absence and not paying before the deadline. Fees were usually paid by the family, but 9% of households in Shoshong, 15% in Mosolotsane and 30% in Kodibeleng said they received help with fees from other families. Fees were usually paid from money which belonged to the mother, even when the father was present.

In Shoshong in particular, grown up sons and daughters made an important contribution to the household finances.

Table 8.16 Payment of Primary School Fees

	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
% Households where fees were paid by:			
Mother	41	50	67
Father	31	30	11
Grandparents	12	5	18
Older (pupils') siblings	10	-	-
Other	3	3	7
Not answered	3	11	-
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

The incidence of wastage due to the non-payment of fees has declined (see Table 8.13). The cost of uniforms, it is argued, could also be borne by the family. If a household could not provide more than one set of clothes, either the child did not wear a uniform, or he/she had a uniform which was worn all the time, in and out of school. It is argued that the direct costs of schooling are not a hindrance at the primary level, but are of paramount importance at the secondary level.

A second set of direct constraints on attendance was that of

distance. As data on households was collected only within villages and to a limited extent at lands areas, the spatial constraints on enrolment were controlled. Spatial constraints however, still acted upon pupils in two main ways. Firstly, the population of villages which have recently been established as villages rather than as cattleposts or lands settlements tends to be scattered over a wide area. In Kodibeleng for example, 8-10 km. separated the outermost wards, whilst the ward of Mmanakalengwe was an hour's walk outside Mosolotsane. Over half the households in Kodibeleng lived at a distance of more than an hour's walk from the school, whereas 81% of those in Shoshong lived less than 20 minutes from the school.

Table 8.17 Distance in Time between Home and School

<u>Minutes</u>	<u>% Households</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
1-10		28	15	22
11-20		53	60	11
21-30		6	20	3
31-40		9	3	7
41-60		3	-	29
61-90		-	2	-
91-120		-	-	-
121+		-	-	26
		—	—	—
		100	100	100
		—	—	—

The long walk to school in Kodibeleng meant that children tended to be enrolled when they were nearly the maximum age of entry, so that they could better cope with the journey. Distance did not appear to

affect attendance from the furthest wards in Kodibeleng, but the effect on performance is not known.

Table 8.18 Distance between Wards and School in Kodibeleng

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Minutes</u>	<u>% Children attending</u>
Molau 1	121 and more	80
Mogoiwane	41-60	91
Keiterele	41-60	81
Mojatau	21-30	60
Molau 2	1-10	71
Mathibatjela	1-10	87

The second spatial constraint arose as a consequence of seasonal migration to the lands. Absence of parents during the growing season resulted in children being left, often unattended, in the village. An older child might be responsible for ensuring the attendance of younger siblings. The double shift system, whereby some pupils attended in the morning and others in the afternoon disguised the presence of truants in the village. Children would walk to the lands every Friday, returning on Sunday or Monday morning. There has been a great deal of debate over the usefulness of holding Friday afternoon classes, as attendance is so poor. Younger children, walking to the lands in darkness after the afternoon shift have been known to have been attacked by animals.

Indirect Costs

It has been argued (see Smith, 1979; and Schapera) that the reason why children are not sent to school is due to the need for their labour within the household. Boys are required to herd cattle, and girls to help with crops, household chores and younger children. It has been argued that the reason for girls' greater enrolment is due to the relative unimportance of their work, in an economy where cattle husbandry is the most important subsistence activity. Also, boys' work takes place outside the village, at the cattlepost and therefore it is more difficult for boys to combine herding with schooling than it is for girls to combine their household tasks with schooling.

This study suggests that the explanation for non-enrolment is rather more complex than this. Often households with few resources in terms of cattle to herd and with several male members available for labour did not send their children to school. Also it is not possible to say that a child was not at school because its labour was required. In several instances, boys dropped out of school and then were sent to the cattlepost. A large number of people in the villages commented that the practice of sending boys to the cattlepost was no longer common. This was particularly so in Shoshong, where traditionally, much use has been made of serf labour. In addition, the proportion of boys who were not enrolled in the Bakgalagadi villages was not much greater than the proportion of girls not enrolled, and therefore there appears to be a mechanism which excludes both sexes. Of the households in Mosolotsane which sent only some of their children, they were not more likely to send daughters rather than sons; 60% of girls from such households were not enrolled, and 63% of the boys. In general it was

the younger children which were sent to school; this of course is probably more related to the provision of facilities rather than to deliberate household policy, and to the increased acceptance of schooling since Independence. The households which had not sent all their children to school were analysed to see whether any pattern emerged, for example of sending second sons to school and retaining the first son for herding, but no such pattern could be seen.

As there are too many variations between households to allow generalizations, some individual households will be described.

Case Studies

One household in Shoshong contained a widow and her eight grown up children and her last born son, aged 15, and her daughter's family of four, ranging from 16 to 4 years. The widow had sent her oldest child, a son, to school (he had completed S6) and her next three children, daughters. Only one had completed S7. Her next five children had not been to school, including the 15 year old. Some of the grown up sons were absent at the mines whilst one daughter was a houseservant and another a shop assistant in Gaborone. The daughter who remained in the village with her four children, had chosen to send her children to school. The widow however, had not sent her younger children even though there were older boys able to perform economic functions.

A second household comprised a husband and wife and eight children aged between 7 and 23. The first six children, aged 13 to 25 (4 boys and 2 girls) had not been sent to school and the oldest two sons were

now away at the mines. The two youngest children, aged 7 and 9 were both in Standard 1, as was their daughter's son. The reason given for not educating the other children was given as 'lack of money'.

Another household included two sisters aged 16 and 14. The younger had not been sent to school at all, whilst the elder was completing Standard 7. It was evident that in some households, such as this one, hopes were pinned on one particular child. For example, one family with which I became quite familiar in Kodibeleng had sent their eldest son, Tapalogogo, to Madiba secondary school, after making a number of sacrifices, even to the extent of giving one daughter away at an early age to work for another household. Tapalogogo was treated with a great deal of reverence on his periodic visits to the village in school holidays. His family had been so diligent that they also had managed to send two other children, a son and a daughter, to secondary school. Their father worked as a gardener in Gaborone, whilst their mother's five brothers managed the cattle and crops.

There was some evidence, gained from discussion, that families regarded girls as a safer investment in that they were more likely to be loyal and help parents in their old age. There was also evidence that boys were more likely to refuse to go to school. Female heads of households in particular claimed that their sons were difficult to control and would not always obey them.

Secondary School

The proportion of the population with an education beyond the primary stage was small; in fact the average educational attainment of the 'fathers' in the sample was 2.4 years in Shoshong, 0.2 years in Mosolotsane and 0.9 years in Kodibeleng. Only 4 adult Bakgalagadi had received some secondary education, whilst only one pupil had ever continued from Mosolotsane school to secondary school.

Table 8.19 Proportion of the Population with Post Primary Schooling

	<u>Shoshong</u>			<u>Mosolotsane</u>			<u>Kodibeleng</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
%	8.8	5.6	7.1	1.7	.5	1.1	3.1	1.8	2.5

Two households in Kodibeleng had sent members to secondary school; one, Tapalogogo's family which was mentioned above, had sent three children, whilst the other household had sent one son. The two households were in fact related; the grandparents of the secondary school students were brother and sister.

Three households in the Mosolotsane sample had children in secondary school. Two were Baphaleng and had moved from Shoshong before the more recent, larger scale movements of households out to lands areas and smaller villages. These two households (one of which

I stayed with for several weeks) were amongst the wealthiest in the village. Neither had sent their children, bar one, to primary school in Mosolotsane, but to Pilikwe and Shoshong, "because of better education there". The child who had been schooled in Mosolotsane was now in Form 1 in Lobatse. The two households had sent 5 children between them to secondary school. Both households had substantial cattle herds and lucrative beer brewing businesses, and the mother in one household made clothes on a sewing machine. Her husband had died two years ago, but it was said that she was "like a man", i.e. she was a strong character, well capable of organizing the complex activities of the household. The other household, with one daughter at secondary school (in Form 1), was a Bakgalagadi family. The girl's maternal grandfather had about 70 cattle and he helped the family although he lived in a different household. The girl herself showed remarkable determination; she had left Mosolotsane in S5 and attended Kgamane school until S7 to better her chances of passing the PSLE. She had found herself lodgings in Shoshong. She now attended Form 1 in Selibi-Phikwe, staying with an uncle. The family had not applied for a bursary.

Twenty-two individuals in Shoshong had experience of secondary schooling; 7 (5 male and 2 female) were at secondary school at the time of the study, and 15 (8 male, 7 female) had left. Apart from one man, aged 51, who had completed his secondary schooling in Lesotho, those who had experience of secondary schooling were aged between 16 and 33 and comprised 17% of the total 16 to 33 age range in Shoshong. The 22 individuals were drawn from 10 households. However, half came from 3 households, whilst 2 households had each sent one daughter to secondary school but both had dropped out after Form 1 due to lack of finance.

The 22 secondary school educated were drawn disproportionately from the Bangwato. They comprised 47% of the secondary school educated and 12.5% of the general population. Comparative figures for the Phaleng were 19% and 50% of the secondary school and general populations, and for the Bokaa, 33% and 37%.

The ten households in Shoshong which had sent children to secondary school could be divided into those which had successfully educated their children and those which had not. Of the latter, there were two, which had both sent daughters who dropped out after Form 1. One of these households had no cattle and the other had 25 cattle which were mafisa-ed in from a relative. No family members were in paid employment, and both fathers had previously worked at the mines. Both households were comparatively poor, and the reason for dropping out of school was lack of money.

The other eight households which had secondary schooled members were more successful; one had 4 members with secondary schooling and two others had 3 each. These eight households were characterized by having a parent in full time employment, and/or by having a large cattle herd (100 plus), and/or by being a Bangwato household and receiving help from relatives.

One family comprised a widow with 3 adult daughters and 2 adult sons. 3 had been to secondary school and now had well paid jobs. A fourth child was still at secondary school. The widow looked after four young grandchildren, and mafisa-ed out most of her cattle, leaving the rest with her brother's herd. The family owned enough cattle to sell several to the BMC each year.

A second family was similarly split over two locations; the father worked for the government in Lobatse and had himself completed

3 years of secondary school. The mother stayed in Shoshong with the two youngest children, managing the family's subsistence activities. Their Masarwa herdsman was paid P10 per month and besides the cattle herd there were sheep, goats and chickens. Their oldest daughter had just started secondary school in Lobatse, and their 3 other children had also been moved to primary school there, to better their chances of acceptance into secondary school. The father had been in Lobatse for four years and there was no intention of moving the household there.

The households which had sent children to secondary school where there was no family member in employment had access to a large communal herd (i.e. one which was managed as a unit between several brothers) and where a large proportion of the herd had been inherited. For the man or woman who does not inherit cattle and has no formal sector employment, there is not the time to accumulate enough cattle with which to pay school fees by the time a child has completed primary school. At the time of the study, one term's fees were in excess of P200. The expenses and fees are too great for the family without resources in cattle, remittances or wealthy relatives. More will be said of this in the next chapter.

The nearest secondary schools were in Mahalapye and comprised Madiba, the State school, and Mahalapye Secondary, a private school. Of the 70 primary school children in Kodibeleng who were asked whether they would like to attend secondary school, and if so, which school, only 3% said that they did not want to go to secondary school. 23% and 14% respectively mentioned Madiba and Mahalapye; 11% voted for Gaborone and 11% for Swaneng. Seven schools were mentioned, and 31% said they wanted to go to secondary school but did not know the names of any schools. Only 3 pupils at that time were attending secondary school from Kodibeleng.

Of the 552 pupils on the Madiba school register between 1975 and 1978 23 came from Shoshong and 1 from Kodibeleng. Pupils from the three villages are at a disadvantage; data collected by the National Commission on Education show that children living within walking distance of a school are more likely to be offered places there than those requiring boarding facilities. The Bangwato has an advantage in that they are more likely to have relations in the tribal capital, Serowe, with whom pupils can stay. All the Bangwato who were receiving secondary education at the time of the survey were helped by wealthier relatives in Serowe.

Data from the registers of Madiba show that secondary school pupils are disproportionately drawn from households where the household head was in waged employment. Whereas the data from the school registers in Shoshong show that less than 10% of the pupils' guardians were in waged employment, 36% of the Madiba pupils' guardians were. Equal numbers of boy and girl students came from male or female headed households, and equal numbers of boys and girls came from households where the guardian was in waged employment or in farming. Of the female guardians, 29% were in waged employment compared to 39% of the male guardians. Female headed households are more likely to apply for bursaries (and are more likely to need them). Of the fifteen students who applied for bursaries from Shoshong in 1978, 11 came from female headed households. Only 3 students in the villages had ever received bursaries and these all came from the same, Bangwato family.

The Madiba register highlights the advantage of pupils who live in larger settlements. The 525 pupils on the register between 1975 and 1978 for whom the village of origin is given, originate from 80 different villages. 58% come from major villages, and 72% from villages

of over 1,000 population. 31% came from Mahalapye and 18% from Serowe, and most originated from within Central District.

Table 8.20 Geographical Origins of Madiba Pupils

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>%</u>
Mahalapye	31
Serowe	18
Gaborone	.57
Lobatse	.57
Francistown	2.2
Palapye	1.1
Bobonong	1.35
Maun	.95
Mochudi	.95
Kanye	.38
Molepolole	1.3
Other villages inside Central District	25.9
Other villages outside Central District	15
Outside Botswana	1.33
	<hr/> 100 <hr/>

Source: Madiba Registers, 1975-1978

The 1971 Census found 62.1% of the population in villages below 1,000 population, and 37.9% in villages larger than that. The pupil population at Madiba is drawn largely from villages of over 1,000 population; thus the opportunity index for pupils from small villages is 0.45 and that for those from large villages 1.89. (If all had an equal chance of attending the index would equal 1.00.)

Factors Internal to the Education System Affecting Enrolment

Some explanation for enrolment rates in the primary sector can be found in aspects of education policy. The type of school provided, the proportion of qualified teachers and the relationship between teachers and community are also important. It was seen above that substantial numbers of conflicts arise between schools and communities. A second important factor is the parents' perception of the school, the extent to which they see it as increasing the family's potential earnings, and the extent to which education per se is seen as a "good thing".

Thirdly, the level of political organization in the village is important. It was seen above that the role played by the Chief affects acceptance of education. The energy of the Chief and the Councillor in urging for more primary schools can affect educational policy decisions. These three factors will be discussed in turn.

School Facilities

The dominance of Shoshong as a settlement contrasted with the impermanence of the Bakgalagadi settlements has meant that the former received educational facilities long before the latter. Shoshong has had a school of sorts since the 1850s, housed a white missionary until 1910, and had a number of buildings (the Church for example) in which to hold classes.

Mosolotsane was one of the villages to be affected by the re-organization described above, in the 1940s. The school was closed by the administration's attempt to concentrate resources in major centres. Neither Mosolotsane or Kodibeleng had schools built until the 1960s.

Today the area contains four primary schools, two in Shoshong and one in both Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng. It was apparent that the individual schools were an important factor in themselves affecting attendance, confidence in the school and the amount of goodwill between it and the community.

Shoshong School

Shoshong school is the oldest of the four. It was built in 1947, although there has been some sort of school in Shoshong for 100 years before that. It is located near to the Bangwato ward and tends to be favoured by those families with a tradition of sending children to school. It has a consistently good record of a larger percentage of 'A' passes at the PSLE than Kgamane School.

Its headteacher is Mrs. Kgamane, a Bangwato of the royal line (i.e. related to the Khama family) and wife of the former Chief. Her position lends a great deal of legitimacy to the school. She is active in village

Table 8.21 Features of the Four Schools

1. <u>Pupils</u>	<u>Kgamane</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>
Number 1978	768	638	131	193
% Change 1976/1978	+7.7	+34	+12	+4.3
Boy:Girl ratio	83	77	66	82
Pupil:Teacher ratio	34.9	31.9	26	27
2. <u>Teachers</u>				
Number 1979	22	20	5	7
% Qualified	52	85	80	43
% Male	22	40	50	43
3. <u>Capacity</u>				
Classrooms	14	14	4	6
Pupil:Classroom ratio	55	46	33	32
Pupil:Class ratio	33	35	19	21
Class:Classroom ratio	1.6	1.3	1.75	1.5
Total Classes	23	18	7	9
4. <u>Results</u>				
% 'A' Passes 1978	0	10	- *	0
% 'B' Passes 1978	20	32	-	33

* Kodibeleng did not have a standard 7 class in 1978

politics and has been at the school since 1951. She is highly respected and takes a personalized role in the running of the school and its relations with the community. She is likely to view problems more from her position as a member of the community than from that of educationalist and headteacher.

The level of parental involvement in the school is high. Mothers who had sent their children there were more likely to belong to the P.T.A. than other mothers, and were more discerning in their choice of school. 42% of the mothers said they had made a positive choice to send their child to Shoshong school whilst the majority of those at Kgamane school had been sent there as it was simply the nearest.

Kgamane School

Kgamane school is named after Mrs. Kgamane's husband, the former Chief. It is a few minutes walk from Shoshong school, and is in a worse state of repair than Shoshong school, although newer. An inspection report of 1977 noted, "the whole school needs immediate attention. Ceiling is very dangerous to children and the whole school must be renovated externally and internally. Repair date cannot be specified due to the pressure of work in other schools". Kgamane is the largest of the four schools, with 768 pupils, and has the worst classroom:pupil ratio and no latrines.

