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**BOTSWANA: THE ROOTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE
EVOLUTION OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION**

by

Edmond Arthur Watters III

A Dissertation

Presented to the Graduate Committee

of Lehigh University

In Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

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1973

Approved and recommended for acceptance as a dissertation
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The enthusiastic cooperation and genuine interest in the study of so many teachers, students, leaders, and villagers in Botswana afforded the author the rare opportunity to share ideas, feelings, and information with many Motswana. Many individuals provided unique experiences which gave a vivid picture of life and education in Botswana. The Honorable B. C. Thema, Minister of Education, discussed and guided much of the field research; and Mrs. Chiepe, Senior Education Officer, arranged interviews with educators, visits to schools, and experience in the Botswana way of life.

Dr. Charles Rollins, Bucks County Community College, and Dr. Francis Michelini, Wilkes College, enabled the author to spend nine months in Africa and write the dissertation.

I dedicate this study to the late Dr. James Robinson, founder of Operation Crossroads Africa, the teachers and leaders of Botswana who provided educational opportunities under all conditions, and to my wife, Kathlene, a constant source of inspiration.

GLOSSARY

Items are listed in order of appearance in the text. Each term is usually explained the first time it is used in the text.

- Bechuanaland - the country prior to 30 September 1966
- Botswana - the country after independence, 30 September 1966
- Bechuana - the people of Bechuanaland
- Motswana - the people of Botswana
- Setswana or Tswana - the language spoken by most of the people
- "lands" - tribal farming areas or farms
- cattleposts - areas in the veld where an individual's cattle graze
- freehold farming blocks - privately-owned farming areas
- Pula - rain; also means good luck and proclaims joyous events
- kgotla - an assembly of tribal, village, or ward elders to discuss tribal affairs and reach decisions through consensus
- ipelegeng - self-help schemes used for rural and village development. The community provides the physical labour and government or other outside sources supply the materials.
- off-take - the percentage of cattle from the national herd annually slaughtered at the abattoir
- standards, Std. - the grades into which the primary school course is divided
- kraal - a cattle pen
- mophato - tribal regiments composed of men or women who were initiated together. The regiments could be called by the chief to perform tribal work.

- L.M.S.** - London Missionary Society
- wastage** - the percentage of students who enter school in a given year and do not finish school in the prescribed length of time. For example, 5,704 students entered Sub A, the first year of primary school, in 1950 and only 690 students finished Std. VI, the last year of primary school, in 1957. Therefore, 5,014 students did not finish in the prescribed eight years; the wastage was 87.7%.
- recurrent expenses** - operating costs and expenditures; that is, all costs except capital improvement and special foreign subsidies
- form** - each grade level or year in secondary school; that is, Form I is the first year of secondary school and Form V, the fifth year
- untrained teacher** - one who has received no professional education training

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ABSTRACT

Botswana is heir to a plural heritage in education, and the fundamental task of Motswana educators and leaders is to adapt their plural heritage to the needs of the society.

This study traced the principal contributions of informal education, missionary education, tribally-controlled education, and examined their influence on educational development in Botswana. The study discussed the important events, circumstances, and individuals that influenced the evolution of primary and post-primary education in Botswana.

Informal institutions taught young people the human, vocational, and survival skills necessary to live in their physical and social environments. Customary schools and initiation ceremonies taught boys and girls the rights and responsibilities of men and women in the society as well as the rites de passage.

Missionaries, particularly the London Missionary Society, brought formal schooling to the Bechuana. Missionary schooling concentrated on biblical messages and evangelism which created dissatisfaction among tribal leaders. The indifference and hostility toward mission schools caused the chiefs and tribesmen to take over control and operation of primary schools. Tribal school committees assumed control of all primary education by the early 1930s.

Mr. Dumbrell was appointed as the first full-time educational administrator in Bechuanaland in 1935. Dumbrell organized education, improved the quality of instruction, and encouraged the development

of post-primary education. Dumbrell built the foundation for Bechuanaland's educational growth and development.

The winds of change that affected Africa's economic, social, political, and human way of life drastically altered the educational development in Botswana during the period 1945-1969. The demands of a colonial system designed to produce good clerks to serve the colonial masters gave way to the urgency of preparing such a neglected nation for independence. Independence dictated producing the trained manpower necessary to build newly independent Botswana.

Rapid growth occurred at all levels of education between 1955 and 1969. Schools served more students, but there was some decline in the quality of students' performances. Multiracial schools replaced the tripartite system of primary education in 1964. Secondary education enjoyed the most rapid expansion, and three different types of secondary education evolved; that is, the academic boarding school which stressed the Christian way of life, the junior day school which operated in tribal villages, and the Swaneng Hill model which combined practical work, academics, and a strong social service ethic characterized secondary education in Botswana.

In 1968 the Francistown Teacher Training College began upgrading and training all untrained primary school teachers. This program marked the first concerted effort in Botswana to deal with the mammoth problem of untrained teachers.

The Bechuanaland Training Center, the Botswana Agricultural College, and brigades offered different approaches to vocational and technical education and training of skilled manpower. Brigades were

the only educational institution addressing themselves to the growing primary school leaver problem.

Botswana built upon her plural heritage and has taken important strides toward creating a strong, unified nation. The principles of democracy, development, self-reliance, and unity formed the basis of educational policy of the 1970s.

Section I

INTRODUCTION

A. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Geographic features, historical background, economic conditions, and political, cultural, and social traditions influence the evolution and growth of every nation and people. This study traces the principal contributions of informal education, missionary education, tribal-controlled education, and colonial-administered education and examines their influence on educational development in Bechuanaland.

The study investigates primary and post-primary educational development in Botswana, Bechuanaland,* during the period 1945 through 1969. The study is the first investigation of primary and post-primary education in Botswana during the period 1945 through 1969.

The period 1945 through 1969 is an important time span. It encompasses the development of Bechuanaland from a "neglected" British protectorate, which Britain assumed would eventually be absorbed into South Africa,¹ through a short period of preparation for independence to the birth of the Republic of Botswana in 1966. The following words of the President of Botswana, Dr. Seretse Khama, reflect her primary aim:

Take all steps necessary to create a strongly united nation, to overcome all parochial, tribal, or racial rivalries, and to make clear to the whole world our determination to preserve the territorial integrity and sovereign

*During this study the country is referred to as Bechuanaland until 30 September 1966. On this date Botswana gained her independence. After 30 September 1966, the country is referred to as Botswana.

independence of our country. . . . Our government will be alert against all forms of racial discrimination and will work to preserve a stable and democratic environment which is so essential to economic progress.²

Educational development accompanies the march toward independence which began in 1960. This study traces the important events and circumstances which influenced the development of primary and post-primary education in Botswana and analyzes the impact of educational development on the growth of Botswana.

B. REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

Almost seventy-five books and reports have been written about Bechuanaland and her people. General historical works by Gabatshwane, Halpern, Munger, Sillery, and Schapera describe the forces, individuals, and ideas which shaped the development of Bechuanaland.

Sillery presents a detailed discussion of the cultural and social patterns of the Bechuana.^{*} He briefly touches on the Bantu migrations which brought the Setswana-speaking people to southern Africa. Using missionary letters and reports, official government communications and letters, records of the British South African Company, and reports of the Bechuanaland chiefs, Sillery provides a detailed documentary account of the activities which lead to the founding of the Bechuanaland protectorate in 1895. Educational activities of the London Missionary Society between 1860 and 1901 are discussed.³

*The people who inhabit the country known as Bechuanaland will be referred to as Bechuana. Most Bechuana speak a language known as Setswana or Tswana.

Gabatshwane, headteacher at Batlokwa National School, describes early contact between the Bechuana and foreigners as:

Contact between the British and the Bechuana has been one of peace only. . . stable trade, missionary work and schools, and the interest of the Bechuana at heart. . . while contact with the Boers consisted of war, barter, hunting, and fear.⁴

The founding of the protectorate and the trip of the chiefs to England in 1895 are discussed. Gabatshwane provides detailed discussions of the educational, political, and social accomplishments of Chief Khama the Great of the Bamangwato, Chief Isang of the Bakgatla, and Chief Bathoen II of the Bangwaketse. Gabatshwane concludes with a discussion of the work of Tribal School Committees and the Advisory Board on African Education.⁵

Schapera, who served on the African Advisory Council for many years, devoted his professional life to the study of the Setswana language, people, customs, married life, and ethnic composition among the Setswana-speaking people. His works were considered classics in the field of social anthropology.⁶

Munger investigated the position of Bechuanaland as a "Pan-African outpost or a Bantu homeland for South Africa." The arguments were advanced for both positions. The administration of primary education and the differences in the quality of education due to regional differences were discussed.⁷

Halpern traces the development of Bechuanaland through the 1965 elections and places these developments within the context of southern Africa. He analyzes the motivations for early British involvement from both a colonial and African viewpoint. The life and influence of

Tshekedi Khama of the Bamangwato is presented as the "crucial factor" in the development of modern Bechuanaland. Halpern draws heavily on the work of Mary Benson⁸ in describing Tshekedi's role in "a disreputable transaction," the banning of Seretse Khama from Bechuanaland in 1950. Halpern examines the parallel roads to independence followed by the three High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland.⁹

Thema, Minister of Education, draws heavily upon original letters, minutes of meetings, school records, and files of the London Missionary Society in his unpublished Master of Education thesis. The thesis provides a detailed and comprehensive description and analysis of the educational work of the missionaries, the development of Tribal School Committees, and the work of the first Director of Education in Bechuanaland, Dumbrell. Thema offers his candid discussion of various educational achievements and decisions.¹⁰

In his unpublished doctoral thesis, Lekhela investigates the role of the London Missionary Society in the training of teachers. He briefly discussed the work at Kuruman and the founding of Tiger Kloof. Lekhela traces the contributions of "the premier educational center for the Bechuanaland," Tiger Kloof, until it closed in 1954.¹¹

Van Rensburg examines education and development in Botswana and presents the basis for his work at Swaneng Hill School with secondary schools and brigades.¹² Further development of these points occurs in several mimeographed papers.¹³

Hanson served as project director for the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education. Hanson evaluated the

supply and demand of secondary level teachers in Botswana and published a report on his findings. The detailed study gathered data from several sources, analyzed the data, and projected the future supply and demand of secondary level teachers.¹⁴

Annual Reports of the Education Department for the years 1935 through 1970 provide a review of outstanding events of the year, educational development, and reports of various Education Officers. The required statistical tables enumerate some of the following: number of schools, pupil enrollments, age distributions, teachers' qualifications, educational costs, diagrams of educational flow, and comparative figures with previous years.¹⁵

The three development plans outline the policies and objectives of government in Part I and describe development projects in Part II. These documents identify current policies, resources, and future projects. They also discuss national priorities, and describe developmental plans.¹⁶

Other contemporary government sources offer valuable information on subjects such as population, localization and training, emolument of teachers, curriculum, and course outlines. These sources are published by the government and are the best available.

C. METHODOLOGY

In the summer of 1966, the researcher led a group of students with Operation Crossroads Africa to Kanye, Bechuanaland. This group worked

with Motswana* people, including primary and secondary school students and teachers, in constructing a science laboratory, taught some classes, and lived with students and teachers. The Crossroads group also discussed Bechuanaland's development with government and tribal leaders and learned about the people, culture, customs, and education of the Motswana. This experience initiated the researcher's interest and involvement in Botswana.

The researcher collected and examined the documents listed in the attached bibliography. Those documents available in the United States were used prior to conducting field research in Botswana.

Mrs. Mary Richardson, Project Director for Swedish International Development Authority and UNESCO's special teacher training institution in Botswana, African Division, Department of School and Higher Education, UNESCO, Paris, France, shared available information including letters, reports, evaluations, and recommendations concerning the special teacher training institute sponsored by UNESCO. Several discussions with Mrs. Richardson in August 1969 in Paris clarified many points about the project and enhanced the value of other primary source materials.

Botswana Ambassadors to the United States, Chief Linchwe II and Mr. Amos Dambe, the First Secretaries to the Embassy, Mr. Christopher Dambe and Mr. Tibone, discussed educational, political, and social development several times in Washington, D. C. and New York City.

*After independence, the people of Botswana are referred to as Motswana. Prior to this time the people of Bechuanaland are called Bechuana.

The Botswana Embassy regularly shared reports concerning Botswana's educational development. Mr. Tibone helped secure government permission for the researcher to conduct his work in Botswana.

The period from August 1970 through January 1971 was spent in Botswana collecting data and doing basic field research. The Ministry of Education provided office space, full cooperation of the staff, and assigned the researcher to work with Mrs. Chiepe, Education Officer responsible for primary and teacher training education. The Ministry of Education provided access to documents such as syllabi, charts, maps, statistical tables, inspection reports, development plans, and books. Reports, private letters, correspondence, and other records were also available.

The Botswana government authorized the researcher to utilize the National Archives which contained many of the original documents dealing with education and historical development in Botswana. Minutes of the meetings of the African Advisory Council and the European Advisory Council were available as well as copies of original syllabi and timetables. The archival material was indexed by title, subject, and time period. The material was readily accessible and contained many of the original letters and documents concerning education. Other original documents were located in various mission offices throughout the country and in the offices of education secretaries in various districts.

Formal interviews were conducted and numerous informal discussions held with leaders in government, education, business, and religion. Teachers, students, volunteers, parents, chiefs, education secretaries,

and villagers were also interviewed. A total of 210 formal interviews were conducted. Interviews normally lasted between one and one and a half hours. Most individuals gave permission to record most of the interviews. An interview guide had been prepared. The guide served as the basis for each interview. Individuals often provided valuable and interesting ideas which went beyond the scope of the interview guide. These ideas were also recorded. Each interview tape was evaluated and, where possible, information was further clarified with interviewees. The taped interviews were transcribed onto rough copy which was then indexed according to topics which formed the basis of chapter and subchapter titles.

The Ministry of Education arranged visits and discussions with principals, headteachers, and students at all three teacher training colleges, all eleven secondary schools, and forty-seven primary schools. Seven brigade centers were visited; and their activities, goals, and problems were discussed with brigade leaders and trainees.

Two meetings of the National Brigade Coordinating Council were attended. The principals, staff, and students of the Botswana Agricultural College and the Botswana Training Center shared much valuable information. Visits to most of the schools and training centers normally lasted at least two full days and the researcher usually spent the evenings with teachers and principals. Private day and night schools, community development training centers, and self-help projects were also visited.

The opportunity to teach in primary, secondary, and teacher-training classrooms provided a clearer understanding of the students

and the educational system. The researcher spoke to the annual meeting of the Botswana Teachers' Union, attended meetings of District and Town Education Committees as well as Parliament, watched political rallies, and involved himself and his research assistant in life in Botswana.

Mrs. Chiepe took the researcher to her cattlepost for a weekend. This opportunity provided a much clearer understanding of rural pastoral life in Botswana.

Because of the difficulty involved in visiting many of the rural primary schools, District Education Officers distributed questionnaires* to teachers and headteachers in every district. A total of 150 teachers returned these questionnaires. The questionnaires were evaluated and information categorized according to previously established topics. The descriptions of their schools and a typical day in their classrooms provided a vivid picture of life in rural schools. The candid recommendations of these teachers for improving education gave an impression of their perceived needs. Some students at secondary schools and teacher-training colleges completed a questionnaire** which provided information about the course of study and conditions.

Data were carefully recorded from each of the above experiences. Data were reviewed; inconsistencies were identified and attempts were made to clarify them; and patterns or themes which seemed to develop were examined and sometimes verified. The material was indexed according to prescribed categories.

*See Appendices A and B

**See Appendix C

END NOTES

¹Jack Halpern, South Africa's Hostages (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 297.

²Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development (Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer, 1966), p. i.

³Anthony Sillery, Founding a Protectorate (The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton and Co., 1965).

⁴S. M. Gabatshwane, Introduction to the Bechuanaland Protectorate: History and Administration (Kanye, Botswana: Kanye Press, 1957), p. 16.

⁵Gabatshwane, op. cit.

⁶I. Schapera, A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom (published for the International Institute of African Languages and Culture by the Oxford University Press, 1938).

The standard book on the subject

_____, Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Lovedale, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1943).

_____, The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes (London School of Economics and Political Science, 1952).

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_____, Married Life in an African Tribe (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1939).

⁷Edwin S. Munger, Bechuanaland (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

⁸Mary Benson, Tshekedi Khama (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1960).

⁹Halpern, op. cit., pp. 3-51; 81-92; 261-333, and 429-476.

¹⁰B. C. Thema, "The Development of Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (An Historical Survey) 1840-1946" (unpublished master's thesis, University of South Africa).

¹¹E. P. Kelhela, "The Origin, Development and Role of Missionary Teacher-Training Institutions for the Africans of the Northwestern Cape (An Historical-Critical Survey of the Period 1850-1954)" (unpublished doctor's dissertation, University of South Africa).

¹²Patrick Van Rensburg, Education and Development in an Emerging Country (Upsala, Sweden: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1968).

¹³_____, "Diversification of the Curriculum" (Swaneng Hill: Swaneng Hill School, 1967). (Mimeographed.)

_____, "The Curriculum in Predominantly Rural Countries" (Swaneng Hill: Swaneng Hill School, 1968), pp. 1-18 (Mimeographed).

¹⁴John W. Hanson, Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in Botswana (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State Press, 1968).

¹⁵Annual Report of the Education Department (n.n. 1935-1964).

Annual Report of the Department of Education (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1965. . . 1969).

Annual Reports are published annually.

¹⁶Transition Plan for Social and Economic Development, *op. cit.*

National Development Plan 1968-73 (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1968).

National Development Plan 1970-75 (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1970).

Section II

BACKGROUND OF BOTSWANA AND HER PEOPLE

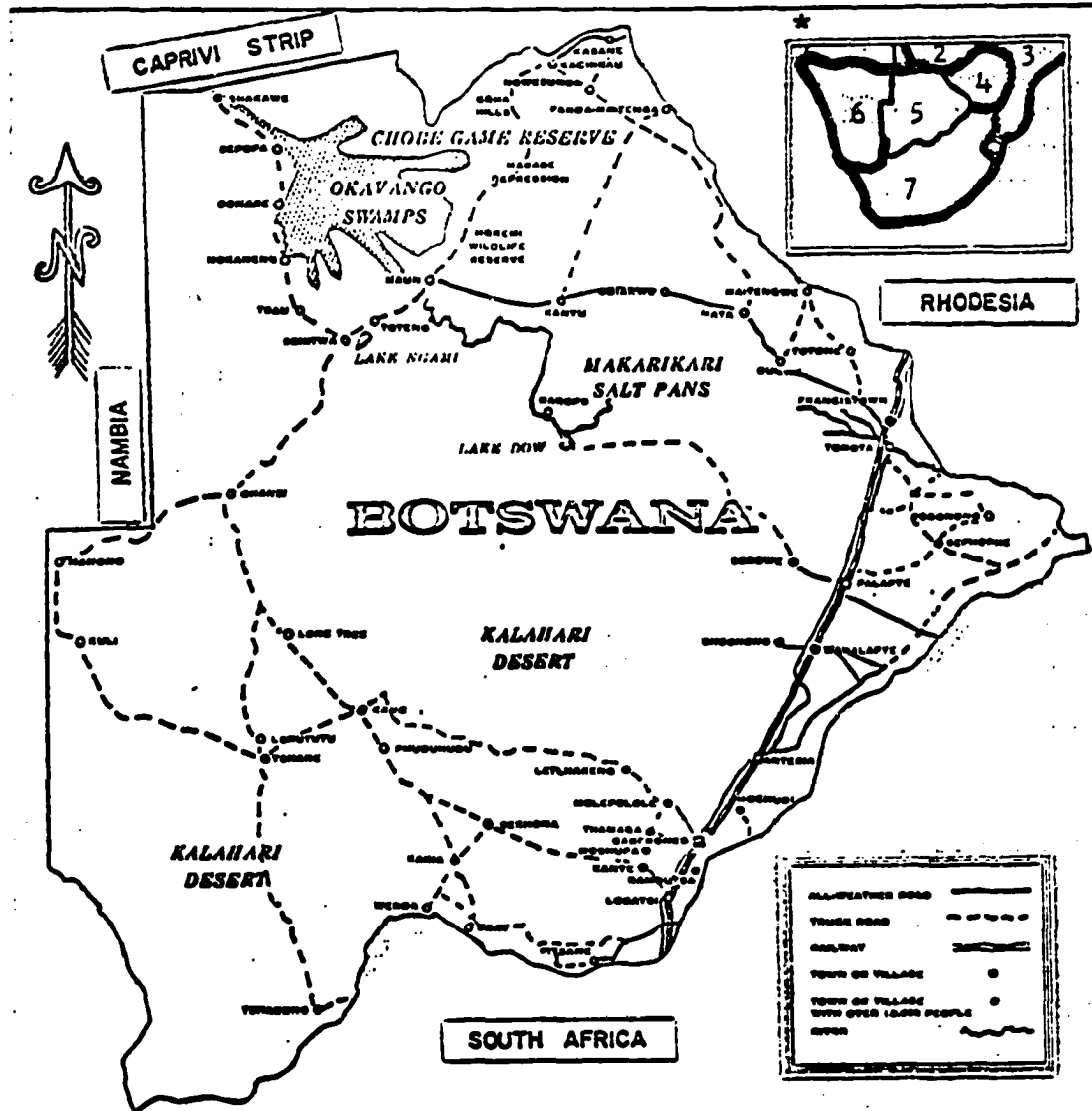
A. DESCRIPTION AND BASIC DATA ABOUT BOTSWANA

The Republic of Botswana is located in southern Africa and covers approximately 220,000 square miles. Botswana is twice the size of the United Kingdom, the same size as both France and Kenya, and nearly as large as Texas. The country is situated on a vast tableland with a mean altitude of 3,300 feet above sea level and receives an average annual rainfall of eighteen inches. Figure No. 1 shows Botswana's principal towns, villages, land features, and boundaries. The Republic of South Africa borders on the south and east; Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, to the northeast; Namibia, Southwest Africa, to the west; the Caprivi Strip and Zambia to the north. A narrow 300 yard wide section of the Zambesi and Chobe Rivers connects Botswana with its only nonapartheid neighbor, Zambia.

The Kalahari Desert takes up much of the central and southern parts of Botswana. The Kalahari is not a sand desert like the Sahara, but thorn bushes and grass cover most of the surface. Although surface water is virtually nonexistent, permanent supplies of underground water can be obtained from boreholes in some areas. The availability of water makes cattle ranching possible on a number of freehold farms near Ghanzi. Much of the central Kalahari is inhabited by small bands of Bushmen and a wide variety of wildlife.¹

The eastern part of the country is dotted by a series of rocky hills and widely covered with mopane bush. The combination of adequate

FIGURE NO. 1—BOTSWANA'S FEATURES²



- * 1 Angola
2 Zambia
3 Mozambique
4 Rhodesia
5 Botswana
6 South-West Africa
7 Republic of South Africa

underground water and sufficient rainfall makes this area an excellent cattle-rearing region. In addition, the rainfall is normally sufficient to make arable farming possible and profitable.

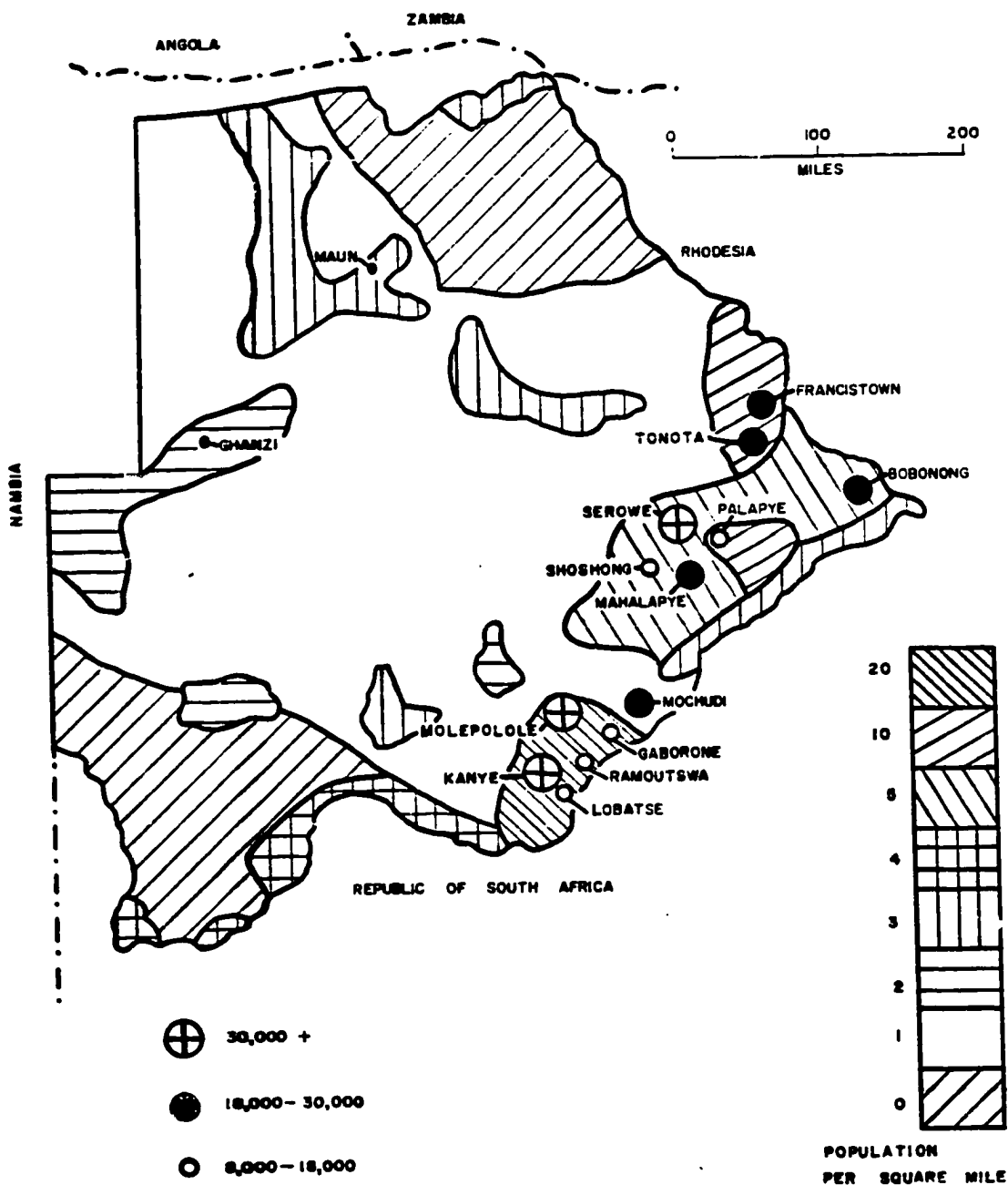
The Okavango River flows from Angola into the northwestern part of Botswana, called Ngamiland, and forms the Okavango Swamps. The swamps cover over 6,500 square miles and form a delta of 50,000 acres that would be suitable for irrigation farming if water control techniques were applied. The swamps support large numbers of wildlife, especially great herds of water buffalo, hippopotami, and elephant.³

East of Ngamiland and along the borders of Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, hardwood forests and dense bush replace the grass veld of the Kalahari Desert. Reliable rainfall, adequate ground water resources, and suitable soil make this region suitable for cattle ranching and the arable farming of sorghum, maize, and beans.

The climate of Botswana varies from tropical in the north to temperate over much of the rest of the country. Winter--May to September--has daytime temperatures reaching nearly 80° F. and cool to cold nights, dipping to 40° F. Frost often appears in some of the desert regions. Normally little, if any, rain falls during the winter months. In summer--September through April--temperatures often reach 100° F. Rains hopefully begin in late October and last through the end of April. However, the rains more frequently arrive in late December and end in mid-March. The average rainfall during the past five years has been eighteen inches. This varies from twenty-seven inches in the north to seven inches in parts of the Kalahari Desert.⁴

The 1964 Census estimated the population of Botswana at 543,105

FIGURE NO. 2 — POPULATION DENSITY⁶



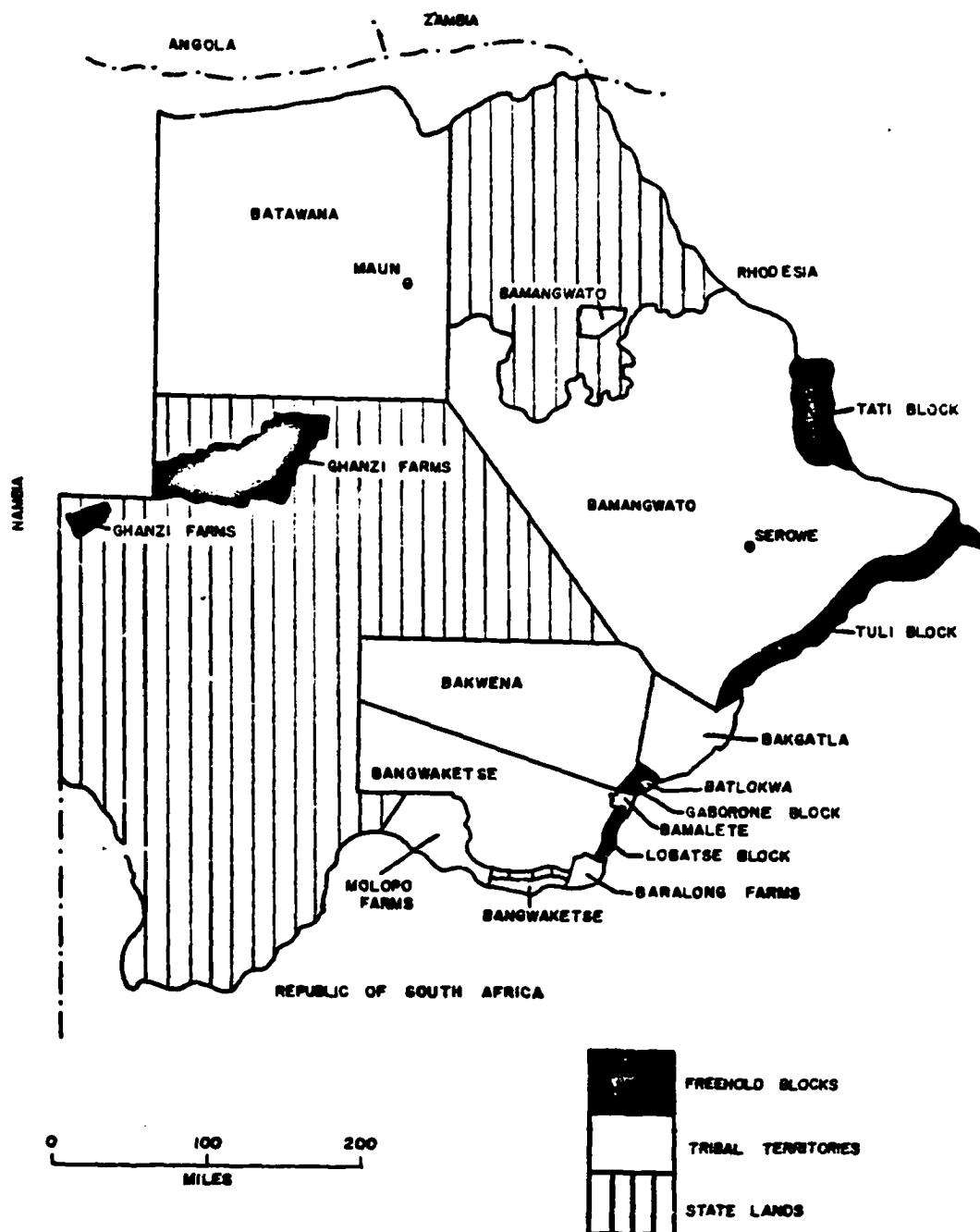
of which 535,275 were Africans; 3,921, Europeans; 3,489, mixed race; 382, Asians, and 38 others.⁵ The population was estimated to be approximately 650,000 in early 1970. Figure No. 2 displayed the population density which averaged three persons per square mile. The population is concentrated in central villages in the eastern part of the country.

Most Motswana live a pastoral agricultural existence. The Motswana live in central tribal villages. The largest villages are Serowe (35,000), Kanye (35,000), Moiepolole (31,000), and Mochudi (18,000). The cultivated tribal lands, referred to as "lands," begin a few miles from the village and may extend to a distance of thirty miles. When the summer rains have sufficiently moistened the soil, villagers walk to the "lands" and begin the digging and planting. Around and beyond the "lands" lie the cattleposts which are usually near boreholes or at wells dug in the sands of ephemeral rivers. Each family which owns cattle maintains a cattlepost. These cattleposts are often shared by members of the extended family.

The main business and commercial centers are the capital Gaborone (14,000), Francistown (18,000), and Lobatse (9,000). All of these commercial centers are located on the rail line.

The 1964 Census showed the following distribution of worker occupations:

FIGURE NO. 3 – BOTSWANA'S TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS⁹



<u>Activity</u>	<u>Number of Workers</u>
Traditional Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing	227,649
Mining and Quarrying	1,940
Manufacturing	2,420
Construction	2,704
Electricity and Water Services	120
Commerce	2,468
Transportation and Communications	2,315
Government Service, including Teaching	9,798
Others	1,264
South African Mine Works and other Labor	32,319
Total	282,997 ⁷

The figures for distribution of workers indicated that over 75 percent of the working population was engaged in traditional agricultural activities. Approximately 42,000 of the working agricultural population were under fifteen years of age, and all but approximately 10,500 were members of farm households. All employed Botswana workers earned total wages of approximately £4,500,000 in 1964 or £16 per working capita.⁸

Figure No. 3 depicts the manner in which land is divided in Botswana.

Botswana is divided into eight tribal areas covering 107,497 square miles; six European freehold farming blocks covering 8,242 square miles; and State Lands covering 104,497 square miles. The tribal areas, from largest to smallest, are as follows: Bamangwato (43,792 square miles), Batawana (35,082 square miles), Bakwena (14,719 square miles), Bangwaketse (9,641 square miles), Bakgatla (2,798 square miles), Barolong Farms (433 square miles), Bamalete (167 square miles), and Batlokwa (67 square miles). The six European freehold farming blocks were purchased or acquired from tribal authorities, the colonial government, or the British South Africa Company at various times by European farmers.

The State Lands are located largely in the central Kalahari and along the northern border.

Land tenure in Botswana has taken three forms; namely, communal or tribal lands, state land, and privately-owned land. In tribal areas the allocation of land was the responsibility of the chief, which he frequently delegated to ward and family heads. Every member of the tribe was entitled to the use of land for plowing and grazing purposes. In 1968 Government enacted the Tribal Land Act which established district land boards. These boards took over all the rights of land allocation which previously had been held by the traditional authorities and chiefs. Government believed that the tribal land boards would be able to gradually modify the tenurial systems to encourage more scientific farming and limit the use of specific grazing and water areas to a group of individuals.¹⁰

The second form of land tenure involves the former Crown Lands--land owned by the British crown. This land now belongs to Government and is known as State Lands. These State Lands cover about 104,000 square miles and lie outside traditional tribal areas. Most of the State Lands are suitable only for cattle ranching. On the State Lands, Government can lease, sell, or settle people who do not fit into a tribal organization. Government can collect taxes directly from the State Lands and also can encourage a particular type of development on these lands.¹¹

The third form of tenure involves land which was acquired by a company--the British South African Company--or groups of farmers, such as Ghanzi Farms. The British South African Company acquired the Tati

Concession and the Tuli Block in the early 1900s. The Company sold land to individual farmers whose title deeds make the land private property. Individual farmers also hold title deeds to their land in the Ghanzi area.

B. PHYSICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS

Apart from its size, Botswana's main physical features are aridity and low population density. The population centers are concentrated at areas of reasonable water supply. Water plays a dominant role in the life of the Botswana people. Motswana use the word Pula (rain) to proclaim any joyous event. Virtually all the annual rainfall, twenty-seven inches in the north to seven inches in the extreme southwest, falls between October and March. The rain often falls in torrents that carry away vital soil and grasslands during the rapid runoff.

The shortage of water is a major limitation in the development of Botswana. Herds of domestic cattle, Botswana's main source of income, and natural wildlife depend heavily upon water for their survival. Arable farming is greatly limited by the water supply. The growth and development of urban centers, with their associated industrial needs, demand adequate water resources. Despite the aridity of Botswana, some water resources do exist and can be developed.

There appear to be five major sources for potential water development. They include: the Limpopo Watershed located near the eastern population centers, the Okavango Delta in the northwest, and the Shashi River Complex located near the Francistown Complex. Other water

sources are local dams, such as those in Lobatsi and Gaberone, which collect the ephemeral runoffs after the torrential rains, and the untapped underground water supply which can be reached by hundreds of boreholes.

The Limpopo Basin forms part of the eastern boundary of Botswana and lies very near the main commercial, administrative, and potential industrial centers, many of which are critically short of water. A preliminary survey estimated that 16,000 additional acres of land could be made available for farming by irrigation from the Limpopo. Approximately 75 percent of the population lives in the area effected by the Limpopo Basin. "It has been estimated that every year Botswana experiences a runoff of about one million acre feet from the area."¹² Although the river flows for only several days each year, storage dams and weirs such as those located in Gaberone and Lobatsi could retain large quantities of water.

The Shashi River Basin is capable of supplying approximately nine million gallons of water per day when a properly constructed dam is finished. This dam will enable water to be provided for copper mining at Matsitama, for industrial and domestic uses in Francistown, the railroad siding in Shashi, and for the irrigation of 4,000 acres of land.¹³

Perhaps the most "promising" prospect lies with the unexploited waters of the Okavango Delta which annually receives nine and one-half million acre feet of water from Angola. The river presently empties into the tsetse-inhabited swamps of northwest Botswana. However, the rich delta area which surrounds the river and swamps has large areas

of potentially irrigable land where maize, cotton, jute, and many other staple crops would thrive. If the river is controlled and channeled, it could also provide excellent transportation into Maun and the Makarikari Salt Pans.¹⁴

Controlling local runoff and expanding the number of boreholes provide the cheapest and most immediate response of Government to the urgent water problems.

The urgency of the water problems is illustrated by the data which show that Botswana has moved from a position of self-sufficiency in basic food crops to being a heavy importer of foodstuffs. Annual crop production fell by at least 50 percent during the severe droughts of 1961-1966. Four of ten harvests between 1960 and 1969 were recorded as disasters.¹⁵ Likewise, at the height of the drought in 1965-1966, the cattle population suffered a severe reduction estimated at over 30 percent of the national herd. Large numbers of cattle died. Others were slaughtered to forestall death from starvation or to provide farmers with much needed cash.¹⁶

In addition to the water shortage, Botswana was completely landlocked; that is, it has no direct access to the ocean. This means that Botswana was entirely dependent upon good relationships with its neighbors to the north and south for export and import of goods. When Botswana angered its neighbor to the south--the Republic of South Africa--South Africa severely curtailed the export of Botswana beef. Following a dispute over refugee protection in 1961, South Africa neglected to send refrigerated railroad cars to carry the beef to port. Spoiled beef doesn't bring high market prices!¹⁷ In addition, South

Africa and Rhodesia own and control the railroad that runs the length of Botswana and carries exports and imports to and from Botswana.

The geography provides one narrow 300-yard wide boundary with Zambia in the north. This boundary gives Botswana an opportunity to increase its trade with Black Africa and decrease its dependency upon South Africa and Rhodesia. However, transportation links between Zambia and Botswana's main population and production centers are virtually nonexistent. The modern abattoir is located in the south-central town of Lobatsi. Good rail connections link Lobatsi to Francistown, but the road(s) from Francistown to the Zambian border are often impassable due to drifting sands or muddy ruts. In 1971 construction began on an all-weather road connecting Francistown with the Zambian border. Even when this road is completed, Botswana's geographic boundaries dictate an economic dependency upon South Africa.

Mineral deposits were mined in Botswana as early as 1867. The early mining of gold was followed by copper mining between 1918 and 1920. Mining reached its height in Botswana in 1961 when miners extracted gold, silver, asbestos fibre and manganese ore. In 1966-1967 DeBeers prospecting Botswana discovered a large, commercially valuable diamond deposit at Orapa, 110 miles west of Francistown. The mining operation at Orapa began in late 1971. Meanwhile, the Bamangwato concessions discovered commercial copper-nickel deposits at Selebi-Pikwe, fifty miles southeast of Francistown. Production is planned to start in 1973 at Selebi-Pikwe.¹⁸

The distances and terrain in Botswana create transportation problems within the nation. The transportation system suffers from the dry

and drifting sands, torrential rains, and long distances. Good dirt or gravel roads connect the major population centers and usually permit thru traffic to complete their journey with a minimum of delay. However, during the rainy season sections of some roads are completely washed out by the torrential flow of water. Travel on secondary roads is limited to four-wheel drive vehicles. Those travelers who fail to comply with laws of the terrain usually abandon their vehicles as monuments to ignorance.

C. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Bushmen were the first settlers in Bechuanaland. The Bushmen have inhabited Bechuanaland for twelve or fifteen thousand years. Living in the remote parts of the Kalahari Desert as hunters and food gatherers, they have not played a significant role in the national life of Bechuanaland. The Bushmen have chosen to remain in the arid parts of Botswana. "His (Bushman's) home is where he kills a large animal."¹⁹ The life of these hunter-gatherers in the Kalahari Desert dictated that the hunter's primary concerns were killing game and the manufacture and care of his weapons. When the hunter killed a large animal, the small band moved to the feast and remained until the next kill necessitated another move. While the men hunted, the women and children searched for edible plants and berries, dug roots, and marked bulbous rooted plants for collection during the dry periods.

Bushman rock engravings and paintings showed that Bushmen once spread over much of the southern half of Africa. As hunters, the

Bushmen required unrestricted and undisturbed use of large tracts of lands.²⁰ When the Bushmen encountered the northward intrusion of the Dutch Boer farmer and the expansion of the Bantu-speaking people from the south and east, conflict occurred between the cultures. Boer farmers operated on two premises; that is, "Every farmer should live beyond the sight of his neighbors' smoke." and, "All Africans, the biblical sons of Ham, were appointed by God to labor as slaves for the Boers."²¹ The rapid decline in Bushmen population parallels the northward expansion of the Boer farmers. Thousands of Bushmen died from epidemic diseases introduced by the settlers in early colonial days. Many others were shot by Boer farmers for cattle stealing.²²

The inability of either the Bushmen or the Boers to adapt their cultures to the ways of the other forced the Bushmen to either submit to slavery, die, or retreat into the arid regions of the Kalahari Desert.

By contrast, the Bantu-speaking Tswana* were not warlike and violent people. The Tswana basically herded cattle and cultivated the ground. When the Tswana and the Bushmen met at watering holes, they reached peaceful agreement for use of the area. Therefore, the Bushman territory was encroached upon by the herding Tswana but his life and existence were not extinguished.²³

The Tswana oral tradition and historical evidence support the thesis that a group of people called "Sotho" formed a distinct part of

*The people who live in Bechuanaland, Botswana, mainly speak Tswana. Many people refer to them as Tswana. However, the inhabitants merely speak Tswana.

the fourth stage of the Bantu migrations which resulted in the settlement of southern Africa. The Sotho penetrated as far as the Vaal River in South Africa and spread across southern Africa from the Kalahari to the eastern Transvaal. Several waves of Sotho migration occurred; but the last and greatest migration--approximately 1500--appeared to have brought the people who developed into the Tswana of today.²⁴

The Tswana lived in Bechuanaland, herded cattle, and cultivated the land for several centuries before the Europeans came. Europeans followed the missionary road to the north and began to establish mission settlements in the early 19th Century. The London Missionary Society, under the direction of Robert Moffat, became one of the most powerful and influential forces in the development of the Tswana people. Moffat and many of his earlier followers refused to engage in political activity. These early missionaries lived amongst the people, taught the Bible, and carried the message of God to the Tswana.²⁵

The Zulu wars of Chief Shaka uprooted many people in southern Africa. Thousands of refugees, fleeing Shaka's armies, roamed, pillaged, and plundered the countryside. The southern part of Bechuanaland regularly experienced these raids. At the same time, the great trek of the Boers ultimately brought the voortrekkers to the Tswana border. The Boers disliked the proximity of powerful chiefs and felt that the penetration of the missionaries into Bechuanaland would curb the Boer expansion northward. Shortly after his arrival in Bechuanaland, David Livingstone supported Sechele, Chief of the Bakwena, against demands of the Boers. During a Boer raid of Sechele's village in 1852, Livingstone's mission at Kolobeng was ransacked and partially burned. In

addition to these forces, traders bartered for goods; hunters invaded tribal hunting grounds and slaughtered game for sport; and prospectors and miners searched for new gold rushes. The impact of these foreign forces created uncertainty, chaos, harassment, and indecision among the Tswana people.²⁶

The powerful chiefs such as Khama the Great of the Bamangwato, Bathoen I of the Bangwaketse, and Sechele I of the Bakwena, were among the early converts to Christianity. These chiefs relied heavily upon the advice of the missionaries, and the missionaries provided the support and assistance which led the chiefs to seek the protection of Britain.

On 26 February 1885, the major European nations signed the Act of the Berlin Conference which set in motion the "great scramble" for effective occupation of African territories. German advances at Angra Pequena, Southwest Africa, and in Tanganyika led the British to believe that the Germans might establish uncontested domination of Central Africa if they secured the Tswana territories. While the Germans were making their advances, the Reverend John MacKenzie, successor to Moffat at Kuruman, conducted a vehement campaign for native rights advocating that Bechuanaland should be placed under British protection.

The German threat, pressure from British humanitarians who had been stirred by MacKenzie, the support of Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company, and the requests of Chiefs Khama, Bathoen, and Sechele finally convinced the British to act. In 1885 Queen Victoria proclaimed the whole of Bechuanaland to be under the protection of Her Majesty. A commission defined British protection as:

"We have no interest in the country known as Bechuanaland except as a road to the interior; we might therefore confine ourselves for the present to preventing that part of the Protectorate from being occupied by either filibusters or foreign powers, doing as little in the way of administration or settlement as possible."²⁷

An official letter from the Commonwealth Office stated: "Our policy is to develop the Protectorate through the British South Africa."²⁸ This stated the British policy toward Bechuanaland. "The policy survived the discovery that Rhodes and his colleagues were crooked, ruthless and corrupt."²⁹ In 1892 another proclamation enlarged the Bechuanaland Protectorate to include the territory between the Shashi and Mothloutse Rivers, the Tati district, those territories north of 22° latitude claimed by Khama, and vast areas of the Kalahari and Chobe which lay to the north and west of Khama's country.

Cecil Rhodes used the Bechuanaland Protectorate as a springboard for the colonization of southern Rhodesia by the British South Africa Company. He devised a plan which would have handed the administration of Bechuanaland to the British South Africa Company in 1895. Chiefs Khama, Bathoen, and Sechele, supported by the London Missionary Society, traveled to London to protest the action. The chiefs traveled and spoke through England and argued, "No government can we trust as we can trust that of the queen."³⁰ The chiefs won the guarantee of protection under the crown. In return, the chiefs surrendered a strip of land in the east for the construction of a railroad, from South Africa to Rhodesia, which was completed in 1897, by the British South Africa Company. Rhodes reacted to the decision as follows: "It is humiliating to be utterly beaten by these niggers."³¹

The High Commissioner, acting through a Resident Commissioner, was proclaimed the sole legislative authority in a system known as indirect rule. The administrative responsibility for internal affairs was left mainly to the chiefs. The chiefs continued to exercise their traditional political and judicial authority as well as regulating the economic life of their tribes.

In 1909 the self-governing colonies of Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and the Cape Colony were united to form the Union of South Africa. The preamble to the Act of Union declared, "It is expedient to provide for the eventual. . . transfer to the Union of such parts of South Africa as are not originally included therein."³² Article 151 of the Act of Union provided the details of how such a transfer would occur. Parliament also promised, but not in precise form, that the inhabitants of the territories would be first "consulted" and their wishes taken into account.³³ Lord Shelbourne, Resident Commissioner, commented, "Transfer of Bechuanaland to the Union would not take place in the immediate future, but in the natural course of things it would take place some day."³⁴

After several overtures for incorporation of the territories by the Union of South Africa, a Joint Advisory Council consisting of officers of the Union Government and the Resident Commissioner--no Bechuana were included--was set up in 1938 to study the question. The Council announced that:

"The paramountcy of native interests in native areas would be maintained. To many influential and liberal people, there no longer seemed any adequate reason for further postponement of transfer since such a policy of incorporation coincided with British policy for the Protectorates."³⁵

The beginning of World War II ended these discussions. More than 10,000 Bechuana served in the African Pioneer Corps in the Middle East and Italy during the war. The war brought these Bechuana soldiers into contact with the opportunities and conditions in other societies and gave them the chance to talk with soldiers from other countries.

The British always contemplated that Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland would eventually be absorbed into the Union of South Africa. Consequently, Bechuanaland received little development money and had to subsist on the meager funds of its own economy. British policy stated: "Spend as little as possible on Bechuanaland. . . It won't yield any return. . . and eventually South Africa will absorb it anyway."³⁶ However, the persistent efforts of Tshekedi Khama and Bathoen II continually managed to convince the British Government to delay the action.

In September 1948 Tshekedi Khama, Acting Regent for the Bamangwato, received a letter from his nephew, Seretse Khama, heir to the Bamangwato chieftainship and now President of the Republic of Botswana. Seretse Khama wrote that he had fallen in love with Ruth Williams and they had decided to marry on 2 October. Seretse Khama continued:

"I realize that this matter will not please you because the tribe will not like it that I am marrying a white woman. I do not know what the people will say or do, but I shall return home whenever you say to serve them in any capacity. I realize that it is my duty to have asked your consent. . . but I know that you would refuse and it would be difficult for me to disregard your advice and that is why I notified you when it was done. Please forgive me. . . Please don't try to stop me, father, I want to go through with it."³⁷

Tshekedi was deeply upset by the fact that Ruth Williams was white because the chief's wife is Mother of the Tribe. Tshekedi envisaged ostracism for Mrs. Khama and possible deposition for Seretse Khama.

