

POLICY RESEARCH INITIATIVE

Botswana

**Strengthening Local
Education Capacity**

Final Report

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~~March 1988~~

IEES

Improving the
Efficiency of
Educational
Systems

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Botswana

Strengthening Local Education Capacity

Final Report

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INTRODUCTION

The search for educational resources is a pressing one. Rapidly growing populations with a preponderance of young people in the context of falling economic rates of growth, especially in developing countries call for identification of practical strategies which will provide a sustainable resource base for educational development. Recent trends in developing and developed countries alike show reducing expenditure on education. Against expansions in enrollments, reduction in educational budgets have had detrimental effects on quality and equity in schools.

Traditionally, all over the world, parents, communities, religious organizations and the private sector have contributed to education. They have built schools, supported and managed them on long-term basis. Indeed, in many colonies education was for several decades, largely community financed (Commonwealth Workshop Papers on Community Finance, Gaborone, 1985). Of course, the community and private organizations effort in this endeavor have not been without problems. In many cases there have been serious problems of poor quality and limited access necessitated by the lack of resources, poor facilities, poor management, shortages of qualified teachers and administrators (B.C. Thema, 1947; J. Halpern, 1965 in the case of Bechuanaland Protectorate).

In the forty years following the end of the Second World War, under relatively prosperous economic conditions, many governments, even those heavily reliant on foreign aid such as those in the developing countries, made substantial increases to their education budgets. Indeed, in some cases central government finance in education almost eliminated the need for community contribution. Immediately after the costly war and depressed economic conditions, investment on human capital, as investment on education came to be called, was understandable. For most developing countries emerging from the degraded and underdeveloped conditions of colonialism, the role of central government in educational development was not a matter of choice. The need to train, develop and educate indigenous people to occupy decision making positions in the new administration was a matter of survival for the new state. Without such local expertise colonialism was going to continue under a new guise.

However, forty years later, at present, many governments are facing a dilemma from their earlier actions. Demand for education and jobs is enormous. Central government revenues are shrinking for various reasons. Consequently, some governments have gone back to the communities, religious organizations and the private sector asking them to provide part of the cost for education. These costs include tuition fees, books, school construction, management and any other expenses incurred in the school organization. However, to involve communities in a sustained way has not been an easy job. There is need for a well negotiated program, legislation, and clearly defined roles for each participant.

Some governments have found that while they need resources from outside the central government, it is not administratively, professionally, or even politically viable to involve communities and the private sector extensively in the management of schools (Bray, 1985). These concerns have thus retarded progress in the search for funds for education in such countries. Others have found that communities are in fact important assets which can be used to improve the efficiency of the education system, reduce the costs without much loss in quality.

Botswana has since the early 1970s enjoyed unusually prosperous economic conditions. Revenue for central government more than tripled between 1970 and 1985. Under this situation and given the gross underdevelopment of the country's human resources during the colonial period, the central government has been investing heavily in education. In the process central government involvement has diminished the contribution of the community and other nongovernmental sectors to education. In the long-term however, it is evident that, even in prosperous Botswana, central government resources will in future not be available to pay for the rising costs of education. Beginning in the early 1990s central government revenue will fall relative to the earlier period (National Development Plan, 1985-91).

Recognizing both the long-term need for diversification of educational resources and the value of democratizing and decentralizing the rapidly expanding education system, in 1984 the government introduced a policy on educational decentralization known as the Partnership. The policy is specifically about finance and management of newly introduced Community Junior Secondary Schools (CJSS). It defines the roles of the central government, communities and any other organizations interested in education. In contrast to the current practice, the policy introduces new attitudes, roles, perceptions and structures in these new schools. In light of the far reaching implications of this policy on the school system, in March 1987, the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) commissioned a two year study on the viability of this policy. The study was to assess the community resource base, identify methods of community participation, assess the flow of information between the Ministry of Education and the schools, government and communities, and the school and community. Above all, the study was to address the issue of manpower requirements for the Ministry under the new policy and in light of the expanding education system.

This report is the second product of the said study. The first report based largely on the review of literature on community participation was presented in a workshop in August 1987 and later published under the auspices of the Improving the Efficiency of Education Systems (IEES) Project in May 1988. The first phase concentrated on the review of literature on community participation in the financing and management of education. Although the review was more tailored towards Botswana, comparative literature from other African, developing and developed countries was also used to establish both the major issues and trends in community/private sector involvement in educational development. Some limited interviews with headmasters, teachers, members of the school boards of governors as well as key officers at the Ministry of Education were conducted during this phase. The phase rounded up in August 1987 with a workshop which saw the production of a report containing the following documents:

- (i) The status report – essentially a summary of what the literature says about community participation. Also covered is a preliminary analysis of Botswana's Partnership Policy which purports to decentralize part of the management duties and jointly finance Community Junior Secondary School (CJSS) education between government and local communities.
- (ii) An annotated bibliography – a chapter summarizing what sources are available on community participation and what they say about it. The section also provides a guide to the reader on the location of these sources.
- (iii) The third and most relevant document in phase I report is the proposal for phase II study. That is, on the basis of both literature review, the limited interviews conducted during this phase and the deliberations of the workshop, it became necessary to revise the initial proposal with the aim to sharpen its objectives. The present report is based on the interviews and data collection conducted between August 1987 and December 1988. Some of the background history and descriptive details can be found in the phase I report and will not be repeated here in any detail. The methods of the study are presented in chapter three, the findings in chapter four and chapter five presents the implications of the findings and six the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

The literature review conducted in the first phase of this study showed that Botswana like other former colonies, for a long time relied on communities and missions to provide for the construction and management of schools (B.C. Thema, 1947; E.S. Munger, 1965). During the colonial period, the chief or a community leader was an important source of inspiration and mobilization educational development in his community (M. Benson, 1960 on the role of Tshekedi Khama). However, the community and mission constructed and financed schools in this country experienced enormous problems throughout the colonial period. Among such problems were the shortage of qualified teachers, poor facilities, poor management and the general inadequacy of local resources for educational development. The thirst for education nevertheless propelled many communities to invest their limited resources on education. In retrospect and in economic terms, community efforts will appear wasteful. The incredibly high failure and dropout rates raise serious questions about the school system then. Indeed, in spite of relatively improved educational resources since 1938, Botswana was counted among the least literate societies in the world at the time of her independence (Halpern, 1965; Munger, 1965). The lack of qualified indigenous personnel at independence closely defined the country's post colonial education policy. The central government's policy became that of rapid expansion and quick turn out of qualified locals who could replace the expatriate dominated civil service (Colclough & McCarthy, 1980). Under this policy, issues of equity, popular participation and relevance of curriculum were relegated to the lower levels in the rug of priorities. The results of immediate post independence policy are vividly shown in table 1:

ENROLLMENTS

TABLE 1

The Growth of Enrollments in the Education and Training System 1965-75

<u>Primary Education</u>		
Pop-aged 5-14	140,000 ⁽¹⁾	185,000
Primary Enrolment	66,061	116,293
% of age group	47.2%	62.9%
<u>Secondary & Post-Primary Education</u>		
Pop-aged 15-19	54,000 ⁽¹⁾	67,000
Secondary Enrolments ⁽²⁾	1,307	9,917
Teacher Training	276	489
Technical Training	50 ⁽³⁾	1,276
Agricultural Training	-139	
Nursing Training	56 ⁽³⁾	327
Total Enrolled	168	12147
% of Age Group	3.1	18.1
<u>Higher Education & Post-Secondary Training</u>		
Pop-aged 20-24	46,000 ⁽⁴⁾	55,000
Total Enrolled	83	543
% of Age Group	0.2	1.0

Source: Colclough, et al, 1980, p.213.

As Table 1 indicates, the primary enrollment increased from 66,061 to 116,293 implying an annual growth rate of 5.8% over the decade. This represents an increase in the proportion of primary enrollment in age group from 47.2% to 62.9%. The developments in the secondary and postprimary training enrollments are even more striking and clearly reflect the thrust of educational policy in the decade. Here the total enrollment increased from 1,683 to 12,147 implying a growth rate of 21.9% per annum over the period; the ratio of total enrollment to total age population rose from 3.1 to 18.1 which is quite phenomenal.

The secondary school enrollment component grew by almost 25% per annum if we take account of part-time students in private secondary institutions (see Table 2, 5th row); the corresponding figure for Teacher Training enrollment component was about 6% p.a. Higher education and post secondary training enrollment grew by 20.5% p.a. despite the almost insignificant change in the age group enrollment from 0.2% to 1%.

Number of Teachers & Schools

Other indicators of change in the school system are the number of teachers and schools. As Table 2 shows, in the decade under consideration, the number of primary school teachers increased from 1,657 to 3,509 while the number of primary schools rose from 247 to 323 (government schools only); the corresponding annual growth rates are 7.8% and 2.7%, respectively.

The expansion in the number of primary schools was understandably rather slow owing to both the capital and recurrent expenditures involved. With regard to growth in secondary schools and teachers, the expansion is again a reflection of the priority accorded that sector in the decade. The number of schools increased from 9 to 29 while the number of teachers rose from 66 to 570; the corresponding annual growth rates are 12.4% and 24.1% respectively.

