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Most developing countries when under the control of the colonial powers developed formal secondary schooling for only small percentages of their population. With Independence, came a drive to increase as rapidly as possible the percentage of children receiving the benefits of secondary schooling. However, several such countries soon after independence formulated aims [e.g. Tanzania - Education for Self-Reliance; Bophuthatswana - Popagano; Botswana - Kagisano] for which conventional western schooling may or may not be appropriate. This study attempts to identify the extent to which two quite different institutions - Palapye Community Junior Secondary School and the Brigades - have been able to contribute to the achievement of the aims of Kagisano in Botswana. Clearly this necessitates fairly detailed reference to the context within which these two innovative approaches to post-primary education operated.

This study traces briefly the administrative, economic and demographic background to Botswana; comments briefly on the historical influences on the educational system, within the concept of the Third World, and on Kagisano's special relationship in formulating the ideal system for Botswana.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

H. Huggett

Hugh Henry Huggett

30th day of November, 1984

DEDICATION

In gratitude to my wife

Libby Huggett

for her support

and to those educators in Southern Africa who made my research so rewarding and had so marked an influence on my life.

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THE PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1. Many Third World countries under the control of colonial powers developed formal secondary schooling for only small percentages of their population. The drive to increase the percentage of children receiving the benefits of secondary education grew rapidly especially after independence and many alternate strategies were attempted to involve as many primary school leavers in further education. Not all of these moves were academic. Many initiatives had the welfare of the rural community at heart; many development strategies were initiated under the control of government formulated aims. Two developmental strategies in Botswana were the development of academic schooling and the growth of vocational education.

2. The aim of the study has been to examine the impact and development of secondary education in a private mission school at St. Anthony's Mission Palapye and of non-formal vocational education programmes conducted under the auspices of the Brigade movement at Serowe. An attempt has been made to analyse aspects of the two systems; to indicate some of the broad implications for the organisation, content and style of education from an assessment of both classroom and course objectives [Botswana 1977 23].

3. The situation of the community in both cases is predominantly rural. In each area the development of educa-

tion was to fulfil a basic need [illegible] realisation of human potential that had been largely neglected by Government.

> "If life is better in the towns, and if insufficient recognition is given to those who labour faithfully in outlying parts of the country, then education for rural development can hardly be given meaning. Education can only fulfil its responsibility to society if parents, the community and its leaders in turn fulfil their obligations to young people and the school" [Ibid 25].

It is from this understanding that the uplift of the community is being assessed.

4. For the purpose of this study the aim of development is taken as being the improvement of fundamental competencies so that young Batswana will contribute to development across the land; that the establishment of schooling will suit all people - irrespective of geographical and financial burdens - and that, while financial resources are conserved and economic growth continued and promoted, individual learners may benefit from their studies and the part of the communities in the provision of education may be encouraged [Ibid 9-34].

5. The development of fundamental competencies that is the principal aim of education should focus upon the individual development of the learners :

> "enabling them to acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour that will give them a full,

successful life and continued personal growth ... equipping them to participate effectively ... rapidly changing society" [Ibid 231.

All aspects of education should be examined with this purpose in mind: aspects as diverse as curriculum and syllabus, the teaching methods used, materials used in instruction, examinations and even school buildings have a part to play in assisting the learning process of the individual. This research report deals with the evaluation of conditions in which effective learning takes place and with the assessment of how well education is accomplishing this task.

Further to this it must be understood that the educational perspective adopted by educators in most societies holds as important that education in a social milieu should not be seen in isolation from but as part of a total system which relates to the life of the community it serves [Schoon 1982]. The individual's learning, to be real, must be related to the world around him. But his education must not be confined, neither must it be limited by that environment. The responsibility facing the relevant educational system is to equip the individual to see beyond the confines of his immediate surroundings to that of the world beyond [Houghton 1969 28]. The interlocking phases of this responsibility to community life may thus be realised at several levels, namely tribe, local community and the nation. The aim of the study is to evaluate the effectiveness of the two systems in achieving this.

