

# BOTSWANA

## IEES POLICY RESEARCH INITIATIVE

STRENGTHENING LOCAL EDUCATION CAPACITY  
THROUGH COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

December 1987

### IEES

Improving the  
Efficiency of  
Educational  
Systems

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**PRODUCTS OF PHASE I**

**PHASE I: STATUS REPORT  
PHASE I: BIBLIOGRAPHY  
PHASE II: RESEARCH PROPOSAL**

**DECEMBER, 1987**

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PHASE I: STATUS REPORT

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

A community - is a group of people who share social, economic and cultural interests. In many cases the people also have kinship and marriage ties. This type of community is usually defined geographically, and embraces all the individuals living in a village, rural district or urban suburb. The members recognise reciprocal social obligations to each other, hold common values, and identify themselves with each other as 'we' (Bray, 1985). This ideal type community hardly exists in modern societies. In Botswana, the definition of a community under the Partnership policy is synonymous to the catchment area or a group of villages serviced by the school. This has a lot of problems which have in some cases aroused old hostilities between neighbouring villages. The final report of this study hopes to provide a more adequate definition of the concept community.

Decentralisation has been defined in at least three different ways; deconcentration, delegation and devolution.

Deconcentration - refers to the transfer of administrative responsibility from higher levels of government, usually located in the capital, to lower levels of government in the regions or districts, the objective being usually to avoid concentration of workload at the center. Rondinelli, et al, point out that except in situations where it represents mere reorganization, deconcentration allows lower level functionaries in the field a certain measure of latitude or discretion in the planning and implementation of projects at the sub central level within the guidelines provided by the central authority, thus making it possible to take account of local conditions. (It has been noted that this form of decentralization is the most common in LDC's).

Delegation - here the extent to which managerial responsibility is transferred exceeds the case of the deconcentration (i.e. greater discretion is allowed at the local level), and the transfer is usually to an agency or body which has a more or less independent existence from the normal central bureaucracy to which it is only indirectly accountable; moreover, the responsibility assigned to the body is usually in respect of some specifically defined function which, it is believed, could be more efficiently performed outside the framework of the civil service (Rondinelli, et al). Examples of such decentralized arrangement in LDC's are the parastatals, regional development corporations and quasi autonomous project implementation units. As Bray (1985) points out, in such decentralized systems powers delegated can be withdrawn by the central authority without recourse to any juridical enactment.

Devolution - involves judicial recognition of the authority transferred to sub-national bodies and is supposed to be the limit of decentralization, short of privatization. Under devolution, the sub-national body usually exercises jurisdiction over clearly defined geographical and function areas and its authority can usually be curtailed or extended only through judicial enactment. Several local governments in LDC's fit this pattern of decentralization.

The other form of decentralization which has historically characterized most educational systems in LDC's is privatization. Here the state almost completely divests itself of authority in certain areas of operation and hands it to private or non-governmental organizations, voluntary associations for what is at times referred to in the literature as "parallel organizations". The organizations of the mission schools during the colonial period is a typical case of privatization.

**Some acronyms used in the text:**

CJSS - COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL  
FSU - FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
IEES - IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS  
MOE - MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
JSEIP - JUNIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT PROJECT  
SLEC - STRENGTHENING LOCAL EDUCATION CAPACITY

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.0 The Strengthening Local Education Support (SLEC) study is a project of the Ministry of Education started in March, 1987.

1.1 The overall objective of the study is to improve the efficiency of Botswana's education system by combining the skills and resources of the government, communities and the private sector in a way that will give maximum returns from every pula spent in education.

1.2 Financial and technical support for this project is provided by USAID. That funding and associated technical support is provided through the Improving the Efficiency of Education Systems (IEES) Project.

1.3 The study is divided into two phases and is conducted by a team of local researchers collaborating with the research experts of the Ministry of Education. Dr. Patrick Molutsi, a sociologist at the University of Botswana, acts as Country Team Leader. The research team is regularly visited by the IEES representative who provides whatever technical expertise may be required. In addition, the project has a Steering Committee which advises the research team on matters relating to Community Junior Secondary School Project.

1.4 Phase I of the study comprised the first six months from March to August 1987. The main activity during this period was the search and review of locally available literature related to the subject of community finance and management of schools. There were in addition, limited interviews conducted with Community Junior Secondary Schools boards of Governors, headmasters, education officers and selected members of Parliament. The phase was concluded with a Workshop held in August, 1987 in which the different stakeholders in education participated.

1.5 Although the overall objective of the study is to improve the country's education system, it uses the recently introduced Community Junior Secondary School sub-sector as a case study to determine: (i) how best communities can be involved in the finance and management of schools, and (ii) if applicable, the most appropriate method(s) of decentralizing part of the educational decision-making machinery from the Ministry of Education to local authorities, attention is paid to the potential risk of loss in quality of educational services.

2.0 The report that follows is a product of both an extensive, though not exhaustive, literature review on community involvement

and interviews with key personalities in education. The workshop held in August, 1987 also considerably improved our understanding of the issues under consideration.

2.1 In both the developed and developing countries education is proving a very costly investment. Across the board, education costs are high and necessarily compete with other sectors for scarce resources. Most governments have nevertheless pledged to expand their education systems with the belief that provision of education to most, if not all, citizens will go a long way to ameliorating the problems of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

2.2 Despite governments' attempts and determination, two factors continue to stifle provision of education to the wider section of the population. These are rapid population growth on the one hand and declined national income on the other. The former in particular, is a predicament of LDCs. In these countries, as tables I to III in this report show, the number of school going children increases substantially every year while the overall national income and therefore resources available continue to decline.

2.3 Moreover, the arguments of the 1960's and 1970's (Shutz, 1960, Harbison, 1960 and Todaro, 1985) claiming the importance of investment on "Human capital" or on education as the key to development, have not been borne out by the experiences of most LDCs over the past three decades. Persistent poverty, widening inequality, and the elitist status accorded by education to a few, suggest to the contrary, that rather than being a panacea to social inequality and poverty, education can act as a sieve consolidating and widening inequalities in a society.

2.4 One problem facing provision of education in modern times is the centralised bureaucracy. Where governments have opted to be sole financiers of education, strong and inflexible bureaucracies have emerged. These organisations have in recent years inhibited efficient use of resources in education.

2.5 Centralised education systems in developing countries have proved too expensive, inflexible to local variations and somewhat out of touch with the situation "in the field".

2.6 Consequently, many governments have over the past few decades resorted to some form of decentralisation (Bray, 1985). Decentralisation has thus become something of a "fashion" (Conyers, 1983) adopted by many government systems.

2.7 However, decentralisation means different things to different people (Rondinelli, et al, 1984). To some, decentralisation means deconcentration; to others it means delegation and still to a few it means devolution (see glossary for definitions).

2.8 Overall, although currently popular with governments, decentralisation has not proved to be a general panacea for the problems facing educational development. It is, however, viewed as one of the important steps that may be required to improve the efficiency of many education systems.

3.0 Botswana has undoubtedly a long history of community participation, itself, an important attribute of a decentralised system. However, the history of community participation in this country is full one of set backs which have not been adequately addressed in the literature.

3.1 A careful review of this history illustrates that for future policy purposes, community involvement should be carefully monitored rather than taken for granted. Moreover, some critical inputs to past community participation, e.g. a strong chief and tribal competition, have been removed by the present conditions that exist in the countryside. This implies that future community participation should be based on revised premises and more appropriate methods of inducing support.

4.0 Botswana has embraced the policy of educational expansion as the cornerstone of her development programme. From the time of independence the government has expanded education facilities at all levels.

4.1 Along these lines, and in light of expanded educational opportunities, the government introduced a decentralization policy in 1984. The policy known as Partnership defines the roles of government and of communities. Although geared to facilitate the provision of a nine year basic education, the policy is intended to go a long way toward improving the performance of the entire education system in Botswana and thus, indirectly, to contribute to rural development.

4.2 This policy has obvious shortcomings, among which is a lack of clarity regarding the role of religious organisations and the private sector. There is also an absence of legislation to support the policy.

4.3 Public reaction to the Partnership policy is, to date, negative. Several communities feel that they were not adequately consulted when the policy was decided upon. Others claim their schools have been taken to serve objectives different from those for which they were built.

4.4 Communities which are in agreement with the policy argue

that government is expecting far too much from them. They claim that their resource base is such that it is not possible to make the substantial contribution apparently required of them.

4.5 One of the main objectives of the Partnership policy is to bring the school closer to the community. The community is expected to assist in the management of the school, provide some support services and participate in the development of an appropriate curriculum. Teachers feel that, on the contrary, community involvement is a frustrating invasion of their profession.

4.6 Policy makers and administrators, particularly at lower levels, are not convinced of the merits of community involvement and are overly concerned of its implication on school quality.

5.0 Notwithstanding the foregoing critical views of the policy, the SLEC workshop held in August, 1987 concluded that the policy was a crucial step forward. It then recommended a thorough research on the issues involved.

5.1 The recommendations included:

- i) An assessment of community investment patterns estimating how much of these resources are available for educational development;
- ii) An assessment of the potential contributions of the churches and the private sector; and
- iii) An investigation of the administrative and management potentials of local authorities stating the types of decision-making categories that can be delegated to regional education offices;
- iv) An assessment of the manpower and other implications of establishing regional education offices on the central government.

## INTRODUCTION

The Strengthening Local Education Capacity (SLEC) study is a Ministry of Education/IEES project, which began in March, 1987. The primary objective of the two year study is to provide relevant data, background information, systematic procedures, recommendations and analysis of policy alternatives so that policy makers can select and implement appropriate strategies to develop and strengthen local capacity to support education activities in Botswana.

The objectives of current government policies are clearly to strengthen local education support by encouraging popular participation. The study will continue to address the subject of policy formulation, but more importantly concentrating on the implementation process of existing policies. Thus the main goal is to specifically;

- (a) identify best ways and means of involving communities and other stake holders in the financing and management particularly of Community Junior Secondary School (CJSS) in Botswana; and
- (b) to assess the manpower and other resources implications on the Central Government of the present policies on educational decentralization.

The study consists of two phases. Phase I, of which this report is the product, was intended to provide;

- (i) a comprehensive description of the current local/community support/involvement in education, and
- (ii) to provide an indication of the policy research needs for phase II.

This report is the outcome of an extensive literature review on community participation in educational development in developed and developing countries with a concentration on Botswana.

Phase I also benefited from limited interviews and discussions with senior government officers, community leaders and teachers. During this time members of the Project's Advisory Committee comprising of education officers, headmasters, university lecturers and researchers, and chairmen of the school boards of governors met twice to deliberate on the issues relating to finance and management of schools in Botswana.

This phase concluded in a workshop held at the end of August, 1987, in which all stakeholders in the system; government, religious institutions, private organizations, communities and the teaching profession were represented. Feedback indicated that the study was progressing well and that the findings and recommendations should go a long way in systematically documenting the problems of the CJSS sub-system and suggesting ways of addressing them. This phase, as initially intended, also

served to familiarize the research team with the issues of the research topic and this should, among other things, improve the quality of the research products.

This report is divided into four sections. The first speaks to the pros and cons of formal education. These perspectives are not particular to Botswana but are more global. However, the discussion has relevance to Botswana, the subsequent sections of this report, and the SLEC study in general. The second section addresses educational issues in Botswana. It provides short reviews of the history of community support, of education policies showing expansions in the system over the past decades, and finally settling on the analysis of the Partnership (decentralization) policy of 1984. The last section of the report consists of conclusions and recommendations which have been incorporated into the next phase.

## I

### OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

According to Professor Harbison,

"Human resources ... constitute the ultimate basis for the Wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations and carry forward national development. Clearly a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else." (Harbison, 1983:1)

Most social scientists share the belief that ultimately the human resources of a country rather than its capital and natural resources constitute the critical determinant of the nature and rate of social and economic development. A great number of positive claims have been made on behalf of the formal educational system which in modern times has become the principal institutional mechanism for imparting skills and knowledge to the human resources of a country (Todaro, 1985). From the perspective of the individual, it is claimed that education produces a well-balanced, perceptive and responsible personality who constitutes an invaluable asset in building a stable and democratic society; again the acquisition of knowledge and skills through education enables the individual to increase his standard of living through improved remuneration (Doob, 1966, Kizerbo, 1966). Education is perceived, however, to confer greater benefits on society than the individual. Todaro (1985) observes that despite the dearth of statistics;

"...it seems clear that the expansion of educational opportunities at all levels (in LDC's) has probably contributed to aggregative economic growth by: (a) creating a more productive labor force and endowing it with increased knowledge and skills; (b) providing widespread employment and income earning opportunities for teachers, school and construction workers, text book and paper printers, school uniform manufacturers, etc.; (c) creating a class of educated leaders to fill vacancies left by departing expatriates or otherwise vacant positions in governmental services, public corporations, private businesses and professions; and (d) providing the kind of training and education that would promote literacy and basic skills while encouraging 'modern' attitudes on the part of diverse segments of the population ... That an educated and skilled labor force is a necessary condition of sustained economic growth cannot be denied." (Todaro, 1985:345-6)

As a result of the benefits which education is believed to confer on the individual and society at large, most LDC's, on the attainment of independence, embarked on a massive expansion of formal education. In most of these countries free and universal formal education became a policy cornerstone of government (see for example Botswana National Development Plans from 1966 to 1991).

Balancing the resources channelled into formal education against the present state of economic and social development in many LDC's, social scientists have begun to question the validity of the claims made for education. In many countries, despite the enormity of resources invested in education during the past quarter of a century or so, the economic well being of the average citizen has shown little, if any, improvement. In fact, in some countries it has declined. Chronic unemployment and poverty are widespread. (It has been estimated by Todaro, 1985, that 35% of LDC's population of 1232 million people lived in absolute poverty in 1983).

As a result, claims made on behalf of education have been found to be unduly exaggerated and, in fact in some instances, have been shown to be false (OECD, 1981:49). This view has given rise to the awareness of the following negative claims made for the expansion for formal education in LDC's. While accepting the fact that education has probably contributed to aggregate economic growth in LDC's, it is contended that the "evaluation of the role of education in the process of economic development should go beyond the analysis of a single statistic of aggregative growth. One must also consider the structure and pattern of that economic growth and its distribution implications (Todaro, 1985). This observation becomes even more compelling when one considers the fact that at the moment economists no longer employ growth in aggregate national income alone as an index of development as it used to be the case in the early 60's. The abandonment of this single yardstick - aggregative growth in income - as an index for economic development arose from the fact that although most LDC's achieved the growth target of 5-8% in aggregative GNP in the 1960's, set by the UN First Development Decade, it was observed that at the same time there were parallel increases in unemployment, absolute poverty and inequality. This could hardly pass for development. Since then changes in unemployment, poverty and inequality in addition to those in per capital income have been employed to determine whether or not development is taking place in a given society. In this regard, when finding the contribution of educational expansion to development, one has to look at its effects on poverty, unemployment and inequality as well (Seers, 1969).

In the past, because of the use of growth in aggregative income as an index of development, research into the developmental implications of educational expansion mainly focused on its effects on aggregative income and little or no attempt was made

to explore the effect of education on poverty and income distribution. Recent research has demonstrated that, contrary to the conventional belief that expansion in education reduces inequality in the distribution of income, it rather reinforces income inequalities (Bhagwati, 1973). Todaro (1985) puts the argument even more forcefully:

"The basic reason for this perverse effect of formal education on income distribution is the positive correlation between a person's level of education and his level of lifetime earnings. This correlation holds especially for those who are able to complete secondary and university education where income differentials over workers who have only completed part or all of their primary education can be on the order of 300-800%. Since levels of earned incomes are so clearly dependent on years of completed schooling, it follows that large income inequalities will be reinforced if students from middle and upper income brackets are represented disproportionately in secondary and university enrollments. In short, if for financial and/or other reasons, the poor are effectively denied access to secondary and higher educational opportunities, then the educational system can actually perpetuate and even increase inequality in Third World Nations." (Todaro, 1985:346-7)

Again analysis of the factors affecting the demand for and supply of education in the LDC's has shown that expansion in all levels of education has led to growing unemployment. Demand for formal education is essentially a derived demand for modern sector employment and since the modern sector of most LDC's economies are not expanding fast enough to absorb the educated, there is a very keen competition for modern sector jobs. This reinforces the demand for education which further forces governments to increase the supply of education by expanding educational opportunities at all levels. The result is a large pool of educated unemployed in most LDC's. It is estimated that in countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan, graduate unemployment runs as high as 47% (Todaro, 1985). The explosion in the demand for formal education is further reinforced by the constant upgrading by employers of the basic formal education qualifications required for modern sector employment (Dore, 1966).

It is also claimed that the acquisition of educational qualifications and degrees does not necessarily enhance one's capacity for productive work. The expansion of education, particularly at secondary and higher levels, involves a large expenditure and hence competition for scarce resources with other socially productive sectors of the economy. It is also contended that formal education does not only impart skills and knowledge required for national development, but also values, ideas, attitudes and aspirations which may not necessarily be in the best development interests of LDC's (Todaro, 1985).

Education, especially in the Third World, to the extent that it is oriented to that in developed countries, is often inappropriate to local conditions. Rather than promoting social and political stability, expansion of the education system can produce frustrated, disgruntled and educated unemployed who become the "shock troops of political discontents" (Sanbrook, 1982:172). At the individual level education or formal schooling cannot always be equated to learning which can make the individual a better citizen. Education, particularly when it is oriented to modern sector employment, as is the case in LDC's, can distort the aspirations of the recipient, leading to frustration.

What has been said above does not imply that education per se is inimical to the development of LDC's. What is implied is that tremendous expansion in educational opportunities in LDC's has brought in its wake, certain problems which have tended to raise doubts about the claims made on behalf of the potential of education to the development of these societies. This is because of the peculiar institutional and social milieu, particularly in LDC's, within which education systems function.

#### **The Role of Government in Educational Funding:**

Even more pertinent to the current views on formal education is the question of who finances this (apparently wasteful?) enterprise. Here too opinions differ. Some believe that since education has the potential to confer greater social, economic and political benefits on the nation as a whole, rather than on individuals, governments should take the responsibility of making education available to all citizens at little or no cost. The justification for this lies in the fact that in LDC's the widespread poverty of families and house-holds does not make the cost of educating their children easily affordable. In fact, in these societies, children of school age are seen as providing the opportunity for supplementing family income rather than as avenues for the investment of surplus family income. In most instances where the family can even afford the cost of education, the benefits of that education may not be immediately obvious to them and thus they lack the necessary motivation to invest in schooling (UN, 1973).

It is also argued that individual communities in LDC's, unlike governments, do not possess the organizational ability and/or the expertise to provide education (Thema, 1947, on Botswana). Provision of education is seen as an obligation which governments owe their citizens as their birth-right (OECD, 1981:52).

Those who take a contrary view assert that education is too expensive to be left to governments alone; instead the cost should be shared between governments, private agencies and individual households since all benefit from education though to varying degrees (Psacharapoulos, 1977). An indication of the cost of education is provided by reviewing the proportion of total government expenditure devoted to education, see Table I (tables may be found in the appendices). It should be noted that the data in Tables I, II and III reflect aggregation problems; thus they should be viewed with caution. Though, perhaps not accurate, they do reflect the general trend.

Table I shows the share of educational expenditure in the public budget for selected regions and countries for selected years. Column 1 shows the ratio of total educational expenditure (capital plus recurrent) to total public spending. For African countries in the sample, the range is 11.3% for Ethiopia to 36% for Comoros. The ratio is relatively lower for the East Asia and Pacific, and South Asian regions, and fairly high for Latin America and Caribbean. Column 2 shows the ratio of recurrent educational expenditure to total recurrent expenditure. It will be noted that for any given country the figure in column 2 is greater than the corresponding figure in column 1. This shows the large recurrent expenditure component of total educational expenditure. It is clear from columns 1 and 2 that total (recurrent) educational expenditure is quite a significant proportion of total public (total recurrent) expenditure.

Table II shows the growth in national income, educational expenditure and population of school going age for the periods 1965-70, 1970-75 and 1975-80 for major regions of the world. A comparison of columns 1 and 4 shows that except for East Asia and Pacific where educational expenditure growth fell short of national income growth by 1.1%, for all other major regions the reverse was the case. In fact for East Africa the margin was as wide as 6.4%. This general trend is also true for subsequent periods. A comparison of columns 4 and 7, 5 and 8 and 6 and 9 indicates that for all regions, and for all the periods, the school age population growth fell short of educational expenditure growth - in some cases by a fairly wide margin. In other words only a small growth in the school age population is enough to induce a more than proportionate growth in educational expenditure.

The relevant data for individual countries included in the various regions are provided in Table III. The data indicate that between 1965-70, of the 45 LDC's for which data was available, growth in educational expenditure exceeded national income growth in 30 or 70% of the countries. The relevant percentages were around 65% for the two succeeding periods. These statistics clearly indicate the high cost of education.

The question which immediately arises is; can governments shoulder this expansion in educational expenditure alone? Observing the trend in the flow of resources into education, the World Bank notes that between 1965 and 1980, real public spending on education as a share of the public budget has either remained stagnant or declined for most regions of the World - particularly so for the LDC's. During the 1975-83 period, World Bank data show declines of the share of educational expenditure in the public budget from 21.3% to 17.2%, 19.4% to 15.3%, and 16.5% to 9.3% for Cameroon, Kenya and Nigeria respectively (World Bank, 1986:6).

The explanation seems to lie in the fact that educational expenditure has to be the obvious candidate for the reduction in total government budgetary expenditure in the period marked by two world recessions, 1974-75 and 1980-83 (World Bank, 1986). This, due in part to the high level of educational expenditure attained in the earlier period of educational expansion. This seems to be a clear indication that as the resources available to governments dwindle in the face of poor economic performance and as the inter-sectoral competition for resources intensifies, governments find themselves unable to cope with the demands of educational sector. The question then is who should shoulder the responsibility of providing education in a nation?