The head, Mr. Setlhalefe is a Motswana from the Transvaal who migrated to Botswana in 1958. He has wide experience of a variety of schools, and is highly regarded by the Education Department, which refers to his "conscientious attitude". The school is well organized and its management efficient; Mr. Setlhalefe has progressive ideas about education and keenly supports the teachers' union. From the point of

view of the community however, his origins are obscure, whilst his allegiance to the village is perceived as low. (He maintains a home in Mahalapye and returns there each weekend.) Although he is on good terms with the political elite of the village - the chief and his important counsellors - he has little following among the ordinary parents, who do not recognize his merits as an educationalist.

Kodibeleng School

The school in Kodibeleng was initiated by the community. Two men from Keiterele ward who had received some schooling in Shoshong built a school in the late 1960s. They requested the Council to take it over and to build additional classrooms. The new, Council school opened in 1976 and is at the geographical centre of the scattered wards which make up the village. It therefore provides a focus for the village, and meetings tend to be held in or near it.

The headteacher is a local woman, a Mophaleng from Shoshong. She is an intelligent and enthusiastic woman, encouraging the Bakgalagadi children to shed their feelings of inferiority regarding their tribal standing, entering the school for regional music and sports competitions, fund raising and involving parents in the school. Parents are a common sight in the playground.

Mosolotsane School

Mosolotsane school was founded in 1966-67. In contrast to the openness of Kodibeleng school, the headteacher of Mosolotsane expressly forbids parents using the school grounds as a short cut through the village. From the outset he clashed with the village elite by attempting to organize the VDC, and enquiring about

(misspent) VDC funds. He is a Malete, from the south east district. He was transferred to Mosolotsane because of his ability to organize, and due to his innovatory ideas. He inculcates a great deal of enthusiasm in the pupils and has sound educational ideas, but the response from the community is weak. Few parents belong to the PTA and meetings are poorly attended. Enthusiasm for the school and its activities was lower in Mosolotsane than anywhere else. The head-teacher's initial enthusiasm for the challenge of a small, isolated school has waned in the face of obstacles. He was hoping for a transfer away from the village.

The Teachers

All teachers in the Bakgalagadi villages are outsiders, mainly coming from other villages in Central District and mainly Bangwato. The social distance between the Bangwato and the Bakgalagadi is greater than that between most other groups in the area. One Mokwena teacher commented of the Bakgalagadi, "they are our servants, though they are not as low as the Basarwa". Career ambitions of young, male teachers mean that after a compulsory two year term in a remote school such as Mosolotsane or Kodibeleng a transfer is applied for to a larger settlement. There is a certain amount of resentment at being "out in the bush" whilst other careers lead to jobs in town. Teachers rarely stay long enough to build genuine rapport with the community, for their status is ambiguous. They do not bow to the authority of the chief, as strangers who were absorbed into the village would have done in the past. The authority which the teacher acknowledges is that of the Education Department, whilst his identity as a citizen is rooted in his home village. There is no need to build a position of respect as the stay is temporary.

The result is that the authority of the village leaders can be side-stepped. Teachers do not need to enter the reciprocal economic relationships which bind the village together. They do not feel a need to fulfil social obligations, such as to attend the *kgotla*. In the eyes of the community the young teacher does not live up to his favoured status, and does not provide an example which parents would like their children to follow.

Teachers prefer to be posted, eventually, near to their home village. The Bakgalagadi villages receive a succession of inexperienced teachers, whilst the best teachers stay the shortest time. Male teachers especially move frequently. The rapid turnover of teachers and the lack of commitment to the community is not as marked in Shoshong. The relative stability found in Shoshong is unlikely to occur in the Bakgalagadi villages until they begin to send more pupils to secondary school and to teacher training colleges.

Teachers varied in their motivation. Few had chosen their career due to aspirations for a 'vocation' in education. Teaching was seen as a well paid job within a limited range of occupations; the male teachers in particular thought in terms of a career ladder which would eventually lead them away from the classroom, to an administrative job in the capital. Many had drifted into teaching; the female teachers especially, had perhaps been accepted as relatively bright standard 7 leavers, and later to have gone for in-service courses.

The majority of teachers expressed dissatisfaction in some way. They were frustrated in their ambitions as teachers, due to a lack of response from the community, and the lack of equipment and facilities. They were also frustrated as wage earners, perceiving themselves as poorly paid and with poor working conditions compared with other modern sector workers.

The Parents

The attitudes of parents to schooling were shaped, in general, by what they hoped an education could achieve, by a lack of awareness of what actually happened in the classroom and by knowledge of how well their children's school performed in relation to other schools. Whereas parents in Shoshong, through attending school themselves, were likely to have some idea of the process, other parents not only felt that there was no point in finding out how the school worked and what their children did, but also that they should not be expected to be involved. PTA meetings at Kgamane and Shoshong schools were well attended, whilst those at Mosolotsane were ignored or abandoned before all business had been discussed. Approximately 3% of parents in Mosolotsane were members of the PTA.

Most parents felt that the roles of teacher and parent were not complementary or overlapping; teachers were regarded as qualified people who were custodians of their children for part of the day. Teachers' comments on the home life of pupils were considered out of place. Teachers in turn felt a definite lack of parental support and that parents' expectations of them were too high.

61% of mothers in Mosolotsane, 50% in Shoshong and 41% in Kodibeleng said that they never visit the school. Parents were not aware of what constituted a favourable learning environment, but they were able to say whether they were satisfied with their children's progress. 92% of the mothers whose children attended Shoshong school, 78% of those at Kodibeleng, 75% at Kgamane and 65% at Mosolotsane said that they were satisfied.

The school itself tends to be judged by its external appearances, that is, by examination successes and the public conduct of the teachers,

rather than by its internal organization or engagement of the children. 92% of mothers in Kodibeleng, 83% at Shoshong school, 65% at Kgamane and 62% in Mosolotsane said that they were satisfied with the school. Parents saw little possibility of dialogue with the school if they were not satisfied. When asked what action they would take if dissatisfied, most parents said they would change schools or remove the child from school rather than discuss problems with staff (Table 8.22).

Table 8.22 Hypothetical Options taken by Parents if Dissatisfied with the School

<u>% Mothers</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Remove child	15	31	35
Speak to teachers	10	12	29
Change Schools	50	19	29
No action	10	25	6
Don't know	15	12	-
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

Although parents did not regard themselves as having an active role to play in the process of their children's education, all had distinct expectations of the school and a uniform awareness of what could be achieved through it. School is an investment which pays off when it leads to an urban job. 78% of mothers in Shoshong, and 90% in Mosolotsane thought that children with secondary schooling had "no problems" in acquiring well paid employment. Parents varied however, in the extent to which they thought that an education enhanced their

particular child's income earning potential at their particular school. Thus 78% of mothers in Mosolotsane felt that attending school would not lead to a good wage for their children. Mothers in Mosolotsane held a low opinion of their school; 58% felt that the school did not teach a child "manners", and 78% felt that schools in other villages were better than their school, and referred to better inspection and an unspecified "better" level of provision. 43% in Shoshong and 64% in Kodibeleng felt that schools elsewhere were better than their own. Few are able to act on this perception; one woman in Mosolotsane, a Mophaleng, had sent her two eldest children to school in Pilikwe in the hope of improving their chances of selection to secondary school.

In general therefore, parents felt that education was "a good thing" but they varied in the extent to which they were prepared to invest in education, given the experience of pupils at their particular school. That primary school was "truly terminal" for pupils at Mosolotsane school was demonstrated each year to parents; the only successful pupil had a remarkable mother with a large goat herd. An index of unfulfilled demand for secondary school places is that half the sample said they would send a child to secondary school if they received a sudden windfall (Table 8.23).*

Table 8.23 Hypothetical Investment Options

<u>% Mothers who would invest in:</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Cattle	44	43	31
Secondary Education	47	47	54
Bank	3	-	8
Other	6	10	8
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

* (N.B. These options were presented to the respondents; this was not an open ended question)

Parents in Mosolotsane were less likely to see primary education as an end in itself, and more as an investment. When asked whether they would withdraw a child from school if it was obvious that it was not bright enough to continue to secondary school, 40% of mothers in Mosolotsane said they would. All the mothers in Kodibeleng and 94% in Shoshong said that the child should continue to standard 7 so that it could pick up basic skills. To most mothers in Mosolotsane schooling had little worth unless it led to a well paid job.

One aim of the contact made with other headteachers in Central District was to assess the extent to which parents in the study area were typical. 52 headteachers (40% of the total in Central District) replied to the letter sent to them. Rather more than half the parents in the catchment areas of the 52 schools were described by the headmaster as "unenthusiastic" about the school (27), and in 24 as "enthusiastic".

Those communities which were described as unenthusiastic were more likely to have schools which were built in the Independent era, and which were built by the Council. They were more likely to be small communities and the involvement of men in the PTA tended to be low. The 'unenthusiastic' communities were more likely than enthusiastic ones to have "many" non-attenders in the area (Table 8.24).

Headteachers mentioned six main problems affecting attendance. The most significant was that of distance. 36% of the headteachers mentioned that children had to walk long distances, and 20% that parents tended to remain at the lands:

"About 20% of the children in the area live within walking distance, of 5, 6 to 10 km. from the school; parents stay permanently and they do not want to move closer to the school."

(Dagwi school)

Table 8.24 Results from the Headteachers' Questionnaire

1. YEAR OF BUILDING

	<u>Enthusiastic</u>		<u>Unenthusiastic</u>	
	n replies	% of replies	n replies	% of replies
1901	1	5	-	-
1920s	2	9	-	-
1930s	2	9	-	-
1940s	1	5	-	-
1950s	5	22	6	22
1960s	7	31	15	53
1970s	6	27	7	25

2. BUILDING AGENCY

	n replies	% of replies	n replies	% of replies
Council	4	16.6	9	32.5
Community	17	70.8	13	46.4
One Individual	3	12.6	5	17.8
Company	-	-	1	3.5

3. ATTENDANCE OF MEN AND WOMEN AT THE PTA

	n replies	% of replies	n replies	% of replies
Both Men & Women	7	37.6	5	17.8
Men (mainly)	4	16.6	4	14.3
Women (mainly)	11	45.8	15	53.6
No PTA	-	-	4	14.3

4. ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL

	n replies	% of replies	n replies	% of replies
"Few" not attending	14	57	3	10
"Many" not attending	9	43	25	90

5. SETTLEMENT TYPE

	n replies	% of replies	n replies	% of replies
Large village	9	37	2	4
Small village	15	63	25	96

"Most of the people have left their homes and decided to stay at the lands."

(Thalogang school)

"In bad years parents prefer to be with their children at where they stay (i.e. the lands) and this causes drop outs at primary schools."

(Mathangwane school)

12% of the headteachers mentioned the problem of rivers, whilst attendance tends to drop off in the rainy season - "they come wet and drenched to the skin, shivering" (Dagwi school). 9% mentioned the problem of children left alone in the village, with no parents or guardians to ensure that they attend. 9% stated problems with water supplies in the village; hence parents stayed at more reliable sources outside the village.

Some headteachers blamed parents for non-attendance of their children - "parents allow their children to withdraw and go to work on the farms or go to towns" (Kudumatse school). Others noted that there were "more children outside school than in school" (Ramokgonami school). At Matsitama school, the headteacher noted,

"Due to poverty most of the children rely on CSM (school meals) and should not supplies come in for a period of a week or so, we are sure of some drop-outs."

65% of the headteachers stated there were "many" children not attending.

The majority of schools, 57%, were built by the community, and taken over at a later date by the Council. One, Palla Road, was built by families with cattleposts in the area:

"... because some of these people came from villages where schools existed, they decided to build a school in order to stay permanently with their children at the cattleposts."

Correspondence with headteachers would indicate that the parents of Mosolotsane are not untypical.

Political Organisations

The political organization of Shoshong was quite different to that of Kodibeleng and Mosolotsane. Whilst the familiar struggles between factions took place in all the villages, Shoshong has an elected, not a hereditary Chief, and the village houses the Tribal Administration, including the Land Board, for the area. Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng have hereditary headmen. The Chief and his Kgotla (or court) are seen as the most important political body by villagers; when asked what made a "good citizen", 72% of respondents in Shoshong replied, "supporting the Chief", and only 12% replied "supporting the government".

Mr. Monamoodi, Chief of Shoshong (a Mophaleng) sees his authority emanating from the government in the form of the Tribal Administration. He regards himself as a public servant, answerable to the people. As such he works well with Mr. Tlhoru, the Councillor, who is seen as a fellow public servant playing a parallel, not rival role. Mr. Monamoodi is literate, educated and popular. He has access to local councillors and to the area's M.P. He is a good administrator as well as being able to press claims for development in the area, and particularly in Shoshong. He takes part in school events and has been involved with the plans for a third school in Shoshong.

The headmen of Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng are rather different. Job Kgamane, part of the dikgosana of Shoshong is the ineffectual, traditionalist headman of Mosolotsane, who likes to assert his authority through the Kgotla. He perceives the PTA and the Village Development Committee as threats to his authority; his followers have been seen to tour the village requesting villagers not to attend PTA meetings.

The headman of Kodibeleng is less autocratic but merely uncertain

of the changes which have occurred since Independence. He wanted the school to be located near to his ward and ordered its boycott when the school was sited in a central location. He has now consented to the removal of his Kgotla to a central position also, whilst the boycott has been abandoned.

The Village Development Committees (VDCs) were designed in 1971, to facilitate village development. They can perform useful work. For example, Shoshong's VDC produced a "Village Plan" - such an innovation that it received mention in the "Daily News". The VDC has raised funds for teachers' housing (which is extremely important in attracting teachers) and other capital projects. The Shoshong branch of the Botswana Council of Women also raises funds and arranges village events.

Mosolotsane has no functioning VDC and no other groups. Kodibeleng has a VDC which is not particularly active, and the headteacher of Kodibeleng school arranges a Women's Group similar to the BCW.

Summary

Educational levels of the adult population in the three villages were low. The majority had no education which could make a difference to income earning potential. Of the Bangwato adults however, most had received some education, 72% had completed primary schooling, whilst of these more than half had some secondary schooling. Thus adult Bangwato have achievement levels in excess of those of the next generation of teenaged Bakgalagadi.

Whilst the provision of schools in the Bakgalagadi villages has allowed some catching up at the primary level, few Bakgalagadi children continue to secondary school. Only one child schooled in Mosolotsane

has continued to secondary school. Pupils at one secondary school, Madiba, are drawn disproportionately from large settlements and from households containing waged workers.

Furthermore, there are significant numbers of children not enrolled in primary school. The child population of the Study area (Census areas 31, 32, 33, 49 and 56-65) was calculated as 3,411 in 1971. In 1978 the four schools contained 1,730 pupils or 50.7% of the Study area's 1971 child population. Those not enrolled are drawn predominantly from the remoter areas, as between two-thirds and three-quarters of the village children are enrolled.

There are also children within walking distance of schools not enrolled. Of the children not enrolled in the survey, two-thirds had never attended and one third had dropped out. Whilst wastage remains a problem, a larger problem remains that of enrolling children in the first place. Whilst factors which may affect non-enrolment, such as the relationship between the school and community, parents' perceptions and the level of political organization in the village provide partial explanations for irregular attendance and wastage, they provide less satisfactory explanations for non-enrolment. That is, factors internal to the education system (the provision of classrooms, qualified teachers, good relations between teachers and parents etc.) may not be as important in explaining non-enrolment as factors external to the school. These factors will now be addressed.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION, CATTLE-
OWNERSHIP, CROP PRODUCTION AND EDUCATION

Introduction

A number of main points emerge from Chapters 7 and 8.

Firstly, the traditional spatial structure, reflecting socio-economic differences between the tribes remains largely intact. The politically dominant Bangwato, and the Baphaleng and Bokaa were found in the sub-regional capital, Shoshong, and the Bakgalagadi and other serf tribes in the marginal, less fertile areas in small villages such as Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng on the edge of the sandsveldt. There was a small but significant Baphaleng ward in Mosolotsane.

Secondly, the ownership of cattle is highly skewed, with a small number of farmers owning large herds and with the majority of the population unable to rely on income from cattle alone. A trend of large farmers operating on a commercial basis could be seen, together with the traditional routes to small herd ownership closing, and with the traditional largesse of large cattleowners declining.

Thirdly, educational levels of the adult population were low. The child population of the Bakgalagadi villages had a much better chance of attending school than had the adult population, but there were still significant inequalities in attainment between the tribal groups. In addition there were large numbers of children (approximately 1,600) in the wider study area not enrolled at all. Secondary school attendance was dominated by a few households which had a family member in modern sector employment and/or a large cattleherd, and/or were Bangwato, who tended to be helped by wealthier relatives even if they had their own resources. The Bakgalagadi had reduced chances of attending secondary school due to a number of factors, some internal and others external

to the school system.

Two main factors internal to the school system were the lower standards of education due to higher teacher turnover, (as measured by the headteachers' estimates of length of service of their staff), fewer teaching materials etc. (and therefore reduced chances of a good pass at the Primary School Leaving Certificate), and the system of allocation of secondary school places which discriminates against rural dwellers (see pp.168-70).

Among the factors external to the education system were lower levels of income, and therefore a lack of financial resources with which to fund secondary schooling; lower parental commitment given poor school-community relations and the poor record of schools in obtaining secondary school places; and the lack of a "school-orientated culture", i.e. lack of awareness of the educational aims of schooling, as distinct from the "instrumental" aims of schooling.

