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Gaborone, Goaletsa Tebatso

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Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng: Building a Mofokeng who can actively participate in South Africa's 21st century economy.

Goaletsa Tebatso Gaborone

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology.

Johannesburg, 2014

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Goaletsa Tebatso Gaborone

On this 14th day of July 2014.

ABSTRACT

Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng, the first private school initiated with the wealth generated from the platinum mining of the Royal Bafokeng Nation comes into the limelight after many years of work. Like a butterfly, the school has undergone a metamorphosis of ideology, philosophy and geography to make it what it is today. The principal tenet of this institution was to produce agents of social change within the Royal Bafokeng Nation schools but at the same time geared at being the key instrument for the broader education strategy of the Royal Nation project. A large majority of students in this school were selected from the public schools of the Royal Bafokeng Nation. As such, this research investigates the experiences of the students as they transition from the public to the private schools arena so as to determine if the envisaged goal is being achieved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the presence of God: this degree was the most tempestuous time of my life and without the solace I took in that higher power, this work would have never taken shape. Professor David B Coplan, a committed teacher and supervisor who listened, cared, advised and continues to impart the most valuable lessons. The JC Carstens Trust for the research funding which aided in the writing of this work. The Research and Planning Department, Archives Staff, Dr Charles Mironko, Rre Arthur Mmutle and Rre Ramogari Masilo at the Royal Bafokeng Institute a heartfelt thank you for the invaluable input, contributions, consultation and assistance with documentation. To the teachers, students, parents and support staff of Lebone II College for me making me feel at home and availing themselves to speak to me about my research, the contributions were very insightful and eye opening. Kgosana Motepe and his family for giving me a home, I thank you for the personal experiences shared of the Bafokeng history. Lastly Mohumagadi Mme Semane Molotlegi and Rangwane Magosi Tumagole, I thank you for your time, knowledge and patience in answering all the questions I had.

Le Ka Moso Bakwena

Pula!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DOE	*Department of Education*
HM	*Her Majesty*
RBA	*Royal Bafokeng Administration*
RBI	*Royal Bafokeng Institute*
RBN	*Royal Bafokeng Nation*

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Introduction: The Past, Present and the Future

Education is a subject of importance owned by not one particular person but multitudes of people all across the world. Its significance knows no colour, social status or economic standing. The Bafokeng are not different from any other entity as they believe that education is an inheritance that can never be exhausted. It is available in different forms and can be imparted in different ways moreover, "there is a place where education can take a person to throughout his/her experience of life" (HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview28.10.2013).

This research reports aims to give a detailed ethnography of how an ethnic corporation rolls up its sleeves to intervene in the affairs of its people with an aim to better their lives. More importantly by taking the risk of setting up an educational institution, a project that is a first of its kind to be established to pave and lead the way in improving the teaching within its schools.

Background to Study

It was in the year 2010, on the 12th of October, in one of the last seminars for my Honours Approaches to Culture course under the theme of 'cultural capital' that I encountered the 'Royal Bafokeng'.I had heard of them before but not in a manner that made them a subject for academic discourse. Having an ability to recall events and occurrences with exactness I thought long and hard about why this ethnic group or at least their name rings a bell. Then it hit me, prior to coronation, the heir to the throne died I was only in grade eight but I thought if SABC Africa was broadcasting all the proceedings of the funeral, this man must have been very important. This was the funeral of Mollwane Boikanyo Molotlegi who was also known as Lebone II.

The purpose of this paper is to address what Lebone II's idea of a school of excellence is for the Mofokeng child. Furthermore, research will not be limited to the students experience in the classroom but also within and outside of the school. It will also highlight the way in which students negotiate their occupation of space within the community as they have to manoeuvre through situations of hostility and animosity from community members who are disgruntled and misinformed about what is taking place at Lebone II. This paper does not dwell on the negatives but also shares the highs, positives and sentiments of students since enrolling into Lebone II.

I also aim to bring to light findings, observations but most importantly questions that the ethnic corporate management could find significant as they continue to move forward. Questions that could guide them on how things could be done differently or how certain issues could be addressed so that everyone has a clear sense of how things operate and in which direction are things headed. There are people working with in the various organs of the Bafokeng ethnic corporation, whose work contributes to the functioning of the whole. It is always important to stop and reflect on how far they have gone with regards to working towards a set goal.

Statement of Research

The main objective for undertaking this evaluation research is to investigate how Bafokeng children (and their parents) understand the impact of Lebone II education on their current and future lives and also if they see the education they are receiving in practice as fulfilling their expectations. The aim in this regard is to also investigate where the interest in education for the Royal Bafokeng Nation comes from and if demonstrable, draw lessons from the way in which the Royal Bafokeng have reformed, transformed and improved learning through

Lebone II. In parallel the study seeks to establish how staff and other stake holders understand the role of Lebone II in the lives of Bafokeng learners.

Research Question: Do experiences of actual learners at Lebone II reflect the stated strategy in education of the Royal Bafokeng Nation?

Lebone II College in Phokeng is an institution which the Royal Bafokeng Nation prides themselves, as a facility that is a cut above the rest giving preference to the children of this community that exhibit potential to succeed academically and nurture their growth so that it matures. This question is of importance because in broader context of Royal Bafokeng Nation as a whole Lebone II is a lab school, an opportunity to work with something new until it works in a manner that is beneficial as opposed to being a magnet school that aims to pull other schools towards it. The end result will be to disseminate the culture adapted by Lebone II to other Royal Bafokeng Nation schools.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this research is drawn from the works of Schensul and Trotter (1998) and was intended to "identify cultural patterns, networks, or other factors likely to help a program or to determine consistency of implementation and outcome". The idea is to understand how is it that they are able to set a goal and work towards it. Furthermore for anthropological purposes, to understand what teaching culture thy have adopted at Lebone II that enables them to make significant progress towards helping the Royal Bafokeng Nation achieve its vision for education.

Historical Positioning of Phokeng

Phokeng, "which is situated outside Rustenburg in the former Western Transvaal" (Bozzoli 1991:27) weaves itself into the pages of history initially during the reign of Kgosi Mokgatle who "between the early 1840s and the mid-1860s, the Bafokeng were rendered effectively landless" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:98) but in the interest of securing a future this led to the decision to land to be purchasing in an effort to ensure that the Bafokeng would always have a home. Regiments of young men sent as contract workers to the diggings in and around Kimberley by Mokgatle deposited a portion of their wages into a designated fund and this money through the connivance the chief had established with Christian evangelists of the Hermansburg mission established in 1867 was used to execute a long string of real estate transactions" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:99). All who succeeded to rule the Bafokeng maintained this tradition but cemented Phokeng as the stronghold of the leadership of the Bafokeng. "In1924, the Merensky Reef was discovered beneath the Bafokeng territory which is said to contain much of the world's supply of platinum group metals, along with rich deposits of chromite and graphite" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:100). Over a century later, South Africa was neck laced by an oppressive system of governance: Apartheid, which saw Phokeng become a battlefield for a people who desired to have their leadership steer them as they have always done as opposed to this self-serving puppet system of governance. Once upon a time it was negotiation table of the traditional leadership and in another the super bowl of joy when the legal battles were over and the courts made their decisions in favour of the 'People of the Dew'. Almost a decade and a half later Phokeng is now termed the capital region of what has now come to be known as the Royal Bafokeng Nation, land which "extends up to 2000 square kilometres in size with a population of almost 300 000 people and consists of 29villages" (Nthau 2002:53). This is where we find Legato (Royal Family residence), Royal Bafokeng Administration, Royal Bafokeng Institute, to mention but a few

of the royal nation project entities but most importantly Lebone II College the focal point of this research.

Time Line of Royal Bafokeng History

This is a chronological order to the event s that helped shape the history of the Bafokeng dating as far back as the significant moment in their history to the most recent events. It does not concentrate much on the different Kgosis who led the Bafokeng that is not to say they are not important but rather focuses on events that shaped the history of Lebone II particularly those shaping their history and finally the birth of their private school: Lebone II.

- 1867- Establishment of the Hermansburg Mission established by Missionary Christoph Penzhorn who holds the land in trust for Kgosi Mokgatle. He also introduced education to the Bafokeng
- 1877- A 500strong regiment of men is sent to work on the diamond fields of Kimberley and agree to deposit £5 from their wages into a trust set up by Kgosi Mokgatle to buy land to ensure that the Bafokeng would always have a home, a tradition that every Kgosi of the Bafokeng has carried on.
- 1913 Land Act- permits the blacks to own land and so the tradition is executed under August Molotlegi.
- 1924-Discovery of Merensky Reef which holds the world's largest supply of platinum group metals
- 1960s- Platinum mining begins
- Bophuthatswana homeland created for Batswana set up, presided over by Lucas Mangope.
- 1978- Bafokeng receive first royalty payment which could easily be manipulated to mining giant's advantage
- 1985- "The Deeps" mining area opened with an increased royalty payment which led to conflict between Impala Mining Company and Bophuthatswana government.

- 1988- Coup staged to over throw Mangope but fails Kgosi Edward LeboneI Molotlegi forced into exile.
- 1990-George Mokgwaro Molotlegi installed as ruler
- 1994-Kgosi Lebone I, wife and children return to Phokeng. Then begins the tug of war for better royalties between the mining giants and the Kgosi who acted on behalf of the Bafokeng.
- 1999- A settlement is finally reached giving Bafokeng 22% taxable income on all operations which they use to bring to life Vision 2020 and Lebone- a school of excellence is established.
- 2010- Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng campus is established on Tshufi Hill.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section highlights the various works consulted for guiding the thought process of the research. The key words for this scholarly paper were: Royal Bafokeng Nation, Education and Human Capital which will be discussed in great length.