TABLE 2

Expansion in Enrollment, Schools & Teachers, 1965-75, 1975-87

	1965	1975	P.A. Growth %	1975	1987	P.A. Growth %
<u>Primary Sch.</u>						
Enl.mnt.	66,061	116,293	5.8	116,293	248,923	6.5
T:hrs.	1651	3509	7.8	3509	7704	6.8
Schs.	247	323	2.7	323	557	4.6
<u>Secondary schs.</u>						
Enl.mnt.	1307	12,098	24.9	12,098	38,200	10.0
T:hrs.	66	570	24.1	570	1619(1986)	10.0
Schs.	9	29	12.4	29	80	8.8
<u>Teacher Trng.</u>						
Enl.mnt.	271	489	6.0	489	688	3.5
<u>University</u>						
Full time students	44	465	26.6	465	2255	14.1

Source: C. Colclough, et al, 1980.

The use of changes in enrollment, number of teachers and schools to portray the expansion in the school system, particularly during the period before 1975 needs to be qualified in three respects.

- (a) The rapid expansion especially in primary enrollment led to overcrowding owing to lack of resources to cope with the provision of facilities. Colclough, et al., noted that in 1965 the pupil:teacher ratio was 40:1 and that out of a total of 1,341 primary classes, 231 comprised of 80 pupils or more. Overcrowding would have been a more serious problem but for the high wastage rate which ensured that only 40% completed the entire primary course while the majority did not complete the fourth year.
- (b) Secondly, the use of the rate of growth of the number of schools is misleading since during the period under consideration, many schools were single room buildings which accommodated up to 6 classes and there were several cases where classes were conducted outdoors.
- (c) Colclough and McCarthy also made reference to "qualitative deficiency in the teaching profession." For example, almost 50% of the primary school teachers were untrained prior to independence and of those who had attended one of the two training colleges at Lobatse or Serowe, most did not themselves possess more than an indifferent primary education (C. Colclough, et al., 1980, p. 207). All these are factors which affected the quality of education in the colonial and immediate post independence period. These qualifications notwithstanding, the overall impression given by the data cannot be lost.

Botswana's education system has changed significantly since 1975. Rapid expansion in enrollments has continued but the policy has now shifted to issues of equity, community participation and curriculum relevance. The source of this shift was clearly the Education Commission of 1976. In 1976, amidst criticisms that:

- (a) The school curriculum was irrelevant to the realities of Botswana since it was too elitist.
- (b) The education system promoted inequality as the distinction between rural and urban schools in terms of both facilities and staff was wide.
- (c) The school system was wasteful since at the time less than 25% of the children graduating from primary schools were able to secure places in junior secondary schools and that an even smaller proportion was able to proceed beyond junior secondary; and
- (d) The quality of teachers was deteriorating as schools expanded and classes enlarged while only a few teachers were produced and retained on the teaching job; the government appointed a Commission to investigate methods of improving the education of the country with a view to making it relevant and equitable.

This was the background against which the famous Education for Kagisanyo – Education for National Unity document – now the government blueprint for education was produced in 1977 by the Presidential Commission on Education.

Briefly, the recommendations of the Commission were as follows:

- (a) Abolition of primary school fees and the introduction of universal primary education by 1980.
- (b) Introduction of a crash program on teacher training at primary, but more importantly, at secondary school level. The University and the Teacher Training Colleges were to mount crash programs in the area of teacher education.
- (c) Government was to gradually increase her subsidy to the then most impoverished private/community secondary schools.
- (d) Drastic curriculum reforms and the introduction of technical subjects as early as possible.
- (e) A careful program of decentralization of school management after access has been improved and equity assured, and comparability in school facilities attained.

A lot of the Commission's recommendations were accepted by government have since been implemented piecemeal. For example, the school level is currently being restructured from 732 to 633, that is, from seven years primary, three years junior secondary and two years senior secondary to six primary and three each for the two levels of secondary.

The fees, teachers' salaries and other educational expenditures have increasingly become the responsibility of the central government. At same time the expansionist momentum of the earlier period is maintained on the principle not so much of manpower needs but that of equity.

Table 2 gives a picture of the quantitative changes that have taken place since 1975 and the figures are self explanatory. The picture which emerges is that, in the primary school system, enrollment and number of teachers more than doubled in absolute terms between 1975 & 1987 while the number of schools increased by 72%. In terms of annual growth rates, the growth momentum in all three indices generated in the previous decade has been fairly well maintained with only a slight decrease in the growth of the number of teachers from 7.8% to 6.8% while the other two have made some gains. In the secondary system, despite the gains in absolute terms, the annual growth in enrollment and teachers have decreased by more than 50% as compared to the decade after independence while that of schools declined by about 30%. However from a comparison of the annual growth in the indices for the various levels between 1975 and 1987, it is quite obvious that the emphasis on secondary and post secondary (university) education evident in the decade of 1965-75 has been maintained. The quality of the school system also appears to have improved. Writing in the mid 1980s Hartwell noted that:

While the rates of dropout for the government supported schools fluctuate between 4% and 16% over this period (1983-87), there is a radical improvement between 1983 & 1987 for the community schools, from 41% to 7% dropout (bearing in mind that the 1987 figure represents only two years of junior secondary schooling) (Hartwell, 1988:10).

A combination of better qualified teachers, improved facilities and better management have largely been responsible for improvement in the quality of the junior secondary education in particular.

The question that still has to be answered before we proceed to the findings of the present study, is, at what cost has the central government managed the educational revolution just noted. The next chapter shows that while the central government has in the past decade and half shouldered most of the cost in education, it may not afford this in future due to declined revenues. Hence the need to start looking for alternative or supplementary sources which this study is all about.

CHAPTER 2: INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

Since the central government started assuming responsibility for education, government expenditure on education increased from about 10% of the recurrent Budget in the late 60's to about 20% in 1975 (Colclough, et al, 1980). Between 1976 and 1988 recurrent expenditure on education as a percentage of total recurrent expenditure has fluctuated between 19.77% and 23.64%. In terms of Table III annual growth rates between the same five period, although total expenditure on education recorded almost the same growth rate (24.16% & 24.30% respectively), growth in recurrent expenditure on education exceeded that in total government recurrent expenditure (24.09% and 22.97% respectively).

The ratio of Botswana's total expenditure on education to total government spending compares favorably with others in Africa. For example, the ratio for Burundi (1981), Ethiopia (1982), Rwanda (1983) and Swaziland (1981) were 15.6, 11.3, 24.0 and 14.1 respectively. Comoros Islands which registered 36.0% in 1982 is an outstanding exception in this category of countries (World Bank, 1986:46). The ratio of recurrent expenditure on education to government recurrent expenditure for the same countries and same years were 20.8, 14.2, 27.7 and 23.0; the corresponding figure for Comoros was 40.6%. It is clear that Botswana, like a number of countries in Africa was devoting a significant proportion of government spending to education.

In terms of annual rate of growth of total educational expenditure Botswana virtually surpassed all the African countries featured in the World Bank sample in the early seventies. For example, the highest annual growth rate recorded in the World Bank sample was 18.7% for Somalia between 1970-75. The corresponding figure for Botswana between 1970-76 was 30.3%. For 1975-80 period, the highest growth rate was recorded for Liberia (27.0%) compared to Botswana 22.7 (1976-82).

The World Bank Publication cited above compares the rates of growth of national income with educational expenditure for major regions of the World for the periods 1965-70, 1970-75 & 1975-80. The major regions of the world are as follows : East Africa; West Africa; East Asia & Pacific; South Asia; Latin America & the Caribbean; Europe, Middle East & North Africa; and Developed Countries. For the 1965-70 period the data indicate 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 the two periods 1970-75 and 1975-80.

The same study makes a similar comparison between growth in national income and educational expenditure between 1965-70 for 45 LDCs for which data was available. The results indicate that growth in educational expenditure exceeded national income growth in 30 or 70% of the 45 countries. For the two subsequent periods 1970-75 and 1975-80, growth in educational expenditure exceeded national income growth in 65% of the countries. This implies that in the latter period, growth in educational expenditure was slowing down for more countries perhaps in response to fiscal stringency. Botswana's GDP per capita averaged 8.8% per year over the 21 years from 1965 to 1986 and this was higher than that of any other country recorded in World Bank Statistics (World Bank, World Dev. Report 1988). In fact it is this growth rate in the economy which has enabled the government to finance development expenditure over the years. Growth in educational expenditure far outstripped the growth in per capital income (see Table 4). The

question which immediately arises is, can government shoulder this expansion in educational expenditure alone? Observing the trend in the flow of resources into education, the World Bank notes that between 1975 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 LDCs. 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 & 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 is 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 intersectoral competition for resources intensifies, governments find themselves unable to cope with the demands of the educational sector.

Projected requirements for educational facilities and finance made for Botswana up to the year 2015 indicate that it is going to be impossible for the government to bear the cost of education in future.