Given the difficulties governments face in paying for education, there is need to diversify the sources of educational funding to incorporate other stakeholders. Historically, communities and households, religious institutions and the private sector have always willingly made sizeable contributions to educational finance and management of schools (Commonwealth Workshop Papers, 1985). At the moment some sectors of the society are over subsidized by government educational expenditure, particularly, at the secondary and university levels. Given the gloomy economic projections for many LDCs, it may seem reasonable for governments to dismantle these subsidies, institute cost recovery measures and provide selective scholarship/bursaries for needy students.

### **Inefficiencies of the Central Education System**

We shall use, as a point of departure for our discussion of the inefficiency of the centralized educational system, a typology of the organisation of school systems employed by Emmanuel Jimenz and Jee Jeng Tan, in their article on decentralized and private education (Jimenz, et al, 1987). The typology is reproduced in Table IV. The typology presents the organization of school systems in a two dimensional matrix framework; the vertical dimension delineates two broad "features" of the school system namely; Finance and Management. Each of these broad features is further divided into two sub-features. Within finance we have (a) revenue source and (b) method of financing, and within

management we have (a) decisions on level and type of spending (b) fee policy and (c) service provision.

Corresponding to each of these "sub-features" is a spectrum of educational systems ranging from a private model (extreme decentralization) to a centralized model. The entries against the sub-features in the rows describe how the sub-features are organised under each system. For example the first row tells us the revenue sources of the various systems. Reading down the column gives us the various features of each system. For example the last column under "pure centralized model" tells us all the features of this model.

Reading down this last column tells us that a purely centralized educational system is fully funded by the central government (sub-feature (a) Under Finance) and that all the inputs into the schools are provided directly in kind to the schools (i.e. sub-feature (b) under Financing). With regard to Management under such a system, "decisions on level and type of spending" are set by the central government; no fees are levied (sub-features (b)), and the government provides standard national curriculum for all schools. It must be noted that the model of a centralized educational system presented is over simplified and, that the sub-features under Finance and Management are by no means exhaustive.

The adoption of this typology as our basis for discussion is based on the fact that, simplified as it is, it captures the main dimensions and scope of each model in a neat and easily comprehensible manner.

It can be seen that total government funding of the school systems, rather than being a determinant of a centralized education system is an aspect or feature of it. A centralized educational system implies the ownership, management and financing of most schools by the government; under such a system private schools are either prohibited or restricted by requirements to meet a rigid standard which government-run schools themselves invariably cannot and do not meet. The literature indicates that while the educational systems of Third World Countries span the spectrum of models shown in the topology, in the past there has been a tendency towards the centralization of educational systems. Currently there is a trend towards decentralization in most Third World Countries for a variety of reasons which will be discussed below (Bray, 1985). For the moment we shall confine ourselves to reviewing the weaknesses of the centralized system with a view to providing at least a theoretical rationale for a decentralized educational system.

A centralized educational system usually means a high financial burden for government and, in a situation where the economy is stagnating and other sectors are competing for scarce government

resources, this invariably results not only in a drop in school enrollments at all levels but also in an inadequacy of school buildings, particularly at the primary level, deterioration of schools and inadequate and poor equipment, pedagogical materials and teaching staff. Indications are that this is especially true of primary schools in the rural areas. Secondly, in such a system there is usually a disproportionate allocation of resources in favor of higher education, despite the research-based proposition that for LDC's the social return on primary education is far in excess of that for higher and, especially, university education. This stems from the fact that policy makers in a centralized system of education have a vested interest in the expansion of higher education (Jimenez and Peng Tang, 1987).

Thirdly, centralization usually involves a time lag in decision-making (i.e. the time interval between when a request is made at a local or regional level and the time when a response is received from the Ministry) which potentially has adverse affects on the teaching and learning process. In his study of the centralized school system in Venezuela, Hanson (1986) cites several instances where this time lag spans several months for certain schools located in remote areas of the country, and cases where responses from central administration never came (Hanson, 1986).

Fourthly, the comprehensive set of regulations that govern the aspects of the teaching, learning and administrative processes and the insistence on strict conformity to these regulations introduces rigidity into the system, again with potential adverse consequences. One result of this rigidity is the failure to take account of regional cultural and social differences. The most common example cited is the uniformity in the curriculum for both urban and rural schools, a process that does not take account of the special problems of the rural areas. This leads to a situation where graduates from rural schools may be inadequately prepared for any useful employment in a rural environment or in the modern urban centers.

Such rigidity stifles initiative and inhibits innovation at the local level. Another weakness in the centralized system cited by Hanson (1986) is what he calls the "psychological distance" between teachers and the local level and decisionmakers at the center. The decisionmakers usually lack understanding of the problems of teachers and this too has adverse consequences on the quality of teaching.

Bray (1985) noted that:

"Review of administrative changes in both industrialized and less developed countries reveals a complex pattern. Some are centralizing, some are decentralizing, some are doing neither and some are doing both. On balance, however, more

systems seem to be decentralizing than centralizing - to the point at which Conyers (1983) questions whether decentralization was the "latest fashion" in development administration." (Bray, 1985:183)

Bray further notes that in most cases these changes in the administrative systems are based on dissatisfaction with the status quo rather than a "clear appreciation of the choices open to governments" (Bray, 1985:183). The analysis of a centralized system is made more complicated by the ambiguity in the use of the term. According to Rondinelli, et al, 1984;

"...decentralization can be defined as the transfer of responsibility for planning, management, and resources raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to either: (a) field units of central government ministries or agencies; or (b) subordinate units or levels of government; or (c) semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations; or (d) area-wide regional or functional authorities; or (e) non-governmental private or voluntary organizations." (Rondinelli, et al, 1984:9).

The degree of authority actually transferred varies from one situation to the other and this makes it imperative to distinguish between different forms of decentralization reflecting the extent of authority or responsibility transferred. Rondinelli, et al, categorize these forms of decentralization into four types: viz. deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatization and observe that these various forms have been tried either simultaneously or at different times by various countries (see glossary for definitions).

Several reasons have been given for the tendency towards decentralization in LDC's; some of these reasons are purely political, while others relate to decentralization in development administration. Here we shall limit ourselves to a brief summary of the reasons for decentralization of the school system. First, it is argued that decentralization promotes flexibility and makes it possible to take the peculiarities of different localities into consideration in articulating local needs, hence promoting innovation. It has been shown (above) that inadequacy of educational funding can lead to deterioration in schools and hence quality of school output. It is argued that decentralization can widen the funding base of schools and redress some of the weaknesses resulting from inadequate funding. Thirdly, certain minor and routine decisions taken at the local level can speed up administrative processes and lead to efficient management of schools.

Lastly, it is argued that since decentralization promotes participation in decision making at the local level, it makes it possible to enlist local support and enthusiasm in the implementation of decisions (see for instance Botswana's National Development, 1985).

## II

### LOCAL EDUCATION SUPPORT IN BOTSWANA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Botswana like many countries has a long history of community participation in educational development. A history that began in the mid 19th century, and has been projected favorably by a number of writers (Schapera, 1943, Swartland and Taylor, 1987). However, our literature review showed that community participation in the finance and management of schools in this country was neither a smooth nor a successful undertaking (Halpern, 1965). While it is not the intend of this author to dwell on the pitfalls of the past, or to discourage present and future community participation on the basis of these shortcomings, it is impotant to articulate some of the problems of community participation which, problems that are not solved by romanticising the past.

The literature review for this section, was designed to answer the following questions on the history of community and other organizations' participation in educational development in Botswana. Although providing insights for future strategies for community participation, the findings in this section are controversial and inconclusive (as shown in the different views expressed by participants at the SLEC Workshop, August, 1987). The questions were:

- (a) Did Botswana communities participate in educational development in the past? If so why and who else participated?
- (b) At what level(s) of the school system did communities participate?
- (c) To the extent that different communities participated, what was the nature/form of that participation?
- (d) Were there certain pre-conditions for community participation? Are these still there? If not what happened?
- (e) How do we periodise community participation and has it differed in both form and magnitude over time? And finally;
- (f) Were there any identifiable disadvantages of community participation?

As noted earlier, Botswana has a long history of community involvement in educational development. The first ever primary school built amongst the Bakwena at Kolobeng was a joint effort of the Missionary David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society (LMS), and the Bakwena community (Sillery, 1952, Swartland and Taylor, 1987). Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries primary schools were built either solely by the church, the communities or these two jointly.

Some chiefs encouraged their people to go on labor migration specifically to raise funds for construction of schools (Schapera, 1943, Benson, 1960). In general, however, Tribal Reserves were competing among themselves and no chief wanted to be seen as standing in the way of progress for his people. For instance, when asked why their people did not patronise the Roman Catholic tertiary school at Khale in the 1930s, almost every chief said he was encouraging parents to do so. They also claimed that they were helping in the proper maintenance of schools in their villages (Botswana National Archives (BNA) Files No. S.373/4/6/8/9).

Before 1930 most community involvement was voluntary and restricted to construction of primary schools. However, the decades of the 1930's and 40's saw a formalized effort to raise educational funds from the communities. In 1938 newly established Tribal Treasuries were assigned the task of charging a small fee from each taxpayer as education levy (Coclough and McCarthy, 1980). Little is known as to exactly how much money was raised through the levy. What is clear is that communities continued to raise funds for schools through traditional methods discussed below.

The 1930's and 1940's also witnessed continued efforts by the different religious denominations to build especially primary schools in the villages. Among these were the Seventh Day Adventist Church amongst the Bangwaketse, the LMS among the Bangwato, Bakwena and Bangwaketse. The Dutch Reform Church (DRC) operated the church, hospital and schools among the Bakgatla while the Lutheran and Roman Catholic denominations also used the construction of the school and hospital to attract converts. In the competition for converts the churches contributed greatly to primary, secondary and tertiary education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (BNA. File S. 373/4/6).

Even after independence the churches continued to make a substantial input into education in Botswana. Mission founded secondary, later known as government-aided, schools played a crucial role in manpower development in the early years of independence. Their performance to date remains outstanding.

Apart from communities and missions, isolated efforts to develop viable self-reliant schools were made by individual pioneers such as Motsete, Tshekedi and Isang. Motsete's Tati Training Institute (TTI) founded in 1934 (Parsons, 1986) was however, not a long lived project. This school which was located in the Tati area near Francistown collapsed soon after it started. The primary reasons were both inadequate community resources and lack of support from the Colonial Administration. Tshekedi's school, Moeng College would have suffered the same fate had it not been because of his chiefly position. He put all his energies and authority behind the construction of this first community secondary school in the country, the Bangwato Tribal College

later Moeng College. In the process, the community resources were depleted and families overtaxed by this project (Benson, 1960).

Once again the achievement of a secondary school through community effort sparked off competitive interests in other communities outside the Bangwato Reserve. Hence in 1950 the Bangwaketse opened their own secondary school - Seepapitso Secondary School. A year later in 1951 Bakgatla opened Molefi Secondary School while Bakwena completed Kgari Sechele Secondary in 1955. These schools, although taken over by the central government immediately after independence, contributed significantly to secondary education in the late 1960's and early 1970's at a time when government had inadequate resources to build new schools. During the same period a new type of community effort evolved in Serowe in the Bangwato Reserve. This time both the wider community and the chief were only indirectly involved in the fund raising effort and administration of the school (Van Rensberg, 1977).

This was a new type of community effort which involved only a section of the community. It was highly reliant on external donor agencies for funding and largely on volunteer foreign staff for teaching personnel. The relative autonomy from both government and community control which the school management enjoyed enabled it to devise and teach a syllabus substantially different from that taught in other secondary schools in the country. It was a work-oriented type of syllabus. Limited or complete absence of particularly community participation in the management of the school and in the designing of the new curriculum however, later proved one of the major stumbling blocks to this important innovation because both students and parents preferred the elitist curriculum taught in government schools (Van Rensberg, 1984, Taylor, 1987).

At this stage we know that the community at large, religious and private organizations, though indirectly, participated in educational development in Botswana from the mid-19th century to the late 1970's. Secondary sources show that throughout recent history, community participation was largely in the form of donated funds, livestock, crops and labor, there was little contribution in the form of school management.

From the time of Livingstone to the present, communities provided money and labor. Both livestock and grains were contributed in lieu of money and these were normally sold immediately. Efforts to engage communities in the management of the schools met with both resistance from teachers and administrators, and fear and reluctance from parents themselves (Thema, 1947). Overall the whole exercise was a failure (Munger, 1965, Halpern, 1965). It is important to note that community participation has always been insufficient and irregular. (These factors lead one to the assumption that the process of arriving at the present

Partnership policy did not accurately assess potential levels or frequency of community participation.)

Two factors appear to have been critical in past community participation in Botswana. The first is the Colonial Government neglect of or determination not to support, native education in Bechuanaland while supporting that of local Europeans (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980:30 ). At the same time the demarcation of the country into Native Reserves whose existence and identity were sustained by community efforts, created an unusual competition that propelled not only educational but agricultural and physical developments in each Reserve as well.

The second factor was the chief. Chiefs personified their communities in the eyes of many colonial officers. A 'progressive' chief made his 'tribe' automatically favored (Director of Agric, 1956, BNA File No. S.526/4/1). Thus chiefs like Isang, Tshekedi and Bathoen II were well aware that they were competing with their counterparts in the other Reserves. This encouraged them to mobilize their people more efficiently. Moreover, at these early times, and by the nature of the indirect rule system of government, the chiefs had more grip over the peoples' lives. A strong chief was a very critical variable in past community participation. Certainly, these two facilitating factors to community involvement are either non-existent in the 1980's or are not as strong forces of mobilization as they were before.

The history of community participation in Botswana can be put into an unequal but certainly definite time scale. The first form of participation ranged from the 1850's to the 1920's. During this period all effort was on the development of primary schools. There were literally no attempts to construct secondary schools at this stage. Indeed, a significant proportion of households/families had still to be convinced of the value of education. Many parents preferred to send girls but not boys to school as schooling was associated with light duties only suitable for women (Halpern, 1965).

The second period stretched about thirty years from the 1930's to the early 1960's. This was the period of secondary education. Communities and individual citizens made costly and initially unsuccessful efforts to build secondary schools for local communities. This was the secondary situation at the time of independence. Tribal Secondary Schools were however, generally poorly staffed and equipped compared to the much favored Mission sponsored and managed secondary schools (Halpern, 1965, Colclough and McCarthy, 1980).

The third period constituted the early 1970's to the period prior to 1984 (the Partnership policy). This period was similar to the 1930's and 1940's in many ways. Having lost their schools to government and at the same time realizing the growing demand for

secondary education, communities once more evolved a new type of community schools. These mushroomed in Mahalapye, Mochudi, Moshupa and in all the country's towns. All were secondary, specifically intended to take students with lower grades (e.g Cs and Ds) who by the nature of competition could not gain places in government and government-aided secondary schools (Personal interviews in Thamaga and with Hon. Mr. G. Mosinyi, MP, July, 1987). These were, therefore, schools of the "underdog". They were second or even third quality schools, especially if one takes into account the belief that government aided schools have always been better than government schools.

The new community schools seriously lacked resources and were characterized by dilapidated buildings. They were staffed mainly by Zimbabwean and South African refugees most of whom had not been trained as teachers. They were poorly managed, with the occasional disappearance of school funds (Botswana Daily News, 1979). They were thus schools of the 'last resort' (NDP, 1973 - 78). They were not the type to be encouraged if the ethics of equity and social justice were to live long in Botswana (National Education Commission, 1977).

The period after 1984 heralded a 'new era' in Botswana's education system. The era of universal nine years of basic education through the Community Junior Secondary (CJSS)/ day schooling approach. That is, the schools are no longer taken from the communities by government but are supposed to be run in partnership. It is this latter period that the next sections will address and suggest what the departure from the past might mean for the future. Needless-to-say there are clear indications that despite the long history, communities still have fundamental problems in provision of resources and school management.

Swaneng Hill school experiment is full of frustrations for those who had hoped it will provide an important historical landmark in Botswana's education system (Van Rensberg, 1985). It points to the fact that students and parents' desires and aspirations may not be similar to those of teachers and policy makers.

This short historical background has been important in dispelling what would appear a romanticized conception of past community participation in Botswana.

#### **An Overview of the Education Policy 1966 - 1984**

"My Government has from the moment of its first taking office given top priority to educational expansion."  
(Sir Seretse Khama, 1968:229)

The above quotation serves to encapsulate the Botswana government

policy towards education since independence. In common with many governments and international organizations, the government committed itself not only to educational expansion at all levels but also to universal primary education in the 1980's. Indeed as a first step towards this goal, primary school fees were cut by half in the early 1970's and finally primary education was made free in 1980. At present, it is universal but not compulsory. Nevertheless, only 85% of that cohort attend primary school. A summary of expansion in primary education is provided by Table V. This table derives from a recent document by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) which used different fertility regimes to project the following expansions in enrollments, staffing and classrooms at primary school level between 1985 and the year 2015 (CSO, 1987).

Clearly, we can expect continual expansion at the primary level. A recent paper presented at the Botswana Educational Research Association (BERA) seminar, on the teaching of science at primary school level, showed that there is a lot that is still to be done to improve both the syllabus and methods of teaching at the primary school level (J. Morgan, 1987).

While pursuing an expansionist policy for all, government put emphasis on the expansion of secondary education during this period. Secondary education more than any other level was perceived as holding the key to economic development. It was claimed that without adequate personnel trained to the minimum of the Junior Certificate (first three years of secondary) development would be hampered as government could not afford to import expensive skilled personnel from abroad. This belief was as widespread then as it is to date. Speaking in the late 1970's the late President warned the nation that:

"Unless we can encourage our sons and daughters to study and develop these skills which are essential to our development we may be forced to apply a brake on our expansion."  
(Sir Seretse Khama, 1977:332)

During the 1970's finance ceased to be the critical factor hampering development. Instead it was shortage of skilled personnel which delayed implementation of many development projects (NDP 1979-1985). As shown in the previous section, the public responded well to government appeals for the development of skilled personnel to run the economy. Secondary schools mushroomed all over the country including those run purely by the communities. Indeed, by the mid 1970's public response was so great that government itself was concerned by the possible dangers of unmonitored expansion of the secondary school sub-system. As the NDP 1970-75 put it:

"Although secondary school enrolments (had) doubled in the last three years the demand for places (had) far outstripped the number available. As a result many pupils unable to

gain admission have turned to self-help night schools organized on a voluntary and private basis... There is a serious problem here, over-expansion using inadequate facilities and sub-standard teachers may lead to chaos, disillusion and bitterness among young people." (NDP, 1970-1975:103).

The priority given to education was indicated in the appointment of what was probably the first but certainly the widely announced Presidential Commission since independence. The National Education Commission (N.E.C.) was certainly the most important historical landmark in Botswana's education system. The commission which was appointed in 1976 reported back in 1977. It made far reaching recommendations addressing issues not only of manpower development but also those of equality of opportunities (equity), social justice and curricular relevance. Pertinent to the present study is that it unveiled the shortcomings of community management of schools while at the same time advocating for organized community participation (Education for Kagisano, 1977:96 ).

Moreover, the commission recommended and government accepted a number of reforms in the organizational structure of the Ministry and the education system as a whole. The changes in the organizational structure as well as in personnel of the Ministry of Education have undoubtedly been critical to policy innovations discussed in the next section. Overall, the findings of this Commission reinforced the expansionist policy and asked for more government commitment and investment on Education (Education for Kagisano, 1977:97). Along these lines the commission went beyond the confines of the formal school system to address the subjects of adult and non-formal education as well. Table V summarizes the state of education in Botswana about nine years following the Commission's recommendations.

### III

#### AN APPRAISAL OF BOTSWANA'S POLICY ON EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION

The preceding sections emphasized that from the beginning government has encouraged non-government participation in educational development. Even before independence some schools were built, financed and managed by the church and the community. Although the government has permitted this and prepared regulations governing private primary and secondary schools, it did not, until 1984, put forward a policy on the subject of educational decentralization. The Partnership policy announced in 1984 is therefore an important innovation that is bound to constitute a landmark in the history of education in Botswana.

This section summarizes the policy pronouncements and records public reactions thus far. The partnership policy is an educational policy intended to draw the school closer to the community and community closer to the school. It begins with the bold assertion that the secondary school, in particular, has been divorced from the community which it was supposed to serve (MOE 1984:5). However, although projected simply in terms of facilitating provision of education to most sections of the population, this policy has far reaching macro-economic implications on other social problems such as unemployment, migration and lack of services in the rural areas. It is, to be precise, an important input into rural development in Botswana.

The Partnership policy as espoused in the Ministry of Education policy document in 1984, has three main components. Firstly, the policy reiterates government's education objectives for the 1980's through to the year 2000. Secondly, it explains advantages of community involvement. And lastly, it defines undertakings and obligations to be made by participants in the policy.

#### Summary of the National Education Objectives to the Year 2000

In line with previous education policies, government declares the following as education objectives for the next two decades:

- o To provide a nine year access to basic education for all by the mid 1990's.
- o To ensure that schools are staffed only by qualified teachers. Thus to expand places for teacher education.
- o To expand vocational education through increased enrollments at the Polytechnic and Brigades, and the establishment of Vocational Training Centers.
- o To vigorously pursue the National Literacy Programme and its follow-up in continuing basic education, and

- o To ensure the efficient running of the education service as a whole, management will be decentralized as much as possible to District Education Centers (MOE, 1984:3).

Perhaps what is new in the present objectives is the emphasis put on both curriculum reform and community participation.

#### Reasons for Community Involvement

The policy gives the following as reasons for involving communities in the financing and management of intermediate schools in Botswana:

- o To make the community feel responsible and committed to the efficient running of the school.
- o To enrich the curriculum by incorporating local variants brought in by the community.
- o To reduce the distance between home and the school, hence remove the need for boarding accommodation at the school.
- o To allow the community access to school facilities for its other educational and non-educational activities, and
- o To enable the community a share in the cost of providing secondary education in the country.

These reasons, though summarized, were taken in the order of priority that they appear in the policy document. (It is interesting to note that financial contributions by the community are mentioned last.)