Royal Bafokeng Nation

"The 'Royal Bafokeng Nation (RBN) is a term coined by Mollwane Boikanyo Molotlegi (Kgosi Lebone II) as a substitute for what was previously called the Bafokeng 'tribal' area and entity, thus reinforcing their political autonomy and allowing them to 'defend the boundaries, both social and political', of their community, their wealth and their resources"(Manson and Mbenga 2010:153). "The Bafokeng, a Tswana-speaking nation situated in the North West Province of South Africa, are people made wealthy by platinum, whose "kings" are spoken of as CEOs, the people who are actually referred to by the mining industry and the mass media as "Bafokeng Inc." and sometimes as the "Richest Tribe in Africa" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:98). As a Monarchy, "the Government of the RBN, like the protection of its sovereign concerns, is vested in the kingship and its legislative and judicial institutions like all other Tswana non-state polities. The exception: kgosi, the vernacular term here for "king" is translated in those other polities as "chief". The difference for the use of the word to imply "king", patently, is reflected in the singular wealth and stature of the Bafokeng" which in this case set them apart from other Tswana ethnic groups (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:106). The notion of kingship defines who the Royal Bafokeng are and how they distinguish and differentiate themselves from other Tswana "ethnic" polities. It is quite evident that the existence of the Monarchy goes beyond the ceremonial; evidence of this is given in their political and economic positioning currently ad their monarchy's position as an institution that is not just an old system of governance. The

Monarchy is an institution of old driven by modernist ideas. As the public relations office of the Royal Bafokeng Nation itself puts it, Bafokeng are "a traditional community hat is leveraging corporate investments and participation in the bigger economy to meet its developmental needs, without losing its traditional footing" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:108). The traditional footing is premised on the idea of 'morero' a Setswana term for a consultative engagement process that engages the leadership and community of an ethnic group in dialogue about any proposed developments and decisions that affect the entire community. This implied that with the corporatization of the Bafokeng ethnic group, the running of its affairs like a private corporate company, pillars such as consultation with the 'morafe' over the use of their resources. This is seen in the "mass assembly called *Kgotha Kgothe,* which is summoned twice year to deliberate on communal concerns. It is also a forum of public oversight: in the long standing spirit of indigenous democracy, even the intricate financial maneuvers of the Bafokeng money managers are presented to this gathering for cross-questioning, comment, and critique. All of this makes *Kgotha Kgothe, appear* for all the world like a corporate shareholder meeting, which in a fairly literal manner of speaking it is" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:106-107).

"The Royal Bafokeng Nation is also- and on the other hand- one of South Africa's largest community- based investment companies, which channels revenue derived from mineral deposits into a broad investment portfolio that in turn funds an aggressive social development program in twenty-nine rural villages"(Cook2008:3). Funds are directed back into the community and used to provide the necessary required services and to make improvements where necessary.

Cook, Comaroff and Comaroff and Manson and Mbenga speak of a celebrated ethnic community whose mineral wealth and social development endeavours has their names on

everyone's lips. The above mentioned authors respectively discuss the history, the trials, the tribulations, the triumphs and aspirations for their people. The Bafokeng are the first ethnic community to merge the corporate business practice model with traditional methods of governance. Traditional instruments serve a dual purpose of community consultation on the one hand and a shareholder meeting on the other. In essence these texts lay down the foundation for how history and the world of academia come to know about the Royal Bafokeng Nation.

EDUCATION

Education has always been of value to the Bafokeng as seen with Kgosi Edward Patrick Lebone Molotlegi (Kgosi Lebone I) who "was educated at Healdtown Missionary Institute and Adams College in Natal. He attended the Medical School at the University of the Witwatersrand for a short period before he was called to assume the responsibilities of kingship" (Manson and Mbenga 2010:124). Education has always been believed to enlighten a leader and help them exercise just verdicts. It was also understood to bring them up to speed the new trends. This could help us understand why the Bafokeng Chiefs always seemed to pose a threat to the other status quos that existed, this was not always a threat but the education they had empowered them to ask the necessary questions crucial to the survival and continuity of their people.

Mission schools' "aim of educating the Africans was to encourage conformity with European habits but also to 1) train the people to think.2) made them dislike the heathen life of the kraal.3) widened their horizon.4) extended their self-respect." (Hodne 1997:12-13) But in years that followed Mission schooling as a whole "stood for equal educational opportunities for all races, whether white or black" (Hodne 1997:102). The institution of schooling set up

by the church did not seek to enhance opportunities of one race over the other and also sought to nurture the growth of the individual.

The Mission schools were cognisant of the ethics that were highly esteemed by the Africans, "the two Zulu words Ubuntu and Hlonipha. Ubuntu means humanity, good moral nature, character, a typical element in the life African character". However the Missionaries believe that the African's "co-existence with the European has destroyed some of this feeling for others". The African's code of morals was built on respect, i.e. hlonipha a word carrying wide connotations of reverence, regard, awe, and honour and also instilled the principle that if you want respect, you must pay respect, act respectfully" (Hodne 1997:111). These are the unwritten rules of society that guide people on how to co-exist with each other one had to be respectful and show concern for humanity. These are some of the principles that Lebone II College desires to re instill in its learners apart from the academic education. This should not be done only by the Bafokeng but other ethnic groups, societies and communities throughout the country.

However, with the advent of the education system proposed by the National Party "a problem arose as a result of resentment towards and opposition to the Bantu Education Act. 'They [the Bafokeng] wanted nothing to do with Bantu Education, because education was not given anymore'" (Manson and Mbenga 2010:125). It is understandable why the Bafokeng along with many other communities were suspicious of the new system of Bantu Education. This is because " Bantu Education as the state-controlled education for the Africans in South Africa came into being largely through the Eiselen Commission of 1951 and under this Commission schools were made cardinal instruments of Apartheid- the concept of separate development of the races" (Rose:1965:208). As argued the system of "Bantu Education is not sane education; its object is the lowering and not the rising of standards" within the education system

(Ntantala 1960:43-44). The Bafokeng were not clutching at straws: the education system was flawed and biased. “In 1953 Hendrik Verwoerd, piloted the Bantu Education Act through parliament. It introduced an education policy that is sometimes depicted as one ‘based on the assumptions of an inferior potential in African minds’ and as ‘explicitly designed to prepare black for an inferior place in society’. The new education system was intended to have its roots ‘in the spirit and being of a Bantu society’ and ‘serve the respective ethnic communities’” (Giliomee 2009:190). Not only would this education system be purposely implemented to kill the potential ‘black’ had and in this process advantage the white minority, leaving the white spoiled for choice with the vast array of options that would ensure economic progression at the expense of the black purely because the education they received would never give both races chance to compete on a level plane.

This would have led to a never ending cycle, an education system that was repetitive and not progressive; I would essentially be a regurgitation of the same low standard material. Other members of the African community would never be in a position to satisfactorily better themselves and compete with their counterparts from other races. The “principal objection of the Nationalist Party against Africans acquiring western education rose from their awareness of the fact that this education enabled Africans to compete with white members of the South African population for job opportunities as equals with equal qualifications” (Choabi 1986:16).

Furthermore, “there was the fear for the possibility of the emergence of an African middle class conscious of its competitive competence which would deal a death blow to the myth of white supremacy. Thus the Nationalist Party took the view that white supremacy, and with it white economic dominance could be effectively entrenched only if Africans were denied educational opportunities which would enable them to compete effectively” (Choabi

1986:16). The black communities which were being subjected to and force fed the new education system must have seen the wall that was being purposely placed to hinder them from progressing in life, educationally and economically. The Bafokeng who felt that the new system was in no means educative foresaw the doom that laid ahead of them the stumbling block which would almost be insurmountable. The Bantu Education system was formulated by the Nationalist Party to advance its own economic and education agenda which was discriminatory purely on the basis of race. As much as education was brought to the Bafokeng by the missionaries it is rather shocking to know that with the advent of Apartheid "some missionaries could live comfortably" (Bopalamo 2007:79) with the status quo. This was evident in their expression of a "rather negative threatening attitude towards educated black people" (Bopalamo 2007:79). The idea of an educated black person who could articulate well was like a thorn in the side of the missionaries, as the intelligence could exceed that of the missionary as such the new education system was intended to limit the learning capacity the black could ever achieve.

With the collapse of the Apartheid regime and the birth of the new democratic republic of South Africa education continued to be a matter of importance to the Bafokeng. Mollwane Boikanyo Molotlegi (Kgosi Lebone II) eldest son and successor of Kgosi Lebone I "brought a new perspective on the Bafokeng's economic orientation as well as its place in a modern, global society" (Manson and Mbenga 2010:153). This was further expressed in a "passion for the idea of bringing world- class educational facilities to Phokeng, and building a school that would offer the best academic opportunities in the midst of African splendour, and a warm and welcoming atmosphere": Lebone II (Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng 2011:3).

In an interview for the Mining Weekly, Kgosi Leruo Molotlegi explained "We have committed ourselves that, by the year 2020, the Bafokeng will have totally invested in

themselves, either by the employers or employable, and that every Mofokeng will have access to all basic services. However, education- or the lack of it- remains a significant obstacle, and as a result of the present quality of education in the area, we have started our own private school" (Mining Weekly2000: 2). There had been a gap in the education system and His Majesty saw this as an opportunity for the Bafokeng themselves to bridge right in their own back yard with their own resources.

As previously mentioned "Lebone II, College of the Royal Bafokeng, is an independent school founded by the late Kgosi Lebone II in 1999. Initially intended as a selective private school for future leaders of the Royal Bafokeng Nation, the vision of the school has been transformed under Kgosi Leruo into a competitive independent school cum teacher-training facility at the centre of Vision 2020's strategy for education reform which is in essence designed to meet global standards of educational excellence. Lebone II College is a private school and a member of the Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa (ISASA) that is 100% funded by the Royal Bafokeng Administration channelled through the Royal Bafokeng Institute that is concerned with addressing issues pertaining to education under the jurisdiction of the Royal Bafokeng Nation. As such permission for research within the Royal Bafokeng Nation is granted through the Royal Bafokeng Administration which in turn notifies all the organs concerned about the proposed research and does not require approval of the Department of Education.

Lebone II as a training centre for forty-five primary and secondary schools, whose teachers and principals have never been exposed to high standards of content knowledge, pedagogy, teacher-parent interaction, extra-mural activities, etc., is lost on many who are desperate for a pathway out of poverty arguing that the rewards seem to be accruing to too few, and to the rest too slowly" (Cook 2008:16). The conceptual reforms of Lebone II College instituted by

His Majesty Kgosi Leruo T. Molotlegi have made it possible for the institution to open its doors to others other than those who the school was intended to benefit. Furthermore, by undertaking to assist educational reform it could be argued that the school is not entirely an elitist project, but that one could actually see this as a spillage of the good Lebone II College imparts to the teachers it trains. On the point of the rewards accruing to too few, and to the rest too slowly I would like to use a Setswana proverb "Lobelo ga se lwa motsoga pele, ke la mong wa lone", a direct literal translation of this proverb is that 'the race is not for the one who starts it first but rather for the one who enters the race. The crux of the matter is that it that the Lebone II College is not intended to compete with other schools but rather that all the schools in the Phokeng-Rustenburg area should be able to make a difference in the lives of their students, and teachers with the purpose of transforming and reforming education.