TABLE 4

Projected Requirements for Primary Educational Facilities & Finance 1985-2015

	<u>1985</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2015</u>
Pri. Sch. Enrlmnt ⁽¹⁾	213,000	385,000	695,000
Pri. Sch. Teachers ⁽²⁾	6,700	12,000	21,700
No. of Pri. Classrooms	4,400	8,000	14,500
Pri. Recurrent Exp. ⁽³⁾ (Pmillion)	26.2	47.3	85.5

Source: Population Factors & Development, CSO, MEDP, 1987

- ¹ The enrolment projection is made under the assumption that fertility will remain at current levels of just under 7 births per woman which is a CSO 1985 estimate.
- ² The projections for Teachers do not take account of the large proportion of untrained teachers in the system who will have to be upgraded or replaced.
- ³ The projection for recurrent expenditure is based on the 1985 figure of P123 per primary student and they are in constant 1985 prices.

Table 4 above indicates that between 1985 and 2015, primary school enrollment, needed primary school teachers and primary school classrooms as well as the recurrent budget for primary education will all be expanding at the rate of 4.0% per annum. In 1985 the recurrent budget for primary education was

29.5% of total educational recurrent budget. If we assume that this proportion will be maintained over the period, it implies that the recurrent educational budget for 2000 and 2015 will be P160.3 million and P289.8 million respectively. The GDP per capita in 1985 was estimated at P1,524 and projected to grow at the rate of 4.8% per annum over the current plan period; this growth is projected to decline to 3.0% p.a. through the year 2000. With population growing at the present rate of 3.4% p.a. it is estimated that per capita GDP will decline to P1,170 by 2015 i.e., a decline at the rate of 0.08% p.a. (CSO MFDP 1987). Such long-term projections are, of course, fraught with a lot of assumptions and uncertainties; nonetheless a closer look at the factors that have been responsible for the impressive growth of the past two decades indicates that the above projections are within the realms of possibility. According to the Mid term review of the current Plan undertaken in May 1988:

Real GDP growth of less 5% p.a. will not raise per capita income very quickly in a country where the population growth rate is around 3.4 per annum. Unless private sector growth accelerates by the mid 1990s, the situation will get even worse with stagnation in per capita income a real possibility as the rate of growth of the government sector slows down in response to slow growth in revenues and foreign exchange reserves (Mid Term Review at NDP 6, MFDP May 1988).

In addition the Review observes:

...the third largest sector in the economy, Government, is projected to be the fastest growing component of GDP, at almost 8% p.a. but this rapid a face of expansion of the government sector is not feasible beyond the early 1990s (Mid Term Review, 1988:2728).

After the early 1990s the government sector is expected to cease to be an engine of growth of the economy. In the light of a declining growth in per capita income and the government sector, it is difficult to see how a 4% growth in recurrent educational expenditure can be sustained between 1985-2015.

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 sizable 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 school and university levels. Given the gloomy economic projections for many LDC's it may seem reasonable for governments to dismantle these subsidies, institute cost recovery measures and provide selective scholarships/bursaries for needy students.

For Botswana, the long-term economic projections suggest that government cannot in future afford current primary to university free education. Moreover, in the context of a rapidly growing population, the demand for education and related facilities will increase at the same time when sectoral competition for declined government revenue intensifies. The good reasons of manpower development and localization used in the past to justify high government investment on education can no longer hold in the context of among others growing unemployment and inequality, and persistent poverty especially in the rural sector (Labor Survey, 1985, Household Incomes and Expenditure Survey, CSO, 1989). It is thus essential that effort is made to tap other potential sources for educational investment while there is still time.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The present report is an outcome of a fieldwork conducted between August 1987 and December 1988 based on the revised proposal. This period was however, partly taken in the development and testing of the research instrument, planning the logistic of the survey and data entry and analysis. The period was in addition, interspersed with slack months occasioned by University examinations which took considerable amounts of time for the two principal researchers. As a result the main fieldwork was concentrated in the three months of June, July and August, 1988.

The research team comprised of two principal researchers, seven graduate students assistants mainly from the Faculty of Social Science, a Secretary and Jerry Strudwick of the International Institute for Research who provided technical advice. After about six weeks on the field the seventh assistant, a fourth year statistics major, was returned to the office to start the data entry into the computer. The data was entered using a dbase III program and later translated into SPSS for computational and analysis purposes.

SAMPLING

Realizing the vastness of Botswana, her geographical and cultural variations, the team decided on a purposive random sample as a method of selecting the enumeration sites. Among the many considerations made in the selection of the enumeration sites were:

- (i) Regional location i.e., whether the area was rural or urban;
- (ii) Ethnic composition i.e., whether it was ethnically homogeneous or heterogeneous;
- (iii) Population size whether it was a large, medium or small size village/town in terms of the 1981 census figures;
- (iv) Distance from the rail-line, i.e., whether it was a remote area and relatively isolated;
- (v) Existence and age of the Community Junior Secondary School in the area.
- (vi) Others e.g., history of community participation in educational development.

Using this criteria the following areas were selected at the first go:

Due to unforeseen problems of transport, finance and time limitations, it was unfortunately not possible to visit Kang and Gumare. Instead, the two were respectively replaced with Letlhakeng (a medium size village in the Kgalagadi District but nearer) and the Herero ward in Mahalapye (with some basic population characteristics as Gumare). This substitution of the two villages is regretted but it was impossible to do otherwise under the circumstances.

TABLE 5
Major Characteristics Of The Sample Areas

<u>Name</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>No. of CJSS</u>	<u>Other</u>
Gaborone	National capital	87,346	Eastern	5	Multi-ethnic
Serowe	Headquarters C.District	31,010	Central	4	-
Molepolole	Headquarters Kweneng Dist.	25,000	Western	2	Multi-ethnic
Kanye	Headquarters Southern Dist.	24,570	Southern	3	
Francistown	Oldest Town	37,759	Northern	2	
Good Hope	Small Village	1,841	Southern	1	
Sikware	Small Village	1,090	Eastern	1	
Gumare	A Remote Vill.	1,794	N-Western	1	
Kang	A Remote Vill.	1,684	Kalahari	1	

The households were selected using the systematic sampling technique. That is the first house was selected randomly followed by the selection of every kth number until the desired sample was obtained. The method was the same throughout the survey although the interval between houses within a village/town differed from one area to another. This was necessitated by two facts: a) We did not have up-to-date sampling frame for every site (see below under limitations of the study); and b) we were dealing with places of different population size and geographical distribution/spacing of houses differed from one place to another.

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

The main instrument of data collection was the interview. A set of mostly closed and a few open-ended interview questions were prepared, tested and administered among a mixed population of up to 1,450 respondents. The population was left in its natural composition, i.e., with parents, teachers, school administrators, community leaders, extension workers and ordinary citizens and foreigners who might not even have a child at school eligible for interview if they were heads of households and fallen within the sample.

A modified interview schedule was later administered separately to policy makers in the Ministries of Education, Finance and Development Planning, and Local Government and Lands. Altogether, twenty of such officers were interviewed. The responses of a number of these officers as well as those collected in phase I from teachers, school administrators and community leaders have been taken into account in the analysis and interpretation in the chapters that follow this one.

Realizing the shortcomings of the interview technique and the frequency with which similar interviews have recently been administered to schools (Tshireletso and Kann, 1988), emphasis was also put on direct observation and documentation of qualitative data that might help the interpretation of the interview results. Assistants were thus asked to write a summary of their experiences and any other useful information that might help the analysis. These reports together with researchers' own observations have gone into shaping our interpretation and conclusions in this report.

In a few instances, the researchers took time to visit and talked to community leaders, politicians and attended community kgotla meetings these acted as crosschecks for some of the observations made during the interview.

METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The first problem the team faced regarding methods was which households to interview and how to reach them. Initially, we had hoped that we could use National Census Enumeration Numbers to select the houses. However, two major problems emerged with census numbers: (i) New houses which came after the 1981 census would have been systematically excluded as they did not have numbers; (ii) It was found that in more cases than not the census numbers were either faint or completely removed. It was going to take a long time locating the houses and confirming with the owner whether in fact it was the right number for their house.

Given these problems it was resolved to use a systematic random sample where the first house was selected randomly and the rest based on the kth number. The method worked out generally well especially for the urban areas where the houses are prearranged in a certain order and are well numbered. However, for villages, it was not always easy to use systematic sample in its pure form. With guidance and supervision assistants were however able to use their own imagination and judgment where the houses were difficult to select. From their reports there appears to have been no fundamental problems in finally identifying the houses for interview.

One may wonder why we could not create a sample frame of our own which would have removed most of these problems. The answer is simply that there was not enough time and money to do it. Moreover, given the number of areas covered and their size, it would not have been possible to do complete enumeration.

The interview method of collecting data is becoming increasingly inadequate specially in countries such as Botswana where this has almost been the method of data collection for a long time. Many people are getting tired of the many questions and are happy to give you "I don't know" as the answer so that you leave them alone.

Finally, although as much as possible our sample was spread over different parts of the country, we can only cautiously and broadly generalize the findings of this study. However, our conclusions are strengthened by the findings of other studies conducted in different parts of Botswana on more or less the same subject (Tsayang, 1988, Tshireletso and Kann, 1988 and Moorad, 1987).