Seretse Khama returned in 1948 and took his case to the kgotla, general tribal meeting which makes decisions through consensus. Two kgotlas strongly opposed the marriage and rejected Ruth Khama as Queen. In 1949 the British administration confirmed the kgotla's decision but refused to act on Tshekedi's request that Ruth Khama should be barred from coming to the Protectorate. At the same time Tshekedi Khama denounced any claims to the chieftainship.

A new kgotla convened in 1949 to settle the argument between Tshekedi and Seretse Khama. Only forty-three men stood against Seretse Khama and his wife, while nearly the whole kgotla rose and gave the triumphant acclamation of Pula! Tshekedi and his followers left and trekked to a neighboring tribe. It appeared that Seretse and Ruth Khama would soon be installed as chief and queen of the Bamangwato.³⁸

Just as tribal difficulties appeared to have been settled and Seretse Khama would be installed as chief, 'white outrage in neighboring South Africa and Rhodesia became vociferous and official.'³⁹ In fact Dr. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa, stated that he had sent an unequivocal telegram opposing Khama's marriage and arguing for incorporation of Bechuanaland into South Africa.⁴⁰ The Harrigan Commission was set up to investigate the fitness of Seretse Khama to be chief. The recommendations of the commission have never been made public.

In early 1950 Seretse Khama received an invitation from the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations to come to London. The Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland assured Seretse Khama that he would freely be allowed to return home. When Seretse Khama arrived

in England, he was asked to relinquish all claims to the chieftainship in return for £1,000 a year. Seretse Khama refused, and the British government banned him from Bechuanaland for the next five years. Seretse's cable to Ruth Khama said: "Tribe and myself tricked by British Government. Am banned from whole Protectorate. Love. Seretse."⁴¹

The paper of the Nationalist Party, Die Transvaler, stated: "While trying to prop up with words the whitewashed facade of liberalism, the British Government has had in practice to concede to the demands of apartheid."⁴²

While in Britain the press and many citizens joined Sir Winston Churchill's condemnation of "a very disreputable transaction and a severe blot on British justice."⁴³

The British Government banned Tshekedi Khama from the Bamangwato territory for five years. With Tshekedi and Seretse Khama banned from the territory, the state of affairs in the Bamangwato suffered greatly and led to several disturbances which were quelled only by the arrival of police from Rhodesia and Basutoland. In 1951 when the Conservative Party took office, Seretse Khama learned that he would never be allowed to return to Bechuanaland because he was "dangerous to peace and good government in Bechuanaland." A year later the Conservative government stripped Seretse and his children of any rights to the chieftainship and barred them as well as Tshekedi from any post of authority connected with the chieftancy.⁴⁴

Finally, Seretse and Tshekedi reached an agreement in 1956 which permitted them to return to the Bamangwato as private citizens and to

work for new patterns of governance. Both men denounced any claim to the chieftainship and agreed to support the African Authority and the British Administration in return for being allowed to return home and play a full and active role in public life.

The 1950s saw an awakening of nation consciousness in people who had for centuries lived in dependence on some foreign power. The winds of change were blowing throughout the African continent, and Africans, educated under the colonial system, would soon lead their respective nations to independence. Ghana was the first to recapture its independence under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957. Botswana became the thirty-second new nation in Africa on September 30, 1966.

In southern Africa the 1950s witnessed several important counter-events and a general movement away from independence and self-determination for the African people. The Nationalist Party, led by Prime Minister Dr. Malan, won the election of 1948 in the Union of South Africa and began to implement the policy of apartheid that would bring:

"Everything in the lives of non-whites in South Africa, the separated areas in which they live, the type of education available to their children, the total lack of participation in the government of their country, spells for thirteen and a half million of the seventeen million inhabitants of South Africa a second-class status."⁴⁵

Minister of Education, Mr. Verwoerd, announced the enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which described the purpose of education as: "Racial relations cannot improve if the result of Native Education is the creation of frustrated people. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live."⁴⁶

The apartheid policy was the focal point of British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's visit to the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa in Capetown on February 4, 1960. Macmillan publicly condemned South Africa's policy:

"... as contrary to Britain's belief in a society in which individual merit alone is the criterion for a man's human advancement, whether political or economic." He continued: "It is our (Britain's) responsibility not only to raise the standard of living but to create a society which respects the rights of individuals. . . men are given equal opportunities to grow. . . share an increasing share of political power and responsibility. . . and where individual merit is the criterion for Man's advancement. . . We always try to give encouragement and support to the Republic of South Africa, but some aspects of your policy make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our convictions about the destinies of free men. . ."47

Macmillan's speech, coupled with the Sharpeville incident* of March 21, 1960, made it clear that the Bechuanaland Protectorate would no longer be incorporated into the Republic of South Africa. These events mark the beginning of the rapid road to independence.

After eighty-one years of existence under the protection of Great Britain, Botswana achieved its independence in 1966. There have been few countries so handicapped at independence and faced with such a long and arduous process of development.

"Educationally, the Motswana were probably more backward than any other people in Africa which have been under British rule. Their schools are worse housed and worse equipped than any in British-administered Africa."48

*On Monday, March 21, 1960 the Pan-Africanists in the Union of South Africa began a nonviolent campaign against the Pass Law in Sharpeville and Langa. Demonstrations were nonviolent until the white police force, with no warning or previous attempts to disperse the crowds, opened fire with rifles and automatic weapons on the unarmed black Africans, killing 71 and wounding 186.

Thus, the period from 1945 through 1969 encompasses the rapid transition of a country from a British Protectorate to an independent, self-governing nation, faced with many economic, social, political, educational and human demands.

D. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The colonial government administered Bechuanaland through the tribal authorities. In 1920 Government established an African Advisory Council, composed of the major chiefs, and the European Advisory Council, composed of white leaders, to make recommendations concerning the governance and development of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In 1950 the colonial government created the Joint Advisory Council. This council, which consisted of eight Europeans and eight Africans, was selected by the African and European Advisory Councils and advised the colonial administration on policy. The council played a vital role in voicing opposition to continuing South African pressures for incorporation.⁴⁹

On 6 December 1960, Government announced that the first Legislative Council, similar to Parliament, would be formed. The council would be composed of twelve elected African members, twelve elected European members, and ten appointed members--mostly European. The Legislative Council held its first meeting in 1961.

The first political party in Bechuanaland--the Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party--formed in late 1959 when the Government issued its draft proposals for a Legislative Council. The main programs of

the Federal Party were the enhancement of the institution of chieftainship and condemnation of demands for a black majority in the Legislative Council. The Federal Party disappeared almost as rapidly as it had been formed.⁵⁰

K. T. Motsete, Philip Matante, and Motsami Mpho formed the Bechuanaland People's Party on 6 December 1960, the same day as the Legislative Council was announced. Motsete earned four degrees at the University of London and founded the first post-primary educational institution in Bechuanaland, Tati Training Institution. Matante gained recognition during World War II when he earned the rank of sergeant major, the highest rank possible for an African in the Bechuanaland Pioneer Corps. Mpho, a Bayhe! tribesman, worked in the South African mines, taught blind children, and became an active member of the African National Congress* which led to his imprisonment and deportation to Bechuanaland. The People's Party advocated nonracial development, strongly opposed tribal authorities, argued for human rights and freedoms, and supported the Pan African movement. The Party pledged to gain independence for Bechuanaland by constitutional and nonviolent means.⁵¹

The Bechuanaland People's Party organized itself along the lines of the militant African National Congress of South Africa. Many former treason trial leaders became active members and modified the slogans,

*A militant African political party that actively opposed the apartheid policies of South Africa. The African National Congress organized strikes to protest political actions of the South African government. Many of its leaders were imprisoned in the early 1960s and never brought to trial. The party was eventually banned in South Africa.

mottos, colors, and songs of the African National Congress for the Bechuanaland People's Party.

In 1963 Mpho and six other members of the executive committee charged Matante with corruption and returning two South African refugees across the border. Matante and Motsete charged Mpho with leading a South African Communist-inspired coup to take over the Party. The dispute led to the expulsion of Mpho and his supporters who later formed the Bechuanaland Independent Party in 1964. Matante and Motsete later split over the use of Party funds and Matante emerged as the leader of the Bechuanaland People's Party in 1964.⁵²

Seretse Khama organized the Bechuanaland Democratic Party at the beginning of 1962. The Democratic Party enlisted the active support of ten African members of the Joint Advisory Council and the unofficial support of most European members of the Council because they "feared" the policies of the People's Party. The Democratic Party drew much of its initial support from amongst the Bamangwato who comprised approximately one-third of the total population of Bechuanaland. Seretse Khama appealed to members of all tribal groups in order to build a party which united the tribes politically. Seretse Khama encouraged whites to remain and help make the territory a model of multiracialism. This action earned the unofficial support of various white leaders who felt that their future would be secure under a government headed by Seretse Khama. The program of the Democratic Party called for full self-government by 1970. By contrast, the People's Party urged independence not later than 1963. The Democratic Party advocated the gradual substitution of constitutional rights for traditional

chieftainship authority and the development of a trade union movement to insure that no man would be exploited by his employer. The Party pledged that they would establish a democratic state with a one-man, one-vote nonracial policy.⁵³

Peter Fawcus, Resident Commissioner to Bechuanaland, presented the Bechuanaland Protectorate's draft constitution on November 18, 1963. Fawcus hailed the constitution as a triumph of negotiation, racial cooperation, and common sense. "Bechuanaland achieved constitutional reform by general consent, a rarity in Africa."⁵⁴ The constitution established a House of Chiefs, separate from the Legislative Assembly, with special responsibility for chieftainship and tribal matters. Under the proposed constitution, legislation related to tribal matters would be referred to the House of Chiefs at least thirty days prior to presentation to the Legislative Assembly. The House of Chiefs would make their recommendations and forward them to the Legislative Assembly. The role of the House of Chiefs would be purely advisory. The constitution also guaranteed all men equality of opportunity and freedom of action but did not set aside any seats on the Legislative Assembly specifically for white men.

The Legislative Assembly was established as the legislative body of Government. Thirty-two of the thirty-eight seats were to be filled by members elected by universal adult suffrage. These elected members represented the geographic district which elected them. Four other seats were reserved for prominent national figures whom the Legislative Assembly elected. Two seats were reserved for Government officials. March 1965 was set as the target date for elections to be held.⁵⁵

The British Government announced the official acceptance of the recommendations for constitutional change in Bechuanaland on 2 June 1964 in Legislative Council Paper No. 9 of 1964. General elections under the new constitution were set for March 1965. Registration of voters began in September 1964 and nominations for the thirty-one seats* were completed in February 1965.⁵⁶

With the approaching first elections, Government announced in November 1964 its intention to localize jobs as rapidly as possible; that is, "All but the most senior government posts would no longer be open to people from outside Bechuanaland."⁵⁷

Elections for the Legislative Assembly were held on 1 March 1965. The results were:⁵⁸

<u>Party</u>	<u>Seats Contested</u>	<u>Seats Won</u>	<u>Total Votes</u>	<u>% of Vote</u>
Bechuanaland Democratic Party (Khama)	31	28	113,168	80
Bechuanaland People's Party (Matante)	26	3	19,964	14
Bechuanaland Independent Party (Mpho)	24	0	6,491	5
Others	2	0	1,166	-

Seventy-five percent of the eligible population voted. Seretse Khama and the Bechuanaland Democratic Party captured 80 percent of the vote. The Democratic Party won all but three seats in the Legislative Assembly and the opposition mounted a strong challenge for only five seats.

*Because of the population distribution, Government delimited thirty-one voting districts instead of the recommended thirty-two.

The Democratic Party's election plank pledged the gradual development of a national State along multiracial lines, nonalignment combined with membership in the Commonwealth, Organization of African States, and the United Nations, and the extension of free public education until age fifteen to all people as soon as it was economically feasible. The plank further supported the Prevention of Violence Abroad Proclamation*, the continuation of communal and individual land tenure, and improved medical, agricultural, and social services. The Democratic Party urged take-over of all mineral rights, by negotiation, from tribal authorities and private companies.⁵⁹

Accompanying the constitutional change, the British Government started construction of a new capital for Bechuanaland at Gaborone. The Resident Commissioner, Peter Fawcus, and the British Government attached great political significance to the construction of Gaborone in a nonracial environment where the opportunities for multiracialism would be enhanced.⁶⁰ The national capital of Bechuanaland was located at the Imperial Reserve, Mafeking, in the Cape Province of South Africa. Although no legal discrimination existed in the Imperial Reserve itself, South Africa's apartheid policy hindered relationships between Europeans and African members of the administration. In addition, some Bechuana, including Seretse Khama, were considered prohibited immigrants by South Africa and thereby denied the right to enter the Bechuanaland capital. Fawcus believed that the new capital would be

*Temporary asylum would be given to political refugees from South Africa. However, political refugees would not be permitted to use Bechuanaland as a base for political subversion in South Africa.

a powerful force in helping to dispel some of the persistent racial patterns and in building a new sense of nationhood for Bechuanaland.⁶¹

Since the Government buildings in Gaborone were not completed, Bechuanaland's first Parliament opened on 23 March 1965 in the Lobatse High Court. The Resident Commissioner indicated Government's intention to gradually integrate tribal institutions into national policy. The policy of gradual integration closely paralleled the Democratic Party's policy of gradually substituting constitutional rights for tribal authority. As a result of this policy, Chief Bathoen II, who had served as Chairman of the African Advisory Council for twenty-seven years, refused the chairmanship of the House of Chiefs. Bathoen declared that he would not stoop to be chairman of a House of Chiefs which had no future and would ultimately be dissolved by the Resident Commissioner or the cabinet.⁶² The first Parliament discussed the severe hardships which the prolonged drought created among the people. Recommendations for increased self-help projects were approved.

Nearly one year after the first Parliament of Bechuanaland met, the Independence Constitution Conference convened in London. The conference recommended the independence of Bechuanaland. After eighty-one years the Bechuanaland Protectorate became the Republic of Botswana. At midnight 30 September 1966 the British Union Jack was lowered and the blue, black and white flag symbolizing multiracialism waved at Gaborone. The new nation of the Republic of Botswana was born.

Local Government changed with the impending independence. Local Government elections were held in June 1966 to elect officials to nine district councils and three town councils. The district councils were

designed to give the power of local governance to elected officials rather than the chief and its appointed tribal authorities. The chiefs were appointed ex-officio chairmen in five districts. The remaining four district councils and the three town councils elected their chairman from among the members of council. The district councils and town councils held responsibility for all local governance which included the financing and operation of primary education. Government encouraged the growth of district and town councils and gave them increasingly greater responsibility for local affairs.

In his speech of August 1969 dissolving the first National Assembly, Parliament, of Botswana, President Khama stated:

"In 1965 we pledged ourselves to work for rapid economic and social development. . . . The fundamental challenge of development is proper planning machinery. Planning simply means choosing. But choices must be based upon understanding. . . . This Government recognized that development is not achieved by forcing people to move in directions they do not wish to go, for reasons they do not understand."⁶³

President Khama emphasized the inadequate foundations for self-government which the colonial government left because of geographic and historical ties with South Africa. "The British Government recognized Botswana's individual role late, but has recently done much to amend the neglect"⁶⁴ by granting £3,000,000 for development during the three years following independence. President Khama cited the rapid advancement in localization of positions in the Civil Service but stressed the continued need for expatriate experts to help train Botswana for the future requirements of the country. President Khama added:

"An essential element in independence is self-reliance Self-reliance involves a conscious commitment on the

part of the people to Botswana's development. . . Development is the responsibility of local government. . . [development] has shown people that a striking improvement in the quality of life can be achieved through self-help and self-reliance."⁶⁵

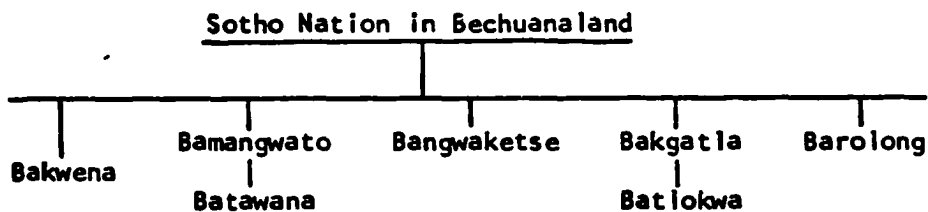
President Khama concluded his speech by calling for elections in early 1970. A new political party--Botswana National Front--organized for the campaign. The National Front was a curious combination of the traditional chieftainship ideas and policies of Chief Bathoen II and his followers and the Marxist-socialistic ideas of Kenneth Koma, recently returned from his education in the communist countries, and his young followers. The Botswana National Front joined the Botswana People's Party led by Matante, the Botswana Independent Party led by Mpho, and the Botswana Democratic Party led by President Khama in the elections.

Only 54.9 percent of the eligible Botswana voted, compared to 75 percent in 1965, in the election. President Khama and the Democratic Party won twenty-four seats; the People's Party won three seats; the National Front captured three seats; and Mpho secured a seat for the Independent Party. The Khama government received 75 percent of the vote and captured 75 percent of the seats in the National Assembly. However, Chief Bathoen II and his followers captured the three seats in his tribal district including that of Vice President Masire. President Khama expressed concern about the activities of the National Front and its appeals to tribal loyalty rather than national unity.⁶⁶

E. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL

Independence placed severe strain upon the traditional tribal structure and forced modifications in traditional social and cultural patterns.⁶⁷

The principal tribes inhabiting Botswana were the Bakwena, Bamangwato, Batawana, Bangwaketse, Bakgatla, Barolong, Batlokwa, and Bamalete. The Masarwa (the Bushmen), the Hereros in Ngamiland, and the Kalanga in the northeast formed the largest other tribal groups in Bechuanaland. Each of the principal tribes occupied its own geographic area and was the dominant tribe in that area. All the principal tribes except the Bamalete claimed common descent from the Sotho nation and people. The following chart showed the lineage of the tribes:



The Batawana broke away from the Bamangwato to form a separate tribe and the Batlokwa did the same thing with the Bakgatla. The Bamalete originally belonged to the Ndebele people of the Transvaal, South Africa. The Sotho nation assimilated the Bamalete into their culture.⁶⁸

Traditionally, a separate chief ruled in each tribal area and each chief was independent of the other chiefs. In contrast to neighboring tribes, particularly the Basuto and Swazi, no single paramount chief ruled the Tswana. A chief, kosi, was a representative chief whose power

depended upon his personal character and relationships with his near kinsmen. He possessed wide discretionary powers, was the ultimate authority of the tribe, and was the final appeal in the judicial system. "The chief is the central authority around whom the tribal life revolved. . . He is ruler, judge, repository of wealth, dispenser of gifts, leader in war, priest, and magician of the people."⁶⁹ The chief took advice from various councils. Chiefs relied heavily upon the opinions and ideas gained from his kgotla. The kgotla was a tribal meeting of senior men of the tribe who examined and discussed problems and matters of importance such as disputes between families. The Tswana saying: kqosi ke kqosi ka morafe, "a chief is chief by grace of the tribe," encouraged the chief to utilize the kgotla to sense the pulse of the tribe and to learn tribal feelings on any problem. Ultimately, the chief made his decision. Chiefs did overrule tribal opinions, but if they did, they faced the possibility of withdrawal of tribal support.

The chief and his family were treated with respect and enjoyed many privileges such as the choice of land, buildings, or grazing areas. The people offered tributes to the chief. In return for these privileges the people expected the chief to settle grievances fairly, decide disputes wisely, watch over the tribal interests carefully, and regulate the agricultural and economic life of the tribe diligently.⁷⁰

The British administration often provided chiefs with unquestioning support which increased their power and authority. Tyrannical chiefs utilized British support to overrule the kgotla. Some chiefs ignored and ridiculed young and better-educated men. "In the

Bechuanaland Protectorate alone, intelligence has been unequivocally regarded as the enemy of the state and young educated men were often forced to leave the territory."⁷¹

Unlike most Bantu-speaking people, the Tswana live in towns and villages. The majority of Tswana dwelled in large towns--over 15,000 people--but many smaller villages of less than one thousand people dotted the veld. The larger towns and villages are composed of many wards. These wards are under the authority of either a royal headman or a common headman. The royal headman was descended from the chief's family while the common headman was a faithful friend of the chief who cared for the chief's cattle. The wards were collections of family groups under the leadership of the headman. Each ward forms a distinct political and social unit and their proximity to the chief's residence determined their importance in the tribal hierarchy. Tribal administration operated on this hierarchial structure. Each ward was responsible to the next higher one and ultimately to the chief. For example, a ward headman is responsible to a village headman, a village headman to a district headman, and a district headman to the chief.⁷²

The society had a hierarchial structure. Each man's position in society was largely determined by birth, and everyone knew to what position he could aspire. The only places not determined by birth were amongst the tribal doctors and herbalists. Ambition for higher status was minimal because tribal custom and institutions limited the opportunities. Every man knew his place in the society and exactly what the society expected of him. Women realized that their ambitions were limited to marriage, usually arranged for them.

Communal land tenure operated in the tribal territories; that is, the chief was trustee of all tribal lands and was responsible for their utilization and administration. All married men of the tribe possessed rights to land for a house, for cultivation, and for grazing. The land rights were given to the men. Each man had his own cattlepost and kraal. The grazing lands and watering spots were communal lands and all tribal members used them. Residential and farming land rights normally passed on to a man's family upon his death.

The chief allocated land and controlled plowing. No plowing began until the chief gave the word. He regulated the utilization of any fertilizers or chemical supplements. The chief also barred the fencing of cattle grazing areas and regulated application of animal husbandry practice.

To a pastoral people such as the Bechuana, the possession of cattle played an important role in their way of life. The most important social customs such as marriage, initiation, tribute, and dedications involved transfer of the use of or rights to cattle. "Crops meant very little and were considered a necessary but minor adjunct to cattle." People fed off their crops, but cattle were their life. Cattle were seldom killed for food. People killed cattle to emphasize important relationships and events. Customs forced those rich in cattle to "farm them out" (mafisa) so that all tribal members appeared to have the same number of cattle. The number of cattle a man owned helped to determine his position in society.⁷³

When foreigners introduced a monied economy, changes in the concept of material wealth occurred. European clothes, rifles, bicycles,

cooking utensils, and sewing machines acquired prestige status and finally became necessities of life. Money had to be found to pay taxes, tribal levies and school taxes. The monied economy placed new values on cattle, skins, crops, and handicrafts and changed the desirability of locally produced goods. African goods produced by local craftsmen were considered inferior to those of the foreigner. The people who practiced traditional handicrafts--particularly those who had been to school--were anxious to bury their past and take on any white-collar job in the new economy.⁷⁴

For men who could not secure a white-collar position, labor recruiters from the South Africa mines offered them the opportunity for prestige and the "city life" working in one of the underground mines. Approximately twelve percent of the working male population engaged in contract labor in South African mines. This migration of labor "caused deterioration in the rural economy, disruption in social and family life, and decay of tribal discipline."⁷⁵ Mine laborers returned with new experiences and ideas which often placed strain on the traditional social and cultural patterns.

F. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

At Independence over 90 percent of the working population was engaged in agriculture. Livestock products produced most of the monetary income and accounted for 85 percent of the country's exports. Cattle ranching was clearly the most important activity. However, the vast majority of the people depended upon the cultivation of

subsistence crops such as sorghum, millet and maize for their survival.⁷⁶

Prior to the construction of a modern abattoir at Lobatse by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund in 1954, cattle ranchers had to sell their cattle at auctions throughout the country. Owners had to drive their cattle to these markets and accept the auction price. The abattoir introduced improved marketing facilities which reduced the deterioration of the cattle caused by the long treks of 300 to 400 miles through dry, scrub veld to the market. The improved marketing facilities at the abattoir, the increased demand for consumer goods by the cattle owners, and the education of cattle owners in animal husbandry encouraged ranchers to increase their off-take--the percent of herd marketed annually.

The abattoir can slaughter approximately 1,500 to 2,000 head of cattle per day. The plant is automated and equipped with complete canning facilities. The abattoir presently operates at 50 percent of its capacity. Government urges cattle owners to increase the present off-take* from 5 percent to a more "acceptable" figure of 12 to 15 percent of the national herd. The abattoir also offers incentive prices for cattle under three years of age in an attempt to reduce the average age of cattle brought to slaughter.⁷⁷

Government plans to continue to introduce better animal husbandry techniques, including the breeding of high quality bulls, opening up excellent grasslands for stocking, increasing water sources, and

*The percentage of cattle from the national herd annually slaughtered at the abattoir.

gradually changing the communal usage of tribal grazing lands. These plans could double the size of the national herd and, with an increased off-take of 12 percent, provide a reliable income for the rural sector of the economy. However, Government realized that approximately 20 percent of the population owned 85 percent of the cattle. Thus, the vast majority of the population benefits only marginally from improved techniques. "The vast majority of the people with less than twenty-five head of cattle will find it difficult to engage in arable farming without borrowing plowing oxen from better favored friends or relatives."⁷⁸

Dr. Masire said, "Improved arable farming is the only feasible way of overcoming the difficulties that the average farmer faces. . . and permitting a real advance beyond subsistence level living." Government believes that the achievement of self-sufficiency in basic food crops is "not an impossible aim."⁷⁹ Government hopes to provide additional training in modern arable farming techniques, improve transportation and storage facilities, and construct good irrigation and water schemes to assist the dirt farmer. These schemes require outside financing.

Until the mining developments at Orapa and Selebi-Pikwe become fully operational--approximately 1973--Botswana will continue to exhibit all the classical features and problems of a one-crop economy. However, with the growing world population and the increasing demand for beef--approximately 1.6 percent per annum--Botswana should be able to develop into a major beef-producing nation without the immediate necessity of diversifying her economy.⁸⁰

For the past fifteen years Government received an annual grant-in-aid from Britain to balance its ordinary recurrent budget. Internally

generated revenue met less than half the annual recurrent expenditures during this period. The 1969 grant totalled £ 3,050,000. In addition, Botswana received £ 1,500,000 from Britain for capital development. Since independence, Government vigorously sought to raise investment capital in the form of grants from donor countries, development loans through the World Bank, and the issuance of bonds on the private market.

Government sought foreign capital for development in order to generate the means necessary to:

" . . . free ourselves from dependency on external aid . . . Africa needs to seek aid from the developed countries. But we must demonstrate to donor nations that we shall not be seeking aid forever. We are seeking only that aid and investment from abroad which will enable us to stand on our own feet."⁸¹

Foreign investment--private and governmental--enables Government to actively develop the infrastructure, facilities and mining potential of the country. The revenues which Government expected to receive from mining should enable Botswana to balance its budget and provide excess funds for other developmental projects. President Khama stated that the funds from mining and expanded tourism would be used in rural development.

"The greatest challenge ahead of us is undoubtedly that of rural development. . . Rural change comes slowly, is less obvious and dramatic than in the modern sector, and involves great efforts on the part of the people themselves."⁸²

The rural development of Botswana built upon the group-oriented traditions of the society. Internal development originated in the tribal custom of regimental labor. Each group of men or women who went through initiation ceremonies together became members of a specific

regiment. Chiefs called out the regimental labor to perform tasks of service to the entire village. During the severe drought of 1960-1966, Government introduced a self-help scheme called Ipelegeng which required villagers to work in community-sponsored projects in order to receive food from the Freedom from Hunger Program. Self-help projects constructed roads, built small dams, put up hospitals and medical centers, erected libraries and community centers, and built many new school facilities throughout the country. From July 1966 to January 1968, seven hundred Ipelegeng projects were completed. They included: 78 earth dams, 86 classrooms, 88 teacher's quarters, 16 health clinics, 17 bridges, six libraries and community centers, and 537 miles of bush roads. The Ipelegeng projects used local building materials and involved the community in the construction of facilities that benefitted the total community. The support and understanding that Ipelegeng developed between members of the community often surpassed the value of the structure. The Community Development Department encouraged continuation of similar projects through local village committees, and over 2,000 projects have been undertaken.⁸³

Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, and Swaziland signed the Customs Union Agreement. Because of this agreement, goods moved freely between the countries. South Africa fixed the tariffs which were designed to protect South African goods from foreign imports. Under the new agreement reached in 1969, infant industry in Botswana which supplied a substantial part of the southern African market was eligible to apply for protective tariffs. Until 1969 Botswana received 0.3 percent of the customs and excise revenue collected by South African authorities.

Under the new agreement Botswana will receive its share of the imported goods--approximately 20 percent.

Botswana participates in a joint monetary system with South Africa which makes the Rand legal tender in the country. This joint monetary system provides Botswana with a stable, internationally recognized currency and eliminates concern over balance of payments in the international sense. However, this joint monetary system makes Botswana subject to monetary and credit policy over which she exerts little influence.⁸⁴

Economically, Botswana is closely linked to South Africa. The link with the Customs Union and use of the Rand as legal currency are but a few examples. Transportation, exports, communications, and migrant laborers tied Botswana's economy to that of South Africa.

In addition to its economic dependency on South Africa, Botswana relied heavily upon expatriate labor. "There appears to have been no policy for localization in Botswana before 1961. Even such junior positions as typists, registry clerks, accounting machine operators, and postal clerks were filled by expatriates."⁸⁵ The economic growth and development of any nation depended upon the talents and skills of its people. Botswana's training was sorely neglected by the Colonial Administration, as illustrated by the fact that only thirty-seven students completed secondary school in 1965. This neglect placed a tremendous burden upon the new nation. Botswana had to retain and recruit expatriates to perform many jobs. This was very expensive and sapped needed funds from the developmental spheres of influence. In addition, foreign governments hesitated to invest large sums of money

when local population lacked the training necessary to operate complex and sophisticated equipment.

In 1969 jobs requiring persons with a degree or diploma qualification numbered 680, of which Botswana filled less than ten percent. Persons with a minimum of five years of secondary education were needed for 2,000 other jobs. Botswana citizens held less than 25 percent of these positions. There were 6,000 jobs requiring persons with three years of secondary education. Primary school graduates occupied the majority of these positions.

Educational systems cannot fill manpower requirements immediately. Education requires valuable time to train and prepare the manpower needs of any society, especially when schools must be built and programs reoriented. Government's declared policy of localization calls for the rapid expansion of secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities.

G. EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

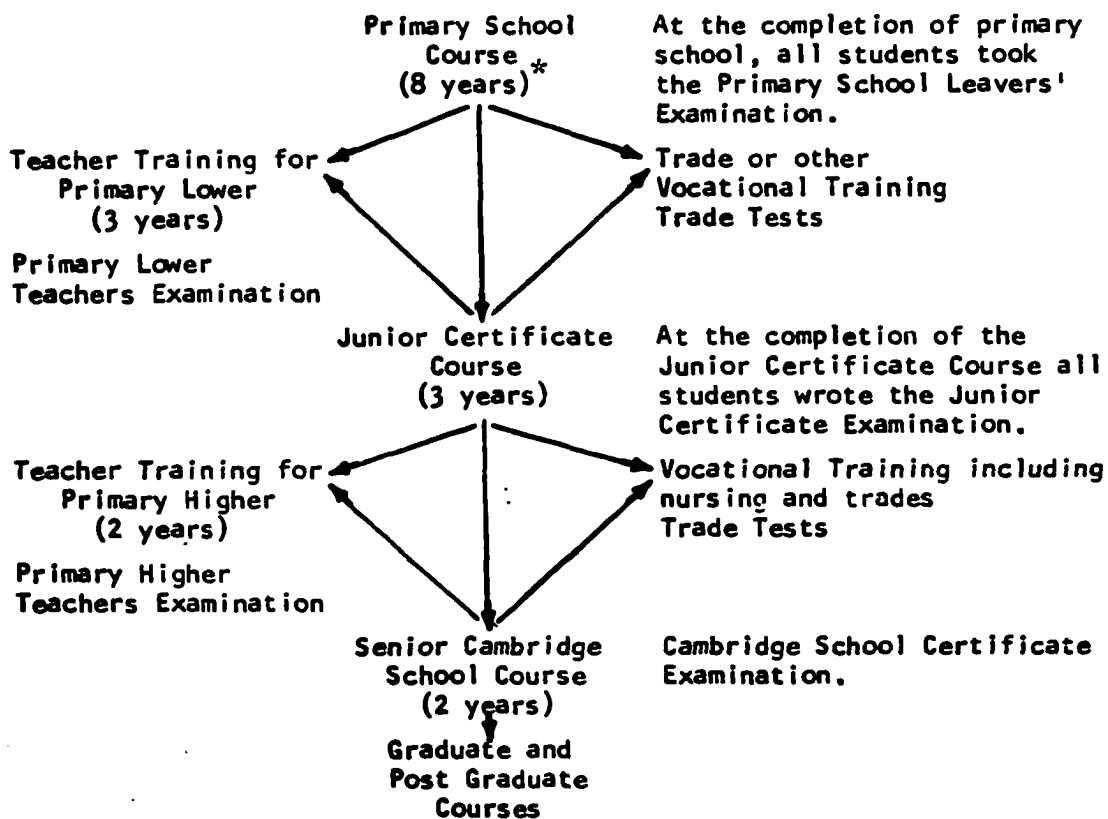
The British and South African governments and the policies which guided these governments influenced the historical, political, social, and economic development of Botswana.

British missionaries started the first formal education in Bechuanaland, and organized the mission schools along the lines of the colonial British model. The geographic proximity of South Africa--particularly the Cape Colony--encouraged Bechuanaland to seek the advice and direction of educators and missionaries from the Cape

Colony. The syllabi prescribed for Bechuanaland schools until 1961 were essentially the same as those used in South African schools. Most of the trained Bechuanaland teachers received their teacher training at mission schools which were directed and governed by the regulations of the Department of Education of the Cape Colony. Educational development and organization in Bechuanaland reflected the combination of British and South African influences.

The following diagram, Figure No. 4, illustrated the organization of the educational system in Bechuanaland:

FIGURE NO. 4⁸⁶ - DIAGRAM OF EDUCATION SYSTEM



*Changed to seven years in 1964

The primary school course consisted of eight years of study called Standards, generally abbreviated as Std. Until 1964, the first two years of school were called Sub A and Sub B. These two years of school were followed by Stds I through VI. In 1964, Government reduced the number of years of primary education to seven and eliminated the Sub A and Sub B designations. Students attended classes from Stds I through VII. At the end of primary school all students sat for the Primary School Leavers' Examination.

Students who passed the examination with sufficiently high scores were eligible to pursue post-primary education. Opportunities for such education existed in teacher training for the Primary Lower Certificate, vocational and trade training, and Junior Certificate classes. Upon completion of these courses of study, students took examinations to qualify for certificates in each specific area.

Those students who passed Junior Certificate Examinations with sufficiently high scores were eligible to select further training for the Primary Higher Teachers' Certificate, vocational and trade training including nursing, or the Senior Cambridge Certificate. Students who failed the Junior Certificate Examination and desired additional training selected either the Primary Lower Teachers' course or various trade and vocational training. At the completion of all post-Junior Certificate training, Government administered standard examinations to determine what people qualified for the various certificates.

Some students who successfully completed the Cambridge Overseas Examination were selected for Diploma, Graduate, and post-Graduate education.

END NOTES

- ¹ National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., pp. 1-3.
- ² Republic of Botswana Fact Sheet (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1968), p. 10.
- ³ National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., pp. 21-25.
- ⁴ Ibid., pp. 1-2, and 21-22.
- ⁵ Report on the Census of the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1964 (Bulawayo, Rhodesia: Mardon Printers, 1965), pp. 17-21.
- ⁶ National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., p. 14.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 1.
- ⁸ Report on the Census of the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1964, op. cit.
- ⁹ National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., p. 5.
- ¹⁰ National Development Plan 1968-73, op. cit., pp. 29-30.
- ¹¹ Statement by Ambassador Amos Dambe, personal interview, 12 Nov. 1972.
- ¹² National Development Plan 1968-73, op. cit., p. 17.
- ¹³ National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., p. 21.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 21.
- ¹⁵ National Development Plan 1968-73, op. cit., p. 22.
- ¹⁶ National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., p. 39.
- ¹⁷ Statement by Chief Bathoen II, personal interview, 27 Nov. 1970.
- ¹⁸ National Development Plan 1970-75, pp. 71-80.
- ¹⁹ George B. Silberbauer, Bushman Survey Report (Mafeking, South Africa: Bechuanaland Press Ltd., 1965), pp. 7-11.
- ²⁰ C. K. Cooke, Rock Art of Southern Africa (Cape Town, South Africa: Books of Africa, 1969).

²¹Basil Davidson, Africa in History (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969), p. 228.

²²Silberbauer, op. cit., pp. 3-12.

²³Laurens van der Post, The Heart of the Hunter (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968).

²⁴Sillery, op. cit., pp. 20-26.

²⁵J. S. Moffat, Lives of Robert and Ann Moffat (London: Fisher Unwin, 1885).

²⁶Ron H. Pahl, "A National Day?", Kutlwano, XII No. 1 (January 1973), pp. 11-14.

For a detailed description of these events, see James Chapman's reprinted book, Travels in the Interior of Africa, Vol. 1.

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²⁸Cameron to Ripon, 21 May 1891, Commonwealth Office #417/19, No. 309.

²⁹Loch to Knutsford, 19 September 1894, Commonwealth Office #417/64, No. 703.

³⁰Sillery, op. cit., p. 27.

³¹Rhodes to Rutherford Harris, telegram 12 November 1895, Parliament Papers IX, 311, p. 595.

³²Richard Stevens, "Prospects for Self-Government in the Former High Commission Territories" (Paper presented at African Studies Association meeting, March 1966, Lincoln University), p. 7.

³³Ibid., pp. 7-12.

³⁴Lord Hailey, Native Administration in the British African Territories (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953), Part V, p. 207. Citing Lord Shelbourne.

³⁵The Times (London), 23 December 1937.

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³⁶Halpern, op. cit., pp. 262-270.

³⁷Seretse Khama to Tshekedi Khama, August 1948.

- ³⁸Benson, op. cit.
- ³⁹Halpern, op. cit., p. 277.
- ⁴⁰Ibid.
- ⁴¹John Redfern, Ruth and Seretse (London: Harper, 1955) cited telegram Seretse to Ruth Khama.
- ⁴²Halpern, op. cit., p. 278 cited Die Transvaler.
- ⁴³Redfern, op. cit., p. 67 cited Sir Winston Churchill.
- ⁴⁴Halpern, op. cit., pp. 280-281.
- ⁴⁵The Future of South Africa (London: SCM Press, 1965), p. 39. This was prepared by the British Council of Churches.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 107.
- ⁴⁷Harold Macmillan, a speech to the members of Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Capetown, South Africa, on 4 February 1960 cited in New York Times, February 6, 1960, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸Halpern, op. cit., p. 307.
- ⁴⁹Benson, op. cit.
- ⁵⁰Halpern, op. cit., pp. 285-286.
- ⁵¹Ibid., pp. 286-292.
- ⁵²Stevens, op. cit., pp. 26-29.
- ⁵³Halpern, op. cit., pp. 291-295.
- ⁵⁴Stevens, op. cit., p. 24.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 24-26.
- ⁵⁶Hunger, op. cit.
- ⁵⁷Stevens, op. cit., p. 30.
- ⁵⁸Halpern, op. cit., p. 329.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 292-297 and 328-332.
- ⁶⁰Hunger, op. cit., pp. 30-32.
- ⁶¹Ibid., pp. 34-42.

⁶²Sunday Express (Johannesburg, South Africa), May 2, 1965.

⁶³Seretse Khama, "Dissolution Speech" (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1969).

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⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Seretse Khama, "Speech to Open the First Session of the Second Parliament" (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1970).

President Khama criticized the political activities of the Botswana National Front and charged them with disrupting the democratic process.

⁶⁷Alex Campbell, "Sociological Section" (Paper presented at the Conference on Rural Development, July 1970, Gaborone, Botswana), p. 1.

⁶⁸Sillery, op. cit., p. 22.

⁶⁹Schapera, Handbook. . . Custom, op. cit., p. 62.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 61-69.

⁷¹Halpern, op. cit., p. 268.

⁷²I. Schapera, Nqwato of Bechuanaland (London: Oxford Press, 1946).

⁷³Campbell, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁵I. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life (London: Oxford Press, 1947). Schapera presents an exhaustive analysis of migrant labour in the South African mines and shows the social and anthropological results of these long absences from villages and families.

⁷⁶Transition Plan for Social and Economic Development, op. cit., p. 15.

⁷⁷National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., pp. 39-42.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 33.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 43.

⁸¹ Seretse Khama, "Speech to Open the First Session of the Second Parliament," op. cit.

⁸² National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit., Foreword.

⁸³ ibid., pp. 115-117.

⁸⁴ ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁵ T. C. Luke, Report on Localisation and Training (Mafeking: Bechuanaland Press Ltd., 1966), p. 11.

⁸⁶ Annual Report of the Department of Education (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1966).

Section III
THE ROOTS OF EDUCATION
A. INFORMAL EDUCATION

For most of man's history the majority of children have received most of their education informally and incidentally. Family, community, and--in some societies--religious orders were the primary educating institutions shaping young people's attitudes and values, forming their behavior, endowing them with morals and manners. These institutions also tried to teach young people the human, vocational, and survival skills necessary to live in their physical and social environments. The education of children was informal, traditional, and largely unconscious. Children learned mainly by being included in adult or older sibling activities.

In Bechuanaland when children were old enough to understand, grandparents, older relatives, and mothers would gather around the fire after supper and tell folktales to the children. The older people taught the children how to behave. The first lessons that a child received taught him to respect anyone older than himself by referring to every older female as mMa and every older male as rRa. The child learned that every elder person was like a parent and had the right to find and punish him when he did wrong.

A child quickly learns that "he is not expected to ask questions . . . if he asks too many questions he is treated badly and considered a dangerous child."¹ When anyone offers a child something, the child places his left hand under his right hand, extends both hands, and

accepts it in his right palm. The child who extends only one hand receives nothing until he gives both hands. The acceptance of anything with both hands shows thanks and usually no words are spoken. The left hand is reserved for bodily functions. The child who eats with his left hand is severely criticized.² In these ways, children learn tribal customs.

Young children play in the village and imitate the roles of their village elders. Neighboring boys cut small sticks to make kraals (small circular enclosures in which goats and cattle are kept), build kraals, and place miniature animals in the kraals. Boys pretend to span oxen, plow fields, sit at kgotla to discuss, decide, and guide the chief in governing the tribe. Boys also play games which simulate adult life in the village.

Between the ages of six and ten, older brothers, uncles, and elders introduced small boys to the proper ways to care for goats. They learned such things as how to bring in kid goats, to get kids to the proper mother, to track strays, and to milk goats.

Small boys learned all black oxen, Befuti, were good at pulling; red, black and brown cattle, Lapu, were lazy; and light brown cows, Kwanga, produced large quantities of milk. Boys found special healing herbs, squeezed white juice from their stems, and smeared the juice around the diseased eyes of cattle.³ Bows and arrows were constructed. Small boys gathered edible berries and roots, located water sources, hunted animals, learned to care for themselves, and discovered the elements of survival. 'We learned by seeing them doing these things-- we were never really taught.'⁴

At the same time young girls learned to collect the proper stones for their stamping blocks, to weed the gardens, to gather firewood, and to sow seeds from their grandmothers, mothers, and other village women.

Transmitting the ancestral background of the family, clan, and tribe was an important responsibility of all parents and elders in the village. For example, a young Masunga boy learned that his family came to the region long before the plow had been invented. His ancestors worked for a very powerful man, transporting his material. One day--so the legend goes--his ancestors began to dig in a hill and discovered a material which they melted and forged into tools such as hoes and plows. Thus, this young man learned the history of his people and the origin and meaning, the melter of iron ore, of the Butale family name.⁵ Among the Herero, children repeated and dramatized the customs, parables, and history of their people for each other. Folktales and riddles, which youngsters solved and passed on to others, helped most young Tswana-speaking people to better understand their cultural background.

When a small boy was "big enough, he was told to go and prepare for man's work;"⁶ that is, learn the skills of hunting, herding, and plowing.

Education for the life in the veld consisted of identifying animals to kill, tracking these animals, singling out wounded and weak animals by the color and shape of their spoor. Boys shot animals in the proper spot for quickest death, tracked animals to their death, and prevented vultures from snatching their prize. Once the animal was dead one needed to know how to slaughter it properly, transport the

meat to the cattlepost, preserve the meat, and prepare it for eating.⁷ Besides these things, young boys dried the skins of most animals, dug roots from the veld, made tannic acid from these roots, cured the animal skins, and sewed the cured skins with animal sinews into skin clothing and karosses. These skins and karosses provided much needed warmth on the cold nights and during the winter months.⁸ Boys also identified trees and brush with soft fibers, chewed these soft fibers into strands, wove the strands into ropes which they used to herd and tie cattle.

Cattle-raising is the main work of men, and after age nine most boys stayed at the cattlepost, generally twenty to two hundred miles from the village. They herded cattle, looked for strays, led the cattle to waterholes, protected them against marauding animals such as lions and hyenas, and learned the ways of cattle from older boys. The boys milked goats, built fires, and cooked their food. Eventually, fathers promoted their sons to herding the cattle themselves. This was a proud moment in the life of a boy in Botswana⁹ and marked the beginning of his lonely life at the cattlepost.

During their cattlepost tenure, young men returned to the village and assisted the elders in plowing their "lands", farming areas located between three and forty miles distant from the village. They harnessed their oxen, plowed the ground in furrows, and made the earth ready for the seeds.

Farming plays an important role in Bechuanaland, and the division of labor makes agriculture women's work. Thus when young girls become old enough they must learn to farm, to cook, and to do other domestic

chores.

As soon as the first rainfall softened the earth and the chief gave the command, people flocked out of the towns and headed for the lands to plow and hoe the earth. Formerly, most young girls learned how to use the short-handled, broad-bladed Kaffir hoe to dig the ground; but more recently the men generally plowed the earth in furrows and the women and young girls followed, sowing the seeds of corn, maize, and mealies. Young girls strapped babies on their backs, rolled grain into blankets, carried foodstuff or firewood on their heads, and wended their way back to the village with other girls and women. A number of times before the grains were harvested the women and girls returned to weed and cultivate the garden.

When the harvest was fully ripe, either women and girls or occasionally ox wagons transported the grain to the village. Here the girls threshed the grain on the sun-baked earthen floors smeared with cow-dung. A lively threshing song accompanied the smack of the flail. After the grain was threshed, young girls spread the grain on the floor, watched to insure the grain dried properly, and later stored it in granaries which they had helped to build. The young girls also pounded the grain in a wooden mortar until it became meal. The bran was sifted out with a winnowing fan and then made into a stiff porridge which provided the staple of the Bechuana diet.

Before cooking, the girls fetched water from bore-holes or springs which were as far as three miles away. Girls learned to make water pots and other containers by molding local clays into a variety of shapes and forms. Carrying these heavy earthen water pots on their

heads, girls joined into the exchange of local news on the way to and from the bore-hole or spring.

A morning washing clothes in the local spring provided clean clothes and the latest bits of local news. The young girls became a vital link in the communications network. Other domestic skills such as repairing the clay-mud rondavels, thatching the roof, stringing beads and occasionally making clothes provided additional domestic education for some of the young girls.¹⁰

Thus, the young Bechuana acquired the skills and attitudes necessary to survive and work in their land by observing, working, and living with the adults in their environment.

After supper, young Bechuana gathered around the fire and their elders told more detailed stories about the history of their tribe, of the great leaders of the tribe, and shared some of the proverbs and their messages, such as:

The strength of the crocodile is water.

which means: As the beast is master of a situation, so must man be also.¹¹

The fox who manages to live [survive] is the one who doesn't mind being marred over his entire body.

which means: Life is not worth much unless you are willing to stand up and do things for yourself. You must be prepared to do any job to lead a full life.¹²

The proverbs and stories relied heavily on oral tradition and always conveyed some moral message about the ways in which young people should behave. Usually the stories carried with them some warning

about the dangers of behaving in an undesirable manner.

Customary schools or initiation ceremonies operated at some time in every tribal reserve and served to formally teach young boys and girls who had already reached puberty the rights and responsibilities of men and women in the society as well as the rites de passage.

Initiation ceremonies normally began by awakening the boys or girls early in the morning, and isolating the group in the veld. The boys and girls took cold baths, drank liquids made from herbs and roots, and ate special food. The group endured hunger, pain, thirst, whippings, and finally circumcision. During the ordeal they learned to be responsible to their families, to honor their elders, to be strong in body and mind, and to respect their future wives/husbands. The boys and girls were told to work hard, to discipline their families, to faithfully serve their regiment, and never to talk about these ceremonies.¹³ As an example, young Kalanga men learned:

. . . treat your wives well but never reveal the truths of the village to them because women are very unreliable. In addition, never allow a woman to know how many cattle you have or where you keep your money because you can never trust women.¹⁴

If your ancestral spirits are unhappy, they will make you ill. To be cured, all grandfathers' descendants of the extended family must take water from a pot, spit it on you, and ask for forgiveness. If this fails, kill a black oxen and brew beer. If this fails, all grandmothers' descendants of the extended family spit water on you. If this fails, give a bull to the oldest uncle who will slaughter it for the family. If all this fails, the witch doctor is your only hope.¹⁵

The customary schools--"Bojale" for girls and "Bogwera" for boys--provided a very strict and rigid moral and sexual code of behavior for young men and women. In some tribes boys and girls were placed in a

kraal and the girl tried to avoid the boys as they chased her around the kraal. The boys were taught that one could play with girls in only this fashion; and the girls were taught that one could play with a boy, but one could only sleep with him when they were married. The rituals imbued the young men and women with values which most adults felt were important.¹⁶

When the young men and women completed these initiation ceremonies they became full adult members of the tribe.