"Under the theme of educational reform, not transformation an idea is put forward that notwithstanding regularly reiterated high aspirations and grand objectives, a narrow conception has produced narrow results"(Samoff 2008:x). The education is not satisfactory, as it could have been seen as a rite of passage as opposed to it being a tool used to empower those who go through the system adequately in a manner that is transformative.

It can be argued that the Royal Bafokeng Administration and the Royal Bafokeng Institute have engaged in the project of liberating the Bafokeng who were for the longest time subject to oppression firstly through the colonialist project and then secondly through the apartheid instrument of the Bantustan. The liberation project of the minds of the Bafokeng can be achieved through the institution of education. Steve Biko's key tenet in his idea of the Black Consciousness advocated for the "psychological and cultural liberation of the black mind as a prerequisite for political freedom" (Hook 2004:105). Writing from a period where apartheid was ever tightening its screws on the black people Steve Biko felt that in order for the Black

mind to liberate itself, and become assertive, it was necessary for him to acknowledge the conditions he was in and then secondly for him to decipher the mentality that he himself was off no good and as such the knowledge he would acquire would empower the Black mind to act. With regards to the Bafokeng the Bantu Education instituted a system that obstructed their ability to be productive at their optimum and went on to further alienate them from the wealth that lay beneath their land. It almost made all the efforts they undertook to remain together seem meaningless. Furthermore the never ending fiasco of the royalty payment legal battles could have discouraged them to think they were unbefitting to gain from the wealth that lay beneath their land which they had legally bought purely on the basis of them being black. The education and their leaders enabled them to persist in fighting the legal battles and they got a better deal with regards to the payment they eventually settled for.

"Education is an economic good because it is not easily obtainable and thus needs to be apportioned. Economists regard it as both consumer and capital good because it offers utility to a consumer and also serves as an input into the production of other goods and services. As a capital good, education can be used to develop the human resources necessary for economic and social transformation" of any society (Okemakinde and Olaniyan 2008:157). It would be interesting to observe how not all students accepted into this institution come from families that can afford to foot the financial cost. The potential that lies in the students is what is used as the principal criteria for selection. A world-class facility does not come cheap, how and who then incurs the financial burden that gives academic opportunity for a child coming from a home without a lot of financial leverage, and what then are the effects of affording such children the privilege of schooling at an institution such as Lebone II College? The research

also desires to investigate if the school is promoting elitism under a mask as suggested in recent media publications.

Human Capital

Human Capital is defined as the valuation of the knowledge, skills, and health of an individual as a form of fixed capital. This being drawn from the works of Adam Smith' s Wealth of Nations which enlists human capital as one of the four aspects of fixed capital but he went on to further denote that human capital is "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitant or members of a society". As such "the study of systems of education became important primarily because they represent the channels of capital investment through which human capital is acquired."(Adamson 2009:272) This could then serve to explain the interest with the regard to the education at Lebone II College, how through the strict selection process they are able to identify students with acquired and useful abilities of some of the members of their society.

First and foremost it is important to note that the Bafokeng do not refer to their people as Human Capital this is a term that I have chosen to deploy for the purposes of the study.

Human=

1. of, relating to, or characteristic of humans

5. Made up of humans

Capital =

a. Wealth in the form of money or property, used or accumulated in a business by a person, partnership, or corporation.

b. Material wealth used or available for use in the production of more wealth.

c. Human resources considered in terms of their contributions to an economy.

As such for the purposes of this research the term human capital is deployed as a concept that refers to the merging of these two definitions .i.e. Human capital is wealth made up of humans who are used or accumulated by a corporation, used or available for use in the production of more wealth as human resources in terms of their contributions to an economy. I consider the Royal Bafokeng Administration to be making an investment in its nation because it will take some time for them to reap the rewards of what they are doing with education[1].

More often than not it is "not stressed is the simple truth that people invest in themselves and that these investments are large. Unfortunately economists have not been bold in coming to grips with this form of investment". But it is important to note that "by investing in themselves people can enlarge the range of choice available to them" (Schultz 1961:2). This helps us better to understand the need for the Royal Bafokeng Nation to have their citizens' move away from the dependence they have had on the mining industry for jobs but now have more career paths and opportunities open to them, as well as be able to progress instead of being stuck in one job indefinitely with very little or no chances of moving up the ladder or bettering of the self.

With the growing interest in what leads to the "high and persistent unemployment and low pay affecting significant section of the working-age population and risks becoming a threat to the social fabric unless they are addressed effectively and in good time"(OECD1998:8).

[1] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/capital last visited 07/05/2013

It is to be understood that "the concept of human capital is semantically the mixture of human and capital. In the economic perspective, the capital refers to 'factors of production used to create goods or services that are not themselves significantly consumed in the production process'. Along with the meaning of capital in the economic perspective, the human is the subject to take charge of all economic activities such as production, consumption and transaction" (Kwon2009:1). With the educational empowerment that is offered at Lebone II College the students are then prepared to become assets in a highly competitive market system.

According to the "Schultz/Nelson view: Human Capital is viewed mostly as the capacity to adapt. In this approach, human capital is especially useful in dealing with 'disequilibrium' situations in which there is a changing environment and workers in this case have to adapt"(Acemoglu and Autor 2011:5). With regard to Lebone II College we are concerned with the students who are being put through school at a time when being a Mofokeng is not enough, knowledge and skills are necessary to partake in the market economy especially in context of the mining industry where for the longest time Bafokeng were given preferential treatment when the mines were recruiting (Royal Bafokeng Holdings Annual Review 2011:13). Times have changed and employers actually require employees with the expertise for the job. The question is after going through school the student of Lebone II College will the students be well prepared for whatever challenge they may meet in the market?

It is important to note that "investment in education expands and extends knowledge, leading to advances which raise productivity and improve health. Most economic analysis of return from education has focused on the contribution to earning capacity. It is also important to note that schooling benefits many persons other than the student. It benefits the student's future children who will receive informal education in the home; and it benefits neighbours

who may be affected favourably by the social values developed in children by the schools and even by the quietness of the neighbourhood while the schools are in session. Schooling is important as it benefits employers who seek a trained labour force; and it benefits the society at large by developing the basis for an informed electorate" (Weisbrod 1962:106-107). By providing education Lebone II College undertakes to holistically nurture the students it accepts through its gates, with the aim of moulding and developing a new type of student, a new South African and most importantly a new type of Mofokeng who is a citizen of the global community.

Furthermore, it could be argued that the general desire is for the Royal Bafokeng Administration to have their people "enjoy the non-market benefits of human capital such as a more alert and self-reliant citizenry" (Thurow 1970:3). Education has often been understood to encourage the interest of the ordinary citizens to take active participation in the decision making processes as well as to be innovative enough to find ways to sustain themselves.

It is to be noted however that a lot of changes had to be put in place with the collapse of the apartheid system of Bantu Education. This is evident in how the independent homelands were incorporated into a new state and the Nationalist party together with the African National Congress (ANC) agreed to a power sharing deal. "The agreement to power sharing served to allay and instil trust in an otherwise delicate process on either side of the political spectrum" (Rakometsi 2008:403). However, the biggest agenda on the table was not necessarily the political which was evidently different for both parties but rather "in mapping out the new educational dispensation for South Africa. This would be beneficial to education, as the conflicting and differing views would ensure that a good and well debated educated dispensation emerged out of the processes" (Rakometsi 2008:403). However as much as there

was a desire to turn the education system around that has not necessarily been the case as the "four decades of apartheid education had produced hundreds of illiterate and semi-iliterate Blacks and has crated, most paradoxically, a structural problem for the economy due to a lack of skilled resources" (Rakometsi 2008:406).

Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng addresses the lack of skilled resources at the present moment and could be regarded as a magnet school, a 'training centre' to the greater Phokeng schools. The Royal Bafokeng Institute (RBI) desires to use its private school as "a fiscal measure to achieve the goal of equity in education. This measure could be intended to redress the considerable gap between rich and poor schools in terms of overall quality of education" not just in Phokeng but as a point of reference for the state of education in the entire country (Jansen and Taylor 2003:15).

It is important to "acknowledge that the Royal Bafokeng Nation see their people as human capital and as such have chosen to invest in them through education for the continuity of the community in the post-platinum era" (Dr Charles Mironko, Royal Bafokeng Institute; interview 12.092013).

The Royal Nation Project

In this section we introduce the Royal Bafokeng Nation as an entity and what plans would carry it forward. Historically, procurement of land was not the intention of Kgosi Mokgatle however circumstances forced his hand, to buy land communally with the funds raised by his people. By buying land his goal was to "to ensure that the Bafokeng would have a secure and prosperous future" (Mining the Future 2010:38) which was held in trust by the evangelists who set up station in Phokeng: the missionaries. This then became the duty of every successor to the throne of the Bafokeng.

Title Deeds and Land Rights

Bafokeng have a history of "legal battles that they have fought to keep their rights to their land". (Mining the Future 2010:51). With the land being bought, that made it private and should have allowed the Bafokeng the right to act autonomously with regards to developments but that was not to be the case especially since the discovery of the platinum reserves. The Bafokeng have always been a forward thinking nation which is why they fought so hard against being side lined from major economic activity occurring on their land and their exclusion only encouraged them to fight to get their voice heard, after all they had the title deeds to prove it.

Mollwane Lebone II Boikanyo Molotlegi and Vision 2020

Born in1965 he was the first born child of Kgosi Edward Patrick Lebone I and Mohumagadi Semane Bonolo Molotlegi.Mollwane Boikanyo Molotlegi (Kgosi Lebone II) was the "eldest son and successor of Kgosi Lebone I who reigned from 1995until 2000 when his life was cut

short by a cardiac arrest"[2] . He was "a graduate of Howard University who had from an early age been involved in the affairs of the Kingdom" (Gqubule 2000:120). Succeeding his father was nothing new as in the "leadership of the Bafokeng there has always been a demonstration of good governance, this is evident in how there has never been a breakaway in the ruling lineage" (M.Tumagole, Legato: interview27.09.13).