CHAPTER 4: THE RESULTS

Communities behave differently on account of several variables including size, location, ethnic composition, resources\wealth status, average educational levels, religious beliefs, sex ratio and other myriad cultural, political and demographic variables. It was the intended object of this study, as shown in the sample selection, to capture as many of these variables as possible. At the end of our survey a total of 1,449 ordinary people in different parts of the country were interviewed. Responses on the above variables are presented in the next pages.

Ethnicity

The selection of enumeration area took into consideration the ethnic and cultural composition of Botswana. It has been noted in this country and elsewhere that certain ethnic groups tend to readily accept formal education while others do not. In this country for instance, the Hereros, especially those in the North Western parts being true pastoralists, tend to put cattle tending before the education of a child. Similarly, the Be-Zezuru group is said to prefer blacksmithing to education in the formal sense. Noting ethnicity as a potential variable that may explain differences in community participation in school development, the research asked a question on ethnic belonging of the respondent. The following results were recorded:

TABLE 6
Ethnic Composition of the Respondents

<u>ETHNIC GROUP</u>	<u>FREQ/NUMBER</u> <u>RESPONDENTS</u> (valid)	<u>%</u> <u>O F</u> <u>T O T A L</u>
Tswana	1138	78.9
Herero	29	2.0
Kalanga	148	10.3
Other Africa	81	5.6
Asian	9	0.6
Other nationalities	<div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> <u>38</u> 1443 </div>	<u>2.6</u> 100.0

National statistics do not usually ask for ethnic belonging of respondents. It is therefore not easy to say whether the sample underrepresented or overrepresented certain groups. The important point to note however, is that some respondents insisted on being identified as Batswana and nothing else. For instance, although 38 people were interviewed from the Herero ward in Mahalapye only 29 of them regarded themselves as Herero. The rest said they were Tswana. While it is possible that they were Tswana living among

the Herero, there was a marked tendency among some respondents here to distort their ethnic origin. The geographical and ethnic origins of the respondents is shown in table 7.

TABLE 7
Ethnic Composition of Respondents by District

Vllg./twn	Tswana	Herero	Kalanga	Other		Tot.
				African	Asian	
Gaborone	413	2	24	25	4	498
Francistown	113	3	114	19	3	256
Serowe	173	-	9	-	-	18
Molopolole	197	-	-	4	-	202
Kanye	190	-	-	2	1	195
Good Hope	28	-	1	-	1	31
Mahalapye	14	24	-	-	-	38
Lethakeng	1	-	-	31	-	32
Sikwane	9	-	-	-	-	9
<u>Total</u>	<u>1138</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>148</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1443</u>

The ethnic and geographical distribution of the respondents should in our opinion have captured any variation on the basis of these two variables. Indeed our results and general observations suggest that smaller villages tended to be more informed and organized to participate in school activities than is the case in large and urban centers. More people in villages such as Good Hope and Sikwane said they helped the school. On the contrary, Gaborone residents played ignorant on many issues and had not been generally not been approached to help the CJSS in their area.

Education

The educational qualification of the respondents is normally regarded as one of the important factors explaining their behavior. Educated parents are generally expected to have more value for education and show more interest in both their children's education and the proper running of the school. Some such parents are usually retired teachers, school inspectors, policemen, etc.

On the other hand realizing the gap in standard of living between them, as less educated families and those few educated ones, uneducated/illiterate families/parents may be keen to send their children to school so that they live a better life in future. The latter category of parents does not usually take an active

role in school activities but may from time to time contribute some money and/or labor to school development.

Even more importantly the strong link that exists between one's educational qualification and occupation/income suggests that educated parents may have better incomes and be able to budget part of that for educational contribution. This study hypothesized that education will be a significant variable influencing both availability, contribution and participation in school activities at both the individual and community levels. That is, educated households will be more receptive to the Partnership Policy, will have better incomes and will contribute and participate more. The same will be true of a community with more educated households. It was for these reasons that we wanted to know literacy levels of our communities.

Table 8 suggests that the majority of our respondents have hardly done primary education.

TABLE 8(a)

Level of Education by Village/Town

Vllg/Twn.	Univ/ Poly	T.T Coll	Snr Sec	Jnr Sec	Pri/Not Prmy	NFE Comp	Lit Clas	No Edu	
Gaborone	43	48	44	94	125	67	1	5	72
Francistown	5	9	8	43	78	65	3	1	40
Serowe	-	4	1	16	63	52	-	-	46
Molepolole	1	8	4	19	45	58	5	3	58
Kanye	2	2	5	17	35	64	3	2	65
Good Hope	1	4	-	7	3	6	-	1	9
Mahalapye	-	1	1	3	5	10	1	-	17
Letlhekeng	-	-	-	-	11	8	-	5	8
Sikwane	-	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	1
TOTAL	52	76	63	199	367	336	13	18	316

TABLE 8(b)

Percentage Distribution of the Respondents by Education

<u>LEVEL</u>	<u>FREQ/NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL</u>
Univ/Poly	52	3.6
T.T.C	76	5.3
Secondary (Senior)	63	4.4
Junior Secondary	199	13.8
Primary	367	25.5
Primary not compl.	336	23.3
Non-formal education	13	0.9
Literacy classes	18	1.3
No education	316	21.9

The level of those without any form of education is much lower than normally would be expected. There are two possible reasons for this. First, the proportion of the urban population in the sample is higher than is nationally the case. The towns have higher literacy rates than the rural areas (Pop. Census, 1981). Secondly, even in the rural areas the sample was more focused in the larger villages where schools are concentrated. However, overall the educational levels of the respondents approximated what was shown by previous studies. Below we present a table on the education of household heads from the 1985/86

National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) conducted by the Central Statistics Office (CSO).

TABLE 9

Highest Level Of Education (Heads Of Household In %)						
Region	Number	None	Primary	Secondary	Higher	All
Urban	58,900	20.2	52.4	21.7	5.7	100.0
Rural	163,493	57.8	35.2	6.3	0.7	100.0
National	222,393	47.8	39.7	10.4	2.1	100.0

Source: Household Income and Expenditure Survey(HIES), 1989, CSO, Gaborone.

HIES did not go into the finer details of distinguishing between junior and secondary education or between categories of postsecondary education. Taking these differences between the two surveys into consideration and considering the SLEC survey bias towards areas where schools are located, the findings of the two studies are comparable.

However, although influencing incomes, see table 10, education did not appear to be a significant factor determining participation. More relatively educated communities had comparatively low levels of participation and contribution. On the other hand education was considered important in the selection of candidates for membership of the board of governors. We came across instances where some relatively educated people were either bitterly opposed to the board or refusing to contribute to the school because the board was chaired by "illiterates."

TABLE 10

Mean Income by Highest Level of Education

head of household		no.	primary	secondary	high
urban	male	226.77	416.82	1149.64	2208.95
	female	95.25	208.49	462.28	*
rural	male	105.59	190.32	595.74	775.74
	female	58.52	109.01	412.89	*

* sample too small

Source: National Household Income and Expenditure Survey, Central Statistics Office, MDP, 1989, p.37

Age and Gender

We also asked respondents who were generally heads of households or guardians about their age and sex. The following results were obtained:

TABLE 11
Age Distribution of Respondents

<u>Class</u>	<u>Freq</u>	<u>% of the Sample</u>
Up to 20	56	3.9
21 - 30	476	33.0
31 - 40	380	26.4
41 - 5	212	14.7
51 - 60	148	10.3
61 - 70	94	6.5
Above 70	<u>7</u>	<u>5.2</u>
	1411	100.0

Over 36% of the respondents were less than 30 years of age. This may sound anomalous since most of these could not possibly have had children old enough to be in secondary schools. However, in Botswana as in other developing countries, the concept of extended family plays an important role in family welfare. A number of households have as their breadwinners young and better educated members. These are usually the ones who pay school fees and undertake to other household expenditures for their brothers, sisters, cousins and in-laws. It is therefore not surprising to find these relatively young people posing as guardians.

A large number of our respondents (70%) turned out to female. Efforts to balance the sex ratio were not very successful. However, a few observations can be made about this. One is that women have been noted to participate more in community and government development programs than men (ATIP, 1985, among others). This may be because they are the most unemployed and readily available (Labor Survey, CSO, 1986). The second is that education activities and meetings often fall under women in the household division of labor.

Occupation

We did not ask households to provide us with estimates of their annual incomes. Important as this question is to the study on financing education. There were two reasons why we left it out. The first reason was that previous studies have found it extremely difficult to obtain reasonable figures on household income and expenditure based on a small sized sample. Moreover, a snapshot survey such as this one often come up with misleading results on matters of household income. The second reason was that we knew the CSO had just completed a nationwide survey of household income and expenditure. Looking at CSO's questionnaire we felt that part of their data will be relevant to our study. Table 12 presents the results of that survey on economic activities of heads of households:

The economic activities of rural and urban households shown on this table are considered the major sources of household income countrywide (RIDS, 1976, FAO, 1972, et al). For our sample the occupational distribution of the respondents were as shown in table 13.