Initiation schools and ceremonies were outlawed in different reserves at different times. Khama the Great first banned the ceremonies among the Bamangwato as early as 1911 because of the Christian religious laws;¹⁷ and the Botswana Government stopped the ceremonies among the Bamalete in 1968. The abolition or modification of initiation ceremonies and schools caused a good deal of conflict with the people. Confirmation was sometimes substituted for initiation ceremonies and became the ceremony which determined membership in a mophato regiment. Regiments were composed of all the men and women who were initiated together and originated in warrior times as the means of protecting the tribe. During the period 1880-1945 regiments were frequently called upon by the chief to perform tribal work such as building schools, dams, and the chief's kraal. Regimental members were obligated to do the work and the pride of the regiment demanded that the members contribute their best effort.¹⁸

Many people felt that the initiation ceremonies were an essential part of life which could never be replaced by formal, religious or school education because it taught people how to behave toward older

people, their rights and responsibilities, moral behavior, and the customs of their tribe.¹⁹

As the number of continuous years of formal schooling increases, the educational level of the society increases; and when formal schooling deemphasizes the local indigenous culture and life, members become less involved with local custom and ritual. These forces, affected by increasing foreign values and attitudes, often place greater emphasis upon formal school training and lead to the further decline of customary schools and institutions. The influence of the moral aspects of informal education declined in the Bechuanaland Protectorate through the 1940s as evidenced by the continual outlawing of initiation schools throughout the territory.

B. THE CHURCH, THE CHIEFS, AND FORMAL EDUCATION

Informal education will always be an important part of every human being's growth and development. Yet, inevitably formal schooling reaches every society. Formal schooling in all of southern Africa was started by the church.

The history of native education in southern Africa is the history of the South African Missions, for it is entirely due to the efforts of the missionaries that the natives of southern Africa have received any education at all, and to this day [1907] all but three of the thousands of native schools are conducted by mission agencies.²⁰

Chief Mothibi of the Batlhaping extended an invitation to missionary explorer, John Campbell, "Send instructors and I will be a father to them."²¹ This invitation led to the establishment of the Kuruman

Mission Station in 1824 and the work of Robert Moffat and his contemporaries.

Kuruman became the center of the work for the London Missionary Society, hereafter referred to as L.M.S., throughout southern Africa. Mastering the spoken language became the first challenge of the missionaries. After learning Setswana, Moffat painstakingly reduced Setswana to a written form and started to translate the Bible and hymns into Setswana. The missionaries also began the long, painful discussions--which continued for more than a century--on orthography, representation of nonEuropean sounds.²² By 1841 much of the New Testament had been translated into Setswana.*

With much of the New Testament translated, the L.M.S. actively pursued their stated purpose of 1840:

Select African converts who have shown some ability above their fellows, instruct these evangelist-teachers to understand the Scriptures and be able to reiterate it to their companions.²³

This training consisted of secular thought, reading and interpreting the Bible, writing, and leading a sound moral life. The trained teacher-evangelists were sent out into the interior to convert the Bechuana to Christianity and to teach them to read the Holy Scriptures. One of the most powerful agents of advancing civilization--the printing press--had been installed at Kuruman in 1831. The press printed materials which the teacher-evangelists needed to teach the Bechuana to read the Bible.

After traveling by ox-wagon for one month, Dr. David Livingstone

*Moffat completed the translation of the entire Bible into Setswana in 1857.

arrived in Kuruman on 31 July 1841. During his two years at Kuruman, he learned the Setswana language and the ways and names of the Bechuana. While awaiting the return of Moffat with orders for his assignment, Dr. Livingstone made three journeys north into the land of Bechuana. On one journey Livingstone helped Chief Sechele and the Bakwena construct a simple irrigation system designed to reduce the water shortage. After the irrigation was completed, Chief Sechele invited Livingstone to return.²⁴

In 1843, Dr. Livingstone set out for the interior with Mebalowe, a Kuruman-trained teacher-evangelist. They were equipped to set up schools for general instruction as well as perform the usual evangelizing work of preaching and ministering unto the souls of the Bechuana.

Livingstone and the Bechuana constructed the first school at Mabotsa in 1844 and discovered that attendance was extremely irregular due to the migratory nature of the people. Dr. Livingstone opened another school at Chonoane, 1846, in the Bakwena reserve with the help of Paul and Isaac, native teacher-evangelists trained at Kuruman. Drought forced the Bakwena to move to Kolobeng and Livingstone erected a school there in 1847. The following year, Chief Sechele of Bakwena converted to Christianity.

Education thrived at Kolobeng, as Livingstone noted:

The infant school under the care of Mrs. Livingstone afforded us much encouragement--the attendance during the year may be stated as from 60 to 80. . . . Lately the failure of local crops has forced the children to go farther in search of locusts and roots on which to subsist. This caused some irregularity in attendance.²⁵

During his five years at Kolobeng, Livingstone completed an

Analysis of the Sechuana Language, printed in 1859, and a Sechuana Dictionary. He also made three journeys north into Ngamiland. On the third journey Dr. Livingstone reached the Chobe River, was befriended by Chief Sebituane and the Makolo, traveled to the northwest corner of Bechuanaland, and found the Zambesi River. His determination to continue northward marked the end of Dr. Livingstone's active involvement in missionary education among the Bechuana.²⁶

The L.M.S. wanted "every convert to have direct access to the Bible, which necessitated the ability to read and the need to establish formal schools to teach reading."²⁷ In addition to teaching the Bechuana to read the Bible, the L.M.S. encouraged investigation of the Christian faith, taught about the European cultures, taught trades, and entered into the life of the people. The L.M.S. also tried to prepare the Bechuana to deal with the European traders, hunters, prospectors, and missionaries who appeared.

The Hermannsburg missionaries first entered Bechuanaland in the Bakwena reserve in 1857, shortly after Dr. Livingstone departed on his third journey to the north. Reverend Schullenborg was sent to Shoshong where he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction. Among his first Bamangwato students were Khama and his future wife, Elizabeth Godisamang. Reverend Schullenborg baptized Khama the Great, then a young man, in 1860. The religious influence and devotion of this future chief to Christianity fostered educational development among the Bamangwato. While at Shoshong, Reverend Schullenborg trained older children to teach younger children in groups of twelve. He supervised the children and found the method to be quite

satisfactory.* The Hermannsburg missionaries later established a primary school amongst the Bamalete at Mankodi, 1865. When the Bamalete moved to Ramoutsa in 1875, another school was built and school work continued.

Sparked by the desire of the L.M.S. to expand their work in Bechuanaland, in 1869 the Bechuanaland District Committee recommended that the L.M.S. establish an institution for the training of teachers. In 1872 the training center, consisting of one building, seven cottages, and six students, opened at Shoshong in the Bamangwato territory. Reverend Mackenzie wrote:

... I feel encouraged with the work. The six men at Shoshong work conscientiously and are very anxious to learn. I hope that our modest expectations will not be disappointed. There is a general feeling of curiosity in the country with reference to them.²⁸

The L.M.S. later decided to erect the teacher-training institution at Kuruman to commemorate the life and work of Robert Moffat. Because of the large sums of money collected in England and Scotland to honor Moffat, the L.M.S. ignored the recommendations of the Bechuanaland Committee for inexpensive buildings and sufficient staff and built expensive buildings and provided insufficient staff.²⁹

Moffat Memorial Institute opened in 1876 with the following:

(1) entrance requirements - Only those were admitted who could read and write Setswana, and who had a fair knowledge of scriptures.

(2) goals - Produce sound Christian teachers who could preach the gospel, cope with white men, understand elementary business transactions and the value of land, and evangelize the Bechuana.

*This method of teaching is similar to the Monitorial system used in the United States in the late 1700s and early 1800s.

(3) curriculum - Bible study (Theology, Scripture, Moral Exegesis), Geography, Arithmetic, History (particularly church history), and manual work.³⁰

The Moffat Institute trained teacher-ministers until 1897, when it closed because of a shortage of qualified staff and inadequate funds. Sources attributed the shortage of funds and staff to the following: the political activity of the L.M.S. and their first tutor, John Mackenzie,³¹ poor financial planning on the part of the L.M.S. Directors in London,³² and internal conflicts between staff, students, and directors.³³ Lekelha believed the closing of the Moffat Memorial Institute was due to a combination of Mackenzie's political activity and the poor financial planning of the L.M.S. Directors.³⁴

The New Central School, 1899-1902, grew out of Moffat Memorial Institute. The Cape Department of Education controlled the curriculum, supervised the instruction, and granted aid to the New Central School. Its curriculum emphasized industrial and manual training (masonry, carpentry, iron and leather work based upon tools used in the villages) as well as religious and moral training. The missionaries believed that the teacher-trainees had to be isolated from the nonreligious influences of the villages and imbued with the full values of the Christian boarding school. Their attitude was "to seclude students from their heathen villages and bring them the spirit and word of God."³⁵

The Ellenberger Report dated 10 June 1901 clearly depicted the state of formal education among the Bakwena, Bakgatla, Bamalete, and Bamangwato in the Bechuanaland Protectorate at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. Twenty schools existed, serving approximately one

thousand children. Eight schools were operated by the L.M.S., three by the Dutch Reformed Church, three by the Hermannsburg Lutherans, and six small schools in the Bakgatla operated by local initiative.³⁶

The development of formal education during the entire Nineteenth Century in the Bechuanaland Protectorate resulted from the work of a number of missionaries and teacher-evangelists. The L.M.S. clearly stood out for its concerted and important effort in training teacher-evangelists for the schools and mission stations, committing Setswana to a written form, translating the Bible into Setswana, preparing a Setswana dictionary and a grammar book, as well as printing and distributing these works to the Bechuana. Reginald Balfour, the British Resident Commissioner for southern Africa, commented, "I think it cannot be too clearly understood that the educational work in the Protectorate has been mainly, if not entirely, carried on by the L.M.S."³⁷

At the same time it is extremely important to note the influence of Bechuana chiefs--particularly Sechele I, Khama the Great, Bathoen I, and Lentswe--in creating the environment and support for the missionary efforts. From the beginning of missionary work in Bechuanaland, when Chief Mothibi invited John Campbell to send instructors, missionaries sought the assistance of tribal chiefs in bringing Christianity to the people. Without the enthusiastic assistance of these tribal chiefs, few teacher-evangelists would have been trained, entered tribal reserves, and gained the trust and confidence of the Bechuana tribesmen. Christianity and schools spread most rapidly in those areas where the chief converted to Christianity and actively encouraged his tribesmen to follow.³⁸

The Bakagatla demonstrated their keen interest in education by erecting six other village schools. "One school was paid for by the chief; and another, 28' x 13'-6" with galvanized iron roof, built at the expense of the chief's brother, Segale. Segale taught classes in this school."³⁹

The spread of Christianity and formal education depended upon the favor, support, and initiative of local chiefs and tribesmen. Tribal initiative played an important role in the future development of education in Bechuanaland.

END NOTES

¹Statement by Richard Molefe, personal interviews, 9 and 11 November 1970, Tape 17B 69-72.

²Statement by Chief Bathoen II, personal interviews, 27 and 28 October 1970, Tape 11B 57-60.

³Statement by Louis Mazhini, personal interviews, 2 September 1970, T-1.

⁴Statement by Richard Ndwapi, personal interviews, 14-18 September 1970, Tape 4B 54-58.

⁵Statement by Joseph Butale, personal interviews, 14-16 September 1970, Tape 5A 7-12.

⁶Statement by G. M. Manyeula, personal interviews, 15 September 1970, Tape 5A 41-51.

⁷Statement by Magaga, personal interviews, 10 September and 14 November 1970, Tape 7B 68-72.

⁸Statements by Chief Bathoen II and Andrew Kgasa, personal interview, 28 October 1970, Tape 11B 64-66.

⁹Statement by Thomas Makepe, personal interviews, 3 and 4 November 1970, Tape 13B 32-38.

¹⁰W. C. Willoughby, Native Life on the Transvaal Border (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Nent and Co., Ltd., 1900), pp. 26-41.

¹¹Statement by Jerry Gabaake, personal interviews, 3 September, 3 November and 8 November 1970, Tape 1B 3-4.

¹²Statement by Chief Bathoen II, op. cit., Tape 11B 59-60.

¹³Statement by Reverend K. T. Motsete, personal interview, T-41.

¹⁴Statement by Richard Ndwapi, op. cit., Tape 4B 61-70.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Statements by Joseph Butale and Magaga, op. cit., Tapes 5A 12-20 and 7B 70-72.

¹⁷Schapera, Married Life in an African Tribe, op. cit., pp. 250-260.

¹⁸Sillery, op. cit., pp. 12-18.

¹⁹Statements by Joseph Butale, Thomas Makepe, Richard Ndwapi, op. cit., Tapes 5A 20-21, 13B 38-40 and 4AA 0-7.

²⁰C. T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native (London: Longmans, 1917), p. 46.

²¹John Campbell, Travels in South Africa (London: Black and Parry, 1815), p. 287.

²²Based on personal correspondence between Rev. A. Sandilands, L.M.S. missionary who served for many years in Bechuanaland, and the writer.

²³J. S. Moffat, The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat (London: Unwin, 1885), p. 32.

²⁴Jack Simmons, Livingstone and Africa (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956), pp. 20-42.

²⁵Livingstone to Chamberlin, 1 November 1948.

²⁶David Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa (New York: Harper Brothers, 1858), p. 98.

This work gives a complete diary description of Livingstone's work in Bechuanaland and his travels to the north. Livingstone's evaluation of African chiefs Sechele, Sekgama, and Sebituane is carefully analyzed in Marshall Hole's Passing of the Black Knights (London: Philip Allen and Co., Ltd., 1932).

²⁷Thema, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁸W. D. MacKenzie, John MacKenzie: South African Missionary and Statesman (London: Hodder and Stoughton Co., 1902), p. 184.

²⁹ibid., p. 181.

³⁰Lekhela, op. cit., pp. 316-325.

³¹E. B. Sargent, Report on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

³²Thema, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

³³Wooley to MacKenzie, 3 September 1884.

³⁴Lekhela, op. cit., pp. 340-345.

³⁵ibid., pp. 392-411.

³⁶Ellenberger, Report on Education in the South Protectorate,
10 June 1901.

³⁷R. Balfour, Report of 11 November 1901 (Mafeking Registry, file
no. 114).

³⁸Livingstone, op. cit.

³⁹Ellenberger, op. cit.

Section IV
THE COLONIAL ERA
A. FIRST INVESTIGATIONS AND REPORTS

Formal education during the Nineteenth Century developed primarily as a result of missionary effort and tribal cooperation. British policy in southern Africa during this period was "irresolute and weak" but sought continuously to unite the two white peoples--Boer and British --into one nation.¹ The end of the Anglo-Boer War saw the British establish new political institutions.

The British created a special office of Education Advisor to the three High Commission Territories with responsibility for supervising and directing the growth of education in the three countries. The Advisor encouraged and supported three official investigations of education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The Ellenberger Report (1901), the Burns Report (1904), and the Sargent Report (1905) described in detail the condition of education in the territory and offered specific recommendations to improve the situation.

The Assistant Resident Commissioner, Mr. Ellenberger, wrote the first report dated 10 June 1901. This report dealt only with the schools in the southern Protectorate. Mr. Ellenberger reported on the narrowness of the curriculum, absence of spoken English, poor qualifications of the teachers, lack of equipment, and the limited financial resources of the missionary societies. The main subjects in the curriculum were: reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, Tswana, geography, and drill. English was neglected at most schools

because few of the poorly trained teachers spoke English.²

However, Ellenberger noted the excellent work of Miss Partridge, certified English teacher, in teaching boys and girls needlework and knitting. Ellenberger praised the Bechuana for sacrificing so much for education. He urged the government to recognize these efforts by either giving a small grant or by supplying spelling books, slates, and pencils.³

Subsequently, Reverend Willoughby, chairman of L.M.S., met with Reginald Balfour, Acting Resident Commissioner, to discuss Willoughby's letter of 22 November 1900, which stated:

L.M.S. operates over twenty schools with 1207 pupils . . . All expenses are met by funds from the L.M.S. supplemented by native offerings. . . It is urgently requested that government provide funds for education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate as it is the only territory under His Excellency's control that has received no assistance for education.⁴

After these discussions, Balfour made the following recommendations:

- (1) It is highly desirable that any action regarding education in the B.P. be similar to that taken in the Transvaal.
- (2) Native education should be fundamentally different from that of white children in South Africa.
- (3) One Department of Education should be established for all Setswana speaking people.
- (4) An immediate need exists for direct government assistance of individual native schools.⁵

Evidently the recommendations of Ellenberger and Balfour had some impact. During the period 1903-1904, government made its first grant--£ 600--toward the cost of European and Native Education. A portion of the grant was to be divided among the missionary bodies in the

Bechuanaland Protectorate to support their schools. The remainder of the grant helped support European Education and paid most administrative costs.

After receiving their grant, the L.M.S. dispatched Mr. James Burns on an inspection tour of the L.M.S. schools. The Report on L.M.S. Schools in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, December 1904, was based upon a 22-day visitation of five L.M.S. mission stations, and reports which Burns read about three other mission stations which operated schools. Burns reported that attendance fluctuated from three to 169 students per day at Kanye and the highest standard offered varied from Std I at Shoshong to Std II at Kanye, to Std IV at Serowe. Burns added that teachers were poorly qualified and geography and arithmetic were taught badly. Burns noted excellent industrial work in needlework, knitting, breadmaking, and woodworking, and the teaching and use of English as the medium of instruction at Misses Partridge's and Sharpe's schools. Burns added that the Bechuana "were clamoring for the introduction of English in the schools."⁶ In fact, hardly ever was Tswana given the same educational value as other subjects. One school which passed directly into the hands of a native chief taught no Tswana at all.⁷

Burns emphasized the need for reliable and capable native teachers and writes of the dearth of any central authority:

What struck me most was the want of system and method in the management of schools. Of central authority there is practically none. . . . The want of central authority is the cause of so much of the work being haphazard and unmethodical, especially with native teachers.⁸

Mr. E. B. Sargent, Education Advisor to the High Commissioner, conducted a comprehensive investigation, recorded detailed observation,

and wrote an extensive report (1905) concerning formal education. However, the report distinguished itself from all others for the far reaching recommendations which it made for the improvement of education. Sargent agreed with most of Burns' findings. Sargent added the following observations: Only two or three percent of school-age children attended school; "the complete course of school arithmetic was not only a waste but actually harmful to the Bechuana;"⁹ Setswana was almost totally neglected and considered of little educational value; stories were irrelevant to children's lives; and old native handicraft such as weaving, moulding pots, carving wood, and stringing beads, was generally omitted.¹⁰

One of the most important findings, which contradicted previous information and helped explain the movement toward tribal control of education, indicated the growing indifference toward missionary schools by the chiefs and tribesmen. The chiefs claimed that the L.M.S. placed too much emphasis on evangelism and not enough on education. Conflicts between mission heads and school heads created confusion among tribal authorities. The curriculum was unsuited for Bechuanaland. Furthermore, many chiefs felt that the L.M.S. had not fulfilled their promises of providing a full and comprehensive educational program. Sargent argued that the L.M.S. spent insufficient funds to fulfill their promises to the tribal authorities. All of these reasons attributed to the declining support of the L.M.S. and its educational program.¹¹

To these reasons Sargent added the skeptical attitude of the Bechuana toward any system of education with a religious bias:

Some natives assumed that the official inspector was about to introduce a new kind of education which the missionaries had concealed from them, and that the reading of the Scriptures was to give way to some form of learning connected with handicrafts and a practical training for the affairs of life.¹²

Some of the chiefs, particularly Khama, openly encouraged the spread of private schools to compete with the mission schools. In contrast to the L.M.S., the Dutch Reformed Church enjoyed the full support of the Bakgatla. The Dutch Reformed Church enlisted the services of prominent Bakgatla leaders, understood the people, and encouraged local leaders to establish and control feeder schools.^{13*}

Sargent reported two other points of interest. First, he visited a European school with only six children and commented on the growing interest and financial support for European schools. Separate racial schools operated in southern Africa and remained the enforced policy of the Protectorate until 1964. Sargent also commented on the excellent start Tiger Kloof, the recently established L.M.S. post-primary school, had made toward laying the foundation for a sound academic and industrial education for Bechuana.¹⁴

After describing education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Sargent recommended:

- (1) The establishment of a central education institution responsible for training teachers, upgrading the present teachers, developing special vacation courses of study, and performing the

*Sargent later noted: In Basutoland, the French Catholic missionaries enjoy a large amount of popular support because they permit carefully selected and trained natives to exercise a considerable voice in the highest councils. This has led to the rapid expansion of missionary primary schools. (Sargent - Native Education in South Africa, 1908, Part III)

basic duties of a department of education, including the inspection of schools. The institution must be acceptable to all missions concerned with education of the Bechuana in the Protectorate, and the director should be selected no later than September 1905.

Sargent favored newly founded Tiger Kloof because:

. . . students educated in this atmosphere would have a bent given to their training which should lead them to put the true value upon manual occupations as an integral part of their school work.¹⁵

(2) Grants made to missionary societies specifically for industrial education should be redirected to the careful training of present and future teachers in manual and industrial occupations suitable for introduction into the school curriculum. All future grants should be awarded on how successfully the schools meet government goals in this area.

(3) The establishment of some elementary form of local control for the schools in principal villages. Local control should be accompanied by a local tax plan adopted in connection with the tribe and requiring the consent of the people to be successful.

(4) The establishment of a Central Board of Advice to keep the Resident Commissioner informed of the missionaries' views on all educational matters. This Central Board would have no authority over the Director of Education, who should be appointed when funds were available. However, the Director would be bound to submit the proposed budget, the draft annual report, and any general proposals or regulations affecting the conduct and financing of schools to the Central Board. This Board should meet not later than June 1905.

(5) The native language should be the basis of learning. The student should be prepared to read and write in Setswana; and English should only be taught orally until Std IV, when readers would be introduced. In order to teach in Setswana, works need to be written in Setswana by natives.

(6) Curriculum needs to relate to life in the Protectorate. English stories about village life should be prominent. Headmen and village chiefs should instruct the pupils about the customs, rituals, and laws of the people. Schools should provide this social training.

(7) The establishment of school gardens is necessary to show the dignity and value of work on the lands. This, coupled with additional industrial and manual work, would provide a solid education for the Bechuana.

(8) The amount of money annually distributed by the government should never be less than ten percent of the hut tax; and when the Bechuanaland Protectorate becomes self-supporting, twenty percent of the hut tax should be devoted to education.

(9) An educational budget of £ 1000 for the years 1906-1907 and 1907-1908 was submitted.

(10) The immediate appointment of an Inspector of Schools for the three Protectorates is a necessity.¹⁶

The urgent and far-reaching recommendations of Sargent raised many hopes for educational change in the immediate future. With the exception of the appointment of Mr. F. H. Dutton, Inspector of Schools for the Protectorates, in 1905, the efforts of the L.M.S. in industrial

education, and the initiative of three tribes in establishing Tribal School Committees and levying education taxes, almost nothing was done by government to carry out these recommendations.

B. MOVEMENT TOWARD TRIBAL CONTROL OF SCHOOLS AND THE GROWTH OF TIGER KLOOF

Mr. Sargent criticized the missionary schools for neglecting old native handicrafts such as weaving, moulding clay pots, carving wood, and stringing beads. Sargent failed to consider the Bechuana feeling that these old native handicrafts were of little value because they did not compare with goods turned out in factories. Meanwhile, the L.M.S. missionaries recognized the Bechuana attitude and had accepted the spirit of Sargent's recommendation.¹⁷ The following reports of the resident missionaries suggest the emphasis placed on industrial and manual education:

. . . The work done has been good on the whole. Smaller boys have been doing the first year work as per Handbook of Industrial Training. The second class has been making miniature houses, windows, and door frames. The third class made small tables, seats for the Church, and repairs to the mission station.¹⁸

. . . The boys have begun to take an interest in their work, and Chief Bathoen comes once a week to watch. . . The girls' department is very encouraging. We have fifty girls learning all kinds of sewing, machinery, cutting out, and making their own dresses and other useful clothing. Some girls attended knitting and crochet classes and were taught to knit scarves, ties and socks.¹⁹

Although there were few qualified men available to teach carpentry, the marketability of the articles produced in these industrial courses

was evidenced by the following comments:

They have completed the Third Year Manual Training and made a number of doors and window frames which a local trader bought at cost of materials and is prepared to take as many as we can make. . .²⁰

We have not yet suffered from diminishing interests and want of orders. We have several orders for ladders, cupboards, and boxes. At any time one of the local traders will give us a small contract for door frames.²¹

The Inspection Reports of 1906 through 1911 strongly supported Thema's contention that "industrial training of such high standard has, at no other time, either before or after the years 1905 to 1910 been attempted in Bechuanaland."²²

Sargent had noted, "The Chief, Bathoen, told me that his people paid a levy of two shillings per taxpayer toward education."²³ This inaugurated the official participation of tribes and tribal leadership in financing education. As tribal leadership contributed a greater share of the cost of education, they sought a larger role in administering the schools. The growth of tribal participation in operating schools increased the general Bechuana dissatisfaction with L.M.S. schools. Dutton noted:

It must be remembered that the movement for the establishment of school committees and for the releasing of schools from the control of the missions was largely due to the belief commonly held by the Bechuana that missionaries paid too much attention to vernacular, and looked more to the character of the teacher than to his professional qualifications and fluency in English.²⁴

The L.M.S. had:

. . . extended mission education too rapidly for mission resource to cope with. . . Although the L.M.S. has been here for a long time, we've run the operation on a shoestring. We simply could not develop the schools on our limited budget.²⁵

In addition, the colonial administration made their first grant for education in Bechuanaland in 1904. The grant was only £ 600 and supported all educational and administrative costs. The funds were not sufficient to support the existing educational system, let alone pay for expansion and improvements.

General discontent, increased voluntary financial support, and continued agitation by the Bangwaketse and Bakwena led the Assistant Resident Commissioner to recommend:

A school committee should be appointed by me in each reserve consisting of Resident Commissioner as Chairman, the Resident Missionary as Honorary Secretary, the chief of the tribe, and one native chosen by the tribe. The functions of the committee will be, at first, almost entirely advisory.²⁶

The Resident Commissioner responded:

. . . Appoint the two committees without delay, hold early meetings, and develop suggestions as to future procedures, powers, and employment of funds. There will naturally be uncertainty at first. . . but I feel very confident that before long these committees will prove to be of permanent benefit to the people.²⁷

This letter gave official approval for establishing the first Tribal School Committee in southern Africa. Tribal School Committees influenced the development of education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

A meeting of the Bangwaketse Tribal School Committee at Kanye on 12 July 1910 marked the official inauguration of Tribal School Committees. The following resolutions were passed:

- (1) The committee shall meet annually.
- (2) The Resident Missionary shall submit a written report of the year's work, including a financial statement.
- (3) Management of all routine matters be entrusted to the Resident Missionary. However, all extraordinary

matters, e.g., affecting expenditures, closing old schools or opening new ones, and the appointment or dismissal of teachers should be brought before a special meeting of the committee for approval.

- (4) Budgets for the next year should be framed by the committee at its annual meeting.²⁸

In 1912 the Committee adopted the following resolution:

The amount of the annual Government Grant allotted to the Resident Missionary for elementary and industrial education. . . as of January 1913 be sent directly to the Treasurer of the Bangwaketse School Committee. The committee should take control of this fund and the Bangwaketse Education Fund, and all education expenditures in the reserve should be met out of this fund.²⁹

The actions of the Bangwaketse School Committee established the pattern for the committees which were founded later. However, no formal regulations governing Tribal School Committees were issued until the High Commissioner's Notice No. 110 of 1938,* which set the details of the constitution, and power of Tribal School Committees.

The L.M.S. viewpoint toward the establishment of Tribal School Committees in the Bangwaketse and Bakwena was best reflected by the following:

By formation of these Boards the responsibility for schools in these areas will pass from the L.M.S. to the people; but the missionary will get a larger influence in education as Secretary than he has ever been able to obtain before. The people will know just what is done, what it costs to do it, and the popularization of schools is sure to stimulate the general interest of the people, particularly when they are supporting it with their own taxation. This should solve the problem of education as far as the L.M.S. is concerned.³⁰

The L.M.S. strongly supported the establishment of Tribal School Committees and encouraged their expansion. Part of their enthusiasm

*See pages 113-115.

rested in their hope of redirecting some of the funds previously spent for education into evangelism.³¹

Contrary to the hope of the L.M.S. for the rapid extension of Tribal School Committees, expansion was extremely gradual. By 1920, Tribal School Committees existed in the same three reserves--Bangwaketse, Bakwena, and Bamalete--as they had in 1910.³² The Bamangwato chief's letter to the L.M.S. vividly displayed his attitude toward a unified school committee:

Under no circumstances shall I give away my inheritance to you. Preaching the Gospel of God belongs to you. Church and school buildings belong to me. The schools are mine! Should you continue to cause friction and disturbance, I am not bound by any agreement. Therefore, let us alone in our things.³³

This attitude explained the gradual extension of Tribal School Committees to other Bechuana, especially the Bamangwato. Eventually, the Bamangwato schools came under the control of the Tribal School Committee.

By 1932, Tribal School Committees controlled the primary schools in all tribal reserves.

The establishment of Tribal School Committees was an outgrowth of the British policy of Indirect Rule by which they ruled most of Africa. Indirect Rule operated on the principles of:

- (1) Discover the recognized native authority before colonial involvement;
- (2) uphold this traditional authority by ruling through it;
- (3) gradually purge Native Law and Customs of all that offends the justice and morality of Europeans; and
- (4) build up a system of administration of the people

by control through the hereditary rules and European administrators.³⁴

The Inspector of Schools, Dutton, assessed the work of the School Committees in 1911:

The voluntary tax and the school committees appear to be working extremely well. . . . Therefore, I would recommend that not only the local tax but the Government grant to each missionary should come directly under the control of each School Committee.³⁵

Fifteen years later, Dutton deplored the neglect of native language, the quality of instruction in the lower standards, and the emphasis on the more difficult English lesson in Std V and VI by the certified teachers. Dutton placed much of the blame on the faulty guidance of the School Committees and recommended that:

Any pronounced improvement of schools can only be brought about by abolishing the present School Committees and by Government taking over direct control of education.³⁶

Mr. Dutton proposed a Syllabus for Schools in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1919. The syllabus was not intended to be completely binding on teachers, but the following general principles were to be observed:

- (1) No pupil should begin an English Reading Book until he can correctly read and write sentences in Setswana.
- (2) Pupils should be divided into no more than three grades for the purely Setswana portion of the syllabus.
- (3) The use of the English Primers should be discontinued. As pupils in Grade 3 already know the sounds of letters, and how to spell them, it is useless to weary them with such sentences as: 'The fat cat sat on the mat.'³⁷

These principles were the first clearly articulated positions on a school syllabus in Bechuanaland.

The Pathfinders, Boy Scouts, and Wayfarers, Girl Scouts, as well as Boys' Life Brigades and Girls' Life Brigades began during the 1920s. Their chief function has been to reinforce the work of the school and the church. The movements emphasized the moral and ethnic basis of living.³⁸

Government gradually increased its educational grant from £ 600 in 1904 to £ 2,198 in 1920. Government established the Native Fund in 1919 from the proceeds of a tax of three shillings. This tax increased to five shillings in 1923. This tax was imposed upon each male adult and was to "be devoted to the development of Native Education, medical work, eradication of cattle diseases, and the improvement of stock."³⁹ The funds were collected, pooled, and distributed by the High Commissioner. The decision to distribute the funds equally to each tribe annoyed some of the larger tribes because they felt funds should be distributed to tribes on the basis of the amount paid.

The opening of Tiger Kloof by the L.M.S. in 1904 had been greeted with a great deal of enthusiasm and heralded for the principles upon which Tiger Kloof was based.⁴⁰ Tiger Kloof was the heir to Moffat Institute at Kuruman.

The L.M.S. sent Reverend W. C. Willoughby to investigate setting up a new school in Bechuanaland. Willoughby was sent to fulfill a promise to the Bechuana chiefs that the L.M.S. would build a school for the Bechuana people. The L.M.S. also hoped to attract more students and extend their influence.⁴¹

Reverend Willoughby sounded out Chief Khama the Great as to the possibility of building the institution within his tribal area.

Because Chief Khama and some of his headmen refused to give a clear deed for the land and the frequent water shortages in the Bamangwato, Willoughby decided not to build the school in Bechuanaland. Instead, Willoughby bought the Tiger Kloof Farm in Vryburg, South Africa, within the Cape Colony, because of the cheap price, availability of good water, and its location on the direct railway to the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Apprentice builders and masons constructed the buildings from locally quarried stone. At the dedication of the cornerstone, His Excellency, the Governor of South Africa, said:

No special form of education is more calculated to contribute to, and to secure the true advancement of the native community, in its present state of civilization, than a well considered and thorough system of industrial education.⁴²

Willoughby, appointed Principal in 1904, designed a curriculum which combined academic and industrial training.

Because Tiger Kloof was located in the Cape Province, the Cape Education Department assumed jurisdiction over its educational policy and provided some financial assistance. The aid given to Tiger Kloof increased from £ 337 in 1905 to £ 16,000 in 1954. The Education Department encouraged and assisted the staff at Tiger Kloof in developing a full academic and industrial program of study. Although the department expected students to successfully complete the examinations, the development of a strong moral code was also important. This attention to moral development supported the missionary aim:

Our business is to develop character even more than to spread knowledge and impart wisdom. . . Order, method, punctuality, cleanliness, self-restraint, industry, respect for those in authority, and great reverence in worship are our foundation.⁴³

Tiger Kloof offered a full vocational and technical program designed to train African craftsmen as well as to teach domestic work to African women. The combination of an academic, industrial, and moral education guided Tiger Kloof from the beginning.

Under the leadership of Reverend Willoughby (1904-1914), the staff set up separate Industrial Departments, improved the quality of instruction, and raised the entrance requirements. Tiger Kloof initially started offering building and carpentry and later added tailoring, tanning, and leather-work for the boys. Willoughby guided Tiger Kloof by the principles of offering a strong academic, vocational, and moral training for African students.

The Reverend A. J. Haile succeeded Willoughby as Principal of Tiger Kloof in 1914 and served as Principal until 1945. During his tenure, Tiger Kloof expanded rapidly and offered post-primary education to many Bechuana. The L.M.S. opened a girls' institution in 1916 and offered domestic science, spinning, weaving, dressmaking, and cooking for the young women.

In 1920, Tiger Kloof started a Native Primary Lower teachers' course. Students who had completed primary school were eligible for the three year course. Later, a Native Primary Higher course was offered to those students who had completed the Junior Certificate. During the next four decades, almost all the trained teachers in Bechuanaland primary schools had been educated at Tiger Kloof.

The academic secondary school started shortly after the teacher training courses. The Cape Department of Education officially recognized the program in 1924. The secondary school combined the rigors of

an academic program with the requirement of vocational and technical education. Every student was required to pursue some type of technical training in addition to his academic work. Most Bechuana who received a secondary education were educated at Tiger Kloof.

In 1928, a visiting inspection team from the United Kingdom compared Tiger Kloof to Achimota in Ghana, and Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in the United States. The team lauded the "manner in which education for life provided these students with a sound industrial, academic, and moral training."⁴⁴

A graduate of Tiger Kloof suggested that the main influence of Tiger Kloof was best characterized in its motto which exhorted students:

. . . to be strong, to be alert, courageous and fearless; to combine strength with the humility, peace, and calm for which Jesus Christ stands; to be truthful in all you say and do; and to do your best under all circumstances with all necessary patience and tolerance.⁴⁵

For a period of fifty years (1904-1954), until the Bantu Education Act No. 46 of 1953^{*} disestablished it, Tiger Kloof continued to function as the premier education center for the Bechuana people. The vast majority of trained Bechuana teachers continued to transmit the Tiger Kloof ideals in their classrooms long after it had been closed.⁴⁶

Tiger Kloof represented the most important educational contribution of the L.M.S. in the Twentieth Century in Bechuanaland. Tiger Kloof expanded the humble beginnings of Kuruman and provided a strong academic, vocational, and moral basis for its graduates.

^{*}The Bantu Education Act barred the presence of African schools in certain areas classified as white only. Tiger Kloof lay within such an area.

The growth of tribal control of primary schools paralleled the early growth at Tiger Kloof. The establishment, financing, and administrative control of primary schools located in tribal areas gradually shifted from the L.M.S. to Tribal School Committees. The school committees handed the routine administration over to the missionary, who served as Education Secretary on the Tribal School Committees; but the committee retained most of the decision-making power. When Mr. Dumbrell was appointed Inspector of Schools in 1928, Tribal School Committees had assumed responsibility for primary education in most tribal areas.

The first three decades of the Twentieth Century were characterized by the first systematic investigations and reports on education in Bechuanaland, the establishment and growth of Tiger Kloof, and the gradual transition to tribal control of primary education.

END NOTES

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- ³Ibid.
- ⁴Willoughby to Sir Alfred Milner, 22 November 1900.
- ⁵Balfour to Sir Alfred Milner, 11 November 1901.
- ⁶James Burns, Report on L.M.S. Schools in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, December 1904.
- ⁷E. B. Sargent, "Education in the Protectorates" Native Education in South Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908), pp. 3-5.
- ⁸Burns, op. cit.
- ⁹Sargent, op. cit., pp. 3-6.
- ¹⁰Ibid.
- ¹¹Sargent, op. cit., recorded on Tape 3B 33-38.
- ¹²E. B. Sargent, Report on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1905, Part II.
- ¹³Ibid.
- ¹⁴Ibid., recorded on Tape 3B 38-39.
- ¹⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁶Ibid., pp. 23-26.
- ¹⁷I. Schapera, "Bamangwato of Bechuanaland" (unpublished notes, located in National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).
- ¹⁸Lewis, "Report to the Bechuanaland District Committee (LMS)" 1907-08, Molepolole.
- ¹⁹Williams, "Report to the Bechuanaland District Committee (LMS)" 1908-09, Kanye.
- ²⁰Jennings, "Report to the Bechuanaland District Committee (LMS)" 1906, Serowe.

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- ²²Thema, op. cit., p. 34.
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- ²⁵Statement by Rev. Seager, personal interview, 11 November 1970, Tape 19A 18-22.
- ²⁶Panzer to Assistant Resident Commissioner, 26 February 1910.
- ²⁷Panzer to Assistant Resident Commissioner, 3 March 1910.
- ²⁸Minutes of Bangwaketsi School Committee, 12 July 1910.
- ²⁹Minutes of Bangwaketsi School Committee, July 1912.
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- ³¹Statement, Rev. Loch, personal interview, 10 November 1970.
- ³²Ibid., and Colonial Report No. 1083 of 1920.
- ³³Chief Sekgoma to Rev. James Neville (LMS), 4 June 1923.
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- ³⁵F. H. Dutton, "Inspection Report 1911" (unpublished reports, located in National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).
- ³⁶F. H. Dutton, op. cit., 1926.
- ³⁷F. H. Dutton, "Syllabus for Schools in Bechuanaland Protectorate" (1919).
- ³⁸Thema, op. cit., p. 68.
- ³⁹Alan Pim, "Financial and Economic Position of the Bechuanaland Protectorate" (unpublished report, located in National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana), p. 79.
- ⁴⁰Sargent, Report on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, op. cit.

⁴¹Willoughby to Directors (L.M.S.), 1901, cited in Lekhela, op. cit., p. 327.

⁴²Sir Hely Hutchinson, K.C.M.G., speech at dedication of cornerstone at Tiger Kloof, 16 September 1905, cited in Lekhela, op. cit., p. 435-36.

⁴³Based upon personal correspondence between Rev. A. J. Haile and the writer, dated 6 July 1970. -

⁴⁴Annual Report of the L.M.S., 1928.

⁴⁵Thema cited in Lekhela, op. cit., p. 462.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Section V
THE DUMBRELL ERA
A. INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS

The appointment of Mr. H. J. E. Dumbrell, who had served as a teacher and Inspector of Native Schools in South Africa, as Inspector of Education for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland on 1 December 1928 marked the first time an educational officer could devote his full attention to improving education in these two protectorates. Heretofore, the Inspector visited and inspected schools in the Protectorate for no more than one month per year, returned to Basutoland and filed his reports. For the rest of the year, he supervised schools in Basutoland.

Soon after his appointment, Mr. Dumbrell prescribed the Cape Primary Syllabus as a temporary code of instruction for primary schools pending the drafting of a new code--the first in Bechuanaland. The Cape Syllabus set the subjects to be taught, the time to be allotted to each subject, and the books and guides to be used. The syllabus gave the Tribal School Committees their first uniform guide to instruction.

Francis Phiri, primary school teacher 1929-1958 and Education Secretary for the Bakgatla since 1958, described the condition of schooling at the time of Dumbrell's appointment. He reported that teachers generally taught the three R's in dark rooms with small windows or under the shade of a spreading tree, and pupils wrote on slates and read books that had been handed down by older students. Children wanted to go to school, but as soon as they learned to read and to write that

was enough schooling for most of them. The girls could then go home and write to the young men in the mines who, in turn, could read and answer their letters. Phiri also pointed out that many of the men and women, twenty-five to thirty years old, who were just beginning school found it difficult to learn with the small children in the classes and often left school after a short stay. Consequently, very few students reached the higher standards of instruction.¹

In his first Annual Report as Inspector of Education, Mr. Dumbrell reported:

- (1) Equipment in outstation schools was very poor; e.g., one blackboard for 160 pupils, one unqualified teacher for entire schools, no books, and extremely irregular attendance.
- (2) Supervision of schools was virtually nonexistent except in Bangwaketse and Bakwena, where School Committees had appointed supervisors to maintain supervision of the schools.
- (3) Teachers were untrained and poorly qualified.
- (4) Student ages in Sub A, the first year of school, ranged from seven to thirty-one, and many of the students were older than the teachers.
- (5) No coordination of education existed in reference to curriculum, timetable, or duties among the districts, in a sense, each one operated totally independently.²
- (6) No code of instruction was used in the schools.

Mr. Dumbrell further stated that in most aspects of educational work no change or improvement had occurred since Mr. Sargent wrote his report twenty-five years ago.³

The urgent establishment of a Board of Advice which could approve the proposed code of instruction and deal with problems concerning textbooks, classification of schools, age limitations, and the

selection and payment of teachers, was one of Dumbrell's first recommendations. He also suggested the need for a clear definition and delineation of the duties and powers of Tribal School Committees, institution of vacation courses for untrained and trained teachers, the restriction of entry age into primary schools, and the preparation of a code of instruction related to the life of the Bechuana. Dumbrell further recommended regrouping the sub-standards--first two grades of schools--to more effectively increase the children's opportunity to learn. It was a general practice for children to spend three or four years in Sub A and Sub B prior to entering Std I, and Dumbrell wanted to prevent this retardation of students.⁴

The Board of Advice on Native Education for Bechuanaland was appointed in 1930 and charged with the following duties: To advise the Colonial Government on problems of Native Education, to coordinate missionary activities among the Bechuana, to train the Africans in matters of educational control, and to foster closer cooperation with other administrative departments; e.g., agriculture and medical services. The Board was composed of five Government officials, including the Inspector of Education, six missionaries, five tribal representatives, and one European to represent the Francistown interests.⁵ An advisory council on European education, known as the European Advisory Council, was appointed in 1931 to make recommendations concerning European education in the Protectorate.

The first meeting of the Board of Advice, 10 and 11 November 1930, produced the following recommendations: First, the Cape Code for Primary Schools with a special syllabus for vernacular teaching was

adopted and called the Bechuanaland Protectorate Code for Primary Schools. Second, they established guidelines for the powers and responsibilities of Tribal School Committees. Third, teachers' salaries were fixed throughout the Protectorate. Fourth, a school classification scheme was approved. This scheme classified and regulated all the schools according to the following system:

- (1) Elementary vernacular schools--Sub A to Std II--Setswana must be the medium of instruction.
- (2) Village schools--Sub A to Std IV--Setswana is the medium of instruction through Std II. English is partly used in Stds III and IV.
- (3) Central schools--Sub A to Std VI--Setswana is the medium of instruction Sub A to Std II; English is partly used in Stds III and IV; and English is the medium of instruction in Stds V and VI.

This scheme regulated the level and language of instruction at every primary school by the qualifications of the teachers.

In 1931 Mr. Dumbrell recommended that the best qualified teaching staff be brought to the larger villages to teach the higher standards. When a teacher in a remote school discovered a particularly outstanding student, the student was to be sent to a central school. The Board of Advice approved this recommendation.⁷ This established the pattern of assigning the best qualified teachers to schools in large villages and posting the least qualified teachers to bush schools outside the villages.

The Board of Advice also approved in principle the founding of the Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers Association and expressed concern about the small number of boys in the schools. The Board set aside twenty minutes per day in the syllabus for religious training,

"the necessary crux of life." They approved the idea of establishing experimental cattlepost schools to attempt to bring education to the boys who herded cattle at the family cattleposts.⁸

These cattlepost schools were designed to build upon the informal education that naturally occurred at cattleposts and to guide these experiences to bring about a "more socially efficient native." Dumbrell drew up a course of study which included the three R's, Hygiene, Moral Training, Care of Animals, and different forms of craftwork designed to occupy the boy's leisure time at the cattlepost.⁹

The experiment with cattlepost schools started in 1935 when an older teacher was selected ". . . to take charge of a few cattleposts. Equipped with blackboard and books, he stayed with each group of boys for a definite period of time, taught what the boys wanted to learn, shared their work and life, and gave them a set of tasks to accomplish before he journeyed to the next cattlepost centre."¹⁰ These cattlepost schools represented a unique experiment in bringing mass education to the Bechuana boy in the veld. ". . . the rigors of cattlepost life, the unsettled migratory life of the denizens of the bush,. . . and the poor financial resources of the country caused this noble enterprise to fail."¹¹

In order to improve the qualifications of the teaching staff, Dumbrell started vacation courses for trained and untrained teachers in 1931 at Mochudi. Fifteen teachers attended the first course, and by 1935 the number of teachers involved increased to thirty-five. The 1936 vacation courses included workshops in arts and crafts, use of the blackboard, drawing, beautification of schools, and the organization

and maintenance of school records. Various officials delivered lectures on health care, the teaching of hygiene, and teacher and child welfare. Most of the participants also visited the Forest Hills Agriculture School. By 1938, the vacation courses included a special Native Teachers' Agricultural Training Course to help teachers understand and teach about the agricultural needs in Botswana. The Department of Education cooperated with other Government departments to provide a comprehensive set of courses. The number and variety of courses offered and the teachers attending the courses increased greatly in the years 1938-1943. Teachers who passed the tests given at the end of the courses received official certificates. The teachers stated that the most valuable part of these courses was the "opportunity for mental and social refreshment" and the "lively exchange of ideas."¹²

At the opening of the 1934 Board of Advice, Colonel Rey, Resident Commissioner, emphasized the purpose of education in the Protectorate by quoting Lord Lugard:

. . . the object of education in Africa must be to fit the ordinary individual to fill a useful part in his environment. Place the formation of character above the training of intellect.¹³

Colonel Rey continued to emphasize the purpose of education by quoting Dr. Albert Schweitzer:

Agriculture and handicrafts are the foundation of civilization. . .

From schools that are mere copies of those in Europe, they turn out educated people; that is, people who think that they are superior to manual work and want to follow commercial and intellectual callings only. They want white collar jobs and are frustrated when they are not available.

. . . Proper education means educating the natives so that they are not alienated from agriculture and handicraft, but attached to them.¹⁴

Colonel Rey stated the policy of colonial education which governed the development of education until the 1960s. Many Bechuana interpreted this to mean "train some Bechuana to become good junior officers and clerks who could speak and write English, but not too well, and adapt their life styles to live as good British colonial men, but not too close to them."¹⁵

The opening of Tati Training Center (1931) and the Forest Hills Agricultural School (1934) marked the first time that post-primary schooling was offered in the Protectorate. The Reverend K. T. Motsete founded Tati Training Center primarily to train teachers for the bush schools. According to Rev. Motsete, Government granted £ 100 to start the center, and the Carnegie Foundation gave £ 200 to build the center. Initially, Tati Center offered a course to train teachers, courses for the Junior Certificate of the University of South Africa, and arranged special commercial courses for clerks and inspectors.¹⁶

In 1938, Mr. Pickett, Inspector of Schools, reported:

I do not think the Cape Education Department would accept Tati unless the staff is considerably increased and a good deal of money spent in getting buildings and equipment up to the required standards. . . It might be possible to give Protectorate teachers two years of training beyond Std VI. . . such a course will need a much strengthened teaching staff.¹⁷

Because of Pickett's report and insufficient funds, the government failed to officially approve the Tati Training Center. It closed in 1941.

The Forest Hills Agricultural School was established:

. . . to give a thorough, practical, and theoretical training in agriculture and stock farming to young native men, so as to enable them to make better use of their own land and to have a better standard of living in their homes.¹⁸

The schools trained their students to understand the principles of irrigation and dry farming and to be able to apply them to their own land. Although endorsed by the Government, Forest Hills encountered two very strong prejudices. The first was directed against the Catholic missionaries who ran the program, and the second expressed the Bechuana attitude that education was not working with your hands.¹⁹ Forest Hills closed in 1940. The closing of Forest Hills Agricultural School and Tati Training Center ended the first attempts at post-primary education.

B. DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

The High Commissioner appointed Mr. Dumbrell as Director of Education for the Bechuanaland Protectorate in April 1935. This meant that he could now devote his full efforts toward education in the Protectorate. He immediately began to reorganize the Department of Education into an organization designed to bring the best possible instruction to students in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Dumbrell expanded the number of Supervisors of Schools, renamed Assistant Education Officers in 1945--from four to eight--and tried to turn these officers into a band of responsible men who would assume greater leadership in raising the teaching and education standards of the community. Initially, the Supervisors spent most of their time inspecting schools and writing reports and did very little supervision and demonstration. However,

as the number of supervisors increased and a separate post of Inspector of Schools was created in 1938, supervisors devoted more time to helping teachers improve the standard of instruction.²⁰

The organized Department of Education drafted a revised syllabus which was introduced into the schools in 1937. This syllabus stressed hygiene, gardening, games, singing, and education directed to the lives of the Bechuana. The L.M.S. developed new Setswana textbooks to meet the needs of the revised syllabus. Mpepi, Sub A primer, Tshipidi, Sub B, Padiso, reader for Stds I, II, III, IV, and a Std V reader were published between 1938 and 1941. These books were related to the Bechuana life. However, the geography and history books continued to be written for white children in South Africa and barely mentioned the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Proclamation No. 26, 15 July 1938, was the first educational legislation in the Protectorate. It regulated the establishment of new schools, the closing of old schools, and provided for the control of mission, private, and other schools. The Proclamation gave the Resident Commissioner power to make, amend, and repeal rules regulating the following: the qualifications, selection, and dismissal of teachers; the code of instruction; the facilities and equipment needed; the sanitation and health standards; and, most importantly, the membership and duties of the Tribal School Committees.²¹

On the same date as Proclamation No. 26 emanated, the High Commissioner issued the first regulations--Notice No. 110 of 1938--dealing with education in the Protectorate. The first two-thirds of the document dealt with the constitution, functions, powers, and responsibilities

of Tribal School Committees. These regulations set the composition of Tribal School Committees as:

- (1) A Chairman--the District Commissioner
- (2) A Secretary--a European Missionary appointed by the District Commissioner
- (3) The Native Chief or Headman
- (4) Six members--three to be appointed by the District Commissioner, including one European Missionary for each denomination having an interest in schools in the District, and three to be appointed by the Native Chief or Headman in consultation with the tribe.²²

The constitution of the Committee and the rules governing its operation were similar to those framed by the Bangwaketse School Committee in 1910.²³

In his thesis, Thema questioned the wisdom of having the Chief appoint the three tribal members. Thema felt that the only qualifications which the appointed tribal members might have would be their submission to the Chief's wishes. He believed that it would have been much wiser to appoint a teacher as one of the tribesmen or to add the Supervisor of Schools to the Committee. This would have added Bechuana who were more knowledgeable about educational problems.²⁴

The second part of Notice 110 of 1938 put down definite regulations concerning such things as the number of square feet of floor space required for each child, the number and type of separate sanitary facilities for boys and girls, the code of instruction, and the conditions of teachers' services. In 1945, only thirty-one of 135 African primary schools met the requirement of ten square feet of floor space per child, and there were only thirty-three latrines in all the schools. Many

schools ignored the rules simply because they could not meet the regulations and still accommodate their students. If the Department of Education had enforced the regulations, twelve thousand students would have been sent home.²⁵

In spite of the limitations noted, Proclamation No. 26 of 1938 and Notice 110 of 1938 were important because they clearly established the legal foundation of education and issued regulations which served as guidelines for Tribal School Committees.

The formation of the Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers Association gained the official approval of the Resident Commissioner on 16 December 1935. Their constitution stated the major objectives as raising the standards of education and teaching effectiveness, educating the public to the need for education, and creating an education profession. They affirmed the nonpolitical nature of the Association.

Between 1935 and 1944, the Association held annual meetings at which they generally recommended increased salaries and privileges, a more active voice in policy making, a uniform school calendar, and suitable housing for teachers and their families. They also proposed that Government improve the qualifications of untrained teachers.²⁶

In 1945 the Association forwarded resolutions to the Director of Education recommending:

. . . the development of secondary work and teacher-training, adoption of a uniform calendar, improving the qualifications of untrained teachers, and re-absorbing returned soldiers who were previously teachers.²⁷

The Director commented, "Only a small percentage of teachers

participated in the Teachers' Association, but they were serious and had at heart the educational interest of the community."²⁸

The Board of Advice discussed the urgent need for teacher training in the Protectorate at its 1937 and 1938 meetings, and asked Mr. Dumbrell to prepare a recommended course of study. In 1939, the Board of Advice recommended that courses for the Elementary Teachers' Certificate be started at Kanye and Serowe. Their aims were to train African men and women who would be able to deal more adequately with the needs of Village Schools (Sub A--Std II), thereby expanding the supply of trained teachers. They prescribed a course of study in the methods and practices of teaching all subjects in the Primary School Syllabus to children from Sub A--Std II. During the two-year training period, the prospective teachers attended at least two one-month training courses. Here, men learned woodworking, agriculture, and animal husbandry while women studied housewifery, needlework, gardening and poultry management.²⁹

Eighteen of the twenty students who began in the first year (1940) received their Provisional Certificates for Primary School Teachers and, after one year of satisfactory teaching in an African school, earned the Elementary Teacher's Certificate. The Inspector of Schools reported that graduates of these training centers performed quite well in the field and displayed the attitudes which the Department of Education felt were so important in Village Schools.³⁰

During the Dumbrell era, European education--the education of white children--served fewer than two hundred children and no more than twelve schools. These children lived at points scattered throughout the

territory and generally left schools in the Protectorate at the end of Std III (age ten and one-half) for further primary education in South Africa or Rhodesia. Those few who remained in the Protectorate left school at the end of Std V (age thirteen and one-half). Therefore, European schools tried to give children a sound foundation for further study in South Africa or Rhodesia and to provide a well-rounded education for rural life and citizenship in the Protectorate. The instruction included practical training for rural life.³¹

In his Report on European Education in Bechuanaland, 1939, Malherbe stated, "The best that education can do [for whites] under such economic circumstances is to educate them for escape from the Bechuanaland Protectorate."³² Malherbe discussed the problem of isolation amongst Europeans: "Isolation leads to degeneration and dictates that the outside world be brought into the classroom via pictures and films to help correct this tendency." Malherbe deplored the mixed coloured and European school in Molepolole and demanded that "Government check these degenerative processes, or things will even degenerate further outside the school; e.g., dating and marriage."³³

European schools received an annual grant from Government that supplemented the tuition fees paid by European parents. European children who resided far from established primary schools were given an annual grant of £ 16 to assist parents in placing their children in a school in South Africa or Rhodesia.

During the period 1931-1945, the European Advisory Council continuously agitated for compulsory education for all European children, increased Government support, improvement in the standard of European

education by the recruitment of a better qualified teaching staff, and Government takeover of the schools.³⁴

Malherbe introduced his comments on coloured education as follows:

It makes the hearts of us coloured people sore to see that so many children of white fathers and native women grow up without any education.³⁵

E. G. Malherbe reported that 90 percent of the coloured children did not attend school in 1936 and that only £ 240 were spent on coloured education in 1938.³⁶ The available data on coloured school enrollments showed:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>No. of Qualified Teachers</u>
1930	2	48	n.a.*	n.a.*
1938	2	65	2	2
1948	4	198	5	2

Coloured students followed a course of study similar to that used in European schools. Although the number of coloured enrolled in primary schools increased from sixty-five in 1938 to one hundred ninety-eight in 1948, the number of qualified teachers remained at two. In 1938 the Director of Education reported: "The school building as well as the teachers' residence in Francistown [the largest town in the northeast] were dilapidated and unfit for their purpose."³⁸ Ten years later the Director reported that 50 percent of the coloured students were in sub-standard classes and "with few exceptions, the quality of work done is no better than in the rudimentary African schools."³⁹

When Dumbrell took office, funds from tribal treasuries, Government

*This data was not available for 1930.

grants, missionary contributions, and an occasional grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund financed African education. Tribal schools charged no school fees; European schools charged a school fee in addition to their Government grant.

Until 1933, tribal authorities financed education from the Native Fund, which had been established in 1919.⁴⁰ Approximately 55 percent of the tribal income was spent on education. The financial depression of the 1930s decreased total revenue and forced Government to provide grants-in-aid to enable the curtailed educational services to continue.⁴¹ Government continued to contribute funds from their general revenue until 1938. Proclamation No. 35 of 1938, Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Treasuries Proclamation, established tribal treasuries to consolidate Native Fund payments with the general tax. Government distributed 35 percent of the new general tax to each tribal treasury. The tribal treasuries were charged with the following:

. . . from the financial year ending March 31, 1939, the cost of teachers' salaries, books and equipment, and general repairs to buildings, etcetera, will be a charge against the receipts of the tribal treasuries. For districts where tribal treasuries have not been established, a sum of £4,945 had been provided from Central Funds to meet similar charges. . . This amount of £4,945 will also include the cost of subsidiary training courses for teachers and examination expenses.⁴²

In 1940 Government spent £12,344 and tribal treasuries spent £9,851 for education. In comparison, Government spent £18,180 and tribal treasuries added £17,204 in 1945. Thus the contribution from Government revenue increased 47 percent, and the funds from tribal treasuries increased 75 percent during the period 1940-1945.⁴³ In 1945 £6,054 of Government's £18,180 (33 percent) were expended for

European education. Thus, the Government expenditures per European child totaled £ 33.3. This corresponded to an expenditure from Government and tribal sources of £ 1.3 per African child. These figures demonstrated the vast differences in expenditure per child for European and African education.

In 1945 the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund awarded a total of £ 13,969-- £ 7,669 for recurrent expenses and £ 6,300 for capital expenditures--for African education. "Owing to the difficulties of recruitment and of building,"⁴⁴ £ 10,714 were not expended.

Table A illustrates the funds from tribal treasuries expended for education, the school enrollment in various reserves, and the per capita expenditure for African students in 1945.

TABLE A: REVENUE, EXPENDITURES, ENROLLMENT, AND PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE IN TRIBAL RESERVES--1945

<u>Tribal Revenue</u>	<u>Est. Revenue (£)</u>	<u>Estimated Expenditures (£)</u>	<u>Tribal Revenue Spent on Education (%)</u>	<u>School Enrollment</u>	<u>School-age Students (%)</u>	<u>Per Capita Expenditure on African Education (£)</u>
Bamangwato	20,415	8,927	43.6	8,270	41.5	0-18.10
Bakwena	7,118	3,079	43.3	2,197	11.0	0-18.2
Barolong	1,932	346	18.0	255	1.3	1.6-
Batawana	3,849	1,100	28.6	734	3.7	1.10-
Bangwaketse	9,692	2,489	25.8	2,974	15.0	-17.1
Batlakwa	819	320	39.0	360	1.8	-16.11
Bakgatla	5,011	1,600	32.0	1,535	7.7	1-.10
Bamelete	2,896	634	22.0	486	2.4	1.6.1

This table displays the vast differences in financial resources, educational expenditures, and school enrollments that existed among different tribal groups.

Some of the differences were due to the size of the tribal groups,

but much more depended upon the tribal leadership. When the chief and headmen were enthusiastic and interested in education, more children attended school; the tribe built more schools; and more money was spent for education.⁴⁶

Tribal treasuries voted 36 percent of their total estimated revenue to education. The Bamangwato voted nearly 44 percent of their revenue, and the Bakwena, with only 11 percent of school-age children enrolled in schools, voted 43 percent for schooling. Tshekedi Khama, Acting Regent of the Bamangwato, summed up the position as:

By these figures. . . it is impossible for education to progress if it is left entirely in the hands of the tribal treasuries. . . comparing the results of Std VI examinations shows the number of passes to be very low. We submit that this will always be the case because the tribes cannot manage to get the required teachers. They have no money.⁴⁷

Prior to the retirement of Mr. Dumbrell, two important events occurred. In 1944 the Catholic missionaries at Khale opened a junior secondary school--St. Joseph's College. This heralded the first significant effort in secondary education in the Protectorate. Three years earlier, the Dutch Reformed Church started an Adolescent School in Mochudi to train girls (ages fourteen, fifteen and sixteen) who had never attended school. The school was designed to give them something to do at home; e.g., needlework, knitting, crafts, that would better their conditions.⁴⁸

Mr. Dumbrell's achievements in his seventeen years as Inspector of Schools and Director of Education laid a strong legal and organizational foundation for the future development of education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. A quantitative growth in primary education accompanied

Dumbrell's achievements and is illustrated in Table B.

TABLE B: PRIMARY SCHOOL GROWTH 1928-1945⁴⁹

	<u>1928</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1945</u>
European schools	9	11	11
No. of students	165	215	182
African schools	86	103	135
No. of students	8,522	9,251	21,139

These figures show that the number of primary school children more than doubled between 1935 and 1945. Missionaries' control of schools decreased from forty-five schools in 1928 to four schools in 1945.

Table C shows the funds, expressed in £, 1928-1945.

TABLE C: EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES, IN £, 1928-1945⁵⁰

	<u>1928</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1945</u>
Spent from native funds	4,253	1,961	17,204
Spent from Government funds	7,331	9,272	18,160
Total education expenditures	11,584	11,233	35,364

The funds spent from native funds increased more than eight times. Government expenditures doubled. The total amount of money spent for education more than tripled between 1928 and 1945.

The following table shows a more detailed presentation of enrollment figures:

TABLE D: ENROLLMENT FIGURES 1935, 1940, 1945⁵¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Sub A</u>	<u>Sub B</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>Total</u>
1935	M	1,263	407	275	141	57	32	2,457
	F	3,965	1,079	778	309	52	27	6,794
	Total	5,228	1,486	1,053	450	109	59	9,251
1940	M	2,597	1,112	755	305	126	100	5,856
	F	4,711	1,998	1,606	496	128	99	10,050
	Total	7,308	3,110	2,361	801	254	199	15,906
1945	M	3,235	1,450	973	568	223	150	7,658
	F	5,463	2,566	1,917	1,112	315	205	13,481
	Total	8,698	4,016	2,890	1,680	538	355	21,139

Close examination of these figures reveals a sharp decrease in the number of students in each higher level of education, particularly from Sub A to Std I. The figures also show the disparity between the numbers of males and females attending school, especially in the lower standards. For example, 9,946 girls attended Sub A through Std I classes in 1945 while only 5,658 boys attended the same classes. The figures also reveal the increase in the number of students in Stds V and VI from 168 students in 1935 to 903 students in 1945.

Several sources contributed to the large drop in the number of students (8,698) entering Sub A and the number of students (355) starting Std VI in 1945. Ineffective teaching resulting from understaffing, lack of accommodations, and the dearth of qualified teachers caused students to lose interest. The irregular attendance resulting from the herding and farming practices of the Bechuana caused students to fall behind in their studies and to lose interest. The older entry age--fifteen and over--of many students and the regular retentions in Sub A and Sub B placed some twenty-year olds in classes with younger students.⁵² South African mines recruited many young men out of the

schools. The attractions of city life and the prospect of regular wages attracted many young men to work in the South African mines.⁵³

Girls attending school greatly outnumbered boys. In 1954 girls comprised 64 percent of all school children. However, the ratio had declined from 69.9 percent in 1935 to 64.1 percent in 1945. At the same time, a much larger percentage of boys entered Sub A in 1945 than did in 1935 or 1940. Dr. Ashton, District Commissioner for the Bangwaketse (1941-1945), attributed these increased enrollments to the insistence of the soldiers who were serving in the Bechuanaland Pioneer Corps in World War II. They insisted that their children should be educated because they had seen the disadvantages of uneducated men in modern times.⁵⁴

In 1935 the students enrolled in Sub A classes outnumbered the students in Std VI classes by 88.6 to 1. The ratio of students in Sub A to those in Std VI decreased to 36.7 to 1 in 1940, and further declined to 24.5 to 1 in 1945.⁵⁵ These figures indicated that a much larger percentage of students who entered primary school remained for an entire primary school education in 1945 than had done so in either 1935 or 1940.

All students who finished Std VI took the School Leaving Certificate Examination. The results were as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Passes</u>	<u>Percentage</u> ⁵⁶
1935	62	33	53
1940	182	33	18.1
1945	372	213	57

The annual percentage of passes during the period 1935-1945 was between 46 and 56 percent, suggesting that results in 1940 were not

representative of the total period. The 1940 results illustrated that extreme fluctuations occurred. When one considered the large number of students who left school before reaching Std VI, these results were "extremely" discouraging.⁵⁷ In 1945 the Director of Education attributed these results to many of the same reasons already cited by Dr. Ashton and B. C. Thema.⁵⁸

In order to be considered a qualified primary school teacher, a teacher must have completed primary school, received at least two years of professional educational training, passed an examination, and received the Elementary Teachers' Certificate. The majority of qualified primary school teachers had earned the Primary Lower Certificate; that is, they had completed primary school, received three years of professional educational training, and passed the Primary Lower Examination.

Unqualified teachers had received no formal professional educational training beyond primary school. Some of these teachers had not even completed primary school.

The following figures point out the qualifications of teachers:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Qualified</u>			<u>Unqualified</u>			Percentage ⁵⁹ <u>Qualified</u>
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	
1935	40	5	45	75	52	127	26.2
1940	73	15	88	129	69	198	30.7
1945	101	53	154	116	108	224	40.7

The percentage of qualified teachers increased from 26 percent to 40 percent between 1935-1945, but there were still more unqualified teachers than there were qualified teachers. The number of qualified and unqualified female teachers increased. The Director hoped that the training courses at Serowe and Kanye would help to raise the number of

qualified female teachers.⁶⁰

In 1935 twenty-one students (nineteen boys and two girls) pursued post-primary work at Tati Training Center and Forest Hills Agricultural School.⁶¹ By 1945 fifty-nine students pursued post-primary secondary work and thirty-one (53 percent) successfully completed the examinations. Also, fifty-seven students were enrolled at Kanye and Serowe in the Elementary Teachers' Certificate course. Eighteen of twenty-four students in the last year passed in the third class.⁶²

In addition to the students who studied in the Protectorate, the number of students who received bursaries to pursue post-primary courses in South Africa or Rhodesia increased from fourteen in 1935 to sixty-one in 1945.⁶³ Thema reported that at least 134 other Bechuana students studied in South Africa or Rhodesia.⁶⁴

Tshekedi Khama, Acting Regent of the Bamangwato from 1926 to 1949, and his friend, Chief Bathoen II, Chief of the Bangwaketse from 1927 to 1969, led the fight to keep Bechuanaland from being incorporated into South Africa. They dominated the life of the Bechuana for almost three decades. Chief Bathoen II and Tshekedi Khama served on the Board of Advice on African Education for many years. They supported the efforts and ideas of Dumbrell and actively enlisted tribal support for educational development and improvement.

Tshekedi paid for the improvement to Khama Memorial School in Serowe and maintained the schools at his own expense. He founded two special schools for the Masarwa (Bushmen), and paid the salary of the teachers at the schools. Tshekedi persuaded the Government to send the young Seretse Khama to Lovedale, South Africa, rather than to Rhodesia

for his formal education because Tshekedi believed that Seretse Khama would receive a better education at Lovedale.⁶⁵

After a lengthy discussion with Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Advisor to the Colonial Secretary, Tshekedi concluded that for the upward growth of his people, the preparation of teachers and leaders who would give impetus to development in Bechuanaland was imperative. Tshekedi recommended the establishment of a secondary and industrial school which would contain academic as well as trade and skill courses. In 1945 the kgotla approved of the idea. They selected Moeng as the site for the school because of its abundant water, beautiful valley, and "distance from outside influences which assured full attention to academics."⁶⁶ In 1945 Tshekedi recommended raising the £ 100,000 needed to build a secondary school and school farm by assessing a tax of one head of cattle for every two taxpayers.⁶⁷ This recommendation demonstrated Tshekedi's continued support of education in Bechuanaland.

Bathoen actively supported education among the Bangwaketse, building many schools for them. He regularly attended classes, lectured to the students, helped construct buildings, and generally supervised the operation of the schools. Throughout the 1930s, he actively urged that teacher training centers be established in Bechuanaland.⁶⁸

The efforts of Bathoen II and Tshekedi Khama demonstrated the continued contributions of Bechuana chiefs to the growth and improvement of education in Bechuanaland.

Dumbrell acknowledged the recommendations made in 1905 by E. B. Sargent and incorporated many of them in his first report. He served

the Bechuanaland Protectorate for seventeen years as Inspector of Schools (1928-1935), and Director of Education, trained the Supervisors of Schools, and developed a classification scheme for primary schools. Dumbrell started vacation courses for teachers and introduced the first Primary School Syllabus for the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

The Board of Advice on Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate was formed and recommended many changes, including the founding of two teacher training centers. The European Advisory Council was appointed and worked to improve European education in the Protectorate.

Proclamation No. 26 of 1938 and Notice 110 of 1938 established the legal foundation for Tribal School Committees and made the first regulations for schools in the Protectorate. Tribal Schools Committees assumed the responsibility for education in every reserve, and missionaries served as Education Secretaries. This drastically changed the nature of the missionary involvement in primary school education.

Primary school enrollment more than doubled; three times as much money was spent on education; the number of students completing primary school increased; and the percentage of qualified teachers increased from 26.2 percent to 40 percent. At the same time, less than 40 percent of the school-age children attended school; the majority of pupils were instructed by poorly trained and unqualified teachers; and the results of the School Teachers' Examination improved only slightly.

During the Dumbrell era, the first secondary school in Bechuanaland--St. Joseph's College--opened, and teacher-training education thrived at Kanye and Serowe.

The growth and development of education between 1928 and 1945 led Thema to state, 'Mr. H. J. E. Dumbrell can rightly be regarded as the founder of Bechuanaland's educational system.'⁶⁹

END NOTES

¹Statement by Francis Phiri, personal interview, 11 and 12 November 1970, Tape 19B 46-53.

²Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1928.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Minutes of the Board of Advice on African Education, 10 and 11 November 1930 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).

⁷Minutes of the Board of Advice on African Education, 11 and 12 November 1931 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).

⁸Ibid.

⁹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1935. (Krugersdorp, South Africa: West Rand Publications, Ltd., 1935).

¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹Thema, op. cit., p. 61.

¹²"Report on Subsidiary Courses for Teachers," 1962 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana), recorded on Tape 13A 19-30 (Mimeographed).

¹³Minutes of the Board of Advice on African Education, 9 August 1934 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana), Colonel Rey quoting Lord Lugard.

¹⁴Ibid., Colonel Rey quoting Dr. Schweitzer.

¹⁵Statement by Jeremiah Gabaake, personal interview, 3 September 1970. Type 14A 0-9.

This statement is representative of twenty other statements given by government officials.

¹⁶Statement by Rev. K. T. Motsete, personal interview, 13 and 29 September 1970.

¹⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1938 (Krugersdorp, South Africa: West Rand Publications, Ltd., 1938), p. 33.

¹⁸Records of Forest Hills Agricultural School 1934-1937 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).

¹⁹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1939 (Krugersdorp, South Africa: West Rand Publications, Ltd., 1939).

²⁰Thema, op. cit., pp. 69-72.

²¹Bechuanaland Protectorate Government. Proclamation No. 26 of 1938, 15 July 1938. Mafeking: (N.P.).

²²Bechuanaland Protectorate Government. Notice No. 110 of 1938, 15 July 1938. Mafeking: (N.P.).

²³For a detailed discussion see pages 93-94.

²⁴Thema, op. cit., pp. 75-77.

²⁵Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945. Mafeking, South Africa, 1945, pp. 13-15 and 25 (Mimeographed).

²⁶Minutes of Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers Association meetings, 1931-1944.

These minutes were located in the house of Mr. George Kgorba, Vice-Principal of Moeding College in Botsi.

²⁷. . . Annual Report for 1945, op. cit., p. 8.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Minutes of the Board of Advice on African Education, 16 May 1939 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).

³⁰Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1943. Mafeking, South Africa, 1943 (Mimeographed).

³¹Minutes of the European Advisory Council, 1931-1945 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).

³²E. G. Malherbe, "Report on European Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, September 1939" (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).

³³Ibid.

- ³⁴ Minutes of the European Advisory Council, 1931-1945, op. cit.
- ³⁵ An appreciative coloured builder cited by E. G. Malherbe, op. cit., Appendix.
- ³⁶ Malherbe, op. cit.
- ³⁷ Bechuanaland Government Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1930, 1938, and 1948, op. cit.
- ³⁸ Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1938, op. cit.
- ³⁹ Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1948 (Johannesburg: Automatic Printing Press, [n.d.]), p. 19.
- ⁴⁰ For detailed description of Native Fund, see pages 97 and 98.
- ⁴¹ Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1936 (Krugersdorp, South Africa: West Rand Publications, Ltd., 1936), p. 11.
- ⁴² Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1938, op. cit., p. 11.
- ⁴³ Bechuanaland Government Annual Reports of the Education Department for 1940 and 1945, op. cit.
- ⁴⁴ Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., pp. 21-24.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 22.
- ⁴⁶ Thema, op. cit., pp. 108-109.
- ⁴⁷ Minutes of Board of Advice for African Education, May 1943 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).
- ⁴⁸ Statement by Elizabeth Mollendorf, personal interview, 12 November 1970, Tape 19A 50-70.
- ⁴⁹ Bechuanaland Government Annual Reports of the Education Department for 1928, 1935, and 1945.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Bechuanaland Government Annual Reports of the Education Department for 1935, 1940, and 1945.

⁵²E. H. Ashton, "Report on Post-War Development from the Viewpoint of the Bangwaketse District" (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana, 1945). (Mimeographed)

⁵³Statement by B. C. Thema, personal interview, 16 November 1970. Tape 15A 35-42.

⁵⁴Ashton, op. cit.

⁵⁵Bechuanaland Government Annual Reports of the Education Department for 1935, 1940, and 1945, op. cit.

⁵⁶Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 29-30. Also see pages 123-124.

⁵⁹Bechuanaland Government Annual Reports of the Education Department for 1935, 1940, and 1945, op. cit.

⁶⁰Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., pp. 41-44.

⁶¹Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1935, op. cit.

⁶²Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., pp. 41-44.

⁶³Ibid., p. 37

⁶⁴Thema, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

⁶⁵Benson, op. cit., pp. 67-98.

⁶⁶Martin Flavin, Black and White (New York: Harper Brothers, 1950), pp. 71-75.

⁶⁷Halpern, op. cit., pp. 264-278.

⁶⁸Gabatshwane, op. cit., pp. 24-52.

⁶⁹Thema, op. cit., p. 114.

Section VI

PRIMARY EDUCATION

Mr. Jowitt, who served as Director of Education in Uganda, replaced the retiring Mr. Dumbrell as Director of Education for the Bechuanaland Protectorate on 22 May 1945. Jowitt began the Annual Report of the Department of Education in 1945 by saying:

It was Mr. Dumbrell's strong conviction that in the badly built, ill-equipped, poorly staffed, and overcrowded buildings, the African schools of the Protectorate played a real part in the great work of social regeneration. . . . Believing this, Dumbrell was less concerned with numbers, finances, and standards of attainment than with the fostering of new hopes and new outlooks.¹

In 1945 the colonial government operated a tripartite system of education in Bechuanaland. African schools educated African children; European schools served the white population; and coloured schools provided facilities for coloured, non-white non-African children. The following figures showed the number of students and teachers in the various schools in 1945:²

	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>			<u>No. of Teachers</u>			<u>Student- Teacher Ratio</u>
		<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	
African	134*	7,658	13,481	21,139	217	161	378	1:56
European	11	100	82	182	2	12	14	1:13
Coloured	4	96	102	198	2	3	5	1:40

European schools enjoyed a student-teacher ratio of 13:1 while the African schools had a ratio of 56:1. The ratio for African schools was

*Three schools were operated by the Catholic missionaries. Two of these schools received a Government grant.

misleading as fifty-five teachers in the eastern territories taught classes that ranged in size from seventy to 199 pupils. Sixty-four percent of the students attending African primary school were girls. This situation was unusual in Africa.

Mr. Thomas Makepe, a Supervisor of Schools during the 1940s reported:

At this time people did not really take a keen interest in education because they had their own initiation schools, Boqweru and Bojale, harvests were plentiful, and parents were interested in boys herding animals and girls helping their mothers at the lands and in the village.³

In 1946, 17 percent of the school-age children attended school.⁴ Makepe attributed the low percentage to the Bechuana's customary pattern of employing boys in herding their parents' cattle at the cattlepost, the skeptical attitude of many parents about the value of formal education, and the geographic distance between schools and pupils in the rural areas.⁵

Primary school education began with two years of substandard classes--Sub A and Sub B--followed by six years of study--Std I through Std VI. Approximately 60 percent of all primary school pupils in 1945 were enrolled in Sub A and Sub B classes. Practically half of the students who enrolled in Sub A in 1944 either dropped out of school or were retained in Sub A at the end of the year. These figures illustrated the wastage which occurred in African primary schools.

African primary schools were classified as follows:⁶

(1) Village schools	offered the first four years of primary courses, including Std II
(2) Central schools	offered instruction through Std IV

(3) District schools offered the full primary course through Std VI

(4) Middle schools offered instruction in Stds V and VI

Proclamation No. 26 of 1938 and High Commissioner's Notice No. 110 of 1938 empowered the Resident Commissioner to frame rules dealing with the "appointment, constitution, powers, and duties of Tribal School Committees for native schools."⁷ These Tribal School Committees controlled the appointment and dismissal of teachers, expenditure and collection of funds, repair and erection of buildings, and the purchase of books and equipment. The District Commissioner served as Chairman of the Tribal School Committee in each tribal area and appointed the non-African members of the committee. The resident missionary performed the duties of Secretary, which involved "all the hard, routine administrative work which received all the criticism and problems. . . . The duties required three or four days of work each week and placed a heavy burden upon the resident missionaries."⁸ The chief sat on the School Committee and also appointed the tribal members of the committee. "The chief played an important role on the Tribal School Committee."⁹

Tribal School Committees obtained funds for education from a rebate of 35 percent of all taxes collected by central governments, grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and from native treasuries. The total provision for education made by Central Government for 1945 was slightly more than 6 percent of the total revenue. By contrast, the tribal authorities spent 36 percent of their revenue for education. In fact, the largest tribe--the Bamangwato--voted 44 percent of tribal revenue for education in 1945.¹⁰ Even with 36 percent of

tribal treasuries being spent for education, the per-pupil expenditure for each primary school pupil ranged from a high of £1.10* to a minimum of £0.16.11. The Director of Education commented on the situation:

. . . In spite of the generosity shown in their treatment of education, tribal treasuries are quite unable to meet the demands of a developing primary school system from their present resources.¹¹

Tribal School Committees controlled the operation of education in the eight tribal areas and in two non-tribal areas. The three remote areas of the Kalahari were administered directly by the District Commissioner.

The Board of Advice on Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate served as an advisory body to the Director of Education. The board provided the Director of Education the opportunity to explore, discuss, receive recommendation, and share ideas with the chiefs and leading African educators. Ultimately, the Director of Education wrote and established the policies which governed the operation of all schools in Bechuanaland. In 1945 only one Education Officer visited and inspected the schools in the territory to insure that they complied with the regulations, where possible, and followed the prescribed syllabus. Eight Supervisors of Schools--the highest post available to an African--were responsible to "help and guide the teaching staff by observing teachers demonstrating the proper methods, and discussing lessons and materials with teachers."¹² The Director of Education recommended that supervisors spend an entire week in a given region, encouraging community leaders to assume a greater burden for financing

* £1 = 20 shillings; 0.01 = 1 shilling = 12 pence; £1 ≈ \$2.89

and operating the schools as well as encouraging teachers to use better methods to improve the quality of instruction. "It is most undesirable for supervisors to spend the majority of their time at a school recording facts and impressions."¹³

In late 1945 the Director of Education mailed a questionnaire to all African schools which asked teachers and school committees to describe the condition of the school buildings and the equipment available. The Chief of the Bamangwato, who spent the highest percentage of revenue for education, reported "eight schools were well housed, eight occupied church buildings, and thirty-three were conducted either in grass shelters or in the open."¹⁴ The Director visited a school in the Bamangwato territory where the head teacher had built a four foot wall to protect the pupils from the wind. No buildings existed, and classrooms were marked out on the ground by stones. "Children sat on the ground and teachers shared a small blackboard and an easel. This was the only equipment available at the school." Other head teachers stated that classes were held when the weather was favorable and dismissed in unfavorable weather. Some teachers listed a mud table and a crude blackboard as the sum total of their equipment and buildings.¹⁵

The results of the questionnaire indicated that fifty-one schools had no accommodations for their children, and 18,580 pupils had no seats, desks, or writing materials. Approximately 13,500 pupils received no blackboard instruction. Thirty-one of 134 schools met the minimum regulations for square feet per pupil. Thirty-three latrines existed for 21,139 pupils.¹⁶ These were the conditions under which African children attended the 134 accredited schools in the Bechuanaland

Protectorate in 1945.

The teachers in these primary schools numbered 378. Only 36 percent of the teachers were qualified while 64 percent of the primary school teachers had received no training beyond their own primary school education. Qualified teachers had completed a minimum of two years of training beyond primary school. Most qualified teachers had earned the Primary Lower Teachers Certificate by successfully completing a three year course at a teacher training college. Chief Bathoen of the Bangwaketse said, "We had to settle for unqualified teachers because we couldn't afford to pay for qualified teachers."¹⁷

Almost the entire teaching staff had received their education at missionary teacher training institutions in South Africa. The following reflected the colonial attitude toward the type of mission training:

. . . the greatest importance must be attached in all areas where contact with civilization tends to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, to religious beliefs and moral instructions. It is recognition of this need that impels Government to assist and encourage forms of education which rest on the basis of religious beliefs.¹⁸

Teachers in the primary schools used the Primary School Syllabus for African Schools in the Bechuanaland Protectorate which Mr. Dumbrell had revised in 1937. Appendix D showed the recommended allocation of time for the different subjects at the various standards. The time allotted for religious instruction and moral training, Setswana and English languages, arithmetic, and manual training varied from 80 percent of the timetable in Sub A to 67 percent in Std VI. The remainder of the timetable was divided among the following subjects: nature study, hygiene, history, geography, singing, physical exercise and

games, handwriting, general science, and assembly.

One-third of the syllabus was devoted to language studies through Std III. Instruction in Stds IV through VI allocated three hours per week for each of the following subjects: religious instruction and moral training, English, Setswana, arithmetic, and manual training such as needlework and agriculture.¹⁹

The medium of instruction up to and including Std II was the mother-tongue of the pupils. Thereafter, English gradually replaced the mother-tongue except that new ideas and principles were first presented in the mother-tongue. The vast majority of pupils had to learn to use English as a second language, and eventually used English for all instruction. Approximately 5 percent of the population, who spoke Kallanga, had to learn in their mother-tongue, study their lessons in Setswana, and eventually make the transition to English as the medium of instruction.²⁰

Teachers administered quarterly examination in all subjects to students in every standard. At the end of each year, primary school students sat for an examination which determined who was promoted to the next standard or retained in the same class. Less than 5 percent of the students who entered Sub A in 1938 completed primary school in 1945. All students who completed primary school sat for the Primary School Leavers' Examination. In an attempt to improve standards in 1945, Government raised the aggregate percentage required to pass the examination from 40 to 45 percent but maintained the minimum level of 40 percent for each subject. There were 372 candidates who sat for the examination and only seventeen passed under the new standards. "It

then became necessary to sympathetically review the cases.' The review resulted in 213 students (57 percent) passing the examination and earning the Primary School Leavers' Certificate.²¹

Eleven European students sat for the European Primary School Leavers' Examination, which was the same as the Bursary Selection Examination used in the Transvaal province of South Africa. Eight pupils passed the examination, of which five were awarded government bursaries for further study.

A total of 182 Europeans enrolled at the eleven European schools in the Protectorate. Three of these schools were staffed by two teachers while one teacher taught at each of the remaining schools. In spite of the acute difficulties experienced in recruiting and then retaining suitably qualified staff,²² eleven of the fourteen teachers were fully qualified; that is, they had completed junior secondary school and received professional training. The 15:1 student-teacher ratio provided the teachers with small classes and afforded the opportunity for close supervision of the students.

In addition to the 182 Europeans attending primary schools in Bechuanaland in 1945, at least ninety-three whites attended schools in South Africa. Government's policy awarded bursaries of £ 16 per annum for whites to attend primary schools outside the country and offered a limited number of bursaries for those from remote areas to study in the Protectorate. Government officials also received an allowance of £ 30 per annum for children enrolled in schools outside the country. As a result of these policies, thirty-one whites received bursaries to study in South African primary schools; four students received bursaries to

study at European schools in Bechuanaland; and twenty-eight colonial officials used the £ 30 allowance to send their children to South African schools.

Primary school education for Europeans "cooperated with the educational authorities in South Africa with a view to correlating more closely our system of primary school education with those of South Africa."²³ The curriculum utilized was similar to the syllabus used in the Transvaal and emphasized English and Afrikaans, the language of the Dutch settlers in South Africa. Two-thirds of the white pupils in the primary schools spoke Afrikaans as their native language, and most of these students later attended primary, secondary, or vocational schools in the Transvaal. Some European students left Bechuanaland schools at the end of Std III for primary schools in South Africa. Others sat for the Secondary School Entrance Examination at the end of the Std V and those who passed usually left for further study in South Africa. Several other European pupils completed the full primary school course of study, wrote the Primary School Leavers' Examination, and went on to Post-Primary education in South Africa. Since most students eventually pursued academic studies in South Africa, the total curriculum was geared to prepare students for the South African system.

Government Notice No. 4 of 1944 provided for the election of European school committees on which the District Commissioner served as Chairman. Notice No. 4 specified the following duties and powers of these local school committees:

- (1) Appointment, payment, and dismissal of teachers.
- (2) Proper spending of Government grant-in-aid and maintenance

of proper accounts.

- (3) Maintenance of school premises and equipment.
- (4) Provision of textbooks and other educational requisites for pupils.
- (5) Securing board and lodging for teachers.
- (6) Committees were empowered to refuse admission to any child whom they did not think it in the best interest of the school to admit.²⁴

Professional control of the European schools remained the responsibility of the Director of Education.

European education was financed by Government grant-in-aid, quarterly school fees, and funds raised from the local community. Government provided funds for some recurrent expenses and matched, on a one-for-one basis, money raised for capital expenditure. Pupils enrolled in school paid a quarterly school fee of £-.10- which was used for the purchase of school books and equipment, repair of buildings, and supplements for teachers' salaries. In 1945 Government allotted £ 14,925 for primary education in Bechuanaland as follows: £ 8,766 for Africans, £ 6,054 for Europeans, and £ 605 for coloureds.

Four small schools served the 198 coloured children of the Protectorate. Approximately 50 percent of the pupils studied in Sub A and Sub B and only five students enrolled in Std V, the highest standard offered in coloured primary schools in 1945.

Coloured schools used the same syllabus as the European school, except that Afrikaans was the mode of instruction up to and including Std II. Since most of the students spoke Afrikaans at home, the schools found it necessary to use the language as the medium of instruction.

Five coloured teachers were employed to teach the pupils, but only two of these teachers were qualified. The Director of Education explained the situation as:

It is extremely difficult to secure the services of suitably qualified coloured teachers for these remote schools which serve small, poor, and largely indifferent groups of culturally isolated people. . . With few exceptions, the quality of work done is no better than in the rudimentary African schools.²⁵

The Directors of Education for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland met and discussed the difficulties associated with primary education. The Directors concluded: "All three territories are confronted with serious problems concerning financing of education since it is clear local resources are inadequate to meet full-scale recurrent expenses." The Directors discussed the possible impact of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. They felt that the introduction of school fees would be detrimental to educational growth.²⁶ Colonial Development and Welfare Funds had provided for the erection of the first middle school in Bechuanaland which opened in Kanye on 16 April 1946; and the fund paid the salaries of a newly appointed Homecrafts Education Officer and Agricultural Education Officer.

Some tribal authorities worked to improve the educational standards of primary school by increasing the tax levy on local residents. Chief Bathoen II increased the levy from three to five shillings "primarily to provide the means to meet the acute shortage of teachers."²⁷ The Batlokwa also raised their levy from five to eight shillings.

As tribal authorities increased their contribution for primary education, the Department of Education drafted and submitted to the

Advisory Board for African Education a consolidated proclamation. This proclamation, patterned after legislation in East and West Africa, recommended the eventual introduction of compulsory education for all racial groups, empowered the Resident Commissioner to vary the membership of education committees, and enabled the Education Department to establish its own schools. The draft proclamation clarified the role of mission and private schools. The Advisory Board approved the draft in principle and set up committees to consider various amendments. However, the African Advisory Council, composed mainly of tribal chiefs, opposed the new ideas because they suspected that the powers of the Tribal School Committees and the chiefs would be curtailed.

The debate on the value of management of primary education by Tribal School Committees centered on two issues. First, control of education fell into the hands of people without professional knowledge or training and gave "too much" responsibility to the District Commissioner and the Chief. On the other hand, local control ensured a high degree of genuine local interest, forced the people to pay for the improvement of their own education, and provided training in committee work and financial management. The inability of the African Advisory Council and the Department of Education to resolve the dilemma forced the draft proclamation to be shelved.²⁸

In 1947, approximately four thousand school children converged on Lobatse from all parts of Bechuanaland to welcome and honor Their Majesties, the King and Queen of England, and their Royal Highnesses, Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret. Children bedecked in the uniforms of Guides, Scouts, Brigades, and schools lined the royal parade route.

Following the royal visit, Bechuanaland received a £ 58,000 grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund to support an eight-year educational development program. In a matching grant to the Lobatse European School £ 3,500 were provided for buildings and equipment; £ 4,000 were granted to build a European school at Ghanzi "to remove the danger of illiteracy among European children in one of the most remote areas of Southern Africa"; £ 5,500 were added to African bursaries to make post-primary training available to more students; and the remaining £ 45,000 were utilized to build a teacher training college, develop agricultural and homecrafts education, and promote various social welfare activities.²⁹

Tshekedi Khama, acting Regent of the Bamangwato, criticized the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government for its "unfair" distribution of funds between African and European education. In his letter dated 14 December 1948 to the High Commissioner, Tshekedi Khama pointed out that the administration paid £ 3,400 for teachers' salaries and transportation costs for 330 European children, or the equivalent of £ 10 per annum per European school child. In African schools not under the control of Tribal School Committees, Government spent £ 1,294 for 544 African children, or about £ 2 per annum per African school child not in tribal schools. In those African schools under Tribal School Committees, Government contributed £ 25,036 for the education of 17,450 African school children, or approximately £ 1, 11s 7d per annum for each African child attending a tribal school. Tshekedi also cited the matching grants given to European schools for the erection of new buildings while the entire burden of African school construction usually fell

on the people.³⁰

Tshekedi added that Government granted £ 8,966 to all European education, including bursaries, and £ 26,330 to all African education. In other words, Government spent £ 19 per annum on European children and £ 1, 11s 8d per annum on African children. Tshekedi concluded his letter by saying:

Though professedly Native interests should come first in Bechuanaland, we find that in the Protectorate the education of African children is starved whilst the education of the European children is fed in full.³¹

The European Advisory Council continually argued for improvement of the standards in European education and urged Government to assume responsibility for free and compulsory education for all white children. Government responded by making the Lobatse European School a Government School on 1 April 1949. The Council recommended in 1953 that all European schools be abolished and replaced by Government Schools and that eventually this policy be extended to African schools. Government took over the European school at Ghanzi in 1953. Due to increasing difficulties experienced by European children in finding places in South African schools and the problems local school committees encountered in recruiting teachers, Government assumed control of all European schools in 1955. The salaries and conditions of service were equalized in all of these schools and the Education Department recruited and hired teachers for these schools for white children.³²

Because the British Government assumed that Bechuanaland would eventually be absorbed into the Union of South Africa, the colonial administration spent as "little as possible" for African education until

the mid 1950s.³³ The colonial administration viewed

. . . African primary education as an end in itself. . . the curriculum was designed to produce good clerks and junior officers who spoke and wrote English, but not too well, and adopted their life styles to live as good British colonial men lived, but not too close to them.³⁴

In the early 1950s large numbers of children roamed around the village or remained at the cattlepost. Parents were not the least bit concerned about their children missing school.³⁵ Approximately 15 percent of the school-age children enrolled in schools; and those who attended often appeared on an irregular basis. Parents kept students out of school to plow, weed, and herd cattle because the economic and social traditions depended heavily upon children to help with the herding, farming, and domestic chores. In the Tati territory, Francistown vicinity, pupils developed a system of attendance whereby brothers and sisters came to school on alternative days or weeks and shared the information and chores with each other. In the Tati territory the average attendance was 60 percent of those primary students enrolled.³⁶ School attendance among the Bamangwato dropped as nine schools closed and buildings deteriorated as a result of the shifting population, lack of staff, and general instability resulting from the tribal dispute over Seretse Khama and the chieftainship.

The average age at which children entered the first year of primary school (Sub A) in 1950 was thirteen for boys and eleven and one-half for girls. There were 294 students who were sixteen or more years old when they entered. "Overage students tended to lose interest quickly because of the level of the material and left school after a year or

two."³⁷ In the rural areas, many children lived five to eight miles from the schools. Students left home at 6 a.m., carrying a one-pint bottle of water which was often shared with friends. The students walked barefoot across the veld because no transportation was available. The student spent the entire day in school--generally without food--and returned home in the late afternoon or early evening.³⁸

When a pupil living in a rural area completed Std II or Std IV and wanted to continue his schooling, he faced the problem of finding accommodations in a village. The child and his parents tried to locate relatives or friends who lived near a school in the village and would provide the student with lodging. Those children who left school before Std IV returned to the cattleposts, villages, or went off to the South African mines and "quickly lost the benefits of schooling."³⁹

School facilities varied considerably between rural and urban areas and among the various Tribal School Committees. In Ngamiland the only classroom block that had an iron roof and cement walls in 1954 was located in Maun. Most of the other buildings were combination church and school. White ants attacked most buildings; the buildings seldom lasted five years. In rural Ngamiland most classes met in the open air.⁴⁰

In the Northeast, most tribal schools were built of mud with thatched roofs. The windows were "big enough to allow a rat through" and the rooms were very, very dark inside. The head teacher huddled with two groups of students in one corner while a female assistant teacher taught the sub-standard classes in another corner. Frequently, no buildings existed, so classes were conducted under the trees.⁴¹

In the Kalahari, schools were built of wooden sticks stuck in the ground and covered by dry Kalahari grass. The opening into the classroom was barely wide enough for an average man to pass. Unqualified teachers taught the classes. However, one headman built a burnt brick school and covered it with a corrugated iron roof. This school was the only one which taught students the craft of treating and preparing animal skins.⁴²

The Batlokwa and Bamalete 'were impoverished. The percentage of school-going children in these areas was the highest in the Protectorate because adequate grazing and farming areas were not available.'⁴³

The Director of Education praised the work of school committees among the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, and Bakgatla. He commented on the improvement in facilities and the efforts of the tribes to bring quality education to their children.⁴⁴

Children began their school day with an assembly and opening religious exercises. After assembly, health and cleanliness inspections were made. Unclean children were sent home to wash and return, while those with tattered shirts or pants had to have them mended before they returned to class. The course of instruction concentrated on religious knowledge, arithmetic, writing, English, and Setswana. Teachers usually presented the background of the lesson, gave several illustrations and read the lesson aloud. Students read the lessons individually. When each pupil had read the lesson, the teacher explained it again and asked if the students had any questions. The teacher tested the children to insure that they had mastered the material.⁴⁵

Miss Chiepe, Assistant Education Officer in the Bamangwato,

reported, "Lady teachers come and go at an alarming rate which creates chaos in the classrooms."⁴⁶ The rapid turnover of teachers caused children to lose interest in school and increased the already irregular attendance patterns.

Teachers taught mechanically. They knew little about planning, records, instruction, or child development. When students made mistakes they were usually "caned"; that is, teachers hit them across the hands with a stick. Light punishment consisted of standing on one leg with arms extended for thirty minutes. Every time the student moved he was "caned". Older students dug up big trees or large rocks as their punishment. Corporal punishment was the rule. Naughty students were also required to work for the head teacher on Saturday. Discipline provided the incentive for learning, and teachers ruled with the threat of fear.⁴⁷

African Supervisors of Schools tried to foster the cooperation and support of local headmen and parents for educational development. The supervisors explained the need for education and encouraged local communities to construct new schools and improve existing ones. Teachers were trained in the proper methods of teaching, planning, making scheme books, and urged to follow the timetable. These African Supervisors were responsible for most of the in-service training of teachers during the period 1945 through 1965.

African Supervisors worked closely with the Education Officers to improve education. In 1953 Miss Chiepe was appointed Education Officer. She became the first African Education Officer. Miss Chiepe commented on the general state of education as follows:

English, Setswana, arithmetic, and religious knowledge are the only subjects taught in some schools. . . general neglect of all but the most utilitarian knowledge makes school a rather dreary experience for most pupils and leads to high wastage.⁴⁸

In 1954, Mr. Kuschke, Education Officer for southern Bechuanaland, completed a survey of shortages in primary education in his area. The shortages were as follows:⁴⁹

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Classrooms</u>	<u>Desks (single)</u>	<u>Cupboards</u>	<u>Chairs</u>
Bakgatla	15	34	1,178	41	22
Bakwena	12	57	1,489	46	24
Bamalete	1	7	216	6	1
Bangwaketse	16	51	1,655	59	59
Batlakwa	3	10	376	10	4
Kgalagadi	1	15	409	12	2
Total	48	174	5,323	176	112

After the survey was complete, definite developmental plans were drawn up by tribal groups to improve education in their areas. For example, the Bangwaketse planned to spend £ 14,730 over the following five years to meet the minimum standards; and the Bakwena budgeted £ 18,300 for educational improvement. These contributions increased their budgets by almost 50 percent. The Commission on Schools in the southern Bechuanaland Protectorate reported:

The four tribes have given a clear indication of their determination not to shirk the educational obligations entrusted to them in 1938. . . It is questionable however with their resources whether they will be able to cope with an ever increasing educational development. It appears that government will need to increase the percentage contribution to African Treasuries.⁵⁰

Between 1954 and 1957, Tribal School Committees constructed 175 permanent type classrooms. These burnt brick walled and corrugated iron roofed schools replaced some of the mud and thatch schools and provided

large windows to allow more light into the classrooms. By 1957, some tribes spent as much as 75 percent of their treasuries for education. The average contribution amounted to 52 percent. Government finally accepted the 1954 recommendation of the Commission for Schools in the southern Bechuanaland Protectorate and the requests of tribal committees. Government increased the taxes to £ 2, doubled the amount returned to tribal treasuries, urged better mineral concessions, and encouraged improved tax collections. In addition, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund contributed £ 35,000 for primary school construction and equipment in the Bamangwato because of the heavy tribal expenditure incurred in building a secondary school--Moeng College.