As much as Lebone II was the son of Lebone I "the two were different in thinking and what they envisioned for their people but the quintessential point lies in the fact that the incumbent would build on what the predecessor has done and improves on it"(HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview 28.10.13)This is beautifully captured in the Setswana proverb**, "Letlhaku le lešwa le agelwa mo godimo ga le legologolo**"an English translation of this proverb conveys the idea that the youth does what he has seen his elders do but does not end there, he builds on what has already been established and carries it forward and improves on it.

This can be further supported by the fact that "since Mokgatle, four unbroken generations of Bafokeng Kings took the baton with a clear mandate- preserve land and tribe, a directive to be carried out by each Bafokeng King in the context of his tenure"(Gqubule2008:76). Every Chief who ascends the throne of the Bafokeng has to take the current conditions into consideration be they political, economic, social or otherwise.

Lebone II was very influential in the drawing up of Vision 2020, "a framework for a dream of that which was wished for, this dream was that the Bafokeng should be a self-sufficient and sustainable nation by the year 2020" (A.Mmutle and R. Masilo, RBI: interview16.10.13). Lebone II's vision" aimed to enable the Bafokeng to be a better community by the end of the second decade of the 21st century" (Gqubule2008:129). This was a dream, a vision he wished

[2] www.iol.co.za/South-african/bafokeng-king-dies-after-heart-attack-1.338607#.UoyEbdJgeaA last visited 20/11/2013

for, an idea which even he himself believed would "outlive his reign" (Gqubule 2008:129). This has proven to be true as even to this day Bafokeng have feelings of nostalgia for their son who was enthusiastic, vibrant and full of life. His life was cut short but it is to be noted that he did not leave them alone; Mollwane Boikanyo Lebone II Molotlegi left his people in the capable hands of his brother Leruo Tshekedi Molotlegi.

Lebone II was for the idea of building "a school of excellence"(A. Mmutle and R.Masilo,RBI:interview 16.10.13) and "did not see the need for good skilling schools to be found in Rustenburg, he felt that education had to be given a priority"(HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview 28.10.13).Moreover, he had noticed that "the Bafokeng were under-educated and the schools in the area were under-performing in terms of producing pupils with high quality and employable skills"(Gqubule2008:129).There was no need for the attitude towards were one comes from should limit the amplitude of the potential of the Bafokeng learners and if anything it was important to harness the capabilities of the Bafokeng.

Education had been a priority for the Bafokeng, a yester year evidence of this is displayed in the work Lebone I did "of building 20 schools"(Manson and Mbenga 2010:128) within the various villages that constitute the Royal Bafokeng Nation. However, education was not limited to the erection of schools it went beyond that but what he envisioned teaching his people was interrupted by his non-conformance to the ideals of the government of the day.

Leruo Tshekedi Molotlegi and Plan 2035

Semane and Lebone I's third son, Leruo Tshekedi Molotlegi entered the pages of history as he took the reins of the Kingdom of the Bafokeng in 2003 on August16th.His ascension to the throne was brought about by the death of his older brother "Fosi Boemo Molotlegi who

was second in line to the throne, ascension to the throne was brought about by the death of his older brother "Fosi Boemo Molotlegi who was second in line to the throne, tragically met his death after he suffered a heart attack" (Gqubule2008:131). The position was not always his to take up but when Fosi passed away and "a year later Mollwane also followed to his grave" (Gqubule 2008:131) as the next prince in order of birth Leruo assumed the throne. His birth right as son of Lebone I and Semane Molotlegi was enough ground for him to take up the position purely because the institution of "bogosi is different to politics, one is not elected, they hold the position until death"(HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview 28.10.13). Leruo may not necessarily be like his charismatic brother Mollwane but it was clear from the onset that he would have to build on what his brother and father had laid a foundation to and improves on it.

As the "36th King of the Bafokeng undertook an integration of history, heritage, assets and the vision of self- sufficiency he unveiled a master-plan 2035" (Gqubule20: 134-135). This master plan- was adopted as an "extension of Vision 2020" (HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview28.10.13).Plan 2035 was never intended to be a new initiative in fact it is a "vehicle to reach the vision-it is the implementation of Vision 2020, the skeletal framework of what Mollwane envisioned. Plan 2035is a stretch of Vision 2020" (A.Mmutle and R Masilo, RBI: interview16.10.2013).This is beautifully explained by the Setswana proverb ***"lepotlapotla le ja pholwana, ledikologa le ja pholo ya tona",*** translated to the saying if you rush you will crush.

Kgosi Leruo having taken over from what his brother established also desired to see the "Bafokeng become self-sufficient and sustainable community by the year 2020" (A.Mmutle and R Masilo, RBI: interview16.10.2013). His desire also resonates with that of his brother Mollwane who "challenged the Bafokeng people to a self-sufficient community by reducing

their dependency on their diminishing mineral assets" (Royal Bafokeng Administration and Totem Media 2010:76).

Private-Public Land Legislature Advocacy

Kgosi Mokgatle's idea to buy the land that is referred to as the Royal Bafokeng Nation presently was pushed into buying land, the land which his forefathers made their home. Upon "encountering the whites", he was asked if the land he and his people occupied was his, and what the area was, his response being as far as the eye can see was asked to produce the proof. It was then 1868 that he decided to buy the land" (M. Tumagole, Legato: interview27.09.13).

Then began the tradition which was carried on by every Bafokeng King who assumed the throne: "land acquisition, the prop upon which the prosperity of the Bafokeng was constructed" (Manson and Mbenga 2010:75).

The acquisition of land was at the time carried out as an exercise to ensure "that there might be a place where they [i.e. Bafokeng] could be buried and where their children could live after them" (Manson and Mbenga 2010:78). The move to buy land was to ensure that Bafokeng had a home. However, years down the line this possession of land would allow the Bafokeng to push for a larger stake in the affairs of entities under their jurisdiction with education being a key focus area.

Education and Investment in Human Capital in Royal Bafokeng

This chapter will discuss education and the important role it has played in the lives of the Bafokeng. It will also give a historical background of the first encounter the Bafokeng had with education and how it has developed throughout their history. Lastly, before concluding, the research illustrates the importance of Lebone II College as the first African initiated private education institution in Southern Africa.

In the year 2003 when Kgosi Leruo T. Molotlegi officially ascended the throne as King of the Bafokeng, the greatest challenge he had was the demystification of Vision 2020 "the most misunderstood of the Bafokeng wealth creation and human capital acceleration strategies"(City Press 2003:27), coupled with "a plan to find ways of improving education" (The Herald 2003:4). The forward thinking "Molotlegi warned his people that their sustained prosperity depended on human capital" (Cape Times2003:4) that is to say a "skill base that would be able to take advantage of new investment opportunities that come from international investors" (Sowetan 2003:14). The enthronement served as a good Public Relations exercise of the intentions to build a robust community who would use the education opportunities to become self-reliant.

In quest of an oral historical background of education and its significance in the lives of Bafokeng, it emerged that the idea of education has been important to the Bafokeng for a very long time, dating as a far as "the late 1800s when Kgosi Mokgatle invited the first missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) to come and establish the first 'Tree School' " (M. Tumagole, Legato: interview 27.09.2013). It is quite interesting to note that "the HMS established itself upon invitation" (Manson and Mbenga2010:41). This was quite different in comparison to other missionary societies which more often than not seemed to be on an evangelical conquering mission of the African territories.

With a strong conviction of the goodness that could come of this education "Kgosi Mokgatle sent his own children to be the first students of the Tree School" (M. Tumagole, Legato: interview 27.09.2013).

"Schooling is the key indicator that clearly reflected the changing late nineteenth century Phokeng society" sadly it" was not taken as seriously as it is today" (Bozzoli 1991:62-63). This here is a clear indication that there has been a growth in and for the appreciation of education amongst the Bafokeng

This can be beautifully captured in the Setswana proverb ***'se botlhoko se lekwa ka ngwana'*** which when translated implies that if one is worried that there is a danger, they would prefer to send a child to do something, placing the child in the frontline of that new endeavour which is under trial. In order to an up close experience of the good that education can do he sent his children where he would be strategically placed to get first hand results.

African Initiated Educational Institutions

Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng is a unique education establishment based on two premises. Firstly, its uniqueness stems from the fact that it was built with funds awarded to the Royal Bafokeng Nation generated from their mineral wealth. Secondly, it is a private education institution initiated by Africans.

The experience of "missionary education involved the traumatic and transformative journey that required conversion to Christianity" (Mokoena2011:17). Lebone II on the other hand does not necessarily require conversion to some ideology but rather a change in attitude, the appreciation of opportunities to learn at this institution as well as sharing, caring and assisting those less fortunate.

In conclusion it is rather amazing to see how Kgosi Mokgatle led by example using his own children to show the way about the importance of education which also helped strengthen the friendship and strong ties between the church and the leadership of the Bafokeng.

Lebone II

This Fourth Chapter lays the foundation for where the idea of the school Lebone II comes from. Drawing from some of history's most vocal and celebrated icons we see how their tenets were of great influence to the establishment of this institution. The chapter goes on to discuss the challenges, obstacles and the triumphant successes that occurred along the way. Here the audience is also introduced to the Headmaster who worked tirelessly to help Lebone II be what it is today. Having taken shape like a potter's art work we see how Lebone II has, in recent months been subject to public criticism and scrutiny but still manages to stand tall and before concluding investigate the role played by this school in the royal Nation project paying specific attention to education.

The concept for the school was initially "launched as Lebone Molotlegi I, a private school, which opened in January 1998" (Gqubule 2008:128). Mollwane set up the school in honour of his late father but when his life was cut short by ill-health the surviving members of the family did not abandon the idea of the school. They carried on the legacy of the school and renamed it Lebone II. Due to the contributions made by the members of the Royal family the school has been bestowed with a robust royal heritage which adds value to making the school unique amongst other things.