Fourthly, the majority of villagers were involved in subsistence farming, but due to a lack of employment in the villages, the unreliability of crop production and the lack of cattle, there was a large amount of labour migration. A small percentage of people had migrated on a semi-permanent basis, retaining links with the village through remittances. Most migrants were involved in short term migration, such as on contract to the South African mines.

From these four main points, one central point emerges, which will be the subject of this chapter. That is, there was a circular

relationship between cattleownership, education, traditional status and migration. From the study it emerged that there exists a mechanism of upward mobility based on access to cattle above the numbers required for subsistence, which therefore enables investment in secondary schooling, and a mechanism of downward mobility resting on lack of access to cattle, low levels of education and an inability to participate in the waged economy. A model of the relationship between cattleownership, education, migration and traditional status is shown in Figure 9.1 and will be discussed at greater length.

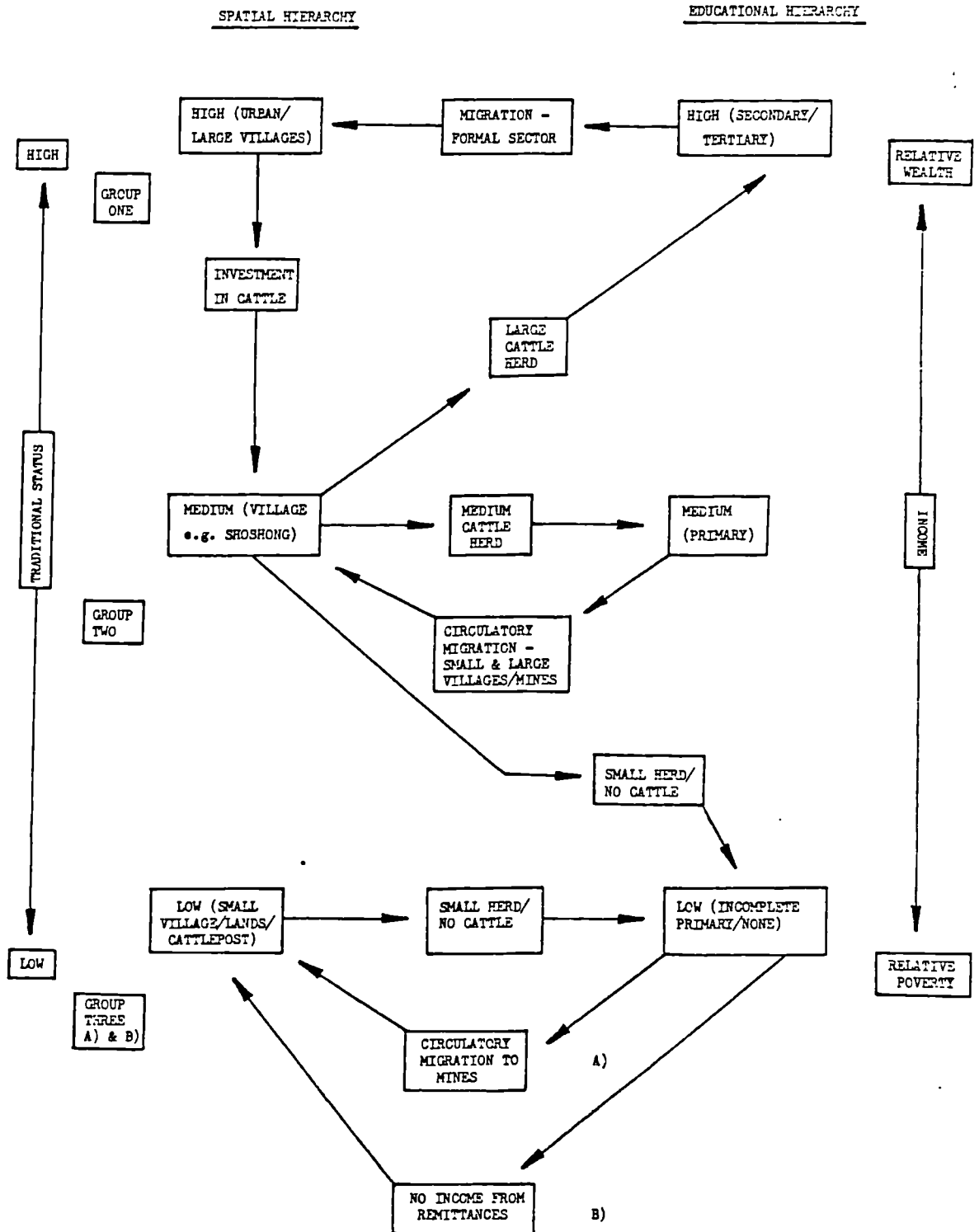
Further, the study suggests that a 'dual economy' model of poor rural dwellers and rich urban migrants does not operate. Rather, the wealthier urban employed were also the richer rural commercial farmers, whilst the poorer migrant labourers were also the poorer rural subsistence farmers. This too will be discussed in greater detail.

Cattle

It has been demonstrated that ownership of cattle is highly unequal; 44% of the sample had no cattle (R.I.D.S. found 45% of this sample with no cattle). If more than 40 head is required to support a family without other income sources, 82% of the sample required other income sources.

Systematic differences in household cattle herd size emerged for migrants destined for different locations. Those seeking work and the poorly paid (e.g. miners) had fewer cattle than the non-migrants; those moving to attend secondary school or to urban employment had more cattle than the non-migrants. All those migrants who were away seeking work at the time of the survey came from households without

Figure 9.1 The Dynamic Relationship between Education, Cattleownership, Migration and Wealth Accumulation



cattle. 81% of the miners, 45% of those working in the smaller villages and 39% of those working in towns, came from households with no cattle. 40% of those who had never moved and 22% of those away at secondary school came from households with no cattle.

A similar pattern emerges when crop production figures are analysed. 75% of those seeking work, 63% of the miners, 46% and 36% of the town and village workers respectively, and 44% of the school goers came from households which produced no crops in the (good) season of 1977/78. Of those who stayed in the village, 22% came from households which produced no crops. It is not known whether migrants responded to crop failure by leaving the village or whether the earlier withdrawal of labour contributed to the crop failure. Thirdly, some families had withdrawn from crop production due to a reliable income from remittances.

The cattleownership and crop production of the "fathers" in the sample (i.e. the husbands of the respondents) also varied according to their migration history. A similar proportion of the migrants and non-migrants had no cattle. However, fathers who were absent at the cattleposts were most likely not to have any cattle, and had a mean herd size of 8. Non-absent fathers had a mean cattle herd size of 23. All the fathers who were absent at the cattleposts, 75% of those resident in the village and 40% of those absent working, produced some crops in 1977/78. Thus absence from the village in waged employment reduced the likelihood of crop production compared to those remaining in the village, whilst absence at the cattlepost increased the likelihood of crop production. However, despite the smaller number of fathers in waged work who produced crops, the average number of bags produced by this group (that is, producers and non-producers) exceeds that produced by either of the other two groups. The absent-in-waged work fathers produced, or rather, their

households produced, an average of 10.4 bags even though 60% produced none. The non-absentees, with 25% producing nothing, produced an average 6.1 bags, and the fathers at the cattleposts, who all ploughed, produced only 3.5 bags. This reinforces the earlier finding that those who are most likely to plough are those most dependent on subsistence income. They are also least likely to produce good yields. Households with migrants in waged work either do not plough at all or invest a considerable amount in hired labour and other inputs, to produce above average yields.

All the adults in the sample were placed into three groups according to the number of cattle owned by their household, i.e. those with more than 100 head comprise group one, 41 to 99 head, group two and those with none or 40 and less, group three. The groups were compared in terms of educational attainment, non-agricultural income and migration experience. The comparison is tabulated in Table 9.1. More than a quarter of individuals from households in group one had attended secondary school. The opportunity index for attending secondary school was 1.5, 0.4 and 0.03 respectively for the three groups. (If opportunity was equally distributed, the index would equal 1.) 26% of the individuals in group one had migrated up the spatial hierarchy (not including migration so as to attend school), to jobs in towns and large villages, and only 1.8% were miners. The proportion migrating to modern sector employment in larger centres is reduced to 12.6% and 5.6% in the other two groups, whilst the proportion of miners increases. Likewise the proportion moving to settle in smaller centres increases as the number of cattle decreases. Those households with the most cattle produce almost twice the average non-agricultural income of the group with the fewest cattle.

Table 9.1 Education, Migration and Income by Number of Cattle

	<u>Group One</u>	<u>Group Two</u>	<u>Group Three</u>
	Adults from Households with 100+ cattle. n = 66 17% of total	Adults from households with 41-99 cattle. n = 78 21% of total	Adults from households with 0-40 cattle n = 231 62% of total
% with Secondary Schooling	27	9	5
% with no Education	27	52	57
Average non-agricultural income of the household (Pula)	P284	P212	P148
% of total non-agricultural income claimed by each group	18.6	26.4	54.8
% of Miners	1.8	10	10
% working in agriculture	59	68	75
% Migrants to larger settlements	26	12.6	5.6
% Migrants to smaller settlements	0	4	8

The Relationship between Education and Migration

Average years of schooling also varied according to the destination of the migrant. At the time of the survey, the average number of years of education of those from Shoshong working in Gaborone was 8.1 years (i.e. with some secondary schooling). The average number of years of schooling of miners from Shoshong in South Africa was 1.3 years. This trend is repeated in the other villages (Table 9.2) and also by the educational levels of all those who have ever migrated. Of those who had ever moved to work in the towns, the average schooling was 7.1 years whilst that of the mine workers was 1.6 years (Table 9.3).

Table 9.2 Education of Migrants and Non-Migrants (of those absent at the time of the survey)

<u>Destination</u>	<u>Years of Education</u>		
	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Gaborone	8.1	5	10.3
Large villages	6.3	2.2	4.7
Small villages	8.0	5.5	-
Other towns	4.3	4	11
South Africa	1.3	1.8	0.8
Cattlepost	0.6	0.5	1.2
Non-migrants	3.9	2.0	1.9

Table 9.3 Education of Past Migrants and Non-Migrants

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Years of Education</u>		
	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Miners	1.6	2.0	1.3
Urban workers	7.1	5.0	9.6
Village workers	5.2	-	2.7
Work seekers	6.0	5.3	-
Non-migrants	3.2	2.0	.8

54.5% of the miners had no education at all, whilst a further 36% had 4 years or less, and none had completed primary school. Only 7% of those who found work in town had no education, whilst 54% had some secondary education. All those who had remained in the village had no secondary education.

Table 9.4 Proportion of Migrants with No Education by Destination

<u>% with no education of:</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Miners	54.5	57	70
Urban workers	8	0	0
Village workers	27	-	50
Non-migrants	31	62	81

The three tables illustrate that those with less education than the non-migrant population tend to migrate to the South African mines or to spend long periods at the cattlepost, whilst those with more education than the non-migrants are drawn to the modern sector jobs inside Botswana.

Figures showing the propensity to migrate by length of education indicate that rather than the familiar 'J' curve (Gould, 1981, p.19) there is no rise in propensity to migrate until the secondary school sector is reached (Figure 9.2). That is, individuals with 1 to 6 years of education, or 7 years (i.e. a completed primary school education) are no more likely to migrate than those with no education. (These figures do not include migration so as to attend secondary school).

All the adults in the sample were divided into three groups, those with secondary schooling (group one), those with seven years of primary education (group two) and those with no education or an incomplete primary education (group three) Table 9.5). The 10% of adults with secondary schooling earned 43.2% of the total non-agricultural income (i.e. more than the 73% in group 3 earned), with an average of P955, compared with P155 and P78 for the other two groups. Half those in group one came from households with more than 100 cattle, but 29% came from households with no cattle. The latter represent only 2.8% of the total adult sample, but do indicate that it is possible to obtain a secondary school education with no cattle assets. There was a correlation coefficient of +.93 between number of cattle owned and secondary school attendance. Two thirds of those with a secondary school education had migrated to larger settlements and modern sector jobs, and only 16% were engaged in agriculture, compared with 84% of those in group three.

For the adults in the sample there were positive correlations between years of schooling and number of cattle owned. (For example, for men in Shoshong, $r = +.52$, in Kodibeleng $+.81$ and in Mosolotsane $+.63$). For the three educational groups (groups 1, 2 and 3 outlined above) there

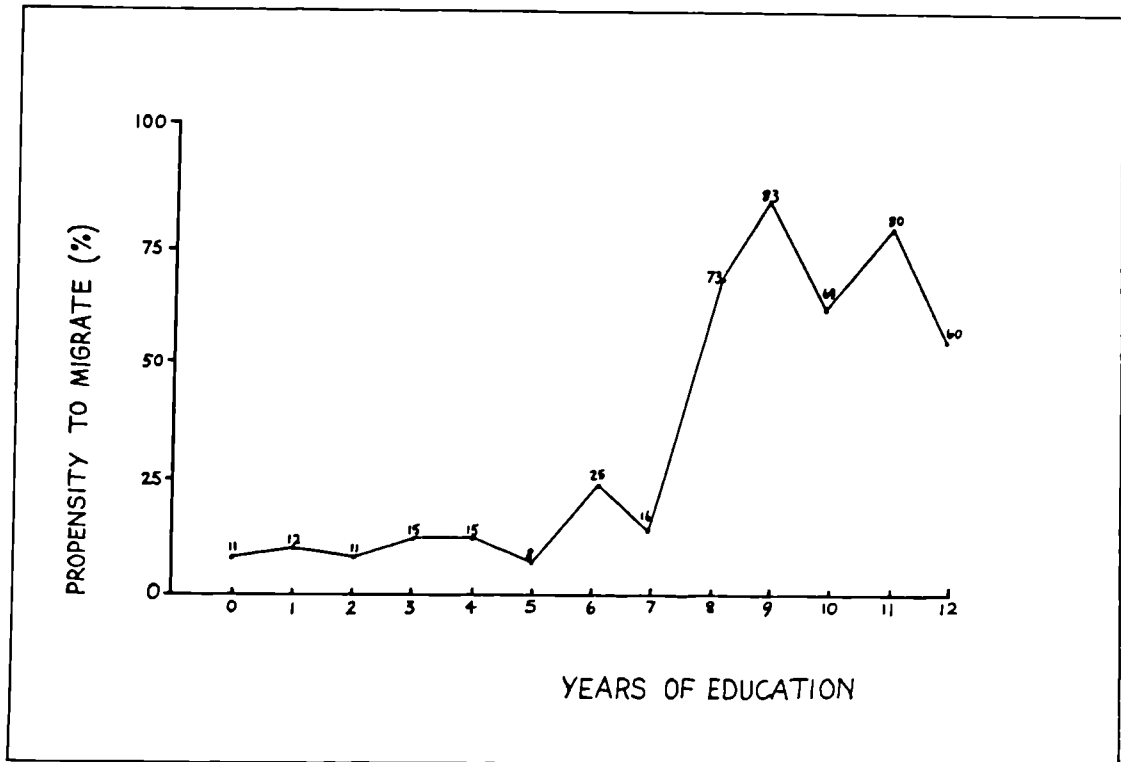


Figure 9.2 Length of Education and Propensity to Migrate

Table 9.5 Cattle, Migration and Income by Years of Education

	<u>Group One</u>	<u>Group Two</u>	<u>Group Three</u>
	Adults with Secondary Education	Adults with completed Primary Education	Adults with no education or incomplete Primary Education
	n = 37 9.8% of total	n = 63 16.8% of total	n = 275 73.4% of total
Average number of cattle per household	175	77	52
% of total cattle owned by each group	24.7	18.7	56.5
% with no cattle	29	37	43
% with 100+ cattle	50	24	10
Average non- agricultural income of household per annum (Pula)	P955	P155	P78
% of total non- agricultural income claimed by each group	43.2	15.8	40.9
% of miners	0	2	7
% migrants to larger settlements	66	11	1.4
% working in agriculture	16	71	84

was a significant difference (at the .001 level using chi-squared tests) between the groups in terms of cattle ownership.

Traditional Status

The traditional class structure was described on page 68. If the adult sample is divided into three groups, the dikgosana, badintlha and malata, large variations in education, cattleownership and migration patterns emerge. Whereas 36% of the dikgosana have both a secondary school education and belong to households with more than 100 cattle, comparative figures for the badintlha are 1.8% and for the malata 0.4%. Dikgosana households have an average non-agricultural income of P550, i.e. three times that of the other two groups. Although the gini coefficient of inequality for the distribution of non-agricultural income was only 5%, the dikgosana, 6% of the total population claimed 15% of the total non-agricultural income. The dikgosana have an average herd size of 120, i.e. three times the herd size of the other two groups. The opportunity index to attend secondary school was 13.8, 0.3 and 0.05 for the three groups! (If opportunities were distributed equally, the index would equal 1.)

Whilst the dikgosana are advantaged in every respect, the distance between the badintlha and malata is not great in terms of cattle and income. However, more badintlha have gone to secondary school. The two groups do differ in the extent to which migrants find work inside Botswana and at the South African mines. 8.6% of the malata who had migrated found waged work inside Botswana compared with 38.1% of badintlha migrants and 62.4% of dikgosana migrants. A quarter of the badintlha

Table 9.6 Secondary Schooling, Cattle, Income and Migration by
Traditional Social Status

	<u>Group One</u>	<u>Group Two</u>	<u>Group Three</u>
	Adults from Dikgosana (Royal) house- holds n = 21 6% of total	Adults from Badintlha (Commoner) households n = 125 33% of total	Adults from Malata (Serf) households n = 229 61% of total
% with secondary schooling	36	5.5	1.6
Average number of cattle per household	120	40	38
% with no cattle	0	39	42
% with 100+ cattle	100	15	2
Average non-agricultural income of household per annum	P550	P155	P194
% of total non- agricultural income claimed by each group	15	25.6	58.9
% miners (of migrants only)	0	25.6	34
% migrants to waged employment (of migrants only)	62	38	8

migrants and one third of the malata found work in the South African mines, that is, where wages are not as high, where it is not possible to take family lodgers who could attend secondary school, and where contracts are for a specified, short period.