7. The investigation has broadly followed [illegible] principles of illuminative evaluation. [illegible] approach is used as it provides a broader view of the com plexity of human behaviour and of situations in which huma beings interact in the educational situation. It presents broader spectrum than the more traditional methods of enqui into the social sciences. The strategy depends on the use two or more methods of data collection in the study of huma behaviour [Cohen and Marion 1980 208-209]. Triangulatio attempts to map out, or explain more fully the complexity an richness of the situation by studying it from more than on standpoint by the use of quantitative and qualitative da [Ibid 208]. This strategy attempts to overcome the 'method-boundedness' of parochialism [Smith, W. 1955].

8. An attempt has been made to acquire a limited yet reasonably comprehensive view for the purposes of this research report of the various aspects and implications of education as they currently exist at Palapye and Serowe in Botswana; to identify in a limited way some areas of special significance; to provide a collection of data on a small scale that may interest educators. Use has been made of both structured and personal interviews with a wide range of interested people so that a balanced account may be presented

9. The writer made a preliminary visit to Bophuthatswana and Botswana to conduct a taped interview with priests, nuns,

training college lecturers, nurses, and others. The main thrust of this enterprise was to examine the concept and merits of Popagano [Jaff 1980] in the former country, and Boiteko in the latter [Huggett et al 1981]. This research report developed from a chance meeting with Father Leonard Devitt. Anticipating an interview previously arranged with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Botswana the research team was in the refectory when it was told that the Archbishop was unlikely to make the meeting as he had been detained at a funeral. At that moment the group happened to meet Father Devitt who immediately joined in the conversation. It was apparent that he had an extensive knowledge of education in Botswana. Father Devitt's move to St. Anthony's Mission school attracted the team's imagination and it was agreed that it would visit Palapye early in 1982.

10. Prior to visiting Palapye, interviews were conducted with M. Schoon, the British Overseas Vocational Placement Officer; his wife; and his staff. Use was made of published, unpublished and roneoed material and handouts. The team stayed with M. Schoon in Gaborone prior to moving north. While staying with him, further visits were paid to schools in the area: schools that were both state and private. D. Matthews and D. Yates, both present and immediate past headmaster at Maru a Pula, were interviewed during 1982 and 1981.

11. From St. Anthony's Mission further trips were made to Old Palapye, Serowe, and Palapye. Interviews were conducted with shopkeepers, friends of Father Devitt, and the Ursuline Sisters of Serowe; questionnaires were handed out to aspirant scholars hoping to obtain entrance to Palapye Community Junior Secondary School as they came to write their entrance tests. Further talks were held with the Headmaster. Use was made of his registers and personal file. Father Devitt made several files of the minutes of the Brigade System at Serowe - of which he was Chairman of the Board - available. His personal files (in his capacity as missionary-priest, headmaster, and Chairman of the Board) were also placed at the team's disposal.

12. The writer does not presume to make a final judgement on the matters he has investigated. Such were the time restraints that though the day was spent investigating and interviewing people, though much work was done collating data late into the night or early in the morning, there was not enough time to present more than a limited perspective. As the parents of the pupils could not be interviewed, the question of fee structure, so important an issue at Serowe, could not be directly clarified.

13. As the systems of education continue in Botswana, so will perspectives alter and develop. That education will continue to expand quantitatively was evident from the

interest shown at all levels for further development. Many of these evolving systems need to be investigated to a greater depth than is possible within the scope of this study.

14. There is also the possibility that the perspective of the writer and his interpretations may lack validity. While it was not possible to consult all the studies on the Brigades - H.I. Wetherell's monogram could not be traced through Inter-Library Loans - further difficulties were found in tracing recognised authors on Third World Community Development. Anthony Sillery's work on Botswana was traced in the Jan Smuts library: since its publication it had yet to be taken out and there was not even an accession card. Many more writers of this type, many more ideas need to be pursued to a greater depth than is possible within the constraints of this research report.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY - ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION

1. The origins of illuminative evaluation as an alternative to traditional models of evaluation date from the early 1970's [Dachs 1982]. It was developed because of a dissatisfaction with the psycho-statistical paradigm in curriculum evaluation. Such is the complex and involved learning process in the context of the school that a single-method approach yields only limited and misleading data [Cohen and Marion 1980]. Hamilton and Parlett [1982] summarise the work of Guttentag [1971], Stake [1973], MacDonald [1971], Messick [undated], Taylor [1971] and Parlett [1972] in noting the shortcomings of the traditional approach:

1.i The traditional agricultural-botany paradigm revolves around the randomisation, or strict control of samples that is expensive in time and resources. The artificiality of the situation renders the exercise irrelevant as neat, accurate results can rarely be generalised from a complex reality. This divorces the study from the real world.