#### Contributions by the Partners

Government as one of the partners under the policy, undertakes to provide the following for the Community Junior Secondary School:

- o Purpose - planning buildings, including classrooms, library, teaching areas for science, home economics and other applied subjects, administration blocks and toilets.
- o Furniture and equipment for the above.
- o A qualified head and teaching staff, paid from Ministry funds.
- o Up to 50% of houses required for the staff (except where Town Councils provide housing.)
- o A subsidy of P40 (P80 in 1987) for each pupil, to a maximum prescribed by the Ministry.
- o Intermediate schools in very remote areas may also be provided with boarding hostels for pupils.

In its turn, the community is asked to undertake to provide:

- o A board of governors to manage the school "in accordance with government regulations".
- o Negotiate with the Land Board over the selection of the site and clear it ready for construction.

- o Appoint and sustain the ancillary staff of the school (bursar, secretary, domestic and other staff).
- o Maintain all school properties and equipment.
- o Construct a cooking area for the preparation of school lunches.
- o Ensure that accommodation (rented or newly built) is available for the teaching staff.

In addition, communities can use their discretion to fence the property and prepare the School Sports areas.

A number of observations on the policy are in order at this stage. The first striking observation is that the concept of community is not defined. It is not clear what is meant by community. In practice the community has been made synonymous with the "catchment area" or a group of villages served by the school. This has created problems; for example, school siting, i.e. in which ward or village in the catchment area to locate the school. This has created much debate, some of which has given rise to traditional neighborly conflicts which may in the long run jeopardize the good management of the school (Interviews in Kang, Hukuntsi, Lehututu, July 1987).

The second observation is that it is not clear whether religious institutions and private organizations, who as we have seen, have been at the center of educational development in this country, are part of the community. If yes, should they be grouped together while in the past their contribution was distinct and different? If they are not part of the community, what is their role in this policy? Do they have any role to play as in the past? Although the policy is silent on this matter, religious institutions continue to play an important role and are expected to continue to do so.

The private sector, however, has been left to play an indirect role, as they are free to assist either the school through the managing board of governors or by donation. In practice, the recent years following this policy have seen private agencies flooded with requests from the communities to finance or donate to the school. It is even claimed by some policy makers and teachers that most, if not all, that has come as community contribution, has so far come from donor agencies and the private sector (Interviews in Mochudi, Kanye and Hukuntsi, 1987). In one CJSS school the community contribution is reported to have been 30% when 70% was raised from private companies, shops and local churches (Personal interviews in Kgalagadi Villages, July, 1987).

The third observation to be made about this policy is that it is inadequate insofar as there is no legislation to back it. To date old regulations and legislation dating back to 1978, specifically intended for the self-help schools of the 1970's, have been applied. Recently headmasters have met to review this

legislation. However, participants in a recent workshop argued that this legislation will never be adequate until:

- (i) it involved not only headmasters and/or chairpersons of the boards of governors, but also all stakeholders; and
- (ii) certain aspects of the policy such as: (a) the role of district authorities; and (b) the exact role of the stake holders in the curriculum design and development have been clearly spelt out (SLEC workshop, August, 1978). The latter point brings us to the observation that the policy does not clarify what role(s) the community and other interested parties will play in the development of the curriculum and improvement of classroom teaching. As shown below both teachers and education officers are not ready to involve parents, at least not at this level.

Last, but not least, concerns about over-regulation by government are still rife. Many people including education officers, teachers and members of the boards of governors feel that there are too much of dos and don'ts, even under the present policy. Many people feel that no community involvement can take place under the present regulations.

Finally, the implications of leaving the non-academic staff to be paid by the communities were terribly underestimated by this policy. This has raised fundamental problems of motivation among these workers. They feel that this is the type of job to be taken only as a desperate move. There are no benefits in terms of pension, gratuite, etc and salaries are very low compared to other local government employees. Consequently, there has been a high turnover of semi-trained community paid staff of the CJSS. Government has correctly recognised this and is attending to the problem (Interviews with the Department of Sec Education, July, 1987).

### **Public Reaction to the Partnership Policy**

The remarks that follow are both cautiously and guardedly made, for several reasons: Firstly, because the policy is still not yet known to many people and communities; Secondly, because it is still at its early stages of implementation and coincides with other wider reforms in the system such as the change from 7-3-2 to 7-2-3 and finally to 6-3-3. Moreover, in the midst of this policy implementation, government has announced a decision to make secondary education free beginning January, 1988; Thirdly, this is an experiment deserving popular support and too much criticism at this stage might result in abandonment of an otherwise appropriate and important policy. And finally, this study that is intended to determine the issues that effect the implementation of this policy and suggest policy

alternatives to address those issues. However, since the study is in its early stages and it will be presumptuous of us to pre-empt its findings.

Notwithstanding the foregoing remarks, certain factions have already reacted to the policy. Teachers in particular are yet to be fully convinced of the appropriateness of this policy. They see their job as being to teach and produce good results. This to them is important in order to change or disassociate their school from the bad image of the past self-help schools. Consequently, they see, to be blunt, the shortage of teachers' accommodation as frustrating and refer to community participation as a waste of time. In addition, they say it is an invasion of their professional domain (Personal interviews in Thamaga and Mochudi, 1987). Interestingly, most of these are young inexperienced teachers keen to establish themselves in their new career by producing good results at the end of the year.

The community leaders and the community at large feel both ignorant, and in some cases deprived. They feel that the policy was not adequately explained to them and that they were unjustifiably committed (Personal interviews, 1987). Some feel bitter that the secondary schools that they had built for grades Cs and Ds have been absorbed and made part of the CJSS programme without proper consultation (Panel Discussion, Francistown, May, 1987). In a few instances, planned schools were "nipped in the bud" by this policy.

Lastly, those at both the local and central government levels are not quite clear concerning the details of the policy and their particular roles in its implementation. They are therefore either indifferent or resistant to it (Interviews with Regional Education Officers, Kanye and Molepolole, 1987).

## IV

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report is based on the survey of literature on the subject of educational decentralization in general and in Botswana in particular. The literature offers lessons, both from this country's past and from the experiences of other countries. A main theme that emerges from the literature which perhaps strengthens the case for educational decentralization is that, unless it remains available only to a privileged few, education is a very costly investment to be left to the central government alone. Many governments who have, either out of benevolence or political expediency, tried to go it alone have after some time found themselves reintroducing school fees or some other unpopular education tax.

Partially drawing on the experiences of other nations, many developing countries, though for differing reasons, are resorting to various forms of decentralized administration. However, as pointed out in the text of this report, decentralization is a crucial step (but only one) to sharing the cost, making curriculum more relevant and using the school to mobilize people for rural development. Moreover, decentralization, especially when it means deconcentration, can easily become an instrument through which local and regional officers are put to line by their seniors at the center. Under these conditions, decentralisation, as Bray (1985) showed, becomes an ideological tool of the state.

The literature reflected in this report also alluded to another potential danger of the process of decentralization. It was shown that untrained parents, boards of governors, etc., can easily bring confusion to the school, thus negatively affecting the quality of the education system. These fears, as we showed, are currently rife in Botswana. Teachers and policy makers are reluctant to open school doors to the community for fear of loss of quality giving rise to poor results.

The policy review undertaken in this report pointed to a number of shortcomings to Botswana's partnership policy. Among these are the lack of clarity on the definition of community, hence leaving a grey area as to what the role(s) of religious organizations and the private sector is under the new policy. The review also showed that for it to be successful, an important policy such as this one requires both proper consultation with the people and legislation to back it. As it is, Botswana's Partnership policy was imposed from above and is not well understood by the general public, even those involved in its implementation.

Over all, Botswana has made positive steps forward. At least, at the central government level, the political and professional will is there to involve the wider population in school management and finance. What remains to be done is to work out details of how exactly to go about this. The next phase of this study is expected to provide guidelines and recommendations along these lines. Different opinions have been sought and offered on what issues need to be addressed and at what levels of policy making. Some of these have been incorporated into phase II proposal and are presented below in the form of recommendations.

### Recommendations

The following recommendations were arrived at as a result of the literature review exercise, discussions with a number of individuals, meetings of the Advisory Committee, and the SLEC workshop. These are:

- o To carry out a detailed survey on the communities' investment pattern, estimating the amount of resources available, both for general use and for educational development.
- o Identify and assess other resources available from other sources, e.g. the school itself, the private sector, etc.
- o Study and suggest methods of:
  - (i) involving the community in curriculum design and development, and
  - (ii) suggest forms of national examination that will take local variations into consideration.
- o Investigate forms of legislation that will make the present policy workable while protecting both the community, students and government interests.
- o Suggest methods of involving local authorities and creating relatively autonomous regional offices of education.
- o Estimate manpower and financial requirements of regional offices.
- o Suggest forums for future policy debates.

These recommendations are intended to help define such issues as types of communities and their resource endowment, potential contributions of other non-governmental stakeholders and initiate comprehensive legislation to guide management of CJSS in Botswana.

TABLE I  
SHARE OF PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE IN THE PUBLIC BUDGET

REGION AND COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS % OF TOTAL PUBLIC SPENDING	RECURRENT EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS % OF TOTAL CURRENT EXPENDITURE
EAST AFRICA			
Botswana	1983	18.5	23.4
Burundi	1981	15.6	20.8
Comoros	1982	36.0	40.6
Ethiopia	1982	11.3	14.2
Rwanda	1983	24.0	27.7
Swaziland	1981	14.1	23.0
WEST AFRICA			
Burkina Faso	1983	23.9	25.3
Cameroon	1983	17.2	21.7
Congo, RP of	1981	19.2	25.8
Cote D'Ivoire	1979	29.8	39.8
Liberia	1980	24.3	27.0
EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC			
Singapore	1982	9.6	10.8
Solomon Islands	1979	10.6	15.6
SOUTH ASIA			
Bangladesh	1983	8.6	15.4
Burma	1977	12.2	14.6
Sri Lanka	1983	7.1	12.3
LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN			
Argentina	1982	14.5	18.2
Bahamas	1978	22.9	23.4
Barbados	1982	17.6	18.0
Colombia	1983	21.5	27.7
Ecuador	1980	33.3	36.0

Source: World Bank " Financing Education in Developing countries '86"  
Extracted from Appendix Table 2 ps. 46.

TABLE II  
NATIONAL INCOME, PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND POPULATION GROWTH  
1965 -1980

REGION	ANNUAL GROWTH								
	NATIONAL INCOME			EDUCATION EXPENDITURE			SCHOOL AGE POPULATION		
	65-70	70-75	75-80	65-70	70-75	75-80	65-70	70-75	75-80
East Africa	4.8	4.5	3.0	11.2	6.8	1.0	3.2	3.1	2.0
West Africa	5.1	3.0	4.3	7.2	8.5	6.6	2.9	3.4	3.1
East Africa & Pacific	8.6	7.2	7.8	7.5	4.3	9.6	3.3	2.2	1.4
South Asia	6.0	3.0	4.9	8.1	6.0	8.2	3.3	3.2	2.7
Latin America & Caribbean	5.2	4.6	4.5	6.8	4.2	6.1	3.1	2.7	1.9
Europe, Middle East & N. Africa	7.5	7.1	6.7	11.1	11.5	9.4	2.7	2.9	3.0
Developed Countries	5.0	3.4	2.9	7.8	6.8	3.5	0.7	2.3	0.1

Source: Extracted from W. B. Publication: Financing Education in Developing Countries: An Exploration of Policy Options.

TABLE III  
NATIONAL INCOME, PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND POPULATION GROWTH  
1965 -1980

REGION/COUNTRY	NATIONAL INCOME			EDUCATION EXPENDITURE			SCHOOL AGE POPULATION		
	70-75			70-75			70-75		
	65-70	75-80		65-70	75-80		65-70	75-80	
Developing countries									
EAST AFRICA	5.1	5.1	5.1	8.7	6.8	6.2	3.0	2.9	2.4
Ethiopia	4.8	4.5	3.0	11.2	6.8	1.0	3.2	3.1	2.9
Kenya	5.4	9.7	5.8	7.7	14.9	6.5	3.8	4.2	4.4
Malawi	4.9	8.1	4.2	10.1	-4.3	5.0	3.1	3.1	1.8
Rwanda	8.7	5.2	4.3	---	5.2	7.7	2.9	3.6	4.0
Somalia	4.0	3.3	4.1	---	18.7	1.9	3.7	2.3	2.0
Sudan	0.3	3.4	6.6	7.9	10.8	3.3	2.4	3.2	3.2
Tanzania	6.7	4.6	4.6	13.5	8.4	6.4	3.0	3.8	3.6
Uganda	5.5	0.0	-4.9	13.3	-8.5	-28.5	3.2	2.8	2.7
Zambia	2.7	2.5	-0.7	-2.2	10.0	-7.9	2.8	3.2	3.3
Zimbabwe	6.8	5.3	2.8	---	6.5	15.3	4.4	2.6	3.3
WEST AFRICA	5.1	3.0	4.3	7.2	8.5	6.6	2.9	3.4	3.1
Cameroon	4.8	4.0	8.0	6.7	6.8	4.6	2.7	3.1	3.1
Congo P.R	5.1	8.0	2.7	---	15.1	-0.8	2.7	2.8	4.0
Cote D'Ivoire	7.2	6.4	6.7	5.9	9.6	13.0	3.5	6.0	4.3
Ghana	2.7	0.0	0.5	3.7	6.5	-19.9	2.3	3.2	3.0
Liberia	9.1	1.6	4.7	13.0	0.8	27.0	3.4	3.6	1.9
Niger	-0.6	-2.2	7.9	8.3	11.2	10.6	3.2	3.6	3.4
Sierra Leone	5.2	2.3	1.5	3.3	3.6	4.4	2.0	2.3	2.1
Togo	7.2	4.0	2.0	9.2	14.1	14.4	3.7	2.6	2.6
EAST ASIA & PACIFIC	8.6	7.2	7.8	7.5	4.3	9.6	3.3	2.2	1.4
China	8.3	5.6	5.9	---	0.0	19.3	3.5	2.0	1.1
Hong Kong	7.9	6.9	12.7	---	8.4	12.7	3.7	1.3	0.7
Indonesia	7.1	7.2	7.5	---	8.7	-1.9	2.6	3.3	23.2
Korea Rep. of	10.4	8.6	7.3	---	-1.6	21.0	3.2	1.9	0.9
Phillipines	4.8	6.5	6.2	4.0	0.0	2.6	3.1	3.0	3.1
Singapore	12.6	9.5	7.7	6.5	8.1	8.4	3.3	0.5	-0.8
Thailand	9.2	6.2	7.0	11.9	6.8	5.1	3.8	3.3	2.7
SOUTH ASIA	6.0	3.0	4.9	8.1	6.0	8.2	3.3	3.2	2.7
India	4.7	3.0	3.5	6.3	3.0	4.2	2.9	2.7	2.5
Pakistan	7.3	3.5	6.4	10.0	8.9	2.2	3.8	3.8	2.9
LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN	5.2	4.6	4.5	6.8	4.2	6.1	3.1	2.7	1.9
Argentina	4.2	3.0	1.7	7.5	-3.7	10.0	1.5	1.3	1.0
Bolivia	3.8	6.0	2.6	8.9	6.6	3.8	2.4	2.8	3.0

TABLE IV  
A TYPOLOGY OF THE ORGANISATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

FEATURE	PRIVATE SECTOR		PUBLIC SECTOR		
	PURE PRIVATE MODEL	MIXED MODEL	PURE DECENTRALIZED MODEL	MIXED MODEL	PURE CENTRALIZED MODEL
<u>Finance</u>					
(a) Revenue contributions	Private contributions (tution & fees)	Private contributions plus Govt. grants	Local Govt. own revenues	Local Govt. own revenues plus grants from higher levels of Govt.	Full Cent. Govt. funding
(b) Method of financing	All sch. inputs financed by sch. revenues	Some sch. inputs financed by grants and contribution from Govt.	Sch. inputs financed by Local Govt.	Some sch. inputs provided by higher levels of Govt.	All sch. inputs provided directly in kind to schs.
<u>Management</u>					
(a) Dec/mkg on spending	Dec/mkg set by sch.	Dec/mkg of sch. subject to Govt. control	Local Govt. autonomy	Local Govt. decisions constrained by higher levels of Govt.	Decisions set by Central Govt.
(b) Fee Policy	Fees reflect market forces	Fee ceiling imposed by Govt.	Local Govt. autonomy in setting fees	Fees subject to control of higher levels of Govt.	No fees are levied
(c) Service Provision	Free choice in curricula	Some constraint in curricula	Local choice in curricula	Local choice limited by higher levels of Govt.	Standard curricula for all schools

\* Government here refers either to central or other levels of government  
SOURCE: Adapted from Winkler (1986)

TABLE V  
GENERAL EDUCATION DATA (1986)

Total Population (1986)	1,079,000
Enrolment level:	
Literacy programme	40,649
Primary education	223,608
Secondary education	39,584
Teacher Training	1,653
Technical/Vocational	670
Correspondence courses	2,131
Brigades	1,006
University of Botswana	1,543
Completion rates in formal education:	
Primary standard 4	93 %
standard 7	89 %
Transition to intermediate (JC)	40 %
Transition to secondary	41 %
Pupil/Teacher ratio:	
Primary	32:1
Secondary	24:1
Recurrent expenditure	P 82,482,310
Percentage of national recurrent expenditure	17.7 %
Development expenditure	P 33,000,000
Percentage of national development expenditure	12.1 %

Source: MOE, 1986.

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BOTSWANA

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - FIRST DRAFT

NOVEMBER, 1987

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### Note on Summaries

In as much as possible these summaries of articles, reports, books etc have been quoted directly from the texts which were obtained from the University of Botswana Library, the National Library in Gaborone and the National Archives. Where this was not possible, we made the summaries. They have been arranged under the following main subheadings: journal articles (where the articles appear under the different journals); books; reports and archival material.

University of Botswana Library.

(a) International Journal of Educational Development.

Vol. 3:1 Thompson, A.R. "Community Education in the 1980's: What can we learn from experience?" (pp 3-18)

In this paper, Thompson attempts to examine the origin, evolution and nature of the contemporary demand for community - oriented education and to outline some of the strategies which are currently being advocated in the light of what has been learned from a considerable amount of earlier experience gained through attempts to implement the concept. It is argued that whilst there may be much of merit in some current proposals and activities, it must be clear that there are no panaceas, that some activities, such as production in schools are threatened by confusion of divergent objectives, a lack of clear thinking about priorities, that action must be directed at the roots of the problems not at its symptoms.

Vol. 3:1 Williams W.W. "Decentralization and De-schooling Job Training: Implications of Selected Studies from the U.S.A." (pp 71-85)

Seen together, the three case studies presented by Williams help define the outlines of a non-formal training sector, which closely corresponds to Paulston's (1973) earlier description. Simply removing vocational education from formal schooling cannot by itself eradicate social inequities as they will be likely to continue to replicate themselves through schooling in other ways. However, there is evidence that moving vocational training to the non-formal sector may result in more efficient training, thus achieving social goals and freeing resources for the more difficult and profound task of education. By relieving formal schools of entry - level of job training, which may be incompatible with the more comprehensive mission of education because of its inherent social sorting function, schools may be more easily held accountable for developing all students' reading, writing and arithmetic abilities as well as their more general human abilities necessary for successful adult lives.

Vol. 1:3 Dixey, R.A. "Migration and Development at the village level in Botswana." (pp 117-119)

In this article Dixey shows that education holds the key to a well paid job and to cattle accumulation, but cattle wealth is a prerequisite for the large financial outlay of secondary schooling. Inequality of access to levels of schooling capable of enhancing income earning potential is likely to remain for three reasons: firstly, as impoverished households move to sparsely

populated areas, physical access to schools may remain a problem; secondly, government measures are not working as effectively as they could - the quota system for secondary school selection is inadequate without financial aid; thirdly, there is already an oversupply of school leavers for the jobs available and minimum qualification requirements are rising.

Vol. 2:3 Bray, M. (1985) "The Politics of Free Education in Papua New Guinea." (pp 281-289)

According to Bray, some of the specific details of the Free Education scheme are yet to be worked out. The two most practical resolutions of the Arowa Conference were that money should be included in the 1983 and subsequent plans for continuation of the scheme, and that in future, provinces should receive flat rate per pupil allocations of K10.00. On a wider perspective, the episode has demonstrated that in practice, decentralised systems may not be as decentralised as they seem, particularly when politicians in the provinces are both less sophisticated and have less control of financial sources than those at the centre. And, like so many politically inspired schemes, it casts doubt on both the personal motives of those who initiate them and perhaps on the system which puts them in that position in the first place. Westminster style multi-party politics and the short term appointments of politicians to head ministries may be justifiable on some grounds. But the Papua New Guinean experience of free education is not among them.

Vol. 3:1 Lungu, G.F. "Some Critical Issues in the Training of Educational Administrators for Developing Countries of Africa." (pp 89-97)

The concern of improving the quality of educational administrators in African countries has arisen at an opportune time when problems of educational growth and rapid expansion of facilities are more than familiar to training agencies. The preparation of educational administrators who will handle these complex problems will by no means be easy, but the objective is to expose candidates to as many issues as possible in their profession. The several issues raised in this discussion make the task of training seemingly frustrating, yet such issues cannot be ignored if training efforts are to be worthwhile. More often than not, training programmes of various sorts have failed to produce the right kind of manpower for African countries partly because organisers of these programmes have turned a blind eye to some of these issues.

Vol. 3:1 Murphy, P.J. "A New Professional Linkage for Educational Administrators in Developing Countries." (pp. 159-163)

Murphy contends in this article that if educational leaders in both developed and developing countries are to manage effectively the educational systems of tomorrow, it is imperative that they have access to high quality, short term professional development experiences. The duties they perform are of national significance. In fact the future economic development of many nations will partially depend upon the policies these administrators support. International networks, the management for change programme and the intervisitation programme for administrators offers educational leaders unique professional development experiences. More attention must immediately be devoted to widening the scope of existing programmes and to initiating experimental projects.

(b) Comparative Education Review.