Traditional status, based on tribal origin can be seen as a significant factor in contemporary status. "Tribal" differences are seldom mentioned in modern Botswana. Certainly tribal differences are not as marked as in other African countries; the bulk of the Batswana derive from common ethnic stock and the differences are socio-economic rather than ethnic or racial. (The Basarwa (bushmen), Herero (from Namibia) and the Kalanga (or Bakalaka) are the main exceptions.) Perhaps the "tribes" are better conceptualized as "clans" arranged in a hierarchy of prestige and wealth. Undoubtedly however, tribal origin is an important factor in Botswana and one which tends to be overlooked by social researchers. There is no published data on the size of different tribal groups; it cannot be assumed that for example, the whole population in the Kweneng is Bakwena, in Kgatleng Bakgatla or in Central District, Bangwato. Thus, whilst the disadvantage of the Basarwa has been recognized, there may be other groups facing structural disadvantage. This appears to be the case with the Bakgalagadi in the study area.

Migration and Income

Data on income are unreliable, but questions were asked about cash incomes, in order to assess the amount of cash available to different households (Table 9.7). These figures illustrate the relative poverty of cattlepost dwellers.

Table 9.7 Annual Cash Income of Absentees and Non-Absentees, in Pula

	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Non-Agricultural Income of:			
Households with non- absentee father	125	189	166
Households with absentee father	590	341	316
Households with father at cattlepost	37	150	-

Cooper in Botswana (1979) and Murray in Lesotho (1978) have demonstrated that migrant earning capacity, not agricultural output, is the crucial variable determining the possibility of wealth accumulation. The survey supports Murray's findings, that "households with a substantial income from migrant earnings are in a better position to invest in agriculture than households with very little income from migrant labour" (Murray, 1978, p.129). Whilst this may seem obvious, it does help to explain wealth disparities. 33% of households in Shoshong, 17% in Mosolotsane and 4% in Kodibeleng received the majority of their income in remittances. Cooper (1979) and Kerven (1979) have shown that the simplistic dual economy model of poor rural households engaged in subsistence agriculture and rich urban households does not hold for Botswana. The better paid urban workers are also the rich rural cattle-owners; the poorer unskilled workers and miners are also the poor rural farmers.

To summarize thus far, individuals acquiring above average levels of education, (Group 1 in Figure 9.1) are able to find modern sector

employment in the larger settlements, and retain the link with the village of origin through the household's continued location there and through investment in cattle, which are located at the household's cattlepost and managed by the household and hired labour. Group 2 comprises those with average levels of education and average numbers of cattle, who will tend not to migrate, or to migrate for short periods. Group 3 comprises those with below average levels of education, who migrate for short periods to the mines or who do not participate in the modern sector and who may not have any income from remittances. There is evidence to suggest that households in this group are moving down the spatial hierarchy. Several households in the three villages did not participate at all in the waged economy. 22% in Shoshong, 11% in Mosolotsane and 3% in Kodibeleng had no other source of income apart from their subsistence agriculture. Evidence suggests that these form the poorest stratum of all.

Movement down the Spatial Hierarchy

Whilst individual migration up the spatial hierarchy, from villages such as Shoshong to larger centres means, for the majority of migrants and their households, an increase in income, movement down the spatial hierarchy by whole households, from villages such as Shoshong to smaller settlements, is taken as a sign of increasing impoverishment. Such movement tends to be undertaken by households as a means of improving their farming. However, the survey has shown that those most dependent on their agricultural produce are the least efficient farmers due to a lack of resources.

Evidence that whole households or parts of them are moving down

the settlement hierarchy, to smaller villages and lands areas is scanty compared to the amount of data collected on labour migration and rural-urban migration. A survey of the Shoshong area in 1972 found that 113 households from a total of 1,361 were settled permanently at their lands (Syson, 1972, p.49). Syson writes:

"Although a movement to living at the lands is discernable, about its speed, the reasons for it, the factors which stop other people following and the type of people who do move, far too little is known."

(Syson, 1972, p.43)

An agricultural survey in 1972 noted that:

"... the system (tripartite) of having one dwelling each at the village, lands and cattleposts has broken down to the extent that it was found that a small majority of households had a dwelling at one place only."

(Botswana Government,
1972, p.36)

It has never been established however, that the tripartite system did exist for all households. Visitors to Shoshong between 1844 and 1900 emphasised the "impression of a solid block of limitless fields" (Fosbrooke, 1971, p.184), which were adjacent to the village. From the turn of the century lands were cultivated at increasing distances from the village, due to loss of fertility in the immediate vicinity. The distance between lands and village may now be up to 40 miles (Table 9.8). However, the Bakgalagadi villagers tend to cultivate land which is closer to the village; 58% of the Mosolotsane households had lands which were less than three miles from the village. These villagers also tend to maintain their cattle in the village or at the lands (Table 7.9) and would therefore have only one residence.

Table 9.8 Distance between "Lands" and Village

<u>% Households</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Distance:			
1-3 miles	6	58	26
4-7 "	38	32	52
8-12 "	22	-	15
13-20 "	19	2	-
21-40 "	6	-	3
No lands	6	8	-
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

Table 9.9 Migration of Households to the Three Villages

<u>% Households</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Non-migrant	100	62	81
Migrants from larger village		18	8
Migrants from smaller village		20	11
	—	—	—
	100	100	100
	—	—	—

The present survey observed a trend which was noted by the 1971 Census. Unlike the 1964 Census, that carried out in 1971 enumerated people where they actually were at the time of the Census, rather than by the village to which they "belonged". Thus 52.4% of the population was found in villages with fewer than 500 people, 24.6% lived at their lands and 12.9% at cattleposts.

The present survey found that a number of households had moved from Shoshong, Mahalapye and Kalamare to smaller villages, whilst several had moved from small hamlets into the small villages. Table 9.9 indicates the size of this movement; 38% of households in Mosolotsane had migrated to the village.

Table 9.10 indicates the amount of interaction between villages of different sizes, by showing the birthplaces of 903 individuals now living in the three villages and Tobela, the lands area 6 miles east of Shoshong. 15% of the residents of Mosolotsane were born in Shoshong, and are mainly Baphaleng. The Phaleng ward has developed over the past twenty years, with movement increasing in the latter part of that period, and the reasons appear to be economic. The Baphaleng in Mosolotsane had fewer cattle than the Baphaleng in Shoshong, and less education. The exceptions were two Baphaleng households which had moved twenty years ago, had established **shebeens** and were amongst the wealthiest in the village. (They were mentioned above.) The female headed households which had moved from Shoshong hoped to escape the competition from 'shebeens' in the larger village and to make a livelihood through brewing beer. Other households which had moved from larger villages said that they wished to improve their farming, by moving closer to their lands and cattleposts. These households had become relatively more dependent on their subsistence produce, whilst above it was shown that such households are also likely to

be the least successful farmers. Thus, those moving down the settlement hierarchy may be amongst the most impoverished in rural society. Syson found that "nearly twice as many (46% compared to 27%) of those living permanently at the lands as those living in the villages were cattleless and the village dwellers were far more likely to have large herds (50 or more) than lands dwellers" (Syson, 1972, p.48). The lands households were more likely to plough late, whilst fewer owned ploughs. Their income was rather lower than that of the village population and they were more likely to be undernourished (Syson, 1972, p.47).

Table 9.10 Place of Birth of Sample Population (n = 903)

% individuals born in:	(approx. population)	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>	<u>Tobela</u>
Shoshong	3,000	99	15	1	19
Mosolotsane	700	-	65	4	-
Kodibeleng	500	1	-	77	-
Tobela	400	-	-	-	81
Thbala	750	-	2	-	-
Kalamare	900	-	3	-	-
Moiyabana	940	-	6	-	-
Mmanakalengwe	90	-	8	-	-
Ikongwe	450	-	-	8	-
'Lands'	-	-	-	4	-
Serowe	16,000	-	1	4	-
		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng had attracted a number of households from small hamlets around the Bakgalagadi villages. Ikongwe for example, has no water supply and no service facilities. A proportion of its population had moved to Kodibeleng to take advantage of the borehole, clinic and school. These households retained links with Ikongwe and were willing to return there if a borehole and school were supplied there. The hamlet of Mmanakalengwe, one hour's walk outside Mosolotsane, in contrast, is in permanent decline. It is not large enough for facilities to be duplicated there, and was emptying into Mosolotsane.

Thus, the small villages of Kodibeleng and Mosolotsane were attracting households which had their lands and/or cattleposts in their vicinity, and also households which were already settled close to their lands but which wished to take advantage of the facilities newly provided in the villages. Some of the movement between the Bakgalagadi villages (Moiyabana, Thbala, Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng) could be explained by the movement of women upon marriage. Most Bakgalagadi had kin in other Bakgalagadi villages and 20% of the "mothers" in Mosolotsane and 26% in Kodibeleng had moved village on marriage.

Migration, Education and the Structure of the Household

Between one quarter and one third of households in the Bakgalagadi villages did not originate there, whilst 18% and 8% in Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng respectively had moved there from larger villages. The migration of sections of extended families, either as individuals to seek work, or as households moving to lands and cattlepost areas, has affected the structure of households. The size and composition of the household has important implications for its income earning ability and its income requirements.

Schapera described the typical household in 1940:

"It consists basically of a man with his wife or wives and their unmarried children, but often also includes one or more married sons, brothers, and even daughters, with their respective spouses and children."

(Schapera, 1940, p.141)

The data show that many households in the three villages deviate from this picture. 37% of households in Shoshong, 27% in Mosolotsane and 30% in Kodibeleng are headed by women. Approximately half the mothers sampled who were also head of their own household were single, independent women, whilst the remainder were widowed or separated. A large number of women, therefore, do not live under the guardianship of a man, as was the custom in the past (Table 9.11).

Table 9.11 Relationship of Head of Household to Respondent (n = 102)

% respondents:			
Relationship to Household			
Head	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Husband	44	53	44
Father	12	-	26
Brother	6	5	-
Uncle	-	2	-
Father-in-law	3	10	11
Brother-in-law	-	3	-
Self	28	20	4
Mother	6	3	15
Sister	-	2	-
Mother-in-law	3	2	-
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Approximately one third of the mothers sampled were unmarried (Table 9.12). Approximately half the young people (aged 20 or less) in the sample lived in a household which did not contain their father.

Table 9.12 Marital Status of the Mothers (n = 102) in the Sample

<u>%</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Single	38.5	32.5	37
Married	41.6	57.5	59
Divorced	3.3	-	-
Widowed	16.6	10	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 9.13 Proportion of individuals under 20 living in Households with Parents not Present

<u>% individuals living with:</u>	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Both parents	26.6	48.6	43.5
Father only	2.6	.8	.4
Mother only	58.8	45.9	46.5
Neither parent	12.0	4.7	9.6
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

In Shoshong 26% of young people lived with both parents whilst 12% lived with neither. The latter may be servants, or children adopted at an early age, or children sent to live with an aunt or older sister, who do not have children of their own.

A majority of households contained three generations. 75% of households in Shoshong, 52% in Mosolotsane and 81% in Kodibeleng were three-generational households. Between one quarter and one third contained the families of two siblings living together. The average household contained 10 people, including non-permanent absentees. The average composition of the household is shown in Table 9.14. These averages disguise handicaps faced by female headed households. Male headed households had an average of 10.9 members and female headed households 8.3 members, the difference being a lack of men, not of dependents. 31% of households in Shoshong had no males aged 18 to 64, compared to 5% in Mosolotsane and 7% in Kodibeleng. The dependency ratio (of infants, school pupils and the elderly to workers) was 1:0.76 in Shoshong, 1:0.9 in Mosolotsane and 1:1.2 in Kodibeleng. Female headed households had a larger number of dependents than male headed households.

Table 9.14 Composition of an "Average" Household

	<u>Shoshong</u>	<u>Mosolotsane</u>	<u>Kodibeleng</u>
Men (aged 18-64)	1.8	1.9	2.6
Women(aged 18-64)	2.5	2.4	3.2
Men (aged 65+)	.25	.07	.18
Women (aged 65+)	.18	.15	.14
Boys (school aged)	1.4	1.2	1.7
Girls(school aged)	1.6	1.4	1.8
Boys (under 6)	1.0	1.0	1.07
Girls (under 6)	1.25	.9	.9
	<u>10.1</u>	<u>9.06</u>	<u>11.4</u>

Although households without male members of working age may receive help from male relations, particularly in ploughing, this help may not arrive at the right time, and a woman's fields tend to be ploughed last. 18% of the total sample produced no crops in 1977/78 but 40% of the female headed households without adult men produced none. 44% of the total sample had no cattle, whereas 73% of the female headed households had none.

The lack of a husband does not prevent a woman from raising a family. In Shoshong the unmarried mothers had an average of 5.1 children and the married had 5.5 children. (The average age of both groups was 39). The data show that more boys were born (boy:girl ratio of 106:100) but mortality is higher amongst infant boys, and the ratio of boys to girls surviving was 96:100. By the age of 25 a woman could expect to have 3 children (but as only mothers were interviewed, this may not be true for the entire population). The average age at the birth of the first child was 20 in Shoshong and 18 in the Bakgalagadi villages. Evidence suggests that women are having their first child at an earlier age than women did in the past, and that they are less likely to marry. Thus, women are more likely to have dependent children without the male economic help necessary to provide for them.

The structure of the household affects the education of its members. Children were more likely to attend school if they lived in a three generational household. This may be related to the higher educational levels of single mothers, who often live with their parents (Table 9.15A). However, single women who set up their own households have higher educational levels than other women yet their sons are the least likely to attend school (Table 9.15B).

Table 9.15A Proportion of Children not enrolled in school by Household Head

Household Head:	% Boys not enrolled	% Boys enrolled	% Girls not enrolled	% Girls enrolled
Grandfather	25	75	8	92
Father	26	74	23	77
Grandmother	10	90	15	85
Mother	39	61	19	81

Table 9.15B Proportion of Children not enrolled by Marital Status of Mother

	% Boys not enrolled	% Boys enrolled	% Girls not enrolled	% Girls enrolled
Unmarried mother	24	76	8	92
Married mother	31	69	23	77

There were no significant differences in enrolment according to household size.

More fathers of non-attenders were present in the villages than those of attenders. 81% of those not enrolled had fathers who were non-absentees, compared with 72% of the attenders. It could be expected, if children perform absent adults' work, that more fathers of attenders would be present in the village than of non-attenders. However, 64% of the fathers of boy non-attenders (all of whom had migrated at one point) had migrated to the mines in South Africa, compared with 39% of the fathers of boy attenders. (Figures for the corresponding groups of girls are 67% and 50%.) Figures for fathers who left the village to take up waged employment in the modern sector show the reverse trend, with 29% of the fathers of attenders moving for this reason compared with 18% of the fathers of non-attenders. This is what can be expected given the relationships in Figure 9.1.

Once a household has moved down the spatial hierarchy, there is less likelihood of attending a well established school, or if settled at lands or cattleposts, of living within walking distance of a school. The effect of location on one tribe, the Bokaa, which is found in three settlements, Shoshong, Mosolotsane and Tobela is such that of the Shoshong Bokaa 89% of primary aged children were enrolled, in Mosolotsane 75% and in Tobela (where there is no school), 66%.

Non-Enrolment and Labour

The original research problem was to investigate which children were denied access to schooling. A village study which investigated households living within range of a school minimized the number of children denied physical access to schooling. Little previous research had been carried out on this issue. Smith (1977, 1979) describes the decision to school a child as one largely made by the individual household. She suggests that some families cannot afford the direct or indirect (or opportunity) costs of schooling; that some parents "lack a positive attitude to primary schooling" (1977, p.27); and that "the principal reason for non-enrolment is the need many households have for the labour of their children" (1977, p.27).

The type of households from which non-enrolees originate is unclear. Smith notes, "Non enrolees are, therefore, the children of the very poorest households (often those headed by women)" (Smith, 1977, p.27) and, "Scholars also tended to come from the richer households, and those headed by women" (Smith, 1979, p.26).

Mueller's data on time use in rural areas suggest that "children who are not in school have so much leisure time that many of them could

do both their income earning work and attend school with little conflict between the two" (Mueller, 1979, p.9). Smith, commenting on Mueller's work concedes, "it would seem that some boys could readily give up some leisure time in favour of more schooling" (Smith, 1979, p.13).

The survey (particularly the interviews with 117 children) supports the suggestion that boys and girls fit in their economic obligations with school attendance. This is so where economic tasks (e.g. cattle herding) take place in the same locality as the school. Where herding takes place at a distant cattle post then the combination of obligations is not possible. However, more boys in Mosolotsane did not attend school (where cattle tend to be kept close to the village), than in Shoshong (where cattle tend to be kept at cattle posts). The reverse could be expected if boys did not attend school so as to herd cattle. Further, children from households with more than 40 head had more education than those with few or no cattle; the majority of households, particularly in the Bakgalagadi villages, use members of the household to herd cattle and therefore it is not the case that non-attenders are herding the cattle of other households. Female headed households are least likely to own cattle, yet their sons were least likely to attend school. Using chi-squared tests, it was significant at the .001 level that non-attenders came from households with fewer cattle than those of attenders. It was also significant at the .001 level that non-attenders came from households which produced fewer crops.