TABLE 12

Economic Activities of Heads of Household

age group	paid employee	farm/ business lands/ or self-employed	family own		does work	percentage of each age group				at	
			at sch.	other		not work	all	at	at		
0-4	0	0	0	134	0	183,702	183,836	0.0	0.1	99.9	
5-9	0	0	0	0	66,012	0	122,712	188,724	0.0	35.0	65.0
10-14	927	1,944	275	119,986	0	22,457	155,589	2.0	77.1	20.9	
15-19	9,651	8,272	505	38,821	320	47,677	105,246	17.8	36.9	45.3	
20-24	24,485	8,194	1,171	4,458	149	49,502	87,959	38.6	5.1	56.3	
25-29	25,669	8,379	2,487	491	0	35,486	72,512	50.4	0.7	48.9	
30-34	23,144	6,204	2,813	78	0	26,300	58,539	55.0	0.1	44.9	
35-39	14,353	6,718	2,743	0	0	20,624	44,438	53.6	0.0	46.4	
40-44	12,297	8,031	2,675	0	0	16,934	39,537	57.6	0.0	42.4	
45-49	9,000	9,680	1,892	0	0	13,259	33,831	60.8	0.0	39.2	
50-54	5,408	8,225	2,172	0	0	14,550	30,355	52.1	0.0	47.9	
55-59	3,414	7,823	974	0	131	12,549	24,895	49.6	0.0	50.4	
60-64	3,300	7,670	934	0	0	11,729	23,633	50.4	0.0	49.6	
65-69	2,367	6,429	1,116	0	111	10,549	20,572	48.7	0.0	51.3	
>70	1,282	8,680	405	0	0	24,834	35,901	30.8	0.0	69.2	
all	135,997	56,249	20,166	229,980	711	622,864	1,059,673	33.1	20.8	56.3	% 12.3 8.7 1.8 20.8

TABLE 13

Occupation Of Respondents By Village/Town

Vllg/twn	Mine Wrkr	Tchr	Frrnr	Shop Ass.	Civil Servant	Med. Services	Other
Gaborone	11	25	41	20	87	22	291
F/town	7	12	18	21	32	3	16
Serowe	8	20	52	6	17	5	74
Molepolole	37	15	52	3	2	7	85
Kanye	44	21	44	7	12	4	63
Good Hope	0	11	9	9	4	2	13
Mahalapye	1	2	16	2	7	1	9
Letlhakeng	5	2	13	2	-	-	-
Sikwane	2	1	1	-	-	1	4
Total	115	99	246	63	161	45	710

At least 483 (33.6%) of the respondents had a formal sector job as either a teacher, civil servant, medical officer, mine worker (laborer) or as a shop assistant. The rest of the respondents were farmers, housewives, street vendors/hawkers and self-employed artisans.

Information/Knowledge of The Policy/CJSS

The Partnership Policy is officially regarded as an agreement between the central government on the one hand and the communities on the other. Under the new policy, Junior Secondary schools are not exclusively owned by either the government or individual communities. Rather, as the name suggests, these

schools are a joint venture where the central government contributes its share in the form of teachers, academic buildings while the community builds at least three of the expected eight teachers' quarters and other nonacademic buildings such as a kitchen, a storeroom, an assembly hall and students hotels (where the latter is optional as is the case with schools in large villages/towns). The management of the schools is joint.

In addition, to questions on basic household characteristics, the interview covered questions on the partnership and other government education policies, the perceived role of the Community Junior Secondary School (CJSS), the quality of facilities in these schools, attitudes towards their performance and knowledge about their management, etc. The theoretical position of the study had been that communities are generally rational actors. They will more often than not act in a manner that will maximize their returns/benefits. The returns/benefits were defined in terms of education to the community's children, service by teachers and students to the community, community access to school facilities, the presence of the school as a marketing outlet for community crops, vegetables, meat animals and providing employment opportunities to members of the community.

In this context, our assumption is that if the school (CJSS) has a clearly realizable role to play both for the benefit of the individual child and for the community, then the community will actively support it. Furthermore, if the government policy is intended to improve conditions in such as a school, then the community will generally be happy to support such a policy.

The critical variable in these assumptions was information/knowledge. The evaluation of the school's role and the support of government policy revolve around the knowledge that the community has about the school and the particular government policy. And indeed, it may matter how and from whom they learn about these. The individual informant such as the chief, the politician (both of the ruling and opposition parties) and the education/council officer will make a difference in the impressions they give to the community. Politicians will normally want to make political mileage out of the construction of a school or its performance while the chief may put pressure on community to participate in the name of community/village development or they may even put priority to some other projects e.g., the construction of the kgotla (Tribal Assembly Place), the building of the clinic, road maintenance, etc.

Out of the total of 1449 respondents, 824 or 56.9% had not heard about the partnership policy or read about it anywhere. The remaining 43.1% had heard or read about the policy from newspapers (61 respondents), radio (220), kgotla meetings (250), Ministry of Education publications (26), friends (121) and other sources such political rallies, conferences, etc. (88). Note that about 141 respondents had heard/read about the policy from more than one source.

On the specific aspect of the policy relating to the role of the board of governors, only 196 (13.6%) knew that part of the board's job was to raise money for the CJSS. As few as 383 (26.5%) were able to say the board's role is to manage the CJSS in their area. Only 289 (20.0%) of the respondents said the community was represented in the school management. Altogether 599 (41.3%) knew about the existence of the school boards. Lack of knowledge about the partnership policy raises several questions relating to the government methods of communication. What was even worrying was the discovering that a large number of teachers, civil servants and politicians were not themselves conversant with this policy. Officials of the Ministry however, believe that communities were consulted in the process of designing this policy. They also said that thereafter the Minister address kgotla meetings on the policy.

Asked to comment on the relevance of the curriculum, 1081 (74.8%) of the respondents did not have an idea. Only 67 (4.6%) were able to say categorically that the curriculum was not relevant both to the needs of the individual child and the community. Asked to evaluate the quality of desks, chairs, etc., in

CJSS in terms of whether they were good, adequate, satisfactory or bad, 838 (57.8%) did not have an idea, 191 (13.2%) felt they were in good conditions and 100 (6.9%) said they were unsatisfactory.

On the rating of teaching materials in CJSS many respondents were very ignorant. The responses were: 188 (13.0%) said they were good, 164 (11.4%) said adequate, 107 (7.4%) said they were unsatisfactory and 984 (68.2%) of the respondents did not know. Responses to issues relating to sports facilities, school accommodation, quality of teachers, attitudes of the headmaster and teachers to the community reflected general lack of knowledge on the expected relationship between the school and the community. For parents and teachers the most worrying thing about CJSS was the lack of hostel accommodation. They claimed children were often harassed by drunken villagers at night on their way home from evening studies. They were equally concerned that village accommodation was poor and inadequate (see Tsayang, 1988 on a related issue).

Interestingly, when asked to rate examination results, close to 40% of the respondents said they were good to satisfactory and 35.7% did not know while only 27.4% said they were unsatisfactory. Undoubtedly, this reflects drastic positive change in attitudes toward CJSS. In the past CJSS were notoriously known for poor performance and not many parents, would, given choice send their children there. Admittedly, most of the CJSS are new and have to establish their own image in their respective communities. However, the name CJSS is an old one and generally associated with earlier poor schools (Molutsi, 1988). On the other hand the performance of most CJSS in the past two or three years has been impressive and could have easily made some positive impressions on the communities (see Hartwell, 1988 and Kahn, 1988 on the recent performance of CJSS vis-a-vis government secondary schools).

Role of CJSS

Respondents were asked to state what they considered to be the functions of CJSS. The majority 752 (52.1%) said the main function of the CJSS is to provide children access to secondary education. The remaining 692 (47.9%) did not think access to secondary education should be the primary reason or role of these schools. About 40% (573) of the respondents said the function of the CJSS should be to prepare the child to serve the community and 872 (60.2%) did not consider this an important function of the school. Asked whether in fact the CJSS in the locality did perform these functions 593 (41.1%) of the respondents said it provided access to secondary education and 850 (58.9%) thought otherwise. Again about 40% of the respondents felt the school was actually preparing children to serve their communities and 60.9% did not think this was the case.

Under the Partnership policy, the CJSS is to cease from being a white elephant distanced from the community. The new school is supposed among others to open up to the community hence the name "community schools". One way of integrating the school to the community is the sharing of the use of school facilities with the local community. Where possible communities can use school halls, classrooms, kitchen, etc., for meetings, literacy classes, as study centers and for important community functions and entertainment. We asked the respondents to say whether they accept the use of school facilities by communities and whether in fact this was happening.

Only 43 (3.0%) of the respondents considered the use of school facilities by the community an important function of the school and only 60 (4.2%) said the school did open facilities to the community. The majority of the respondents 1381 (95.8%) were claimed that the school was still isolated from the community with regard to the use of its facilities by the latter. Not many people felt the school should and played any direct role in community development. Fifteen percent of the respondents felt this should be one of the important roles of the CJSS and about the same percentage (14.7%) said this was actually the practice.