Vol 25:2 (1981) Evans, D. R. "The Educational Policy Dilemma for Rural Areas." (pp 232-244)

The basic argument of the paper is that it was only in recent years have social scientists begun to unravel the confusions surrounding the distinction between the content of education and the function of schools in society. The relative importance of each is different for formal and non-formal education, and the ration varies as well with the degree of development of a nation, or a subsection of a nation. The dialogue about general versus special education presented in the Barber article can only be understood in this context. Policy makers in all countries are faced with difficult decisions in allocating resources which are always inadequate. This discussion has attempted to disentangle some of the conceptual confusions and pose the dilemmas facing policy makers more clearly in order to facilitate useful debate. The rewards to society make the difficulty of the challenge well worth the effort.

Vol. 25:3 (1981) Jennings, R. E. "Educational Administration: A Comparative View." (pp 471-473) (Book review)

Jennings shows different trends in educational administration in both developed and developing countries. The trend identified for the less industrialized nations appears to be toward more and greater degree of, or further development in, these dimensions. For the heavily industrialized countries, the trend is not as clear, although there are indications that it may be a slow edging of the dimensions. But few implications are drawn about

the meaning which these directionlists may hold for the administration of education, save that complexity will continue and that leadership will be required.

Vol. 27:1 (1983) Hanson, M. E. "Administrative Development in the Columbian Ministry of Education: Case Analysis of the 1970's." (pp 89-108)

Hanson shares with us the experiences of educational administration and concludes that, "in sum, although changes took place in the Regional Education Funds programme during the decade, it proved to be a very useful tool in the process of administrative development in the Columbian public educational institution. An important question that remains to be answered is, does administrative development translate into educational development? The decade of the 1980's will undoubtedly shed light on this issue".

Vol. 28:3 (1984) Armstrong, G. "Implementing Educational Policy Decentralization of Non-Formal Education in Thailand."

Decentralization implies the transfer of decision - making power to lower levels of government. Thailand remains politically centralized, however, with provincial governors appointed by Bangkok. "Deconcentration" on the other hand, is a term used to describe the transfer of administrative authority from central to regional or local administrative bodies. On the surface, it might appear that the Non- Formal Education Development Project is aimed formally at deconcentration of administrative services rather than at decentralization of policy formulation power which rests with Bangkok.

Vol. 21:1 (1977) Psacharopoulos, G. "The Perverse Effects of Public Subsidization of Education, or How Equal is Free Education?" (pp 69-91)

The public sector today employs the majority of graduates in LDC's and DC's alike. Given its non-profit maximizing behaviour and its size relative to the market, one could reasonably expect that graduate wages are well above the market clearing level. Thus a policy of reducing at least starting graduate salaries in the civil service would be an instrument for dampening the demand for places in higher education, as this is tantamount to reducing the graduation stake. (Psacharopoulos and Williams 1973). Institution of these measures, although not solving the problem altogether, would certainly be a move in the right direction regarding the equity, efficiency and employment effects of educational policies.

Vol. 22:2 (1978) Goldschmidt, D. "Power and Decision Making in Higher Education." (pp 213-242)

The changes in decision making structures and process have not been caused merely by the growth of the institution and systems as a whole or by the need for efficient administration. In varying degrees, social, economic, and political factors have influenced the directions of higher education in each country. Governments have advocated their own policies and interest groups have made demands especially for changes in curriculum that would relate more effectively to employment opportunities and to the need for trained manpower. The groups involved in the democratization of internal governance have had their own concerns. Unquestioned acceptance of the traditional professional orientation to scientific rationality has been replaced by the effort to find a consensus within the newly heterogeneous decision - making organs about how a scientific orientation can be realized concretely in the case-by-case discussion of education and research policies. More broadly, there is increased emphasis on the social accountability of higher education.

Vol. 12:2 (1976) Price, R.F. "Community and School and Education in China." (pp 163-175)

"In this paper I have argued that community is too vague a concept to be useful for describing experiments in education, and that its use has been that of a halo label to group together educational projects whose purpose and structures should be seen as different if they are to be understood. I have gone on to argue that while in China many of the reforms introduced under inspiration of Chairman Mao Ze-dong have been of a similar nature to those elsewhere in the world, the concepts employed have been more specific. I have left open the question as to whether all these concepts are adequate to explain and inform the experiments to which they are applied."

Vol. 14:1 (1978) Niksa Nikola Sojan "The Concepts of Self Management and Socio Economic Background of Decision-making in Education: The Yugoslav Model." (pp 65-71)

Decision-making in education is strongly determined by the nature of existing social relationships. With this in mind we can state that for over three decades decisionmaking policy in education has reflected the broader socioeconomic and political conditions in Yugoslavia. In the first years after World War II, during the time of so called state or administrative socialism (1945-1950), decisionmaking in all social affairs (and consequently in Education too) was centralised and controlled by the state administration.

Vol. 19:1 (1983) Syein K. "Decentralization of Higher Education and Research in Norway." (pp 21-31)

The movement for geographic and institutional decentralisation of higher education and research appears, however, to be declining in Norway. This change of policy can be ascribed to several causes, the most important one probably being economic. The recent tightening in public-sector spending has tended to preclude the further development of institutions of higher education and research.

Vol. 21:2 (1985) Bray, M. "Education and Decentralization in LDC's: A Comment on General Trends, Issues, and Problems with Particular Reference to Papua New Guinea." (pp 183-196)

Because other nations face different conditions and require different structures, it is not fruitful to generalise too far or to make detailed prescriptions. In conclusion, however, it is worth making three points. First although several countries have not yet learned the lesson, decentralisation should not be seen as a panacea. It may be that the legal structure of government is less important than the attitudes and skills of those who work it. Secondly, there is a need for policy-makers and implementers to sharpen their understanding and implementations and levels of decentralisation. Thirdly, no scheme is likely to be successful unless careful attention is paid to training and other aspects of implementation, and unless it is given time to work.

Vol. 16:1 (1980) Dove, L. "The Role of the Community School in Rural Transformation in Developing Countries." (pp 67-81).

The argument in this last section has been that despite the commitment of government and international agencies to the idea of community participation in school in the interest of rural improvement, such schemes are unlikely to serve the interest of the whole community for which they are intended unless there is a genuine mutuality of interest amongst members of the community. A careful analysis of the structure of economic and social power in any rural community will indicate whether the community school is likely to be acceptable to all the people. In general community schools tend to reflect the interest of rural elites and to neglect those of the common people. Schools which threaten the existing economic and social tower relations of a community are unlikely to prosper.

Vol. 9:3 (1973) Champman, R. "Decentralization: Another Perspective." (pp 127-135)

From the analysis provided in this paper it would seem to suggest that comparisons should follow multiple dimensions. There may be even sufficient preliminary evidence which discounts the possibility of such global comparisons as "centralised" against "decentralized". The complexing of the concept and the lack of any measurement of educational outcomes makes it intriguing to speculate on why provincial or state systems are so committed to systems of governance which they are unable to describe and about which there is such limited supporting data. The perspective presented here indicates that educational administrators need to re-examine the language, if not the concepts, that are commonly employed in describing educational systems.

(c) Harvard Education Review.

Vol. 54:2 (1984) Cuban, L. "Effective Schools, Research Practice, Policy at District Level." (pp 123-152)

"To evaluate the effectiveness of such complex organisation as schools solely on the basis of a percentile rank is little better than to judge a car's quality solely on the basis of it's miles-per-gallon or a hospital's effectiveness solely by the number of its vacant beds. Schools research, concepts, and language need to use many policy tools to improve school productivity, not just standardized test scores; tightly coupled organisational procedures sharply focused on academic goals, as measured by test results, are clearly among those tools. Too often, however, those who believe their only tool is a hammer begin to treat everything like a nail. For that to occur now would be, in my judgement, a mistake for the children of the nation", says Cuban in this article.

(d) British Journal of Educational Studies.

Vol. 25 No. (1977) Hughes, M.G. "Consensus and Conflict about the Role of the Head." (Secondary School) (pp 32-50)

It is noteworthy that the search revealed no significant difference between the expectations of the heads themselves and any of the three counter-positions in relation to a number of aspects of what Baron has called "the headmaster tradition". These include such propositions as that the head should do some regular teaching, that he should personally give guidance to inexperienced staff, and that he should seek to establish a direct personal influence on pupils through corporate occasions such as morning assembly. In these respects the staff and the external authority representatives are, in effect, endorsing important facets of a Leading Professional concept of headship.

(e) CAFRAD: African Administrative Studies.

African Training and Research Centre in Administration and Development. African Administrative Studies.

No. 9 (1973) Salih, G.M. "Problems of Managing Rural Development in Africa." (pp 215-225).

The transformation of rural life in Africa is becoming the main challenging cornerstone of the economic and social development of the young continent. In order to develop Botswana's manpower and natural resources, Mr Morake (Assistant Minister of Local Government and Lands) said it was necessary to promote the welfare of the rural community so that they could acquire a better standard of living in their homes and not have to migrate to towns to seek better living. Mr Morake noted with pleasure the awareness in Africa to spread development evenly all over the country rather than concentrate it in the urban areas alone. The minister then referred to some of the chronic problems of rural Africa, such as the problems of land tenure, problem of traditional native authorities (chiefs) and their relationship with modern local government councils, and problems of attracting young intellectuals to work in rural areas and to promote the development of the people therein. The objective of this paper is to present and illustrate this problem and explore ways and means of handling and commanding it through better management.

No. 9 (1973) Becker, R. "Local Government, Social Change in Rural Africa" (Translation) (pp 191-195).

The aim of this paper is to weigh up the problems. The part played by decentralised administration in the Creation of awareness amongst the rural populations is of primordial importance. If these populations are really to "Participate" in development, it will be necessary for them to understand the machinery of administration and to understand that economic development cannot take place without their cooperation. An eminent specialist in this field has said that the future of agrarian development is in the balance as soon as the government accepts or refuses to take into consideration the political role of the new organisations of country folk. The structures and programmes originally planned have their subsequent effects in the corresponding reforms at area and regional levels, than at national level. The administration coordinates and the peasant thus participates directly or indirectly in national regional or local decisions. New horizons are opened to him and the cyclic process countries through the endless discussions of structures and through the ever increasing definition of pressure. When the government hesitates or is overthrown, the peasant movement will

no doubt keep some of the technical initiative and the economic responsibility, but it will not be allowed to take part in decisions which affect its future. What good then would this derisory participation be? Some authorities, but it does give an idea of the importance of the question not only in terms of the future, but also in terms of the present. National Library Service (Headquarters).

(f) Books/Reports.

Jolly, R. (ed.) (1969) Education in Africa. East Africa Publishing House, Kenya.

The main conclusion is that the adoption of policies for wages and incomes in Middle Africa would have major implication for educational policy. Since educational policy should take account of long-run prospects, it is not too early to speculate on the changes that might follow. The increasing number of local graduates and the decreasing number of expatriates may well over the next decade remove the economic underpinnings of the present salary structure. But it is no less true at lower levels of wages and salaries where recent increases have been due to non-market influences. Once some form of income policy is adopted, the way is open for major changes with big implications for the costs of education and the demand for educated manpower.

Halpern, J. (1965) South Africa's Hostages: Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books)

Halpern contends that the social structure and economy of both Swaziland and Bechuanaland have been distorted by the concentration of wealth and privilege in the hands of the local white communities, leaving the indigenous Africans, in an almost untouched rural poverty. It will be harder for these countries, if they are to aim at the promotion of non-racial democracy, to rationalize their educational systems than for an all-African country like Basutoland, but the attempt will have to be made if rural African poverty is to be overcome. And even where, as in Basutoland, no racial problems exist, the mere displacement of the expatriate elite by a local African equivalent living at the same inflated standards can hardly fail to perpetuate the division between the rulers and the ruled.

Gardner, R. (ed.) (1979) Teacher Education in Developing Countries: Prospects for 80's. (London U.L.I.E.)

In order for it to carry out its functions properly, the college may have to reduce its staffing ratios significantly perhaps so far as to double the staff. The colleges will remain the mainstay of the system and indeed the central focus of growth.

For this, adequate staff will be needed and one of the most urgent priorities for research that any university or aid agency might consider is how are the tutors of the colleges to be recruited and trained to ensure that the colleges can do what is wanted of them in the 1980's and beyond.

Holmes, B. (1967) Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies British Empire. (R & K/P London).

There is an obvious need in many newly independent countries for a system of education that will be truly national in that it will develop national attitudes and loyalties rather than tribal and communal loyalties. There seems little doubt that as representatives of a minority group (whether indigenous or not) the mission schools can perform this function. Perhaps in the immediate future the pressing need is to work out policies which will make it possible for aided and government schools to co-exist. This can only be done if the christian schools offer no threat to development of indigenous languages and religions. Both church and state face dilemmas in educational policy, none of which are easy to resolve.

Ministry of Overseas Development Economic Survey Mission (1965) The Development of the Bechuanaland Economy.

"In conclusion we feel it incumbent upon us to state clearly that if the Bechuanaland economy is to develop, as we believe is possible, there is virtually no possibility of securing a significant reduction of the recurrent budget deficit for many years to come. Much of the development expenditure which is needed will inevitably fall upon the recurrent budget, for example, educational expenditure and expenditure on the agricultural extension service. At the same time the livestock losses resulting from drought must inevitably have a serious effect upon revenues. The development of the country will therefore entail not only capital expenditure in the conventional sense but increased recurrent expenditure, with an increase in the recurrent deficit. However, if we look further ahead, the prospects are not gloomy. Bechuanaland has ample land, unexploited water resources and important mineral resources. These provide foundations upon which a soundly based economy could be developed".

Botswana National Development Plan 1980-85. (1980), (Government Printer, Gaborone)

The chapter on Education talks about the scarcity of skilled manpower which threatens to continue to be one of Botswana's greatest problems. This implies that government will still need to husband the country's manpower resources carefully for some

time. It is important to recognise that there is a definite limit to the increase in Botswana's skilled labour force over the next few years, which is set by the output of school-leavers who have been successful at each level, plus those whose skills can be upgraded by a combination of work experience and further education. Beyond the point where all of these are fully utilised, growth of the economy implies the use of expatriates, whether in the private sector or in government.

Coclough C. and McCarthy S. (1980) Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution. (London, Oxford University Press).

The book talks about the problem of achieving rapid and widely distributed increases in incomes in a country which is extremely poor, highly dependent, and lacking infrastructure. The colonial government which ruled Botswana for eighty years adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards its economic development. The territory's potential appeared so limited that very little investment was made and the British envisaged that its suzerainty would eventually be taken over by South Africa. But independence proved to be a turning point, not only in political but also in economic terms. Since then very large increases in national output have been achieved. A run of good weather enabled the livestock sector to flourish. The fortunate discovery of minerals provided a new source of revenue and savings and - especially during the construction of the mines and their associated urban infrastructure - as stimulus to the rest of the economy.

Crowder, M. (ed.) (1983) Education for Development in Botswana. Symposium on Education and Development held at the National Museum and Organised by the Botswana Society (Macmillan Botswana)

The focus of the discussion is on education and development. How far is the present educational system effective in providing employment for its products at all levels? In particular the role of education in speeding up the process of localisation not only of the public but the private sector was discussed. With regard to the latter one speaker considered the present system quite inadequate as far as the needs of commerce and industry were considered. While the University of Botswana was unable to provide enough graduates to meet the demands of the civil service, the parastatals and the private sector, an increasing number of primary school leavers were unable to find jobs. Indeed, unemployment threatened to be the major social problem of the African continent, as Dr. Doo Kique emphasised, with those bunched on the market between now and AD 2000 being unable to find work.

### National Development Plan 1970-75.

"The government wishes to stress its belief in necessity of planning the social and economic development of the nation. Available resources are limited and the problems so great that only by careful planning can these resources be put to their most effective use. A rationally planned and guided economy is the objective of the government policy. However, a balance must be struck where private initiative has ample scope within the general confines laid down by government. It is government's duty to set forth clearly its objectives and priorities, to frame its policies accordingly, and to assist the private sector in every way consistent with the attainment of these goals."

Chiepe, G.K.T. (1983) Botswana's Development Strategy since Independence. (see M.Crowder ed.)

"In education, as in mining, we have had to accept that government cannot do everything. We therefore encourage each community to initiate the building of junior secondary schools. Education in many ways is a microcosm of the wider development picture. It is an activity with inputs and outputs, and it is an activity which presents particular difficulties in national economic planning because it is the most skill-intensive of all our activities - that is to say the inputs to the education system require an inordinately high proportion of skilled manpower which is in great demand in other sectors. As in the wider development effort, we must make present sacrifices for future gains - we must divert our skilled manpower into the education sector so that the output of educated, productive and social responsible citizens will increase in future."

Chirenje, J. (1977) A History of Northern Botswana: 1850-1910. (London, Associated University Press)

Chirenje states in this book that by 1910 Tswana Chiefdoms had had continuous intercourse with Europeans from over sixty years. Although there were a little over 2 000 full members of the London Missionary Society church in northern Bechuanaland out of a population of about 90 000, the European impact upon the Tswana - in its social, economic and political manifestations - was more profound than what the what the number of converts alone suggests. And in all chiefdoms a special feature of the outcome of interaction was diversity, a characteristic that was fostered as much by the different personalities of Tswana rulers as it was by the inhabitants of the respective chiefdoms.

Noor, A. Education and Basic Human Needs. (World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 4 - 50, 1981)

The paper examines the prospects of satisfying basic needs for education in the light of: -the limited resources available to education relative to the demands which are placed upon them. -the common tendency of the poor to remain outside the formal educational system. -mounting criticism of formal education, on grounds that it uses resources inefficiently and that its content is irrelevant to the lifestyles and economic prospects of many of those who receive it.

Mann, J. (1979) Education: Government and Administration. (Pitman, London)

Higher education began, like elementary and secondary education, through various voluntary efforts. Universities, teacher training colleges and technical colleges began independently. Only after a century of reluctant intervention and limited support has government begun to create a system of higher education consisting of university and local authority sectors. The rapid expansion of universities, TTCs and TCs in the 1960s and the end of the boom in the 1970s, have drawn attention to the lack of coherent planning on management systems. The MOS', Gordon Oakes, is chairing a committee which hopes to report in 1978 on the management of the local authority sector. Government was as reluctant to provide a system of higher education as it was to create a system of state schools. Yet 19th century England had a growing need for people educated beyond school level. The need was met by independent agencies including universities, TTCs and TCs. Some of these institutions have come to specialise in higher education. Universities, TTCs and TCs have different roots and different traditions. Their integration is difficult and painful.

Makuru, H.F. (1971) Education, Development and Nation Building in Independent Africa. (SCM Press, London)

The problems which led to a crisis in education in Africa are rooted in its historical development. The leaders in education are right in their evaluation of the place and significance of education in all aspects of national development. The curriculum reform is a major priority in African education in order to make it relevant to the needs of a technological age. The needs of the new nations are so many and so urgent that African states have to look to outside sources for aid in this gigantic task. African education is now an international concern, the pressure of these needs and the urgency of meeting them has made co-operation among African states themselves necessary. The cumulative effect of this crisis in education has created a serious shortage of manpower and placed limitations upon the

speed and scope of development. The plans for educational development have so far not fulfilled forecasts and much still remains to be done. However, a number of African states have come near to realising their goals in this field. The value of these plans lie in the fact that they give the African states objectives and so prepare them to face a gigantic task with resolve. The plans have achieved something of what they were intended to do. The thinking of the new nations on adult education has been explored. Much is now being done to meet the needs of the adult community and most African states are giving adult education programmes the support they need.

National Commission on Education: Education for Kagisano Report 1977. Vol. I (Government Printer, Gaborone)

The report is about developments in Education since Independence. Education has grown dramatically since independence, as recorded throughout this Report. Indeed, in terms of quantity and scale - number of pupils, teachers and schools - the education system is far larger than the one that Botswana inherited in 1966. The extent of the neglect of Botswana's human resources in colonial times has only been limited by the hard work and sacrifice of parents, teachers and Government. It has been a tremendous achievement to make schooling accessible to so many young Batswana in so short a time.

National Commission on Education: Education for Kagisano, Report 1977. Vol. II (Government Printer, Gaborone)

The studies presented in this volume were prepared for the National Commission on Education in connection with our assessment of Botswana's education system. In view of the valuable information contained in these research studies, consultant reports and task force investigations, the commission wishes to make them more widely available, hence re-publication of this second volume. The ten studies were originally commissioned to lend further depth to our investigations. The first major project was an evaluation of school achievement at standard 7, Form III and Form V according to procedures established by the International Association for the Education of Educational Achievements (IAE). Financial support for this research was generously provided by the Swedish International Development Authority.

Sillery, A. (1973) A Short Political History. (Stockholm)

In brief, Sillery tells the history of Botswana from the time when Europeans first came to Southern Bechuanaland to the present era of independent nationhood. Several themes go to its making. First the spirit of evangelism that sent men of the calibre of

Moffat, Livingstone and Mackenzie, to proselytize the Tswana and then became their teachers, advisers and in time, defenders and advocates. More than to any other agency, it is to the mission in Kuruman that the attachment of Bechuanaland to Great Britain was due, and the Tswana were fortunate in that early in their relationship with Europeans they had such disinterested and devoted sponsors.

The 1985/86 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education: Twenty Years of Education for Kagisano. (39 pp)

"Never before had there been such public debate on education as in the year under review. Critics of all persuasions have relished the opportunities to lambast the Ministry for what they regard as its shortcomings. Muted praise has sometimes been voiced, but it is the stringently accusing rather than encouragingly helpful who tended to command media attention. But public discussion is to be welcome as a healthy sign of interest and concern, especially since it has been mainly provoked by three positive thrusts which the Ministry is making."