The Birth and Concept of Lebone II

Mollwane's idea for the establishment of the "school of excellence was heavily premised on the readings of Malcolm X and Steve Biko" (A.Mmutle and R Masilo, RBI: interview16.10.2013). Mollwane concurred with the tenet that Biko had on the idea of the "Black Consciousness" which when coupled with Malcolm X's work would "empower

African (American) and help them achieve political, economic and social success"[3] . The situation of the education system that required a much needed overhaul was not only limited to schools within the villages that constituted the royal nation project but to South Africa as a whole. This school was established 4years into South Africa's democracy where the nation was in the process of overturning and overhauling the education policies of the former status quo. The real task here was to "run the education system and change it at the same time" (Christie 2008:3).

Lebone II the nomad makes Tshufi His home

When established the school, like any new undertaking, was faced with challenges and obstacles in various forms. Amongst other things the academic "struggle encountered by the teachers recruited from Bafokeng public school to join Lebone II, this was because these teachers had not been exposed to high levels of pedagogy. The school was temporarily housed in a place that was not conducive, transport was not readily available, the school did not have proper facilities and moreover the school administration was overseen by long time acting heads" (HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview28.10.13). Speaking to a retired and greatly respected teacher who taught from 1973 to the year 2009 in lower and higher public primary schools in Saron and Luka respectively she highlights how when the school was established "in each grade the best performers, a minimum of two from each class were selected and enrolled into Lebone II" (J.K Motepe, Luka interview: 28.10.2013). The first to be considered were children from Bafokeng schools who had potential to perform even better than what they were achieving and saw that as the investment in human capital through education.

[3] www.MalcolmX.com last visited 17/10/2013

Today, Lebone II has found a permanent home, Tshufi Hill, where it was relocated to in 2010, and where a beautiful, majestic and spacious campus has been constructed with provision for future development. Drawing from the King James Bible reading from Matthew 5:14, ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on the hill cannot be hid, adding the Lebone II value of Spirituality. Settling at the foot of Tshufi was the end of the "metamorphosis process of Lebone II" (A. Mmutle and R. Masilo, RBI: interview 16.10.2013). It is important to note that Tshufi was not always the intended home for Lebone II College. Tshufi Hill had been earmarked for "a community asset but after much assessment the decision was made to award this space to the school" (HM Queen Mother Semane Molotlegi, Legato: interview 28.10.2013). With the Vision in place, it was necessary to find a Head teacher who could understand where RBN was headed and what the goal for education was through Lebone II.

George Harris

Principal George Harris is characterised in private conversations I had with some of the staff members, as both the "transformer and the reformer of Lebone II, in fact he birthed Lebone II as we know it presently" (O.Moeng, Lebone II interview: 04.09.2013). For George Harris the dream or goal that attracted him was the "mission oriented nature of the dream" (Principal G Harris, Lebone II: interview 15.10.2013). In some ways Principal Harris is the epitome of the values Lebone II defines itself by. Without denting his pride he humbly admits to having "wanted to be instrumental in the dream and expresses his desire to work with a team towards achieving that dream" (Principal G Harris, Lebone II: interview 15.10.2013). In working towards the realization of a dream, much of the credit given to him stems from his passion, to "find people and enthusiastically keeping them motivated" but more important was the role he had to play of "managing people's expectations and also creating a place where people

feel valued and not anxious" (G Harris Lebone II: interview 15.10.2013). This would imply that he would have a lot on his plate and would require a lot of hard work, dedication and commitment on his part which he has done. As he reflects on his journey with Lebone II, he is "fulfilled as a result of making the decision to take on the biggest of risks in my life. The challenge of giving myself to something that would outlive me eases my fears because I feel that like a child who struggled to stand and learned to walk, Lebone II is now secure, grounded and stable"(G Harris, Lebone II : interview 15.10.2013). He has ensured that all who aboard the Lebone II ship have a clear understanding of its mission and vision as well as encouraging the teachers to go the extra mile in the classroom.

"Tall trees attract the most wind"

[Chinese Proverb] learnt in conversation with Thebe Morake

"If one has a lot money, he will easily attract others attention and trouble might come or criticism"[4] .

June 16th 2013, July 14th 2013 and November 24th 2013all these dates respectively have seen Lebone II become subject to public scrutiny within and without the borders of South Africa. South Africa's revered newspaper Sunday Times published articles about the Bafokeng. The first and third date publications make specific reference to Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng which is the focus of this research paper. On June 16th 2013 page 4 of the Business Times section and November 24th 2013 page 2 of the news section there is a claim that is put forward that community assets "built with the platinum money such as the hotel, sports "palace" and the school (Lebone II) are accessible only to people close to the king" (Biyase 2013: 2&4). This sentiment does not begin to do the rounds now evidence of

[4] www.chinesetools.eu last visited 05.11.2013

this is cemented in the fact that "those seeking to depose Kgosi Leruo are the aspiring elite, who have for the longest time had ambitions to individualised land tenure and a Westernised community", a move which would undermine the "communal ideology upon which this very society rested" (Bozzoli 1991: 76&77). This research was aimed at education, a key focus area for this society as "the educational facilities were deemed to be among the very worst in the North West Province" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:109). The move by the community members to take the issue up in the print media was a somewhat clever move in the sense that newspapers are more accessible to the members of the public as opposed to books which are too costly for people to buy. For quite some time Bafokeng have shared a "common belief that the royals themselves are being enriched by Bafokeng Inc., that income from RBH flows directly into their bank accounts or that they receive handsome stipends". All of this continues to hold dear in the hearts of many "in spite of the audit culture that even though it may not always be honoured, places an almost obsessive stress on transparency"(Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:109).

I discovered that some of the ideas raised in print media to be untrue as I observed the faces of the students I spoke to light up in disbelief, when opening the floor for group discussions around the newspaper articles, I firstly discovered that management of the school had not brought the publications up in conversation with the students who were unaware of them, but did however express that the discussion around these issues helped them make meaning of the presence of social challenges that were not present before as a result of being enrolled at Lebone II especially since its relocation to Tshufi Hill. These will be discussed later under the section of the data analysis.

Lebone II in the Royal Nation Project

Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng is a school that falls under the jurisdiction of "the Royal Bafokeng Institute (RBI), a Section 21 company tasked with raising the standard of education in the Bafokeng Community" (RBN Stakeholders Report 2011:11). Lebone II was "initially intended as a selective private school for future leaders of the Royal Bafokeng Nation, the vision of the school has been transformed under Kgosi Leruo into a competitive independent school cum teacher-training facility at the centre of Vision 2020's strategy for education reform"(Cook 2008:16). Alternately it is an educational institution that invests in excellence through a holistic approach that not only focuses on the academic but nurtures through a "value-based education for children of promise" (RBN Masterplan2007:19). In the experience of the research observations were made of students who come from different home settings and did not use that as a crutch that inhibited them from performing well academically. One could really see how the students used the opportunity to be at Lebone to their advantage, some even doing that which they never imagined possible, they learned to play instruments, partake in contemporary arts (dance) classes, learn sign language, one student was taking one class as an extra subject to improve his chances for having more options available to him when he proceeds to tertiary.

As argued by Cook (2008:17) the "fee structure of Lebone features a sliding scale", this fact was further augmented by the establishment of "the means and needs programme, that was put in place of the scholarships, which calculates what the parents of each of the children that show promise would pay towards the educational costs" (A.Reynolds and H. Human, Lebone II: interview23.10.2013).

It is to be noted that not all students at Lebone II receive financial assistance, some come from financially capable homes and the decision to enrol at Lebone II was a personal choice.

However that being said, it is rather disappointing to know that some students who come from financially endowed home who we shall call the ‘haves’ for the purposes of this argument do not appreciate being at Lebone II or even make a concerted effort to work hard as opposed to those who value the opportunity.

Methodologies and Data Analysis

This chapter will give a detailed breakdown of how the research was undertaken and analysed. Furthermore, this section will give a detailed breakdown of the research setting, informants, methods for data collection, challenges experienced in the field as well as the researcher's personal reflections.

Research Setting

My first day and initial emergence in the field .i.e. Phokeng occurred in early August 2013. This was my first time in the village but had probably driven past it with family as we made our trips to Rustenburg. I took solace in the words of encouragement a friend I had made 3years before, who studied at the University of Johannesburg funded by the Royal Bafokeng Institute (RBI) had said. He had reassured me that I would not get lost and if I was unsure I should do what I would if I was back home ; greet and ask. This proved to be very useful and of course gratitude for the assistance was acknowledged.

Phokeng as I observed in the moving taxi seemed very quiet but was nothing like the idea of the village that I had in mind with main routes and roads running through it. The village was very organised and developed in setting. Growing up in a village with a traditional leadership it was common for the village to have its core where everything was centred, and as the village grew in size and there was an increased demand for land more wards would be established surrounding the core similar to the pattern that occurs with a ripple effect. The development and organisation that I saw within and around Phokeng was signified by the presence of street names, sections to neighbourhoods and the use of key points in the village to give directions which were advantageous by virtue of them enabling one to know their location in relation to other places or points of interest within the village.

The first impression I got of the Royal Bafokeng Administration which is also known as the Civic Centre was that of sheer disappointment. I had envisioned it to be a whole lot larger, busier but that was not necessarily what I experienced. Phones were ringing off the hook at the front desk and the ladies answering the phones were just rather too casual in how they spoke to me. I sat down by the chairs waiting to get assistance with my request which eventually did come after a rather lengthy chat amongst themselves and one member of the cleaning staff around the corner from the front desks. The impression I got was took me aback I thought to myself how is it that this very office which serves as entry point into the other entities of the royal nation project are just casual about the nature of their work. I just told myself maybe I caught them on a bad day and decided not to dwell on that one instance.

From the Civic centre I proceeded on foot to the Bafokeng Plaza where I was able to get a meter taxi (private cars used as local means of transport within Phokeng) to take me to Lebone II College. I was absolutely clueless about where the school was and worse I found myself grappling to make the sense of the directions which seemed incomprehensible. Fortunately, Thabang the taxi driver knew Lebone II very well as he frequented the place on a daily basis to deliver and collect students who schooled there on a daily basis.