The survey also found that more boys attended school where the father was absent from the village than those whose fathers were present. Again the reverse could be expected if boys were not enrolled in school so as to carry out tasks normally performed by adult males. Consistent with Lipton's and Mueller's data, the survey found that men and boys had considerable "idle time" (Mueller, 1979, p.6; Lipton, 1977).

The data show that non-attenders were more likely to come from households which include members who had worked at the South African mines than from households with absent members inside Botswana. The contention that boys drop out of school to herd cattle was not supported; whilst 20% of the non-attenders were indeed at the cattlepost, they had begun to herd after deciding not to attend school. The ease with which unskilled work is found at the mines provides an incentive not to attend school. Villagers in Mosolotsane were well aware of the value of education. There was no evidence of a "lack of a positive attitude". However, they are realistically aware of the limitations of their own school. (78% of mothers in Mosolotsane said that schools elsewhere were superior.) For all except one, primary schooling at Mosolotsane school has been terminal. Whilst education may be the route to a well paid job for some, this has not been demonstrated in Mosolotsane.

Households with children not attending did differ significantly (i.e. using chi-squared tests of significance) in some beliefs from households with children attending. On the question of whether a child should be withdrawn from school if it was obviously not bright enough to go to secondary school, households of non-attenders were more likely to suggest withdrawal before standard 7 (significant at the .01 level). Households of non-attenders were more likely to wish to invest in cattle than in secondary education (significant at the .001 level). There was no significant difference in the extent to which the households of non-attenders or of attenders thought that a secondary school education led to a "good" job, and there was also no significant difference in the extent to which the households thought that primary schooling kept a child from household tasks.

The suggestion that non-attendance of boys is related to the "culture" of mine labour migration is supported by evidence from other

villages in Central District. The boy:girl ratio in the district shows a significant difference above and below the 22° line. It ranges from 66:100 below the line to 157:100 above the line (see Maps 6.3 and 6.4). Recruitment above the 22° line has never been as high as from below it, whilst recruitment was suspended above the line between 1913 and 1934 due to the high mortality rate on the Rand (Taylor, 1982). There was a correlation of +.95 between latitude and proportion of boys enrolled.

Summary: Enrolment and the Village Economy

The village study, in the area formerly under the hegemony of the Bangwato, found that different classes remain in different locations. The Bangwato, all members of the dikgosana (related to the royal Khama family through Kgamane, Khama III's younger brother) lived in Shoshong, as did members of the Bokaa and Baphaleng dikgosana and commoners. There were significant linkages through marriage between the royalty of each tribe and with that of other tribes outside the area, such as the Bakwena. No bafaladi or malata were found in Shoshong. The smaller villages of Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng, on the fringe of the sandveldt, were comprised primarily of Bakgalagadi, formerly the malata of the Bangwato, and Kalanga (or Bakalaka), bafaladi originating in the North East District.

The economic base of Shoshong was quite different to that of the Bakgalagadi villages. Agricultural surveys claim that Shoshong is three times as rich in cattle as the national average. This is related to a small number of extremely wealthy cattle owners; the same proportion (44%) had no cattle in Shoshong as the rest of the rural population (45%) sampled by the RIDS.

A dichotomy existed between large and small owners in terms of herd management and marketing. In Shoshong several of the large owners formed a Marketing Co-Operative which sold cattle direct to the Botswana Meat Corporation and also transported foodstuffs, medicines etc. for cattle to the village, and arranged for the introduction of breeding stock. The prime aim of their farming was commercial, whilst the small farmer saw the sale of cattle as ancillary to their use for ploughing. The small owners sold smaller, younger beasts, which command half the price of full grown beasts, but which can be spared from ploughing. The larger cattle owners were withdrawing cattle from traditional reciprocal arrangements which allowed some redistribution of wealth. Routes to cattle ownership were declining as was the largesse based on cattle, whilst beef prices increased.

The larger cattle owners were likely either to plough larger acreages than the average and to produce surplus grain to sell in the village, or not to plough at all. Farmers with 100 or more cattle were least likely to plough yet this group as a whole produced the largest yields. The Bakgalagadi and female headed households were most likely to plough, although they were least likely to own cattle. They were the most dependent on subsistence income, yet most likely to experience crop failure.

Almost three-quarters of the Bakgalagadi village men had worked at the South African mines, compared with one third in Shoshong. Almost half the adult male population was absent from Shoshong at the time of the study compared with less than one third from the Bakgalagadi villages. Shoshong's migrants were more likely to work semi-permanently in the capital or other large centres whereas the Bakgalagadi villagers were more likely to be involved in circulatory movement, usually in mine labour migration. Indeed, 10% of Shoshong's adult men were engaged in the

"administrative class" of the government sector, earning up to P3000 per year, and 3% in the "industrial class" earning up to P1,100 per year. None of the Bakgalagadi were involved in such occupations, and only 2% of men from Mosolotsane were in any waged employment at all apart from mining. Considerable divisions existed therefore, between the richer families of Shoshong and the poorer families of Shoshong, Mosolotsane and Kodibeleng in terms of cattle ownership and migration experience.

There were large differences in educational attainment between the adult populations of the three villages. The presence of early missionary schools in Shoshong meant that most adults claimed at least one or two years of education but not of enough to make a difference to wage earning or to basic literacy. There were significant inter- and intra-village differences. 95% of the adult Bangwato had some education and 36% had some secondary education. 33% of the adult Bakgalagadi had some education and 1.6% had some secondary schooling. More Bangwato had secondary schooling than Bakgalagadi had primary schooling!

Differences in attainment for the primary school aged population were less marked, although more children from the Bakgalagadi villages did not attend school, (13% in Shoshong, 30% in Mosolotsane and 25% in Kodibeleng) and at the age of 14, the average years of schooling in Shoshong was 6.9 and 3.9 in Mosolotsane. Significantly more children from the Shoshong schools continued to secondary school; only one child had gone from Mosolotsane school to secondary school whilst Kodibeleng does not have a standard 7 class. Thus, although more Bakgalagadi children had the opportunity to attend primary school compared with their parents, significant numbers did not attend, and more importantly, attendance did not enhance income earning potential as access to secondary school is still denied.

Mothers in Mosolotsane had a less favourable image of their school than other mothers, but all were aware of the advantages which a secondary schooling could bring. Two indices of the unfulfilled demand for secondary school places are that 97% of pupils interviewed in Kodibeleng wished to go to secondary school, and approximately half the mothers interviewed said they would invest in secondary schooling (and the other half in cattle) if they had the cash. In general all parents were little involved with the work of the school, and saw little possibility of dialogue with teachers if they were dissatisfied with a child's progress. The parents of Mosolotsane are not untypical, as evidence from the headteachers in the district shows (Chapter 8). Non-local teachers were likewise little involved with the community, and often were qualified teachers merely fulfilling their obligation to work two years in a remote area. Apart from a minority, teachers were frustrated as teachers, working with few resources, or as professionals, with low wages and unfavourable conditions compared with other professionals.

Longitudinal data from school registers show that a larger proportion of primary school pupils complete the course, that fees have become less of a constraint (and were finally abolished in 1980) and that fewer children "desert". The household survey did not produce clear answers to the question put to mothers of why their children did not attend; most gave a "don't know" answer. Evidence suggests that children have the time to combine household tasks with school attendance, whilst there is no systematic relationship between the need for labour in the household and the non-enrolment of children. The opportunity cost of schooling is likely to be lowest in households with few assets. These families however, were least likely to send children to school. It is suggested above that boys do not attend school not because they are especially needed for herding but because they are aware of the possibility

of unskilled work without education, (at the mines in which their fathers and brothers have worked). Almost as many girls as boys do not attend school in the Bakgalagadi villages; parents and children may simply be realistic about the pay-off to primary schooling and of their chances of being selected for secondary schooling. Primary schooling is seen not as an end in itself but as preparation for secondary schooling. The latter is out of reach given the level of mine wages and the non-accumulation of cattle; the typical career of the migrant mine worker is to take several mine contracts interspersed with ploughing until the age of 40-45, and then to "retire" to the village with sufficient cattle for a subsistence income. If secondary schooling is out of reach then there is little point to primary schooling.

The ambivalence towards schooling is part of the "labour reserve culture" which has also resulted in female household heads (31% of households in Shoshong had no male members aged 18-64), of the emergence of a contracted three-generational family structure, and of beer brewing as a means of circulating cash (usually mine wages) in the community. (See Chapter 7)

A systematic relationship between cattle ownership, migration and education was postulated in Figure 9.1. That stratum of rural society which has not had to sell its labour in the South African mines, due to cattle wealth, has transformed cattle wealth into secondary education, modern sector employment and further cattle. The cattle wealth built up by the dikgosana is considerable. Chief Tshwene of the Bokaa boasted 1,300 head. Whilst 4% of the sample population had more than 100 head of cattle, 25% of secondary school attenders came from households with more than 100 head.

The village survey found that 44% of the population owned no cattle,

and 82% of the population did not own enough cattle to support itself without other means. 73% of the female headed households owned no cattle.

These data suggest that there is significant reproduction of the traditional social structure, with the social structure continuing to be reflected in the settlement pattern. Moreover, it is suggested that the observed movement of households down the spatial hierarchy (e.g. from Shoshong to Mosolotsane) is evidence of increasing impoverishment. Families which move so as to be closer to their lands and cattleposts and who are not engaged in the waged economy are known to be the poorest stratum of the rural population.

A dual economy model applied to Botswana suggests, wrongly, that there are rich, urban households involved in waged employment and poor, rural households engaged in subsistence agriculture. However, since the rich urban workers are also the wealthier rural cattle owners, and the poor informal sector workers and miners are also the poorer subsistence workers (with the poorest group those not engaged in any wage earning (Figure 9.1)), then it is necessary to focus on the factor which determines the type of non-rural involvement of the rural population. This factor is education. It can be suggested that the acquisition of education has been neglected by those concerned with income distribution and with the question of "peasantariat or proletariat"?

This dynamic is supported by evidence from other surveys. Schapera's work was the first to indicate that the bafaladi and malata were not found in the large villages whilst the dikgosana were always found in the largest. The movement up the spatial hierarchy of the wealthiest rural households is indicated by the Gaborone migration study (Stephens, 1976) which shows that 45% of migrants to Gaborone originate

in villages of over 5,000 people and only 10% from villages of less than 500. The proportion of the total population found in villages of each size is shown in Table 9.16.

Table 9.16 Population by Size of Village

<u>Village Size</u>	<u>1000+</u>	<u>500-1000</u>	<u>500-</u>
% of Population	37.9	10.4	51.6

Source: Botswana Government, 1972

Puzo's study of the origin of students at the University of Botswana shows that 86% originate in settlements of more than 1000, and 67% from settlements of more than 5000. (That is, from the towns, Gaborone, Lobatse and Francistown and the tribal capitals, Serowe, Mochudi, Kanye, Molepolole, Ramotswa, Maun and also Mahalapye.) (Puzo, 1979, p.162) Analysis of the Madiba school registers shows that 72% of pupils originate in villages with a population greater than 1000. (Chapter 8)

The importance of cattle to the accumulation of wealth is supported by the RIDS. Cattle farming is "by far the most important source of income for the richest households" (RIDS, 1975, p.96) (See Figure 3.1). Colclough and Fallon (1979) have quantified the contribution made to total income by increases in cattle income, and estimate the "amplifier" effect such that a one unit increase in cattle income leads to a 1.23 unit increase in total income. They conclude that cattle ownership is the

key determinant of household income. RIDS demonstrates not only how skewed cattle ownership is, but that of cattle owning households (i.e. 55% of the total) 10% own 50% of the cattle covered by the survey (RIDS, 1975, p.112).

Whilst RIDS shows that the richest households gain the majority of their income from cattle, the distribution of education between the four income groups described, and the type of employment engaged in by the four groups is not discussed. Therefore the relationship between cattle ownership and occupational status is not clear. This is a vital relationship if it is argued (as Massey (1978) and Cooper (1979) do) that it is the level of formal sector wages which structures cattle income and the type of cattle and lands involvement.

The relationship between education and wage levels is clear and is shown by Lucas, drawing on RIDS data. For rural workers who earned a wage in the month prior to the survey, the levels (in rand) are shown in Table 9.17, with wages in kind included at market prices (Lucas, 1979). The majority of the population however, are not in waged employment whilst a significant proportion have no household members in waged employment. Of a total labour force of 416,000, 69,200 were engaged in formal sector employment and 23,200 were migrant miners in 1978 (Botswana, 1980, p.20).

Table 9.17 Rural Monthly Wage by Level of Education

Education	<u>Monthly Wage (Rand)</u>	
	Male	Female
None	30.4	10.8
Standard 1-4	36.3	12.0
" 5-7	59.0	30.3
Form 1-3	104.0	58.6
" 4-5	179.6	-
Brigades	57.8	93.7
Higher	100.0	76.3

Source: Lucas, 1979, p.28.

Less than a quarter of the labour force were in wage earning positions. RIDS shows that the poorest 5% of the population had annual incomes of less than P182, with 70% of that in kind, and the richest 5% had annual incomes exceeding P3,136, in 1974. Cooper has shown how the large differentials between skilled and unskilled government wage earners have not been restructured since they were established under the colonial administration (Cooper, 1979, p.19).

The original research problem for the village study could be stated simply. It was to find out why some children attended school and others did not. The village study actually found a complex process involving access to cattle, education and waged employment, and uncovered a complex mechanism of wealth accumulation for some and increasing impoverishment for others. More detailed work would be required to note the precise ways in which households make decisions and use their resources. (Data collection in the area of economic decision-making, income and wealth is notoriously difficult, with many pitfalls for methodology. However, if the government wishes to stem the widening of income and wealth such work is necessary).

A model of the process occurring in the villages was presented in Figure 9.1. The dynamic which it expresses is supported by evidence from other surveys, but other research is needed to explore the particular, detailed relationships between the variables.

The village study also demonstrates that it is simplistic to think in terms of either behavioural/cultural explanations or materialist explanations for non-enrolment. Non-enrolment may have a materialist basis, upon which beliefs and practices have been built. For example, original non-enrolment due to the cost of fees has led to non-enrolment (now that the direct costs of schooling are minimal) for reasons such as

the belief that boys can gain employment (at the mines) without schooling, and that primary schooling does not lead to higher wages anyway. Likewise explanations are given by parents for non-enrolment such as a lack of fees, which provide a facade for a set of beliefs about the utility of education. A particular set of beliefs about schooling has become part of the 'culture' of those communities which have "mine-labouring" and subsistence farming at their base.

At risk of over-simplification, life chances are dependent on access to cattle. They determine likely number of years spent in school and therefore probable migrant experience. Distribution of wealth in the form of cattle is highly skewed. Access to cattle ensures that the circular relationship between cattle, education and migration is an upward spiral of accumulation, whilst lack of access leads to a vicious circle of disadvantage. The difference in income earning potential between those with a primary education and a secondary education, between those working in the mines and those with an urban modern sector job, and between the large and small cattle owners is both enormous and widening.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Unequal access to schooling has been described as a major problem facing school systems in the developing world, to rank beside the enormous costs of education (Illich, 1969; Buchanan, 1973; Husen, 1977), irrelevant curricula (Freire, 1970; Van Den Berghe, 1968), and the structural imbalance between the needs of the economy and the outputs of the education system (Colclough, 1977; Callaway, 1968 and others). It is the regional imbalance of schools and other services which have attracted the attention of geographers (Gould, 1971, 1973, 1978; Kinyanjui, 1974; McCabe and Padhye, 1975 and others). Using basic geographical techniques it is possible to show how schools can best be located to serve the population, and how regional policies can at least distribute scarce resources between and within regions in a situation where it may not be possible to provide equal opportunities for all.

Description and measurement of spatial patterns and spatial inequalities may be a relatively straightforward task. It is then possible to make recommendations to alter patterns of distribution. Geographers however, have been criticized for merely describing patterns and not explaining them. Slater's comprehensive criticism of modern geographical enquiry claims that it concentrates on description and measurement of forms rather than an explanation of underlying processes. Geographers such as Haggett (1965), or in an African context, Safier (1969) are criticized as providing "scholarly analysis of spatial forms but nothing is really advanced by way of substantive explanation of the underlying processes that give these forms their meaning" (Slater, 1976, p.164). He claims that attempts at theoretical formulation are uncritical and derivative and that the interconnections between spatial structure and

political economy are not grasped.

These criticisms can be extended to geographers concerned with spatial inequalities in developing nations who neglect explanation of why inequalities originated and persist. A second criticism which may be directed at those specifically engaged in description of unequal access to schools is that the ideological dimension of education is ignored, in the same way that the positivist stance allows neglect of the ideological dimension of the organization of space. This enables the distribution of schools to be treated in the same way as the distribution of other facilities such as hospitals. Slater points out that "the organization of space in any given social formation is directly related to the internal class structure of that formation" (Slater, 1976, p.165), and Dias notes that "education is one of the components of the ideologico-political superstructure and, as such, is fundamentally intended to transmit the essential ideological principles which govern a given society " (Dias, 1978, p.51).

Whilst Slater's criticisms may be harsh, and, if applied to all geographers, unfair, this study has attempted to take Slater seriously and to remedy some of the deficiencies which he outlines. The study therefore has placed the location of schools within the political and economic context (as in Figure 1.1) and has taken into account the ideological role of schooling, which suggests that inequalities may be functional to the developing society. It has also attempted to put forward a "substantive explanation of the underlying processes which give these (spatial) forms their meaning", to use Slater's own words, and to explain why inequalities originated and persist.

