CHAPTER 2

ASSESSMENT IN THE PRIMARY SECTOR IN SWAZILAND – an HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter outlines the context within which Swaziland adopted the CA programme by, first, giving a brief account of the form of assessment system that was in place in the primary schools at the time the programme was introduced. Against this background, the discussion highlights concerns that were raised against the old system and clarifies the reasons for the adoption of CA. As part of the latter, the basic principles underpinning CA as a strategy to improve the efficiency and quality of the education system are examined on the basis of, mainly, contemporary learning and assessment theories. Second, the chapter highlights the implications of these principles when set against the capacity of teachers who are expected to use CA in primary schools. The nature and scope of the challenges the country has to deal with are clarified by looking at the structure and content of the different qualifications held by practising teachers. The discussion raises questions about the extent to which they will be able or unable to cope with the expectations of CA.

2.2 PRIMARY SCHOOL ASSESSMENT IN SWAZILAND BEFORE INDEPENDENCE IN 1968

Formal schooling in Swaziland was introduced by Methodist and Lutheran missionary societies in the 19th century. Other missionary groups that got involved with education were the Church of the Nazarene in 1909 and the Roman Catholics in 1914. They were responsible for the beginnings of formal schools in the country as the colonial administration was not keen on doing so. According to Booth (2003:38):

without the adequate resources needed to develop a proper system of education for all children in the territory, and in the absence of the direct
mandate from London to do so, the administration was willing to leave most of the task of African schooling in the hands of the various missionary societies.

The goal of missionary education was to ensure “development of character, health, agriculture\ industrial training, family life, and healthful recreation” (Ibid.:41). For the missionary societies the ‘gospel’, and teaching Swazis how to read and write, was enough to improve their plight. This continued to be the focus of teaching until the colonial administration felt that the education system should do more. Also, lack of trust in what the missionaries were doing led to the administration’s interest in monitoring what was happening in education. There was a great debate over the nature of the content of education in terms of whether it should strictly be practical, that is focus on agriculture and industrial skills; whether it should include academic content that would develop the Swazi learners intellectually; or whether it should remain focused merely on teaching them how to read and write. As a result, despite the differences in interest between the colonies, there was general agreement amongst the various factions to work together in as far as education was concerned.

The education system was structured to meet the needs of the labour market and the missionary societies’ goals of ‘civilising’ native Swazi people, who were to be taught to be ‘good Christians’ and citizens who would be willing to provide cheap labour for White farms and industries. In addition, they were to be encouraged to be content with farming their land rather than developing an interest in moving to town. Education was supposed to ensure that they were happy where they were in the rural areas, reflecting: “…the desire to educate Africans at a level which would contribute to industrial / agricultural training, yet not so academic in content as to cause [them] to seek professional positions not open to them, which could lead to widespread frustrations, or simply drift to town.” (Booth, 2003:43).

This was clear in what the curriculum comprised in terms of subjects taught at school to Swazi school children up to standard IV: Arithmetic, English, Handwriting, Singing (Music), Hygiene / Domestic Science for Girls (which involved cleanliness,
health, sewing and domestic hygiene) Nature study, Drawing / Arts and Craft for boys (they were encouraged to produce some of the traditional crafts that were part of their community), Physical Science (sports and recreation), History, and Geography. Also important, due to the evangelist concerns of the missionaries, was Religious Instruction, based mainly on Bible lessons, with learners having to learn to read and write in Zulu because they were using that translation and not one in Siswati.

The concerns of the administration were based on the idea that, “if the natives were to be taught only to read and write in order to learn the scriptures, …then many an honest plough-boy would be turned into a pedantic pedagogue or city loafer” (Booth, 2003:44). Education had to create a class of permanent wage-earners who would provide cheap labour to white farms and the industries. The administration advocated “an agricultural bias in the African curriculum in order to give the Swazi the inclination to seek contentment and prosperity from his own land” (Booth, 2003:43). This was also considered to be a way in which they would be kept in places where it would be easy to manage them and thus lessen problems for the colonialists. By 1916, 8 schools that were not under the direct control of missionaries had been established. However, the nature of the education that was to be provided was ‘discriminatory’. It ignored the need to educate the wider population of people in the country. Whites and ‘Coloureds’¹ were allowed more access to schools than indigenous Swazis. According to Booth (2003), by the 1920s it was clear that Swaziland was following a segregated system of education:

expenditures for Swazi education had historically been substantially less than funds for European education. The administration not only spent less money per pupil on the education of Swazi children (than any other ethnic group), it was also becoming well known during the 1930s that the Swazi population was in fact partially subsidizing (through taxation) the education of European children. Approximately 6765 Great Britain Pounds [GBP] was spent on native education for 30,000 Swazi children, whereas [GBP] 4226 was spent