During the period 1954-1960 of increased financial expenditure and expansion of facilities and equipment, primary school enrolment increased 75 percent. The following figures showed the growth in African primary schooling between 1945 and 1960:⁵¹

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of schools	134	139	152	200
No. of students	21,139	16,322	20,475	35,590
No. of girls	13,481	10,371	12,711	20,976
No. of boys	7,658	5,951	7,764	14,614
% school-age children attending primary school	17	15	17	25

The number of primary schools gradually increased from 134 in 1945 to 152 in 1955, or slightly less than two schools per year. However, the number of primary schools jumped from 152 to 200 between 1955 and 1960. Almost ten new primary schools were erected each year between 1955 and 1960 to help serve the increased enrollment of 8,265 students. Enrollment dropped almost 25 percent between 1945 and 1950, increased

20 percent between 1950 and 1955, and swelled 75 percent between 1955 and 1960.

The percentage of school-age children attending primary school gradually increased from approximately 17 percent in 1945 to approximately 25 percent in 1960. Parents gradually had become convinced of the value of sending their children to primary school. "Parents were finally persuaded by the efforts of African Supervisors of Schools, chiefs, and missionaries that education was a good thing."⁵²

The number of boys attending primary school almost doubled between 1945 and 1960. However, boys represented only 41 percent of the total primary school enrollment in 1960 as compared with 37 percent in 1945. The pastoral herding practices of the Bechuana accounted for the pre-dominance of girls over boys in African primary schools.

Accompanying the growth in primary school students was an increase in the number of trained and untrained primary school teachers. The following figures illustrated the growth:⁵³

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of Teachers	378	484	609	1113
Trained	136	221	302	597
Untrained	242	263	307	516
% Trained	36	46	50	54
Student-Teacher Ratio	56:1	34:1	34:1	32:1

The numbers of primary school teachers nearly tripled in the fifteen years between 1945 and 1960, with the greatest growth occurring in the last five years (1955-1960). At the same time, the percent of teachers who had completed primary school, received at least two additional years of professional training, and passed a professional examination

increased from 36 percent in 1945 to 54 percent in 1960. Between 1955 and 1960 schools were "flooded" with applications from trained South African teachers fleeing the Bantu Education Act. The committees hired many of these South African teachers, which enabled the primary schools to have more qualified teachers to teach the rapidly expanding number of pupils.⁵⁴

The student-teacher ratio decreased from 56:1 in 1945 to 34:1 in 1950 to 32:1 in 1960. The decrease between 1950 and 1960 occurred in spite of the fact that enrollment more than doubled. Because of the nature of Bechuanaland, some teachers in the large schools on the eastern rail line taught classes of seventy to one hundred students while others in the western Kalahari taught ten to sixteen students.⁵⁵

Only 4 percent of the students who started Sub A in 1945 finished primary school eight years later. Eleven percent of those who began primary school in 1950 finished in 1957; and 19 percent of the students who entered Sub A in 1955 finished primary school in 1963. Of those who started in 1960, 22 percent finished in 1966. These figures demonstrated that the percentage of students who entered and finished primary school increased from 4 percent in 1945 to 22 percent in 1960. More students remained to complete primary school and fewer students dropped out of primary in 1960 than ever before.⁵⁶

The results of the Primary School Leavers' Examination reflected the following:⁵⁷

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of Candidates	372	358	471	750
Total Passes	213	157	278	382
% Passing	57	41	57.8	50.9

Approximately the same percentage of students passed the examination in 1945 as did in 1955, even though 14 percent more qualified teachers taught in primary school in 1955. Slightly over half of the students passed the examination in 1960, which reflected a gradual decline in the success of the Primary School Leavers' Examination between 1955 and 1960.⁵⁸

European and coloured education grew during the period 1945 to 1960 as illustrated by the following:⁵⁹

European Primary Education 1945-1960

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of Schools	11	11	9	9
No. of Students	182	246	330	411
No. of Girls	82	129	148	185
No. of Boys	100	117	182	226

Coloured Primary Education 1945-1960

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of Schools	4	3	5	5
No. of Students	198	169	210	286
No. of Girls	102	82	109	171
No. of Boys	96	87	101	115

Enrollment increased from 182 to 411 students in the European schools between 1945 and 1960. In addition to the figures shown, approximately 100 white students left primary school in Bechuanaland at the end of Stds III and V to study in South Africa or Rhodesia. The number of coloured children attending primary school rose from 198 in 1945 to 286 in 1960. Seven coloured children entered Std VI classes in 1955 and 1960. Almost 50 percent of coloured children remained in sub-standard classes during the entire period.⁶⁰

The number of trained and untrained teachers in European and

coloured primary school expanded as indicated by the following figures:

European Primary School Teachers 1945-1960⁶¹

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of Teachers	14	14	19	27
Trained	11	11	17	25
Untrained	3	3	2	2
% Trained	79	79	89	93
Student-Teacher Ratio	13:1	15.5:1	17:1	18:1

Coloured Primary School Teachers 1945-1960⁶²

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
No. of Teachers	5	6	11	12
Trained	2	3	5	5
Untrained	3	3	6	7
% Trained	40	50	45	42
Student-Teacher Ratio	40:1	28:1	19:1	23:1

By 1960, 93 percent of the white teachers were qualified and these teachers taught in classes with approximately eighteen students. Forty-two percent of the coloured teachers were qualified by 1960 and they taught approximately twenty-three students in each class. These figures compared to those of thirty-four students in African primary school classes.⁶³

Results for the Std VI Primary School Leavers' Examination were not available for coloured school children during most of the period 1945 through 1960. European examination results varied from 74 percent passing in 1945 to 100 percent passing in 1960. However, the majority of European children left primary school in Bechuanaland for South Africa or Rhodesia prior to Std VI classes.

Recurrent expenses expressed in £, for primary education in Bechuanaland between 1945 and 1960 were:

Recurrent Expenditures for Primary Education⁶⁴

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>
African	24,802	29,107	71,839	179,204
European	6,054	11,214	16,639	48,741
Coloured	820	993	1,359	6,518
Total	31,676	41,314	88,837	234,463

The majority of expenditures for recurrent expenses paid teachers' salaries. The expenditures for recurrent expenses multiplied approximately seven times between 1945 and 1960. Beginning in 1954, the Colonial Government increased their contributions to the tribal treasuries and began to provide substantial grants for primary education. Between 1955 and 1960 recurrent expenditures increased by over £ 146,000.⁶⁵

In 1960, Government and local authorities spent £ 48,741 for the education of 411 European primary school children, £ 119 per white child; Government and tribal treasuries spent approximately £ 179,204 for 35,590 African primary school children, £ 5 per African child; Government and tribal treasuries contributed approximately £ 6,518 for 286 coloured children, £ 23 per coloured child.

In 1960 the Primary School Leavers' Examination eliminated the paper on religious knowledge. This action marked the beginning of a series of syllabus and examination revisions which led to publication of the Primary Schools Syllabuses of the Department of Education of the Republic of Botswana on 1 January 1969 and the introduction of the new Std VII examination by the Regional Testing and Resource Center in 1970.

Government appointed a syllabus committee which represented various educational interests in Bechuanaland. In May 1961 the committee

began work to produce a common syllabus suitable for use in schools serving all racial groups but recognizing the inherent difficulties of teaching English as a second language. In the higher classes, the syllabi for English were identical and designed to prepare pupils of all racial groups to be equally proficient in English.⁶⁶ The committee produced a draft syllabus which was introduced into the primary schools in 1963. Mrs. Williams of the University of London assisted the syllabus revision committee of 1964. This revision led to the Draft Syllabus of 1967. Revisions of the 1967 syllabus resulted in the 1969 School Syllabuses for Primary Schools in Botswana.

In previous syllabi, subjects had been arranged into rather fixed schedules. The syllabi prescribed given amounts of time to the subject matter in every standard. In fact, during the 1950s and early 1960s, "if an Education Officer examined your scheme book and timetable and found you to be doing arithmetic when you should have been doing English, the rock of Heaven came down on your poor head."⁶⁷

Under the 1969 Syllabus,^{*} Stds I and II had no formal timetable but were given guidelines in the syllabus for daily programs. Setswana remained the language of instruction through Std II, except in the English medium schools which used English as the language of instruction. Students in the Setswana medium schools made the gradual transition to English as the language of instruction by Stds V, VI, and VII.

The time for religious and moral instruction decreased from four hours per week to one hour per week and was not an examination subject.

^{*}Appendix E

The Cape Syllabus, in use during the 1940s and 1950s, devoted between four and seven and one-half hours per week to gardening and manual training, whereas the 1969 Syllabus gave one and one-half hours per week to agricultural science only in Stds VI and VII. Few teachers were qualified in agricultural science, and instruction was often neglected. In a nation anxious to reactivate the rural agricultural sector of its society, the syllabus neglected the importance of agricultural education. This was a severe limitation of the syllabus.⁶⁸ However, the 1969 Syllabus devoted more time to nature study and science than in any previous syllabus. Teachers' guides and a revised list of approved and recommended textbooks accompanied the 1969 Syllabus. Although the guides were slow in reaching teachers in the primary schools, these guides provided needed resource material for the teachers in the field.

A careful examination of syllabi revisions between 1960 and 1969 led to the following conclusions about syllabi changes: increased use of English in the classroom, more application of materials to Botswana, greater emphasis on mathematics, careful attention to the timetable, more science instruction and less manual training, and a decrease in time allotted to religious and moral studies.

The academic orientation of the 1969 Primary School Syllabus contradicted President Khama's "need to diversify the education."⁶⁹ The syllabus required equipment, particularly in science, which districts did not have and teachers were not prepared to use. "This syllabus must produce children who pass Standard VII examinations and this demands a strong academic focus which brings the discovery-inquiry

methods under criticism."⁷⁰ Mrs. Chiepe, Senior Education Officer in charge of primary education, said:

The syllabus is the best we've ever had but it is not really geared to our way of life. . . there is a great need for practical subjects. . . things that will be useful to the students in their life. . . the syllabus needs to be geared to the lands because 75 percent of the students will get back to the lands.⁷¹

As the syllabus revision proceeded during the 1960s, many other significant changes occurred in primary education. In 1962 Government began to progressively reduce the maximum age of first admission to primary school. This age had been set at eighteen by the 1938 Proclamation and led to the situation of having young men and women over twenty attending Std I and II classes with nine and ten year olds. The older students often found the lesson uninteresting and a source of embarrassment.

The maximum entry age for 1962 was set at thirteen, with a further reduction of one year in entry age in each succeeding calendar year until the maximum entry age reached age nine in 1966. A grace period operated during 1962, 1963, and 1964 whereby children of all ages were admitted. The maximum entry age was reduced to eight years in 1967, and Government planned to reduce the age to seven in 1968. However, Government recognized the difficulty which five, six, and seven year olds encountered walking to rural schools which frequently were five or six miles from a child's home. Therefore, the maximum entry age was set at eight plus years; that is, a child who had not yet reached his ninth birthday was eligible for admission to primary school.

Government also reduced the minimum entry age to five in 1965.

Any child who was five or had not yet reached nine was eligible for admission to primary school in 1967. This policy forced children to begin primary school earlier, thereby lowering the age at which students entered the growing number of secondary schools. The policy also meant that many students left primary school at the age of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen with little prospect of further schooling or immediate work.

In 1964 Government passed the Teaching Service Law which established a Unified Teaching Service. Under the conditions of this law, all teachers were members of this common service, and Government posted teachers to Government and nonGovernment schools. Salaries and conditions of service were uniform throughout the country and based upon the qualifications of the individuals. The establishment of this service reduced anomalies between districts and gave the Department of Education greater control over the staffing and quality of primary education.

The race consciousness of southern Africa dictated the support and maintenance of three separate racial school programs until 1964. A committee appointed to study racial discrimination in Bechuanaland recommended the abandonment of classification of schools according to race. The Legislative Council approved Circular No. 39 of 1963, which stated: "From 1964 all schools in the Bechuanaland Protectorate maintained by public funds are open to children of any race."⁷² In January 1964 Government officially established a nonracial system of education designed to serve the multiracial nature of Bechuanaland. This policy brought "shock and dismay" to many of the Afrikaaner farmers at

Ghanzi.⁷³ These white farmers closed the school, which was not yet opened in 1970, and sought places for their children in schools in Namibia, Southwest Africa.

Government classified primary schools as either English-medium schools or Setswana-medium schools, depending upon the initial language of instruction used. Government also reduced the primary school course from eight to seven years in 1964. The first year of primary school was called Std I and the last year, Std VII.

The Legislative Council of Bechuanaland enacted Education Law 1966 on 14 September 1966. This law was the first legislative law governing education in Bechuanaland since Proclamation No. 26 of 1938 legally established the pattern of school governance. Education Law 1966 prescribed the following: the duties, responsibilities, and powers of the Minister and Director of Education; the duties and responsibilities of Local Educational Authorities; regulations governing the establishment, maintenance, and control of all schools; regulations concerning the employment of teachers, establishment of fees, and inspections of schools; and a system of appeals to all people associated with education.⁷⁴

Prior to 1965, Tribal School Committees assumed responsibility for nonprofessional operation of all primary schools as well as the financing of recurrent costs for primary education. Funds spent for primary education during the 1960s varied from 52 percent to 75 percent of the expenditures by tribal treasuries. With independence, local government shifted from exclusively tribal councils to town or district councils elected by the population. After full deliberations, Government

decided that there would be no advantage to changing the nonprofessional control of primary schools to Government. Consequently, nonprofessional control of primary schools was the responsibility of district or town councils and education committees.

The financial responsibility for primary education belonged with district councils. This placed a heavy burden on all districts, but especially the poorer ones. In 1969 the nine district councils spent £631,705 for education out of their total recurrent expenditures of £858,248, or approximately seventy-four percent of their total budgets. The burden of financing primary education during this period of rapid growth remained with local authorities.

The Education (Fees) Regulations of 1967 prescribed that school fees of 6 Rands, £3,* per annum be charged for tuition to all primary schools except the English-medium primary schools in which every child paid a fee of 36 Rands, £18, per annum. When town and district councils were created in 1966, responsibility for the 6 Rand schools and 36 Rand schools was handed over to the councils. Immediately, the Town Councils encountered difficulty in recruiting teachers from abroad because overseas agencies dealt only with central governments. The difficulties of recruiting teachers for the 36 Rand schools, the necessity of providing "suitable" educational facilities to attract expatriate expertise, and Botswana's international obligation of making educational facilities available to the diplomatic corps prompted Government to take over these 36 Rand English-medium schools in 1970.⁷⁵

*2 Rands = £1 = \$2.89

Mr. Mothagodi, M.P.* from Mochudi, condemned this action and charged Government with introducing unequal and elitest racial educational policy.⁷⁶ Mr. Thema, Minister of Education, pointed out that the schools were open to members of all races who could afford the fees, and stated that 150 of the 381 students enrolled at Gaborone were Botswana citizens and 109 of the 177 students at Lobatse were citizens.⁷⁷ Parliament affirmed its earlier decision and control of these English-medium schools belonged to the Ministry of Education as of 1970.

The results of a study completed for the Director of Education in 1967 showed 16 percent of the primary school students dropped out of school each year; 22 percent were retained and repeated a standard each year; and only 62 percent were promoted. Of every 1000 students who entered primary school, 30 percent reached Std VII in the following time: 5.3 percent after seven years, 8.5 percent after eight years, and 9.2 percent after ten years. Of the 310 who reached Std VII, only 35 percent (108) passed the Primary School Leavers' Examination.⁷⁸ These results led Government to introduce automatic promotion for all primary school students, except in "rare" cases, in 1968. Government felt that automatic promotion reduced wastage, created positive self-concepts, helped reduce overcrowding in the lower levels, and lowered the cost of primary education.⁷⁹

Because the provision of additional facilities had not kept pace with the rapidly rising enrollments, many classes along the eastern rail line were very large and crowded. Government decided to reduce this

*Member of Parliament

overcrowding by introducing a policy that no teacher taught a class of more than forty-five pupils at one time. Oversized classes were divided into two groups. Each attended for a half session.

In 1969 approximately 50 percent of the school-age children attended primary school. Five-year old children as well as children who had not reached nine entered Std I. The median age of students in Std I was 7.9 years for both boys and girls. Approximately 37 percent of all primary school students were enrolled in the first two years of primary school.

The number of students older than thirteen enrolled in Std I and II classes decreased from 5,326 in 1960 to only 340 in 1969. Automatic promotion and the reduction of school entry age caused this decline. The percentage of boys enrolled in primary schools increased to 48 percent, but the girls still outnumbered the boys and represented 52 percent of the school population.

"Parents of the pupils have started to appreciate the significance of education."⁸⁰ Many parents sacrificed to raise the six Rand (£ 3) fee to send their children to school. Since Independence, parents and communities worked together under Ipelqeng--self-help projects--to build classroom blocks, libraries, and teachers' houses.⁸¹ In fact, between 1968 and 1969 communities under self-help projects or in co-operation with the Peace Corps School Partnership Program constructed seventy-five new classrooms. The Education Officer of the Bangwaketse reported that thirty-three nonregistered schools operated "in smaller areas to better serve the people. . . Most of the teachers were unqualified; but parents wanted their children to have a chance for

education."⁸²

The author of this paper, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, conducted a survey of teachers and headteachers in all the districts of Botswana. Questionnaires* were posted to teachers by the Education Officers. Those teachers who were surveyed described the conditions under which schooling was administered.

A few primary schools were built of burnt brick and covered with commercial roofing. These modern facilities--usually located in major towns--had many windows in the classroom which allowed light to easily enter the rooms. A few other town schools were constructed of prefabricated metal and hardboard material and were equipped with latrines. Most of the schools in villages consisted of 27' x 15' classrooms built of concrete wall slabs or cement-sand-clay bricks covered with a corrugated iron roof. The walls of these schools were usually whitewashed. Many schools outside the villages are built from mud bricks and covered with either corrugated iron or grass thatch roofs. Some schools in the remote areas consisted of wooden poles covered with mud and thatched with savannah grasses.

"School buildings are for the most part poorly fitted for the purpose they serve." Of the 280 schools, 103 accommodated all their classes; 110 housed 50 percent or more; sixty-four provided classrooms for less than 50 percent; and three schools had no classrooms.⁸³ The Khama Memorial School in Serowe, the largest town in Botswana, conducted twelve classes in classrooms and fourteen under the trees. Teachers sat at tables and wrote material on the blackboard. Students sat on

*Appendices No. A and No. B.

the ground, grasped their notebooks tightly to avoid the gusty winds blowing them about, and listened to the teacher. The sharp clicking of a student's fingers occasionally interrupted the class, indicating a student wished to be recognized and answer a question. The student stood before he answered a question.⁸⁴

Even where classrooms existed, the basic services such as water supplies and latrines needed to teach elementary hygiene were not available; that is, only 372 latrines existed for 82,214 pupils. Only 41,000 students had a desk or bench available for their use. Teaching aids and supplies were simply not available. For example, at Khama Memorial School not a single teacher's handbook for the new syllabus was available.

Of the 280 primary schools, 130 offered the full seven years of primary schools and eighty-four offered no more than Std IV instruction. There were 1,301 classrooms available for 2,016 primary school classes. In order to alleviate the overcrowding caused by the rapid influx of students during the 1960s, Government decided in 1967 that no teacher should teach more than 45 students at one time. Some larger classes were divided into smaller classes, and students attended for one-half sessions. In 1969 teachers conducted 154 half-sessions. Because of imbalance in population density, 89 classes held less than twenty students; 16 classes were larger than eighty students; and 349 teachers taught classes of between fifty and seventy-nine students.⁸⁵

Children, dressed in their school uniforms, began most school days by assembling in a courtyard in front of the school. One teacher read the scriptures, gave devotions, and made announcements. Class teachers

generally inspected their pupils for uncombed hair, dirty or torn uniforms and clean hands and feet. Students then marched off to class behind their teachers. At some schools, such as Tatitown School in Francistown and Camp School in Gaborone, students performed special dances and rhythm exercise at assemblies.⁸⁶

Students either pursued their education in classrooms or outside under the blue skies. The students' desks were lined in rows facing a table where the teacher sat, talked, discussed, or rose to write lessons on the blackboard. Outside, students gathered under a shady tree, formed a semicircle facing the teacher, and usually sat two or three deep, writing in their notebooks. Mathematics was usually the first subject presented. Some teachers used the drill, recite, and write-in-your-notebooks approach. A few used charts, mobiles, and models to help the students grasp the material. A few others tried presenting problems to the group and working individually with pupils as they did the problems. A headteacher commented: "Most of the teachers are reluctant in putting the new education ideas into practice. They tend to teach as they were taught and fail to apply the training or ideas they received at training colleges."⁸⁷

Occasionally, the radio provided an English language lesson, an experiment and discussion on friction, a history reading lesson, or one of the other twenty-six weekly lessons that Radio Botswana beamed across the country. Unfortunately, reception in the rural areas was not always audible.

The normal school day ended with the students cleaning up the room, sweeping the floor, and being dismissed. School met five days per week

with approximately five and one-half hours of class per day.

Teachers carefully followed the timetable and tried to ensure that students mastered the material because eventually the Std VII examination measured their success. Work in Stds VI and VII focused upon revision of most of the previous work completed in primary school. The purpose was to prepare students to successfully pass the examination.

Table E showed the results of the 1969 School Leavers' Examination:

TABLE E: PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS' EXAMINATION RESULTS 1969⁸⁸

<u>Grades and Meaning</u>	<u>No. of Candidates</u>			<u>Percentage</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>
A-Good	142	70	212	5	3	4
B-Above Average	547	424	971	20	15	18
C-Average	1069	1787	3396	59	65	62
D-Below Average	437	474	911	16	17	16
Total	2735	2755	5490	100	100	100

In 1967 Government abolished the concept of pass and fail on the examination and issued certificates to all Std VII leavers grouped into the following grades: A-Good - 70% and over; B-Above Average - 60 to 69%; C-Average - 50 to 59%; and D-Below Average - below 50%. Table E showed that 18 percent of the students earned grade A or B passes. A grade A or B pass was necessary for admission to most secondary schools. The vast majority--62 percent-- of the students earned grade C passes; and 16 percent of the Std VII leavers earned grade D passes.

Mr. Mpho, President of the Botswana Independent Party, stated:

There is a great discrepancy between rural education facilities and urban ones. . . most rural schools don't have decent material. . . in my constituency [northwestern Botswana] there is only one Std VII school. . . urban and rural schools should be brought to more equal positions.⁸⁹

The Education Secretary of the Central District, Bamangwato, added:

. . . teachers don't like to teach in the Kalahari because of the isolation, poor accommodations, lack of medical supplies, irregular transport, and poorly supplied stores. . . It is very hard to keep qualified teachers in the Kalahari schools.⁹⁰

An American researcher, Vengroff, studied the differences in Std VII examination results between rural and urban students in the Kweneng, Bakwena territory. Vengroff compared the Std VII examination results of 248 students in four schools in the town of Molepolole with 266 students in ten rural schools. Table F illustrated the results:

TABLE F: STANDARD VII GRADES URBAN AND RURAL⁹¹

	Standard VII Grades		
	<u>A or B</u>	<u>C or D</u>	
Urban (Molepolole)	137	111	$x^2 = 21.35$ sig. .001
	55.2%	44.8%	
Rural	93	173	
(Outside Molepolole)	35.0%	65.0%	

n = 514

Students from Molepolole performed better at the .001 level of significance than students from the rural areas. Vengroff concluded that students from urban centers earn significantly higher results on the Std VII examination than students from rural schools.⁹²

The provision of facilities, equipment, and supplies remained the responsibility of district and town councils and their respective Education Committees. Government provided councils with financial grants to help cover the costs of teachers' salaries and extraordinary capital expenditures. Funds available for investment in primary education were to be utilized to upgrade the standards and quality of primary education rather than increasing the quantity of education. Policies such

as splitting up large classes, automatic promotion, reduction of school entry age, and better utilization of facilities and staff were the main thrust of Government's actions. Dr. Masire explained the policies as follows:

. . . a greater contribution to the development of the country will be made by one child who is well taught and completes the full primary course of study than by two children, who being only half taught, lose what little they have learned very quickly and relapse into illiteracy.⁹³

Table G showed the growth in primary school enrollment during the 1960s:

TABLE G: PRIMARY SCHOOLS 1960-1969⁹⁴

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>
No. of Schools	214	239	251	280
No. of Students	36,287	54,845	71,546	82,214
No. of Girls	21,332	31,017	39,752	43,680
No. of Boys	14,955	23,828	31,794	38,534
% School-Age Children Attending Primary Schools	25	35*	44*	50*

The number of primary schools increased from 214 in 1960, to 239 in 1963, to 251 in 1966, to 280 in 1969. In 1960 nine mission schools, of which three were aided by Government and six were unaided, provided education for 2,560 children--approximately 7 percent of the primary school children. By 1969 fourteen mission schools, of which nine were aided by Government and five were unaided, served the educational needs of 4,165 students--approximately 5 percent of the primary school pupils. Catholic missionaries operated all but two of the mission schools.

* Reduction in the school entry age which began in 1963 influenced the percentage of school-age children attending primary schools.

Enrollment almost doubled in the six years between 1960 and 1966. After independence, enrollment growth slowed to a rate of 5 percent per annum; and in 1969 and 1970, fewer students entered Std I classes than in the previous year. Some educators attributed the slackening rate of growth to the introduction of school fees. Others believed that the situation provided primary schools with the opportunity to improve the quality of the education offered without the necessity of expanding facilities.⁹⁵

The percentage of school-age children attending primary schools rose from 25 percent in 1960 to 50 percent in 1969.⁹⁶ The doubling of primary school enrollment between 1960 and 1969 accounted for much of this growth. However, Government's reduction in the age ranges--from six to twenty years of age in 1960 to five to fifteen years of age in 1969--used to compute the percentage of school-age children attending primary school accounted for some of the 50 percent figure in 1969.

The number of girls attending primary school doubled between 1960 and 1969, while the number of boys in primary schools increased two and three-quarter times. Boys represented 48 percent of the total primary school enrollment in 1969, as compared with 41 percent in 1960.

An increase in the number of trained and untrained teachers accompanied the growth in primary school enrollment between 1960 and 1969. Table H displayed the situation as follows:

TABLE H: PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS 1960-1969⁹⁷

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>
No. of Teachers	1152	1310	1673	2037
Trained	627	714	947	1228
Untrained	525	596	726	809
% Trained	54	55	57	60
Student-Teacher Ratio	31:1	42:1	43:1	40:1

The number of primary school teachers increased 77 percent between 1960 and 1969. At the same time, the percent of teachers who had finished primary school, completed at least two additional years of professional training, and passed a professional examination increased from 54 percent in 1960 to 60 percent in 1969. About two-thirds of the trained teachers had completed primary school and received no more than three additional years of professional training in 1969. The remaining one-third of the trained teachers had passed the Junior Certificate or the Cambridge Overseas examination and received at least two years of professional training. Only three trained primary school teachers had earned a university degree or diploma.

The highest level of education completed by 749 of the 809 untrained teachers was the last year of primary school. These untrained teachers had received no professional training. The newly opened teacher-training college at Francistown designed a special program to upgrade these teachers. By 1973, Francistown planned to have completed training for the majority of those untrained teachers. Those teachers who successfully completed the requirements qualified for the Elementary Teachers' Certificate.⁹⁸

The student-teacher ratio increased from 31:1 in 1960 to 40:1 in 1969. Only a decline in the rate of growth of primary school enrollment

after 1966 enabled the student-teacher ratio to stay as low as 40:1 in 1969. Government also introduced split sessions to accommodate classes with more than fifty students.

The following figures reflect the results of the Primary School Leavers' Examination:⁹⁹

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>
No. of Candidates	759	1565	4516	5490
Total Passes	391	805	1543	5490
% Passing	51.5	51.4	34	100

The percentage of students who passed the Primary School Leavers' Examination decreased sharply from 51.4 percent in 1963 to 34 percent in 1966. In 1967 Government introduced a new grading scheme which established four grades of passes and eliminated failures on the examination. From 1967 on, all candidates who sat for the examination passed it and earned their Primary School Leavers' Certificate. However, less than 30 percent of the students who entered primary school in 1963 completed Std VII in 1969.¹⁰⁰

Between 1960 and 1969, recurrent and capital expenses, expressed in £, for primary education in Botswana were:¹⁰¹

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>
Recurrent	234,463	400,982	469,332	708,466
Capital	25,374	13,393	7,000	39,707
Total	259,837	414,375	476,332	748,173

Recurrent expenses more than tripled between 1960 and 1969. District and Town Councils and their Education Committees received income for education expenditures from the following sources in 1969: 46.1 percent from District and Town Council treasuries, 32.5 percent from

school fees, and 21.4 percent from a Government grant designed to help pay for part of the teachers' salaries. Councils spend nearly 77 percent of all recurrent expenses for teachers' salaries.¹⁰²

The decade 1960 through 1969 marked unprecedented increases in funds spent for primary education, the number of students attending primary schools, and the quantity and quality of primary school teachers. The growth was accompanied by a number of Government efforts, such as: reduction of maximum entry age, automatic promotion, split sessions, and syllabi revision. Botswana believed that these efforts improved the quality of the child's educational experience and increased the pool of qualified manpower.¹⁰³ This expansion of primary education occurred in spite of Government policy which stated:

. . . in view of the paucity of funds available for education, these should be concentrated on post primary education and teacher training. Improvements in primary school facilities must be achieved through self-help and using funds raised by local District Councils.¹⁰⁴

In 1960, 314 of 752 students who sat for the Primary School Leavers' Examination secured places for additional educational training in secondary schools, teacher training colleges, or trade schools. By 1969 the number of students successfully passing the Primary School Leavers' Examination swelled to 5490. Of these students, only 1336 gained places in secondary schools and approximately 336 trainees pursued brigade and trade training. Approximately 2582 children left primary school with little prospect of receiving any future training. The situation was further complicated by the fact that many students now finished primary school at thirteen or fourteen years of age, with little or no opportunity for these young children in the job market.

Botswana began to encounter the classic primary school leaver's problem in 1969. Primary school education had neither prepared students for the realities of a rural economy nor the prospects of unemployment in the modern sector of the economy. Many of these school leavers drifted to the large towns, wandered about looking for work, and settled in slums such as Naledi which sprung up on the outskirts of Gaborone and Francistown.¹⁰⁵

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- ²⁶ Annual Report for 1946 (n.p., n.d.), pp. 5-6.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 24.
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- ²⁹ Ibid., pp. 2-3.
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- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² "Report on European Primary Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1936-1952" (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana), Tape 13A 0-7.
- ³³ Halpern, op. cit., p. 277.
- ³⁴ Statement by Gaabacke, op. cit., Tape 14A 0-9.
- ³⁵ Statement by Mothibatsela, personal interview, 18 and 19 November 1970, Tape 18A 60-68.
- ³⁶ Annual Report for the Education Department for 1950 (Johannesburg, South Africa: Automatic Printing Press, [n.d.]), p. 16.
- ³⁷ Statement by Richard Molefe, personal interview, 9 and 11 November 1970, Tape 13A 19-20.
- ³⁸ Statement by Louis Mazhini, personal interview, 2 September 1970, T-1.
- ³⁹ Statement by Makepe, op. cit., Tape 13B 44-51.
- ⁴⁰ Statement by Rev. Jones, personal interview, 23 October 1970, Tape 11B 35-47.

- ⁴¹Statement by Magaga, op. cit., Tape 7B 48-50.
- ⁴²Statement by Mothibatsela, op. cit., Tape 18A 60-65.
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- ⁴⁴Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1950-1954, op. cit.
- ⁴⁵Statement by Magaga, op. cit., Tape 7B 50-53.
- ⁴⁶Annual Report for the Education Department for 1951 (Vryburg, South Africa: Pretorius Brothers [n.d.]), p. 11.
- ⁴⁷Statement by Magaga, op. cit., Tape 7B 52-60.
- ⁴⁸Annual Report for the Education Department for 1953 (n.p., n.d.), p. 17.
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- ⁵⁰'Report of Commission on School in the Southern Protectorate 1954' (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana, 1954), Tape 7A 18-24.
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- ⁵⁸Ibid.
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⁶³ibid.

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⁷⁶Thari Mothagodi, "Equal Treatment for All Primary Schools," motion made at Parliament 31 March 1970.

⁷⁷B. C. Thema, on Mothagodi's Motion, "Equal Treatment for All Primary Schools," op. cit., p. 4.

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⁸⁰Statement by Olopeng Thokweng.
Representative statement on questionnaire, Appendix B.

⁸¹Statement by Mohwasa Christian.
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- ⁸³National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit.
- ⁸⁴Visit to Khama Memorial School, 16 October 1970.
- ⁸⁵Statement Table No. VI 1969 (Ministry of Education: Gaborone).
- ⁸⁶Statement by Butale, op. cit., Tape 5A 6-13.
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- ⁸⁸Statistical Table No. XIX 1969 (Minister of Education: Gaborone).
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Section VII

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945 referred to the new classification scheme for primary schools¹ and introduced the concept of middle schools. The five middle schools served to meet the special requirements of boys and girls during adolescence. The provisional syllabus prescribed the following objectives: "provide instruction suitable for Native adolescents and follow a course intermediate between the primary course and the specialized courses offered in high schools and training colleges."²

Thema described the real purpose of Std VII in the middle schools as making up for the low standard of work in the primary school.³ At the same time, Dumbrell stated that the five middle schools should gradually develop into junior secondary schools providing Stds VII as well as preparing their students for a Junior Certificate.⁴

The middle school curriculum was designed to give special attention to agriculture, technical training, craftwork, and domestic science. The provisional syllabus established the following academic junior secondary course of study: English, Tswana, scripture, elementary mathematics, elementary biology and hygiene, history and geography.⁵

Fifty-nine students were examined at the end of the first year of Std VII, and thirty-one (53 percent) successfully completed the examination. Three passed in the first class, seven in the second class, and

the remainder in the third class.* Of the thirty-one who passed, only ten were girls as contrasted with the overwhelming number of girls in primary schools. Also, of every thousand pupils enrolled in school, less than three reached this level. The Examiner, Mr. B. C. Thema, stated that one could understand the poor quality of performance when one considered the lower standard of achievement in primary schools and the fact that only a few of the teachers in Std VII held a Higher Primary Certificate, while most held only the Primary Lower Certificate.⁷

Approximately 175 students pursued post-primary courses in South Africa and Rhodesia. At Tiger Kloof, the major institution where Bechuana students attended, fifty-five students were enrolled in secondary course work. The following reflected the general impression of principals about Bechuana students upon admission:

On the whole the Protectorate students compare unfavorably with Union or Rhodesian students. . . my general impression is that, due in part to inability to read English, and in part to lack of training, they are unable to do the least study without the teacher at their elbow, explaining every word.⁸

Government devoted almost 10 percent of its recurrent expenditures, £ 1,587, for bursaries for post-primary Bechuana students. Fourteen Bechuana students received bursaries for secondary school studies.

Since no European secondary schools existed within Bechuanaland, most post-primary education for Europeans occurred in South Africa and Rhodesia. Government expended £ 913 for these post-primary bursaries.

*Requirements for third class pass: "50 percent aggregate score with a minimum score of 40 percent in English, math, Tswana, either history or geography, and domestic science, agriculture or biology."⁶

At least thirty-four European students enrolled in secondary schools in South Africa.

In 1946 the Secretary of State approved Tshekedi's proposed cattle levy to build a school where there would be education of the highest level, vocational training in mechanical and agricultural fields, and the beginning of a curriculum to serve all Bechuana. "With equal opportunity the black and white shall live in peace together."⁹ Tshekedi continued, "Development must wait until the people are prepared and able to assume the responsibility. Education must come first and this secondary school is just a beginning to improve the condition of my people."¹⁰

A tribal regiment of nearly three hundred young men cleared the site and began to construct the fifty-mile road to Moeng. They leveled the dusty terrain into a path wide enough for two wagons, and filled the depressions with hand-crushed stone so that wagons would be able to pass in the rainy season. Later, upon order of the chief, the regiment gathered sand and clay and transported them to the brickyard. Here, other members of the regiment mixed the sand, clay, and some cement with water. They then threw this mixture into small wooden molds, leveled the top of the molds, and dumped the formed bricks onto the carrying racks. Other regimental members carried these wet, freshly molded bricks to the drying yards. Here the hot sun baked them into hard, firm bricks ready for use in the construction of classrooms and dormitories. The one million bricks formed the walls of the secondary school at Moeng. Thus, Tshekedi's vision of a secondary school made its beginning.

At the same time, St. Joseph's College--the first secondary school in Bechuanaland--finished developing a full junior secondary course leading to the Junior Certificate. This led the Inspector to state:

The pupil distribution as compared with three years ago represents a great development. . . It represents the only Junior Secondary work in the Protectorate and will undoubtedly be the forerunner of parallel development elsewhere. . . the institution also erected very creditable buildings, adopted a regular service of educational films, inaugurated a four year carpentry course, and installed a more powerful electric plant.¹¹

In 1948 the Bamangwato tribal treasury expended £ 54,846 for capital works at the Bamangwato College. Wagons laden with dressed lumber and other building supplies and driven by regiment drivers regularly transported materials the fifty miles from the railroad to Moeng. Meanwhile, regimental laborers assisted skilled craftsmen in constructing the buildings.

Government Notice No. 25 of 1948 established a Board of Governors who managed the school subject to the approval of the Director of Education. The Board of Governors consisted of eleven members representing Government, the Bamangwato tribe, the L.M.S., the South African Native College, Fort Hare, and the nonofficial Europeans in the area. They held their first meeting on 20 September 1948. They adopted a budget, estimated the revenue, and decided to open the Bamangwato College in January 1949.

In 1948 the first eight students who had completed the junior secondary school work at St. Joseph's sat for the Junior Certificate Examination of the University of South Africa. All eight candidates passed the examination--three in the second class and five in the third class. They were the first Bechuana from a fully accredited secondary

school in the Bechuanaland Protectorate to successfully complete the Junior Certificate.

The following year ten students completed the syllabi for the Junior Certificate of the University of South Africa and sat for the examination. All ten St. Joseph's students passed the examination. The Education Officer offered these comments about St. Joseph's:

. . . the school is well equipped both in heavy equipment and teaching aids. . . The pupils are bright and responsive; the school discipline is firm without being harsh and the tone of the school is generally excellent. . . Every lesson is prepared, with illustrations, and full use is made of the blackboard. . . the impression formed being one of quiet progress in a peaceful atmosphere.¹²

Bamangwato College officially opened in 1949 with an enrollment of 122 students--seventy-two in Stds V and VI, thirty-six in Form I, and fourteen in the trades section. It was immediately beset with the difficulties that perplexed the Bamangwato as they attempted to settle the chieftaincy question.¹³ The first inspection report urged the Bamangwato College to build upon the school's potential contribution to Bechuanaland by admitting members of all tribes in Bechuanaland, to work toward the creation of harmony, productivity, and enlightenment, and to train its students to play an active part in society. The report concluded:

There is a need on one hand to build up resolutely and effectively educational standards of unquestionable merit. . . and moral integrity and discipline, allied to a deep sense of service, right values, loyalty, and habits of industry.¹⁴

Between 1945 and 1950 the Nationalist Party of South Africa progressively made it more difficult for extra-territory students,

including Bechuana, to pursue educational opportunities in South Africa. The rising cost of education and the increased demands of indigenous people forced South Africa to limit access to post-primary institutions. This first took the form of reducing the number of places available, charging higher fees, and not guaranteeing the ability to finish courses which students started. In 1949 South Africa stated that after 1 January 1950 nonUnion students were no longer eligible for bursaries in the Union and would be admitted only on a space-available basis.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the Director of Education reorganized primary education in Bechuanaland in 1949. The former middle schools, which had offered instruction in Stds VII, VIII, and IX, became higher primary schools. These higher primary schools now offered instruction only in Stds V and VI. All post-primary education in Bechuanaland was available only at Kanye Teacher Training Center, St. Joseph's, and the newly opened Bamangwato College.

South African restrictions on Bechuana students, the reclassification of middle schools, and the growing insistence for more education prompted by men who had returned with the Pioneer Corps created a strong demand for more post-primary education. This demand was accompanied by appeals for secondary education at lower costs. The first junior day secondary school answered these demands and opened at Kanye in 1950 with one teacher, Mr. Masire, the present Vice President of Botswana. "We started as twelve disciples."¹⁶ Chief Bathoen II and the Tribal School Committee provided money for the salary of one teacher but gave no provisions for classrooms, books, and supplies. The first classes were held in a hall--King George Memorial Hall. The

school provided an opportunity for students who could not pay the high boarding fees at other schools to live in Kanye and complete the Junior Certificate.

The Junior Certificate was required for admission to various forms of vocational training, including nursing, primary higher teacher training, and various trades. The Junior Certificate was also required for further academic training as well as employment in higher government positions. The junior day secondary school at Kanye afforded more students access to the Junior Certificate and the opportunities which it provided.

Bamangwato College continued to suffer from the unsettled tribal affairs. Construction reached a standstill; instruction occurred in unoccupied dormitories; and staff suffered from the general insecurity. All of these, added to the difficulties associated with any new institution, created an atmosphere of uncertainty and disorganization. The poor examination results (four out of sixteen passed) and the declining enrollment (dropped from 122 to forty-six) reflected the general uncertainty, lack of direction, inadequate financing, and unsatisfactory nature in which Bamangwato College was developing.¹⁷

The Advisory Board for African Education unanimously recommended that Bamangwato College, erected at a cost in excess of £ 130,000 by the Bamangwato, should be taken over and developed as a territorial rather than a tribal institution.¹⁸ The enrollment at Bamangwato College had dropped to forty-six, and a water shortage added to the problems. At their thirty-fourth session, the Advisory Board for African Education further recommended: Bamangwato College become a

territorial college named Moeng College; and the College Council (governing board) be reconstituted to include representatives of other tribes, missionaries in the Protectorate, and members of accredited education groups. They added: Government should meet all recurrent expenditures and provide sufficient funds for needed capital expansion; e.g., additional classrooms.¹⁹

Government reconstituted Bamangwato Tribal Secondary School as a territorial institution--Moeng College--in 1955. On 1 April 1956 the Bamangwato Tribal Authority accepted Government's decision and Moeng College officially became a territorial school.

While Bamangwato College grew, Mochudi followed the example of Kanye, and opened a junior day secondary school in 1951. They used several tribal buildings for their classes.

Chief Kgari Sechele II of the Bakwena wanted to provide educational opportunities for the people of Molepolole similar to those in Kanye and Mochudi. In 1956 he asked Mr. Motlhagodi, a teacher at St. Joseph's, to start a junior day secondary school in Molepolole. Mr. Motlhagodi secured teachers--one graduate teacher, two teachers who had completed Matric, and the rest with Primary Higher Certificates who had completed the Junior Certificate;²⁰ and the school opened in 1956. Kgari Sechele Junior Secondary School fell under the jurisdiction of the local Tribal School Committee, as did Seepapitso Secondary School in Kanye and Isang National School in Mochudi.²¹

In 1954 Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, signed the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which stated:

The paramount principle in the education of the

African child must be to retain the child as a child of his national community, because it is the basic principle of Bantu Education to keep the Bantu child a Bantu child. . . The Bantu must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators but that they will want to remain essentially Bantu.²²

The Bantu Education Act ended new enrollments of Bechuana students in South Africa effective 1 January 1954. However, the South African government permitted presently enrolled students to finish their course of study.

Soon after the Bantu Education Act became law, St. Joseph's and Moeng College prepared to introduce the Joint Matriculation Examination of the University of South Africa. There had been considerable previous discussion about introducing it. The Department of Education mentioned the idea in its annual reports as early as 1948. In 1954 Matriculation classes were introduced at Moeng College and St. Joseph's. The first students sat for the Matriculation Examination of the University of South Africa in 1955. All four students, one of whom was the first Bechuana educated in the Protectorate to earn a First Class pass on the Junior Certificate Examination (1953), failed. In 1956, two of thirteen passed, and by 1960, five of thirteen passed the Matriculation Examination.

Before 1955, "schools were just there. Government didn't take a genuine interest in what occurred within these schools."²³ "The academic training was designed to supply a handful of teachers, clerks, and junior administrators for the colonial government."²⁴

In 1955 the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund made its first grant for secondary schools in Bechuanaland. It gave £ 30,000 to Moeng

College for the construction of two classroom blocks. These two classrooms, completed in 1957, doubled the capacity of Moeng College to 300 students. By 1960 Moeng College received £ 50,000 for additional capital improvement and £ 20,000 annually to meet 80 percent of their recurrent costs. In addition, St. Joseph's College received £ 16,500 to construct a hostel for boys (1959) and a small grant of £ 3,100 to assist in starting a commercial studies course (1958). The Mochudi junior day secondary school received the first grant given to a junior day secondary school. It totalled £ 2,500 and helped construct a classroom block. Finally, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund awarded £ 20,000 to the L.M.S. to assist in locating a suitable site, determining the water resources available, and beginning the construction of a new secondary school offering the full school certificate course.

Very few of the students who entered St. Joseph's College in 1955 had any sound educational background. During the first year the staff taught them the essentials of the primary school syllabus. "You couldn't presume anything about their primary school training; you had to go over the syllabus for the higher primary school."²⁵ Many of the students were older than the staff, and some were over thirty years of age. They obeyed instruction because they had been severely punished in the primary schools. They were extremely well behaved and seldom raised a question. "If you had a Junior Certificate, you were considered to be the most educated person around--a big man. It was a psychological struggle to convince students and their parents of the value of doing Matriculation."²⁶

Students were expected to adhere to all rules. The staff--mostly sisters and brothers--emphasized religion, but did not indoctrinate. "It was uncommon that anyone who started upper primary education finished Junior Certificate without becoming Catholic." It was considered a sin to talk with girls, and a student felt a good deal of prestige when he went to church. The staff encouraged the students to become Catholic.²⁷

During 1955-1960 St. Joseph's College built a large dining hall for students, four classroom blocks, and the hostel.²⁸ All the buildings except the hostel were provided by mission funds. Father Leonard, Principal of St. Joseph's from 1955 to 1969, stated, "The mission provided the money for the buildings and the Government helped equip them. We were always in debt to the banks, but somehow managed to pay."²⁹

Father Leonard introduced commercial studies in 1959 because "students wanted to do commercial studies because it was useful in getting a job. Until this time, the only outlet in Bechuanaland for a Junior Certificate graduate was in teacher training."³⁰

The curriculum of the University of South Africa was "not really suited for the majority of students. It really catered to a minority of academic students. The majority needed to be prepared to be clerks and go into offices."³¹

Most of the students in the junior day secondary schools had an aim in going to school; that is, "go to learn and become a teacher or Government clerk." They sat, watched, and recited what the teacher asked them to do because if they did not they would be caned and detained after school. Most of the students were much older, more

mature, and very serious-minded. "They suffered from lack of equipment and an insufficient staff. We had to teach the subjects for which we had teachers. We had no choice."³²

Many of the problems connected with secondary education were rooted in the conditions in the primary schools. The secondary schools themselves suffered from absence of libraries, laboratories, equipment, and the shortage of staff in some areas. However, the growth of secondary education between 1945 and 1960 is reflected by the following:

TABLE 1: SECONDARY EDUCATION 1945-60³³

	<u>No. of Schools Aided</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No. of Pupils Aided</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Total</u>
1945	1	0	1	14	45*	59
1950	1	2	3	132	10	142
1955	2	2	4	173	69	242
1960	2	3	5	332	229	561

During each five-year period between 1945 and 1960, the number of schools increased. Students attending secondary school multiplied four times between 1950 and 1960, and showed the most growth during 1955 to 1960. Meanwhile, seventy-two Bechuana and approximately forty Europeans attended secondary schools in South Africa and Rhodesia in 1950. By 1955 the number of Bechuana studying in South Africa had dropped to approximately twenty-five due to the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

Some students left secondary school before they finished Form III. In 1953 sixty-eight students entered Form I, the first year of secondary school. Fifty-one students continued in Form II in 1954, and

*This figure includes the number of students doing Stds VII and VIII at middle schools.

thirty-five finished Form III in 1955. A total of thirty-three students left secondary school before finishing Form III. The wastage—percentage of students who left school before completing their studies--was 49 percent.³⁴

In 1958 184 students entered Form I; 123 students continued in Form II in 1959; and 107 finished Form III in 1960. Some seventy-seven students left secondary school before finishing Form III. The wastage for all secondary schools was 42 percent. Far more noticeable were the differences in wastage between the boarding secondary schools at St. Joseph's and Moeng and the junior day secondary schools operated by tribal authorities. Wastage at the boarding schools was 20 percent; but fifty-nine students (62 percent) left the junior secondary schools before completing Form III.³⁵ The junior day secondary schools were maintained at considerable expense to tribal authorities and reflected a remarkably high rate of wastage for a country with limited resources. This high wastage caused much concern about the tribal leaders.³⁶

In 1950 ten of eleven students passed the Junior Certificate Examination. Only nineteen of thirty students passed the examination in 1955. The decline in success on the examination between 1950 and 1955 was attributed to the unsettled nature of Moeng College. Between 1955 and 1960 examination results steadily improved. In 1960 ninety-one students (87 percent) passed the Junior Certificate Examination. In the same year, five students (39 percent) passed the Joint Matriculation Examination. This was the largest number and highest percentage of students to pass the examination in any year. Twelve students out of sixty had passed the Joint Matriculation Examination between 1955

and 1960.³⁷

An investigation of teacher qualifications and student-teacher ratios is shown below.