Given that the way in which space is organized is related to the class structure in any social formation (Slater, 1976; Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1977), and that class conflict resides in the attempt to gain

control over those institutions which determine the distribution of symbolic and material advantage (Parkin, 1975, p.26), and that education is one institution (perhaps the main institution) which confers symbolic and material advantage, then it follows that,

- a) the location of schools in space will reflect the class structure, and
- b) different groups will compete for control of, and access to, the education system.

It is clear that a major function of any social formation is to reproduce itself. It can be argued that formal education is a major mechanism by which class societies reproduce themselves; the education system reproduces both class positions and the people who will occupy them. The adoption by the school system of the task of the allocation of social roles allows the operation of an apparently objective and rational process. The role of education as the allocator of roles is legitimated by the people's acceptance of it as such, and by their demands for education.

Husen has argued that in the early 1970s the simplistic conception of formal education, which saw a causal relationship between education and economic growth, began to be challenged. This conception, given credibility by Harbison and Myers (1964) and others, and by the sponsorship of UNESCO, the World Bank and the Ford Foundation, argued that the right amounts of education at the respective primary, secondary and tertiary levels infused into the developing nations would bring about economic take-off (Husen, 1977). The optimism regarding what education could achieve was challenged firstly by the evidence which indicated that African societies were not "taking off" into self sustained growth, but more fundamentally by a concern that education served to reproduce and

reinforce the existing structure of income distribution and social classes. There was a

" ... resurgence of interest in the thesis that educational systems serve primarily to maintain systems of structural social inequality rather than offer opportunities for individual mobility."

(Weis, 1979, p.41)

Weis and others (Samoff, 1979; Barkin, 1975) suggest that the situation in developing nations offers the opportunity to test this proposition, and to quantify the role of education in equalizing or widening incomes.

The work by Weis and Samoff did not, actually, inform the field work in Botswana (as they were only published during the year of field work). Rather, they provided theoretical coherence to the data once it had been collected.

The Role of the Colonizers

The British were responsible in the first place for introducing formal, Western education to the territories they colonized. The British were therefore responsible for introducing a means of allocating social roles which was not based on traditional status. However, the locations chosen by the first settlers and later, the policies of indirect rule tended to ensure that access to social status based on the new allocating mechanism of education was largely restricted to that group which had high traditional status.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the traditional elite in a number of British colonies were demanding more education than the missionaries provided, whilst it was not until the 1920s that the British realized the political significance of education. They only became concerned about the effect of intervention in, and disruption of, "stable" African societies in the 1920s and 30s. They were slow to realize that

" ... those who hold the school, hold the country,
hold its religion, hold its future."

(in Abernethy, 1969, p.41)

The caution engendered by the work of functionalist anthropologists and by the faltering of confidence after the expansionist Victorian age led to policies of containment and consolidation. The idea of British trusteeship remained unassailable, whilst the doctrine of indirect rule further affected the indigenous social and political structures of the colonies. With a deep rooted belief in the supremacy of British custom and a model of British class society, the colonizers believed that, "the existing hierarchy in African society should be perpetuated" (Hetherington, 1978, p.137).

The policy of containment, and of creating a stable middle class content to wait for Independence was not successful in all colonies. The gradualism of the British, which stressed slow but inevitable change was overtaken not so much by nationalist movements, but by the changed international balance of power after 1945 (First, 1970, Baran, 1968).

The character of the social formation left by the British has been an issue of debate for the past two decades. Rodney asserts that colonialism did not reproduce a Western class formation of capitalists and workers, although the Europeans "hardened the existing internal class divisions and created new ones" (Rodney, 1976). Manghezi (1976), Amin (1976), and Wallerstein (1975) have argued that class analysis and the concept of class struggle are appropriate to contemporary African societies (in opposition to Lloyd's conception of elites (Lloyd, 1966, 1967)), but a problem of terminology arises in describing the class formation. Kitching (1972), Kitson (1970), Stavenhagen (1975) and others have offered typologies. Cabral's (1969) term "petty bourgeoisie" describes the ruling class at Independence in that it lacks the economic base as

merchants, bankers and entrepreneurs upon which the Western bourgeoisie is anchored and because,

" ... the African ruling class is only a junior partner in its economic relationship with the international bourgeoisie, of which it is an integral part."

(Manghezi, 1976, p.90)

Kitching asserts that the ruling class is distinguished by its high levels of education, the possession of managerial and technical skills, and by the fact that it benefits disproportionately compared to other classes from indigenous enterprises which tend to be dominated by foreign capital or controlled by State bureaucracies (Kitching, 1972, p.348). Fanon writes therefore, that it was an "underdeveloped middle class" which took over power at the end of the colonial period (Fanon, 1961, pp.119-120).

The Bechuanaland Protectorate

In Bechuanaland, British protection from 1885 marked the beginning of a restructuring of the social, political and economic structure. Britain was not interested in the territory itself, but in blocking German and Boer expansion. Its real interest lay with the developing mining industry of South Africa. Parsons (1975, 1974, 1973), Parson (1979), Gunderson (1971), Massey (1978) and Ettinger (1972) have shown how the British administration created the conditions which enabled Bechuanaland to emerge as a labour reserve for the Witwatersrand mines and farms. A population which needed to sell its labour emerged due to taxation and the restriction of opportunities to engage in enterprise (Best, 1966).

The result was the creation of a "peasantariat" which engaged in subsistence agriculture but which needed to supplement income with wages.

The mines required large numbers of unskilled workers; wages could be kept low because it was Bechuanaland which bore the reproduction costs of labour. The colonial power colluded with mining capital (itself part of British imperialism) to create the conditions which mining capital required, viz. support for the traditional leaders, (to ensure political and social stability), exclusion of Batswana from trading, restrictions on the development of indigenous commercial farming, the lack of development of an education system or provision of vocational and technical training, and support for mine labour recruitment, due to the spin-off in taxes. The chiefs also supported recruitment as it brought income both to their territories and to them personally (Kowet, 1978; Taylor, 1978). By the 1930s labour migration had become "an outstanding feature of the modern economy" (Schapera, 1953, p.31).

It was not necessary to develop an education system in Bechuanaland - in fact this would have been detrimental to the creation of a labour reserve. The underdevelopment of the education system was outlined above (Chapter 4). A major aim of the British was to minimize expenditure in the territory, therefore the bulk of monies available was devoted to administration, little to the development of a physical infrastructure and none to the development of a productive base. Missionary initiative in education was stifled in the first decade of the twentieth century by a combination of missionary self doubt, Tswana impatience and a wish to run their own schools, and a reluctant take over of what education there was by the British administration after 1902.

The colonial administration embarked upon a process of centralizing control of education, first through a committee system and later by legislation. In the 1930s it finally curbed the rebelliousness of the Bangwato, the last chiefdom to have its schools centrally controlled.

Since the nineteenth century wealthy families had sent children to be educated in the Cape. (Tshekedi Khama had been educated at Lovedale and the University College of Fort Hare before 1925.) The administration provided bursaries for the sons of chiefs and other notable citizens to schools in South Africa, which was preferable to the expense of building post-primary facilities in Bechuanaland and which allowed the administration to engage in "sponsored mobility" (Turner, 1972). Meanwhile the majority of Tswana did not receive the opportunity to attend any form of school, whilst the spatial reorganization of the 1940s further reduced that opportunity.

Political changes in South Africa after 1948 brought the realization that Bechuanaland chiefs would be denied access to secondary schools there. The dikgosana were ambiguous in their priorities for education. They were vociferous in denouncing the amount spent on African education compared with European. However, they also agreed with aspects of colonial policy; they could not help but concur with the administration's policy that "among the mass the elite should be able to continue their studies to the limit of their capacity", and that first priority should be given to "the brighter pupil who can be expected to go on to University" (BNA S5 88/4/2). The dikgosana's concern for the maintenance of its relative class position coincided with the administration's interest not to create an educated mass, but rather, an educated elite.

By the time the administration wrote, in 1962, that it was desirable to create an "indigenous middle class" (BNA S5 88/4/2) it had in fact already done so, together with a mass "more backward" educationally than anywhere in British ruled Africa (Halpern, 1965, p.307).

Continuities in the Period of Independence

At Independence, Botswana was amongst the poorest countries of the world. Its geographical position and historical legacy of relations with South Africa had resulted in extreme dependence on its wealthy neighbour. Thirteen years after Independence, Seretse Khama noted, still, that "we find ourselves at their mercy" (in Green, 1980, p.53).

Until 1976 Botswana remained a monetary province of South Africa, and in 1977 South Africa took measures - removal of the consumer subsidy on maize; an increase in railway tariffs and a 15% surcharge on imports - which were expected to have adverse effects on Botswana's cost of living (Harvey, 1980, p.41). Botswana has not extracted itself from the "functional web of interdependence" (Nye, 1971, p.109) with South Africa.

Despite the grim outlook in 1966 and the constraints on indigenous development, Botswana saw a transformation of its domestic production, one of the highest rates of urbanization in the world and a tripling of real income per capita between 1966 and 1976. This remarkable improvement was the result of a steady improvement in the weather cycle, the development of a capitalist cattle industry, high world prices for beef, the discovery of major mineral deposits, the renegotiation of the customs agreement with South Africa, and an increase in government employment of 70% between 1966 and 1969.

The rates of increase of output (in excess of 20% per year between 1968 and 1973/74) were not sustained. Investment expenditure fell once the infrastructure for the mining sector was complete and the construction sector in 1976/77 operated at only half its capacity of 1973/74. Overall however, rates of growth have been phenomenal.

The picture is not one of unqualified success. In the mid 1970s

the Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS) documented the situation for a large sample of the rural population. It found that income levels were not only highly unequal but that the gap between rich and poor was widening (RIDS, 1975). The Bank of Botswana agrees that the huge increase in GDP was accompanied by a worsening in income distribution (Bank of Botswana, 1976). The National Commission on Education (NCE) likewise noted that economic growth, whilst impressive, had been unbalanced, with great benefits to a small proportion of the population but hardly any to the majority. In particular the NCE highlighted the disparities in educational opportunity between the more fertile eastern strip and the vast hinterlands of the west and centre.

Two major factors may be put forward to explain why economic growth has led to widening income differentials. Firstly, significant structural continuities exist between the colonial and post-colonial period. Expenditures by the State were largely in infrastructure, not in promoting directly productive activity; the mines, foreign owned, were capital not labour intensive, whilst the external dependency of the economy increased. The new ruling class had opted for growth directed from above, and for high rates of growth dependent on funding from Europe and North America. It opted for the eventual redistribution of wealth once development was under way, with the proposed revenue from mining to be invested in rural development, rather than for establishing a more egalitarian base from which to provide slow growth for all.

A second factor is the character of the "new" ruling class. Whilst "the economic elite of big cattle owners which controls the BDP largely corresponds to the educational elite" (Gillett, 1975, p.105), it is an underdeveloped middle class, in Fanon's sense. It too is a product of the "periphery", lacking the economic base from which to

promote autonomous growth. The Tswana ruling class, as a junior partner in its relationship with the international bourgeoisie, is dependent on the maintenance of that relationship for its own maintenance as a class. That relationship militates against the involvement of other classes in wealth accumulation.

Considerable continuities exist between the traditional and the new ruling class. Holm shows that over half all M.P.s and Councillors have paternal kinship ties with chiefs and headmen. The dikgosana comprise approximately 15% of the population yet the majority of elected politicians are drawn from this class (Holm, 1972, p.86). They are therefore drawn from that section of the population with traditional cattle wealth. In the modern period the development of a capitalist cattle industry has brought enormous economic benefits to large cattle owners, aided by the government's Tribal Grazing Land Policy.

M.P.s are also drawn from the proportion of the population which has enjoyed modern sector employment. 81% of M.P.s have been teachers and/or civil servants (Holm, 1972, p.88). The BDP has unified its ranks and defused opposition by legislating that traditional office must be renounced to qualify for election (Seretse Khama was the most notable citizen to renounce traditional office) and by the creation of a bicameral Parliament which offers limited powers to the Chiefs. In the districts the establishment of Councils further defused chiefs' powers whilst legislation disallows teachers and civil servants from becoming Councillors until five years after they have resigned from their careers. Councillors are drawn from the larger cattle owners but not from the intelligentsia.

With its "junior partner" status and with concern for its own maintenance, the ruling class may be genuinely committed to rural development (and equalization of opportunity to attend school) but not be in a position to promote it. The major aim of the Fifth National Development

Plan 1979-85 is to promote employment creation and rural development. At the same time the government is committed to development along capitalist lines (Nchindo, 1977), to a capitalist cattle industry and to the training of a small group of citizens capable of assuming management positions. It sees progress for the rural population lying with the development of small scale arable and livestock farming (hence the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP)), with a primary education system which is terminal for the majority of the population and which better suits the needs of a population destined to remain in the rural areas, and which will remain dependent on circulatory migration to supplement subsistence. To quote the Commissioner for Labour in 1978, "the Botswana government sees the system of migrant labour (to South Africa) as a safety valve in the short term" (Maswabi, 1978, p.2).

A hierarchical occupational structure is seen as necessary, at least in the "short term". The economy is incapable of absorbing large numbers of educated labour; in the future the proportion of primary school leavers offered places in secondary schools will decline, causing a relative increase in the numbers for whom primary education is terminal. An unemployed primary school leaver problem is less potentially disruptive than an unemployed secondary school leaver problem, whilst the mines at present absorb the lesser educated and uneducated. Given the need for a hierarchical occupational structure and to minimise the numbers of educated unemployed, it is not possible to create a non-hierarchical education system.

What the government strives to do however, is to distribute the opportunity to compete for positions in the educational hierarchy fairly. An aim of educational policy is therefore to distribute schools and resources fairly between districts and settlements of different sizes in a situation where it is conscious of serious inequalities and of the number

of children not enrolled. However, since Independence it has followed a policy of regarding the provision of primary schools as a district matter and that of the provision of secondary schools as a national matter. The Councils, emasculated for political reasons, without the resources to be effective, and functioning as "symbolic" political activity, are slow to complete building programmes and they oppose the siting of schools to meet the needs of a changing settlement pattern.

The opportunity to compete for secondary school places is therefore not equally distributed throughout the country. It has been argued (Chapters 8 and 9) that it is education which determines migration experiences, whilst educational attainment is structured by access to cattle and hence by traditional status.

Three categories of households emerged from the village study. The economically and socially dominant group historically had used cattle wealth to protect itself from the pecuniary imperatives to migrate to the South African mines. Involvement in the capitalist cattle industry, underpinned by effective cattle management, was used to fund secondary education, which led to modern sector employment. The households' secondary schooled members, located in the urban areas and large villages, and commanding relatively high wages refunded the household located in the village of origin with money to be reinvested in cattle.

The second category also had its feet in two modes of production; that is those household members of working age undertook circulatory migration to the mines in South Africa and villages inside Botswana, leaving children, the elderly and other working members to carry out the household's subsistence activities. This group therefore received some of its income from remittances but also relied on income from stock holding and crops, with the income from either insufficient in itself. A number

of this group, those with small herds or no cattle, and often female headed households had moved from Shoshong to live permanently at their lands or to smaller villages such as Kodibeleng.

The third group, those with low traditional status and living in small, scattered settlements, with below average education and limited cattle resources, tended to engage in circulatory migration to the mines (group 3a) or to depend solely on subsistence activities (group 3b). The proportion in each village with no income at all from remittances was given above (p. 344). This dependence led to attempts to improve subsistence agriculture, including moving to live permanently on the site of lands and cattleposts, but, lacking the necessary resources, has resulted in impoverishment.

The changing settlement pattern, whereby some households are moving down the spatial hierarchy, is a response to the decline of wealth redistribution mechanisms in the village and the inability to participate in the waged economy. It is facilitated by a decline in deference to the Chief, and by the provision of water supplies outside villages. Changes in the settlement pattern mean that it is relatively more difficult to provide access to schools for all children.

The village study therefore indicated significant reproduction of the class structure despite the changes of the colonial period. That period saw the creation of a labour reserve with its concomitant mine labour culture. It also saw a consolidation of the position of the dikgosana, which was able to exploit new wealth creating mechanisms as they arose. This, of course, is not to say that the social structure is rigidly inflexible. Further, Figure 9.1 is a model, which masks the exceptions. Several remarkable individuals have already been mentioned; there was a small proportion which had achieved secondary schooling without

the access to cattle enjoyed by most secondary school pupils. There were households which had achieved a degree of upward social mobility (such as Tapologogo's family), when this would not have been expected given their traditional status and assets. However, the emergence of such households (two in Kodibeleng) has resulted in greater intra-village inequalities whilst the declining opportunities to attend secondary school make it more difficult for others to follow. In addition, the scale of upward mobility is slight compared with the degree to which relative class positions have remained intact, and with the extent of downward mobility.

A contributory factor to downward mobility is the fragmentation of households. Whilst the semi-permanent location of some household members in urban areas in paid employment has obvious benefits for the whole household, fragmentation in other situations has less desirable effects. The impact of migration on the structure of the household was outlined above (pp. 349-55). Half the young people (aged 20 and less) in the sample lived in households which did not contain their father; the emergence of a significant proportion of female headed households with inadequate labour, has implications for increasing rural poverty.