¹ The term, referring to people of mixed race, was applied in the same way as in the South African context, with Swaziland being then having become a High Commissioned Territory and so subject to South African system of governance.
on only 300 European students. That translated to an expenditure of [GBP] 4,43 per Swazi child, versus [GBP] 14,08 for each European pupil” (Booth 2003: 42).

The Inspector of schools in Swaziland, Henry Dumbell, viewed this situation as one that could create problems for the Europeans, especially in cases where they were living in the same area as Swazis who were gradually becoming aware of what was happening. For him this was an issue of concern, especially since the Swazis were paying for the education of the Europeans through taxes. He suggested that more money be put into funding education for the native Swazis, in order to avoid a situation where they could begin to riot. On the other hand, he was concerned about what would happen if more Swazis were to be highly educated. Despite these concerns – perhaps because of them - there were no significant adjustments in the funding.

Not only did colonial education discriminate between natives and Europeans, but neither were females encouraged to attend school, with no equal access to school based on gender. The issue of educating Swazi girls was addressed only after recommendations were made in the 1925 Phelps-Stokes Report, amongst others that:

three vital aspects of domestic care within African homesteads (cooking, clothing and housekeeping) were wholly dependent on women. Therefore, when women remained ignorant of the proper ways to perform these tasks, [the report argued] the development of civilization was hindered. (Booth, 2003:48).

The Swazi way of life was seen as ‘backward’ or ‘uncivilised’, and any subjects taught to girls were merely aimed at ‘improving’ their home life, as based on European ways of living. Consequently, the curriculum introduced emphasised health and hygiene, gardening, and sewing. Whatever the merits or demerits of this new initiative, very few girls completed their primary school education. As Booth (2003:55) points:
at independence the education of Swazi females (while high in enrolment rates) continued to be less successful in enabling large numbers of girls to stay in the school system, to achieve full literacy, complete their primary education, and have any hope of acquiring a secondary education.

Even though the period just prior to independence saw an attempt to improve education provision on the part of government, there were still problems in the education system. As Roberts (2005:2) writes: “although participation in primary education was high there was still a high drop out rate at the end of basic education.” The number of school-going children had not increased significantly, and poor Swazis could not afford school fees. As a result, many children could not be sent to school or, if already there, dropped out. Early teenage pregnancy and having to walk long distances to school were other problems.

Assessment was summative and intended to gather evidence on how much learners could recall of what they were taught. Tests were conducted internally by teachers in the schools. As was common practice in the colonialists countries, at the end of each year a certain percentage of learners passed while others failed. In Simpson’s (1990:174) view, it is reasonable to look at this form of assessment today as a way of working that was “rooted in a simplistic model of learning and teaching – that pupils only learn what they are explicitly taught, and that if they have not learned what they have been taught, they haven’t learned at all.”

Assessment was mainly through paper and pencil tests that enabled teachers to have proof of what had been done. Neither was there any attempt to make test items that would establish whether or not learners had grasped the essence of the lesson objectives. Rather, emphasis was on the recall of content (Magagula, 1995). The NERCOM (1985:2) report argued that the system used in the colonial days and in the years after independence ignored taking care of individual capabilities and limitations: “In Swaziland the problem is that there are no alternative examinations whereas in other countries alternative examinations are offered to cater for students
with different abilities.” The report also noted that traditional tests affected learners’ performance due to the anxiety and pressure that came with working on assessment under controlled situations. This led to poor performance, especially with the low ability learners who could not think or express themselves clearly under the pressure of limited time (NERCOM, 1985; Tungesvick, 1998:25).

Decisions on whether or not learners were to progress to the next class relied on a single end-of-year examination. Assessment was not used to detect learning problems that should be attended to before moving to another stage of learning. The end-of-year performance records did not take into account the knowledge and skills that learners had already acquired. If they failed the examination, regardless of their performance throughout the year, they were made to repeat the class (cf. CA Testing Module, 1994). The end-of-year marks were recorded in the ‘scheme and record book’, an official book used by teachers to plan what and how they would teach for the whole year. In the book is also space where teachers record end-of-term marks for the learners, a method still in use at the time of writing this thesis.