Quinquennial Report of the Ministry of Education for years 1968-72. (95 pp)

The report is divided into two parts. Part one is an account of the main development in education. The emphasis is inclined towards the formal school system and specifically excludes training schemes run by other Ministries, e.g. The Botswana Agricultural College, but it does include mention of the University and some of the auxiliary aspects such as schooling feeding. Part two comprises a rather detailed analysis of the significant facts, trends and anomalies apparent from the annual Educational Statistics. These first appeared as a separate annual publication in 1968 and one advantage of taking this period as a whole was that for those five years its format remained the same. (In subsequent years it was somewhat modified).

g) Articles/Pamphlets/Photocopy.

Rose, B. (ed.) (1970) "Education in Southern Africa."

The article talks about the publication of education in Southern Africa and marks an initial attempt to assemble descriptions of educational systems and educational needs in the Southern Africa region. It tries to set the educational system against a broad background of social, historical and economic development, even though the limitations of space militated against all but the briefest notice.

Donald, G.A.H. (1981) "Formal and Non-Formal Education in Botswana." (Ph.D thesis) Vol. 1 & 2.

The article holds that the major problems of educational programmes elicited from the sample responses were concerned with finance, manpower and motivation. Mineral wealth is increasing the financial stability of the country, but without a well motivated educated population, employment creation schemes and plans for rural development cannot be satisfactorily achieved. Greater co-ordination of efforts within the educational field must be one method of achieving the stated aims of national development plans as must the efficient employment of all available resources.

Duggan-Cronnin, A.M. "The Bantu Tribes of S.A." (Vol. II Section I 1929)

According to the article, the chief, revered as he may be on account of his political power and social - religious position, must nevertheless shape his course pretty much as his people feel he should; the despotism of the Zulu ruler, the godlike eminence of the Venda chief, is nowhere attained here. It is the council of elders, not the individual will of the chief, that shapes the destinies of the tribe. And though ignorance, self-seeking and chicanery are not absent in the system, it is perhaps the best political machinery that we find among any of the South African Bantu.

Swartland, J.R. (1983) "Education for Development Since Independence: An Overview." (in M Crowder (1983) ed.)

Swartland states that the principal aim of education is the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes of the individual and the betterment of society. Education on its own cannot inculcate sound social values; these are set by the nation as a whole and are a collective responsibility. In Botswana, however, every endeavour is being made through formal and non-formal education to encourage personal qualities which promote the national ideals of democracy, self-reliance, unity and social harmony. Through the example of those who teach and lead through styles of teaching and the content of what is taught, and through opportunities of service of the community, those who learn may be helped to develop and cherish these personal qualities.

Breutz, P.L. (1963) The Tribes of Kuruman and Portmasburg.

The book is based on material collected personally from all tribes and sub-tribes of the districts of Kuruman and Portmasburg during 1957 and 1959. My informants were chiefs and headmen,

assisted by their relatives, clan - heads, councillors as well as the old men of the tribes. The Bantu commissioners and their staff gave valuable assistance.

**Crammer, D. J. "Southern Africa: A Study of Education Systems." (BLS, South Africa, Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, Namibia).**

Crammer's observation is that the three countries of BLS have had a traditionally British style of formal education system. The three were British Protectorates from the mid - 1880s until the 1960s. Currently, though very different geographically and politically, they have similar education systems directly attributable to the British influence of the past. Because each of the countries has a small population and is located in close proximity to others, all shared, until recently, many educational structures. Their education systems reflect little of the South African education system. In some cases, segments of their education systems have developed in opposition to South African educational policies. The geo-political situation of the three countries has encouraged the influx of a great deal of external financial aid, much of which is for educational development. Hence, there are multinational characteristics apparent in some of the developing educational structures.

**"Maru-A-Pula."**

"The educational buildings at Maru-A-Pula will therefore be designed on the cluster principle, providing for rapid adaptability to the differing needs of large and small groups and to a variety of teaching methods. If Maru-A-Pula is enabled to pursue its high ideals it will render a special service to secondary education in Botswana, taking its pupils to that academic standard which is acceptable for entry to universities all over the world. At the same time it will be a place where future leaders of Southern Africa, during the most formative years of their lives, can work and play together in a progressive environment, gaining an understanding of and respect for each other both as individuals and as representatives of their different racial and national groups."

**"Management for Educational Improvement (Seminar for Secondary Education Officers and Headteachers; Gaborone, Ministry of Education, 17-23 September, 1982)."**

The article contends that, if an organised approach to curriculum development is adopted, the result should allow the required service to be given. The ethos will be reflected in the quality of education in the schools, because there will be a concern with evaluation and quality control as much as with the mechanics of development. There are basic questions which must be asked when

innovation is under consideration. The impact of the innovation on the schools and on pupils must be assessed if the development cycle is to be complete.

(h) The Education Digest.

Vol. 47:6 (1982) Ornstein, Allan G. Decentralised School Governance: Is it Working?" (pp 13-17)

In the article, Ornstein puts forward the common assumption that the most vocal and articulate voice is the voice of the community but we have yet to hear from the majority of silent parents who have their own aspirations for their children and their own ideas about how the school should fulfil them. Indeed, we need a partnership between practitioners and researchers, among the various interest groups, and especially between blacks and whites, if a breakthrough is to be made to a higher level of mutual understanding and quality education for all children and youth.

Vol. 47:6 (1982) Eaton. J. M. "Functions of Small Rural Community Colleges." (pp 56 - 58)

In the article, Eaton observes that the community college represents a unique American effort to democratize higher education. The small/rural community college is an important instrument of a democratic form of government in assuring a basic right to its citizens. Equal educational opportunity demands that policy-making bodies provide for comprehensiveness in curricula and in services in all community location. The small two-year college with its efforts toward program breadth and community service in the accomplishment of its mission presents an especially significant and different approach from other forms or levels of higher education.

(i) Teacher Education in New Countries.

Vol 10:1 (1969) Wood A.W. "The Community School in Tanzania - The Experience in Litowa." (pp 1-4)

The article contends that if there is therefore a special message which the experience of R.D.A. and Litowa School has to give, it must be that once the reconstruction of rural society itself has begun to be achieved, and the confidence of the rural population in an agricultural way of life restored, then it is possible for the community to make the necessary adaptations to its whole educational outlook which will most precisely serve that community. Without the preliminary reconstruction of the society, the more practical element (vocational) education will continue to struggle vainly against the strong tide of human ambition

which regards such an education as inimical to what it holds to be progress. Past experience with curriculum reform, particularly during the colonial period, clearly underlines this point.

(j) Botswana Notes and Records.  
(Journal of the Botswana Society, Gaborone)

Vol. 8 (1976) Grant, S. "A Very Remarkable School." (pp 87-97).

"Now that Isang School building in Mochudi has ceased to be used as a school and is soon to be converted into a museum, it is an appropriate moment to trace something of its fifty year history and to describe its role in the development of education in Botswana. This account cannot, unfortunately, be as comprehensive as it should be. Isang Pilane's personal papers have not been available for perusal and it has been possible to see only a few of the many people whose personal experience and knowledge of the school would have helped to provide a more complete account. It is to be hoped that this article will encourage others to come forward with additional information."

Vol. 13 (1981) Sail, A. W. "Educational Development in the Chobe." (pp 79-89)

In Botswana terms, Sails observes, the Chobe schools form a fairly compact district, manageable in size, except for Pandamatenga in the South East, and Satau and Paragarungu in the wet season and when floods are high. However, its small population and isolation from the main stream of events in Botswana made it the last district, except for Ghanzi, to open a school. Nevertheless, once started the establishment of schools appears to have kept a reasonable pace with the needs of the people.

Vol. 8 (1976) Coclough, C. "Some Lessons From Botswana's Experience with Manpower Planning."

A greater emphasis upon poverty-focused development strategies, and upon the distributional aspects of educational expenditures will imply, in most countries, a considerable shift in resources towards primary and non-formal education. Success in this area, so argues Coclough, will in part depend upon how well the popular pressures for further expansion of high education, in spite of rising unemployment, can be resisted. Similarly the challenge of reforming curricula and if introducing lower cost educational technologies is as much dependent upon political will as upon technical innovation. But movements in these directions could be supported, if not generated, by a more integrated approach to planning that seeks to reconcile alternative political social,

economic and financial goals. There is a need for more analysis of the links between qualification and job performance, for studies of alternative ways of acquiring particular skills and for more comparative evaluations of formal and non-formal and training programmes. Perhaps the most important requirement is that mass education needs to become the major focus for planning rather than being treated as residual, as has so often happened in the past.

Vol . 6 (1974) Dale, R. "The Functional Web of Inter dependence Between Pre-Independent Botswana and South Africa: A Preliminary Study ." (pp 117-132. see section on Education).

As indicated by the title, the essay is indeed a preliminary study of the "Functional web of interdependence" linking the Protectorate with South Africa. It is also, as indicated in an earlier research note, part of the writer's forthcoming study of the patterns of co-operation and conflict between the two countries in the 1945-1966 period. This study will be published at a later date by the free Press of New York /city a division of Macmillan Company, and it may be viewed as supplementary to the writer's other studies of post-independence Botswana.

Vol. 5 (1973) Pilane, A. "Notes on Early Educational Efforts Among the Bakgatla." (pp 120-123)

In the article, Pilane says that the very first school, in the European sense, which was started in Mochudi, was in 1900. It was founded by Deborah Retief, after whom the DR Hospital at Mochudi was called. It was no doubt meant well, but all that was taught was reading out of the Bible in Setswana - the Moffat Translation. The idea was that "kaffirs" must learn to read God's word, but if they learned to write, it might lead them to think that they were as good as their teachers.

Vol. 6 (1974) Macartney, W.J.A. "Local Government and Development in Botswana." (223 pp) Ph.D. Thesis - Research Notes.

"It is a fundamental tenet of democracy that the open decision - making process, understood by citizens at all levels, is bound to make people feel more committed to the decisions which affect them; and that the result will inevitably be a higher degree of participation in local development than is found in the typical authoritarian system. My hope is that this study will throw some light on the important question of a rural development strategy."

Vol. 8 (1976) Benson M. "Tshekedi Khama as I knew Him." (pp 121-129)

Benson makes an observation in this article that late in the 1950's, Botswana was moving towards a new era. Developments in which Tshekedi had for long been involved, and which his nephew, Seretse, had also played a leading part since his return, were at least going ahead: The legislative Council, mining and economic development. Moeng college, after many setbacks, was running well and, subsidised by government, was serving the whole country.

Vol. 12 (1980) Grant, S. "The Non-Government Contribution to Development in Botswana - 1962-80." (pp 42-47)

"Of course government has already taken over a number of non-government projects and usually with good reason. The Swaneng group of schools, the Tutume and Maun Secondary schools, the Molepolole Hospital, the Maun Maternity Centre and libraries are particularly apt examples. The danger, however, lies in its step being taken without good reason. Non-government agencies and projects are vital for the health of any nation. They provide increased opportunity, variety of action and opinion, the chance for personal insolvent and the acceptance of responsibility. Their vigor is not matched by their bank balances, however, and if each is to become their sole criteria for their survival there will be not many left in a few years time."

Vol. 15 (1983) Fako, Thabo "The Family and National Development: A Plea for Research." (pp 9-15. see section on Education)

Lincoln Hanada and Olson (1981) suggest that Japanese tend to rate their company time as equal in importance to their private (family) lives, to the extent that they feel that company management should advise subordinates on such highly personal matters as a decision to marry. Perhaps the great success of Japanese industry can be attributed, among other important factors, to their taking interest in the needs of the worker and his family.

Vol. 7 (1975) Ulin, R. "The Future of Setswana in the Schools." (pp 61-67).

The focus of Ulin's article is that though the situation is critical there are hopeful signs and they may well point not merely to the preservation of Setswana as a language and literature, but also to its continuous development as a literary medium and a source of personal and national pride as well as an exciting and rewarding school subject.

Vol. 2 (1969) Thema, B.C. "Moeng College - A Product of Self Help." (pp 11-15)

"For the last six years there have been arguments for, and against closing down the college for economic and educational reasons, but I must resist the temptation to comment on this controversy, as I was directly involved in it in my capacity as a Minister of Education, but more particularly as one who had played a part in building up the college. It suffices to say in conclusion that Moeng continues to operate as before, although there is a general thinking aloud that the college might be better administered if the Ministry of Education became directly responsible for its operation, as in fact the government holds sole financial responsibility for it."

NIR Library.

(k) Pamphlets/Articles/Photocopy.

Mitchison Naomi (1975) "Children in Limbo." (Times Ed. Supplement 10.10.1975)

It is all a question of flexibility, of allowing the bureaucratic network to be loosened in the interest of individuals. In some countries this has been agreed, things have been made easier for all villages, instead of harder. Education is thought of in terms, first of civil servants and the approval of expatriate experts. One can only hope that the growing pressure from the rural areas will have its effect on those who think out policies and make these strangely inflexible rules.

Blake, R. (ed.) (1973) "Education in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland School of Education." (49 pp)

An observation is made here that in all three countries there are, at the moment, a number of substantial and significant growth - points and controversies in the educational development. Syllabuses are under review, new types of teaching material are being produced, improved ways of training teachers are being tried out, new patterns of relationships among educational institutions are being entered into, the future educational cooperation of these three countries is under review. There is a great deal which we can learn from each other as we seek to move forward in these various activities.

**Kupe, E.T. (1983) "Survey of Leadership Roles of a Secondary School Head in Botswana." (Gaborone, 40 pp)**

The survey was primarily concerned with the effectiveness of the leadership role of a secondary school headmaster in Botswana. The criteria employed to determine headmastership effectiveness was based on the 'visibles' which demonstrated "something desirable" a headmaster has or is able to do. In this study, the following 'visibles' were considered very essential; The headmaster's scholastic contribution. His concern for the professional development of his teachers. His professional and academic qualification. His career commitment. His contribution to extra-curricular activities.

**Kann, U. (1977) "What do you plan to do after school? - A Study of Educational Expectations and Occupational Aspirations Among Students in Botswana." (Stockholm, 36 pp.)**

Kann came to the same conclusion as Silvey's (1969) who, after his study in Uganda stated that "substantial differences have been shown between the inclinations of the students and the occupational opportunities likely to be open to them, as foreseen by the manpower studies. It would be optimistic to expect that the two can be matched reasonably closely solely by manipulating wage and salary structures."

**Parsons, Q.N. (1983) "Observations on Integrated Social Studies for the Intermediate Secondary Curriculum." (Gaborone, 11 pp).**

The first principle for teaching young children history is that curriculum content should consist of real events, real characters, real times, real places. The events should be dramatic; the characters, heroic, the times and places, strange and distant. If what I have argued here is true, it follows that the dominant form of the social studies curriculum today, particularly at the elementary (Primary) level, is anti educational. This curriculum encourages provinciality and ignorance about the world at large. It seems designed to do the opposite of what Russel claimed is the first task of education; to destroy the tyranny of the local over children's imagination.

**Mehra, A.N. (1980) "The Development and Cost of Secondary Education in Relation to Manpower Policy in Zambia." (Lusaka, 30 pp).**

The paper discussed the basis of secondary education in the colonial era which, coupled with restrictive laws, hinder to advancement of nationals. As a consequence, Zambia since independence has faced a dual problem in respect of manpower, a general shortage of persons with professional and technical

qualifications to meet the needs of the civil service and industry and a reservoir of unskilled labour force larger than the number of wage earning jobs that the organised sector of economy could provide.

Plank, D. N. (1982) "Post Primary School Administration in Institute of Development and Management." (41 pp)

A comparison by Plank reveals that the post primary schools of Botswana are already well-managed relative to those of Lesotho and Swaziland, and the establishment and support of training program organised along the lines suggested in this paper will ensure that the quality of school administration in the country will be maintained and improved even as the post-primary educational system grows and changes in the coming decade.

Norbye, O. (1973) "Human Resources for Accelerated Development: The Potential of the Third World." (Bergen, 33 pp).

The article shows that interest in education is very strong in most developing countries, and, judging by available statistics, an educational explosion has taken place in the Third World. This explosion has given rise to almost as many comments as the "Population explosion", because its results have not by any means been fortunate. Education does not prepare the youth for rural living, it has led to a strong exodus from rural areas, unemployment among educated youth is large and rising, the quality of education has fallen as a result of quick expansion.

#### (1) Books/Reports.

Waters, E. A. (1973) Botswana Roots of Educational Development and the Evaluation of Formal and Non-Formal Education. (On Microfilm 333 pp.) Ph. D. thesis.

In his thesis Waters says that 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.

SIDA (1972) Education and Training in Botswana. (95 pp)

The more specific, sub-sectoral needs in the field of education in Botswana have been treated in connection with these sub-sectors (primary, secondary education, etc). In the light of

the government's declared policies of self-reliance and rural development, two educational sub-sectors stand out as having a heavier development thrust than others. They are primary education and non-formal education. From the point of view of the need to develop Botswana's manpower potential, too, there is a case for emphasizing primary education. It provides the bases for other training, also training for jobs outside the modern sector.

Taylor, T. F. (1974) **Shashe without a Chief: A Personal and Independent Report of Shashe River School.** (31 pp)

The article discusses the shortcomings of the Shashe River School; namely, absence of staff in class, no lights in classrooms, deficient English language teaching, no water in the dormitories as the form takes from the same source, principal comes late to assembly, no proper studies, no teachers for Brigades or field projects, no furniture in Brigade classrooms including lights and books, Brigades don't feel they are students but hired hands, i.e. no timetable, opening of students mail in the office and delay of mail and principal has never acted on any student complaints - he takes too long a time to make decisions.

Stan, A. (1977) **Summary Evaluation of UNICEF Assistance in Botswana.**

In the absence of any regional, integrated or co-ordinated programmes, UNICEF assistance has been traditionally directed to sectoral programmes. Despite economic difficulties regionally due to the world-wide economic recession, the sectoral ministries achieved improvement in their programmes compared to the previous five years Plan's stated goals. Pursuing its policy of "accelerated rural development programme" the government, with the assistance of selected donor agencies and broad community participation has realised the implementation of operational goals and aims on time. UNICEF has kept pace with the government's accelerated implementation needs and as a result programmes needs, health and education needs have been fulfilled.

Thema, B.C. (1971) **Brigade system has put Botswana on Education Map.** (Brigade Quarterly pp 5-11).

"Professional people the world over refurbish themselves for their work by the use of in-service courses of training, and while this is the first course for our brigade instructors, I trust it will be the first of many more that are going to be held in future; and in order that many more courses should be organised and mounted in future, I wish that this first one should be an unqualified success."

Oakeshott, R. Botswana Education. (The Economist) (38 pp)

The centre of discussion for this paper is that no distinction is made between brigade and academic students, indeed there are few distinctions between students and teachers, all of whom subsist mainly on stewed goat and mealie-meal. At the same time, academic standards are consistently high and graduates are leaving the schools well equipped for the realities of life in Botswana. And it is hoped that the kind of education provided at Swaneng Hill and Shashe River and possibly soon at Mahalapye - will not lead to the establishment of a rich elite, out of touch with the problems of the people. In spite of recent mineral discoveries, economic advance will only come to Botswana through hard work - most of it in the agricultural sector. This will be well understood by at least some of the country's future leaders.

(m) Journal of Modern African Studies.

Vol. 10:4. (1972) Ward J. "Education for Rural Development: A discussion of Experiments in Botswana." (pp 611-620) (see also U.B. Pamphlet. PH 370 19346)

In the article, Ward argues that there is little evidence, however, that the government has come to grips with the problems of having two types of schools with quite different policies and objectives co-existing within the same educational system. Perhaps the leaders of Botswana are waiting to determine whether the experiments at Swaneng Hill and Shashe River can in fact achieve some of their state aims. To quote Oakeshott again, 'the unusual policies of the two institutions . . . do challenge, and may indeed undermine, the existing system of income distribution in the country and the prevalent preferences for a particular kind of life'. The question is whether the government is prepared to accept these policies, with all their indications. If it does, then surely this will require far reaching changes in all institutions of education within the countries as well as in the prevailing social and economic structure. The main tasks of the two schools at present, it would seem, are to prove that the experiments they have undertaken can work, and that they offer a valid alternative to the present system and a constructive approach to reform in education for rural development in Botswana.

(n) Trends in Education.

(Winter '79) Hacker M. "The School and the Community". (pp 37-44)

What the wide ranging and varied projects described in this article have in common is a desire to broaden opportunities for all members of the community. Whether they be school pupils, parents, mothers with young children, other adults, teenagers, the elderly or the handicapped. In the current climate of economic stringency and reduced population growth, attention will increasingly focus on the need to make the best possible use of our existing buildings and for the limited resources available for new buildings to obtain maximum educational and social benefit for both school and community.

(o) Prospects.

Vol. 12:4 (1982) "Theme: Education and work."

The article suggests that education and productive work should be integrated, for only thus can both process fulfil their educational function, each complementing and enriching each other. This is in fact the idea behind the Marxist - Leninist view that education (including physical Education) and productive work should be integrated, and that this is the basic method of producing an integrated personality and increasing production in general.

(p) Oxford Review of Education.

Vol. 2:1 (1976) Bodgnor; V. "Education, Politics and the Reform of Local Government." (pp 3-17)

Bodgnor contends that it would be wrong, therefore, to ascribe the current unpopularity of local government to the recent reorganisation; reformers and critics alike are tempted to assume that institutional reforms change patterns of behaviour more rapidly than is likely to be the case. Local authorities, like many other institutions find themselves in a pathological situations as a result of pressure from inflation; and it would be wrong to draw from such a pathological condition any general conclusions about the new system of local government. But the increasing apocalyptic tone of so much of the discussion of British political institutions may tempt us to overlook the very solid advantages to be obtained from the local administration of education. For local control of education can, on the one hand, safeguard us from the incipient technocracy of rule by experts; and at the same time, it can save us from the ideology of enthusiasm and the passion of the blanket reformer; it "tends to guard against too much enthusiasm, against that disinterested but misguided benevolence which, in its enthusiasm, fails to

count the cost. For an institutional arrangement which act as a barrier to these two evils, we ought, surely, to be profoundly grateful."