The Issue of Access to Education

It is suggested that differential access to schooling has exacerbated social inequality and perpetuated particular patterns of social stratification. It is not always possible to demonstrate the process which causes widening income differentials - Samoff notes, "the dynamic nature of our concern requires us to concentrate on traces and

impacts" (Samoff, 1979, p.56) - but in the village study it was possible to see the process in operation. The aim of the research was not so much to investigate the effects of differential opportunity on the population but to investigate the causes of differential opportunity. Obviously, however, they are related.

Differential opportunities to acquire education, formal sector employment and cattle, mean that educational policies to provide schools in the small villages (and hence to the disadvantaged) are not sufficient to overcome the advantage built up by those with traditionally high social status. Evidence shows, moreover, that the government has not even provided adequate schools in the small villages; in 1980,

" ... the expansion of schooling has fallen short of meeting the goal of equal opportunity ... there are significant differences in the quality of education, and therefore of educational opportunities, between towns and large villages on the one hand, and smaller settlements on the other."

(Botswana, 1980, p.99)

With regard to teachers, "the general pattern is still highly unequal, with the urban areas in the best position", and there was "a noticeable deterioration" in the building capacity of some Councils. As Foster commented above, "initial patterns of geographical inequality in access to schooling are remarkably persistent ..." (Foster, 1977, p.216).

Some of the reasons for continued inequalities were suggested above. The Councils are not strong or effective bodies, and they are too traditionalist to allow provision of schools outside the villages. The government recognizes that a breakdown of the traditional settlement pattern is necessary to improve farming, but evidence shows that those moving to be closer to their crop growing areas are those who lack the resources to be efficient farmers. With the removal of households to

scattered lands and cattleposts the problem of physical access to schools is likely to remain.

However, it can be argued that access to primary education is not the important issue, but that what is important is access to a level of education which will make a difference to income earning levels (i.e. secondary education). Whilst access to secondary school is obviously based on prior access to primary school (and success there) this is not a sufficient condition for selection to secondary school. Cambell and Abbott (1977, see Chapter 5) show that rural children are less likely to be offered secondary school places, and less likely to accept them, if offered, than urban children with the same grades. This is related to the need of rural children for boarding places, for substantial income to fund schooling, the relative lack of knowledge of the application system and bursary procedure, and of the lack of tradition of attendance.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to find secondary school places and jobs. It was officially noted in 1980 that "for the next years there will be more severe competition for Form 1 places than in the recent past", whilst "education, which in the recent past has been generously treated, in the immediate future will have to operate within more severe constraints" (Botswana, 1980, p.14 and p.100). The competition for jobs will increase in a situation of existing under-employment where the labour force is expected to grow by 13,000 each year in the 1980s, formal sector jobs by 5,300 each year, and jobs in South Africa to decline by 3,000 to 4,000 jobs per year.

The government has responded by attempting to shift the emphasis within education, from producing J.C. and Cambridge graduates to "community" primary schooling "more relevant to the world of work and the needs of rural development" (Botswana, 1980, p.99). This may be an apparently

desirable and realistic response, but there is the danger of creating a true "dual economy", with a section of the population (already emerging) entirely dependent on subsistence income, with none of its income in remittances, and without the traditional supportive and wealth re-distribution mechanisms.

Access to levels of education which could enhance wage earning potential remains unequal. It can be argued however, that access to this level is not the real issue either if the concern is to reduce inequalities. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, the education policies operated by the government produce inequality. The emphasis on manpower planning as the dynamic behind educational expansion and the onus placed on the population to demand education and on their ability to pay for it result in inequality. Saul writes:

"The logic of the market and the rhetoric of manpower planning thus combine into a heady brew of nascent elitism and the latter is not a particularly encouraging starting point from which to take up an important and creative role in the struggle for egalitarianism."

(Saul, 1973, p.279)

Since Independence the government has faced a dilemma. It wished to make itself as financially independent as possible in order to speed economic development. For political and economic reasons it wished to localize manpower as soon as possible. However, these policies depended on creating an educated elite capable of implementing plans and leading the process of development. Such an elite was in fact already in existence but was expanded and consolidated by increases in the secondary and tertiary sector intakes. The government accepted inequalities in the short term as the price for rapid development. Now that it wishes to create a more egalitarian society, it does not have the economic resources to reverse the fortunes of the rural areas or to create more rural

employment. The government recognises that despite its efforts the expansion of the school system has not met the goal of an equitable or an equal distribution of opportunity. It is clear that the simple supply of schools is a necessary but not sufficient factor in ensuring equality of opportunity.

Moreover, Colclough's conclusions (1976) suggest that the expansion of formal schooling will result in a worsening of income distribution, the maintenance of rural poverty and the continuation of rural-urban migration:

"The most important means of affecting income distribution, of lowering the cost of formal education ... and of improving rural welfare, are through policies which are not internal to education ... These conclusions are pessimistic with regard to the role of formal education systems in alleviating poverty. Those strategies being followed by most African governments ... will in fact have little, if any, impact upon rural welfare and the lives of the poorest ..."

(Colclough, 1976, p.587, my emphasis)

If this is the case, then concern with equalising spatial access to schooling is not only misplaced but obscurantist, if the aim is to reduce inequality.

The situation facing Botswana occurs against a background of a paradigmatic shift which was discussed in Chapter One above. Simmons summarises the changes in thinking; acknowledging "growing doubt", he comments that, "few planners and educators can say that the outcomes of the educational investment of the past two decades have made the contribution to either growth or to development that they had expected" (1981, pp.61-62).

In the division between incrementalists and structuralists (between those who believe that reform of educational structures can be achieved without changes in the distribution of political and economic power, and those who believe that it cannot), "the number of converts from the first to the second school is growing" (Simmons, 1981, p.62). He notes that

only tentative answers can be put to the question of whether education can bring basic reforms to the structure of the economy, such as the redistribution of assets, or whether redistribution has to occur first. The evidence regarding education and the production of inequality may not enable more than tentative answers to this question, but one conclusion can be asserted firmly; in Simmons' words:

"The assumptions which were made in the past to make the investments in formal education ... need to be seriously questioned."

(1981, p.61)

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APPENDICES

<u>Appendix One</u>	<u>Village Household Survey</u>
<u>Appendix Two</u>	<u>Childrens' Questionnaire</u>
<u>Appendix Three</u>	<u>Headmaster's Letter and Questions</u>
<u>Appendix Four</u>	<u>Case Studies</u>
<u>Appendix Five</u>	<u>Botswana National Archives; materials used in text</u>

APPENDIX ONEVILLAGE HOUSEHOLD SURVEYSECTION 1 : HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

1. Are you the household head? YES/NO

2. Can you tell me how many children have been
born to you? (LIST ON HOUSEHOLD FORM)

3. Are there any other people who live in this
household all the time? (LIST ON HOUSEHOLD FORM)

4. Are there any other people who normally live
here all the time but who are away at the moment?
(LIST ON HOUSEHOLD FORM)

5. Are there any other people who used to live here
but who now live all the time (permanently) in
another place?
(LIST ON HOUSEHOLD FORM)

For each person listed on the household form, ask for the following details:

(overleaf)

Household Member	Sex	Age	Relation-ship to Household Head	Birth-place	Highest level of schooling	Place of schooling	Whereabouts	(If A or P) length of absence to date	(If A) proposed date of return	Occupation	Past migration: location, reason, time period
1							H= in village A=absent (note location) P=permanently absent (note location)				
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											

6. Have any other children been born to you which died?

YES: how many? boys or girls?

NO

SECTION 2 : LANDS, CATTLEPOST, INCOME

7. Do you have "lands" (masimo)?

YES: How far away are they?

NO: Why do you not have lands?

8. Have you ploughed this year?

YES: When? How do you plough?

NO: Why not?

9. Do you ever work at anyone else's lands?

YES: Whose lands?

NO:

10. Are you ever given produce from anyone else's lands?

YES: Whose lands?

NO

11. (To those with lands). How many bags of each crop did you produce last year?

12. Do you employ anyone to work for you at the lands?

13. Is there anyone who "stays" (lives) at your lands who is aged less than 14?

YES: What relationship are they to you?

NO

14. Do you have any cattle?

YES: How many?

How many of these are mafisa?

What is the relationship between you and the owner?

NO: Check - does anyone in the household have any cattle?

Does the household have mafisa?

Go to Q.17

15. How did you get your cattle? (How many in each category?)
- | | |
|--------------|----------|
| - Inherited | - Lobola |
| - Bought | - Fine |
| - Settlement | - Gift |
16. How many cattle do you send to BMC or sell to traders/others in a normal year?
17. Do you mafisa-out any cattle?
- YES: To whom?
- NO
18. Who herds your cattle? (i.e. what is their relationship to the household head?)
- Are any of your herders aged less than 14?
19. Where do you keep your cattle?
20. (If cattlepost/lands) - are there any other people who live permanently at the place where you keep your cattle?
21. Do you have any smallstock?
- YES: How many of each type?
- NO
22. Are there any other ways in which you sometimes make/get money?
1. Do you ever sell beer? How often? How much do you earn each time?
 2. Do your relatives/sons/daughters/husband etc. ever give you/send you money/remittances? How often? How much (over one year)?
 3. (Where mother is not married) - does your child's/children's father help support you?

SECTION 3 : MIGRATION

23. Have you ever lived and/or gone to work anywhere else apart from this village (but not including time spent at the cattlepost and lands)?
- YES: Where was that? Why did you go there?
For how long did you stay there?
(Include all absences)
- NO: So you have never worked away?

Repeat Q.23 for each household member listed on household form.

24. Have you ever wanted to live in another village or town?

YES: Why?

NO

25. Have you ever thought about going to live permanently at the lands or cattlepost?

YES: Why?

NO: Why not?

SECTION 4 : SCHOOL

26. To those with children attending school:

(i) Are you satisfied with your child's progress at school?

(ii) What would you do if you were not satisfied?

(iii) Is the school here a "good" one?
What makes it "good"/"bad"?

(iv) Do you ever visit the school or talk to the teachers?

27. To those with children not attending school:

(i) Could you tell me why your children don't go to school?

Ask (iii), (iv) above.

28. To those with children attending in Shoshong:

Why do/does your children/child attend Shoshong school and not Kgamane school (or vice versa)?

29. To those with children attending school:

Does your child have any problems in getting to school?

30. Who pays your child's fees?

31. Do you help anyone with their school fees?

YES: Are they related to you?

NO

SECTION 5 : ATTITUDES TO SCHOOLING (To all)

32. Could you say whether you agree with each of these sentences?:

(i) The primary school teaches a child discipline and makes it well-mannered.

(ii) The primary school enables a child to get a good job.

- (iii) The primary school prevents a child helping its parents at home or at the lands or at the cattlepost.
- (iv) The primary school occupies a child so that it is not a nuisance at home.
- (v) The primary school makes a child discontented with traditional life.

33. Would you keep your child away from school for a day or so so that it could:

- (i) Attend an uncle's funeral.
- (ii) Attend an uncle's wedding.
- (iii) Help with the harvest.
- (iv) Help with the ploughing.
- (v) Look after younger brothers and sisters if you had to go away for a few days.
- (vi) Go to the cattlepost to fetch cattle.
- (vii) For what other reasons would you not send a child to school?

34. If you had a child in standard 1 and you knew that it was not clever enough to go to secondary school, would you still let it complete to standard 7, or would you withdraw it before then?

35. Do you think there will ever be a time when even people with a good education (e.g.S.C.) will find it difficult to get a job?

36. There seem to be more girls than boys attending primary school. Do you think this is because: (tick one) (Rotate order of questions)

- 1. Girls like school more than boys.
- 2. More girls are born than boys.
- 3. Boys can find jobs at the mines so don't need so much education.
- 4. Boys are needed to look after cattle.
- 5. Girls have to bring up babies so should be educated, so they can teach their children.
- 6. Girls are more intelligent than boys.
- 7. Can you think of any other reasons?

37. But in secondary schools there seem to be more boys than girls. Do you think this is because: (Rotate)

- 1. Parents don't like to send their girls far, to the schools.
- 2. Boys will one day support families and so need good jobs.
- 3. Girls will have babies and so won't use their education.
- 4. Can you think of any other reasons?

38. What is the most important thing for a child to have so it can reach University?: (Rotate)
1. Intelligence.
 2. To know influential people.
 3. To be willing to learn.
 4. To have wealthy parents.
 5. To live in a large village or town.
 6. To have good teachers.
 7. To attend new schools with good equipment.
 8. What other reasons/things can you think of?
39. Do you think that children living in larger villages and towns get a better schooling than children living in this village? Why?
40. If there was no school in the village and some of the people wanted one, what should they do? (Tick one)
1. Ask the chief.
 2. Ask the councillor.
 3. Send their children to school in another village.
 4. People could do nothing as they are poor and have no money.
 5. Start a school through "self-help".
 6. What else could they do?
41. If you were given a large sum of money (say P300) unexpectedly, would you:
1. Buy cattle?
 2. Send a child to secondary school?
 3. Buy furniture and things for your house, and a radio?
 4. Put it in the bank?
42. What do you think is the best way to help Botswana and be a good citizen? (Tick one)
1. Support your chief or headman.
 2. Send your children to school so they can become well educated.
 3. Start self-help projects in your village.
 4. Support the BDP.
 5. Work hard at your job/work.

43. If your husband/male household head strongly objected to your child attending school, would you stop the child attending, even if you really wanted it to attend?

YES

NO

44. If your child had done something that was very bad, from whom would you seek advice? (Tick one)

1. The headman/chief.
2. The headteacher.
3. Your uncle.

45. Botswana is a developing country. Which of these do you think would help Botswana most?

1. Making more jobs available so that men need not go to South Africa.
2. Building more clinics.
3. Bringing in more expatriates to help.
4. Building more schools.
5. Building more boreholes/water supplies.
6. Helping people to improve farming.
7. Providing free food in times of drought or crop failure.

46. Could you say which of these sentences you most agree with?:

1. All people in Botswana are equal.
2. All people are not equal as God made them that way.
3. All people are not equal as some are well educated and others are not.
4. All people are not equal because some people work hard and others are lazy.
5. All people are not equal because some families traditionally have more power and wealth.

47. In Botswana there are now elections, MPs and a President. The chief has less power than he used to have. Is this change good or bad do you think?

48. Can you tell me one or two of the ways that Botswana has changed since Independence? Are people "better" off now or was it "better" before?

49. Do married mothers have any advantages over unmarried mothers?
 Do you think that women are "equal" to men?
 Is a man's life more difficult than a woman's?
 Do you think that family planning is a good or a bad idea?
50. Have you heard of the government's tribal grazing policy?
 Do you think it's a good or a bad idea?
 Did the recent foot and mouth disease outbreak affect your family?
 Did you take part in the P50 scheme?
51. Do you belong to any organisations/committees?
- | | |
|------|------------------------|
| BCW | PTA |
| YWCA | Church |
| VDC | Marketing Co-operative |
| | Farmer's Association |
- Do your children?
- | |
|-------------|
| 4B |
| Girl Guides |
| Scouts |
| YWCA |
52. Are you related to the headman/chief?

APPENDIX TWOCHILDRENS' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Sex:
2. Age:
3. Standard at School:
4. Ward:
5. Tribal Group:
6. Birth Place:
7. Number of Brothers and Sisters and their ages:
8. Which of your brothers and sisters are attending school?
Which have attended school and left?
Which have never attended?
9. How many adult men live in your compound?
How many adult women live in your compound?
10. Does your mother live in your compound? Does your father?
Where is your father now?
11. Does your family have lands? Have you ploughed this year?
12. Does your family have cattle? Where are they kept? How many?
13. Think of all the jobs you do:
at home: everyday/at certain times
at the lands: everyday/at certain times
at the cattlepost/ with cattle: everyday/at certain times
14. What job would you most like to have when you leave school?
What standard will you need for that job?
15. What job would you least like?
16. Do you want to stay in this village when you leave school?
Where do you want to move to?
17. Do you like school?

18. How long does it take you to walk to school in the morning?
19. Do you eat breakfast?
20. Do you want to go to Secondary school? Which one?

APPENDIX THREEHEADMASTER'S LETTER AND QUESTIONS

R. A. Dixey
P.O. Box 22,
SHOSHONG.

27.5.1979

Dear

I am undertaking a survey of all primary schools in Central District, to discover problems facing those schools and to try to find solutions. I do not work for the Botswana government, but my findings may be useful to the government in the future. I am carrying out the survey for the University of Liverpool, U.K. I am concerned with the problems which children have in getting to school, in the interest shown by parents in the work of the school, in the reasons why some children do not attend, and in other related issues. I would be grateful if you would answer the following few questions; please feel free to add anything you wish and to write as much as you like. The same letter has been sent to every head-teacher in Central District. Your reply will be confidential and your name will not be used in the survey.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated; please send replies to R. A. Dixey, C/o Walsh, P.B.12, Madiba, Mahalapye.

Yours sincerely,

R. A. Dixey.

Questionnaire to all Headteachers in Central District, 27.5.79

1. History of the School: When was the school built? Who decided to build it? Were there any schools in the village before this one? If the school was built through self help, when did the Council take it over?
2. Inspection of the school: When was the school last inspected? How many times has it been inspected in the last five years?
3. P.T.A. Meetings: Does your school have a P.T.A.? How often does it meet? Do mainly men or mainly women come to the meetings? How many people usually attend?
4. The Community: Are the people in the village enthusiastic about education? Are people interested in the work of the school? Are there many children who never attend school? Why do they not attend?
5. Which village and district do you come from? Which group of people do you belong to (for example, Bakwena, Bangwato, etc.)?
6. What are the particular problems in your area - for example, do children have to walk long distances to school, are there enough schools, do children have to cross streams, etc.?