Schools did not have a report card, but used scheme and record books. In most cases there were no facilities for designing report cards, especially in the rural areas. The teacher also had to point out the number of learners who were promoted to the next class and those who were not. With the example given above, this would mean that of the 14 learners, 10 passed and 4 failed, after calculating the marks in the score sheet. Learners would then be called to assembly and different class teachers called out names of those who had passed and failed. They often started with the one with the highest marks and were considered as having attained ‘position one’ in a class. Drawing on the table below, Gamedze Zinhle would be called first. The teacher would then continue calling learners according to their positions until the last one, in this case, Zwane Zababa. Learners who had obtained total marks of less than 50 over 100 [total marks for all subjects] failed the standard. Learners had to communicate the information to their parents, whether they had passed or not. Often there would be no report that explained what went wrong with those who failed. Table 1 below illustrates the point that is made (names and marks are fictitious).
# Table 1: AN EXAMPLE OF STUDENTS’ END OF TERM PERFORMANCE RECORD [before introduction of CA]

**TIKHETSELE PRIMARY SCHOOL**  
Class Teacher: Mrs V.M Dlamini  
**Standard:** IV  
**Term Ending:** 12 August 1968  
Each Subject has 10 marks [Total marks 100]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Ma</th>
<th>Eng</th>
<th>Zul</th>
<th>Scie</th>
<th>H/W</th>
<th>Hist</th>
<th>Geo</th>
<th>Mus</th>
<th>D/Sci</th>
<th>A/C</th>
<th>P/S</th>
<th>TM</th>
<th>RM</th>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Dlamini Ntombi</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12/F</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gamedze Zinhle</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14/F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**  
Ma – Arithmetic, Eng – English, Zul – Zulu, Scie – Science, H/W – Hand Writing,  
Hist – History, Geo – Geography, Mus – Music, D/Sci – Domestic Science / Hygiene,  
A/C – Arts and Craft, Dra – Drawing, P/S – Physical Science, TM- total marks for
each individual over the total marks of all the subjects, RM – indicates the position out of the 14 learners and whether the individual has passed or failed.

The situation in Swaziland reflected traditional assessment as described by Broadfoot (1995:33): “they are not frequent enough, nor sufficiently integrated into the normal routines and curricular emphases of a given classroom to provide guidance for pupils and teachers about appropriate individual learning targets.” As she further explains, this form of assessment, when first practised:

was in response to the institution of mass educational provision and the associated need to provide a ‘ladder of opportunity’ into the expanding industrial economies of that era. The need [was] to find mechanisms of selection that would be both socially acceptable and identify the best candidates.” (Ibid.: 9).

This form of traditional pen and paper test is described by Izard (1991:8) as “assessment based on tasks done under conditions controlled for pace and sequence.” When used, the learner’s individuality is not taken into consideration, rather it is assumed learners are all the same and equally capable of engaging with tasks within the same time. According to Hargreaves and Schmidt (2002:76):

historically classroom assessment has been the hurdle that students needed to overcome to show they were ready for the next stage. It occurred at the end of instruction, that is, the end of a class, a unit, a semester, or a school year, and was a symbol of completion and a comment on the adequacy of learning. The substance of learning was much less important than teachers’ collective judgement about their students’ learning potential as demonstrated in routine classroom tests and exams.

As regards assessment in Swaziland’s primary schools, Magagula (1995:8) argues that:
in fact, the education system, especially at the primary level, lack[ed] properly formulated, executed and co-ordinated systems of continuous assessment, remediation and enrichment programmes that will minimise inefficiency in the education system. This means that pupils are unlikely to overcome difficulties with their work before they reach the major examination point.

The government of Swaziland attempted to maximise the value of output at primary school level and achieve what was generally considered to be efficiency, when compared to the cost of input. After taking over from colonial rule, it embarked on a number of educational reforms that were a result of the philosophy of the Imbokodvo National Movement that ‘every child has a right to receive education’. As a result, “since independence in 1968, enrolments at the primary level more than tripled, from about 50,000 to 190,000 today” (Magagula, 1995:2). As Tungesvick noted in 1998, “the number of primary schools has expanded rapidly and the gender gap has been closing” (1998:19), a point supported by McDermont (2003:1), when he pointed out that “there has been an increase in literacy rate of about 10% per annum, from 44% in 1966 to current estimates of 80% in 1992.”