1.ii Research designs that require studies taken before and after the complex situation suggest that there is little observable change in the educational milieu.

1.iii Traditional evaluations impose artificial restrictions on the scope of the study. So objective is the study that other important data may be neglected: [this objectivity is the most limiting factor of traditional evaluations as they are insufficiently sensitive to conditions being investigated].

1.iv Statistical generalisations are insensitive to local upheavals and changes and tend to lack meaning.

2. The learning milieu is further defined by Hamilton and Parlett [Ibid] as the social-psychological and material environment of students and teachers; a nexus of cultural, social, institutional and psychological variables; a pattern of circumstances, pressures, customs, opinions, and work styles which suffuse the teaching world. It is this essentially diverse, complex milieu that is the essence of the serious study of educational innovations.

3. Illuminative evaluation is a general research strategy. To fulfil its function it needs to be adaptable; it develops not from a research doctrine, but from decisions made in each case as to the best available techniques [Hamilton and Parlett 1982]. So no one method is used exclusively or in isolation; different techniques are combined to illuminate a common problem. This may be defined as the 'triangulation approach' [Cohen and Marion 1980 214] used when a more holistic view of educational outcomes is sought.

4. The multi-media approach is further clarified by Cohen and Marion [Ibid 211] who make use of Denzin's [1971] triangulation:

4.i Time triangulation: this type attempts to take into consideration the factors of change and process by utilising cross-sectional and longitudinal designs.

4.ii Space triangulation: this type attempts to overcome the parochialism of studies conducted in the same country ...

4.iii Combined levels of triangulation: this type uses more than one level of analysis from the three principal levels used in the social sciences, namely the individual level, the interactive level (groups), and the level of collectivities (organizational, cultural or societal).

4.iv Theoretical triangulation: this type draws upon alternative or competing theories in preference to utilising one viewpoint only.

4.v Investigator triangulation: this type engages more than one observer.

4.vi Methodological triangulation: this type uses either (a) the same method on different occasions, or

(b) different methods on the same object of study.

5. Time triangulation involves an awareness of the effects of social change over the time sequence that spreads further than one point in the time scale. Space triangulation goes beyond the limitations of studies conducted within one culture. There is . attempt made to suggest that basic principles have been discovered which will hold as true tendencies of any society, anywhere, anytime. An attempt is made to suggest that at one time and at one place the following were observed. It is from this point that studies may develop. Investigator triangulation suggests that more than one observer or participant in a setting may lead to more reliable and valid data.

6. Smith H.W. [1975] comments:

> Perhaps the greatest use of investigator triangulation centres around validity rather than reliability checks. More to the point, investigators with differing perspectives or paradigmatic biases may be used to check out the extent of divergence in the data each collects. Under such conditions if data divergence is minimal then one may feel more confident in the data's validity. On the other hand, if their data is significantly different, then one has an idea as to possible sources of biased measurement which should be further investigated.
>
> [quoted in Cohen and Marion 1980 211]

7. The strength behind the illuminative paradigm is that it is essentially an on-the-spot procedure designed to deal with an emergent problem located in a specific situation.

The situation is probed by a variety of methods, it is studied in the context that gave it meaning. It is flexible and adaptable, relying chiefly on observation and attempts to comprehend factors relevant to the problem, the nature of which continually changes as events proceed.

8. Dachs [1982] defines illuminative evaluation as located in the real situation of the curriculum in action where it would do justice to the complexity of the reality by revealing not only agreement and intended outcomes, but also unintended results and a diversity of opinions as well. In short it seeks by progressive focusing to open the heart of the situation to critical investigation and appraisal.