TABLE J: SECONDARY TEACHERS' QUALIFICATIONS 1950-1960³⁸

	<u>University Graduate</u>		<u>Secondary School Certificate</u>		<u>Nonsecondary</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	
1950	2	-	6	1	3	-	12
1955	7	3	8	1	9	-	28
1960	18	5	9	-	13	-	45

TABLE K: STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO 1950-1960³⁹

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>University Graduate and Trained Secondary Graduate</u>
1950	11:1	16.5:1
1955	8.6:1	13.4:1
1960	12.5:1	17.5:1

The number of teachers in secondary schools increased substantially, and the student-teacher ratio changed little between 1950 and 1960. The ratio of secondary school students to university graduates and trained secondary school graduate teachers remained at a "very respectable" level of 17.5:1. This low ratio was attributed to the fact that secondary school teaching was one of the few areas open to those graduates who returned to Bechuanaland. Although the overall ratio remained respectable, the examination results reflected the shortages of qualified teachers in mathematics, science and English.⁴⁰

The funds spent for secondary education increased from £1,587 in 1945 to £9,298 in 1955. However, between 1955 and 1960, funds expended for secondary education increased four times--from £9,298 to £38,681. In 1955 the British government made its first grants from

the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for the construction of secondary school buildings in Bechuanaland.

B. C. Thema, Principal of Moeng College, wrote Jack Smith, Deputy Director of Education, the following:

I am sure that the eyes of all Protectorate Africans are already turned toward Britain. The racial policies of the Union government have decided the outlook of the Bechuana in this respect, and whether they follow Protectorate examinations or overseas examinations they are all one in their determination to stay out of the Union.⁴¹

On 22 March 1959, the Joint Advisory Board on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate recommended that Junior Certificate Examination for the High Commission Territories and its accompanying syllabi replace the previously utilized Junior Certificate Examination of the University of South Africa. They also recommended that the Cambridge Overseas Examination replace the previously used Joint Matriculation Examination of the University of South Africa. They based their decision on the influences which they felt the Bantu Education Act had on these examinations.⁴² Government accepted the recommendations. The Junior Certificate syllabi of the High Commission Territories was introduced in 1960; and the Cambridge Overseas Syllabi started in 1961.

The High Commission Territory Junior Certificate syllabi "were essentially South African because the people responsible for the examinations were people who lived in South Africa and had worked on the South African Junior Certificate."⁴³ The High Commission Territory syllabi remained essentially academic and offered English, Setswana, arithmetic, history, geography, biology, mathematics and Latin. No practical work was offered. The syllabi demanded factual memorization

--not thinking or understanding; much of the material was beyond the comprehension of children of this age; e.g., studying most of Shakespeare's works; the colonial viewpoint dominated all subjects; e.g., mathematics geared to storekeepers and clerks; and the South African textbooks were out-of-date and generally unsound.⁴⁴

The syllabi changed almost every year until 1967. In science the work was mainly theoretical with little practical laboratory work and almost no relationship to conditions in Bechuanaland. Eventually, active teachers served on the syllabus revision committees and pioneered revision in the syllabi. The revised science syllabus (Syllabus B) was much more general, revolved around laboratory experiments and discoveries, and was related to the scientific needs and problems of the country. "Teachers are in the forefront of syllabus revision, and the revised syllabi were being field tested before universal implementation."⁴⁵

By contrast, the Cambridge Overseas syllabi were prepared by Subject Committees composed of representatives of the examiners, teachers, and university professors in each of the various fields. They drew up and revised syllabi, received recommendations from committees located in all parts of the Commonwealth, and issued instructions to the examiners. All candidates sat for six, seven, or eight subjects. The subjects must include the English language and six subjects chosen from at least three of the following groups:

General Subjects:	English literature, Bible knowledge, history or geography
Languages	
Mathematics	

Science:	General science, physics, agricultural science, and chemistry
Arts and Crafts:	Art, music, woodwork, metalwork, and needlework
Technical and Commercial Subjects:	Engineering science, surveying, commercial studies, and health science

The Cambridge Overseas examinees, upon request from any country, would prepare examinations in newly introduced subjects provided the examiners had had the syllabus for at least two years.

To qualify for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate a student must satisfy the following conditions:

- (1) Achieve a satisfactory general overall standard based upon the best six subjects.
- (2) Pass at least six either subjects, including English language, and earn a superior performance in at least one subject.
- (3) Pass at least five or subjects, including English language, and achieve a superior performance in at least two subjects.⁴⁶

The Cambridge Examination is much more practical and involves thinking and understanding whereas the Joint Matriculation Examination of the University of South Africa required the same memorization of facts and dates that the Junior Certificate did. . . The Cambridge questions are continually updated and made relevant to the country.⁴⁷

The Cambridge Overseas Examination and course syllabi were introduced to the secondary schools in 1961.

In 1962 Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Advisor to the Secretary of State, again visited Bechuanaland and recommended, "The main educational emphasis should be on secondary and upper primary programs that are closely linked with localisation."⁴⁸ The rapid constitutional change dictated the need for qualified Bechuana to take over the professional, administrative, and technical needs of the society. People needed to be trained, not only to replace expatriates but also to

provide the leadership to direct the country in its future development. Secondary schools must produce qualified students possessing the necessary skills to achieve a balanced development; that is, the schools must develop the supply of manpower necessary for self-sufficiency in the shortest possible time with the limited resources available.⁴⁹

Moeding College, a coeducational secondary boarding school offering the full Cambridge School Certificate, opened at Ootsi in 1962. Ootsi was selected because it was not located in a major tribal area and therefore would avoid the interference of any chief. Moeding heralded the active return of the L.M.S. to education in Bechuanaland. All of the L.M.S. funds, £ 66,000, which were retrieved from the closing of Tiger Kloof, covered most of the initial construction costs at Moeding College.

In its early years Moeding served as an academic school similar to a British grammar school. The program of study at Moeding College was academically intense and designed for the university-bound student. There was an extreme reaction against any type of manual labor or technical course because they appeared to be very similar to Bantu Education. There was a distinctly Christian attitude toward each subject; e.g., 'Macbeth had a moral lesson - it showed the deterioration of human value via murder and emphasized God's commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill!!!' The staff offered an example of the Christian way of living one's life. This philosophy and attitude guided Moeding College.⁵⁰

Mater Spei College opened in 1963 at Francistown as a coeducational

day school, offering the full Cambridge School Certificate course. The Catholic Diocese supported Mater Spei and saw it as the secondary school in the north designed to complement the achievements of St. Joseph's in the south.

At the same time Mater Spei College opened in Francistown, a new coeducational boarding secondary school offering full Cambridge courses started five miles outside of Serowe. Patrick and Liz Van Rensburg had chosen a dry, barren, isolated, rocky ridge to build Swaneng Hill School. Patrick Van Rensburg had resigned his post with the South African diplomatic service, and met his wife through their involvement in the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. Together they decided that a more worthwhile and effective contribution to improving conditions in southern Africa rested in building schools rather than in political agitation.⁵¹

The Van Rensburgs selected Serowe, the largest village in Bechuanaland, because after sixty-five years of colonial rule no secondary school existed there. The British Ethical Union donated £ 500 for the first building. A voluntary camp of South African university students constructed their first building, a classroom and tiny office. Swaneng Hill began with this firm commitment to nonracial development.

Initially, Van Rensburg combined the traditional academic secondary studies with manual work and training. Students cleared the site, prepared a garden, planted, weeded, and harvested. Manual work became an integral part of secondary education at Swaneng.

This created a certain degree of suspicion among many of my fellow tribesmen. It appeared to be Bantu Education reborn by the South African. Also, they were so independent

and isolated from us. We were very suspicious of them.⁵²

The Director of Education, Jack Smith, proposed that the schools at Swaneng, Moeng, Kanye, Mochudi, and Molepolole be closed as soon as Gaborone Secondary School opened in 1965. Mr. Smith actively opposed the type of education offered at Swaneng Hill, and several times attempted to close Swaneng.⁵³

Each year new ideas and experiences led to changes in curriculum, revision, and reevaluation of the direction of Swaneng Hill School. In late 1965 the first Builder Brigade members came to Swaneng and began to prepare themselves in the building skills. In 1966 a consumers' cooperative launched the first cooperative in the entire country and, later, other brigades developed to serve the needs of Botswana.*

By 1966 involvement in local economic development and the commitment to develop educational programs which served the needs of independent Botswana emerged as the driving force behind Swaneng Hill. "Education, to be of service to the nation, became the guiding theme. Our graduates can't escape facing the facts of development in this country. . . . Education should be guided by the manpower needs of the country. . . ."⁵⁴

Van Rensburg continued:

. . . Government largely subsidizes secondary students and these chaps usually return, earn very high salaries, and form an elite minority who have no real social commitment to the development of Botswana. . . . At Swaneng, only a powerful minority is probably influenced by our ideals, but no one can help but feel the impact of this social commitment.⁵⁵

*A full discussion of Brigade Development is found on pages 276-290.

Government granted its first subsidy to Swaneng in 1966, and has continued to aid the school.

The curriculum at Swaneng Hill School offered the traditional academic junior certificate courses as well as practical subjects such as woodworking, metalworking, building, and agricultural science. Students studied practical subjects in well equipped workshops built by volunteers. During their first year of study, beginning in 1967, all male students at Swaneng studied four practical subjects for at least two hours each per week. In the second year every student selected at least one practical subject as part of his junior certificate program.

Paralleling the growth of practical subjects, Swaneng developed a course entitled Development Studies. This grew out of a noncredit civics course that was originally included as part of the curriculum. Development studies aimed to give students an elementary understanding of industrialization, economic development theory, the free market concept, and cooperatives. As Robert Oakeshott, principal architect of the course, stated:

We want students to question the elitest concept of education. It is particularly encouraging to see some students seize the principle of education for self-reliance and argue for the acceptance of spartan living conditions in all secondary schools. . . We can't expect to move mountains. We aren't asking to change the values of society. Hopefully, we can change their sensitivities and create a sense of social responsibility; e.g., even if they work in an office they will volunteer for night schools, scouts, or community development.⁵⁶

Work on service projects played a significant role in the development studies. Initially, Van Rensburg encouraged voluntary practical work for all students. However, some students chose to play football

instead of working. This led to the establishment of compulsory voluntary practical work for every student. Students and staff worked together to build such things as science laboratories, hostels, teachers' quarters, and, most recently, a mammoth assembly hall. Practical work tried to instill a spirit of pride in developing the country and to provide better schools for other Motswana in partial repayment for the Government's investment in each student.

"Our problem is to get students thinking and still get them ready for the examinations."⁵⁷ "It is our obligation to prepare students to pass the Junior Certificate."⁵⁸ The school's working hours were extended to include the practical work as part of the course of instruction and still satisfy the requirements for the Junior Certificate Examination.

Swaneng Hill School operated on a low cost budget of approximately £ 75 per student per year compared with most secondary school costs of between £ 150-200. This was accomplished in four ways. First, students cooked their own morning and evening meals, washed their laundry, cleaned the dormitories and classrooms, and worked in the garden. Second, practical development work constructed many of the buildings. Third, both students and staff lived in comfortable but simple accommodation; e.g., students slept in double-decker bunks. Fourth, overseas volunteers made up almost 70 percent of the staff.

The nucleus of Swaneng Hill School was a secondary school. Within the secondary school Van Rensburg and Oakeshott placed a major emphasis on developmental studies, practical subjects such as building science, metalwork, domestic science, and service to the community and nation.

Patrick Van Rensburg saw the school as the focal point for development in the surrounding community. Van Rensburg explained:

As the school participates in development, it is also able to carry out its function of educating its students for development. If the students participate fully in the implementation of the school's role as a focal point for development in its area, they will thereby have an opportunity of learning both skill and commitment.⁵⁹

Sekgoma Khama, Acting Chief of the Bamangwato and President of the District Council, summed up the feeling of many Motswana as follows:

Manual work is part and parcel of our life. Swaneng is realistically a part of our way of life. The wrong type of information has given some bad ideas which have created confusion. They have tried to change too fast; change comes slowly! They operated too independently; e.g., held classes on President's Day; and they don't fully understand local customs and traditions. Yet Swaneng is akin to our way of life!⁶⁰

The National Development Plan 1968-73 described Swaneng Hill School

. . . as a unique school, ably managed. It had been built largely by the volunteer labor of the teachers and students, financed by overseas contributions, and staffed by overseas volunteers. It is also the center of a number of thriving community development projects.⁶¹

Government strongly endorsed the construction of the Shashi River School which would be modeled after Van Rensburg's Swaneng Hill School. This represented a distinctly different government position than Jack Smith had recommended in 1964.

The results of the 1963 Junior Certificate Examination revealed that fifty-two of eighty-one candidates from the junior day secondary schools failed hopelessly. In fact, Isang School, Mochudi, ranked 42nd out of forty-six schools in the three protectorates. Tribal School Committees were responsible for these schools, and they suffered from

the lack of funds. They seldom attracted well-qualified teachers and did not supply the necessary equipment and books. This contributed to the poor examination results, which further increased the misunderstandings between the secondary school staff and the Tribal School Committees. Mr. Smith summarized the conditions as follows:

. . . the education offered at both schools is no more than a travesty of what it should be. Academic progress is virtually paralysed by staffing difficulties, gross deficiencies in accommodations and equipment, and the inability to control after school behavior of students which resulted in twenty pregnancies over a seven month period. . . To permit such conditions to continue would be to show a callous disregard for the best interests of students; and for the moral and physical welfare of the students remedial action is urgently required.⁶²

At the same time, day secondary students encountered many difficulties in attending school. Many walked six to ten miles on dusty trails to get to school. When they returned home, parents still regarded them as children and expected them to perform the normal tasks and duties instead of preparing for their lessons. Even when they could study, there usually was no lamp, chair, or table available. Often the children left for school before eating a meal and had to endure the entire school day without any food. In spite of all these difficulties, the junior day secondary schools offered their only hope for higher education.⁶³

Considering the poor examination results, Mr. Smith drew up a comprehensive plan which recommended the concentration of skilled teachers and special facilities such as laboratories and libraries at six main centers most favorable for development. This plan included building new schools at Gaborone and Serowe in 1965 and closing the schools at Swaneng, Moeng, Molepolole, and Mochudi. The plan was

vehemently opposed in tribal areas and ultimately died a natural death.

Government ultimately took over the junior day secondary schools in 1967 and made them Government secondary schools.

After seventy years of colonial rule of Bechuanaland, the British government built their first secondary school in 1964. Gaborone Secondary School opened in 1965 as a coeducational boarding school offering full secondary courses. Quick high-cost construction, necessitated by the type of British grant, gave Gaborone Secondary School a very modern and ostentatious appearance.

With the assistance of funds provided by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund in 1966, construction of new school buildings proceeded at Swaneng Hill School--two laboratories, dining and assembly hall and two hostels; and at Gaborone Secondary School--an assembly hall, hostel, and four teachers' houses.

In addition to these developments, a group of Operation Cross-roads from the United States and Canada built a science classroom-laboratory at Kanye. Also, a work camp organized by Swaneng Hill School built a science classroom complete with store at Molepolole.

The year 1966 inaugurated a massive building construction program which carried into the 1970s. When Government took over the tribal junior day secondary schools in 1967, they immediately began to increase and improve the facilities. In fact, they built the new Molefi Secondary School to replace Isang National School in Mochudi.

The rapid growth in the number of primary school leavers and the increased demand for secondary education, as reflected by, "There is scarcely a parent in Botswana who doesn't want his children to attend

secondary school."⁶⁴, outstripped the places available in the rapidly expanding secondary schools.

In response to these increasing demands for secondary education a number of private day and night secondary schools opened in 1968. The Botswana Teachers Union supported evening schools in Mochudi, Lobatse, Kanye, Gaborone, and Molepolole. The evening schools tried to alleviate the primary school leaver problem. They offered instruction for the Junior Certificate Examination. However, their purpose was "not necessarily to prepare them just to pass the Junior Certificate Examination but to give them three years of additional education that will prepare them to better serve themselves and their country. . . . Even if they fail the examination, they will still have the opportunity for other training."⁶⁵

Most of the night schools met in primary schools, community centers, and abandoned secondary schools. The night schools were staffed mainly through the efforts of local volunteers. Volunteers were frequently called away and rarely could a replacement be found. Thus, there existed much irregularity in attendance of students and teachers. It was also difficult to find adequate staff to instruct all the classes; e.g., no Setswana teacher was available for six months in Gaborone.

These private day and evening schools normally accepted older students who had difficulty gaining admission to secondary school due to their age. Many of the Form 1 students who performed well were siphoned off into regular secondary schools.⁶⁶

Night school students attended school four nights per week to

receive the required instruction to enable them to sit for the Junior Certificate Examination in the three-year period. Most of them worked all day prior to attending classes. They returned to their homes in the village after school, where they studied by candlelight. If they lived in an area which had a lighted library, they studied there until it closed. Night school students suffered from lack of facilities and poor conditions but showed much enthusiasm about the opportunity for a Junior Certificate.⁶⁷

Shashi River School opened in 1969, with Robert Oakeshott as Principal. It was developed as an integrated brigade-academic secondary school and represented the developmental ideas of Swaneng Hill School at the time. This was the fifth new school (including Molefi Secondary School in Mochudi) that had been constructed in Bechuanaland-Botswana since 1960.

Table L reflects the growth of secondary education between 1960 and 1969.

TABLE L: SECONDARY EDUCATION 1960-1969⁶⁸

	<u>Number of Schools</u>			<u>Number of Pupils</u>		
	<u>Aided</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Aided</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960	2	3	5	332	229	561
1963	4	4	8	543*	433	976
1966	5	4	9	954	577	1531
1969	6	4	10	1794	1255	3049

The figures for private day and night secondary schools are not included in Table L because they were not available for 1969. However, the January 1970 figures listed ten schools with an enrollment of approximately 1,734 students and ninety-five teachers, of whom

* Includes Swaneng Hill School with twenty-five students.

forty-five were full-time. Even though these enrollment figures fluctuated due to the irregularity of attendance, they showed a strong drive for secondary education.⁶⁹

Table L shows that the number of secondary schools increased from five to ten and the student enrollment surged from 561 to 3,049 between 1960 and 1969. The number of Junior Certificate Examination passes grew from ninety-one to 358 while the percentage of passes declined from 87 to 68 percent. At the same time, the number of passes on the Matriculation Examination swelled from five in 1960 to 152 in 1969, and the percentage of passes jumped from 38 to 74 percent. The growth in expenditures from £ 36,581 to £ 276,302 demonstrated how this expansion occurred.⁷⁰

The number of secondary schools doubled in the ten-year period. In 1960 only two schools--Moeng College and St. Joseph's College--offered the full secondary course of study. By 1966 six schools instructed students in the full secondary course of study, and the other four planned to do so in the following three years. In 1960 every secondary school enrolled students in only one stream; that is, there was only one group of students (class) in each form (grade level) at each school; whereas, in 1969, every secondary school enrolled students in one of three or four streams. A total of 105 streams was offered in ten secondary schools in 1969 as compared with the nineteen offered in five schools in 1960.

New brick-faced buildings, modern prefabricated steel classrooms and hostels, well-equipped laboratories, and multiwindowed libraries now sat amongst the older whitewashed, mud-brick, narrow-windowed and

dark classrooms. The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund provided most of the capital, and it dictated a different architectural style. Meetings in the large assembly hall replaced those held in the school courtyards; and modern, spacious offices took the place of small dark corners by 1969.

Three different types of secondary school education had evolved. The fairly traditional, academic-oriented boarding school which stressed academic success represented one type. These were generally missionary operated and geared to prepare students for university study. They also tended to emphasize the moral Christian way of life. The second type of education served both day and boarding students and was located in the large villages. These schools tried to provide a quality education to a larger number of students at a lower per capita cost. Most of these schools formerly operated as junior day secondary schools and had been controlled by Tribal School Committees. The spartan living conditions, the integration of practical and academic subjects, the voluntary work, and a strong social service ethic characterized the third type of school. Swaneng Hill School, with its associated brigade movement, provided a low-cost diversified secondary education.⁷¹

The Development Plan 1968-1973 decried the schooling offerings as follows:

. . . the curriculum of the secondary schools is narrow, and not too well suited to Botswana's needs. It is too academic with practically no attention being given to practical, or cultural activities, or arable farming and cattle raising, Botswana's main industries.⁷²

B. C. Thema pointed out that there was little difference between the

present High Commission Territory Junior Certificate Examination and the South African Junior Certificate. The content remained essentially the same and memorization of facts was the important ingredient tested. There was no relationship between the new Junior Certificate and either life in Botswana or material covered in the Cambridge syllabi. In 1969 the Junior Certificate served as a screening mechanism for further education, technical training, and employment in Government and private offices. "It would be much wiser to make the Cambridge course three or four years; and if a screening criteria was needed, Government could offer an examination at the end of two years."⁷³

Meanwhile, Reverend Smith, Principal of Moeding College, stated that the Cambridge was an excellent course of study. Cambridge offered a wide variety of courses, continually updated its materials, attempted to make material relevant to the environment, and emphasized thinking, understanding, and knowing concepts, techniques, and principles. By comparison, "the present Junior Certificate is a bit of a nuisance. It is a bad syllabus and a bad exam, and frankly I'm not sure what it really tests."⁷⁴

The number of students attending regular secondary schools almost tripled between 1960 and 1966, and then doubled again between 1966 and 1969. At the same time, the median age of students in each form decreased as shown in the table below:

TABLE M: MEDIAN SCHOOL AGE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS 1960-69⁷⁵

	Form I		Form II		Form III		Form IV		Form V		Total		Both
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1960	18.6		19.5		19.8		20+		20+		19.5		18.7
1966	16.1	17.5	18.3	18.5	19.7	18.3	19.5	19.0	20+	20+	18.5	17.9	18.1
1969	15.5	16.0	16.7	17.6	18.3	18.8	19.3	19.4	20+	19.8	16.9	17.5	16.5
		15.1		16.2		17.8		18.3		19.2		16.1	

The median age in Form I fell three years for boys and over two years for girls. Between 1960-1969 the median age of all secondary school students dropped by 2.2 years, and the median age fell in all forms except for boys in Form V. The lowering of the maximum entry age to primary school which began in 1963 and the decision of the headmasters of most secondary schools to give selection preference to younger students caused the significant drop in ages of secondary school students. The once prevalent over twenty-year olds were now replaced by twelve, thirteen, and fourteen year old boys and girls. Student characteristics in 1969 were described as:

The students are much younger, less mature, and more playful than before. The younger students are quick learners but are very unsure about themselves. There is a definite feeling against manual work, and students vie for the best white collar opportunities. . . Frankly, there is outward disdain for agricultural work. They ask why they should learn this. 'We're not going to work in the fields all year for five bags of mealies.'⁷⁶

More girls than boys entered Form I in 1969; although girls represented almost 64 percent of the primary school population during the 1960-1969 period, 1969 marked the first year that more girls than boys entered Form I. It was part of a pattern which saw the percentage of girls in secondary schools gradually increase from 37 percent in 1958 to 47 percent in 1969, and the number of girls entering Forms IV and V tripled between 1966 and 1969.⁷⁷

While the enrollment of girls in secondary school grew gradually, unregistered private day and night schools sprung up throughout the country and enrollments skyrocketed after they opened in 1968. From 1968 to 1970 at least twelve schools operated with an estimated enrollment of 1,734 students.

In 1969 only 25 percent of the primary school leavers in the country found places in the regular secondary schools; therefore, many of the remaining 75 percent sought other educational opportunities. This pressure led to the growth of unregistered private secondary schools. Mr. Molewa, part-time Principal of Capital Continuation School, estimated that only 20 percent of the students in unregistered secondary schools reached the Junior Certificate Examination. However, four of his first ten students who sat for the examination passed. He also spoke of the growing demand for this type of education and the great shortage of teachers--especially qualified teachers.⁷⁸

A number of students left school before completing the Junior Certificate; others left after completing the Junior Certificate; and still others left before completing the Cambridge. The following figures show the percentages:

TABLE N: PERCENTAGE LEAVING SCHOOL⁷⁹

<u>Years</u>	<u>Before Completing Junior Certificate</u>	<u>After Completing Junior Certificate</u>	<u>Before Completing Cambridge</u>
1958-1962	42	55	45
1961-1965	47	67	2
1964-1968	26	50	2

The wastage--the percentage of students who left school at each stage--increased slightly between 1958-1962 and 1961-1965, except at Form V. However, they dropped sharply between 1961-1965 and 1964-1968, except at Form V. This sharp drop in wastage indicated more students remained in school.

Beginning in 1968, Government introduced a policy of automatic promotion whereby almost every student would be promoted to the next

higher level at both the Junior Certificate and Cambridge levels. However, students would still be required to pass the Junior Certificate Examination and be selected for Cambridge. Government projected that 50 percent of those students who passed the Junior Certificate would be able to continue further studies after 1970. These two decisions assured further reduction in wastage.

An investigation of teachers' qualifications is shown in the table below:

TABLE 0: TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS 1960-1969⁸⁰

	<u>University Degree</u>		<u>Secondary Certificate</u>		<u>Nonsecondary Certificate</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	
1960	18	5	9	-	13	-	45
1963	23	6	10	3	17	1	60
1966	26	31	19	9	4	-	89
1969	55	60	26	12	4	-	157

In 1969 sixty-seven percent of the secondary teachers held university degrees while only fifty-four percent of these teachers had received professional training. These figures compared with 64 percent degree holders and 56 percent trained in 1966, and 51 percent degree holders and 70 percent trained in 1960. The number of teachers holding university degrees increased from twenty-three to 115 between 1960 and 1969. At the same time, the number of trained teachers almost tripled between 1960-1969, but the percentage of trained teachers declined from 70 to 54 percent. This meant that fewer secondary school students were instructed by trained teachers; but the overall level of education of secondary school teachers was much higher.

The supply of secondary school teachers came from essentially

five sources. They were: Botswana citizen, African expatriate (usually South African), European and American nonvolunteers, European and American volunteers, and missionary personnel. The following represented their distribution in 1969:

Botswana Citizen -----	25
African Expatriate -----	30
Nonvolunteer European and American --	14
Volunteer European and American -----	69
Mission -----	9
 Total -----	 157

In 1969 the teaching force consisted of 16 percent Botswana citizens, 19 percent African expatriates, 16 percent nonvolunteer Europeans and Americans, 44 percent European and American volunteers, and 5.7 missionaries.⁸¹

Botswana citizens represented only 16 percent of the total teaching force while expatriates composed 84 percent of the teaching staff. The number of volunteers had increased from six in 1963, to forty-six in 1966, to sixty-nine in 1969. This supported the frequently stated idea that 'without these volunteers the system would have collapsed.'⁸²

Expatriates bring a different cultural orientation to the classroom which makes it difficult for them to understand the cultural orientation in Botswana. For example, 'when a student falls on the ground, it is our custom to laugh at him.' This upsets some people. Also, 'when a student does wrong, he runs away. Later he will return and apologize.'⁸³ This behavior often leads to misunderstandings between staff and students.

Contract teachers generally come to Botswana for a short tour and do not develop 'much' of a commitment to the country while they are

here. At the same time, these contract teachers are much better prepared than volunteers, and are experienced teachers.⁸⁴

Volunteers are generally enthusiastic, willing, hardworking, and relate well with the students.⁸⁵ However, they often operate in a permissive manner that generates discipline problems because the students do not listen to them. Most of the volunteers suffer from lack of experience and find the first year of teaching extremely difficult and time-consuming.⁸⁶

Until the arrival of the large numbers of volunteers in 1966, the vast majority of secondary school teachers were South Africans on contract. In his Report of Localisation and Training in 1965, T. C. Luke called attention to the apprehension among expatriate Africans about the effect independence would have on their status. Although they are well qualified, some South Africans felt that the Motswana did not like them and would not promote them to higher positions. Many of the South African teachers suffered the additional danger that they might never be allowed back into South Africa.⁸⁷

Meanwhile, the Motswana said that some South Africans were "arrogant, think and speak in a derogatory manner of Botswana, and simply collected their money" without providing good teaching in return.⁸⁸

In a Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-speaking Africa, Hanson confirmed most of Luke's findings. He added that South African teachers have been most numerous in the system and by far the most experienced. They provided the stability and tradition needed to build a secondary school system. "Moves need to be taken to encourage these South African teachers to remain."⁸⁹

Interviews with approximately fifteen South African expatriate teachers showed that the attitudes of Motswana are gradually beginning to change; their own attitudes are changing; and they are both respecting each other more fully. One major thrust in this direction was the large number of South African teachers who took out citizenship in Botswana. Although often referred to as "paper Motswana", they have earned equal status in line with the President's words: "There will be no second-class citizenship in Botswana."⁹⁰ To illustrate this point, four of the African principals of secondary schools in 1969 were of South African birth.

Hanson listed several conclusions about the supply of secondary teachers in Botswana in 1968. They were as follows:

- (1) The present salary scales mitigate against Motswana graduates entering the teaching service. A teacher must teach ten years to reach the same salary as a person with equivalent credentials received when he enters the civil service.
- (2) Botswana must rely upon the services of volunteers to supply its teaching cadre for at least the next ten years.
- (3) There is an urgent need to recruit mathematics and science teachers to improve this part of the instruction.
- (4) A balanced and experienced cadre of teachers and supervisors must work with the increasing number of volunteer teachers to assist them in becoming effective teachers more rapidly.
- (5) Increased numbers of contract teachers need to be recruited, especially in the fields of science and mathematics.
- (6) A sub-graduate teaching program should be developed to train people for lower form teaching.⁹¹

The phenomenal growth of secondary education presented many problems for the future growth and development of quality education in Botswana. The growth in facilities, pupils, and staff necessitated a

corresponding increase in expenditures for education. The expenditure for secondary education increased by 20,000 between 1960 and 1963, skyrocketed eightfold to 244,594 between 1963 and 1966, and expanded to 552,604 by 1969. During the period 1964-1970, 750,000 was spent for capital construction and expansion at the ten secondary schools. Most of these funds came from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. However, at least 200,000 came from private and mission sources.⁹²

One main prerequisite for independence is the availability of sufficiently educated citizen manpower to take over and run the physical life of the country. . . . Independence remains a hollow concept until a country possesses trained and educated leadership to guide the destiny of the country. . . . Since our oldest secondary school is hardly twenty years old, there is a great demand for Government to increase the number and capacity of secondary education rapidly.⁹³

Thema further cited the increase in the number of passes between 1966 and 1969 on both the Junior Certificate (158 more) and the Cambridge (102 more) Examinations as a major step toward producing educated manpower. This increased supply of educated manpower speeded greatly the drive for localisation of manpower in the Government and the private sector of Botswana. "Education has made a great contribution thus far, but it will be expected to do so much more in the future."⁹⁴

END NOTES

- ¹For further discussion see pages 135-136.
- ²Provisional Middle School Syllabus (National Archives: Gaborone, 1945).
- ³Thema, op. cit., p. 79.
- ⁴Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., p. 33.
- ⁵Provisional Middle School Syllabus, op. cit.
- ⁶Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., p. 33.
- ⁷"Report of the Examiner" 1945 cited in Bechuanaland Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., pp. 33-35.
- ⁸Ibid., p. 34.
- ⁹Martin Flavin, Black and White (New York: Harper and Brothers), p. 48.
- ¹⁰Ibid., p. 54.
- ¹¹"Report of Inspector of Schools 1946" cited in Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1946, op. cit., p. 11.
- ¹²Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report for Department of Education (Johannesburg, South Africa: Automatic Printing Press, [n.d.]).
- ¹³For further discussion of the chieftaincy see pages 17-19.
- ¹⁴"Inspection Report on the Bamangwato College", November 1949 (National Archives: Gaborone, 1949).
- ¹⁵Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1945-1951, op. cit.
- ¹⁶Statement by Dr. Masire, op. cit.
- ¹⁷"Report of the Examiners, May 1951" (National Archives: Gaborone).
- ¹⁸Minutes of the thirty-second session of the Advisory Board for African Education, May 1952.

¹⁹Minutes of the thirty-fourth session of the Advisory Board for African Education, 21-29 October 1954.

²⁰Statement by Gare Kgotlana, personal interview, 23 November 1970, Tape 20A 10-22.

²¹Statement by Motlhagodi, op. cit., Tape 12A 60-63.

²²Bantu Education Act of 1953.

²³Statement by George Kgoroba, personal interview, 20 November 1970, Tape 18B 41-46.

²⁴Seretse Khama, Education for a Nation, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁵Statement by Father Leonard, personal interviews, 16 and 20 October 1970, Tape 10B 60-64.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Statement by Ndwapi, op. cit., Tape 4AA 30-38.

²⁸For further discussion see pages 195-196.

²⁹Statement by Father Leonard, op. cit., Tape 10B 64-68.

³⁰Ibid., Tape 10B 68-72.

³¹Ibid., Tape 11A 0-7.

³²Statements by Kgotlana and Moipolai, personal interview, 23 November 1970, Tape 20A 27-38.

³³Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1945, 1950, 1955, and 1960, op. cit.

³⁴Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1953, 1954, and 1955, op. cit.

³⁵Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1958, 1959, and 1960, op. cit.

³⁶Minutes of Bangwaketsi Tribal School Committee 1954-1960.

³⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1950, 1955, and 1960, op. cit.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1960, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴¹Thema to Smith, 3 November 1958 (National Archives: Gaborone).

⁴²For further discussion of Bantu Education Act see pages 35-36.

⁴³Statement by Mr. Maine, personal interview, 13 November 1970, T-125.

⁴⁴Statement by Rev. Smith, personal interview, 20 and 21 November 1970, Tape 21A 48-51.

⁴⁵Statement by Kgoroba, op. cit., Tape 18B 18-29.

⁴⁶Cambridge Overseas Examination Regulations 1963 (Cambridge: University Press), pp. 2-8.

⁴⁷Statement by Rev. Smith, op. cit., Tape 21A 51-57.

⁴⁸Minutes of the Joint Advisory Council Meeting, 28 March 1962.

⁴⁹Transition Plan for Social and Economic Development (Gaborone: Government Printery), pp. 16-35.

⁵⁰Ibid., Tape 21A 0-9 and 35-48.

⁵¹Statement by Patrick Van Rensburg, personal interview, 13 October 1970.

⁵²Statement by Dikeledi, op. cit., Tape 9B 0-12.

⁵³Statements by Mrs. Chiepe, op. cit.

⁵⁴Statement by Van Rensburg, op. cit., Tape 8B 48-62.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Statement by Robert Oakeshott, personal interview, 27 and 28 September 1970, Tape 6A 35-44.

⁵⁷Statement by Shelia Bagnail, personal interview, 13 October 1970, Tape 9A 56-60.

⁵⁸Statement by Oakeshott, op. cit., Tape 6A 44-60.

⁵⁹Patrick Van Rensburg, "Swaneng Hill School Botswana" (paper read at Commonwealth Conference on Education in Rural Areas, 21 March to 3 April 1970, University of Ghana at Legon), p. 4.

⁶⁰Statement by Sekgoma Khama, personal interview, 15 October 1970, Tape 9B 53-58.

- ⁶¹National Development Plan 1968-1973, op. cit., p. 104.
- ⁶²Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report for the Department of Education for 1963, op. cit., p. 14.
- ⁶³Statement by Dr. Masire, op. cit.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., Tape 6B 12-15.
- ⁶⁵Statement by Kgoroba, op. cit., Tape 18B 54-60.
- ⁶⁶Statement by Moatlhodi Tlhoiwe, personal interview, 12 November 1970, Tape 19B 2-22.
- ⁶⁷Statement by Bernard Molewa, personal interview, 10 November 1970, Tape 13B 10-20.
- ⁶⁸Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960, 1963, 1966, and 1969, op. cit.
- ⁶⁹Unofficial records compiled by Mr. Solon Mirville, Government statistician.
- ⁷⁰Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960 and 1969, op. cit.
- ⁷¹Statement by Mark Thompson, personal interview, 8 October 1970, Tape 2B 21-35.
- ⁷²National Development Plan 1968-1973, op. cit.
- ⁷³Statement by Rev. Smith, op. cit., Tape 21A 51-57.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., 8-9.
- ⁷⁵Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960, 1966, and 1969, op. cit.
- ⁷⁶Statement by Moipolai and Kgotlana, op. cit., Tape 20A 10-38.
- ⁷⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1958-1969, op. cit.
- ⁷⁸Statement by Molewa, op. cit., Tape 13B 10-17.
- ⁷⁹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1958-1969, op. cit.
- ⁸⁰Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960, 1963, 1966, and 1969, op. cit.

⁸¹Statistical Table XVIII - 1969 Statistical Tables (Ministry of Education, Gaborone).

⁸²Statement by N. O. H. Sadishio, personal interview, 11 December 1970.

⁸³Statement by Carl Motsepe, personal interview, 8 October 1970, Tape 2B 61-65.

⁸⁴ibid.

⁸⁵Statement by Maine, op. cit., T-125.

⁸⁶Statement by James Moilwa, personal interview, 11 October 1970, Tape 19A 14-18.

⁸⁷E. B. Luke, Report on Localisation and Training (Mafeking: Bechuanaland Press, April 1966), pp. 50-55.

⁸⁸ibid., p. 52.

⁸⁹Hanson, op. cit., pp. 20-22.

⁹⁰Seretse Khama, "Education and Nationhood," November 1968.

⁹¹Hanson, op. cit., pp. 40-49

⁹²Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960-1969, op. cit.

⁹³Opinion expressed by B. C. Thema in a speech to the Botswana Teachers' Union Conference, 16 December 1969.

⁹⁴ibid.

Section VIII

TEACHER TRAINING

The training of primary school teachers in Bechuanaland began in 1940 at Kanye and Serowe. By 1945 fifty-seven students enrolled in the Elementary Teachers' Certificate Program. This course sought to train African men and women to teach in the village schools (Sub A through Std II). The students pursued a two-year course of study in the methods and practices of teaching all subjects in the primary school syllabus. The curriculum of the teacher training program "was not much different from the syllabus used in the primary schools except for principles and practices of education."¹

Students qualified for training by successfully completing Std VI, securing a medical certificate, and being at least sixteen years old. The training centers were housed in temporary quarters and lacked most basic equipment such as blackboards, desks, and visual aids. They were staffed by one or, at the most, two instructors. Some communities were reluctant to grant practicing facilities in their schools. Even when the communities granted permission for the students to practice in their schools, the schools were generally inadequate and the students were often supervised by unqualified and untrained teachers.² Sixty percent of all primary school teachers in 1945 were unqualified and untrained; that is, they had neither completed primary school nor received formal training for teaching.

The Examiner reported that students taught with enthusiasm and confidence and secured the attention and interest of the class. The

students exhibited good teaching qualities but displayed little initiative or originality. Their lessons tended to duplicate those of their masters and frequently missed the essentials of the prescribed lesson.³ This was reflected in their average marks of 55 percent in practical teaching. The Examiner further stated:

There was no mastery over the use of the blackboard in any way. . . . There was a reluctance to use the blackboard during actual teaching and the little use that was made of it was poor. . . . There is a disappointing consistency about them, for without exception they reflect low standards.⁴

In order to staff the higher standards of the primary schools it was necessary to import teachers from South Africa. "It must be faced that our salaries and conditions of service seldom attract the best, but rather the incompetent, unstable, and disaffected teachers."⁵ In spite of this, the Protectorate depended upon the South African teachers to staff the higher primary standards and provide the necessary specialists. The Director of Education argued: "It would seem essential to make salaries and conditions reasonably attractive for teachers so that we might retain the talented South African teachers and provide encouragement for trained Bechuana teachers to return."⁶

Mr. Jowitt, newly appointed Director of Education, stated that the present educational demands of Bechuanaland

. . . do not warrant an ambitious scheme of teacher training. . . . It would be uneconomical to produce highly qualified teachers whom the country, even with help from the British Exchequer, could not afford.⁷

This recommendation was made when over 60 percent of all primary school teachers had completed neither Std VI nor received special training.

Meanwhile, several institutions in South Africa provided most

Bechuana with their teacher training education. In 1945 thirty-six Bechuana--sixteen on Government bursaries--studied in South Africa. Twenty of these students studied side-by-side with academic secondary scholars and vocational students at Tiger Kloof. Thema commented on his training:

We discovered the dignity of working with our hands and the value of carpentry. . . We were not trained to be artisans, but exposed to some industrial, technical, and manual experiences.⁸

Tiger Kloof trained 103 Bechuana teachers between 1945-1950 and eighty-seven others between 1950 and when the school closed in 1954.

During the period 1945-1954 more Bechuana primary school teachers were trained in South Africa than at Kanye or Serowe. However, many of these trained teachers accepted teaching positions in South Africa or Rhodesia because the salaries and conditions of service were better than in Bechuanaland.

Supervisors of schools assumed greater responsibility for improving the overall quality of instruction in the primary schools in their territory. They gave demonstration lessons and helped teachers improve their lessons. The supervisors reviewed timetables with teachers and urged them to religiously follow the timetables and teachers' handbooks, observed classes, and assisted teachers in improving instruction. Supervisors enlisted the assistance of qualified teachers to help provide further supervision and direction for the unqualified teachers. This supervision furnished the only formal training that most of the practicing teachers ever received.⁹

In addition, supervisors arranged for vacation courses for unqualified and lesser qualified staff. In 1946 eighty percent of the

unqualified lower primary teachers and those with the Elementary Teacher's Certificate attended an eight-day conference in Kanye. The Headmaster of the Kanye Training Center discussed the importance of collecting Setswana songs and poems, recording oral tradition and tribal history, and securing the cooperation of local craftsmen. He suggested that teachers bring these craftsmen into the classrooms as an important part of the instruction. Other teachers demonstrated Bechuana games which could be used in the classrooms.¹⁰

Government combined the teacher training activities at Serowe and Kanye into the Kanye Government Teacher Training Center in 1947. Chief Bathoen II provided temporary accommodations, converted the model school into a dining hall, and offered various tribal buildings as temporary classrooms. The three-year Primary Lower course, comparable to that offered at Tiger Kloof, replaced the two-year Elementary Teacher's Certificate course which had been offered since 1940. The Primary Lower course was residential in nature. The Department of Education wanted to reduce the ratio of one qualified woman teacher for every 164 girls. Therefore, Government offered more bursaries for women to study at the teacher training center.

The Department of Education saw the new training center and the introduction of the Primary Lower course as the beginning of basic reform in education in Bechuanaland. They urged the British government to provide financial support for the project. In 1948 the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund granted £ 18,393 for the construction of a teacher training center. Chief Bathoen donated fifty acres of tribal land for the combined health and teacher training center. For the next

six years Government officials searched in vain for an adequate water supply adjacent to the site chosen. Meanwhile, students were turned away because the temporary facilities were already taxed to their limit.

Miss Chiepe, the first Bechuana woman to earn a university degree, and Mr. Modisi, Supervisor of Schools, took up temporary positions on the teaching staff of the Kanye Government Teacher Training Center. Later in 1948, six students--the first to qualify in Bechuanaland--passed the Primary Lower examination.

The following year young men initiated agricultural instruction by erecting fences around their agricultural and vegetable plots. First-year men dug, planted, and weeded the vegetable garden which produced a good harvest; second-year students cultivated crops suitable for dry-land farming; and third-year men inspected various breeds of cattle, examined agricultural implements, and assisted in animal husbandry.¹¹ At the same time, the efforts in practical cookery, laundry, needlework, and housewifery were described by the Homecrafts Education Officer as follows: "The students tackled the work with understanding and the finished products were neat and well finished. . . . The cookery was most pleasing and they tackled the subject with practical understanding."¹²

By 1950 almost 45 percent of the teachers were qualified. At the same time approximately 60 percent of the children were still taught by unqualified teachers because the unqualified teachers generally taught the large lower primary classes. The training center at Kanye educated and placed twenty-three newly qualified teachers in primary

schools in the Protectorate. This group was the largest number of qualified teachers ever educated in a school in Bechuanaland. The Director of Education conducted the tests and was "impressed by the ability of the candidates which paid tribute to thoroughness of their training, especially in practical teaching."¹³ However, the number of teachers produced annually fell short of the estimated forty teachers needed simply to fill the normal vacancies created by teachers retiring, dying, leaving, or being suspended.

Government hoped that the new Government teacher training centers would become the focal point of the educational system. The course of study at the training center recognized the nature of Bechuanaland and related the subjects to conditions and life in the Protectorate. The staff emphasized practice teaching in the Kanye schools with and without supervision. Government plans called for expanding the training center to accommodate 120 students. Lack of an adequate water supply curtailed the expansion of the training center.

A selection committee finally selected Lobatse as the new site for the Government teacher training center. The site was chosen because of the abundance of water, location in a major village, and its proximity to Governmental headquarters. Construction began in 1954 and was funded by a £38,000 grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. By the time the construction began, the full effects of the Bantu Education Act¹⁴ were felt. No Bechuana students entered South African teacher training programs after 1954. Thus, just as the major source of teacher education for the Bechuana closed forever, construction began on a new training center in Lobatse.

The percentage of qualified primary school teachers increased from 41 percent (1945), to 45 percent (1950), to 50 percent (1955). At the same time, the number of Bechuana preparing for teaching dropped from ninety-three in both 1945 and 1950 to fifty-three in 1953. The closing of post-primary education in South Africa and the long delay in construction of a teacher training center in Bechuanaland accounted for this decline. As long as the number of students enrolled in primary schools decreased or remained constant, the number of students who earned the Primary Lower Certificate and entered teaching was slightly greater than the number of teachers who left the service. Therefore, the number and percentage of qualified primary school teachers increased slightly.

The Lobatse Government Teacher Training College opened in July 1956. After nearly eight years of delays this institution replaced the temporary one in Kanye and accommodated 120 students. The basic course offered in 1957--the Primary Lower course--remained a three-year post standard six course designed to prepare teachers to instruct classes up to Stds II or III.

Perhaps the greatest weakness in education in this territory is the fact that most of these lower classes are taught by unqualified female teachers. . . . Therefore our object is to replace these 285 unqualified teachers as soon as possible with teachers, mostly women, who have lower primary qualifications.¹⁵

The Primary Lower course was designed to offer a comprehensive academic program and professional training. The first year was spent "mainly doing primary and post-primary academic work because the recruits were of so low academic quality."¹⁶ "You actually used the

primary school textbooks and based your lessons upon what was taught in those textbooks. . . This bored a few of the students so it was necessary to supplement the material."¹⁷

The last two years of the course emphasized professional training and practical teaching in local schools. "Most of the time was spent on theory. . . They always told us that this was the principle of teaching but seldom showed us how to put it into practice."¹⁸ Students learned the one right way to teach, and it generally came from the principal's office or notes. Every student went to the demonstration school and tried to present their lessons in the identical manner. For example, they followed a patterned reading approach. The student teacher located the proper place in the chapter, selected certain key words from the reading, and wrote them on the board. The student teacher then pronounced each word distinctly and explained the meaning of each word. After making certain that everyone was quiet and attentive, the student teacher stood in front of the class and carefully read a paragraph. He made sure that he emphasized certain words and inflected his voice at the punctuation marks. After rereading the same paragraph, the student teacher selected the best readers from the class to read the paragraph aloud. Other pupils then criticized the reading and were asked if the reader had used the same inflections and emphasized the same words as the student teacher. Eventually, every pupil read and was criticized by his fellow pupils. After everyone had taken his turn to read, the student teacher asked five or six questions which the pupils were expected to answer.¹⁹

Students followed a specific format in each subject they taught.

When the principal visited classes and discovered a student teacher using an improper method, he frequently called all the students and teachers at the training college together. The principal called the student to the front of the assembly hall, pointed the student out to all staff and students, and identified the errors he made in presenting the lesson. Then the principal demonstrated the correct methods and specific format that the student should have used. In this manner, every student and staff member learned the proper method of instructing each subject.²⁰

In 1958 the Lobatse Government Teacher Training College introduced a second course of study--Primary Higher--designed to prepare teachers (mainly men) for work in Stds III through VI. Students must have earned a high pass in the Junior Certificate examination and received a medical certificate to qualify for admission to the two-year course of study. The syllabus reviewed the academic material covered in the higher primary school and emphasized the use of English. The course concentrated upon teaching practices, methods, professional education, and practical teaching. The syllabus closely followed the one used in Basutoland and students wrote an external examination to qualify for the Primary Higher Teacher's Certificate. The first nine students sat for the examination in 1959. All nine passed and received their Primary Higher Teacher's Certificate. The teachers who earned their Primary Higher Teacher's Certificate helped replace other qualified teachers who had migrated to Rhodesia. Inadequate housing, crowded classrooms, and salaries--generally one-half of that offered in Rhodesia--encouraged many teachers with Primary Higher or Matriculation

to leave Bechuanaland.²¹

At the same time, teaching remained one of the most important positions during the colonial era.

When I was a teacher, it was a very respected position in the village. People looked up to the teacher. . . . Many of our most talented people became teachers because this was the only avenue open to them during the colonial era. They tolerated the poor salaries and conditions of service because they wanted to remain in Bechuanaland.²²

By 1960 ninety-three students--twelve in Primary Higher and eighty-one in Primary Lower--pursued their studies at the teacher training college. Twenty-six sat for and passed the Primary Lower examination. One of the two men who sat for the Primary Higher Examination passed. The Director of Education commented that special importance is attached to teacher training because development of the whole educational system depends upon the quality of teaching and not the number of pupils attending schools. He praised the work--especially practical teaching--at Lobatse.²³ He also reported that work had begun on a second teacher training college at Serowe to increase the quantity of qualified teachers available for schools in the Protectorate.