Participation and Support to CJSS

Asked whether they had been asked to help the school in their area 648 (44.9%) of respondents said yes. However, almost all of this help went to primary schools. Less than 20% of the respondents had ever helped a CJSS in their locality. When asked who approached them to help the school, the responses were as follows:

TABLE 14
Person Who Asked For Contributions For CJSS From The Community

<u>Source</u>	<u>Freq/Responses</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Member of Parliament	27	1.9
Councillor	33	2.3
V.D.C. Member	15	1.0
Parent Teacher Association	80	5.5
Board of governors	32	2.2
Chief	41	2.8
Teacher/Headmaster	332	22.9 ✓
Child	179	12.4
Other	47	3.2

It appears the majority of people have not been asked to contribute to the development of the CJSS in their area. The strong link that exists between the school and the community is the traditional one through the headmaster. This is a restricted link in that the headmaster has contact only with parents who have children in his/her school. Hence the number of 332 approximates the 255 which is the number of parents with a child at CJSS. Normally, headmasters communicate to parents through their children. The authorities who are supposed to be directly responsible for mobilizing resources for the school namely, the chief, members of Parliament, PTAs and above all the Boards of Governors, which by the way include the chief, MP and the District Commissioner are playing an insignificant role in this regard. There are several problems associated with the boards of governors as CJSS managers (see the next chapter).

Overall only 271 (18.7%) said they ever gave money, labor, equipment, etc., to the local CJSS. Some 807 (56.3%) said they were involved with other community development activities including contribution to the construction of the Kgotla, supporting the primary school, working at the clinic and/or on drought relief labor intensive projects. Asked if they could give more assistance to the CJSS, 265 (18.3%) said yes.

As noted earlier, people will normally support a project that they either initiated themselves or which has been fully explained to them by those who started it. The policy of partnership is considered a brainchild of the central government by communities. In the past government jointly supported some private (generally mission owned) schools. In this case management was totally left to the Missions. In the past, government had no role to play in CJSS except through legislation. What emerges in the early 1980s under the new CJSS is therefore new to the communities. The question arises as to whether the communities have accepted this innovation. If yes, then questions have to be raised on why do communities appear reluctant to support these schools.

Participation in school activities appears to be closely linked to having a child at school. About 468 (32.3%) of the respondents had no child in primary school. The remaining 68.7% had between 1 and 6 children in primary school. The majority had between 1 and 2 children at primary. The situation was much different for junior secondary education. Only 255 (17.6%) of the respondents had at least a child attend-

ing Community Junior Secondary School (CJSS). For senior secondary, the results were more or less the same. There were 213 (14.7%) of respondents with one child or more in senior secondary education. Only 142 (9.8%) of the respondents had a child or more in postsecondary education.

TABLE 15

No. of Children in CJSS by Village/Town

Village/Town	0	1	2	Total
Gaborone	403(81)	86(17)	10(2)	499(100)
Francistown	220(86)	28(11)	9(3)	256(100)
Serowe	151(83)	30(17)	1(0)	182(100)
Molepolole	159(79)	36(18)	7(3)	202(100)
Kanye	173(89)	19(10)	3(1)	195(100)
Good Hope	26(84)	2(7)	3(9)	31(100)
Mahalapye	28(74)	8(21)	2(5)	38(100)
Lethakeng	24(75)	6(19)	2(6)	32(100)
Sikwane	5(56)	3(33)	1(11)	9(100)
TOTAL	1189(82)	218(15)	37(3)	1444(100)

*The figures in brackets represent percentage of the Village/Town with or without a child(ren) in a Community Junior.

CJSS and Community Involvement

CJSS are new. They have not as yet made any significant impact on the development of the communities where they are located. However, at present there are not clear indications that they will do so in future. Teachers and students as well as communities still largely perceived schools as "centers of learning for the children." This view extends that communities have very limited role to play and that is providing resources for various activities.

Political Issues

The study found that in areas where the opposition parties were strong CJSS turned out to be a battleground for political control. Membership of the boards of governors was closely contested along party lines and the defeated party was not likely to support the school. While this is a natural development and is to be expected in a multiparty democracy, very often it deprived the school of well qualified personnel. The political climate within the boards was further heightened by the presence of the local Member of Parliament or his representative as ex-officio member of the board. In some villages this was seen as promoting the incumbent and his party.

Administrative Issues

The partnership policy is a newcomer in district administration in Botswana. Hitherto local authorities were charged with the responsibility of managing primary schools. The education personnel in the district is already overstretched with regard to primary education activities. They do not have time for CJSS. Apart from that they know very little about the new policy and CJSS. The same applies to the District Commissioner's Office which is already charged with several responsibilities at district level.

During the course of this study, it became clear that all extension workers including the two just mentioned, the assistant community development officer, etc., were overwhelmed with CJSS duties which they

did not even feel confident to deal with. With regard to the DC and the Education Officer they had hardly been able to attend board meetings for many CJSS. Certainly, the present arrangement is not promoting better management of these schools.

This chapter has given us a broad and elementary summary of the findings of the study. What follows is an attempt to put meaning to the findings.

CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

The results just presented above notwithstanding any shortcomings of this study, point to a gloomy future for Botswana's educational development. Many of the assumptions made both by the Education Commission in 1977 and subsequently by the Partnership Policy in the early 1980s were now appear naive. Some of these assumptions were that:

- (a) Since communities are thirsty for education, they will spend a reasonable portion of households income on educational development;
- (b) That based on past experience communities do have resources which under suitable environment can be tapped for the development of education;
- (c) That the local leadership: chiefs, counselors and administrators will be keen to mobilize their own people to work for the development of education in their area;
- (d) That communities through their leaders have the ability/capacity to make an input in the administration of schools at all levels;
- (e) That policy makers both at the center and the periphery are/be would willing to dispense with some of their administrative responsibilities to local communities and school authorities;
- (f) That teachers and pupils are ready for and see the value of closing the gap between the school and the community;
- (g) That the provision of a legal instrument on the educational system to enable decentralization will naturally provide conducive atmosphere for joint management of schools by the central government and the communities.

Naive as they now appear, these assumptions were noble. They were based on the national development principles of democracy and self-help/reliance. They were also premised on the broad post World War II trends towards devolution and participatory democracy. On the economic side public participation was intended to ensure that the consumer does not only have a say but also contributes towards the type of education desired. The central government would thus be relieved of part of the cost of providing education. The closer relationship between the school and the local community, was in addition, intended to ensure that local resources were first used before looking out for more support. Communities could provide cheap labor, contribute money, grain and livestock towards the development and sustenance of the school. The school on the other hand could produce and sell vegetables to the community, work on local development projects such as horticultural schemes, cooperatives, etc. The community and the school could use some school buildings alternately thus avoiding the cost of building expensive but underutilized community halls that currently exist all over the country. Finally, the school would graduate a well balanced individuals capable and willing to work for the betterment of their community.

Moreover, providing cheaper education was intended to improve access and give every citizen the opportunity to realize his/her potential. Hence there was to be massive expansion and harmonization of school facilities and teachers in the interest of equity and social justice. From the management viewpoint

the community school reduces the costs, time lapses in decision making and permits flexibility and innovation at a local level.

The present study was among others to check whether these assumptions were correct, whether the objectives set on the basis of these assumptions have been realized. In the case where they have not been realized the study was designed to explain why. More importantly it was to recommend how best the policy objectives can realistically be implemented. The first objective of this study was thus to check on the extent to which local resources may or may not be a constraint to community participation. We also wanted to assess the extent to which, given the availability of resources, communities were willing to invest in education and possibly measure the size of that investment.

Following previous surveys on poverty, income distribution and drought (Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS), 1976; Lipton, 1977, Hitchcock, 1978, Wanatabe and Mueller, 1981; etc.) this study hypothesized that government may be expecting too much from the communities. Especially in rural areas where the major household resources are crop production and livestock. These are not only skewedly distributed but have in the past six years of drought been considerably depleted.

Objective I – Resource Availability and Sustainability

We did not ask households how many cattle, or bags of grain they produced. We did not ask them about other assets either. We however, made observations of the apparent material conditions of each household in the sample. The overall impression was that the poverty and inequality in Botswana, so well documented in the mid-1970s are still widespread.

The National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) alluded to earlier, came out with the same conclusions (HIES, 1989). This survey found that urban and rural average monthly incomes were P505 and P136 respectively. Average monthly expenditures for the same areas in 1985/6 were P419 and P112 respectively. Very little was left for savings. In any case, much of the differences between income and expenditure could be accounted for by the incidence of underreporting.

Table 16 shows items of expenditure for households in the urban and rural areas from the 1985/86 Survey. In each case education is in the 6th position with 8.7% and 7.8% of the total expenditure in urban and rural areas respectively (This of course was prior to the introduction of the free secondary education in 1988).