9. The most important check on the subjective nature of illuminative evaluation is triangulation. In this study, data were collected by interview, questionnaire and by studying primary documents. This was to establish the reliability of subjective data that were part of the complex situation being investigated. Interviews with teachers, pupils and parents was another form of triangulation whereby the intricacy, the often intangible features of the situation, could be more reliably described.

10. The task is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex reality (or realities) surrounding the project: in short to illuminate [Hamilton and Parlett, 1982].

Innovations do not arise suddenly and unannounced. They are preceded by committee minutes, funding proposals, architectural plans and consultants' reports. Primary sources too are obtainable, whether from non-confidential data from office files; eye-witness accounts; biographical or autobiographical accounts; meetings. This is where much of the inter-personal skills of the evaluator may be used and his partiality checked and evaluated.

III. BOTSWANA : THE BRIEF ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

1. The Republic of Botswana received its independence from Britain on the 30th September, 1966. This move followed the steady extension of British authority during the first half of the twentieth century. In 1920 the European Advisory Council and the African Advisory Council held their first sessions and the first tentative moves towards independence were made. The latter was the first council to play a vital role against pressures for incorporating the Protectorate into South Africa [Yates 1983]. In 1960 the first Legislative Assembly - a forerunner of Parliament - was formed. A draft constitution was drawn up in 1963. As a preliminary to independence, the elections of 1965 returned the Bechuanaland Democratic Party with an overwhelming majority [Watters 1973].

2. Local government also underwent some changes during this time period. Chiefs adjudicated through Kgotlas according to native law and custom on matters arising amongst various tribal members. In 1934 it was decided to put Native Courts on a proper legal footing and to provide adequate safeguards for justice. The constitution and functions of the Native Courts were defined and regularised. One of the results of this move was the stabilisation of finances. In 1938 the Native Fund which represented five shillings in

every native tax collected and which was used for various purposes beneficial to the natives, was replaced by Native Treasuries. Each Treasury was operated, under the guidance of the District Commissioner, by the chief and a tribal finance committee. Grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund alleviated the often chronic financial deficit, gave promise of future economic stability and helped materially to supplement Social Services.

With independence, local government continued to exert considerable influence on local affairs. Chiefs were still appointed ex officio chairman of local district councils, but the real power lay with elected officials rather than with the chief or with appointed tribal authorities. District councils could, in some areas, elect their own chairman from members of council. All local government - which included the financing and operation of primary education - lay with these district and town councils. After independence there were 9 district councils and 3 town councils with elected officials in command; and 4 district councils and 3 town councils with locally elected chairmen.

4. The Batswana live in many towns and villages - the majority in large towns, over 15,000 people, but smaller villages of less than 1000 people proliferate. This is one reason for the close relationship between the local community and regional authorities. Traditionally the chief ruled each

area and each area was independent. However, in actual fact, the chief relied heavily on opinions gained from his Kgotla - a body of senior men who examined and discussed matters of importance. An interlocking system of wards under leadership of a headman - some under royal, others under common, headmen - existed in all villages and towns and each ward was responsible to the next higher one and ultimately to the chief. This hierarchical structure also determined men's positions as each man knew his position in society and what society expected of him [Watters 1973; Sillery 1952; Lye 1980 89-90].

5. Communal land tenure operated in tribal territories: that is the chief was trustee of all tribal lands and was responsible for their utilisation and administration. All married men possessed rights to land for a house, cultivation, grazing; all men had their own cattle posts and kraals. Grazing lands and watering spots were communal lands and all tribal members used them. Residential and farming rights passed on to a man's family upon his death. All were subservient to the chief who allocated land, controlled ploughing and the use of fertilisers, and who barred fencing of cattle grazing areas [Sillery 1952].

6. The main tribes in Botswana that were known for the power and wealth that lay in the hands of the chief were undergoing a subtle change. The chief, who had embodied the

material and spiritual welfare of his tribe; who had been the ultimate source of authority, was facing an erosion of his power by the implementation of District Councils, in 1965, and Land Boards, in 1968 [Lee 1980 96]. Local District Administrations were assuming responsibility for the supervision of local development initiatives through the Development Committees that were being elected at village level. The community was moving into a new sphere that was different from the previous subservience.