In addition to these improvements, the number of teachers grew from 1,600 to 5,300 at primary level and from 300 to 2,400 at secondary level (Dawson, 1997:2). This was accompanied by an increase in the provision of learning materials and other facilities. Dawson (1997:2) asserts that the government’s:

allocation of resources, combined with the determination of communities in the country to invest in education, and build schools, served to boost education's growth in quantitative terms. The system was growing and catching up with the backlog accumulated from pre-independence days…

With an increase in the number of learners who attended school, concern shifted to the quality of teaching and learning within the primary education system, which was further reviewed to identify problems requiring immediate attention. The National Education Review Commission of 1975 was thus guided by the following principles:
• Education is an inalienable right of every child and citizen to receive to the limit of his / her capabilities.
• The purpose of education is to produce an enlightened and participant citizenry.
• Content must be work-oriented from primary to highest level.
  (NEC, 1975)

According to the NERCOM Report (1985:1-2) that resulted from this review, “it has been realised that in democratising education it is not enough to broaden access to education but it is equally important to provide equal opportunities to all children of Swaziland to succeed within the education system.” Opening access to schools brought about issues not planned for, such as the need for more resources and improvements in the professional development of teachers so that they could better handle the needs of individual learners. As expressed in the NERCOM Report (1985:1):

the Hon. Minister’s plea to his cabinet colleagues was that we have reached reasonable levels on the quantitative aspects of education, and there was now the need to consolidate what has been achieved so far. It is now time to consider how the quality of our education could be improved…

Education was to be democratised through building more schools throughout the country, to which girls were to have equal access. New schools, with classes ranging from grade 1 to grade 7, were to be fairly distributed within the country and existing missionary schools upgraded so that there would be enough fully-equipped primary schools. The aim was to add to the already expanded educational services within the country. As a result of these recommendations, in 1993 the Ministry of Education’s view was that expansion in the building of schools meant that “there are sufficient places in primary schools for all children who are of school going age and … the system is growing sufficiently to accommodate all school-going age children in the future” (Magagula, 1995:14).

Amongst other findings of NERCOM, the education system was criticised for:
providing low quality, irrelevant content education, [which] leaves in its wake generations of Swazis who are less able to think independently, to solve problems, to participate meaningfully in a fast changing economy, or to interact effectively within civil society (McDermott (2003:1).

Memorising subject content was seen to be inadequate for effective education. The argument was for an efficient system that was to teach learners to think imaginatively and to come up with solutions to problems. The system of teaching was restrictive to the teaching and learning process as it did not address learning problems or weaknesses in time, leading to high numbers of repeaters and school dropouts. According to NERCOM (1985:31-32):

the number of school leavers (taken as those who fail SPCE) at the primary level ha[d] increased by 30 percent between 1975 and 1983… These [were] pupils whose future [was] bleak in the formal sector or rural sector employments. There is reason therefore, for the government to consider more seriously re-organising the curriculum or diversify it in order to provide for alternative examination for different talents…

McDermott (2003:1) also explains that, “…while these achievements are laudable in quantitative terms, difficulties became more apparent upon further analysis. Learners were dropping out of school and very few of those at school were in the appropriate grades for their age.” The report also criticised assessment as contributing to inefficiency in the education system by being primarily a means of comparing performance and accentuating differences amongst learners. It could not be drawn on easily when there was a need to advise and help learners overcome their shortcomings whilst there was still time (before reaching major examination points). Assessment was not fully used for the benefit of pupils, their parents or, of course, their teachers.

Finding a way of ensuring that the school curriculum catered for different learners’ talents and limitations, and helped reduce the repetition of grades and drop out rates,
became the new objective of post-independence government. It advocated a three-pronged approach that dealt with issues related to teaching, testing and remedying. There was to be a shift from the traditional, teacher-centred approach of teaching and testing to a child-centred approach that included CA. Every child was to be considered as a successful learner and viewed as capable of progressing to the next level of learning. The next section looks at this.