While enroute to Lebone II, I witnessed a female senior citizen being knocked down by a taxi that was headed to Rustenburg while trying to cross the road. I was a clear act of negligence on the part of the driver but thankfully he did not drive away from the scene, he took responsibility for his actions. Seeing how Thabang and the taxi driver arranged to have the meter taxi which was local rush the old lady to the Bafokeng Health Centre. Due to the fact that I had never been to Phokeng let alone Lebone II College Thabang would have dropped me off within the premises of of the school but upon seeing how shaken the Old Lady was I

insisted that he just drop me off at the gate I would figure my way out which he did seeing how persistent I was.

As soon as I had dropped off by the gate the security guards were very warm, welcoming and helpful too. They directed me to the school buildings, and I had to walk uphill in the hot sun to get to the school centre. I seemed somewhat overdresses as the sun was blazing hot in the North West but when I left Johannesburg that morning it was cloudy and a very chilli breeze was blowing. Walking up from the gate towards the school buildings I observed how the vegetation was accustomed to the climate. There were large boulders all over but where necessary the environment had been left untouched. An interesting point is how Lebone being located on Tshufi hill gives one an aerial view of the village and some areas beyond that. The date was the 7th of August, 6days prior to the 10th anniversary of Kgosi Leruo's enthronement. I had travelled to Lebone II to meet with George Harris, the Headmaster of the school to discuss my intended research, a meeting that proved fruitful indeed.

August 27th, the day I formally began my data collection where I was firstly introduced to the teaching staff who were informed about my intended research and stay at Lebone II. This was a truly petrifying experience, I was so nervous with no idea of what to expect. Thankfully my calm exposure would not give off my fear and I used that to carry me during the day as I familiarised myself with the Lebone II campus.

Grey pavements with earthly shaded tiles filed the walkways of the college. Behind the Library is the 'Black Box' which is used for art and drama situated next to a man-made waterfall. There reigns a calm serene ambience that is created by the sound of the flowing water which is conducive for thinking. Shortly after my nature walk in the school I had my first encounter with the students; they greet me and refer to me as "Mam". I had not been expecting to get a response of such a nature, did I look that mature? I thought to myself I am

not that old that I should be referred to as Mam, I was determined to fight I but never won throughout the duration of my stay eventhough the students knew my name.

I found a home in the Setswana class which I so often found myself visiting and eventually choosing to work from. This became the place I identified with the most as I experiences feeling of nostalgia for my high school days. The discussions engaged in where always centred on real life issues and those always made the students interact and express their views which could not be refuted but rather accepted if they could be well supported. The Grade 11 class of 2013 taught me a lot, different perspectives and outlooks but what really stood out for me was the ability of the students to still respect each other eventhough they do not necessarily agree with each other.

Walking the length and breadth of Lebone II I noticed how the school had a lot of recycling bins clearly marked on how the rubbish should be sorted. It taught me that Lebone II was very concerned with instilling the ethos of responsibility and accountability for the care and cleanliness of the environment in the students, a continued principle about the value of appreciating not just the environment but wherever one is. The process of familiarising myself with Phokeng was a rather tricky one I was yet to learn the how the transport system worked as such on my first day I walked from Lebone II all the way to the main road in Phokeng to catch taxis to Luka where I was staying. Had that walk been the order of the day, my enthusiasm would have dwindled and fizzled out almost immediately, the walk was long and the exercise was strenuous on my legs.

The following day a group of Grade 7's who took it upon themselves to get to know me would not allow me to walk take my long walk to Phokeng main road they insisted that I wait. I was introduced to a new word "skof" a taxi used to ferry students to and from school, was what I was made to wait for. One of the Grade 7's mentioned how the driver was her

uncle and immediately rushed to tell him of the "new" teacher who was living in Luka and needed transport to and from school, the use of this arrangement saved me R16 everyday as calculated against what I had spent on the first day.

My ethnography was greatly influenced on participant observations as well as interviews after having interacted with the students in the Setswana classroom. I noticed in the observations how the students interacted, their efforts to participate in class, their enthusiasm and their eagerness to attempt to answer a question based on how they understood it.

After much deliberation I reached a decision to adopt two sides of the same coin approach to the questions that would be posed to the students and those that would be posed to the teachers. Below are the sets of questions posed to the teacher and student respectively.

Teacher Questions: What has your experience been teaching in this school?

- How long have you taught at Lebone II and what subject do you teach?
- Taking into consideration the fact that this school has a goal of what it aspires to do with education was it important for you to understand what that goal was?
- In your teaching experience do you make a distinction between Bafokeng and non-Bafokeng students?
- Is there an expectation that Bafokeng learners especially those on merit scholarships b paid more attention to because the school desires to make them agent of social change in the Royal Bafokeng Nation?
- Do the Bafokeng students on merit scholarships live up to the expectation of how they should be receiving education at such a prestigious institution?

Similarly there were questions which I posed to the students and they too were phrased in a manner that desired to get a first-hand experience account of the individual.

Student Questions:

- How long have you been a student at Lebone II?
- What were you expectations about the school?
- Do you see your experience as being holistic? (Does being at the school not just focus on your academic work but other aspects of your being as well? Explain as much as possible)
- Lebone II aims to be an elite school without being elitist. How do you find yourself being able to live up to that ideal through the community service component of the school?
- What has your experience been outside of the Lebone II? Are you able to re-integrate yourself into the community where you come from? Are there attitudes/perceptions that you find yourself subject to because of the misconceptions about Lebone II College?
- Lebone II was designed to be "a school of excellence offering a superior academic programme and a well-rounded, innovative, values-based education for children of promise". In light of this broader education strategy of the Royal Bafokeng Institute, what has your experience been and have the expectations you had of this school been met?

Initially I posed these questions to the students who were in the Setswana class where I spent a lot of my time. First I posed these questions to the class as a whole and during the conversations I asked about the students who were on scholarships who some students knew and them asked I them for their time and to see if their experience at Lebone II was any different from what had emerged in the discussions open to the floor as the scholarships put them in a position to be pushed to produce results.

In some instances I asked the students to point me to other students who were on the scholarship programme so I could get their stories of how they came to Lebone II and what their experience has been.

I had conducted focus group discussions with the grade 9s and grade 11s, to establish what their experience has been in the school, and how that has helped them develop the discipline to balance their schoolwork/sport/ and cultural engagements and still meet the demands of what is expected of them at home. I then spoke to two students who were on the scholarship programme. I conducted numerous structured interviews with 7 teachers which were done in the form of interviews to establish how the learners were responding to the vision and mission of Lebone II.I spoke to 3 parents and 3 grandparents to hear what their motivations for sending their children to Lebone II. Lastly I spoke to one Kgosana who is a member of the Supreme Council and also a parent to a student who is a learner at the school in the primary section. It was important to hear his experience as a parent and also as a liaising officer between the executive leadership and the community.

These interviews or rather conversations were based around the experiences of the students and the expectations for them to work hard. There is the element of community service which is intended to bridge the gap to show that the students are not just concentrating on themselves but are taught to extend a helping hand wherever possible. As guided by the responses from the focus group discussions there is a belief that students at Lebone II are very elite almost making them immune to the life experiences of their age mates as such the theme of elitism and that of peer to peer relations where important in shaping the overall experiences of the students at Lebone II. I choose to discuss these key issues in alphabetical order for no particular reason.

Community Service

This theme discusses the origins of community service, the other leg on which Lebone II stands. It will also look into what the intentions of incorporating community service into the curriculum were, how the programme operates as well as its achievements and its limitations. I spoke to a teacher, Mpho Arthur Nkwana who is the co-ordinator of the programme to hear about this initiative.

The idea of community service was not something that was part of the original idea of Lebone II but eventhough that may be the case it did however seem to come in to compliment the school as it was taking shape. Being built with the intention to be a school of academic excellence how would it be possible to integrate a community service initiative to the already intensive classroom learning process. Arguably the idea of "incorporating community service into schools would run the risk of diverting the institutions from their basic academic mission" (Markus, Howard, and King 1993:411). An argument that is very plausible, but at the same time not enough to deter the implementation of the community service project at Lebone II.

What is the community service project about and what is its significance to Lebone II?

"Community service simply put is a process of giving back and making progress and was brought in to bridge the gap between the school and the community. The main purpose was to use this tool in an attempt to break down the pre-conceived notions of Lebone II and to show that Lebone II can be an elite school without necessarily being elitist".

Interview conducted: 10.09.2013 in the Lebone II staffroom in the Upper school.

As with any organization Lebone II had a bigger goal to achieve by incorporating community service into its curriculum, there was a bigger objective which was being worked towards.

> What goal/goals were they seeking to achieve with the incorporation of community service into the curriculum?
>
> "The main aim was to create a space in which the students of Lebone II could be given an opportune moment to appreciate what they have been given at their school by fostering the spirit of sharing. The students involved in this programme are encouraged to share whatever skills they have with the students they interact with on an interpersonal level".

The programme is an integral part of the students' lives at school at school. Apart from forming friendships they also value the intangible reward they get from knowing that they have impacted positively on the life of another student like them who may be facing difficult challenges in life.

In light of the desire of the Royal Bafokeng have to reform education, they instead chose to reform the youth through education vis-à-vis a school based service could be rationalised to emphasize the mutual responsibility and interdependence of the rights and responsibilities" that every student has (Raskoff an Sundeen 1991:79).

The Community Service programme at Lebone II operates in partnership with other Royal Bafokeng Nation schools. These schools are termed to be Section 14 school- "The school is a public school on private property" (Deed of Agreement North West and RBN 2011:5). Legislature entered into affords the Royal Bafokeng Nation the opportunity and invests them with the powers to have pronounced say with regards to what happens on its land. It is important to note that Section 14 comes from the agreement between Royal Bafokeng

Institute and North West Provincial Education Department , which has given the Royal Bafokeng legal right to contribute to core curriculum, extra curricula activities and school governance costs" (CDE Report 2013:22).

> How does this initiative work on a macro and micro level? How does this project in relation to other RBN schools?
>
> "The community service with the public schools Lebone II has worked with has resulted in the erection of two classrooms in one project. This also resulted in exchange programmes with students from schools overseas partaking in the programme. When they return home they to raise funds for an initiative they would like to have implemented and the projected is then managed by Lebone II College".

The community service initiative of Lebone II is not just an opportunity for the students brag about the high standard of education they receive at their school. It is an integral part of who they are. It is to be noted that the "social transformation Lebone II is trying to carry out is not easy it will not be achieved within 10 or even 20 years" but all the same they should be commended for the work they are doing (Bopalamo 2007: 204). It is important to note that the community service is used as a humbling component that is used to dilute the elitism that could have been otherwise promoted.