7. Movement away from the village - often counter to the chief's wish - to outlying arable lands which was becoming increasingly scarce, meant that the population in the 60's was still predominantly static and increasingly rural. This movement away from villages may have been encouraged by permanent water supplies that were laid on, but it did mean that the government would find it increasingly difficult to provide education, health and welfare services (Ibid).

8. To pastoral people like the Batswana, possession of cattle played an important role. All the most important social customs (such as marriage and initiation) revolved around this. People were dependent on their crops, but it was in cattle that a person's position in society was demarcated. Yet The Rural Income Distribution Survey, conducted in 1974-5 in Botswana [Murray 1980 144] showed that 45% of rural households have no cattle; while 10% of the population control 65% of the livestock found in Botswana.

Murray [1980 143] represents this inequality thus:

TABLE A : Rural Income Distribution

Location of Household	Mean Income (Rands) from				Medium Income (R)
	Crops	Livestock	Employment	Trading	
Small Villages land areas cattle posts	76	411	258	196	610
* Large villages	140	616	739	806	887

* Mann Serowe Palapye Mahalapye Mochudi Molepolole Ramotswe Kanya

9. Early in the 1970's, with increasing modernisation, a moneyed economy was introduced and changes occurred in the concept of material wealth. European adjuncts - clothes, rifles, utensils, sewing machines - acquired status and became necessities of life. Money had to be found to pay taxes, tribal levies and school taxes. The moneyed economy placed new values on cattle, skins, crops, and handicrafts and changed the desirability of locally produced goods. Local goods were considered inferior. People who had practised traditional handicrafts - especially those who had attended school - were anxious to bury their past and take on any job in the new economy which appeared to offer more in the new dispensation.

10. Throughout the 1970s the commercial livestock industry was stimulated by two occurrences: firstly there was a rise in the price of beef; secondly, Botswana was allowed preferential access to the market of the European Economic Community. This was coupled by a shift in population towards the eastern part of Botswana were 50,000 Batswana were employed in the formal sector of the economy. The same number was estimated to be in South Africa which reflects a further, yet historical, dependence on the export of labour.

11. Secondly, the country's extensive mineral resources were exploited on a considerable scale in the 1970's and early 1980's. The Orapa mine began production in 1971. In 1975 there was a further strike at Selibe-Pikwe where the extensive copper-nickel deposits led to a major government and multi-national investment. Mineral exports in the latter 1970's and early 1980's had already overtaken livestock products in value and provided the government with a vital source of revenue [Murray 1980 140]. Apart from the Botrest mine at Selibwe-Pikwe, feasibility studies of an area 200 Kilometres square, rich in coal, between Serowe and Palapye have been undertaken by Shell. Furthermore, the world's biggest untapped source of soda ash in the Makarikari Pan is set for exploitation by the Soda Ash (Botswana) Company, run by BP out of London. When these two areas are developed, the world's greatest railway from Palapye to Gobabis, opening up large areas of land, will become viable [Sargeant 1984].

12. In retrospect Botswana's growth from 1965 when it was amongst one of the world's 25 poorest countries, has been fast. From 1967 when Orapa, the second biggest Kimberlite pipe in the world, was discovered till 1971 when Letlhakane began production - gross national production leapt from P102 million in 1971 to P671 million in 1980 and economic growth averaged 13% - the highest in Africa [Ibid, Sargeant 1984].

13. Growth in 1981 and 1982 is to be found in the formal sector. In 1981 Jwaneng mine began production; in the immediate year following 1982, it will double Botswana's diamond production which will stand at 80% of the country's foreign revenue [beef is put at 17%] [Star 18.6.81]. To develop Jwaneng mine cost R260 million to build up to production; by 1983 it is estimated that diamond sales will earn P360 million - a rise of P135 million on the 1982 figures [Mortimer J. 1983a 49; 1983b].

14. Benefits to the average Batswana, however will be practically nil. Botswana is unique in that the shortage of revenue is being overcome, but the shortage of skills is not. Except for a few thousand employed on the mines most Batswana live in rural areas and are self-employed subsistance farmers.