2.3 CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT (CA) AS A STRATEGY FOR LEARNERS’ COGNITIVE AND TEACHERS’ PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN SWAZILAND

In the context of Swaziland, CA emphasizes the need for teachers to:

- Have clear lesson objectives.
- Be sure all teaching and activities are geared to helping students meet that objective.
- Test to see how well each child has met the objective.
- Help those children who need more instruction on this objective.

CA Handbook (1994:2)

The programme emphasizes the recycling of learners in the learning process until they master the set lesson objectives. It also proposes that assessment be conducted over an extended period of time rather than on a single occasion. Learners are to be assessed internally by their teachers, as well as externally at certain points in their education. Both assessments have to be considered when decisions on the learner’s promotion to the next class are made. The recorded grades or marks aggregated into a final grade are to be used for deciding on the learner’s school progression. The hope is that ongoing assessment will provide teachers with a more rounded view of the learner’s performance, strengths and weaknesses, instead of relying on examination only. Trends in performance could be identified and when this is affected by certain factors, it would be easier to determine. In short, the programme values the practical knowledge of teachers and encourages them to use it (Gule et al., 2001).
Every learner is considered capable of success, provided there is appropriate instruction and sufficient time. In the CA Handbook (1994:4) it is highlighted that:

given enough time and right teaching, all pupils can learn [for] each objective. Pupils differ in how much time they need to learn a skill or idea. They also learn in different ways. It is the job of the teacher and the school to give pupils enough time to learn, good teaching and a good place to learn. That will give every single Swazi child a chance to become a successful learner.

As NERCOM (1985:61-62), also emphasized “…the system should explore the pupils’ inclination and capabilities in order to develop them and ensure that each child will succeed in accordance with his/her talents”. Instead of comparing learners’ performance, the CA programme has to gauge the extent to which a learner has met the objective and it is possible for all to pass the test provided they have understood the content.

In addition to paper and pencil tests, the new system expects teachers to use a wide range of assessment strategies that will enable them to reflect and, where necessary, improve what they do for learners. In accordance with the Framework for National Assessment (1999:3), they have to assess skills and processes that lend themselves easily to short paper based tasks. Projects and assignments are to be used to assess extended work and observations to assess important skills and processes that do not lend themselves easily to paper and pencil tests. In short, assessment has to include a variety of tasks, such as assignments, essays, oral tests, practical tests, portfolios, interviews and teacher observation. The belief is that when a variety of assessment tasks and strategies are used equity can be enhanced.

The approach has been introduced to change assessment from being judgmental to being formative. There is a deliberate coupling of diagnosing what each learner can do and cannot do with identifying what hinders and can help reinforce or improve learning. Teachers are assumed to be experts in their subjects who should not have
difficulty in framing its content. They are expected to be responsible for planning teaching that is responsive to every individual’s needs and making decisions about which strategies would be appropriate for effective learning by facilitating a deeper understanding of what is taught. They ought to possess the necessary skills and conceptual tools to identify problems and make decisions on appropriate ways of knowledge-organisation, styles of assessment, diagnosis of learning problems and relevant ways of dealing with them. However, in the case of Swaziland, with the exception of a Mathematics course studied as a specialization, there has been no attempt to build this capacity through initial teacher education programmes.

A brief description of the curricula, and the different qualifications that practising teachers have been exposed to, will help to clarify the general concern regarding effective implementation of CA in schools.

2.4 TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULA IN SWAZILAND FROM POST-INDEPENDENCE TO 2004

According to Tungesvick (1998:21), in 1995 there were 5,917 primary school teachers in Swaziland, 24% of whom were men and 76% women. 91% of these teachers had received some form of professional education, which can be sub-divided into three groups of qualifications: Lower Primary Certificate (LPC), Primary Teacher’s Certificate (PTC) and Primary Teacher’s Diploma (PTD). Teachers with LP have standard 6 (Grade 8) as their highest academic level, but have no O-level certificate. These are mainly teachers who were educated through a programme that was started by missionaries to develop teachers whose main role was to help people learn to read and write. At this time, the school curriculum was more practical (skills-related to arts and craft, farming and industry), and Christianity, rather than academic in terms of content.