TABLE 16

expenditure category	Household Expenditure					
	urban		rural		all	
	P	%	P	%	P	%
Food	81.29	19.0	37.64	33.0	49.20	25.0
Drink and tobacco	58.73	13.7	17.59	15.4	28.49	14.5
Clothing and footwear	22.51	5.3	6.91	6.1	11.04	5.6
Housing costs	72.12	16.8	9.65	8.5	26.20	13.3
Household goods and services	61.00	14.3	15.60	13.7	27.62	14.0
Medical and healthcare	12.34	2.9	1.80	1.6	4.59	2.3
Transport and communications	65.72	15.4	11.55	10.1	25.90	13.1
Recreation/education etc	37.06	8.7	8.93	7.8	16.38	8.3
Other goods and services	17.10	4.0	4.28	3.8	7.67	3.9
<u>Total consumption expenditure</u>	<u>427.87</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>113.95</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>197.09</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: HIES, 1989.

Poverty and inequality between and within the urban and rural area are persistent. For example, whereas 35.2% of urban households earned monthly incomes of less than P200, in the rural areas 66.8% of the households had monthly incomes of below P200. Even after adjusting for differences in standard of living between the two areas, the inequality between the two remains well pronounced.

In 1976 the RIDS showed the national Gini Coefficient (which is a measure of inequality) of 0.52%. This was worrying at the time. However, according to HIES (1989) the same measure has increased showing a widened gap in income distribution of 0.556 nationally. Considering purely, cash income i.e., excluding 'in kind' income the following results obtained:

TABLE 17
Gini Coefficient by Location

Location	Cash	Cash + in kind
Urban	0.563	0.536
Rural	0.674	0.477
National	0.703	0.556

Source: HIES, 1989.

The inequality reduces when "in kind" income is added. It reduces quite substantially for rural areas where the extended family is still relatively strong and payment in kind is still widespread. It also reduces there because government drought relief programs are more oriented towards the rural than the urban areas. However, it is in rural areas that incomes are more skewedly distributed with a moderated Gini Coefficient of 0.674.

One measure of both poverty and inequality is housing. The quality and type of a house is an important measure of how one lives. In 1984 for example, A National Housing Needs, Affordability, and Potential Barriers Survey established that up to 90% of rural household had no sanitation facilities of any kind. In addition, a large number of these required upgrading estimated at 4,900 units a year over a period of 20 years (Clifton, et al, 1984). The HIES (1989) found that 11% of urban housing units had no toilets and up to 72% of the rural houses had no toilets/latrines (see table 18).

TABLE 18
Type of Toilet Facilities by Region

	Urban		Rural		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Communal toilet	2,714	4.6	3,116	1.9	5,830	2.6
neighbour's flush toilet	956	1.6	854	0.5	1,910	0.8
neighbour's pit latrine	4,159	7.1	11,378	7.0	15,537	7.0
own flush toilet	19,701	33.4	5,275	3.2	24,976	11.2
own pit latrine	24,809	42.1	24,444	15.0	49,253	22.1
other	6,559	11.1	118,423	72.4	124,982	56.2
total	58,899	100.0	163,490	100.0	22,368	100.0

Source: HIES, 1989.

75% of urban households have their own flush toilet or pit latrine compared with 18.2% of rural households. "Other" includes those households without access to any proper toilet facilities.

Availability and source of drinking water is yet another measure of the standard of living of people/communities. In Botswana, most expenditures on water development for people is the responsibility of the central and local governments. Only a few households wealthy ones can afford a borehole or to bring water into the house. The HIES results show that about 10% of the rural population still drink from rivers and streams (table 19).

TABLE 19
Main Source of Water by Region

	<u>urban</u>	<u>rural</u>	<u>all</u> %
piped water inside dwelling	35.4	4.2	12.5
standpipe inside plot/lotwapa	6.3	3.5	4.3
standpipe outside plot/lotwapa-within 400m	52.1	29.7	35.6
- further than 400m	5.1	18.6	15.1
well or borehole - within 400m	0.0	13.3	9.8
- further than 400m	0.0	18.6	13.7
river or stream - within 400m	0.2	4.0	3.0
- further than 400m	0.9	5.5	4.3
other - within 400m	0.0	0.5	0.3
- further than 400m	0.0	2.0	1.5
All	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: HIES, 1989.

This table shows that for 45% of rural households, the main source of water is more than 400 meters from their home compared with just 6% for urban households. Conversely, 42% of urban households have water within their plot compared with just 8% of rural households.

Finally, found in this study that for the majority of households major assets were livestock, crops, agricultural machinery, an urban house, trading business and a vehicle. These are however unequally, distributed and the main ones crops and livestock are susceptible to occasional depletion by drought.

In conclusion, we note that although both our survey and that of the CSO were carried out during drought years, and may therefore have exaggerated poverty and inequality, it is clear that the lack of resources may be one of the major constraints limiting community support to schools.

Although desired, education is not given top priority in the allocation of these scarce resources. Our respondents said however, that even under the free education program they were still paying for cooking, library construction (primary schools), construction of kitchen, etc. They also said that they were overwhelmed with contributions for various other community development projects.

Households may be poor but through other means local authorities may have funds to contribute to local development. They may for example, tax business or have productive activities of their own. During this study we questioned local leaders, politicians and administrators on the extent of availability of local resources. The general response was that councils do not have resources to devote to secondary education. It was reported that even primary education is now totally financed by the central government because local councils could not afford it.

The following table gives some impression of the extent to which local councils in this country are reliant on the central government for finance.

TABLE 20

Sources Of Revenue For District Councils

COUNCIL NAME	AREA (km ²) (1)	POPULATION (1986 est.) (2)	RECURRENT ESTIMATES (1986-87)		
			Income (3)	Expenditure (4)	Deficit (5)
Central	142,669	346,371	2,345,200	12,335,820	9,990,62
Ghanzi	117,910	22,149	513,900	2,716,670	2,202,770
Kgalagadi	110,100	28,931	377,650	3,124,240	2,746,590
Kgalleng	7,600	49,545	485,210	2,730,890	2,245,680
Kweneng	38,120	138,757	914,900	4,866,300	3,951,400
North East	5,323	42,032	334,120	2,544,610	2,110,490
North West	130,087	86,225	641,360	4,231,520	3,590,160
South East	1,492	37,185	390,370	1,894,910	1,504,540
Southern	26,876	135,848	640,770	5,114,200	4,473,430
	<u>580,177</u>	<u>905,034</u>	<u>6,643,480</u>	<u>39,459,160</u>	<u>32,818,680</u>

Adapted from: William Tordoff, Local Administration and Development in Botswana. Unpublished paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, UK, 15-16 Dec. 1988, p.11.

Thus neither the communities nor the local authorities do not appear to be able to raise funds locally which can be used in the running of schools. The reduction of central government funding will therefore significantly affect both the quality of facilities and access to particularly secondary education.

One stakeholder in education who is not adequately covered by the partnership policy is the private sector. The role of business enterprises which are increasing in number and are located in both rural and urban areas is not specified in the current policy. However, many communities have raised their contributions to the construction of CJSS by merely sending hundreds of letters appealing for funds to businesses around and outside their villages. Indeed, much of what has been described as community contribution to CJSS would appear to have largely come from the private sector and Foreign Missions in Botswana (Own interviews in CJSS and Brigades).

However, to say that under present conditions, communities do not appear to have resources to invest on education does not mean that they should not in future be expected to raise these resources. There are some very rich households in Botswana which should start assisting development in their areas.

Objective II – Policy Issues

In this study we set ourselves the objective of investigating policy making process with a view to assess the extent to which it improves management quality of community secondary education. Our starting point was that it is important that policy is relevant, effective and implementable in order for it to make sense to the public as well as to the junior officers who have to implement it. On this issue we relied on the responses of twenty government officials that were interviewed.

Briefly described, policy making in this country is supposed to start at the grassroot level with consultation at the Kgotla, Village Development Committees (VDCs), Parents Teacher Associations (PTA), through to the local authorities who may be chiefs, District Councils, Land Boards and the District Commissioners. After these have been consulted discussions are supposed to be taken up by the line Ministry in this case Education Ministry to other ministries and departments of government. Depending on the issue,

the concerned ministry may also consult with the private sector including religious organizations. At the third stage, the issue goes to Cabinet and then back to Parliament where it might have originated as a motion from one member.

The policy making model just described is theory. In practice policy generally starts within the central bureaucracy where after some internal consultation it is sent to Cabinet which then present it to Parliament as a policy issue for debate.

The latter was the path taken by the government policy on partnership. The Ministry of Education, realizing the grave problems of community schools which included poor facilities, shortage of teachers, high fees, appalling results and generally deplorable management, decided along with the recommendations of the Education Commission (1977) to intervene. This policy, as described earlier, was intended to improve community junior secondary schools by providing them with qualified teachers, upgrading their buildings, reorganizing their management and building more schools.