Sefhare School

Sefhare School was long established, its an old school. It was run by Ngwato Tribal Administration for long without school building, that on the 31.1.50 it was officially closed by the then Education Office. In 1953 the School was re-opened now using the London Missionary Society Hospital building, which was closed for use in 1949. The closure of the Mission Hospital at Sefhare, though it was a blow to the community it was at the same time a blessing to Sefhare as it initiated the re-opening of Sefhare School in 1953. Before the opening of the Hospital for use as a School, the school was run in the open under the big trees.

When the present Government set up Councils it automatically fell under the Central District Council. The self-help and food for work programme made the community to put up three classrooms to add to the existing nine hospital rooms which were converted to classrooms. Between 1975 and 1977 eight more classrooms were put up by the Council and thus brought the total number of classrooms to twenty.

Inspection

The last inspection was done on the 19.4.79. It was inspected for five times for the last five years according to the records available.

Parent Teacher Association

The school has a P.T.A. though its not active. The busy term for the Sefhare P.T.A. is the last term when many people have returned from the lands. Women usually attend in great numbers of more than fifty. The first and second term is usually interrupted by work at the lands.

The Community

People in the village are enthusiastic about education but financial problem fluctuate their interest, in that it fails them to plan ahead, that they do not see the future of their children after primary level. Awards of bursaries for std.vii leavers do not cover the whole fee

expected of a child at secondary level. The processing of bursaries is usually slow and those who are offered bursaries some fail to go to school as they have no money to pay for the first term fee and book fees. These state of affairs affect even those at primary level as they have no hope here after.

In bad years parents prefer to be with their children at where they can get a living and thus causes drop outs at primary school. Actually people are interested in the work of the school. Finance problem, and two homes account to many children who do not go to school.

I come from Sefhare village and I belong to Bangwato group.

Particular problems

Some children walk a long distance to school. In fact some stay at the lands through out the year. Some people have made the lands their permanent homes. There are no streams to cross to school. However inclement weather has always an effect on children attendance to school, particularly those who stay far from school. There are at present two schools in the village and are enough for the present intake.

J.W.

H/Teacher.

Tlhabala Primary School,
P.O. Serowe, BOTSWANA

R. A. Dixey,
Box 22, SHOSHONG.

Sir,

Thank you for your letter dated 27.5.79. Here is the information you need about my school.

The school was built in the year 1965. The decision came from the Headman, a White man called Mr. Donald Clark and her mother who live some few kilometres away from this village school. There were three other schools that were built by the community before. They failed because they were built mud walls and thatched with grass. The school started through self help project and the Council gave help in the form of money in the year 1967. So it the year when the Council took over.

The school was last inspected on the 16th March, 1979. The school has been inspected three times in the last five years. The school has a P.T.A. meeting, this P.T.A. meets twice or four times in the school terms depending on the matters to discuss. Both men and women come to the meetings. Because people in this country have many homes, e.g. cattle posts, lands and village, many people don't attend the P.T.A. meetings.

The people in the village are not enthusiastic about education. There only a few who know the value of education. Most of the people send their children to school just because there is free food that they eat at school. As they have not yet realised the value of education, people are not interested in the work of the school. There are not many now. Some just bring their children to school to be fed.

I come from Serowe. I belong to Bangwato. The particular problem in my area there are no classroom. They don't walk a long distance, they don't cross a stream. The school is there but not enough classrooms. Some classes conduct their lessons outside under the trees. Many un-trained teachers teach these pupils.

Yours faithfully,

M. H. S.

Mengwe School 18.6.79

1. History of the School

The above school was built in 1977 by Central District Council. This is the second school in Maitengwe villages. The first school is Maitengwe school.

2. Inspection of the School

Since the school was opened on the 17th February 1978, it was never inspected. But in fact it was paid pastoral visits by the Inspector of Schools for this area and the Inspector of schools for Inservice.

3. P.T.A. Meetings

The School has P.T.A. It meets twice a month. P.T.A. executive has men only. But it has never called a general P.T.A. meeting since it was formed recently.

4. The Community

Some of the people are enthusiastic about education, but some are not. In fact the people are not interested in the work of the school. What they want is their children going to school, but not interested in the activities of the school. Many children never attend school because they have no interests and so do their parents. Moreover, they stay very far away at the lands and refuse to come to the village. So children are also reluctant to travel long distances to school.

5. I come from Nshakazhoqwe Village in the Central District Council.

I belong to the Bakalaka tribe which follows under Bangwato.

6. The particular problems in my area are as follows: All people stay at the lands due to scarcity of water at the village. This makes children to travel 6-10km to school. Most children stay away from school, some decide to go to the near by school such as Marapong school. The few who stay at the village, stay alone and fetch water from Sebina Village which is about 5km. Children have to cross many streams. During raining seasons children do not go to school, fearing stream in floods.

The Council is reluctant to dig boreholes and people too are not

at a position to go to the village. They have permanent homes at the lands. Children all fail as a result.

R. N. M.

H/T.

Xhomo School
P.O. Box 19,
Rakops.

15th July, 1979.

Mr. R. A. Dixey,
C/o Walsh,
Private Bag 12,
Madiba, Mahalapye.

Dear Sir,

Questions to answer:

1. The school was built in 1971. Michael of Borotse who passed away recently at Tsianyane in Rakops decided to build it. There were no any schools before this one. The school was built through self help, the Council took over in 1976.
2. The school was last inspected in 1977. It was inspected in the last five twice.
3. My school has a P.T.A. It meets sometimes. Mainly men come to the meetings although mainly women do the work than men. Fewer people usually attend.
4. The people in the village are not enthusiastic about education. People are not interested in the work of the school. There are many children who never attend school. It is because of lack of education, ignorant and poor environment.
5. I come from Serowe in the Central District. I belong to Bangwato tribe. The particulars of Area are as follows: (a) No borehole well nearer to school. (b) Children have to walk long distances to school. (c) Getting tired to school later bored by teaching and sleep. (d) Crossing the Botletli river daily in the morning to school is a risk and dangerous to pupils. (e) People build their huts at the cattle post and lands few miles away from the school approximately 5 miles. (f) Suffering during rainy season, they come to school being wet. (g) Lack of clothing to change. (h) Lack of food. (i) Misunderstanding between teachers and parents. (j) There are no enough schools in the Area. Children have to cross streams or rivulets and big valleys with water runs on oasis. I hope my reply will meet your prompt consideration.
Confidential.

Yours faithfully,

B. M.

H/T.

"Answers to Questions: of 27.5.79"

"History of the School: Mathangwane"

The school was built before 1948 when it was official opened on the 26.1.1948. There was no other before it except that there was a transfer of the site. Record preceeding the above information are not reflected anywhere. It was started as mud walls, thatched with grass in about 1920s. This is all remembered History. The official recorded history of existing building is the one quoted extracted from the School log book.

It was decided and administered by the Bamangwato Tribal Administration.

Inspection: The School was last inspected in the 2nd and third February, 1976. It has been inspected twice since the last five years.

P.T.A. Meeting: The School has the above association. It meets at least twice a year. Mainly men attend the meeting. There are usually more than fifty people.

Community: They are enthusiastic kabout education and interested with children's work. In the majority of cases most pupils attend school.

I come from Mathangwane in the Central District Council and I belong to the Bamangwato.

Children run long distances from this to school some - of course. Some stay alone in the village while their parents stay at the lands. This results in their provision getting exhausted before Fridays. They also come to school not clean, especially the young ones and again are usually late for school because there is no one to wake them up in time especially on cold and cloudy days when their natural watch does not afford coming out of the horizon with its rays hitting against their foreheads.

Classroom: There is always inadequate classrooms to accommodate all the classes. Even shifts don't answer the classroom problem.

Yours

R. N. H/Teacher
Mathangwane School.
P.O. Box 273, Francistown.

Tlhalogang School,
P.O. Box 94,
Francistown.

14th June 1979.

R. A. Dixey,
C/o Walsh,
P/Bag 12, Madiba,
Mahalapye.

Dear Sir,

Tlhalogang School was build in 1940 in Chadibe village by Central District. Later it was decided by the two villages Borolong and Chadibe that the school should be in the middle of the two villages. It was built in 1966 under the Central District Council.

The school was last inspected in 1976. It was inspected for two years in five years plan.

The school has P.T.A. It is often meets four times a year. Very few people attend the meetings. Women mainly attend the P.T.A. It is usually attended by seventy to eighty people most being women.

The people in the village are not enthusiastic with the education. They are not interested in the work of the work. There are many children who never attend school special Zwegurus and some do not attend due to lack of funds.

I come from Malhangwa village in Central District of Bamangwato.

The problems in my area: children walk long distance coming to school from their lands. Most of the people had left their homes and decided to stay at the lands. Pupils cross the streams when coming to school. During rainy seasons they do not attend school regularly.

Yours faithfully,

E.B.K.

Simon Ratshora School,
P.O. Box 46,
Serowe

7th June 1979.

R. A. Dixey,
C/o Walsh,
P/Bag 12,
Madiba, Mahalapye.

Dear Mr. Dixey,

May I submit the information as thus:

1. The school was built in 1946. The decision came from the British Government as that time Botswana was still a Protectorate. It is one of the schools built in the three main villages and were known as Middle Schools, namely Serowe, Kanye and Molepolole.
2. The school was inspected on 8th August 1977. Only once the school was inspected in 5 years time.
3. Yes the school has a P.T.A. It meets once in two months time. People who mainly come to the meetings are women. Sometimes 60 people attend or 10 people only.
4. Yes, they are enthusiastic about education. People are not very much interested in the work of the school. The work of the school is left only to teachers. Yes, there are many children who never attended school. One of the reasons is "Age Limit". Some parents are unable to pay school fees. If school fees is paid parents cannot afford to buy clothing for their children and they become shy of wearing rags and leave school. Other parents choose to stay at the lands and do not want to stay in the village. So their reason is "children are very young so there is no one to stay with them when attending school".
5. I come from Serowe village in the Central District. I belong to the Bangwato group.
6. Some children have to walk long distances to school. There are not enough schools but the Council is busy building two schools to combat that. Children do cross streams. Streams need bridges for pupils who cannot help crossing streams even if the school is not far from their homes.

I hope you will be satisfied with the information.

Yours faithfully,
S. S.

Headmistress

APPENDIX FOUR:Case StudiesFamily One

One of the largest households in the sample is a Bangwato family living in the Ditharapa section of Kgamane Ward in Shoshong. It has 23 de jure members and 12 de facto. The respondent, Mma S., a woman aged 57, is the cousin of the Ward's headman and her uncle is a cousin of Seretse Khama, (though the family is so large that this connexion might be distant). The family is therefore from the ranks of the dikgosana.

Mma S. was educated at St. Joseph's School, Khale. She never married and had nine children, all of which survived. Her oldest child is now 35 and has left the compound permanently. She is married, and living in Kanye, working as a typist. Of the other five grown children, four attended secondary school, (two girls and two boys) and are, respectively, a "traffic manager" in Kasane, a trainee teacher in Serowe, a store manager in Mahalapye, and a soldier in the Botswana Defence Force. The son with only standard 7 education is a driver in Kanye, living with his married sister. Mma S's three other daughters still attend primary school, and it is hoped that they will attend secondary school as day pupils, whilst living with an older sibling. (Day pupils are more likely to be offered places than are boarders.)

Mma S. lives with two of her brothers, and some of her sister's children, eleven of whom live in the compound, although only eight are actually present. One of the absentees works at the Holiday Inn in Gaborone, and another in a bar in Mahalapye. One of the sister's children, aged 24, attended Molefi Secondary School but left in Form 2 due to becoming pregnant. She now has two children, aged 6 and 4.

Another of Mma S's brothers works in Serowe as a builder. He and his brothers were building a new brick house in the family's compound in Shoshong.

The family was one of the few to plough in 1978/79. They used a hired tractor and their own oxen to plough eight acres. They also used hired labour. The previous year they had reaped 12 bags of mabele and had hired a woman to work at the lands, who they had paid 3 bags of mabele. They had more than 100 cattle and had sent 4 to the B.M.C. in the previous year. A cousin was hired to herd, and was paid one cow at the end of each year. They also had "one donkey, many goats, many chickens".

Mma S is a member of the PTA, BCW and the Catholic church. However, she felt that family planning was a form of progress, "as there are too many children". She also agreed with the aims of the government's T.G.L.P.

Family Two

Mma T. is a widow aged 59, and lives in Bokaa ward, Shoshong. She has five sons and three daughters. Another son died whilst young. Two of her sons are absent at the cattlepost, and two are at the mines. One had gone to the mines for the second time (aged 24) and the other (aged 33) for the third time. They had left the village together, four months earlier. Also living in the compound were the three children of her 28 year old daughter, aged 9, 5 and 2. The youngest child of Mma T. and her daughter's oldest child were attending standards 7 and 3 respectively

at Kgamane school. All but two of Mma T's children had attended school, but all the boys had dropped out by standard 3 or 4, and only two of her daughters completed standard 7. Mma T. herself had attended the old Mission School in Shoshong.

This family had ploughed in 1978/79, using Mafisa cattle, on loan from a person unrelated to them. They had not ploughed the year before as they could not afford the seed. The sons who were present helped to plough, whilst the two sons at the mines would return with wages. From their last trip they returned with P200.

If she had the money, Mma T. said she would send her children to secondary school - "each can save themselves by education". She belonged to the PTA and the Spiritualist Church. She did not agree with family planning, "God did not create women not to have children". She also felt that the T.G.L.P. was a "bad idea", as "poor people cannot afford the fences".

Family Three

This family had migrated from Kalamare to Mosolotsane to be nearer to their cattlepost. The family is from the Bokaa tribe and has 12 members, a husband and wife (Mma P.), their 9 children, and Mma P's mother. Mma P's four grown up sons had never attended school; the reason given for this was lack of money. Two sons had worked at the mines, and one was absent at the time of the interview, "just visiting" in Serowe. Mma P. has another son who is crippled, a daughter in standard 7 in Mosolotsane, a son in standard 4 and a daughter in standard 2. The youngest son was too young to attend school.

Mma P's husband had been 10 times to the South African mines and had now built up a herd of 20 cattle and 4 goats. The family had sold two cattle in the previous year, to traders. They had not ploughed in 1978/79, and had reaped only 4 bags of mabele the previous year. Mma P. brews beer twice a month and earns between P6 and P8 at each brewing. The family had been adversely affected by the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the early 1970s, and had moved in 1973 to be closer to their cattlepost. Mma P. and her husband had not heard of the T.G.L.P.

Family Four

Mma B. is a Maphaleng living in Shoshong with her husband, six daughters, two sons and five grandchildren. Her four oldest children attended school for a few years, (highest level reached was standard six) but her youngest four did not attend at all. One grandchild left school after one year due to lack of money, but three others attend. Only two of her children are present in the village. One daughter is married, three work as domestic servants (in Selibi-Phikwe and Mahalapye) and her two sons are away at the South African mines.

The family has no cattle. Mma B. earns P2 or P3 per month from brewing beer, and also collects and sells thatching grass. Her husband is blind, and is not economically active. Her daughters who are working send money. The family has not ploughed in 1978/79 but reaped 8 bags of mabele the previous year.

Family Five

Mma C. is a Maphaleng and lives in Shoshong with her husband, three sons and three daughters. Mma C. has five years of schooling, and her children are well educated. Her oldest son is in Form 5 at Madiba, although her second son left at the end of form 1 at Mahalapye Secondary. Her three other children are in primary school, whilst her youngest child is 4 years old.

The family are poor but energetic farmers. They have about 20 cattle, grow a variety of crops and own a cart from which they deliver and sell water. Mma C's husband farms with his brothers, and the collective herd is a large one. One brother is a wealthy man, with his own butcher's shop; he had donated all the benches at one of Shoshong's churches. However, he did not help with school fees, and therefore Mma C's second son had left secondary school. He now worked with the family's cattle, but wished that he was still at school.

Family Six

Mma M. lives in Sehako Ward in Mosolotsane, with her husband, two children and her father-in-law. She is a Bakgalagadi, aged 26. Her son is 8 and he refused to go to school. Her daughter, aged 6 is in Standard 1 of Mosolotsane school; she would be "thrashed" if she refused to go to school, whilst "boys have some job to go to". In fact her son helps to look after the family's six cattle. Her husband had been several times to the mines. He had no education and neither had Mma M.

The family had ploughed in 1978/79, and also the previous year, but they reaped only half a bag of mabele. A relative had also given them

half a bucket of maize. Mma M. brews beer only about three times a year.

Family Seven

Mma K. is a Maphaleng who migrated from Shoshong to Mosolotsane recently, with her husband and seven children. Her husband is away in South Africa and with his mining remittances the family had accumulated five cattle and four goats. Her only adult son, and two grown up daughters are employed at the cattleposts of wealthier cattle owners. With four other children at primary school, Mma K. herself looks after the livestock. The family could not plough as they are waiting for the Land Board to allocate land in the new area of residence. Mma K. brews Kgadi every day and earns approximately P2 per day.

Mma K. said that she regretted not realizing the importance of education when her first children were young, but she had no money then anyway. Girls, she felt, were pregnant by the time they reached Standard 7 and therefore were not worth the investment.

APPENDIX FIVE: Botswana National Archives; materials used in text

(In numerical order)

- RC 6/1 Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate; (Including Sargent Report, 1905).
- S45/2 Education in the Bamangwato Reserve; letters from the Rev. R. J. Brown to the Administrator, Mafeking, 1912.
- SM 84 Notes on the Development of Education in Bechuanaland (1953-64).
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