Table P indicated the quantitative changes in primary school teachers' qualifications and teacher training between 1950-1960.

TABLE P: PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS AND TRAINING COLLEGE STUDENTS 1950-1960²⁴

	No. of Qualified Teachers	No. of Unqualified Teachers	No. of Students in Training Colleges			No. Passes on Teaching Examinations	
			Primary Lower	Primary Higher	Total	Primary Lower	Primary Higher
1950	207	254	93	-	93	23/25	-
1955	302	307	53	-	53	19/19	-
1960	519	516	81	12	93	26/26	1/2

The ninety-three students in training colleges in 1950 include thirty-seven studying in South Africa.

Both the number of qualified and unqualified teachers more than doubled during the ten-year period. However, the number of students successfully completing primary teachers' examinations increased from twenty-three to only twenty-seven. This small number of newly qualified primary school teachers did not even begin to replace the 130 teachers who annually left teaching.²⁵ The teacher training college under construction at Serowe would double the existing capacity for training teachers and increase the number and percentage of qualified teachers.

Government recognized the difficulty of attracting and retaining qualified teachers in Bechuanaland. As early as 1959 Government accepted the proposal for a review of teachers' salaries and conditions of service and appointed a British educator (Mr. Rusbridger) and a financial analyst (Mr. Weber) to undertake such a study. Their study revealed that salaries, conditions of service, and the rules and regulations governing teachers and employers varied greatly between each tribal reserve. They also discovered a large disparity between the salaries paid to teachers in Government schools and those employed in tribal schools.²⁶

Rusbridger and Weber recommended the establishment of a Unified Teaching Service which recruited, classified, and paid teachers on a common scale appropriate to their qualifications. The United Teaching Service would also establish uniform rules and regulations governing the rights and obligations of teachers and employers. Their report

recommended a Provident Fund scheme be established. Teachers would pay 5 percent of their salary into the fund, and employers would pay an equal amount into the fund. This fund would form the basis of a contributory pension plan. Rusbridger and Weber also recommended a uniform salary schedule based upon qualifications and immediate salary increases at all levels.²⁷

In 1961 the Government approved the establishment of the Provident Fund, instituted the salary increases, and prepared the mechanism for a Unified Teaching Service. Funds from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund paid the differences between the old salaries and the new salaries. However, Government told tribal authorities that they must meet the full salaries of any new teachers from tribal funds; that is, Central Government would not be able to subsidize the salaries of additional teachers employed after 1961.²⁸ The Teaching Service Law of 1964 established the Unified Teaching Service, defined the rights and obligations of the teachers and employers, and adopted uniform salaries and conditions of service. Government believed that these increases in salary and improvements in the conditions of service would encourage more students to join the teaching service and reduce the number of qualified teachers who left teaching.²⁹

In the meantime, Serowe Teacher Training College opened in 1963 with a capacity of 180 students. Concurrent with the opening of the training college, Government refused to recognize any professional teaching certificates from South Africa which were earned after 1962. The Bechuana felt that Bantu Education was academically and culturally "inferior" and did not want any teachers educated totally under the

Bantu Education Act to teach their children. The decision not to recognize South African teaching certificates placed even greater demands on the teacher training colleges in Bechuanaland.³⁰

The teacher training college at Serowe was charged with the responsibility of helping to fill the critical shortage of trained lower primary school teachers. These untrained teachers, with some exceptions, "forced children to endure the boredom and frustration of lessons given by teachers whose own store of knowledge is scant and whose acquaintance with teaching skills nil."³¹ Teachers required constant repetition and recitation of unassimilable facts and figures, and caned (hit with a stick) those who did not respond properly. "This effectively killed most natural interest and enthusiasm and many children became discouraged and left school early for some more profitable activity."³²

The Serowe Teacher Training College offered the Primary Lower course and a special in-service course for promising unqualified primary school teachers. These teachers must have taught successfully for a minimum of four years. These teachers attended four three-week vacation courses at Serowe. They received instruction in practical subjects such as drawing, blackboard work, apparatus making, and practical teaching, and the academic subjects of oral English, oral Tswana, and arithmetic. After the course at the college, teachers returned to their villages with a set of definite correspondence lessons which they were required to complete and return to the Central African Training College in Uganda. When the teachers completed the two-year vacation course of study and the correspondence lesson, the

teacher received the Elementary Teacher's Certificate.

Fifty-two teachers began the course in 1963; thirty-five finished in 1964; and forty-seven new trainees began in 1964. The following statement summed up the feelings of the staff:

The students showed much initial enthusiasm. . . many students failed to cope with the exacting demands of sustained and consistent self-discipline necessary for the correspondence studies.³³

'Most of the students went to teacher training college because they did not really have any opportunity to go elsewhere. . . If we performed well, we might even get into secondary school.'³⁴ Students lacked pride in themselves, their country, and the dignity and challenge of teaching. When it was suggested that the students build their own tennis courts and soccer fields, the students groaned and said, 'We are training to be teachers. This is not the work of teachers.'³⁵

The combined output of the two teaching colleges in 1964 totaled eighty-six, including the special Elementary Teachers' course at Serowe. The number of people leaving teaching because of localisation, retirement, suspension, or dismissal was estimated at 150. Assuming all eighty-six qualified teachers entered schools in the Protectorate, sixty-four vacant posts would still need to be filled by untrained people who had barely finished primary school.

There is a very pressing need for the extension of teacher training facilities. Doubling existing facilities would do little more than keep pace with annual teacher losses. Trebling facilities now would begin to have a marked beneficial effect on the system in twenty years.³⁶

During the period 1960-1965, Government recruited many qualified Bechuana to fill vacant or existing civil service positions. In this

push for localisation, teachers provided one of the few sources of educated and qualified personnel. Many qualified teachers left the teaching service for top civil service positions.³⁷ They left because of the excellent opportunities available in the civil service, higher salaries, better conditions, and higher status. "Teaching was an old service and the only avenue open to us under the colonials. . . . The Civil Service is new and exciting."³⁸

Education Department records showed that sixty-seven teachers left teaching to take up nonteaching posts in the Civil Service between 1965-1969. This represents an average loss of fifteen teachers per annum, which is less than 1 percent of the total teaching force. However, forty teachers with Primary Higher or better qualifications left teaching. This represented a major loss to teaching when all teachers in Botswana, including expatriates, holding such qualifications were less than 400. However,

. . . there has not been in recent years anything like an exodus from teaching. A more real loss occurred through the failure of the Teaching Service with its existing salaries and terms of service to attract many talented young people to take up teaching as a career.³⁹

UNESCO sent Professor L. J. Lewis of the London University Institute of Education to study the educational system in Bechuanaland and to make recommendations for improving the quality of education. In his report of 19 September 1965, Professor Lewis proposed the construction of a teacher-training college. The proposed college would offer a two year in-service training course for unqualified teachers and a three year in-service course for teachers with the Primary Lower Certificate. He recommended that facilities be expanded rapidly to

increase the intake and output of the present teacher-training colleges. Professor Lewis urged that the in-service courses and the expanded teacher training course be closely coordinated with a program of radio broadcasts, correspondence lessons, and extensive use be made of mass media services.⁴⁰

Garth ap Rees, United Nations representative in Botswana, argued that a crash program was needed to train 785 unqualified primary teachers in as short a time as possible. He pointed out that the doubling primary school enrollment and the small annual output of qualified teachers intensified the importance of training these unqualified teachers.⁴¹

In 1966 the Botswana Government signed an agreement with UNESCO, UNICEF, and the Swedish International Development Authority. This document proposed to progressively improve the appeal and effectiveness of primary school education, thereby eliminating the alarming incidence of dropouts and reducing the high rate of repetition. More specifically, the project proposed to strengthen the teaching force in general, to introduce primary school headteachers to the requirements of the revised syllabi, and to improve primary and secondary school teaching facilities. The project planned to immediately expand and strengthen the facilities available for training unqualified teachers by building a new teacher training college. A special in-service teachers' course designed to train the large number of unqualified primary school teachers would be introduced at the new training college. These courses would be closely coordinated with educational broadcasting programs and followed up with special correspondence lessons.⁴²

The Swedish International Development Authority granted £ 137,000 toward the construction and equipment of Francistown Teacher Training College in 1967. As construction progressed, officials drew up the final plans for operation of the training college and tried to recruit the necessary staff.

Government encountered considerable difficulty in recruiting the appropriate staff. This delayed the college opening. In late 1968 the first group of sixty unqualified primary school teachers enrolled at Francistown Teacher Training College in the special in-service program. Only unqualified teachers who held a permanent teaching post were eligible to participate in the program.

The diagram, Figure No. 5, on page 246 outlines the program of study. The three year in-service program consisted of residential study at Francistown, supportive activities for the teachers while they were teaching in their classrooms, and correspondence lessons. A six week residential program started each year of study. Lecturers introduced and discussed the correspondence lessons which the teachers would follow during the year. During the residential period the unqualified teachers heard lectures, participated in workshops and demonstrations, and prepared teaching aids which could be used in their classrooms. Lectures and practical work covered the following subjects: Arts and Crafts, Health, Music, Physical Education, Science, School Organization, and Setswana. All subjects, especially Arts and Crafts, emphasized the use of indigenous materials and active participation of the learners. The staff promoted a self-improvement program and encouraged teachers to adopt the ideas they learned at the college

FIGURE NO. 5

**DIAGRAM OF PROGRAMME OF STUDY FOR
ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' COURSE AT FRANCISTOWN 1968-1972⁴³**

A six week resident session at the College begins each year of study.

RESIDENTIAL STUDY:

Lectures introducing correspondence courses	Demonstrations, lectures, and workshops: Arts and Crafts Health Music Physical Education Setswana School Organization	Films Drama Library Visiting lecturers, including religious services	Demonstrations and experiments in Science Laboratory

SUPPORTING ACTIVITIES for teachers in the field:

Radio talks twice weekly by college lecturers	Lecturers answering students' questions on lessons	Monthly newsletter	Field visits by college lecturers to teachers in their schools

STUDENT-TEACHER REQUIREMENTS:

**Three years of study by
correspondence courses in:**

**Education
Language
Mathematics
Science
Social Studies**

for use in their own classrooms.⁴⁴

After the teachers completed the six-week residential part of the course, they returned to their teaching posts throughout the country and resumed their full time teaching duties. Each student was required to listen to the radio broadcasts--two per week--given by the college lecturers. These broadcasts were designed to help the teachers understand their textbooks and to assist them in completing their correspondence lessons. Each unqualified teacher in the program was expected to complete eight sets of correspondence lessons in five subjects. The five subjects were English, education, mathematics, science, and social studies.

Several examples from the correspondence sets follow:

When we educate a child, we must bring out the best
ab.li...s the child has in him.⁴⁵

An accurate intelligence test can only be made up
by an ex.....

It must obey two rules: (Rearrange the words in
brackets to make correct sentences)

- (i) It must be based on the knowledge which
.....
(are expected/in a particular/to have/most chil-
dren/age-group)
- (ii) It must measure all
.....
(abilities/most important/special/the four)⁴⁶

Put some damp soil in a box and sow seeds about a
quarter of an inch under the soil. Cut a small window
in the end of the box and fasten down the lid so that
no light gets into the box except through the window.
Keep the soil watered. Explain what happens. Why does
the plant grow toward the window?⁴⁷

Mary is taller than John, but shorter than Annah.⁴⁸
Who is the shorter, John or Annah?.....

When a teacher completed a correspondence set, he posted it to his tutor at the college. The tutor corrected the set and returned it, by post, to the teacher with his detailed comments. Only after a teacher completed all the required sets for that year was he eligible to return for the next year's course.

The training college provided support to the teachers in the field. A college lecturer visited even the most remote teachers at least once a year. The lecturer observed their teaching and offered assistance and encouragement in their teaching and correspondence sets. The unqualified teachers received a monthly newsletter from the college. The newsletter contained suggestions they made, ideas that they were using, new games, and a program of the radio broadcasts.

When an unqualified teacher successfully completed all requirements, he earned the Elementary Teacher's Certificate.

The course started in late 1968 with an initial group of sixty students and expanded to 180 students in 1969. By June 1970, 609 of the 671 unqualified teachers in 1967 were enrolled at various stages of the in-service course. Most of these unqualified teachers were expected to complete their training and earned the Elementary Teacher's Certificate by 1973.

During the first year of operation, staff conflicts between expatriates about such things as correspondence lessons and field supervision led to the resignation or transfer of all but one member of the original staff. This severely curtailed operations while a new staff was assembled. Few course syllabi were prepared; no radio broadcasts were given, correspondence lessons were not written, and the

correspondence section fell into a shambles. When the new staff was finally assembled, these five lecturers assumed the burden of teaching the residential courses, preparing correspondence lessons for the three year period, developing course syllabi, giving radio broadcasts, and correcting and commenting on the correspondence lessons which the teachers sent to them. In addition to this, the unqualified teachers in the course, who were scattered throughout the country, had to be visited.⁴⁹

The unqualified teachers encountered difficulty with the correspondence lessons. The lessons were often too difficult for them to read and understand. Few teachers had lights and had to prepare their lessons by candlelight. Communications with teachers in the remote areas suffered greatly due to inaccessibility of these areas and the difficulty in getting post to and from teachers stationed there. A shortage of radios existed and the reception was quite poor in remote areas. Teachers who had barely completed primary schools found it hard to complete the correspondence lessons written by university-educated expatriates who knew little about education in Botswana.⁵⁰

In spite of all the difficulties encountered, education officers reported a marked enthusiasm on the part of the unqualified teachers when they returned to their schools. The comments of a headteacher in Maun summed it up as follows: "Teachers who really made an effort gained so much excitement. . . It was highly successful, particularly in methods and ideas. . . Some of their attitudes and questions are rubbing off on others."⁵¹

Late in 1969 the Francistown Teacher Training College introduced

a two year Advanced Teachers' course designed to prepare nonuniversity graduates for teaching in the lower forms of secondary schools or the upper standards of primary schools. This course prepared students for the Teachers' Certificate of the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland Schools Examinations Council. Essentially, this course attempted to train secondary school graduates, who could not gain entrance to a university, for teaching in the secondary schools. Ten students entered the two year course which included a total of ten weeks of practice teaching.

The University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, supported by a grant from the United States Agency for International Development, introduced a four week in-service course for primary school headteachers. The course built upon a strong psychological foundation. The lecturers tried to relate the curriculum in Botswana schools to the psychological developments of children and the principles of learning and motivation.⁵²

We found most of the headteachers wanted additional instruction in the areas of math, science, and language. . . this in-service work was a great success. . . it helped headteachers build a new image. . . changed some of their attitudes about the role they should play in their school.⁵³

The Department of Education offered vacation courses for teachers every year, and the education officers provided in-service education for teachers in the field. In addition, every year a few people went overseas for special workshops such as infant methods, modern mathematics, arts and crafts, and child development. "These in-service courses to improve methods are excellent. . . but what happens when they return to classrooms without furniture and equipment?"⁵⁴

In order to give students an opportunity to observe and teach classes in a nearby primary school, the Central District Education Committee, at the request of the Serowe Teacher Training College, built a demonstration school. Lecturers from the training college represented sample lessons; students observed and assisted in classroom instruction; and students presented and critiqued demonstration lessons under the Supervisor of Lecturers from the training colleges. The demonstration school was equipped with small steel tables, movable chairs, new blackboards, large display racks, and well-lighted rooms. As the Education Secretary commented, "What will these students do when they teach in some ill-equipped classrooms or under the trees?"⁵⁵

Most of the students in the training colleges were enrolled in the primary lower course. "Syllabi for individual courses, such as English, science, and math were really nonexistent."⁵⁶ The lecturers essentially followed the syllabus used in the primary schools as the basis of study. As a result of a recent inspection, a few syllabi were in the developmental stages. Until this time, each new instructor began to draw up his syllabus shortly after his arrival and usually did not finish it before he departed. Teachers rarely related their instruction to what occurred in other classes.⁵⁷

Lecturers devoted the first year and a half of instruction to a "crash revision course" in all the primary school subjects.⁵⁸ During the second and third years, students spent approximately six weeks observing teachers in the field. "It was extremely difficult to find competent teachers for the students to observe."⁵⁹ Students devoted nine or ten weeks during their last year to teaching practice. During

teaching practice, the students taught four or five hours per day in a local school. They were responsible for planning lessons which followed the scheme book and timetable and utilized the principles which they had learned in their methods classes.

The lecturers from the college assisted the students in preparing lessons, observed the students, critiqued and discussed their teaching, and evaluated their performance. "Until 1968 there was very little concerted effort made to regularly observe teaching practices."⁶⁰

The curriculum contained little practical work because of the lack of qualified instructors and the difficulty in getting other Government officials to assist as exemplified in the following comments:

An agricultural demonstrator was supposed to come every Friday afternoon to instruct students, assist students in preparing demonstration lessons, and supervise the students' practical agricultural work. However, we are lucky if he arrives one in four times and I have yet to see him deal with topics of the new syllabus.⁶¹

The Department of Education administered the Primary Lower Examination. Each year they sent education officers to the training colleges. They observed, evaluated, and critiqued the practical teaching and administered the examinations. On the basis of these evaluations by the education officers certificates were awarded.

By contrast, the Primary Higher Examination was administered by a joint committee of the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. In order to be eligible for admission into the primary higher course, a student must earn a "good" pass on the Junior Certificate Examination. The course followed a prescribed syllabus. Subjects studied fell into five groups. Group A consisted of theory of education,

school organization and regulations, and teaching methods; Group B encompassed English and Setswana; Group C covered the academic subjects such as mathematics, science, history, and religious education; Group D dealt with arts and crafts work; and Group E emphasized classroom skills such as blackboard work, drawing, physical education, music, and classroom games. Students were examined by external examiners on the material in the syllabus and the effectiveness of their practical teaching.⁶²

Government recognized the increasing number of students who had received education beyond primary school, and attempted to recruit their talents for primary education. Government raised the minimum admission requirements and reduced the length of the primary lower course. The new policy stated that, beginning in 1969, only students who have completed at least three years of secondary school were eligible for admission. Prior to this decision, almost all of the students enrolled in the primary lower course had only completed Std VII, the highest level in primary school. This decision meant that students who had completed Form III, but failed the Junior Certificate Examination, formed the overwhelming majority of students who enrolled in the new two year primary lower course. "It was their last chance . . . they were rejects and saw teaching as a booby prize."⁶³

Consequently, the first year of instruction was largely one of changing their attitude and having them look at themselves and teaching in a different way. "Once they begin their teaching practice, some students changed their attitudes and became very enthusiastic about teaching."⁶⁴ Others never got involved, and when they graduated

"... taught only if they could not find something else."⁶⁵

When the number of students passing the Junior Certificate Examination increased, Government planned to raise the minimum entry requirements again in an effort to further upgrade the quality of the teaching force.⁶⁶

Table Q illustrates some of the quantitative changes in teacher training between 1960 and 1969.

TABLE Q: TEACHER TRAINING 1960-1969⁶⁷

	<u>Primary Lower Students</u>	<u>Primary Lower Examination No. of Passes No. of Attempts</u>	<u>Primary Higher Students</u>	<u>Primary Higher Examination No. of Passes No. of Attempts</u>	<u>Total Teacher Output</u>
1960	81	26/26	12	1/2	27
1963	138	22/27	31	10/15*	32
1966	271	68/86	22	15/22**	83
1969	277	99/100	26	10/10	109

The number of students enrolled in Primary Lower courses increased more than threefold between 1960-1969 and doubled during the period 1963-1969. Primary Higher students doubled between 1960-1969 but declined 20 percent between 1963-1969. The rate of success on the Primary Lower Examination exceeded 79 percent in each year and was 99 percent in 1969. The results of the Primary Higher Examination reached 100 percent in 1969.

The annual output of qualified teachers multiplied four times between 1960 and 1969. However, the supply of qualified teachers fell

* Four students earned partial passes.

** This includes eight supplementary examinations.

NOTE: These figures do not include teachers enrolled in the special in-service courses for unqualified teachers at Francistown Teacher Training College.

drastically short of the attrition rate of 140 teachers per annum.⁶⁸ Of course, Francistown Teacher Training College recently initiated their in-service program for untrained teachers. At least 360 untrained teachers, presently teaching in primary schools, were enrolled at various stages of this course. When these unqualified teachers complete the course, the number of untrained primary school teachers should be greatly reduced.

Recurrent expenditures* for teacher training education increased from £ 11,595 (1960), to £ 12,158 (1963), to £ 19,148 (1966)** and decreased to £ 58,231 (1969). The amount of money spent for recurrent expenses in teacher training jumped more than five times between 1960 and 1969.⁶⁹

At the same time, the number of lecturers in the teacher training college tripled during the ten year period 1960-1969. Table R illustrated this growth and the qualifications of the staff.

TABLE R: QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE LECTURERS 1960-1969⁷⁰

	<u>Trained</u>			<u>Untrained</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Univer-</u> <u>sity</u> <u>Graduate</u>	<u>Secondary</u> <u>School</u> <u>Graduate</u>	<u>Non-</u> <u>secondary</u> <u>School</u> <u>Graduate</u>	<u>Univer-</u> <u>sity</u> <u>Graduate</u>	<u>Secondary</u> <u>School</u> <u>Graduate</u>	<u>Non-</u> <u>secondary</u> <u>School</u> <u>Graduate</u>	
1960	3	6	1	-	-	-	10
1963	7	2	4	-	-	-	13
1966	13	3	1	-	3	-	20
1969	13	7	1	8	-	-	30

*Recurrent expenditures covered all expenses except capital improvement and special foreign financed projects.

** £ 52,952 was spent for capital improvement in 1966.

Whereas 100 percent of the staff in the teacher training colleges received professional educational training in 1960, only 73 percent had received similar training in 1969. In addition, twenty-three (including fifteen volunteers) of the thirty staff members were expatriates in 1969. This type of staffing constituted an acute problem.⁷¹ Most of the staff were short-term expatriates who had taught infrequently in primary schools and certainly never in an African primary school. Expatriates took two or three terms to adjust to the fact that the students had completed Std VII or, at the most, Form III. Most expatriate teachers had to revise their preparations and lessons three or four times before they began to reach the students.⁷²

Most expatriate teachers knew very little about the educational system or its development in Botswana. They were unfamiliar with the background and preparation of their students.⁷³ The differences in cultural backgrounds forced the staff to examine discipline, methods, supervision, and aims. For example, the European staff felt discipline was too strict and rigid and wanted to allow considerably more personal freedom. The expatriates argued that part of teachers' education should be to make them responsible people. This required more individual choice on the student's part.⁷⁴ The African staff stated that strict discipline is part of the way in which African students learn to accept responsibility. They will be expected to behave in the same fashion when they return to teach in a village school.⁷⁵

Volunteers* often made up for their lack of technical skills by generating a good deal of enthusiasm. They related with students quite

* Included Peace Corps, IVS, VSO, private and foreign government volunteers.

easily. This relationship between students and volunteer teachers at the training college encouraged some students to extend themselves in their studies and to become more responsible. This often created other difficulties. "Volunteers' enthusiasm often generated waves with which the present system was not prepared to deal. This sometimes led to a great deal of conflict throughout the institution."⁷⁶ As a result of these experiences, no untrained volunteers were assigned to teacher training college after 1969.

END NOTES

- ¹Statement by Mrs. Chiepe, op. cit., Tape 2A 49-52.
- ²Statement by Mothibatsela, op. cit., Tape 18A 55-70.
- ³"Examiner's Report of 1945," Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
- ⁴Ibid.
- ⁵Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., p. 41.
- ⁶Ibid.
- ⁷Jowitt cited in Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, pp. 41-43.
- ⁸Statement by B. C. Thema, op. cit., Tape 15A 15-20.
- ⁹Statement by Thomas Makepe, op. cit., Tape 13B 40-60.
- ¹⁰Shaw cited in Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1948 (Mafeking, South Africa: Swan, 1946), p. 13.
- ¹¹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1949 (Johannesburg: Automatic Printing Press, 1949), p. 27.
- ¹²Ibid.
- ¹³Bechuanaland Government Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., p. 22.
- ¹⁴For a discussion of Bantu Education see pages 104 and 195.
- ¹⁵Kusche, "Memorandum on Teacher Education," 6 January 1956 (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana).
- ¹⁶Statement by Ndwapi, op. cit., Tape 4AA 49-61.
- ¹⁷Statement by Dave Johnson, personal interview, 15 October 1970, Tape 10A 0-7.
- ¹⁸Statement by J. D. Tsiako, personal interview, 11 September 1970, Tape 4B 24-33.

- ¹⁹Statement by Johnson, op. cit., Tape 10A 2-7.
- ²⁰Ibid., Tape 10A 20-24.
- ²¹Statement by Ndwapi, op. cit., Tape 4AA 50-60.
- ²²Statement by Thema, op. cit., Tape 15A 28-40.
- ²³Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1960, op. cit., p. 8.
- ²⁴Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1950, 1955, and 1960, op. cit.
- ²⁵Luke, op. cit., p. 45. This is a projection of the data Luke presented.
- ²⁶G. H. Rusbridger and H. Weber, "Review of Salaries and Conditions of Teachers in the High Commission Territories" (Pretoria, South Africa: Minerva Printing Works, Ltd., 1960), pp. 3-24.
- ²⁷Ibid., pp. 26-28 and 28-34.
- ²⁸Ibid., pp. 42-44.
- ²⁹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1961, op. cit., p. 7.
- ³⁰Statement by Pilane, op. cit.
- ³¹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1963, op. cit., p. 22.
- ³²Ibid.
- ³³"Report on Teacher Education Programs" (National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana), recorded on Tape 13A 25-66.
- ³⁴Statement by Tsiako, op. cit., Tape 4B 33-35.
- ³⁵Statement by Mothibatsela, op. cit., Tape 18B 70-80.
- ³⁶Luke, op. cit., p. 45.
- ³⁷Statement by Thema, op. cit., Tape 15A 28-40.
- ³⁸Ibid.
- ³⁹E. K. Okoh, Report of the Commission on the Salaries and Conditions of Service of the Public Service and the Teaching Service (Gaborone: Government Printery, July 1970), par. 578.

⁴⁰L. J. Lewis, "Report on Education in Bechuanaland," 19 September 1965 (National Archives, Gaborone).

⁴¹Garth ap Rees to Mary Richardson, 31 March 1966.

⁴²"Plan of Operations-Botswana Education (Teacher Training)," 23 February 1967 (UNICEF, Kampala).

⁴³"An Experiment in Teacher Training," July 1970 (Francistown: Teacher Training College, 1970), p. 2 (Mimeographed).

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 2-4.

⁴⁵"Education Set No. 1, Exercises for Set No. 1," (Francistown: Teacher Training College, 1968), p. 2.

⁴⁶"Education Set No. 5, Exercises for Set No. 5," (Francistown: Teacher Training College, 1968), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷"Science Set No. 8, Exercises for Set No. 8," (Francistown: Teacher Training College, 1968).

⁴⁸"Education Set No. 5, Exercises for Set No. 5," (Francistown: Teacher Training College, 1968).

⁴⁹Statement by Pawley, op. cit., Tape 4A 46-60.

⁵⁰Statements by Ndwapi and Leinaeng, op. cit., Tapes 4AA 49-65 and 15B 42-61.

⁵¹Statement by Chademana, op. cit., Tape 5B 7-9.

⁵²Statement by Wilson, op. cit., Tape 5B 7-9.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Statement by Thema, op. cit., Tape 15A 51-55.

⁵⁵Statement by Dikeledi, op. cit.

⁵⁶Statement by Mr. Motoame, personal interview, 18 November 1970.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Statement by G. T. Jackson, op. cit., 11 October 1970.

⁶⁰Statement by Mothibatsela, op. cit.

⁶¹Statement by Jackson, op. cit.

⁶²Regulations and Syllabus for UBLS Schools Examination Council-Primary Higher Teachers' Course (Maseru, Lesotho: Examinations Councils, 1970).

⁶³Statement by Motoame, op. cit.

⁶⁴Statement by four tutors at Lobatse Teacher Training College, 18 November 1970.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶National Development Plan 1970-75, op. cit.

⁶⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960, 1963, 1966, and 1969, op. cit.

⁶⁸Luke, op. cit., p. 45.

⁶⁹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960, 1963, 1966, and 1969, op. cit.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Statement by Mr. Kgarebe, personal interview, 20 September 1970.

⁷²Statement by Wayne Yoder, personal interview, 18 November 1970.

⁷³Statement by Motoame, op. cit.

⁷⁴Statement by Johnson, op. cit., Tape 10A 30-36.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Statement by Motoame, op. cit.

Section IX

OTHER POST PRIMARY EDUCATION

A. TRADE AND AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

The first formal post-primary vocational technical education in Bechuanaland started in 1934 with the Forest Hills Agricultural School.¹ Seven years later the Dutch Reformed Church began an adolescent school for girls in Mochudi.² This school trained fourteen, fifteen and sixteen year old girls who had never been to school to cook, select foods, knit, and sew. The course was designed to give the girls something to do at home that would better their conditions. Sister Mollendorf, headmistress of the school (1945-1969) commented, 'We found it difficult to train girls to cut patterns, sew, and cook who couldn't read or write. . . So eventually we required Std II for admission. . . We gradually raised the requirements to Std VII.'³

In the Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1945, the Director of Education stated, 'Unfortunately, neither technical nor agricultural training has, as yet, been established within the Protectorate. . . several, essentially post-primary school forms of departmental training are operating.'⁴ Specifically, twenty probationer nurses and sixteen male medical orderlies enrolled in medical training facilities at Maun, Francistown, Lobatse, and Serowe in 1945; and the Mechanical Superintendent at the Public Works Department Depot had begun to train a few Bechuana mechanics. An agricultural scheme to train Bechuana to farm small holdings under irrigation failed to attract any trainees.

While little vocational or agricultural training occurred in Bechuanaland in 1945, fifty-nine students pursued such training in nearby South Africa. The students enrolled in the following programs of study: fourteen in carpentry, twelve in agriculture, nine in commercial, eight in domestic science, seven in masonry, and the remainder in forestry, tannery, nursing, and printing.⁵ Twenty-six of these students joined other Bechuana who studied teacher training and secondary work at Tiger Kloof.

Several Bechuana, who had received their formal agricultural training in South Africa, introduced a demonstration plot program among the Bakgatla in 1947-1948. Under this program, farmers provided three one acre demonstration plots at their "lands"; members of the agriculture department told the farmers what to do with these three plots; and the farmers were required to vigorously follow instructions. For example, farmers fertilized one plot with phosphates (the main chemical fertilizer), spread fresh cow manure on another, and did nothing to the third. These plots were planted, treated, and harvested using similar methods. After the harvest, farmers compared the yields per acre. They discovered that plots fertilized with cow manure and phosphate produced similar yields which were much higher than the unfertilized plots.⁶ The demonstration plot program grew into the pupil-farmer scheme in 1956. This in turn led to the establishment of the pupil-stockman scheme in 1963-1964.⁷

At the same time the demonstration plot program began at the "lands", the Mochudi Homecrafts Center replaced the adolescent girls' school and moved into a reconditioned Bakgatla tribal house which the

chief donated. The house had been equipped and the course revised to "enable girls to run their homes in a more hygienic and scientific manner. . . and to give a thorough grounding in the best methods of using available foodstuffs and materials."⁸ The homecrafts center offered a short course for village women because, "If the teaching of homecrafts is to be successful, it is essential that the work should not be confined to schools but should be carried over to the community."⁹ There were 140 village women between eighteen and fifty-two who arrived early and "needed much persuasion" to leave at the end of the day. The women made garments, cooked, and listened to and observed lectures and practical demonstrations on child care. "The most encouraging feature was the enthusiasm the women expressed. . . and said they were looking forward to the next one."¹⁰

In 1952 the Mochudi Homecrafts Center introduced a one-year course to train homecraft teachers. Only qualified teachers were eligible to attend the course. They had to give up a year's teaching salary to attend. If they successfully completed the course, they earned a Homecraft Teacher Certificate which qualified them for a pay increment. The course emphasized methods of teaching homecrafts in the primary school. Students designed demonstration materials and presented sample lessons. Students were required to demonstrate the needlework, cookery, and gardening skills which were taught in primary schools. Thirty-six teachers earned a Homecrafts Teachers' Certificate at Mochudi between 1952 and 1960.

Shortly after the homecrafts teachers' course was instituted, the center shortened the regular three-year industrial course to two years

and divided it into two parts. One section dealt with needlework and related topics while the other stressed domestic sciences, especially food preparation. Each student completed either needlework or domestic science during the first year and switched to the other section the following year.

Enrollment at the homecrafts center increased from thirteen in 1950 to twenty-nine in 1960. During the same period, several other developments in technical and agricultural education occurred. The Veterinary Department started a very small school for department employees. Several schools located in parts of the Kalahari Desert where game abounded taught the traditional craft of skinwork. Special local instructors demonstrated how to make mats and rugs of different patterns from the skins of wild animals. Instructors taught students the art of skillfully stitching antelope, jackal, springbok, lion, and goat skins together with sinew. Under the careful eye of these instructors, students made mats and karosses.¹¹

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act¹² closed the technical and agricultural training centers in South Africa to future Bechuana students. The twenty-four students who were enrolled at the time were allowed to complete their studies in South Africa. However, from 1954, Bechuana students who desired technical or agricultural training attended schools in Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland, or Swaziland when places were available. Development plans for Bechuanaland called for the construction of technical facilities in Bechuanaland by 1960.

Technical facilities had not been developed by 1960. In fact, vocational training was restricted to a small nursing program, a few

apprentices of the Public Works Department, several employee-trainees of the Veterinary Department, skinmaking instruction in the Kalahari, and twenty-four students at the Mochudi Homecrafts Center.

Mochudi Homecrafts Center terminated its two-year industrial course of study for girls in 1962. They developed two separate one-year courses--one in needlework and the other in domestic sciences--to replace the two-year course. Enrollment increased from twenty-nine in 1960, to thirty-eight in 1966, to seventy-five in 1969. Even with the doubling of enrollment between 1966-1969, the homecrafts center could accommodate only half of the primary school graduates who sought places. Between 1960-1969, fifty-four teachers completed the Homecraft Teachers' Certificate at Mochudi.¹³

As early as 1957, developmental plans called for a trades school in Bechuanaland, and the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund granted capital funds for such a school in 1958. Lack of an adequate water supply forced continued delay in the construction of a trades school. Construction finally began in 1961, and the Bechuanaland Trades School opened in March 1962. This was the first school in Bechuanaland to offer formal trade training. The school offered post-primary training in building and carpentry as well as post-Form III training in motor mechanics. Training in electrical work was added in 1967.

The three-year course of study at the trades schools was followed by two years of apprenticeship. The school followed syllabi designed by the City Guilds of London University with little adaptation or modification to meet the local needs of Bechuanaland. As the Principal stated, "The level of competency in all the crafts we offer is almost

universal in the world. . . We are producing qualified and skilled artisans and craftsmen with the industrial skills needed in the modern sector."¹⁴

In order to qualify for admission to the trade school, students must have completed Std VII and earned at least a "C" pass on the school leavers' examination. Initially, each applicant wrote trade aptitude tests. However, the aptitude tests were designed for foreign environments and did not take into account the vast differences between village and veld living conditions and experiences.¹⁵ Because of this, the testing practices were discarded and replaced by a panel which reviewed a candidate's records and interviewed each candidate. Since "the motivation of the student is the single most important criterion for successful trade training," the panel attempted to assess each candidate's commitment to learning a trade.¹⁶

The trades school experienced difficulty in attracting qualified and trained technical instructors. Finally, the Director of the Public Works Department released an instructor in motor mechanics and one in building skills to handle the teaching duties. This enabled seven students in each of the trades--building, carpentry, and motor mechanics--to begin their training in "large, pleasingly designed buildings, generously equipped with modern tools and machinery."¹⁷ The following year another twenty-one students were selected from one hundred sixty-one applicants to begin their studies.

Early in 1964 the Bechuanaland Trades Center combined with the Public Works Department's Training Organization and Central Government's Localisation and Training Scheme to form the Bechuanaland

Training Center. The training center facilities were expanded and included the trades school, the commerce and adult education section, a 140-person hostel, and a technical training scheme which controlled all on-the-job training and trades testing. Government charged the Bechuanaland Training Center with the responsibility of recruiting and training the personnel required to localise the labor force. The center trained new recruits and existing staff for the greater responsibilities that they would assume with the arrival of independence.¹⁸

The emphasis in the trades school changed from school-based training to on-the-job training. The commerce and adult education section offered typing and other courses to prepare clerical and executive workers. Short technical courses designed to train and retrain plant operators, drivers, and mechanics began. In 1965 the Bechuanaland Training Center became the comprehensive training institution designed to serve the developing needs of the country. The training center was also given major responsibility for in-service training of most Government employees. Three hundred people attended such courses at the Bechuanaland Training Center in 1965.¹⁹

Due to the increased commitment to training civil service employees the training center was transferred from the Education Department to the Ministry of Lands and Social Service in 1966. After the transfer, the Bechuanaland Training Center was responsible for the following: long and short technical courses for training artisans, public service courses to train civil service recruits and employees, commercial and cooperative courses, language training, and trade testing. Table S summarized the activities from 1965 through 1969.

TABLE S: SUMMARY OF TRAINING CENTER ACTIVITIES 1965-1969²⁰

	<u>No. of Courses Offered</u>	<u>No. of Students Attending Courses</u>
A: <u>Technical Long Courses</u>		
Builders	2	24
Carpenters	2	24
Electricians	2	18
Mechanics	<u>3</u>	<u>37</u>
	9	103
B: <u>Technical Short Courses</u>		
Construction and General Building	15	151
Mechanical and General Engineering	<u>59</u>	<u>497</u>
	74	648
C: <u>Public Service Courses</u>		
Administrative and Executive	12	157
Clerical and Typing	27	435
Stores and Financial	10	130
Local Government	17	194
Administration of Justice	<u>1</u>	<u>16</u>
	67	932
D: <u>Commercial and Cooperative Courses</u>		
Cooperative Courses	21	262
Commercial Courses	<u>5</u>	<u>78</u>
	26	340
E: <u>Special Language Courses</u>		
English Classes	9	155
Setswana Classes	<u>6</u>	<u>70</u>
	15	225
F: <u>Externally Run Courses</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>958</u>
Total All Courses	259	3,206
<u>Total All Trade Tests</u>		
Tests Conducted	1,932	
Passes	1,092	

Since the inception of trade school training in Bechuanaland in 1962, only eighty-one skilled artisans--twenty-two carpenters, seven electricians, and thirty motor mechanics--had been trained and placed in the country.²¹ Table S illustrated the training done at the Botswana Training Center between 1965 and 1969. Botswana demanded trained public service officials and the Botswana Training Center assumed the

task of training these officials.

The development of agricultural education in Bechuanaland accompanied the growth of vocational technical education. The pupil-farmers' scheme²² started with five farmers in 1956, and by 1964 had swelled to over 1700 farmers. Initially, the scheme tried to enroll influential people in each tribal area to serve as models. The first Bechuana farmer to advance from pupil-farmer to improved farmer to progressive farmer and, finally, a master farmer was Dr. Masire, who later became Vice President. Each master farmer increased his own wealth considerably and became a powerful agent for influencing agricultural development in the community. Dr. Masire stated:

Our long-term objective is to achieve widespread grass roots development that will improve the livelihoods of the masses of people. It is only through improved agricultural and livestock production that progress will be felt at all levels throughout the country.²³

President Khama described the nature of Botswana when he said, 'We are a nation of farmers.'²⁴ The growth and advancement of livestock production and arable farming depend "upon changing the attitudes of many people, changing traditional institutions, and modifying our way of life."²⁵ For example, people must be willing to accept change in order to improve the quality of their stock. The land tenure system prohibited fencing of any land located within tribal areas. This system made it impossible to control disease or improve breeding stock because of the behavior habits of marauding bulls. The traditional allocation of land by tribal authorities, based upon the favor of the chief, hindered the development of scientific farming when a less able

chief ruled a territory.²⁶ "Education in its broadest sense must play a major role in changing these attitudes and values."²⁷

The Mahalapye Agricultural Training Center was established in April 1962 to educate and train local Bechuana and to provide broad based agricultural education and assistance to the farmers in the field.

The first year, twenty-two students enrolled to become agricultural demonstrators. The students had completed primary school. They spent one year at intensive agricultural field work before the actual class-work began. By 1965 fifty-four students enrolled at Mahalapye. Those who successfully completed the program earned a Certificate of Agriculture and could be automatically employed as agricultural demonstrators. Of the first three groups of eighty-two students, fifty-two successfully completed the course and were appointed agricultural demonstrators. The output of trained demonstrators fell far short of the personnel required to reactivate the rural economy. Dr. Fielding, Chairman of the UNESCO Education Commission in 1965, stated that the existing facilities cannot be expected ever to close the gap between the available and required trained agricultural demonstrators.²⁸ The following year the Freedom from Hunger Committee donated £ 200,000 for the construction and equipment of an agricultural college at Sebele, five miles north of Gaborone.

The Botswana Agricultural College opened in October 1967 to train school leavers to become agricultural demonstrators. The program of study prescribed equal importance and emphasis to practical and theoretical instruction. In order to understand agricultural problems and experience the realities of agricultural life, each student lived and

worked on an agricultural settlement for one year prior to entering the college for two years of intensive training. In 1969 the college changed this procedure. The college introduced five weeks of preliminary training in agricultural mathematics, English, and general science to make up for deficiencies in the students' background. Arduous practical farm work accompanied this preliminary training. This combination served as a screening device for full admission to the college program.

The curriculum was designed to give concentrated practical and theoretical instruction in those aspects of crop and animal production which were directly related to the work of agricultural demonstrators. The courses also tried to introduce and familiarize the trainees with modern methods and techniques which would be introduced with the next decade. The staff endeavoured to make each student a more informed and responsible person who knew and accepted his role and responsibilities to the society.²⁹ The college principal used the following two quotations as training mottos:

Learn by understanding.
Understand by doing. . .

To hear is to forget;
to see is to understand;
to do is to know.³⁰

These two quotations served as a guide for the academic programs. Students ploughed, planted, weeded, and harvested. Each week a different group of students performed specific tasks in crop care or animal husbandry. The college owned a miniature farm which the student assumed much of the responsibility for operating. Experiments were performed

in cross-breeding, bone meal feeding, artificial insemination, and de-horning. Students gathered the experimental data, evaluated the data, and drew their own conclusions. By experience, students learned the effects of various methods and techniques. Responsibility for animal care was thereby forcing each student to learn and experience the methods for himself. Students also spent vacation periods either working with an agricultural demonstrator in the field or carrying out specific studies in their own village or community.

The Craddock-Turnbull Report which evaluated the Botswana Agricultural College in 1968 noted the "outstanding" integration of the theoretical and practical agricultural work; that is, "Instruction in sorghum planting is followed by a demonstration on a small plot. This is followed by actual planting."³¹ However, the report stated that relatively little emphasis was placed on teaching the student how to communicate the correct information to farmers on the lands. "It is well and good to have technically competent demonstrators, but their effectiveness will be measured by their ability to select, communicate, and persuade others of the value of their information and knowledge. Far too little time is spent in this area."³² This position was further complicated by the fact that most of the instruction at Botswana Agricultural College was presented in English. Students did not present demonstrations or practical lessons in Setswana because most of their instructors did not understand Setswana. Therefore, students had little opportunity to perform under the actual conditions in which agricultural demonstrators worked.

The Principal of the college, Mr. Bagshall, stated, "There is a

tendency in intermediate-level agricultural education to measure teaching programs by standards directly transposed from other cultures and societies which are inappropriate to the needs of the society to be served."³³ External examiners tended to judge students against their own social and educational standards because they are unfamiliar with local conditions. The emphasis upon external examinations forced students and staff to prepare for these examinations whether or not they were related to the agricultural needs and problems of society. "Most of these examinations measured the ability to recall facts and to present them in English. . . This is often unrelated to true agricultural understanding and ability."³⁴

Mr. Bagshall believed that both the teaching and learning process could be improved by an effective continual two-way system of communication. He instituted a system of continuous in-course evaluations, similar to that pioneered at Egerton Agricultural College in Kenya. Staff members continuously evaluated and assessed student performance and modified their lessons when the evaluations indicated the students did not grasp the material. Deficiencies in both teaching and learning were identified and the staff attempted to correct them. External final examinations were administered at the end of the program to encourage students to integrate all they had learned and to give examiners the necessary insight into the content and efficacy of the training. At Botswana Agricultural College the requirements for the diploma award were determined as follows: Two-thirds of the total points required for the diploma came from continuous assessment and the other third from the results of the final examination. Mr. Bagshall saw

continuous assessment as a major motivational force toward improving students' effective learning.³⁵

The results of the first year of utilization of continuous assessment compared favorably with those of Egerton College. There was little variation in the range of students' grades. Mr. Bagshall explained this: "British evaluations tend to cluster about the middle, with little real spread. . . . We don't give a student a 'B' or he'll be likely to stop working."³⁶ The Principal saw continuous assessment as a way to assist students in preparing to convey their message to Bech-uana in the field. They would constantly be forced to evaluate the effectiveness of their presentations and actions as agricultural demonstrators, and continuous assessment would give them early experience with this.³⁷

The following figures showed that the number of agricultural demonstrators successfully completing the two-year course remained relatively constant between 1965 and 1969.

<u>Date Enrolled</u>	<u>No. of Students Enrolled</u>	<u>No. of Students³⁸ Completing Course as Agricultural Demonstrator</u>
1962-1964	82	52
1965	54	33
1966	50	36
1967	55	36
1968	46	38

Expatriate staff from Western Europe and North America taught most of the classes in both the Botswana Agricultural College and the Botswana Training Center. In fact, in 1969 only one Motswana taught at either the training center or the agricultural college.

B. BRIGADES

"A remarkable feature of vocational educational training in Botswana is the brigade movement initiated by Mr. Patrick Van Rensburg, headmaster of Swaneng Hill School."³⁹ The brigade movement sprung from Van Rensburg's commitment that the school should serve as a focal point for social and economic development in the area.⁴⁰ During the first two years at Swaneng Hill School, Van Rensburg witnessed the annual migrations of primary school leavers and their parents seeking a place in secondary school. People walked miles through dust, mud, and rain, encamped on the school grounds for days, and queued for the opportunity to present their case. The primary school leaver finally learned that the school was filled, and he would not get a place in a secondary school.

Table T below illustrated the difficulty faced by the primary school leaver in getting a place in secondary school.

TABLE T: PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS ENTERING SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	<u>No. of Students Successfully Completing Primary School</u>	<u>No. of Primary School Graduates Gaining Admission to Secondary School</u>	<u>Percentage Gaining Admission</u>
1963	1,521	429	28
1964	3,985	601	15
1965	4,364	530	12
1966	4,614	630	14

In 1963, 429 of 1,521 students (28 percent) who completed primary school entered secondary school. The swelling primary school enrollments of the early 1960s reduced the percentage of primary school students who gained admission to secondary school to 15 percent in 1964

and 12 percent the following year. Therefore, in 1965 approximately 3,384 students ended their formal schooling with an education that "catered for educating the elite for post-primary formal education. . . and prepared them for nothing related to their life or community."⁴² Because neither funds nor other resources were available to employ these primary school leavers in Bechuanaland, these young people went to work in the South African mines, migrated to the larger towns, or returned to the veld. Many of these school leavers seldom used or practiced any of the skills they had learned in school, and in a matter of a few years they became "virtually" functional illiterates.⁴³

Van Rensburg confronted the school leavers' problem that haunted most African nations. Van Rensburg conceived of a program based upon on-the-job apprenticeship training in which trainees worked while they learned building skills. The trainees constructed buildings at relatively low costs. The earnings from the jobs paid for the total cost of their training, living expenses, and instruction, except for volunteers' salaries. Van Rensburg called the program the "Builders Brigade" to emphasize that it was not a traditional school or training center which issued certificates based upon the mastery of theoretical academic facts learned in the classroom.⁴⁴

Van Rensburg discussed the brigade program with local community leaders. Leapeetswe Khama, Tribal Authority of the Bamangwato, called a meeting of the kgotla to discuss the program. Shortly thereafter twenty-five young men joined the Builders Brigade. In 1965 a body of local community leaders under the chairmanship of Leapeetswe Khama formed the Serowe Youth Development Association which functioned as

the governing body of this brigade and others which might arise.

The first extension of the brigade concept occurred when a group of village women formed Basidi ba ba lthusang (the Women Who Help Themselves). This organization grew vegetables which they sold in the market, and mended clothes. These older village women shared their income, operated a small cooperative, and eventually some of them studied English and math at evening school.

Later in 1966 Swaneng Hill carried out a survey to determine other areas of economic activity into which programs based upon the concepts of the Builders Brigade could be most reasonably extended. This survey recommended that farming, textile work, carpentry, elementary metalworking, and motor mechanics appeared to be the most promising alternatives.

Capital funds for the establishment of the Serowe Farmers Brigade and the services of two professional agronomists came from a grant from the Danish government. The farmers brigade recruited forty primary school leavers in July 1967. The trainee farmers undertook the back-breaking task of clearing land, putting up fences and gates, building kraals for cattle, and digging channels for irrigation pipes. At the same time the Serowe Builders Brigade was constructing a cow barn and dairy for the farmers.

A combination of small grants from the Peace Corps, other foreign sources, and the Community Development Department started the Serowe Textile Brigade in mid-1967. Twenty girls were recruited, and training began in sewing and weaving. The Serowe Mechanical Brigade, financed by foreign capital, began in 1968 with twelve trainees in metalworking

and motor mechanics.