Vol. 2:1 (1976) Maclure, S. "Politics and Education." (pp 17-27)

Maclure makes a reconciliatory sum up by stating what happens and also what ought to happen. If the policies which emerge are not always sound, this is because of human frailty and malice, not because there is necessarily anything wrong with the implied relationships between education and politics. At every level, the public and the private, the political and professional should interact to reflect a relationship which does justice to the splendidly confused, complex but organic connection between education and society.

(q) Research in Education.

No. 29 (1983) Wellings, Paul Anthony "Unaided Education in Kenya: Blessing or Blight?" (pp 11-29)

Although it is clear from the preceding sections that unaided education is of low, and quite often abysmally low, quality in both relative and absolute terms, it is apparent that there has been little or no realisation of this among students. This was discovered upon analysis of questionnaire responses from Form IV students in the surveyed schools relating to occupational and educational aspirations and expectations conducted by Wellings.

(r) Teacher Education.

Vol. 2:3 (1961) Auger, G.A. "Institute of Education to Serve the High Commission Territories of Southern Africa: Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland." (pp 29-34).

"May it be permitted to add that the Institute of Education of Pius XII University College looks upon itself as a service to teachers and educational institutions throughout the High Commission Territories of Southern Africa. It wishes neither to control nor to monopolise. Its aim is to initiate, to foster, to advise, and to assist, to the best of its ability, all those individuals and bodies who wish to avail themselves of the facilities it has to offer. It will endeavour to coordinate the work of all the educational forces which lie within its constituency."

Vol. 6:2 (1965) Dixon, P. "The Khama Pattern." (pp 99 -103)

Dixon observes in this article that so far a hundred years pattern of educational progress in the Bamangwato has been in a large measure a "Khama Pattern". It may not be perfect, but it has achieved and is achieving results. Certainly, it has always been geared to the country's economy. In fact, a consideration of the small amount spent on education down the years leads one to believe that seldom has a nation made such educational advances on so little - thanks to the "Phuti: Pattern".

Vol. 5:2 (1964/5) Gibson, G.W. & Walker, N. "Training Course for Educational Administrators." (pp 127-144)

During the past few years it has become common-place for countries still responsible for dependent territories to place more and more emphasis and significance on political development and its corollary - the establishment of a sound supporting administrative organisation, largely of indigenous officers, so that the strains of independence can be met.

(s) American Journal of Education.

Vol. 89 (1980/81) Mitchel, D.E. (et al.) "The Impact of Collective Bargaining on School Management and Policy." (pp. 147-188)

In brief the central lesson of our research is simply this; the unintended, and frequently unnoticed, policy consequences of teacher organisations and collective bargaining have dramatic impacts on school governance and management. In many school districts labour relations is forced to the top of the political agenda. The ensuing political conflict touches every aspect of school governance - public demonstrations, rioting patterns, board member selection, and administrative tenure. Moreover successive episodes of political involvement in labour relations problems are required to determine : (1) Re legitimacy of the teachers to organise Re-bargain collectively; and (2) the legitimacy of the scope of the contract to be negotiated once their right to a collective contract has been broadly accepted.

Vol. 91:1 (November 1983) William Lowe Boyd, "Rethinking Educational Policy and Management: Political and Science and Educational Administration in the 1980."

In this article William discusses policy implementation and management problems. He further forwards a word of caution. "That socialist nations also have well-known implementation problems (in meeting educational goals, five year plan and the like) suggests that radical political economics, like the

proponents of other explanations, may not have the last word on this complex subject. Indeed, the earlier discussion of competing values makes clear that a heavy emphasis on one central value, such as equality, is sure to come at some cost in terms of other key values, such as liberty and efficiency. Such seems to be the case in socialist societies no less than in capitalist societies."

National Archives.

(t) Pamphlets/Articles/Photocopy.

"African Schools: Serowe District Cadet College." (1963-64)

The article is a report of the proceedings of the preparatory committee of the Serowe District Cadet College. "The preparatory Committee has given considerable thought to the problem of siting of the college. While Gaberones appears to offer many advantages, it is felt that the original choice of Serowe is preferable. The committee would make a strong plea for permission to establish the college there."

"Bamalete Education Levy: To be paid into trust fund."

The article is about the proposed educational levy and its envisaged usage. "The Balete Tribe has long toyed with the idea of instituting a tribal levy, the proceeds of which will be used to purchase very necessary school books and other equipment. May I ask, Sir, that you will obtain, or give, the necessary authority for the levy to be imposed as from April 1st 1934."

Chiepe, G.K.T. (1975) "An Investigation of the Problems of Popular Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate." (M.A. Thesis)

In an attempt to solve obvious educational problems, Chiepe proposes the appointment of a select committee that might study educational problems in Bechuanaland in the light of a study of what other countries, particularly African countries, with a similar background, are doing and suggest possible lines of development. The suggested lines of development, though based on knowledge gained from the study of other countries, must in the end be Bechuanaland's own methods influenced by her peculiar conditions which are not identical with those in other countries. The desire for progress is there even if it is vague. All possible resources - national, government, community and individual - should be harnessed and directed into properly planned channels. Trial and error methods are wasteful and should be avoided. So much has gone on (and greater and rapid change is bound to come) that Bechuanaland can neither go back to 19th century conditions nor can she fold her arms in despair. She

must take action, and responsibility rests with all citizens, but more so with the government and chiefs, to ensure that all her children are adequately equipped for their uphill struggle to become citizens of Africa and the world.

**"Primary Education - A Different Sort of Thing - Role of Teacher in Class and Community."** (Report: January 1975)

The report states that teaching and learning has often been a matter of instruction and remembering. In the case of too many children the memory has been overloaded while natural aptitudes have gone un-noticed. Good teachers open and invigorate the minds of children they teach. They encourage their children to observe, to collect things, to sort things and to consider things and when children do this their intuition, their imagination, their doubt and their energy can make the work memorable. For too long, this individuality has been damped down so that classroom could be kept quiet in the hope that, if the children were quiet, they were working. This is not necessarily so.

**Chakalisa, Patrick. (1981) "The Development and Impact of Western Education in the Kweneng (1848-196)."** (B.Ed, History Dissert.)

In his brief evaluation of the impact of western education in the area, Chakalisa contends that it did not help the Bakwena to improve or perfect their mode of production which was agricultural and pastoral farming. Children who went to school were prepared for white collar jobs because the curriculum subjects were mainly academic in nature. Apart from the few graduates who went high enough to be recruited as teachers or clerks in the colonial administration, the majority of students returned to the land with no better methods of tilling the land or rearing cattle. In other words they had not been prepared to fit into the Kweneng living conditions. Hence most of the boys went to the mines to contract their labour. Many primary school leavers could neither find jobs in Kweneng, nor had they acquired any skills to be self-employed. It is therefore obvious that the education system in Kweneng failed to equip the young with the necessary skills for the Kweneng living conditions. The effect of all these defects on Kweneng was gross underdevelopment of the region.

**"Coloured School."** (S. 199/7)

The article is about coloured Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It would seem that the education of the Coloured population is a matter demanding attention. Probably some of the coloureds who have been born and bred amongst the Natives could be catered for in the Native schools. The majority, however, are not Native but European in their language and general cultural background and they should attend different schools.

**"Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara (Conference on Education, 1954-63)." (S. 507/2/1-3).**

This article is about a Conference on Education. This conference adopted the commendable practice of providing an opportunity for a full exchange of views without attempting to draw up the usual list of recommendations. In view of the differences which exist in the form and content of the public educational system in the various territories represented, I regard this as a wise decision on the part of the Chairman. I think that you will agree that the tabular statement of educational practice in a number of different territories, which form the report of the conference, have some value and are certainly preferable to generalisation about education in Africa as a whole, which could have little validity.

**"Compulsory Education." (S. 168/8)**

"I realise that the introduction of compulsory Education may in some cases involve the government in paying the whole or part of the cost of boarding some of the children. They will not be many. Even if they were, I feel that the Bechuanaland Protectorate cannot safely deny education to those whose parents are unable to pay boarding costs, or where correspondence teaching is not feasible. For the uneducated or insufficiently educated European child may well be a menace to the community, much more burdensome in the long run than the cost of educating him even in a central boarding school."

**"Compulsory Education in the Colonies." (S. 179/8).**

The article is about a proposed line of Advice towards Compulsory Education and following is a statement of direction in the issue. "Our aim in these proposals is to encourage regular school attendance and the completion of a reasonable school course. We are not concerned with the extension of school facilities, and we have tried to avoid any recommendation that would involve additional expenditure in the immediate future or any risk of quality being subordinated to quantity. Underlying our proposals is the fundamental conviction that regular attendance for a short period in an effectively organised school is better than irregular attendance for a long period in a badly organised school, and that completion by all the pupils of a short school course is more valuable to the community than completion of a longer course by only a portion of the pupils."

**"Education in the Bamangwato Reserve." (S. 45/2).**

The article is about Education in the Bamangwato Reserve, proposed appointment of a Committee. "For half a century the London Missionary Society has been working among the tribes of the Protectorate, and for almost all that time, have singlehandedly carried on religious and educational work among the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bamangwato, Bataung, Bakhurutshe and other tribes."

**"Education in the Protectorate (Including 'Report on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate' by E.B. Sargant 1905)." (RC. 6/1)**

In the report Sargant makes the following observation: "The Bechuanaland Protectorate is in an exceptionally backward state as regards education. In spite of the large size of the villages into which many of the natives are gathered, nearly all the schools have a small enrolment."

**"Education in Botswana: Aims, Objectives, Review and Forecast Statement to Parliament (December 1971)."**

"Mr. Speaker, Education is one science on which every layman considers himself capable of expressing an opinion : As one honourable member said in this house early in the year. 'You do not need to have been to the moon to know something about Education'. I do not propose to raise any arguments against such assumptions. I admit education is a science in which common sense plays no small part, and this explains why many of us laymen often claim to know what is, and what is not - good education. But I think it is necessary that in developing communities such as ours regular pronouncements of what education consist in, should be made. Its aims and objectives should be stated in bold outlines, and its process, or its activities should be regularly reviewed and examined against those aims and objectives, in order to re-assure ourselves that our everyday educational activities are profitably directed, and that the national resources we spend on education are not wasted."

**"European Secondary Education." (S. 488/2)**

The article is about European Secondary Education in the Colonies and Dependencies. The proposals contained in the Memorandum may be said to be inspired by recognition of the extremely important part played by English in the Secondary School Course, and by the need, now recognised also in England and Wales, for liberating the secondary school from bonds and limitations which prevent it from adapting its teaching and curricula, with a maximum of relevancy, to the real needs of its pupils.

**"First Annual Report of the Botswana UNESCO Commission."**

The report takes cognizance of the fact that though UNESCO was no stranger to Botswana, for the organisation had drawn up the first wholly comprehensive plan for education in the country in 1963/64, there was nevertheless a lack of appreciation of the many faceted sides to its work. In deed so many, UNESCO was seen as being almost entirely concerned with education. This attitude came out during the negotiations leading to the establishment of the commission. Some contended that UNESCO matters should be entirely the preserve of the Ministry of Education. It had to be pointed out however that unlike other organisations of the United Nations, the interest of UNESCO were as much with Ministries of Home Affairs, Health, Mineral Resources and Local Government and the Department Information and Broadcasting. In deed it is the broad spectrum of its interest which made it essential to set up inter-ministerial machinery to handle its affairs, if maximum benefit is to be derived from membership of the organisation. Since the establishment of the commission, this contention has been amply demonstrated. Activities outside the education portfolio have matched those which are within.

**"Native Education Policy (1937-53)." (S. 104/1/1-3)  
(1937-42) S. 103/9/1-2**

"During the recent years steps have been taken to develop the material resources of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Water supplies have been improved, new pasture land has been opened up, and in each of the tribal Reserves live-stock improvement centres have been established. Medical and Health services have been and are being extended. It is part of government policy to educate the people through the agency of the schools to make the best use of these facilities, and equip them for their future careers."

**Townsend C. (1982) "Dentente Between Formal and Non-Formal Education."**

The article details the changing attitude towards non-formal education and sees it as complementary to formal education rather than an education of the last resort. From these comments it will be appreciated that in Botswana two factors which affect the whole education scene are emerging. First, there is a positive attitude towards NFE: it is no longer the suppliant Cinderella of the service. Indeed, in many ways, it is the favoured child. It is the fastest growing sector in Education; it has been granted as many new staff places as it can safely absorb, and it has healthy financial backing. In all respects it is a full member of Education family. At the same time, there is a willingness to explore areas of common concern to both formal and non-formal

education. Dialogue based on readiness to understand each other's problems, is continuing and leading to action. Detente has been realised.

**Tlou, J.S. "The Primary Teacher Education Programme's Role in National Development in Botswana." (Ph.D Thesis - Illinois).**

From the findings of the study it is clear that there is great need for curriculum reform at both the primary school level and teacher training college level. All the group respondents felt that there should be clearly defined educational objectives on which the colleges could base their own objectives. The data showed that there was need to base the teacher training college programs on the aspirations of the community; and that there was a great need and urgency to recruit and train more Batswana as tutors for the teacher training colleges. self-reliance ideals were considered to be a necessary part of the everyday college life.

**"Basic Education Project Memorandum - DEMS, UBLS 1975."**

The memorandum states that the project would consolidate and develop the work UBLS/DEMS has already begun with extension organisations and in literary experimentation. The provision of adequate and qualified staff would enable the department to provide a systematic and continuing service in research, communication and evaluation for extension organisations. As described in the project memorandum, such service would not be possible without the proposed expansion of resources.

**"Board of Advice on Native Education: Correspondence During War Period when no Sessions Take Place." (S. 99/2)**

The article is about the minutes of fourth meeting of Board of Advice on Native Education. His Honour attached great importance to the Pathfinder - Scout and Wayfarer - Guide Movements, and mentioned the coming appointment of a whole time organising secretary for the Territory. Finally he referred to the aim of Education in the Protectorate as an all round improvement in the lives of the people.

**Mitchison N. (1964) "Making Things Relevant to Lives."**

The article is about the educational challenges facing the nation about to attain political independence. Writing from Mochudi, the centre of her tribe, the Bakgatla, Mrs Mitchison in this pamphlet discusses some of the difficulties in making a curriculum have meaning. "Next Friday the Bechuanaland Protectorate (one of the last remaining British dependencies in

Africa) becomes a sovereign state within the Commonwealth. It will henceforth be known as the Republic of Botswana."

**Murerwa, H. (1979) "Non-Formal Education and Rural Employment: Analysis of Brigades." (Ph. D. Harvard)**

In his analysis of Botswana Brigades experience, Murerwa observes that at the general level, there is indication of many favourable economic and social development outcomes. He realises that though the record is not unmixed success, there are, however; dilemmas that still must be resolved. There are the inevitable conflicts between the demands of production and quality control in contract work, and the need for offering young trainees a chance to learn by doing, even when this means learning through mistakes that are costly in profit-and-loss terms.

**Mitchison, N. (1964) "Articles on Teaching at Mochudi."**

The article is about Another Uncertificated Teacher. All this was in Mochudi, the tribal capital of Bakgatla, the tribe has made me their adviser, and to which I belong now and forever. I have to go there in winter but it is their summer, and that means hot, for this is Bechuanaland Protectorate and it goes up to 120 F day after day, too hot really for teaching. And yet if people are so desperate to be taught, what is one to do? Even the most uncertificated teacher must answer the need and teach.

**Mitchison, N. (1964) "Future of Protectorates."**

In this article Mitchison registers her concern about the Future of the Protectorates. "Sir, your leading article of today seems over-trustful of Dr. Verwoerd's intentions. No doubt it looks geographically and ethnically feasible to join up the protectorates and the Bantustans. But if it is so, one must not look too closely at the actual set-up and purpose of the Bantustans. One could imagine a different South Africa Government which genuinely intended these to be prosperous and progressive entities; but in fact they are designed to regress toward Verwoerd's and Voster's idea of the African past, a past which would justify the division of apartheid."

**Central District Development Committee: Seminar on "Education for Rural Development." (Serowe, 7-8th July 1973) (59 pp)**

The article is about concerns, observations and recommendations of the Central District Development Committee on Education for Rural Development. Despite efforts to expand educational facilities and to broaden employment opportunities it remained a sad fact that by 1979 (end of this plan) about 42% of primary school leavers in the district would be unable to continue their

education after Standard Seven, find wage employment in the formal sector. Given this situation, there is bound to be unnecessary friction between local workers and their expatriate supervisors which leads to an increased probability of strikes and disruption. The committee recommended that some formula for ensuring a steady flow of university graduates to private and parastatal sector be found.

**Education (1932) "Proposed National School for Secondary Education out of Bakgatla Suggestion." (S. 292/10).**

This article is discusses Proposed Secondary Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. This conference was called because some months ago the Administration heard that the Dutch Reformed church, with the assistance of the Bakgatla tribe, decided to erect a National school for secondary education for natives in the Protectorate, and that it was expected that the Government would recognise and support the proposed institution. You will clearly see that such an institution could not possibly have the support of the Administration before the various missionary bodies, who labour in the Territory, and the chiefs of other tribes in the country, had been consulted in the matter. There are many things which might militate against the success of a National school, unless everyone, or, at any rate, the majority of those affected are in agreement on the principle and also on the ways and means of conducting it.

**"Backwards of Education: A Complaint Regarding Overcrowded Schools and Inadequate Supply of Qualified Teachers, Particularly in the Kweneng Area (1942)." (S. 94/10).**

This article is about the Backwardness of Education in the Kweneng Area. "Just about two months ago I sent a memorandum, a copy of which it is herein endorsed to the Local School Committee and a copy to the Director of Education on the Backwardness of education in the Kweneng Area. It is disappointing to say that the Local Executive Committee never sympathetically replied. I hereby enclose his reply."

**Narayan D. (1983) "Work Aspirations and Desires of Std VII Leavers."**

Narayan's work showed that there were more girls than boys enrolled in Standard 7. Girls on the average were younger than boys. Only 25% of all Standard 7 pupils gained admission to secondary school with the remaining 32% repeating Standard 7 or 43% leaving the formal school system. Those who gained admission to secondary school were rated as more intelligent by teachers than those who did not. Overall more boys (34%) gained admission to secondary school than girls (20%). Thus for a

majority of the pupils Standard 7 education is terminal. The data point to girls as being the largest target group in need of out-of-school extension efforts.

**Njovana , C.A (1981) "Perceptions of Educational Objectives and Problems and Solutions in Botswana."**

In this study Njovana has tried to assess the perception of both workers and students with respect to the educational objectives of their country, their aspirations in the labour market, and their expectations of the educational system. This involved a broad and general analysis ranging from student's effort to achieve rapid social and economic development. He appears to have been particularly impressed by the respondents' awareness of the educational objectives of their countries; on the other hand, he observed a variation between students and workers respecting the importance of certain educational objectives. Why do students stress the objective "I go to school so that after completing school I can get a job which pays well", whereas the workers of Botswana stress the objective "children go to school to improve their basic skills"? Does exposure to the world of work change perceptions of the educational objectives of the country? If so there is a difference between workers and students in perceiving educational objectives of their country.

**"Matsha Community College Report."**

This is the first of two reports on the Division of Non-Formal Education at Matsha Community College. The report provides some basic information on the catchment; outlines the non-formal education activities undertaken under the auspices of the College in the last eighteen months; and discusses proposals for the staffing, building, and equipping of the College's Non-Formal Education Division.

**Mduanya, M.O. "Model for Curriculum Innovations in Developing Countries: Reference to Botswana and Nigeria." Ph.D. Thesis**

The survey indicated that every component of the model has at least 50% chance of being utilised successfully in either of the two countries studied. Since Nigeria and Botswana were selected for the survey in view of their assumed positions at rather opposite ends of the development continuum, and on the assumption that they share characteristics that may rightly be said to apply to most of the developing countries of Africa, it is reasonable to conclude that each of the components of the model has better than 50% possibility of being successfully utilised in most of the said developing countries. It is, therefore, not necessary at this point to undertake any modification of the model.

**"Suggestions for Long Term Planning of Education in Botswana (1968)."**

In making a development plan for education the article suggests several ways of proceeding. If for example, the country already has a national economic and social development plan, it will mean that certain estimates will already have been made. Among these estimates, there will be estimates of the national income in future years, and of the number of trained persons at the different educational levels required for the national economy. This method is, however, not free of difficulties, as errors can easily be made. Take for example the underestimates which were made in the United Kingdom twenty or thirty years ago of the number of university graduates required for the national economy. Mistakes of such a nature are not easily rectified, as from the beginning of secondary education, it takes from ten to twenty years to produce a university graduate. In this matter too, employers are notoriously conservative when estimating their future manpower requirements.

**"Setting up a Parents Teachers Association (Guidelines)."**

The document gives guidance on the formation of a Parents Teachers Association. It defines the association as a group of people, concerned with one school, who recognise that the education of a child is a process of partnership between parents and teachers and who wish to take a joint action to improve the quality of that partnership. Parent - teacher partnership helps children to get maximum benefit from their schooling. It is worth noting, that parents are responsible for educating their children and that schools are provided in order to help them carry out their duty.

**"Secondary Education for Africans and 1961 Proposals for Government Take Over of Primary Schools." (S. 292/11/1-2)**

It should be remembered that these proposals for fostering Secondary Education in the Protectorate are limited by consideration of supply and demand. The number demanding education beyond Standard VI are likely for some years to be exceedingly small, and of these the greater portion will leave school after two or three years of such training. Neither the government nor the Native Administrations are likely to be able to provide as yet a Secondary Institution comparable with those in the Union or elsewhere. Such an institution would admittedly, be welcome, but must at present be left to private or mission enterprise. In the mean time, we must "cut our coat according to our cloth" without discouraging the natural and healthy aspirations of the people for education beyond primary stage.

**"Statement by London Missionary Society on Education in the Bangwato Reserve." (S. 601/6)**

The article is about a statement of proposal for strengthening and advancing the education of the Bangwato people at Serowe, laid before a meeting between the visiting deputation of the London Missionary Society, consisting of the Rev. E.A. Jennings (chairman), Rev. Neville Jones (secretary), Rev. R.H. Lewis, Rev. Roger Magodi, Chief Sekgoma and the Headman of the Tribe on Friday the 20th April, 1923.