Soon after the country became independent, in the bid to improve the education system, the Imbokodvo National Party decided to improve the teacher education programme. The view expressed at the time was that “... the contents of the syllabi for
the training of teachers needs examination to ensure that we get the right type of teachers properly oriented with special reference to Swaziland...” (Imbokodvo Manifesto, 1972:26). Teacher education was to ensure that teachers were ready to inculcate a set of values believed by the ruling party to be ‘Swazi’. The 1975 Review Commission introduced a teacher education programme that upgraded the LP to a PTC. Initially this was a two-year teacher education programme at post Junior Certificate. The programme’s entry requirements were later upgraded to O-level, due to demand, but without any change in the curriculum. In addition to principles of education and teaching methods, practical arts were taught to teachers to ensure that learners continued to be taught handcrafts of use in their everyday lives. The student teachers did not specialise in any subject, but were prepared to handle and teach all the subjects taught at primary schools. PTC has continued to be the basic teacher education programme for teachers at primary school level.

The thinking behind teacher education has not changed since the Imbokodvo Manifesto, despite the adoption of innovative programmes such as CA, except for interventions mainly through USAID (cf. Tungesvick, 1998). With its help, the PTC has been replaced by a Primary Teacher’s Diploma, which is a post O-level qualification. Its duration is three years post O-level, with sufficient time being allocated for methodology and practical training (NERCOM, 1985:88). The curriculum is organised as follows:

i) Compulsory Courses:

- Principles and Methods of Education, Psychology and Sociology of Education and School Administration.
- Arts and Craft – teaching of traditional craft was crucial so that culture could be further introduced in the school curriculum. It also includes blackboard work and developing teaching aids that student teachers can use later on during teaching practice.
- Physical Education – involves music and sports (such as netball, football and athletics).
ii) Student teachers are also allowed to specialise in one of the following combinations:

- Mathematics and Science.
- English and siSwati - according to NERCOM (1985) including siSwati in the curriculum was an opportunity not only to understand the language but also to promote the teaching of Swazi culture. It stipulates that teaching siSwati should include elements of culture such as “Swazi ceremonies, folklore, folktales and all other aspects of the Swazi way of life” (p.14).
- Home Economics and Agriculture - Home Economics should “provide teachers with skills to teach cookery, nutrition and related areas in the primary schools” (p.48), and Agriculture “give students a more positive attitude towards agriculture which provides livelihood of the majority of our [Swazi] people” (p.510). There was a need for the maintenance of social harmony through reducing the extent to which missionary education is considered to have destroyed Swazi culture. Student teachers were to be trained in a way that made them fit for their instrumental role of exposing school learners to Swazi culture so that they remained respectful and loyal to authority. In short, the intention was to produce teachers who would not threaten the views and way of life of the Swazis, but preserve the country’s hegemony.
- History, Religious Knowledge and Geography (Social Studies) – these were to be the key towards exposing learners to what the Swazi society valued. “Social Studies was the tool used by the colonial powers to divorce Africans from their cultural heritage and it is now the tool that African educationists use to return the young to their roots” (NERCOM, 1985:14). The report also highlighted that “teacher education [should] prepare suitable and competent persons to transmit by the best possible means culture, training and knowledge to all sectors of the schooling system” (p.87).
Even though The National Policy Statement (1999) states that to be in a position to respond to the requirements of the new programme there is an urgent need to reorient teacher education, “the Ministry of Education shall provide in-service facilities to improve knowledge and expertise of serving teachers and keep them in step with current trends of the teaching profession” (p.8), the CA programme does not seem to have brought about a shift in thinking about the envisaged change in the role of teachers. The language of policy does not make this new role clear and a problem could be created for those who prepare students (Ball, 1994). In addition, it can safely be assumed that the 9% of the unqualified teachers who are mainly temporary O-level graduates with no professional training, perform classroom work that is generally informed by their own experiences as learners.

2.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The language of skilling implied in the CA programme can, in general, be traced to the emergence of ‘post-Fordism’ in advanced capitalist economies. It has been characterised by technological and industrial innovations and organisational changes aimed at ensuring that economies able to compete successfully in the world market do so, on the basis of trade in value-added manufactured goods. However, understanding this and its relationship to human resource development is not possible without a clear conception of the paradigm shift in production methods from Fordism to post-Fordism. The next chapter tries to illustrate which of these two concepts is implied in the discourse of CA used in Swaziland. An attempt is also made to determine the implications of this discourse for teacher education and, in particular, teachers’ capacity to implement the CA programme.