There have been several problems associated with this policy:

- (i) There was inadequate consultation with the communities who owned CJSS prior to this policy. There was also limited even poor dissemination of information on the policy to both the public, council and central government officers at a local level (see chapter 4);
- (ii) The policy was rather abrupt and in a number of cases it interrupted improvements being made in some schools. As a result, some communities felt invaded by the central government.
- (iii) The policy lacked adequate information on latest development at local government level. The people expected to facilitate the implementation of the policy such as the chief, counselors, council staff and central government extension officers were overwhelmed with many projects already. They hardly ever have time to attend or address meetings on issues relating to this specific policy. Most of these have been made ex-officio members of CJSS Boards of Governors and have to attend meetings sometime, in more than one school in a locality;
- (iv) The few education officers found in districts are for primary schools. The introduction of CJSS has thus become a heavy administrative burden on them often they have no choice but to take up the job. The District Commissioners have also found themselves having to cope up with CJSS administration sometimes on issues that have not been fully explained to them.
- (v) One thing that was raised to us on a number of occasions but which can hardly be blamed to the policy as such, is the political turn that education administration of CJSS at a local level has taken. Many politicians have seen the introduction of boards of governors as a forum where they can express and advance their political goals. In some areas there have emerged tense struggles over the control of these boards. The more negative aspect of this however, has been situations where the community failed to support the CJSS because they thought the Board is led by political or some other social failures.

The pressure on the local leadership, the absence of more literate people at a local level, combined with local political struggles have resulted in very ineffective, inexperienced and less educated boards of governors. Their input in the management of the CJSS is marginal and sometimes negative. Table 25 shows the level of education of some board members studied by Moorad in 1987.

As they are currently constituted, the boards of Governors cannot be expected to make any substantive input on the management of the schools. Some headmasters even consider them a headache when they do not attend meetings and sometimes they become uncooperative.

TABLE 21

Levels of Education of B.O.G. Members (NO's)

Level of education	Managers	Deputy Treasurers Managers		Members
Primary	5 (a)	2	3	20
Junior Secondary	2	3	3	5
Senior Secondary	2	4	-	4
Primary Teacher Training	4	3	-	6
Other (Diploma, Degrees)	1	2	6(b)	1
Not stated	3	2	4	-

- Notes: (a) Most of the members did the old primary education ranging from Std IV to Std VI, i.e. about 5-8 years of formal schooling.
- (b) Almost all treasurers , bursars had undergone a special short course set up by the Ministry of Education.

On a positive note, the boards of governors have been formed and many are learning a lot in the responsibilities that they are charge with. It is therefore upon the Ministry of Education to continue with recently started workshops to help upgrade and better inform members of these boards on what their role is supposed to be. The National CJSS Association of Boards of Governors also could be formed. This forum can promote training and information for its membership.

It may also be necessary to review the current legislation on the constitution of the boards. Some of-ficers especially ex-officio members should be dropped and teacher representation included (apart from the headmaster and his deputy, teachers are not represented on the boards). May be a member each from the local business community and local church could be made ex-officio members of the boards.

The Ministry should also consider developing a Regional Education Office for Secondary School Af-fairs staffed by an education officer as supervisor, two middle level education administrators (DSE or equivalent qualification) and about three or four junior clerks (extension personnel) of O' Level qualifica-tion. The latter could be trained to work as education extension workers for CJSS and the boards.

Objective III – Effectiveness of the Education System

The third objective of this study was to evaluate the curriculum. However, in the process it was realized that already there were a number of on going studies on this subject. The Junior Secondary Education Im-provement Project (JSEIP) is all about curriculum. More recently, the Department of Curriculum Development and Evaluation has also introduced seminars and studies on the evaluation of the Nine Year basic Education Curriculum. There have also been individual studies by University staff and students on the effectiveness of the current curriculum. The more recent study was one by Tshireletso and Kann (1988) for UNESCO.

Indications are that parents and community leaders are getting increasingly concern about the ineffectiveness of the school system. In a video film study (Quambi, 1988), to which we partially participated, parents, teachers and community leaders expressed serious reservation on the number of children who finish primary and secondary school grades but end up doing nothing. They recommended more practical subjects to be included in the curriculum. They also said more technical schools are needed at a post junior secondary level.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This was not intended to be a scientific study with clearly set and testable hypotheses. On this count alone we should be cautious of our conclusions and the extent to which we can generalize its findings. The limitations of the study were outlined in chapter three. It is important that these are kept in mind when interpreting both the findings and while reading the conclusions and recommendations that follow.

The first central objective of this study was the assessment of availability and sustainability of local resources. On the basis of the answers we got and the results of the Survey of the Household Income and Expenditure Survey, we can safely conclude that at the moment local resources are very limited. Neither households nor local authorities appear not to have adequate resources to invest in education. Most households are barely above the most conservative levels of poverty. Preoccupation with the basic necessities of life considerably limits participation of all forms in educational development.

By its nature, the major community resource livestock is unsustainable. Under regular mild to severe droughts, many households have had a lot of their cattle, small stock, etc., completely depleted. Many households which were relatively well off a few years ago may now be on the verge of poverty. We therefore conclude that as a source of school income livestock alone can not be relied upon. Until the local economies have diversified and output increased, the local resource base remains narrow and susceptible to a wide range of factors.

Financial or material support is only one of the many ways local communities can participate in educational development. Communities can provide skills, advise and time on the management of schools. They can ensure that curriculum is made relevant and scarce resources are optimally used. Communities and other sections of the society such as religious Missions and the private sector can provide ways of improving the efficiency of the education system. However, during this study, we found that among the major obstacles to community participation is the lack of managerial and other skills in the communities. Given the general low levels of education in the country, members of the boards of governors are of poor backgrounds and their contribution to school management remains marginal.

The second objective of the study was the analysis of the existing policy instrument. The partnership policy which was introduced in the mid 1980s was found to be full of flaws. Firstly, the policy was not based on adequate information on what is happening on the local level. As a result, it was highly presumptuous of what the communities can or cannot afford. Secondly, this policy lacked consultation and proper communication to the other stakeholders. The partnership being advanced was not negotiated and agreed upon. Instead, it was thought through by the central government bureaucracy and implemented by a poor informed local government personnel. Consequently, the policy has faced resistance and distortion which could have been avoided.

However, now that it is in place, and that under it new structures have been created, what needs to be done is to strengthen these structures, reorganize some and coordinate them with other institutions so as to improve their performance. More needs to be defined on what local structures are supposed to do vis-a-vis the center. The revision of the Education Act of 1978 which is long overdue is taking long to come. That legislation needs to be more elaborate and definitive on a number of management issues.

The idea of community-school integration is a noble one but also one which is easily romantic. It is a long-term goal requiring a lot of effort on both sides. So far nothing worth mention seems to be happening in this area. The schools are still largely isolated from the community and the community is unaware of what is happening around the school. So far the changes which do not appear to have had much positive impact are the fact that in most schools over 70 percent of students are nonboarders. However, in large villages and towns this is nothing new. A large number of students have been day scholars even for senior schools. The second type of change is that, now the community is being called upon to participate in school administration through the boards of governors. Again, in most places this change is minor because schools have had PTAs for several years.

In our view, CJSSs need to do much more in the practical area to attract community attention. They can produce and sell more vegetables, repair some simple implements in their carpentry workshops, mount vegetable production workshops for members of the community through their 4B clubs. They also need to have open days and occasional evening public lectures on issues of relevance to community development. So far we know very little about practical activities taking place in the schools. A number of CJSS we know produce vegetables but most of this is agricultural science examination oriented (see recommendations).

The huge gap that still exists between the CJSS and the community is largely attributable to a leadership vacuum. Community leaders including chiefs, counselors, members of Parliament and local and central government officers appear not to be adequately motivated as they were in the past. Currently everything is attributed to Gaborone and if action does not come from there things get stuck.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Resource Base

RC1. Botswana is still a poor country but there are a few households who are very rich. These are found in both the rural and urban areas. These must be made to pay the cost of educating their children.

RC2. Since most communities have a limited resource base, they should be encouraged to contribute "in kind" e.g., with labor to clear school sites, mold bricks and provide fire wood for the school.

RC3. Labor intensive/drought relief activities should also cover work at CJSS.

RC4. Rural economy should be helped to diversify and moved into non livestock activities.

RC5. Local businesses should be encouraged to take a more active part in CJSS management and finance.

RC6. An annual development fee previously charged by self-help schools should be reintroduced in all CJSS at a uniform rate of say P25.00.

Policy

RC7. The Partnership policy should be operationalized and disseminated through the radio.

RC8. The Ministry of Education should continue with dissemination seminars but should also involve more people from the communities.

RC9. There should be a training program for the board of governors on basic management techniques and on the partnership policy. This can be done under the national association of the boards of governors.

RC10. In addition to establishing a post of the information officer in MOE, the Ministry should establish a cheap low to middle level cadre of education personnel who will man local/regional offices under present expanding education system.

RC11. The MOE should establish a permanent national forum for disseminating information on matters of education. The radio program should also be considered for this.

CJSS

RC12. Unless it reaches out to the community the community will not come to it. CJSS should reach out through productive activities such vegetable production, weaving, drama, etc. Currently, CJSS appear to be doing very little in this direction. A study to assess exact what these schools are doing that can benefit both the community the students should be done as soon as possible.

RC13. The private sector should be involved in identifying and supporting school based community activities.

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