**"Reorganisation of European Primary Education (1923 - 1962)." (S. 469/6/1-5)**

This is the proceedings of a conference on the Reorganisation of European Primary Education in the High Commission Territories. The question of providing education for all European of school age was again discussed. Conference agreed that conditions in the three High Commission Territories varied enormously in the case of Europeans: Swaziland for example, was a territory of permanent European settlement, and in both Bechuanaland and Swaziland there existed a problem of the poor European settler, practically unknown to Basutoland. Consequently no common formula of general application could be found. It was agreed, however, that in the interest of the total population, African and European, every effort should be made to provide within the territory, primary education for all European children of school age, and to assist by bursaries at secondary and post secondary stages, at least such pupils as required financial help.

**Sargant, E.B. "Education in Bechuanaland Protectorate (1950)."**

This article is about a report on Education in Bechuanaland Protectorate. "The grants now made to the various missionary societies in aid of education chiefly of an industrial character, should be re-adjusted in such a manner as to make the training of intending teachers, and the improvement of the present school-staff, the main object of government assistance. The educational interests of the Bechuanaland Protectorate should be centred around some institution not only responsible for the training of intending teachers and advancement of present staff, but performing the rudimentary duties of an education department, including the inspection of the principal schools."

**"Proposals for Development and Organisation of Education (1935 - 36)." (S. 148/5)**

The article states that the proposals for native education had

been before competent authorities for over two years and had been approved at all stages. There was nothing new the proposed and so far as that portion of them which was defrayed out of native fund was concerned, it was urgent that they be finally approved and that action be taken on them as the position was getting really desperate.

Philips, G. "Primary Education in Botswana."

"It has been hurting to see the way the magazines that are produced by this small area being used. Teachers told me that they used the ideas from "Primary Education in Botswana", and I found evidence that Moso and Moso Supplementary series were of use, not only to the children but also to the teachers."

"Basic Information on Education in Botswana (July 1982)."

Educational policy, aims and objectives are developed in various ways, not least by people all over the country when they express their needs and wishes as regard education for their children and themselves. The educational objectives are formulated by the Ministry of Education in development plan and approved by Parliament. The Ministry of Education is responsible for implementing the policy.

"Inspector of Education memorandum on Proposals for the Development and Organisation of Education." (S. 148/4)

In this memorandum, I have made but little reference to the "study contents of the various school courses offered, but for your Honour's information, may I state that they would include, in broad outline, the various forms of curricula given in "The Education of a South African Tribe", by P.A.W. Cook, M.A., B ED., Ph.D. Your Honour is, I know, well aware that I shall be grateful for anything, however small, that I may receive for the development of my work, and that I shall do my utmost to use what I may be given to the very best advantage.

"Tribal Secondary School: Proposal by Bangwato to establish an Educational Institution (1934-39)." (S. 383/3)

"I am requested by the Chief Tshekedi Khama to convey to His Honour the Resident Commissioner, the decision of the Bangwato people taken at a fully representative meeting of all sections, assembled in Kgotle at Serowe on 17th July, to seek authority in terms of Section 19 of Proclamation No. 74 of 1934 to impose a levy on tax payers for the purpose of raising funds to build a Native Educational Institution."

**"Board of Advice on Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1936-38)." (S. 99/1/1 - 4)**

The necessary action had been taken to implement the recommendations made by the Board of Advice at its previous meeting. There were, however, the following matters which required comment or consideration. In paragraph 7 of the Minutes: the sub-committee appointed to consider the revision of teachers salary scales etc. had issued its report, a copy of which, with a minute by the government secretary, had been published as Enclosures E and F in the Annual Report for 1936. The chief question that arose out of this report was that of teacher training.

**"Board of Advice on Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (1930-1935)." (S. 98/9 - 13)**

Summing up the aims of education, His Honour dealt with the following: character training, health, agriculture and industrial skill, the care of children and recreation. The three R's should be regarded as means to these ends and not ends in themselves. He visualised one Comprehensive Native Development Department, and for this, on the educational side, it was essential to have a Director of Education and an Inspector of Schools.

**Parsons, Q.N. (1985) "Education and Development in Colonial Botswana." (Botswana Society, Gaborone)**

Parsons wonders what other conclusion can be drawn from the colonial experience of education and development in Botswana. Perhaps the most important is that education falls into disrepair, producing mere drones with outdated knowledge and without initiative, when it is taken from the people by the state and then passed back as a 'gift' for which people must grovel. The underlying strength of the educational system, upon which Botswana has been able to build slowly but surely since independence, has been local community initiative. When a nationalist movement, that represented those local communities took power in the late 1960's there was a coincidence of local or regional and national interests. But since that date, state power has been bureaucratised at Gaborone within a powerful Ministry of Education that has at best, indirect links with local communities. If the state system of education is to flourish it must recruit local dynamism, and not dampen it by formal bureaucratic structures obsessed with budgets and statistics rather than true educational objectives. Education is not just a 'social service' dispensed to communities like a tonic medicine

by government. It is a dynamic cultural arena in which people can educate the government as such, if not more, than the government can educate the people.

(u) Books/Reports.

Thema, B.C. (1968) The Church and Education in Botswana, 19th Century.

In this book Thema looks at the input of the church in matters pertaining to education and observes that an account of the educational work of the London Missionary Society in Botswana must necessarily begin with the establishment of the Kuruman Mission Station and the work of Robert Moffat and his missionary contemporaries. Established in 1824, Kuruman had become a power house of the society's work in South Africa, training and sending out evangelistic teachers into the interior, and serving as a starting point and a refueling station for missionary journeys into the unknown. One of the earliest developments here was the setting up of a printing press, one of the most powerful agents of civilisation, and with the usual obstacles against them, the missionaries set out to provide Botswana with education for the 'Heart, Head and Hand'.

Thema, B.C. (1947) The Development of Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1840-1946. (M.A. thesis, UNISA)

"I do propose in my conclusion of this short history, not to give a list of recommendations which would, if worked upon, improve the state of education in Bechuanaland Protectorate, but rather to enumerate factors which in my opinion, are largely responsible for the present state of the Territory's educational services. No doubt some of these factors will have manifested themselves to the reader, and one of the most powerful of these factors is the political structure of the country."

Townsend C. (1985) The story of Education in Botswana. (Macmillan Botswana)

As a summary to his brief Story of Education in Botswana, Townsend Coles says that though it can be said in no uncertain terms that we can do with more from the education reserves, it has to be borne in mind that there are many claimants for a share of the national resources. What is beyond dispute is that Botswana takes education seriously, determined to ensure that all, rich and poor, male and female, urban and rural, should be given the best chance possible of enjoying a better and fuller life - Pula!

Sinclair, M. and Lillis, K. (1980) School and Community in the 3rd World. (Institute of Development Studies - Sussex.)

What emerges for policy from this review? Sinclair and Lillis present three issues: First, the need for greater clarity regarding aims and objectives or programme rationale. Second, some fairly strong conclusions regarding the alternatives in respect of innovation strategy. Third, a statement of priorities for international agencies wishing to support moves towards more relevant schooling in the Third World.

Taylor A. (ed.) Insights Into African Education: Karl W. Bigelow Memorial Lectures. (London).

"But on a more sober note I do express another hope, this time symbolised by an acronym HOPE itself and embracing what I have tried to convey to successive waves of teachers and tutors we have sent to Africa. My hope is that ATEA will continue to promote modernisation in the new nations of Africa, that is: Humane -based on civil, political and human rights; -not oppressive, exploitative, brutal or cruel. Open -based on freedom, diversity, self-government and pluralism; -not secretive, conspiratorial, confining. Peaceful -based on reason, negotiation, planning, the rule of law; -not violence, terrorism or war. Educational -through self-education to develop the potentials of all the people, so that they achieve a sturdy and stable nationhood, a satisfying modernity, genuine freedom, justice and equality, and an international comity."

(v) Journals: EDNCAFRICA.

Vol. 2 (1977) (Case study) "Leadership as a Critical Issue in Educational Administration." (pp 67-75)

The case study discusses leadership in educational administration and suggests a more condensed decision making alternative model which can be presented in one of the following forms: Firstly the principal could define the problem, feed the teachers with relevant information and seek teachers participation in the collective solution of the problem. Secondly, he could develop his own list of action alternatives identified during the problem - definition stage, speculate on consequences associated with each alternative and ask the teachers to take their choice. Or the principal might identify the problem, ask teachers to examine and recommend alternative solutions so that he could pick the most appropriate course of action. Whichever strategy the principal adopts is not for a concert, what seem crucial is the degree of effective staff participation and group commitment that the leader may have built into his decision making mechanism.

(w) Journals: PHI DELTA KAPPA.

Vol. 64:2 (82/83) Calvin, Allen D. & Keen, P. "Community Foundations for Public Schools." (pp 126-128)

Calvin, in this article discusses community support of the school. He says that the argument that the public schools do not need corporate support, because they are tax supported, appears to be losing ground. Business leaders are realizing that the vitality of their city school, like that of universities, parks, and museums reflects on overall health of their communities. Thus a number of city school systems have derived support for some of their programs from business groups and individual corporations, but the establishment of a community foundation to assist the public schools is a more recent and so far not a widespread phenomenon.

Vol. 65:3 (1983/84) Clark, David. "The Changing Structure of Federal Educational Policy in the 1980's." (pp 185-194).

The article is basically about trends relating to educational policy. Clark argues that the extent to which the Administration's view will gain strength over the next 15 to 20 years will, of course, be influenced by the results of the 1984 elections. An additional four to five years to solidify gains that have already been made by the current Administration would probably alter significantly the balance in the federal state roles in educational policy.

**Egner, Brian. The District Councils and Decentralisation.**

The above study was commissioned by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) and its basic objective inter alia was to investigate "whether the capital and recurrent funds and new manpower and training resources channelled to the district councils since 1979 have achieved the desired effect and whether the capacity constraints upon district councils have now been overcome to a sufficient extent to justify a further devolution of powers." (Revised draft Final Report to SIDA p.5) Other major aims of the study included 1. the evaluation of the situation of the district councils as of now, compared with 1978/79 (when the District Development Support Sector - DDSS, was instituted) in respect of the following:- (a) organisation, functions and available resources, (b) sources of funds for their recurrent and development budgets, (c) staff training and recruitment through MLGL and conditions of service of staff, (d) contribution of the Swedish National Institute of Civil Service Training (SIPU) in ULGS training. 2. the link between central and local government and areas of responsibility. 3. the DDSS and its role in employment creation in the rural areas. The study analyses the aspects of the district councils enumerated above in great detail and makes wide ranging recommendations summarized from pages 8 to 16 of the Revised Draft. With regard to the main thrust of the study, the author comes to the conclusion that although much remains to be done, particularly in the field of manpower development, the aims of the DDSS were achieved to a very high degree in 1985-86. This success was due to both the flexible capital funding and technical assistance support provided by SIDA and the patient good faith of government of Botswana, which provided recurrent funding and manpower to councils on a hitherto unprecedented scale in 1979-86.

**Report of the Presidential Commission on Local Government Structure in Botswana - 1979.**

The commission was entrusted with the responsibility of recommending a local government structure which, while acceptable to both the government and the people at large, would promote the basic objective of rural development, given the resource and other constraints of the economy, with maximum participation of the people at the grassroot level. With regard to the four basic institutions at the district level, namely; District Administration, Tribal Administration, District Council and Land Boards, the commission's recommendations were not a radical departure from status quo. The main body of the recommendations focussed on ways of making the institutions more effective in the pursuit of the aim of rural development. To this end, the committee made the following recommendations:- 1. Allocation of more financial and manpower resources to the districts. 2. Greater decentralisation of administrative functions of the field agents of the central government and delegation of more

responsibility to them as well as the local government agents in decision-making. 3. Enforcement by the political authority of decisions taken at the local level.

**Village Level Institutions:** The commission noted that most of the Village Development Committees were not functioning effectively. The measures proposed to ensure efficient functioning included the following:- 1. Providing them with technical and financial support. 2. Restructuring of membership and redefinition of responsibility of officers.

**Community Development:** The measures proposed were geared to improving the motivation and training of the Community Development staff and making them more aware of their role in the overall national development effort. **MLGL and the Coordination of Rural Development:** Recognising the problems of the MLGL as basically those of staffing and management rather than structure, the commission made the following recommendations:- 1. Creation of a Lands Division within the Ministry. 2. Incorporation of the Department of Local Government Audit with the Auditor General's Department. 3. Transfer of the functional control of the Unified Local Government Service Department to the Local Government Service Commission while retaining its political accountability to Parliament. 4. Elevation of the status of the Rural Development Unit in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning and its staffing with high calibre officers.

**Unified Local Government Service (ULGS); Unified Teaching Service (UTS); and the proposed Unified Nursing Service (UNS):** The commission endorsed the retention of the ULGS and UTS as well as the creation of the UNS. The recommendations which were made in these areas were basically concerned with the ULGS; they related to the organisational changes at the ULGS headquarters and were designed to place the control of the ULGS substantially in the hands of local authority representatives rather than the MLGL.

**Conclusion:** The remainder of the recommendations related to concrete measures to improve the manpower situation and financial management and accountability in the local government.

IEES POLICY RESEARCH INITIATIVE  
STRENGTHENING LOCAL EDUCATION CAPACITY  
THROUGH COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

BOTSWANA

PHASE II PROPOSAL

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## INTRODUCTION

Over recent years, in many less-developed countries significant growth in central budget expenditure in the education sector have been accompanied by little evidence of comparable growth in system effectiveness. Evidence from many LDC's indicates that overall education budgets have grown, but in many instances, per pupil expenditure have actually declined. Due to increasing demands on often severely limited national resources, human and financial, it is becoming increasingly important that central governments identify areas where there is an existing, or potential, local capacity to absorb what may be additional responsibilities for the support of educational activities.

What is frequently observed in education, as in other public sectors of the economy of many developing countries, is a situation that reflects an increasing inability of centralized administrations to sufficiently meet the expanding needs and expectations of citizens. To be able to provide the services and facilities that are in demand, it may be necessary and desirable for governments to increase the level of community participation in varying levels of educational governance, and in so doing, move to expand the current, often inadequate, resource base for educational services. For countries that are experiencing a shortfall in fiscal capacity to meet the growth in demand for educational services, the problem of identifying appropriate alternative sources of financial and material support is becoming critical. Of particular interest to both the donor community and recipient countries is the identification of what may be considered non-traditional methods of enlisting local assistance to support instructional activities, rather than the more familiar, clearly defined monetary contributions (fees, education taxes, etc) although it is recognised that these remain the financial foundation of the system.

There is evidence to suggest that education expenditures can be better controlled and even reduced by making school systems more cost effective. Several policy options are employed toward this goal: One is for governments to share the financial and administrative costs of education with local communities, private agencies, religious organizations and individual families. Others include full-cost recovery, selective scholarships and the privarization of education. However, the latter options are likely to be politically unviable and socially unacceptable especially where governments have already introduced or advanced policies intended to provide free education to all citizens.

Most governments in LDC's have, often understandably, burdened themselves by carrying the cost of education alone. This measure has often resulted in private resources either being under-utilized or completely untapped. Indeed in some countries private investment in education has been precluded by legislation.

### A Brief Historical Perspective

At the time of Independence, Botswana was one of the world's poorest economies. By the 1970's it had emerged as one of the few countries experiencing rapid economic growth. The economy, paralleled only by those of oil-exporting countries, was transformed by a combination mainly of the mining of rich diamond deposits; copper, nickel and coal production and favourable rainfalls that improved agriculture. Continued support from international organizations and foreign governments sympathetic to Botswana's political ideals in the context of the turbulent geo-political atmosphere of the Southern African region was also critical to continued growth. Botswana's economic growth has taken place in an environment of acute shortage of skilled and trained personnel. At the time of independence there were only a handful of people with University degrees (Halpern, 1965, Stevens, 1967). Fortunately, the engine of the economy, diamond mining, proved modest in its demand for skilled manpower. Nevertheless, by the late 1970's the shortage of skilled manpower proved to be a serious handicap to project implementation in both the public and private sectors. (National Development Plan, 1976-81).

It was against the background of a predominantly illiterate society that Botswana's government gave priority not only to educational development in general but production of skilled manpower in particular. This meant an education policy which emphasised secondary education for the few. Concerns with immediate needs of skilled manpower for localising the economy do not in the context of limited educational resources augur well for social harmony which is a tenet of Botswana's political system. The provision of, or emphasis on higher education, in a society where 80% of the population is illiterate is, of course, also contradictory to the goals of equity, national unity and social justice.

Given the high cost of education and the declining national resources at the disposal of central government (National Development Plan), government has evolved a policy of partnership to share the financing and management of Community Junior Secondary Schools with other stakeholders in the education system. The policy which was defined in the early 1980s and was clarified in the current 1985 - 1991

National Development Plan has the objective of making Junior Secondary education available to at least 70% of primary school graduates by 1991.

Government undertakes the larger share of CJSS construction, provision and payment of teachers, while the community helps in the selection and provision of the school site, construction of teachers' quarters, and payment of supportive services. The impact of this arrangement on educational expenditures is not as yet fully known. Moreover, the acceptability of this arrangement to the communities has not yet been assessed. Preliminary observations indicate that most communities are willing to contribute to the construction of a school, but not to be involved in the cooperative management and continuous payment of salaries, etc.

An analysis of the history of Botswana's educational policy reveals a fluctuation between emphasis on primary education and secondary and higher education. Indeed, the current policy which has made an attempt to come to terms with this contradiction has as its origin the findings and recommendations of the National Education Commission (NCE) of 1977. Current education policy emphasizes a nine year basic education for the majority of children. However, the most relevant aspects of the Commission's report to the present study are not only that it paved the way for the policy of decentralized educational finance and administration, but that it laid emphasis on the need for more government control of the school system. Thus while not discounting communities ability to finance and manage schools the Commission urged that central government gradually bring Community Junior Secondary School (CJSS) of the 1970's under its control. (Education for Kaçiso Report, 1977)

The provision of schooling to the majority of children requires substantial investment. In Botswana the burden of providing education to the nation has to date remained mainly the responsibility of government. Non-public contributions to educational development have been decreasing over recent years. Government subsidy for a student has increased from P40.00 (\$24) in the late 1970's to P80.00 in the mid 1980's. The rise in public expenditure on education is clearly reflected in government's recurrent budget. In the 1970's the proportion of education recurrent expenditure to total government recurrent budget was 17%. In the 1980's it is 23%, and is projected to increase to 27% by 1991. Meanwhile, the national annual rate of growth is projected to decline from an average of 12% in the 1970's to 5.8% in the period 1980 to 1990 (N.D.P. 1985-91).

## **RATIONALE FOR THE PROPOSED STUDY**

Although Botswana has a history of community support in educational development, documented information on this subject is scarce. There has been a tendency among policy makers and politicians to romanticize past community support of development projects in Botswana, whereas, in fact, little is known about the extent, mechanisms, and regional disparities in community participation at the various levels of the education system. Thus, it would seem imperative that for future planning government planners and policy makers be provided with data that will encourage a more comprehensive understanding of both communities ability and willingness to invest in education, and their expectations concerning returns on those investments.

## **PROJECT GOALS AND OBJECTIVES**

The overall goal of the Strengthening of Local Education Capacity Through Community Involvement Study is to provide relevant data, background information, an analyses of community participation, and a series of subsequent policy recommendations. It is intended that the study be available to policy makers in the relevant ministries so that they can select and implement appropriate strategies to develop local capacity to support education activities in the country.

The more specific objectives of the study are as follows:

### **a) Resource Constraint**

A review of literature on community participation revealed that a knowledge of the availability of resources from various sources will be a critical factor in the successful implementation of Government's partnership policy. Unless it is clear to policy makers what resources are available, and the extent to which those resources are renewable, community participation policies are likely to remain unfeasible.

The first objective of the study is to determine the amount, types and sustainability of resources that are available from the five main sources identified in Phase I of the study; government, local community, private agencies and religious organizations and individual families.

## b) Policy Issues

To the extent that the availability of resources constitute a necessary but not sufficient condition for achieving improvement in the quality of the school system, the study will investigate other constraints on the quality of education. One such important constraint is management quality. (We employ this term in a wider sense, intending to incorporate not only the adequacy and quality of educational management, but also the educational policy making and implementation process.)

The second objective of the study is to assess, analyse and establish the extent to which policies on improving education management are relevant, effective and implementable.

## c) Ineffectiveness of the Educational System

A third important constraint on improvement in the educational system relates to the efficiency of the system itself. An improved educational system, though desirable for its own sake from the standpoint of the individual, is even more desirable in terms of its contribution in addressing the problems of mass poverty, unemployment and underemployment as well as gross inequalities which are common features of most less developed countries.

The third objective of the study is to identify inefficiencies within the school system, as perceived by the communities, as they impact on elements of that system.

## d) Provide a forum for educational policy debate

One of the clear constraints to improving educational policy making and implementation that was identified in Phase I of this study is lack of, or inadequate flow of, policy related information to those who are in a position to use it. To date, very few communities in the country are aware of the Partnership Policy. Many heard about it for the first time during the Phase I interviews. Clearly, there is need for more consultation and public debate on education matters. Occasional visits by Ministry or Senior Government officials are not sufficient to provide a forum for discussion among the various stakeholders in the education system.

The fourth objective of the study is to determine appropriate mechanisms through which Government and other stakeholders can debate matters related to educational policy.

## PRODUCTS

Several products will be produced during and after this phase of the project.

Intermediate products of Phase II will include;

- Phase II proposal, that contains a statement of the problem, policy issues, research questions, recommended research procedures and a comprehensive budget that addresses activities planned for the remainder of the project.
- A framework of Opportunities/Investment patterns for the above analysis of community participation.
- A series of monthly budget reports, Quarterly research activity reports and a mid-project report. (A full schedule of reporting activities is appended to this proposal)

Final products of Phase II will include;

- A Final Report
- A series of policy recommendations addressing the strengthening of local education capacity through community involvement
- Policy recommendations for SLEC in developing nations.