The pioneering brigade work at Serowe was soon followed elsewhere in Botswana. Brigade centers grew at Mochudi, Lobatse, Shashi River School, and Kanye. From an initial beginning of one brigade with twenty-five trainees in 1965, the brigade movement had grown to fifteen brigades with 484 trainees in 1969. The capital funds for brigade development, except for those provided by the Community Development Department to the Lobatse Builders Brigade, were donated by foreign and nongovernmental sources. Expatriates provided the leadership for brigade development. "Initially, Government viewed the brigades with a good deal of suspicion."⁴⁵ For the first few years the brigades operated without reference to any governmental policy and, with the exception of the Lobatse Builders Brigade, Government took no official position on brigades.⁴⁶

In May 1969 President Khama issued a Presidential Directive establishing the National Brigade Coordinating Committee. President Khama charged the committee with the following responsibilities: To coordinate the activities of all youth training brigades; to advise on establishing new brigades; to organize and coordinate brigade activities; and to make recommendations on curriculum, training, and general operation of the brigades.⁴⁷ The committee was composed of representatives from brigade centers, relevant Government departments, and special interest groups such as the Botswana Christian Council. A full-time volunteer served as secretary of the committee which was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. The Presidential Directive of May 1969 formally recognized the brigade movement and

gave the brigades a specific frame of reference.

Van Rensburg commented on the special relationship between rural and urban development as follows:

In any of the emerging countries the achievement of mass education, the raising of living standards of all, the provision of general education, widespread social welfare, and security services, and general improvements in the quality of life for most people, will most rapidly be achieved by a dual policy of rural and urban development which are sensibly coordinated and harmonised with each other.⁴⁸

High wages and consumption levels characterized the modern urban sector of development. The modern urban sector aroused the ambition and hopes of many, but because of the limited opportunities only a few individuals participated in the modern sector. When the aspiration for high wages and living conditions was frustrated, people returned to the rural areas with a great deal of dissatisfaction.⁴⁹ At independence, about 90 percent of the population in Botswana earned their living in the rural sector.

Brigades started in Botswana as an attempt to provide primary school leavers with further training that would enable these trainees to lead productive lives and earn an income above the minimal standard of living. Primary school education did not equip children to earn a living in Botswana.⁵⁰ The rapidly expanded secondary education enrolled less than 25 percent of the primary school leavers. In 1969 the modern urban sector of the economy absorbed secondary school graduates; but "it will not be many years before Botswana reaches the present stage in West and East Africa where school certificate holders cannot find suitable employment."⁵¹

Brigades were designed to provide economically useful training for some of the primary school leavers. Some of the brigade training provided skills that were immediately employable in the modern sector; e.g., bricklaying, carpentry, and motor mechanics. Other brigades provided training in skills for which no jobs existed. The latter necessitated the development of productive employment opportunities by the brigade graduates themselves. Brigade graduates developed cooperatives, resettlement schemes, and village crafts outlets to provide opportunities for themselves.

Brigades were designed to pay for all their recurrent costs except the cost of expatriate salaries. Therefore, trainees spent most of their time doing productive work which paid for their own subsistence, the cost of instruction, and the tools which they used. "The cost covering concept was not an attractive extra ingredient of the brigade concept but an integral and indispensable part."⁵² In fact, Van Rensburg promised that he would not need recurrent cash subsidies to maintain brigade activities.⁵³

The secretary for the National Brigade Coordinating Committee added:

Our aim, after all, is not just to provide more builders and better buildings, above-subsistence income or homemade clothing, desirable as these may be; it is to help develop progressive thinking.⁵⁴

Brigade leadership felt that brigade graduates should be equipped to assume a leading role in the development of the rural sector of Botswana.⁵⁵

In order to accomplish the three objectives of training, covering

costs, and developing "progressive thinking", the brigades offered a three-pronged course of study. The course of study consisted of: technical skill training such as bricklaying; on-the-job productive work (e.g., constructing buildings, sewing clothing, and caring for cattle); and instruction in the academic subjects of English, arithmetic, and science. Van Rensburg wrote, "The combination of productive work, training and education gives. . . the brigades. . . their special hybrid character."⁵⁶ The brigades operated as economic and social enterprises as well as training centers and schools.

Formal classroom technical training was limited to one or two classes every two weeks. At this time a senior instructor gave instruction on one special skill; e.g., mitering, building corners, or dying cloth, to the trainees. The rest of the time trainees worked under the supervision and guidance of brigade instructors. By working as apprentices in the various skills, trainees had an opportunity to learn the technical skills required. It was the responsibility of the brigade instructors to insure that each trainee learned the necessary technical and vocational skills.

At the same time, brigades were subject to the normal economic and commercial constraints of operating a profitable business. Income from productive work had to pay for trainees' subsistence, the cost of training, the salaries of instructors, as well as the production costs. Brigade principles stated that, "Income from the productive work of trainees must pay the cost of operation. . . or the programs would have to come to an end."⁵⁷

Academic teaching built upon the foundation which the trainees had

gained in their primary school education. "Each year new ideas and experiences resulted in the revision and change of curriculum and direction."⁵⁸ Initially, brigade academic instruction taught English, mathematics, science, and developmental studies--a course dealing with social and economic development in Botswana. These four subjects were selected to "make trainees more rational, thoughtful, and to equip them for taking initiative and making sound decision."⁵⁹ However, instruction often followed the same syllabi used in the secondary school with little modification for the educational background or vocational interests of the trainees. In addition, the brigade trainees' classes were held in the later afternoon and evening hours. Brigade trainees had already done a full day of work, and their friends in secondary school were relaxing or playing sports. "The results of the initial academic training were dismal."⁶⁰

The results of the initial experience with academic training led to the development of new syllabi geared toward applying the academic work to the problems and realities of the vocational situation. The new course of study emphasized the skills necessary for trainees working in cooperatives, on settlement schemes, or in private businesses. These types of work demanded certain organizing skills such as writing letters, submitting bids, keeping books, and reading catalogues. Brigade academic instructors designed and organized courses in English and mathematics to provide the organizing skills which the trainees needed. Academic instruction geared itself to providing a realistic and practical education for brigade trainees that was related to the requirements of their vocation. At the same time, the developmental

studies portion of the curriculum tried to imbue the trainees with the necessity and value of rural development and the important role that each trainee could play in building Botswana.⁶¹

The attempt to combine academic instruction, attitudinal change, and technical training with a viable economic enterprise involved compromise. Commercial considerations dictated that trainees work on whatever job the brigades secured. The skills involved in various jobs were often of a routine nature that added little to the trainee's technical skills. Likewise, time spent in the classrooms produced no immediate economic return to the brigade's profit. However, technical and academic skills increased the potential economic value of trainees and gave trainees a better understanding of commercial operations. The hybrid nature of brigade training demanded compromises, but the overriding principle, "Brigades must pay their way or close down,"⁶² governed the direction of brigade development.

Builders' brigades developed first for a number of reasons. The costs of hand tools, wheelbarrows, and building materials involved a modest capital investment. The availability of skilled local instructors reduced the need for expatriate supervisors and instructors. Builders could immediately be put to work in the local community. When trainees graduated, many jobs were available in the modern sector of the economy.

Two different types of organizational governance of builders' brigades evolved. The Serowe and Shashi River Builders Brigades were attached to and integrated with secondary schools; and the Lobatse and Mochudi Builders' Brigades were controlled by private or Government

agencies.

The integration of brigades and secondary schools gave the brigades immediate construction work at the schools and provided the secondary schools with required buildings at a lower cost than an outside contractor would have charged. The integration of brigade and academic secondary school students also afforded the students opportunities to mix together and share ideas. Some of the staff at the secondary school gave the academic instruction for brigade trainees and helped to revise and reconstruct the curriculum. During the first four years of operation (1965-1969), the Serowe Builders' Brigade completed £ 40,000 worth of construction work, of which £ 12,000 was done for the Swaneng Hill School. The brigade incurred a total loss, including capital expenditures, of £ 212 during the four-year period. The Martin Report, which evaluated brigade activities through 1969, stated, "Effectively, one can say that the Serowe Builders' Brigade successfully met their recurrent expenses."⁶³

At the same time, Serowe Builders' Brigade trainees sat for the Class II Government building trades test. The results were as follows: Nineteen out of twenty-one passed in 1967; ten out of twenty-two passed the following year; and only six of twenty-three passed in 1969. The Director of the Botswana Training Center stated that brigade training was designed for rural training and cooperative development, whereas the Class II Builders' Test evaluated adult industrial skills in the modern sector of the economy. "Brigade success is declining because more sophisticated skills are being demanded as building standards rise."⁶⁴ However, twenty-one of the twenty-three brigade graduates in

1969 obtained jobs in the modern sector at the Orapa diamond mines.

The Lobatse Builders' Brigade differed from brigade principles in that its recurrent expenses were met by a subsidy from Community Development Department. The Lobatse Town Council gave the brigade 70 percent of its contracts and maintained a close relationship with the brigade. Both the Community Development Department and the Lobatse Town Council saw the brigade as an organization that would "reduce unemployment and minimize potential youth problems in Lobatse."⁶⁵ The Martin Report commented that, "As a construction unit, the brigade had become remarkably efficient. . . the quality of work is excellent. . . but its financial arrangements are unsuitable for brigades."⁶⁶ Martin continued, "Unless brigades can cover their costs, or at least those portions not available from foreign resources, the chances of establishing more than a token number of brigades is virtually nonexistent."⁶⁷ Even though the Lobatse Brigade did not meet its recurrent expenses, the close relationship which it developed with local Government was most valuable and a source of brigade accomplishment.⁶⁸

Since most people in Botswana were engaged in earning their living from the land, any serious program designed to train young school leavers to lead productive lives must train people to be more productive farmers. Brigade leaders felt that the brigade approach, used successfully with the builders, should be extended to the farmers. The farmers brigades which started at Serowe and Mochudi developed along different lines. At Mochudi the brigade aimed to provide a balanced training in animal husbandry and crop farming which would "enable trainees to go back to their families where they would implement the techniques which

they had been taught."⁶⁹ Before an individual was selected for Mochudi brigade training, his family had to present evidence that they were genuinely interested in having their son join the farmers' brigade. The family also had to guarantee that their son, after graduating, would have the opportunity to apply the techniques he had learned in brigade training on their family lands.

The Mochudi Farmers' Brigade began its agricultural training on some lands at Morwa, near Mochudi, which the tribe had cleared for that purpose. When Chief Linchwe II of the Bakgatla left Botswana to serve as her Ambassador to the United States of America, brigade training was extended to the operation of his "typical" Tswana cattlepost. Trainees learned improved cattle management under the actual conditions which existed in their tribal area. Trainees also spent part of their training at the Livestock Improvement Center operated by the Bakgatla since 1937. The trainees observed the effect of good breeding practices and modern cattle management and experienced the full range of agricultural training under existing conditions. Each trainee was given as much responsibility in the practical work as possible and encouraged and assisted in using modern farming methods and cattle-raising practices.

When the trainees finished brigade training at Mochudi, small loans were arranged in consultation with their parents so that the trainee could purchase the necessary tools to implement his newly acquired farming techniques. A brigade instructor visited the trainees once a month and assisted the trainees with their farming. The trainees returned to Mochudi monthly and discussed farming problems and techniques with the brigade instructors. The agricultural manager

reported that four of the five first brigade graduates were making a genuine effort to farm.⁷⁰

The Mochudi Farmers' Brigade started in 1968 with ten trainees and a small capital expenditure. A year earlier Van Rensburg began the Serowe Farmers' Brigade with a grant of £ 75,000 from the Danish government. Van Rensburg revised the original plan, which called for 240 trainees, and took 120 trainees. The farm was designed as a comprehensive agricultural enterprise including a beef ranch, a large dairy farm, poultry production, irrigated vegetables, fodder crops, arable farming, and Angora goats. The mohair supplied from the Angora goats was sold to the textile workshop. The comprehensive agricultural enterprise was selected to provide comprehensive agricultural training that paid for itself and was labor-intensive. Beef ranching was chosen because ranching was 'the "only type of farming in Botswana which guaranteed a regular good profit."⁷¹ However, several years were required to build up an optimum sized herd, and ranching utilized little labor. Therefore, brigade leaders decided to build an income-producing dairy which was labor-intensive. Arable and irrigated farming were added for their training value and possible future value in Botswana.

The founders of the farmers brigade assumed that the trainees would settle on a cooperative settlement following the completion of their training. Attempts to organize such settlements encountered severe opposition from the trainees and the traditional tribal attitude toward land tenure. The trainees held a strike in late 1969 to protest the fact that they would not receive a certificate for their

training. The trainees felt that their education was equal to that received by the secondary school students; and the trainees wanted the certificate to show that fact. The attitude which the farmer trainees exhibited reflected the feelings of many Botswana toward training. Education, as represented by a certificate, was the means of escaping the life of rural poverty and drudgery. Education, albeit the certificate, marked the path to a paid job and a place on the educational ladder that led away from rural poverty.⁷² The attitude expressed by the trainees ran counter to the goals and aims of the entire brigade movement.

The combination of tribal opposition and trainee discontent doomed the early resettlement schemes to failure. Tribal authorities provided no land for group resettlement. Land allocation required the support and consensus of a large majority of traditionally oriented tribesmen. The idea of a group of young trainees settling on land was totally foreign to tribal value patterns; that is, young men listened to and worked for their families or elders in the village and did not settle as a group of farmers on community lands. Furthermore, the brigade leaders failed to work with community leaders in developing the idea of resettlement schemes.

Although the Serowe Farmers' Brigade provided agricultural training and met all the recurrent costs of operating a comprehensive agricultural enterprise, the brigade failed to convince trainees of the value of rural development and did not provide adequate post-training opportunities.

Patrick Van Rensburg commented on the lessons learned from the

problems with brigade trainees:

We brought parents in for discussion and found that they could be made to easily understand our problems. . . and we could win most of their support. . . It led us to see that brigade training must be part of overall rural development involving everyone. . . especially parents and older relatives of the trainees. . . they must be shown the problems of creating employment and understand national policy of coordinated rural and economic development.⁷³

The National Brigade Coordinating Committee promised to assist brigades in developing schemes which would link the brigade idea with the values and attitudes of the rural sector of Botswana.⁷⁴

The emergence of new post-primary educational institutions and the rapid increase in the enrollments at these institutions characterized the development of post-primary vocational, technical, and agricultural education during the decade 1960-1969. The Bechuanaland Trades School opened in 1962 in Gaborone and combined with Public Works Department Training Organization and Central Government's Localisation and Training Scheme to form the Bechuanaland Training Center in 1964. The training center was responsible for in-service training of most Government employees as well as vocational and technical education for the modern urban sector of the economy. Between 1965-1969 the Botswana Training Center offered 259 courses and 3,206 individuals attended these courses. The Botswana Agricultural College opened in 1967 and trained agricultural demonstrators. Two rural agricultural training centers offered in-service courses for teachers, farmers, ranchers, and agricultural demonstrators. Patrick Van Rensburg founded the first brigade in 1965 with twenty building trainees. By 1969 fifteen brigades trained 484 primary school leavers in various vocational skills.

By 1969 vocational, technical, and agricultural training centers served Botswana as follows:⁷⁵

	<u>No. of Classes</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>
Botswana Agricultural College	2	76
Botswana Training Center (Technical only)	4	79
Mochudi Homecrafts Center	2	75
Brigades	15	484
Nursing	10	154

In 1969, 868 students enrolled in vocational, technical, and agricultural study in Botswana as compared with approximately ninety students enrolled in these courses in 1960. Student enrollment in vocational, technical, and agricultural studies increased by approximately 778 students (or ninefold) between 1960 and 1969.

C. POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

In 1945 all post-secondary education of Bechuana occurred outside the territorial boundaries of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Seven students pursued higher education in South Africa, of which five attended Fort Hare University. The Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1945 expressed a special indebtedness to Fort Hare for educating these students from Bechuanaland.⁷⁶

Between 1945 and 1959 the average number of Bechuana students enrolled in post-secondary education was seven. In 1959 the South African government, because of the provisions in the Bantu Education Act of 1953, ordered Fort Hare University and all other South African post-secondary institutions not to admit any Bechuana students. Bechuana students had to seek admission to Pius XII University College in

Basutoland or University College Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, Rhodesia.

During 1961 only six Bechuana attended a university. Three studied at Pius XII University and three studied in the United Kingdom. The 1961 Annual Report of the Education Department stated, "There is not one Bechuana doctor, veterinary officer, engineer, or agricultural officer in the whole of the Protectorate."⁷⁷ Government established a Scholarship Committee to coordinate all matters connected with the awarding of scholarships. The committee members represented the Department of Education, other Government departments, the Legislative Council, and tribal authorities. The committee interviewed all applicants for post-secondary and overseas scholarships. The committee recommended to Government scholarship awards for those candidates who appeared to be best suited for the specific training available and who would best serve the future manpower needs of Bechuanaland. A number of foreign countries including the United States of America, Canada, Kenya, Israel, Nigeria, and Uganda indicated their willingness to accommodate and assist Bechuana students.

Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland agreed to convert Pius XII University College at Roma in Basutoland into a territorial university for the three High Commission Territories. The university opened on 1 January 1964 and was named University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. Twelve Bechuana students enrolled at the university in 1964. The number enrolled at the university represented 25 percent of the forty-eight students pursuing higher education outside Bechuanaland.

The following figures⁷⁸ illustrate the number of Bechuana pursuing post-secondary education:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Students Enrolled in Post-Secondary Institutions</u>
1961	6
1963	45
1965	83
1967	103
1969	144

The constitutional changes which began in 1961 and the high priority given to post-secondary education increased the number of students attending foreign post-secondary institutions of higher education from six in 1961 to 144 in 1969. Discussions began in late 1969 to establish a center of the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland in Botswana which would offer the first two years of university education in selected fields. A center of the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland opened in July 1971 in Gaborone and offered the first post-secondary instruction ever given in Botswana.

END NOTES

¹For further discussion of Forest Hills Agricultural School see pages 111-112.

²For further discussion of Mochudi Adolescent School, see pages 120-121.

³Statement by Mollendorf, op. cit., Tape 19A 51-59.

⁴Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1946, op. cit., p. 20.

⁶Statement by Masire, op. cit., Tape 7B 0-12.

⁷For further discussion of pupil stockman scheme, see pages 270-271.

⁸Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1947, op. cit., pp. 16-18, citing "Report of the Homecrafts Education Officer," 6 December 1947.

⁹Statement by Mollendorf, op. cit., Tape 19A 53-57.

¹⁰Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1948, op. cit., p. 48.

¹¹Statement by Andrew Kgasa, personal interview, 14 October 1970.

¹²For further discussion of Bantu Education see pages 104 and 195.

¹³"Reports of Mochudi Homecrafts Center 1960-1969" (Mochudi Homecrafts Center, Mochudi, Botswana), T-122.

¹⁴Statement by Clifford Shaw, personal interview, 21 October 1970, Tape 11A 48-59.

¹⁵Ibid., Tape 11A 59-66.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1962, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

¹⁸Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1964, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁹Statement by Shaw, op. cit., Tape 11A 37-43.

²⁰"Table 6 - Summary of All Totals of BTC 1965-1969" (Botswana Training Center, Gaborone, Botswana) (Mimeographed). T-80.

²¹Ibid.

²²For further discussion of pupil farmer schemes, see pages 270-271.

²³Statement by Masire, op. cit., Tape 6B 50-70.

²⁴Statement expressed by President Khama in an address ("Independence Day Speech") at National Stadium, Gaborone, 30 September 1970.

²⁵Statements by Masire and Hermans, 10 October 1970, Tape 6A 50-70.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Fielding cited in "B.A.C. Record - Mahalapye Agricultural Center" (Sebele: Botswana Agricultural College [n.d.]) (Mimeographed). T-89.

²⁹"The Purpose of B.A.C." (Sebele: Botswana Agricultural College, 1969).

³⁰"Schedule of Student Practical Work" (Sebele: Botswana Agricultural College [n.d.]). Draft syllabus used at the college.

³¹Craddock Turnbull Report, 31 July 1968 (Sebele: Botswana Agricultural College). An evaluation report of B.A.C. facilities and staff.

³²Ibid.

³³Peter G. Bagshall, Levels, Standards, and Objectives of Intermediate Agricultural Education in Developing Countries (FAO paper 37, n.d.).

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Statement by P. G. Bagshall, personal interview, 28 October 1970, Tape 12B 24-32.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹O. G. Pickard, Report on Mission on Further Education in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, 30 May 1969, par. B53.

⁴⁰For further discussion see pages 225-231.

⁴¹Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966, op. cit.

⁴²Statement by Masire, op. cit., Tape 38 60-62.

⁴³Statement by Thema, op. cit.

⁴⁴Patrick Van Rensburg, "Swaneng Hill School Botswana" (paper read at Commonwealth Conference on Education in Rural Areas, 21 March to 3 April 1970, University of Ghana at Legon, Accra, Ghana).

⁴⁵Statement by Masire, op. cit.

⁴⁶Anthony Martin, "Report on the Brigades in Botswana" (National Brigade Coordinating Council: Gaborone, 1969), p. 83 (Mimeographed).

⁴⁷Statement expressed in ("Presidential Decree") Gaborone, Botswana, May 1969.

⁴⁸Van Rensburg, Education and Development in an Emerging Country (Upsala, Sweden: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1968), p. 14.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰See pages 194-195.

⁵¹Martin, op. cit., p. 5.

⁵²Ibid., p. 7.

⁵³Statement by Van Rensburg, op. cit.

⁵⁴James Flood, "Brigades--and Then?", Kutlwano, February 1971, p. 21.

⁵⁵Statement by Van Rensburg, op. cit.

⁵⁶Patrick Van Rensburg, "Education for Rapid Development and Full Employment" (paper read at Swaneng/Shashi Seminar, June 1970, Swaneng Hill, Botswana) (Mimeographed).

⁵⁷Statement by Van Rensburg, op. cit.

⁵⁸Ibid., Tape 88 48-70.

- ⁵⁹Ibid.
- ⁶⁰Statement by Shelia Bagnall, personal interview, 13 October 1970, Tape 9A 28-50.
- ⁶¹Ibid., Tape 9A 28-40.
- ⁶²Martin, op. cit., p. 5.
- ⁶³Ibid., p. 50.
- ⁶⁴Statement by Shaw, op. cit., Tape 11A 52-59.
- ⁶⁵Martin, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., p. 57.
- ⁶⁷Ibid., p. 68.
- ⁶⁸Ibid.
- ⁶⁹Eric Silfen, "A Description of Young Farmer Training Carried Out by KYDA" (Mochudi: Kgatleng Youth Development Association, 1970) (Mimeographed).
- ⁷⁰Ibid.
- ⁷¹Martin, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
- ⁷²Ibid., pp. 25-27.
- ⁷³Van Rensburg, "Education for Rapid Development and Full Employment," op. cit.
- ⁷⁴Statement by James Flood, personal interview, November 1970.
- ⁷⁵Statistical Tables Ministry of Education 1969 (Gaborone, Botswana).
- ⁷⁶Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Education Department for 1945, op. cit., p. 37.
- ⁷⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1961, op. cit., p. 11.
- ⁷⁸Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1969, op. cit.

Section X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Africa is heir to a plural heritage in education, and the fundamental task of African educators and leaders is to adapt their heritage to the needs of the society. "African educational plans were formulated in the ministries of Paris, London, and Brussels, refined by dozens of colonial governors and missionary leaders, and executed by thousands of educators working in the field."¹ An essentially colonial system of education emerged which was imbued with western European character and ideals. The political and educational leaders of most African nations were the products of this plural educational heritage.

Representatives from Botswana and thirty other African states met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1961 "to determine the educational priorities necessary to promote economic and social development." The presentations emphasized the need to develop a modern African educational system that served the demands of rapidly changing African cultures.²

This study traced the principal contributions of informal education, missionary education, tribally controlled education, and examined their influence on educational development in Botswana. The study discussed the important events, circumstances, and individuals that influenced the evolution of primary and post-primary education in Botswana.

Family, community, and tribal institutions shaped young Bechuana's attitudes and values, influenced their behavior, and endowed young people with morals and manners. The informal institutions taught young

people the human, vocational, and survival skills necessary to live in their physical and social environments. Children learned by being included in adult and older sibling activities. Customary schools and initiation ceremonies taught boys and girls the rights and responsibilities of men and women in the society as well as the rites de passage.

Informal education always played an important role in the growth and development of every Bechuana. However, formal education inevitably reached the Bechuana. Robert Moffat and the London Missionary Society concluded that the success of their efforts depended upon mastering Setswana and providing a basic education to the Bechuana. Moffat learned Setswana, reduced Setswana to a written form, and translated the Bible into Setswana. Moffat selected Bechuana converts who demonstrated the ability to read, write, and do simple arithmetic and trained them as teacher-evangelists. The teacher-evangelists were sent into the interior to convert Bechuana to Christianity and teach them to read the Holy Scriptures. The school syllabus concentrated on biblical messages and evangelism was its primary aim.

The spread of formal schooling depended heavily upon the favor, support, and initiative of local chiefs and tribesmen. Without the enthusiastic support of tribal chiefs such as Bathoen II, Khama the Great, and Lentswe, few Kuruman trained teacher-evangelists would have gained the trust and confidence of the Bechuana tribesmen. Formal education during the Nineteenth Century developed primarily as a result of missionary effort and tribal cooperation.

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century the London Missionary

Society built a post-primary school for Bechuana called "Tiger Kloof". From 1904 to 1954 Tiger Kloof functioned as the premier educational center for Bechuana people. The vast majority of Bechuana who received post-primary education studied in the secondary school, learned vocational skills, or trained as teachers at Tiger Kloof. Teachers continued to transmit the Tiger Kloof ideals in their classrooms long after the Bantu Education Act of 1953 closed Tiger Kloof. Tiger Kloof represented the most important educational contribution of the London Missionary Society in the Twentieth Century in Bechuanaland.

E. B. Sargent conducted a comprehensive investigation of formal education in 1905. Sargent's Report distinguished itself for the far-reaching recommendations which it made for the improvement of education. Sargent discussed the growing indifference and open hostility of the chiefs and tribesmen toward the London Missionary Society. The chiefs claimed that the missionaries placed too much emphasis on evangelism and not enough on education. Sargent recommended tribal control of primary schools in principal villages and the assessment of tribal taxes to support the schools.

In 1910 the control of primary schools in the Bakwena, Bakgatla, and Bangwaketse shifted to Tribal School Committees. The establishment, financing, and administrative control of primary schools located in tribal areas gradually became the responsibility of each school committee.

By the time Mr. Dumbrell became the first full-time Inspector of Schools in Bechuanaland, Tribal School Committees had assumed responsibility for primary education in all tribal areas. Missionaries

served as Education Secretaries but no longer operated primary schools in the tribal areas.

Dumbrell introduced the first school syllabus, trained African Supervisors of Schools to help teachers improve instruction, and established the Board of Advice for African Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In 1935 Mr. Dumbrell was appointed the first full-time Director of Education in Bechuanaland. Vacation courses for teachers were initiated, syllabi revised, and Proclamation 26 of 1938 and Notice No. 110 of 1938 established a legal basis for the operation of primary schools. Secondary education, teacher training, and vocational training started in Bechuanaland during the Dumbrell era. "Mr. Dumbrell can rightly be regarded as the founder of Bechuanaland's educational system."³

The winds of change that affected Africa's economic, social, political, and human way of life drastically altered the educational development in Botswana during the period 1945-1969. The political demands of a colonial system designed to prepare good clerks who could speak English well enough to serve the colonial masters gave way to the urgency of preparing such a neglected nation for independence. Independence dictated a policy of producing the trained manpower needed to build the newly independent nation. Education became the vehicle to achieve manpower needs and fulfill the hopes of many young Motswana dreaming of becoming the newest Permanent Secretary or Government official.

Rapid growth occurred at all levels of education between 1955-1969. Primary school enrollment nearly doubled between 1955-1960 and 1960-1965.

Secondary school enrollment more than doubled between 1955-1960 and 1960-1965, and increased nearly three times during 1965-1969. While enrollment in teacher training tripled between 1960-1965, it increased only 15% during 1965-1969.

Government introduced automatic promotion, reduced the maximum entry age to primary schools, and expanded educational facilities. Students remained in school longer and wastage decreased, but the students generally earned lower results on the examinations. Schools served more students, but there was some decline in the quality of student performance.

A decline in informal education accompanied the growth of formal education. As the school entry age was lowered, children attended schools at an earlier age and remained in the school for longer periods of time. In addition, parents and children spent less time together, and the schools did not reflect the values of the indigenous culture. In fact, much school work was unrelated to life in Bechuanaland and remained so despite many syllabi revisions.

The colonial government operated a tripartite system of primary education. African, European, and coloured children attended separate schools. Tshekedi Khama, Acting Regent of the Bamangwato, severely criticized the colonial government for "starving the educational needs of African children and feeding the white childrens' needs in full."⁴ Until the early 1960s European education received a disproportionate share of Government educational expenditures.

Schools became multiracial in 1964. The English medium primary schools were the only really multiracial schools.

The quality of teaching at all levels suffered from the large number of unqualified and untrained teachers as well as the dearth of teacher-training institutions within Botswana prior to 1963. South African primary school teachers fleeing Bantu Education provided many qualified teachers to serve the swelling enrollments during the 1950s and early 1960s. Expatriates comprised at least 85 percent of the secondary and other post-primary school teachers. Most expatriate staff served on short-term obligations which led to a good deal of turnover in the teaching staff. Expatriates were unfamiliar with the cultural and educational backgrounds of their students, and sometimes misunderstood fellow staff members. However, the enthusiasm and commitment which many younger expatriates developed often compensated for their basic weaknesses.

Tribal authorities administered primary school and spent between 52 and 75 percent of all tribal revenues for primary education. The funds barely maintained the poorly housed and ill-equipped schools. Just as tribal authorities intensified their efforts to improve primary facilities in 1954, student enrollments expanded rapidly. Ipelegeng projects improved the quality and quantity of facilities beginning in 1965.

Prior to 1965 many students started the first year of primary school at ages eighteen and twenty. The percentage of children between six and twenty attending school increased from 17 percent in 1945 to 50 percent in 1969. The number of girls attending primary schools outnumbered the number of boys by as much as 100 percent. By 1969 the percent of boys attending school almost equalled that of the girls.

The larger number of girls attending school was unusual in Africa and was caused by boys remaining at the cattleposts or leaving at an early age to work in the South African mines.

Most Bechuana acquired post-primary education in South African schools, particularly Tiger Kloof, prior to the enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The Act closed Tiger Kloof and guaranteed an inferior education for all Africans studying in South Africa. Africans were trained to serve their masters and to remain in a perpetual state of servitude.

Secondary education began in Bechuanaland when the Catholics opened St. Joseph's College at Khale in 1944. Tshekedi Khama's conviction, 'With equal opportunity, the black and white shall live in peace together.'⁵, led to the construction of Moeng College by regimental labour from the Bamangwato.

By 1969 three different types of secondary school education had evolved. The fairly traditional, academic-oriented boarding school which stressed academic success and the moral Christian way of life represented one type. The second type served mostly day students and grew out of the junior day secondary schools. Spartan living conditions, the integration of practical and academic subjects, voluntary work, and a strong social service ethic characterized the Swaneng Hill type of secondary education.

Teacher training did not experience as rapid a growth as secondary education. In 1963 a second teacher-training college opened at Serowe. However, the real problem of training unqualified and untrained primary teachers was not attacked until Francistown Teacher Training

College opened in 1968. The training college was designed to upgrade and train all of the untrained primary school teachers by 1973. This thrust marked the first concerted effort in Botswana to deal with the mammoth problem of untrained teachers.

Vocational and technical education was even more neglected than teacher training. Until 1962 virtually no vocational or technical training existed. The Bechuanaland Training Center, the Botswana Agricultural College, and the growth and development of brigades provided manpower, valuable ideas for development, and different approaches to vocational and technical education. Brigades were the only educational institution to address themselves fully to the growing primary school leavers problem.

Conclusions

The cooperative efforts of missionaries and local chiefs and headmen led to the establishment and spread of formal education in Bechuanaland. Early in the Twentieth Century, administration of the primary schools was gradually handed over to tribal authorities. This decision followed the British policy of indirect rule of Bechuanaland; that is, make Africans responsible for the direct administration of all tribal affairs.

Although some Bechuana chiefs distinguished themselves for their contributions to education, few Bechuana were prepared to administer the primary schools. Tribal treasuries spent most of their funds for educational development and still barely maintained the schools. The increasing enrollments forced tribal authorities to expand facilities

to serve the growing needs of the Bechuana. Meanwhile, the colonial government offered very little financial assistance to tribal authorities until the mid-1950s. Therefore, tribal authorities and leaders assumed the major responsibility for educational growth and development during most of the Twentieth Century. Education expanded largely due to the efforts of tribal leaders.

The contributions of African teachers insured that education would continue. Teachers, with a bare minimum of education themselves, struggled under the most disheartening conditions of service but provided educational opportunity for many budding Bechuana scholars.

Bechuana villagers utilized regimental and village labor to construct primary and secondary schools. After the prolonged drought of the early 1960s, villagers constructed new primary schools under the Ipelegeng program to replace the older mud-and-thatch village schools. The schools became a source of pride to the villagers who had helped improve the quality of the educational facilities.

The absence of concerted missionary activity in operating schools after 1930 distinguished educational development in Bechuanaland from that in most of the rest of Africa. Missionaries traditionally were pioneers in the educational sphere, and changeover to state control was a gradual process extending over many years. However, in Bechuanaland the changeover was rapid and occurred before local leaders possessed knowledge or experience with educational operations. In addition, the funds available to missionaries would have been of vital assistance to a nation as poor as Bechuanaland. A great deal of what missionaries had contributed to educational development in many other African states

has been lost to Bechuanaland.

British policy neglected development in Bechuanaland because Britain assumed that Bechuanaland would eventually be absorbed into the Union of South Africa. British policy and the proximity of South Africa dictated that education follow the South African patterns. The passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 abruptly ended Bechuanaland's educational dependency on South Africa.

At the same time, a new thrust and desire for education evolved among the Bechuana. The people demanded more educational opportunities and sent more of their children to school than ever before. The demands led to the rapid expansion of educational facilities available in Bechuanaland.

The decision to prepare for independence and the rapid march toward self-government placed heavy demands upon the educational system. Educational facilities swelled at all levels. Secondary education grew most rapidly because Government saw secondary schooling as the means of producing the required trained manpower most rapidly.

Independence also brought foreign assistance--human and capital--from countries which had different educational systems and philosophies than the colonial administrators. These noncolonial expatriates worked with Botswana officials and initiated projects such as the Swaneng Hill School, the brigade movement, and the special teacher-training program for unqualified teachers.

Botswana had taken important strides toward creating a strongly united nation. The principles of democracy, development, self-reliance, and unity formed the basis of the educational policy for the 1970s.

Recommendations

Botswana should continue to build upon her plural heritage in education. Development plans should recognize the rural agricultural nature of Botswana and design curriculum which more suitably relates to the way of life in Botswana. Specifically, agricultural study should begin in Std I and continue through secondary school. Students should spend at least five hours per week in practical agricultural experiences. Students should grow vegetables or crops which can also be raised in the villages. Teachers need to set the example by working in their own gardens. A more concerted effort should be made to collect, study, and preserve the oral tradition of the people. School children could talk with the elders in the village about the history, growth, and development of the village and her people. The children could record and write about these discussions as part of the school syllabus. These childrens' writings, with careful editing by the teachers and tutors, might be used as a basis for studying local customs, history, and literature. Much of this oral tradition could easily be utilized as part of the school curriculum.

The primary school leavers problem is beginning to create difficulties in the major population centers. Approximately 75 percent of the students terminate formal education with primary school and will be too young to gain employment in the modern sector of the economy. These children will be faced with the prospect of returning to cattle-posts where they will quickly lose even functional literacy. Educational leadership needs to design and attempt to deal with the

problem that haunts most of the rest of Africa.

Part of the solution may rest in a drastic revision of the primary school syllabus and the expansion and extension of brigade activities into the areas of social services. A successful solution to the settlement problems of the farmers brigades needs to be discovered.

This study traced the educational growth and development of Botswana from the roots in informal education to the present manpower development of independent Botswana.

A fuller understanding of the plural heritage in Botswana education hopefully will serve to provide a solid foundation for future educational development.

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³Thema, op. cit., p. 114.

⁴Letter Tshekedi Khama to Sir Evelyn Baring, op. cit.

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APPENDIX A

HEAD TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Full name
2. Age
3. Describe your family (include names and ages of each member)
4. List the schools you have attended, dates you attended, and certificates you have obtained.
5. What level do you teach? How many years have you taught?
6. Why did you decide to teach?
7. Describe your job and your responsibilities.
8. What town and district is your school located in?

QUESTIONS

- A. Describe your present school and what you would do on a typical school day (include buildings, size of buildings, size of classes).
- B. Describe your best teacher and some of the things which make him or her your best teacher (special qualities).
- C. What helps you to do your job best?
What might help you do a better job?
- D. What do you see as the most pressing needs for the development of Botswana today? (include needs in Education).
- E. Do you see any differences between education under the colonial system and education since independence? If so, please describe the most important differences.

APPENDIX B
TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Full name
2. Age
3. List the schools you have attended, dates you attended, and certificates you have obtained.
4. What subject(s) and level do you teach? How many years have you taught?
5. Why did you decide to teach?
6. Describe your job and your responsibilities.
7. What town and district is your school located in?

QUESTIONS

- A. Describe your present school and what you would do in your class on a typical school day.
- B. Describe your best student and some of the things which make him or her your best student.
- C. What helps you do your job best?
What might help you do a better job?
- D. If you were the Minister of Education, what would you establish as priorities for education?
- E. Do you see any differences between education under the colonial system and education since independence? If so, please describe the most important differences.
- F. Is the present syllabus relevant to the Botswana student today?
Why?

APPENDIX C

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. Full name**
- 2. Age**
- 3. Describe your family (include names and ages of each member).**
- 4. List the schools you have attended, dates which you attended them, present level, and how many years you have attended school.**
- 5. Where is your home (town and district)?**

QUESTIONS

- A. Describe the primary school which you attended (include buildings, town and a typical day at school).**
- B. Describe your present school day; that is, what you do from the time you get up until you go to bed.**
- C. What do you like best about school Why?**
- D. What do you like least about school? Why?**
- E. Describe the class you find to be your most interesting one.**
- F. What do you plan to do when you finish school? Why?**

APPENDIX D

PRIMARY SCHOOL SYLLABUS TIME ANALYSIS 1945

The following allocation of time to the different subjects in the curriculum is suggested for the guidance of teachers. The figures represent hours per week.

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Standards</u>							
	<u>Sub A</u>	<u>Sub B</u>	<u>Std I</u>	<u>Std II</u>	<u>Std III</u>	<u>Std IV</u>	<u>Std V</u>	<u>Std VI</u>
Religious Instruction and Moral Training	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2	2-1/2
Tswana and English Languages	9	10	8-1/2	8	7	6-1/2	6	6
Arithmetic	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4
Nature Study	-	-	1	1	1	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2
Hygiene	-	-	1	1	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2
Manual Training, Drawing, Needlework, Agriculture, Housewifery	4	4	5	5	5	5	4	4
History	-	-	-	1/2	1	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2
Geography	-	-	-	1/2	1	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2
Singing	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Physical Games and Exercises	2	2	2	1	1	1/2	1/2	1/2
Handwriting	2-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	1	1/2	-	-	-
General Science	-	-	-	-	-	-	1-1/2	1-1/2
Registration	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2

Total: 25-1/2 hours per week

APPENDIX E

PRIMARY SCHOOL SYLLABUSES OF REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

Proposed Breakdown of Teaching Time in Hours per Week

Standards	Religious Instruction	English	Setswana	Mathematics	History	Geography	Nature Study and Science	Agriculture	Health	Music	Physical Education	Needlework (girls)	Arts and Crafts	Total Hours
1 & 2	No formal timetable. Suggestions for a "Daily Programme" have been drawn up and included in the Preamble for Stds 1 and 2.													22-1/2
3	1	5	2-1/2	4	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	-	1/2	1	1	2	1 3 G. B.	22-1/2
4	1	5	2-1/2	4	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	-	1/2	1	1	2	1 3	22-1/2
5	1	5	2-1/2	4	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	-	1/2	1	1	2	1 3	22-1/2
6	1	5-1/2	3	4	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	1/2	1	1	2	1 3	25
7	1	5-1/2	3	4	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	1-1/2	1/2	1	1	2	1 3	25

January 1959

APPENDIX E (continued)

GENERAL PREAMBLE TO STANDARDS 1 AND 2 SYLLABUSES

You will note in the new Syllabuses for Standards 1 and 2 that the 12 subjects formerly taught have been integrated under 5 core areas: Language, Mathematics, Science Studies, Social Studies, and Recreational Activities.

There are many reasons for this change. As we lower the age of admission to school it becomes more and more necessary to use play methods and project methods of teaching in the early Standards. Thus, it was decided that much more time should be provided for activities. You cannot carry on an activity programme if you must begin and end each lesson within a thirty-minute period. You need large blocks of time, and you need a flexible timetable.

A second reason for eliminating the rigid subject-matter divisions is that many things should be taught not in a prescribed thirty minutes every Tuesday morning but as they occur naturally in the daily life of the classroom. This is particularly true of a subject like Health. The time to discuss and to enforce a health rule is when the problem arises, when the children arrive at school dirty, when they fail to use the latrines, when they sneeze or cough without covering their mouths and noses, when they find broken glass on the playground.

A third reason for consolidating subjects is that educators are becoming aware of the way the children see the world; the way they learn. Children do not learn to speak during this period, to read during this thirty minutes, to spell every other day, and so on. They learn language skills as they go along, as related skills. So, they should be taught that way. Furthermore, many of the previous divisions are meaningless at the elementary level. Is the fact that climate and soil conditions are right for certain plants to grow in Botswana a part of Nature Study, or is it Geography? It is both, of course. The important thing in the early years is that the children observe the world around them, and that they see the relationships between things.

Even with the present consolidation of subjects, it is suggested that the teacher use every opportunity to integrate the five core areas. There will be projects which cannot be fitted into any one of the core areas alone. For example, when the children go out to look for clay, when they note where it is found, how it looks and feels, when they use it for modeling, when they write a story about their trip, and discuss how people make huts with clay, they are dealing with Science,

APPENDIX E (continued)

GENERAL PREAMBLE TO STANDARDS 1 AND 2 SYLLABUSES

Art, Language, and Social Studies.

CORE AREAS:

The core areas were chosen because they provide a logical grouping, not only in terms of subject matter but in terms of approach and method.

During Language Studies some children should be engaged in activities, some should be working at their desks at assigned exercises, and some should be in small groups working with the teacher or a leader.

Mathematics will usually start with the whole class working together under the teacher's direction; then continue with the children divided into small groups or working individually: matching, comparing, counting, measuring.

Science Studies should be taught through direct observation. The children should be taken into the countryside to look, listen, collect, describe. The teacher should bring things into the classroom for children to observe and classify.

Social Studies is a time for telling, and talking, and dramatising. The content is people: people living now and people living in the past; people living in the nearby villages and people living in far-away lands; their ways of dressing, of working, of celebrating, of travelling, of thinking. The way that people live here and now should be observed directly through well-planned field trips. For a knowledge of the past and the far away, the teacher should present material taken from folk tales, legends, tales of early exploration and discovery, stories from the Bible.

Recreational Activities include those things which enliven and enrich lives: art, music, games, dance. This is not a time for talking; this is a time for doing.

APPENDIX E (continued)

GENERAL PREAMBLE TO STANDARDS 1 AND 2 SYLLABUSES

DAILY TIMETABLE:

Having a flexible timetable does not mean having no timetable at all. It means that instead of having your timetable broken down into thirty-minute periods with the subject matter for each period determined by your Head Teacher, you will have to plan your timetable every day. You will have the freedom to decide on the sequence of your core areas and the length of time which should be allotted to each. Freedom, as you know, brings with it responsibilities. It is much easier for most of us to follow a timetable, a textbook, or a lesson plan given to us by someone in authority than it is to use our brains and our knowledge to work out our own programme. What do you have to guide you?

FIRST: You have your knowledge of children. You know they like a certain amount of variety and freedom, but you know they also like enough regularity in their lives so that they know what is coming next. You know, too, that they need to alternate periods of physical activity with periods of quiet, and periods of mental activity with periods of relaxation. Also, you know that they cannot go more than two or two-and-a-half hours without having a drink of water, going to the toilet, having a bite to eat.

SECOND: You have the units of work laid out in the Syllabus for each of the core areas. Although you may devote more time in the day to one area than another, and you do not have to follow the same pattern every day, no area should be neglected. At the end of each week you should assess whether or not you have covered the material in the unit for each area. If you have not, you must allow more time in your timetable for the deficient areas.

THIRD: You will have your own growing experience. As you look back on each day and note that it took longer than you had planned to take your three reading groups, less time than you had allowed for your story-telling, and so on, you can plan more realistically for the next day. To use another type example, you may have allowed enough time for a field trip, but you planned to have Physical Education in the next time period. You found that the children were too tired after their walk for the vigorous games you had planned. You should talk this over with the children, substitute a

APPENDIX E (continued)

GENERAL PREAMBLE TO STANDARDS 1 AND 2 SYLLABUSES

quieter activity like Art or Singing, explaining why you are doing this and asking the children to remind you the next time you plan a field trip that you should provide the quiet activity to follow it.

Until you have had experience to guide you in planning your daily timetable, it is recommended that you follow a plan similar to the one below:

8:00 - 8:30	Health Inspection Attendance Daily Planning
8:30 - 9:30	Language Studies, Tswana and English: Oral Expression Reading Writing Spelling
9:30 - 10:00	Science Studies
10:00 - 10:30	Break
10:30 - 11:15	Mathematics
11:15 - 11:45	Recreational Activities
11:45 - 12:00	Clean up
12:00 - 12:30	Social Studies

If you meet only 15 hours, and not 22-1/2 hours a week, it is recommended that you change the time allotted for each section as follows:

Health Inspection, Planning, etc.	...	...	...	20 minutes
Language Studies	...	...	...	50 minutes
Science Studies	...	...	...	20 minutes
Break	...	...	...	15 minutes
Mathematics	...	...	...	40 minutes

APPENDIX E (continued)

GENERAL PREAMBLE TO STANDARDS 1 AND 2 SYLLABUSES

Recreational Activities	...	...	...	15 minutes
Social Studies	...	...	...	20 minutes

Do not try to make up time by eliminating the activities suggested for the first period. This is one of the most important parts of the Syllabus. This is the time when you make every child in your class feel that he is an important contributor. Remember, education is not a matter of teaching lessons or subjects. It is a matter of teaching children. Greet each child as he comes in by name. Let the child who was absent yesterday know that he was missed. After you have greeted, inspected, and recorded the attendance of every child, you should discuss the day's weather with the children and mark the Weather Chart. It is important to do this before you make the Daily Plan because the weather conditions must be taken into consideration in your planning.

The Daily Plan is your timetable for the day, and it should show your Head Teacher or a visitor what your class is doing. It should be worded, however, from the standpoint of the children. They will not be able to read it at first, of course, but you will read it to them as you write it. A Daily Plan during the second week (unit 2) might look as follows:

- 8:30 Learning our Birthdays
Sing, in English, "Happy Birthday to You." (Note: Teacher singing, children listening.)
- 9:00 Play with puzzles, pegboards, and beads. (Note: This is part of reading preparation.)
- 10:00 Break

APPENDIX F

VITA

Edmond Arthur Watters III

Born: January 16, 1940 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Parents: Mr. and Mrs. Edmond A. Watters, Jr.

Wife: Kathlene Arnott Watters

Education:

B.A., Lehigh University, June 1961, Psychology

M.A., Lehigh University, October 1966 (completed part-time)
Education (Guidance and Counseling) and History

Doctor of Education, Lehigh University, October 1973
Studied at Center of African Studies, University of Legon,
Ghana (1970)

Worked for Botswana Government (August-January 1970-1971)
and presented a report and recommendation for development
of primary and secondary education in Botswana for the
next five-ten years

Presently teaching Undergraduate Foundations of Education and
Educational Psychology, and graduate courses in Social Foun-
dations and Historical Foundations at Wilkes College

Professional Experiences:

September 1971-1973	Assistant Professor, Wilkes College
Summer 1971	Research fellow, United Nations
June 1968-July 1971	Assistant Professor, Bucks County Community College. Director, Temple University GEPT-Bucks Center
1968	Leader Experiment International Living Program, Germany
1970	Leader Experiment International Living Program, Ghana
September 1967	Assistant to the Dean (graduate assis- tant), School of Education, Lehigh University
July 1964-September 1967	Assistant Director of Admissions, Lehigh University
March 1962-April 1964	U. S. Army Officer, 1st Lieutenant. First 9 months, platoon leader and supply officer in Hanau, Germany; thereafter, foreign liaison officer visiting and working with members of various European and Middle Eastern countries

June 1961-March 1962

Trainee, Pittsburgh Steel Company

Honors:

Summer 1971 United Nations Fellow
Fall 1970 Botswana Independence Day Citation
Spring 1970 Selected by Student PSEA for "Outstanding Teacher Award"
1968 Elected to Phi Delta Kappa (Educational honorary)
1964 7th Army Commendation Medal; German-American Friendship Award (Individual who has done most to promote understanding and friendship between the two groups in Hanau, Germany)
1962 Scouter's Service Award
1961 Bishop's Service Citation
1957 Eagle Scout Award

Education Travel:

1970-1971 Worked with Minister of Education (Botswana) in preparing study and recommendation on Education, Leader of Special Exchange Program to Ghana
Summer 1969 Leader of Teachers Exchange to West Germany
1967-1969 Camped in much of Eastern United States and Canada
Summer 1966 I led a group of ten American and Canadian students to Botswana, the second newest nation in the world, under the auspices of Operation Crossroads Africa, Inc. We helped construct the first science laboratory in Botswana, taught classes in the secondary school, and built many bridges of friendship and understanding. This was an extremely rewarding experience.

Publications:

African Studies Association Journal, Spring 1973
Botswana Faces the Future.