Elitism

This theme discusses the rationale behind why Lebone II as an institution of academic learning desires to focus primarily on children who have the highest potential even in the midst of various curveballs life throes at them. A s previously mentioned Lebone II is an institution offering a "value-based education for children of promise" (RBN Masterplan 2007:19). Another way of looking at this to suggest that the school was built to educate children who in Educational Anthropology are often referred to as "gifted". As such for the purposes of enabling the argument to be more concise will be made using the term gifted children.

In relation to the idea of investment in human capital through education it is important to note that "gifted children, or potentially gifted children are an underdeveloped national resource of considerable potential worth to any society" (Borland 1997:15) as such it would be wise to make an investment in them regardless of how long one would have to wait before enjoying or reaping the rewards of that investment.

It is essential to understand that in light of the gifted education Lebone II's goal was to enhance the qualities that define these children" but instead of teaching them a gifted type of education "the emphasis would be to enhance the qualities that made the students gifted in the first place" (Borland 1997:12) That is not to say that at Lebone II the teaching staff only focus on the academic but rather create an environment the learners are enabled to attempt even that which they thought was not impossible.

Kgosi Leruo's desire was to focus on education and to expand on what is his eldest brother Mollwane had in mind. This was a necessary "move to a vision of human development and learning that embraces indescribable diversity of human consciousness and activity in a way

that places limits on no child" (Borland 1997:18). The idea of having a holistic approach to the education of each child was as necessary as watering a seed that could flourish into an unknown beauty. In Setswana this is beautifully captured in the saying "**lore lo ojwa lo sa le metsi,** a Setswana proverb which is interpreted to say that the earlier you train a child the better but at the same time it can be argued that "it is better to build the children than to repair the adults" (Dr Charles Mironko, Royal Bafokeng Institute: interview 12.09.2013).

At Lebone II the teachers "focus on the ordinary parts of life that contribute to the extra ordinary achievements" (Coleman 1997:117) that the students acquire. Going to school can be a tedious, repetitive exercise but the teachers take it upon themselves to make each day different and each lesson as exciting and improve on the previous one. These "extraordinary achievements attained by the students mark human activity as they serve as signs of the ability of humans to invent new ways of being in the world" (Coleman 1997:118). I observed how the teachers always stretched the concepts and applied them to everyday life and challenged the student to think of better ways to overcome, understand and in some instances think of ways to improve or prepare for them in their own lives.

Lebone II is a school of excellence. Excellence as argued is "defined as both the process of working toward an ideal standard and attainment of a consistently high standard of performance in a socially valued endeavour" with the goal of developing the ethical and moral human beings" (Van Tassel-Baska 1997:9). Excellence as an ideal for any institution or organization implies that there is an endeavour to 'strive for quality in all areas of society" (Van Tassel –Baska1997:9). The Royal Bafokeng wish to have a self-sustaining nation that is hard working and self- sufficient can only reach that goal when the community as a whole thinks of innovative ways to make meaning of their lives apart from the wealth generated from the mining activities which will ultimately cease to be.

Lebone II is sociologically an elite school by definition. That is to say the school is "typologically, scholastically, historically, geographically and demographically elite" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009:1090). The discipline of Anthropology is known for its rich thick descriptions of events or occurrences. As such it is necessary to explain the 5pointers that constitute the elite definitions as applied to Lebone II.

Typologically, Lebone II is elite "based on their definition as an independent school" (Gaztambide- Fernández 2009:1093) and is also scholastically by virtue of both its expansive and sophisticated curricula offered and its particular pedagogical approach" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009:1093). The Historical elitism stems from the "role that elite social networks have played in historical development" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009:1093) of the Royal Bafokeng. The geographical elite nature of the school "is constituted by the school's physical character and location" and lastly the demographic nature is "presupposed by the population that attends elite boarding schools" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2009:1093). Some of these points are subject to strong debate and contestation especially with regard to Lebone II. The lack of information with regards to the process by which students become learners at Lebone II is one area that needs to be clarified and should not be predicted that the students are there because of some connection they have to the Kgosi Leruo.

This research wishes to highlight that "the term elite is an ambiguous one, a rhetoric to put forward some kind of argument, usually either in admiration or in contempt of particular institutions"(Gaztambide- Fernández 2009:1092). This research does not wish to be party to any school of thought for or against this ideal but is rather concerned with the unique history of the Royal Bafokeng that laid down the foundations of this school.

Expectations

This theme will look into how the students are enrolled at Lebone II understand the impacts of the education at the school on their current and future lives also to see if the students see the education they are receiving in practice as fulfilling their expectations. In parallel how do Lebone II staff and the students themselves understand the role of Lebone II within the royal nation project?

An expectation can be defined as "the act of expecting; the state of being expected; that which is expected; an awaiting, looking forward to good to come" (Odhams Dictionary of the English Language: 401). At Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng, the teaching staff and the students alike expect some good that goes beyond the classroom to come out of the experience that everyone has at the school. The expectation is that these individuals will become agents for social transformation in their communities.

In order to determine the ability of the students the school undertakes the responsibility of evaluating and assessing the abilities of the students. The prospective learners " are evaluated, comparatively, relative to other children, by non- familial authorities" (Entwisle and Hayduk 1981:34) This then gives the students a fair chance to compete and prove themselves on an equal footing. Speaking to one student who was awarded a scholarship after a highly competitive evaluation had a lot to say when I asked her to share her experience.

> Is the education at Lebone II living up to your expectations based on your experience?
>
> "Yes, Lebone II has a very high standard they are living up to. They have a vision for every student and work together with them towards that goal. Being at Lebone has proved to me that the teachers can do more than what I had expected. They have helped me see where I want to go and I can see that I am on my way there.

> Eventhough I am on scholarship I struggled to adapt and adjust but through a programme called Bakgoni I managed to win with adjusting".
>
> **Mpho M Interview conducted 12.09.2013 at the Setswana department.**

It was very essential for the college to have all these structures in place as they would be "necessary to facilitate adjustment not just academically but also their attitudes which could negatively impact" (Stein and Hussong 2007:61) their outlook on life. This could affect their experience in the school and inhibit them from reaching their highest potential and ultimately cause them to lose their scholarships.

Ironically it is rather odd to see how in some instances it is more of the students who are concerned about their academic achievement, an observation I made when the time for cycle tests came. The students in the "skof" I travelled to school with everyday expressed a deep sense of ownership for their academic performance while the parents took care of the school fees and other needs. Those students work hard often making it into the Top 20 in their stream when the ideal is to make it into the Top 10. One grandparent expressed his dissatisfaction:

> "I am not happy with the results my grandchild produces they are capable of doing so much more, it seems I am more concerned and they are not choosing to focus their energies nothing school related".
>
> **M T Interview conducted 27.09.2013**

Amazingly at Lebone there is no school bell as I observed as this is meant to task the students to take responsibility of managing their time, in preparation for life beyond school. This is also meant to discipline them. The students are also expected to partake in sport for fitness and improved brain functioning as well as other culturally enriching activities such as

contemporary dance or singing in the school choir. All of these are carefully balanced to achieve a holistic development of the student.

The student set realistic and idealistic expectations for themselves. On the realistic front the students "make predictions that they will attain certain level of academic performance" whereas the idealistic expectations are the dreams, wishes and hopeful anticipations that the child hold in the academic realm" (Seginer 1982:6). These expectations are important to the teachers, the parents and to the students. One member of the supreme council with a teaching background had a lot to say about academic expectations.

> "These expectations can be formulated in the shape of a triangle, because if the link between these three parties is not there, there will be no development. Lebone II gives parents an opportunity to actively participate in the education of their children and also to see where the child is going and in turn create a good platform for the expectation of good results".
>
> **J Senne, Interview 21.10.2013**

The school grading and close monitoring system stems from a good teacher, parent and student relationship "gives the parent a chance to evaluate their child's achievement as excellent, satisfactory or unacceptable" (Seginer 1982:6). It is thus safe to conclude this theme of expectations by acknowledging that when one awaits good and positive things to come, this can have a major influence on one's outlook but also in shaping the experience that one could have.

Experience

This theme will discuss the experiences the students at Lebone II have had since their enrolment in the school. The desire is to highlight what the journey has been like for hem in school but more importantly outside the school. This section will look at their sentiments of being in the classroom but more importantly how this has impacted on their social life and how they go about re-integrating themselves into the very communities they come from.

Lebone II is seen as "a major agency for building a better society by enriching the skills, learning and viewpoints of its citizens" (Tyack and Cuban 1995:658). That is not to say that they desire to channel the minds of the students into accepting certain norms or ideas of thinking or better yet teach the students that particular schools of thought hold more water than others. On the contrary, they desire to stretch the thinking caps of the students by exposing them to different viewpoints and perspectives, they teach them to question things although in some instances the questioning exceeds the inquisitive and turns into an exercise that completely derails the lesson.

During my observations of how there was generally nothing odd about how the students relate to and with one another. The atmosphere was not clouded with heavy uncomfortable glazes, ugly snares or tension. However when going home the students were faced with all sorts of challenges that ranged from name calling, harassment bullying to being stereotyped and in the most extreme cases they were alienated.

What has your experience been since you enrolled at Lebone?

"They call us cream soda because of the green colour of the school uniform. People assume we are snobs, rich, have more than enough money, we do not have problems and that we are self-consumed. Going back home, find it is very difficult to relate with old friends. Use of the

English language is deemed to be a weapon of social destruction. In one instance the students have been robbed off their cell phones, because they come from Lebone they are rich and can afford to buy new ones. Truth is there are some students from Lebone who have bad attitudes and even go to the extent of being flashy an impression that somewhat warrants that we be subject to such treatment as a result of the bad decisions of a few".

Focus group discussion comments: Grade 9 11.09.2013

The seniors had a different approach to the question and their greatest concern was more focused on their academics than social experiences. This is what the students had to say for themselves.