## OUTCOMES

A major purpose of the IEES Policy Research Initiative of which SLEC is part, is to improve the capacities of research institutions in IEES host-countries. As a result of participating in the initiative, it is anticipated that individual competencies and institutional capabilities will improve in these areas;

- Policy research design
- Data collection
- Data analysis
- Report preparation
- Policy analysis
- Project management
- Collaboration in cross-national research activities

## POLICY ISSUES

If the problem facing the government is how to most efficiently and effectively take advantage of existing and/or potential local capacity to support educational services given current fiscal constraints, then the major policy issues revolve around the alternative institutional considerations and adjustments necessary to implement the policy options. In other words: What alternative forms of community and local support, monetary and non-monetary, are

available? How successful have these alternatives been or how successful are they likely to be? Under what institutional and "local" conditions are successes attained?

The Botswana government policy on encouraging community support for education has been clear and consistent. In addition to general objectives of self-help and self-reliance, the current national Development Plan 1985-91 states that:

" The cooperation between local communities and the Ministry of Education will be improved with the aims of increased participation in planning and decision making by PTA's, local school boards and other institutions."(pp )

However, as Swartland and Taylor (1986) observed, there are problems facing the implementation of this policy at both the central government and community levels. Some of these problems are: What to do with unqualified but long serving teachers as younger qualified staff become available? How to work with some boards of governors, where members may be inexperienced, ineffective, or dominated by political individuals? How to deal with the problem of insufficient numbers of children in school catchment area without having to revert to an expensive boarding school system?

There are also concerns regarding the increasing extent of government involvement in schools that were established by communities. "What was originally seen as government support for the community initiative is fast becoming a government programme with community support." (Swartland and Taylor, 1986, pp ).

However, moves toward facilitating the mobilization of local resources, regardless of their form, will certainly require substantial political and/or institutional change. Therefore in order that meaningful discussion may take place, and alternative policy options developed, it is necessary that at the initial stages the current status of community and private participation be clearly articulated. It is also vital for a more comprehensive understanding of potential participation that the nature and effectiveness of existing examples be documented.

Succinctly put Phase II of the study will focus on two sets of variables that impact on aspects of strengthening local capacity to support education services, constraints and opportunities.

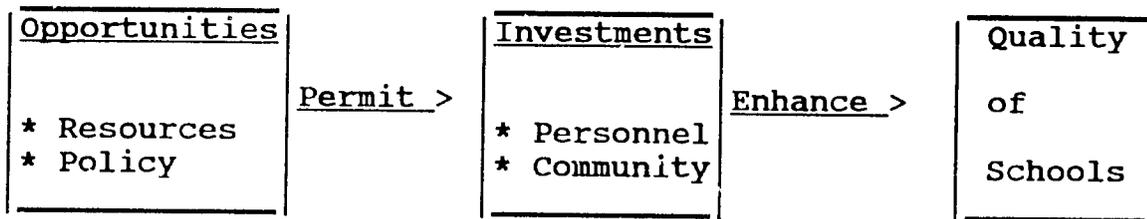
Constraints - Regulations, rules and traditions, among other policy pronouncements, which constrain regional, local, community, or private participation in the support or supply of educational services.

Opportunities - Existing and potential areas where decentralized authority for selected educational decision-making can result in increased community responsibility for the provision of resources for education.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In order to focus and sharpen the analysis in this research, the study proposes to employ the simple model shown in the display, called the opportunities/investment model of participation. The model is dependent on a number of assumptions about community behaviour toward factors within and external to the community. One key assumption is that the community would choose to behave rationally, i.e. to maximize the returns to the community in the form of quality education in the area, if opportunities to engage its energies/efforts/resources are available.

**Exhibit: Opportunities/Investment Model of Community Participation**



Negative factors in the form of disincentives (such as disadvantageous admissions policies, etc.) will thus reduce community investment, while incentives (such as a curriculum programme that encourages student assistance to community projects, etc.) will increase it. In this context, development projects are attempts to increase the opportunities for individuals, institutions, or communities to invest for their enhancement. One of the intents of this study is to better understand the dynamics of community investment in order to evaluate standing policies and suggest other options for policy-makers. The general rationale being that a community will influence the quality of its local school to the extent that its inhabitants are investing their own resources of time, energy, and funds in what they see as opportunities for economic, social, and political improvements that are available to them. (Interviews with Lehututu community, July, 1987.)

Two kinds of constraints will be investigated; policy and regulatory statements which set parameters on potential investment, and resource availability that sets limits on those investments. As already indicated, policies on local participation in the school can act as both an incentive and disincentive to community investment in education. Encouragement, advice, and participation in local community activities, can be incentives to the identification of opportunities for increased community participation. On the other hand, a decentralization policy viewed as restructuring exercise may curtail local community interest in the area school. The study will examine existing policy incentives and disincentives to local participation.

An hypothesis which will be investigated within this study is: Increased participation in a school by a community will improve the school. Community investments may be indexed by such variables as the amount of input the community has in school management (where the opportunity may be constrained by Headmaster's Regulations, for example), the community's role in school funding, parent-school interaction structures, use of students in community projects, number of parents and time spent in the service of the school, and number of meetings of board of governors and PTA.

Quality of schooling is a complex concept. Some effort in this study will be given to the assessment of the multifaceted quality of schooling, i.e. teacher quality, facility quality, materials quality, etc. This work will be carried out in concert with the Evaluation Task Force of the Ministry of Education. Hopefully, their data will be useful in the development of these important criteria. Statistical analyses may then yield the impact of certain policy and resource areas on investment and subsequent quality in the local schooling.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall objective of the project is to identify specific areas in which there is evidence that local and/or private participation in the provision of educational services has led to or has the potential of leading to a determinable increase in the quality of those services. Structuring this intention within the framework outlined above, eight primary research questions (or blocks of questions) will be addressed:

1. Are there specific, identifiable regional, local, or community (non-national) related factors (because opportunities should differ around the country) that contribute significantly to an increase in community

participation (which is deemed an investment toward the objective of enhanced school quality)?

2. What policies encourage such participation and what policies discourage it? And, are there areas of current policy which need revision as they are viewed as interfering with school operations, i.e. negatively affect school quality?
3. What resources in the community are available for continued investment in the schools? Are these renewable, and at what rate?
4. What types of community investment prove most effective, and what are the communities' investment and expenditure patterns?
5. To what extent does social stratification, level of literacy and geographical location of community encourage or discourage participation in education development?
6. Are there attitudes - official and semi-official - which discourage or promote community participation in educational development?
7. How can the coordination and dissemination of information within the educational system be improved?
8. What forums exist for current and future policy review debate?

#### LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The most critical constraint to the study may be the impact of forthcoming (announced in February, 1987) free education legislation. However, as yet, little is known as to exactly what such a change of policy may involve, nor of how it might impact on the Partnership Policy, although at present the latter appears to be contradictory to what may be a free education policy.

#### METHODOLOGY

The study of Strengthening Local Education Support Capacity is primarily a policy oriented analytical one. It is designed to identify various factors that may promote or inhibit policy making and implementation such as the availability or lack of resources, attitudes of different groups and persons involved and skills necessary not only to accept but bring about innovation in the educational system. Having undertaken an extensive review of archival, library

and policy literature and having conducted limited interviews in cities and villages around the country, the next phase will concentrate on the collection of data from the field.

The following sections describe different stages of data collection and analysis:

### Unit of Analysis and Selection of Respondents

The household (settlement unit) has been selected as the unit of analysis. A household, for the purposes of this study, is determined as that group of people that eat from the same pot and use their earnings collectively. The head of household will be interviewed from every selected household.

### Proposed sampling Procedure

Nine towns and villages have been tentatively selected as field sites for Phase II. In each of these areas a cross section of the community will be sampled for interviews and meetings. A stratified random sampling technique was employed to identify the nine communities. Stratification was based upon the following variables.

- Geographic location
- Population size
- Existence of a CJSS, and the school's age
- Cultural and political disparities

During the limited interviews conducted during Phase I there was an indication that the size and location of an area seemed to influence the attitudes of the community toward the school. Participation was highest in small and medium size villages, less in large villages such as Kanye and Molepolole, and almost non-existent in a city like Gaborone. If this is the case, this observation will go a considerable way toward explaining attitudes and behaviour of communities occupying different parts of Botswana.

The size of a community's population is considered a reasonable measure of its resource base. Thus, it is important for purposes of representativeness that communities of varying population size are selected. Moreover, too many schools in one large village may put stress on poorer households when they are required to contribute toward all schools.

In selecting field sites it is important that questions are asked to people who are aware of the types of schools that are in their area. It is also necessary that the school should have been in existence for at least a year. This point was taken into consideration in the selection of fields sites.

Botswana society has many ethnic communities with varied cultural backgrounds and political affiliations. The majority of the ethnically different groups are in the minority but diversity and influence in different regions cannot be underestimated (most minority groups belong to opposition parties).

#### Communities Included in the Sample

Place	Description	Population (1985)
Gaborone	Capital City	87,346
Francistown	Oldest City	37,759
Serowe, Central District	One of the largest villages	31,010
Kanye, Southern District	One of the largest villages	24,570
Molepolole, Kweneng District	One of the largest villages	25,000
Sikwane, Kgatleng District	Small village	1,090*
Kang, Kgalagadi District	A remote village District	1,684*
Gumare, North West District	A remote small village	1,794*
Goodhope, Southern District	A sub-district representing a relatively well off community of the Barolong in the South	1,841*

\* Drawn from 1981 Census data.

For the towns and large villages, enumeration areas derived from the 1981 census delimitations will be selected randomly. In each enumeration area houses will be selected following a systematic random sampling (houses have already

been numbered by the census office). A probability proportionate to size (PPS) technique will be employed to determine the total number of heads of household to be interviewed in each village or town.

### Data Collection

Approximately 1,400 heads of household will be interviewed. An additional 150 responses will be selected from appropriate central government department's officers, local authority personnel, politicians and teachers. Data will be gathered that addresses the following areas:

- Socioeconomic status of households Measured in Botswana by the total number of cattle owned/controlled, number of crops produced a year (estimated by the no. of 70kg bags harvested), wage/salary income, income from businesses, ownership of transport and draught power facilities, etc.
- Methods and degree of participation in school support activities Financial contribution to construction, brick moulding (labor), firewood provision etc.
- Involvement/investment in other development activities Community investment in livestock development projects (such as syndicate boreholes, dipping, fencing, etc.). Community contribution to the construction fo primary schools, clinics, kgotla, etc.
- Attitudes towards CJSS Identification of factors that influence attitudes toward CJSS, e.g. lack of adequate information, exam results, teacher's behavior, facilities, etc.
- Knowledge of education policies Differences in attitudes toward CJSS
- School profile School relationship with the community
- Teacher and school management attitudes toward community participation in education support activities.
- The role of religious and private sector organizations.
- Identifiable policy constraints.  
Stakeholders perceptions of policy constraints in CJSS partnership.

### Instrument Development and Pilot Testing

Most of the data used in Phase II will be collected in the field. This data will be gathered using different techniques, including questionnaires, interviews and direct observational methods. There will also be some limited group meetings of school governors, teachers and local authorities. Attention will continue to be paid to archival

and media data, especially where references have been provided by respondents in the field.

The main instrument of the study will be the interview schedule. This will be structured such that questions requiring quantitative data will be pre-coded. This will include the questions on income, livestock and crop data. Those items designed to measure opinions and attitudes will be open ended.

Pilot testing of the instruments to be used has been tentatively arranged to take place during early January, 1988. It is anticipated that a pilot sample of about 150 persons will be drawn from the communities of Lobatse, Ramotswa and Mochudi. The data and modes of response will be analyzed and the necessary adjustments made to the instruments before the main body of the field work begins. In addition teacher questionnaires will be pre-tested in Gaborone and Gabane.

#### Data Analysis

Data will be coded and entered into computers at the University of Botswana. Appropriate statistical analyses will be performed to identify the extent of relationships between variables.

A series of descriptive charts and tables will be developed to illustrate the major findings of the study. From these, conclusions will be drawn and a series of relevant policy recommendations prepared.

#### PROPOSED MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

The overall management structure for the Strengthening Local Support Project is shown in the display. The Country Team Leader (CTL) has the responsibility for managing the project with the assistance and advice of the University of Botswana, the Advisory Committee and the IEES Project Team Leader. One Research Associate will assist the Country Team Leader as required during Phase II of the SLEC project. Additional research staff will also be employed as required (see project time frame).

#### Country Team Leader (CTL)

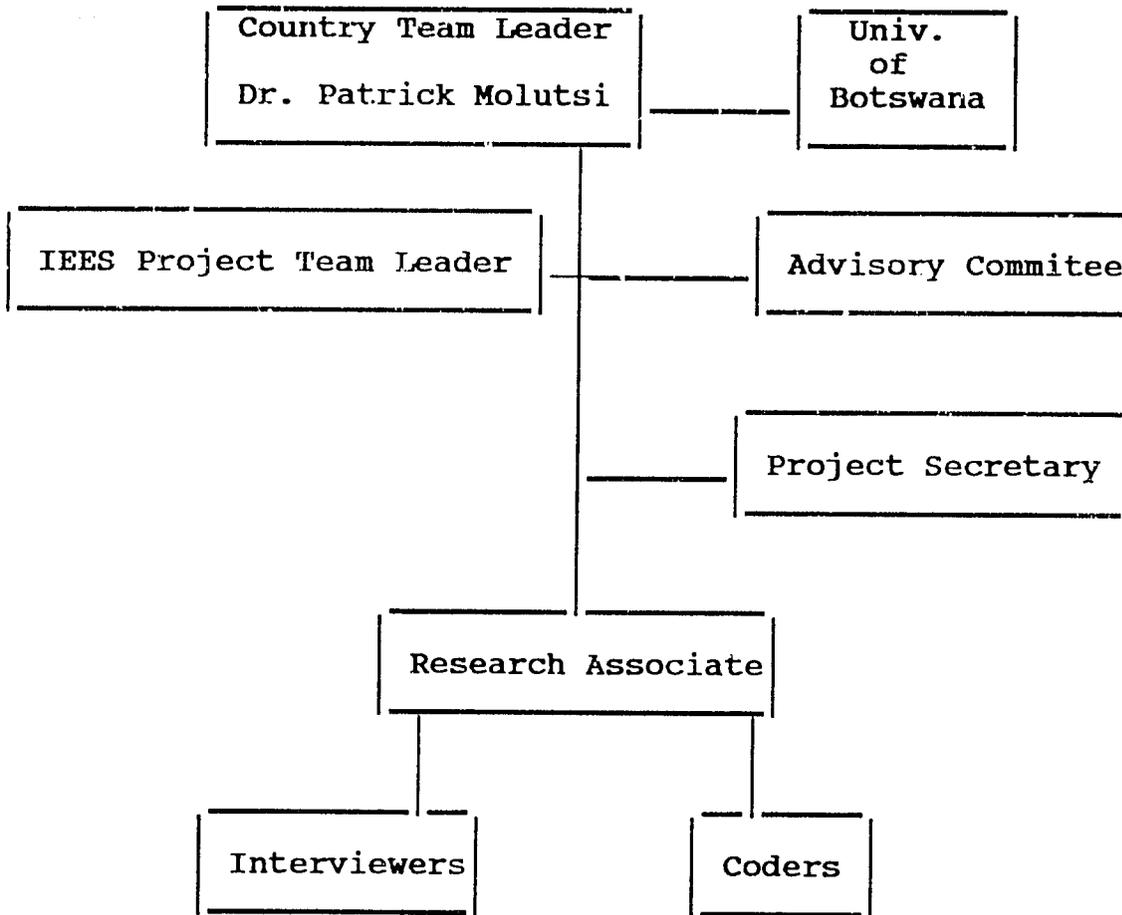
CTL: Dr. Patrick Molutsi - as the manager of the project will be actively involved throughout the project, and be responsible to IEES for correct project management. He will also,

- Recruit personnel, prepare job descriptions, and monitor personnel performance
- Actively participate in the research activity and the preparation of all required reports
- Conduct interviews
- Identify, select and maintain contact with decision makers in the Ministries of Education, Finance and Planning and other appropriate organisations whose support and input are essential to the SLEC study
- Prepare the intermediate and final reports
- Organize the national conference.
- Report findings to relevant national and IEES personnel.
- Maintain all necessary financial records and submit receipts and vouchers at specified intervals to IEES.

#### IEES Project Team Leader (PTL)

The PTL will provide technical and professional advice to the Botswana Project Staff. The IEES PTL will visit Botswana periodically to review the progress and to provide suitable inputs on professional and technical aspects and, articulate IEES interests and expectations. He will also provide reference materials and guidance related to the research design, instrument construction, data analysis and report preparation.

## MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE



### Project Advisory Committee (AC)

Due to the potential national impact and the complexity of the project, an AC has been formed to represent different stakeholders, decision makers and research community. During the life of the project, members of the AC will be expected to provide advice and suggestions on various aspects of the research. However, they will not control the project, as this will be the responsibility of the CTL. Nevertheless, it is anticipated that the AC members will play an important role in the dissemination of the recommendations of the project.

The AC consists of eight members:

Ministry of Education (2), Ministry of Local Government and lands (1), Faculty of Education - University of Botswana (1), National Institute for Research(2), Headmasters and Board of Governors (2). The committee will meet regularly (3 times) during the second phase of the project.

### Research Associate

Mr. Kobi Osafo-Gyimah, Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Botswana, has been tentatively identified as Research Associate. It is anticipated that he will work in this capacity for sixteen months on a half time basis. The Research Associate is expected to perform at least the following functions,

- Develop the criteria for the selection of the interviewers
- Prepare appropriate training materials and train interviewers
- Supervise the pilot testing and ammend interview items on the basis of the pilot tests
- Develop guidelines for conducting the interviews
- Arrange logistical support for the interviewers
- Develop a time-table for administering the interviews.
- Monitor and supervise data collection in the field
- Collect all completed interviews.
- Prepare a report describing the training, pilot testing, and interviewing processes, highlighting any difficulties that may affect the reliability and validity of the data collected.
- Assist in the data analysis and final report preparation

### Additional Staff

Six research assistants will be engaged for specified days over a period of five months. The assistants will accompany both the CTL and Research Associate during field trips. Research Assistants will, when necessary, be required to assist the project secretary. They will also be required to complete the coding of the data collected.

A project secretary will be employed by the project for sixteen months on a part-time basis. The secretary's duties will include responsibility for the preparation of letters, reports, questionnaires, photocopying and filing.

**PROPOSED BUDGET**

**Personnel**

	U.S.\$
* Country Team Leader (16 Mths. x \$550 p.m)	8,800
* Research Associate (" " \$495 p.m)	7,920
(*Personal Service Contracts)	
Secretary (16 Mths. x \$240 p.m)	3,840
6 Research Assistants (24 days x \$12p.d.)	1,728
	sub-total 22,288
<b>Advisory Committee</b>	
8 persons x 3 meetings (8x3x\$25per meet.)	600
Refreshments (3x20)	60
	sub-total 660
<b>Materials and Supplies Computer Rental, P1.50 p.hr. (16</b>	
mths. x \$36) 576	
Materials (16 mths. x \$21)	336
Documents and Maps	50
	sub-total 962
<b>In - Country Travel 40,000 k.m x \$0.125</b>	
5000	
Bus/Taxi	200
Per Diem:	
CTL + Research Associate (40 days x \$50)	2000
Research Assistants (6 x 15 days x \$15)	1350
Non-Overnight Meal Allowances	
(8 x 15 x \$7.20)	864
	sub-total 9414
<b>Duplication</b>	
Questionnaires (1600 x 5pg x 10t) P	800
Reports (240 x 5pg x 10t)	120
Minutes (5 x 10pg x 10t)	5
Seminar papers (12 x 25pg x 10t)	25
Monthly Reports(16 x 30pg x 10t)	48
Final Reports (15 x 100pg x 10t)	<u>150</u>
	P1148
	sub-total 688
<b>Communication</b>	
DHL (16 x \$36 p.m.)	576
Telex (16 x \$27 p.m.)	432
Telephone (16 x \$10 p.m.)	160
Mailings (16 x \$15 p.m.)	240
	sub-total 1408

Workshop (National Seminars)		
Accommodation	(10 persons x 2 days x \$65)	1300
Meal Allowances	(30 persons x 2 days x \$15)	900
Conference Room		50
Travel	(10 persons x 20)	200
	sub-total	2450
	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$37,870</b>
Contingency	(Approximately 3%)	1,130
	<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>----- \$39,000 -----</b>

Basic Activity Plan 1 November, 1987 - 31 October, 1988

DATES	ACTIVITIES	DELIVERABLES
<p>Each month activities will include project management, and each month a Monthly Budget Report will be sent to Albany, to arrive not later than the 7th of the following month.</p>		
Nov - Dec 87	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Finalize Status Report</li> <li>2. Develop interview protocol</li> <li>3. Complete Phase II Proposal</li> <li>4. Design and pretest instrument</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Status Report and Phase II Proposal - Due in Albany in Final Form: 12/7/87 Must include annotated bibliography, glossary of terms and Exec Summary</li> </ol>
Jan - Feb 88	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mapping and visiting selected sights</li> <li>2. Instrument modification</li> <li>3. Design coding scheme</li> <li>4. Train assistants</li> <li>5. Field work begins</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. All interview protocols: 2/7/88</li> <li>2. First Quarterly Report: 2/7/88 to include instruments</li> </ol>
March - April 88	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Continued site development</li> <li>2. Field work continues</li> <li>3. Data entry begins</li> </ol>	
May - June 88	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Field work continues</li> <li>2. Data entry continues PTL Visit: app. 6/6/88</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Second Quarterly Report: 5/7/88</li> </ol>
July - August 88	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Close down field work</li> <li>2. Data entry continues</li> <li>3. Data analysis begins</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Third Quarterly Report: 8/7/88</li> </ol>
Sept - Oct 88	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Data analysis continues</li> <li>2. Final Report Preparation</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fourth Quarterly Report: 11/7/88</li> </ol>