> "It's different depending on where you are coming from as such the experiences will vary. There have been tremendous changes; there were difficult times as we had to make major adjustments. There is a promotion of individuality and embraces diversity to the extent where some students are given too much freedom and often get away with a lot of things. There is an assumption tht as Lebone II students we are given special treatment but that is not the case we are not spoon fed as there are students who failing when they do have the potential to perform well. We are being used as guinea pigs and the teaching culture is more of a trial and error exercise as such the rates of reaction to adaptability and ability to cope varies greatly amongst the students but it all fairness they see where Lebone is headed and is in the process of moving towards that ideal".

Focus group discussion comments: Grade 11 11.09.2013

One boarding student mentioned how since her enrolment into Lebone II her life has never been the same it has become increasingly difficult to relate to her fellow age mates or people she grew up with.

> "Sleeping has become my pastime because there is only so much television I can watch .Friend I grew up with consciously choose to be funny towards to me so the point where I have even resorted to keeping to myself and now I only interact with friends I have made at Lebone II only".
>
> **T.S Interview: 18.09.2013**

The students had a totally different story to tell about their experiences their teachers on the other hand have an interesting story to tell about their teaching experience.

> What has your experience been since you started teaching at Lebone II?
>
> "Having been at Lebone for quite some time I can confirm that the reality is now visible to the naked eye. One can see what the purpose of the school is eventhough it is in a constant state of becoming there is a clearer sense of what the school was all about from the very beginning".
>
> **K. Mokgetwa, interview: 23.10.2013**

Another teacher who has been there from the time the school started had a lot to say to add to the conversation.

> "Initially when the school was starting out for some time it was marred with chaos and constant soldering of students but that has been remedied by the instilling of a values system which now makes the students more disciplined. The process of shaping lives edifies the self and help one grow but the value system has proven to be

a key ingredient that has even assisted those who are new in the field to adjust well to their profession thus making the students disciplined and a general pleasure to teach"

N, Mbele, interview: 24.10.2013

The research tried to establish if there is a pattern or trend to how the Bafokeng students perform academically in comparison to their non-Bafokeng counterparts and the response was of an interesting note.

"The ethnicity and merit of Bafokeng students enrolled at Lebone II are not explicit to the teachers their core business is teaching. The teachers have no time to pay attention to such but have observed that generally a lot of students perform well but others choose to allow peer pressure from their students and from outside of the school to derail them. As if that was not enough other students use their Bafokeng ancestry as a crutch upon which to argue their entitlement to being at the school and this unfortunately blinds them from working hard for their futures. As teachers we have observed that generally the students work as best they can but when they notice those experiencing difficulties to improve their work by exhausting all methods available until one that works is found and applied".

E. Ditswene, interview: 23.10.2013

One can see there is an ethos of headwork and dedication that the teachers at Lebone II show. It is evident that there are some issues which need to be addressed by the students themselves for their own good. This theme gives a glimpse into the life and times of the people at Lebone II and how even in the midst of so much negativity for some they still press on and march forward. On the part of the teachers it is rather encouraging to see that they do not allow themselves to be distracted from what they are doing.

Peer to Peer Relations

This section wishes to establish how students at Lebone II go about occupying spaces and the challenges that come with switching hats at different times and spaces. How they negotiate being at Lebone on the varied lines of ethnicity, social standing, economic footing, class, language and gender amongst other things.

Some of the students at Lebone II are not aware of their ethnicity; they do not know if they are Bafokeng or not. Others could not be bothered while others displayed the full knowledge of their Bafokeng ancestry with pride and even went to the extent of expressing their entitlement to being at Lebone II. Such utterances almost immediately throw the values of Lebone out the window.

Casual chat conversations I initiated led me to converse with some students and people outside of the school who assumed I was a member of the community eventhough I tried to tell them on numerous accounts that I was not did not work. I asked a question on the sentiments they had about some of the services the administration was providing the people and I later regretted that.

> What are your views on the ability of the administration to outsource water to ensure that there is life?
>
> "The mining projects tampered with the waterbed underlying the land so it was for those who benefitted the most from the mining wealth to ensure that the ordinary people have safe water to drink".

I t was unsettling that some children who are primary school going shared the same sentiments which seem to have been planted in their minds by their elders. I t was also becoming more and more evident that this wealth that has made the Bafokeng rich and well known is the very same thing they use to negate themselves. This does not restore the pride

the Bafokeng have in themselves but only further fuels the swaying of public opinion and resulting in the kinds of conversations that fuelled newspaper sales in the last half year of 2013.

Some students who would have been an asset to the community often easily blend in when at Lebone II, but the moment they exit the school premises they become subject to victimization and bullying. The girls become easy target for this as their "cream soda" uniform singles them out. "Bullying is a stressful experience that could jeopardize children's well –being" (Arsenault, Bowes and Shakoor 2010:717), evidence of this is seen with the name calling and passing of remarks but when a student partaking in community service who is intimidated by a an adult who seems very disgruntled and frustrated by their work conditions lashes out , and instructs the student to tell the King who in this case is called out by his first name of his demands, that is a clear indication of the "imbalance of power that exists" (Arsenault, Bowes and Shakoor 2010:718). Large numbers of people within the various villages that make up the royal nation project seem to hold the tenet very dear to their hearts that students at Lebone have "unlimited access to His Majesty". Often when such things happen the values instilled in the students have taught them to maintain a calm demeanour which helps brush off a potentially sticky situation out of the way.

"Children and young people are the most victimized segment of the world's population. Their victimization is universal, pervasive and takes multiple forms" (Hartjen and Priyadarsini 2012:2). Some young people are often used to victimize their fellow peers, instead of drawing closer to students at Lebone to see how they could learn something from them, they instead chose to use every opportunity open to them to tear them down. Experience of the company of the students at Lebone II humbled the researcher eventhough

immersion into the field took time, the students were warm this being evident in the exchange of pleasantries which is always a good place to start.

Often peer to peer relations that could bear positive results for both parties are choked to death by misconceptions, misunderstandings and possibly parties who are subject to a lot of low self-esteem. Members of a community can miss out on seeing the beauty of something new all because they are too concerned with wanting to criticize it purely because they feel they should have benefitted from it. Attitudes of negativity often have a way of clouding people's ability to see things from a positive perspective, assumptions misguide their thinking and lastly easy access to incorrect information all work together to tear a great nation into little pieces.

Conclusion

The Bafokeng have a rich history that has various shades of strings that when weaved together form the tapestry of their very existence. We review history to look back at how they came to be, how they fought, how they persevered and even in the face of the most trying adversities kept whatever faith they had to have hope. We have also seen how the successors to the throne of the Bafokeng leadership have always been linked and thus when one passed on the one that followed was ready to take over. Kgosi Mokgatle taught his people the value of working together to pave a way forward for themselves but also brought education to them, an inheritance that one can never be taken away once gained. All those who came after him built on whatever the former had laid down as a foundation using that to propel the people forward. The wealth generated from the mining which is paid out to the Bafokeng as royalties have enabled them to develop their communities, an exercise that is still on-going presently.

The most unique of all the developments they have made is using the ownership they have of the land to have a greater say in matters of education. Their greatest desire being to improve the standard thereof and to prove their commitment to this wish they established their own private school: Lebone II College of the Royal Bafokeng.

An academic institution of excellence intended to serve the nation of the Bafokeng, grooming students who will become catalysts for reformation in the society. They desire to teach the students to value and appreciate what they have been offered a beautiful opportunity to enrol into a school that is concerned with developing their all-round being. Teaching them self-regulation and self-discipline and how to find the balance between school work, sport and teaching them to impart whatever skills they have learned with the fellow beings. The biggest satisfaction stems from their value system which teaches the students humility and the

principle of using their strengths to uplift the next person who maybe struggling, they teach them not to be selfish. Not to say that they are brain washing them to be products of Lebone II but teaching them to know how to relate to their fellow mankind. They teach their students to be well aware of the current affairs to empathize and sympathize with situations that may not directly affirm them but affect human kind. At Lebone II they teach their students to be grounded through initiatives such as community which give them an experience that only life can give. By acknowledging limited resources or complete lack that others have they are taught to value and not take for granted all the resources that Lebone II is endowed with. For those who have been subsidised financially by the means and needs programme this element of community service help to encourage the students to work harder in an effort to want to change their lives as well as where they see themselves. With regards to some people or parents not having the patience to wait for the children to complete their education before reaping the rewards of the investment they made, Lebone II is not different from any other private education institution. The wait is inevitable and has to be endured. The school like a butterfly endured the process of a metamorphosis growing from a thought to an idea that was brainstormed to see if it could be a workable project. With all the enthusiasm LeboneII poured into it, like a snowball growing in size the school became a prototype, the concept was taking shape through and trial and error it seemed to be getting off the ground but out of the black the death strikes. Lebone II's life is cut short; he is stolen from his people in his prime years. His brother Leruo succeeds him and the school a process of becoming like larva in a cocoon. On the hill of Tshufi the cocoon bursts into a radiant butterfly, Lebone II had found its home and glows brighter than ever before.

Having searched far and wide for its teachers Lebone II was entrusted to the care of George Harris who accepted the risk knowing well that all eyes were on him but took solace in knowing that he was working towards a set goal and had to use the method of team work to

ensure that everyone knew what direction the school had to take. There were great expectations he had to live up to with the staff; the students had their fair share as well to work hard at school. The dedicated teachers encourage the students to make an equal commitment to their schoolwork.

The experiences of both positive and negative encounters the students of Lebone endure help to shape and mould them into being better people. They choose their battles carefully and know how and when to walk away from sticky situations even when their fellow peers provoke them. Violence does not resolve anything it furthers the burning of bridges, and closes the door that could have been used to build up trust and to create a mutually beneficial, or reciprocal relationship.

Going back to the research question of whether or not the experiences of actual learners at Lebone II reflect the stated strategy in Education of the Royal Bafokeng Nation it is safe to say yes based on the points presented. With regards to Educational Anthropology purposes the culture of teaching that Lebone II deploys could serve as the solution to the crises that looms over South Africa, eventhough the financial incentives maybe not be there right away the positive results should be enough reason to compel the relevant authorities to remunerate educators accordingly.

Going back to the research question: Do experiences of actual learners at Lebone II reflect the stated strategy in education of the Royal Bafokeng Nation? I t is safe to say yes more so that the students themselves are keen to learn and see this as an opportunity to better prepare themselves for the career paths they wish to follow.

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Lebone II in Photos





