15. The need to diversify the economy remains vital. The estimated growth rate of the labour force is assessed at 15,000 a year; job creation is at best 10,000. The answer to this lies with the informal and agricultural sectors. It is particularly in the non-cattle agricultural section that the answer must be found to the prestige challenge of the white collared workers and the migratory labour to the mines [Watters 1973 51]. It is in agriculture that the biggest problem exists. Crop production has stagnated.

16. In an attempt to correct these shortfalls the Government has taken several steps [Murray 1980 141]:

- initially, in 1975, it introduced a Tribal Grazing Land Policy that aimed at arresting the long-term degradation of the veld, brought about the large increase in the national herd; it aimed at reversing the trend of increasing inequalities of wealth and income in the the rural areas; and yet it aimed at continuing the growth of the commercial livestock industry.

- the government introduced an Arable Lands Development Act; a Financial Assistance Policy to assist medium level farmers and to assist entrepeneurs.

17. The additional reason to stimulate agriculture, besides job creation, is to help rural population that prosperity had by-passed. T.W.K. Scott [E.E.C. Advisor] stated [African Business 1983] that 45% of households did not own cattle

whereas 5% of households owned over half the national herd. The average daily wage in the traditional farming sector in 1980 was 91 thebe [100 thebe = 1 pula] for crops; 35 thebe for livestock: P2.80 in the private sector; P4 in the public sector. These figures may reveal why Botswana has the highest urbanisation rate in Africa.

18. There is considerable worry about objectives to stimulate rural economy as there is lack of credit for boreholes; for fencing; and because proficient managers are unlikely to be found. Secondly, an unresolved problem is how to protect the interests of those with existing land rights in commercial areas who do not have livestock - they have been inadequately compensated for the loss of their rights [Murray 1980 140].

19. The patterns of movement in Botswana are as follows:

- the traditional seasonal movement between villages and land.
- the more recent (late 70's) drift towards permanent settlement in the outlying areas.
- repeated migration to work in South Africa.
- the most significant pattern of movement is, however, the rural-urban drift to 'new' towns and, to a lesser extent, the large tribal capitals which has taken place mainly as a result of government infrastructure and an accelerated rate

of job creation since independence. The 'new' towns are Gaborone, burgeoning capital of Botswana, which was little more than a cattle-post in 1964; Lobatse, the centre of the beef export industry; Francistown, the old commercial centre of the Tati company in the north-east; and the mining towns of Orapa and Selibwe-Pikwe. The population of these towns has grown from 21,000 in 1964 to 120,000 in 1978 - this is a spectacular rate of urbanisation [Murray 1980 142].

20. Many urban workers, however, have not cut off their links with rural areas. Workers' families retain a base in arable land and livestock; their wages allow them to invest more effectively in farming than many rural households without direct access to wage employment. Skilled workers with higher wages are much better able to do this than unskilled workers who can barely scrape a livelihood for their families.

21. The Batswana continue to distribute their energies and resources between employment in the formal sector - inside or outside the country; participation in the domestic economy based on agriculture and livestock; and opportunities that arise in the informal sector in both rural and urban areas.

22. Tribal land - the former Tribal Reserves plus additional areas - comprises 71 per cent of the land area of

Botswana; 6 per cent is held under freehold or leasehold, and 23 per cent is state land. Only 6 per cent of the total land area is suitable for cultivation. This area is the eastern strip of the country in which are concentrated 80% of the population.

23. The local government agencies are resourceful, aware of local conditions, needs and ideas. Especially obvious is their enthusiasm for social services, improvement in local conditions, and education for their people. Their weakest aspect is fiscal but with greater expertise and with government, rather than tribal, authority spreading into rural areas, they will adapt to the rapidly changing conditions. Especially important is the fact that most local development initiatives will be managed still at village level with Development Committees.

FIGURE NO. 1: Tribal Divisions in Botswana

(J. Legg, 1983)

FIGURE NO. 4: Population Density in Botswana

(J. Legg, 1983)

HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

For most of mankind's history the majority of children have received their education informally and incidentally. The family and the immediate community were the primary educating institutions shaping young people's attitudes and values, showing them skills and manners. Young people were [illegible] taught [illegible] the practical, vocational and survival skills. Education [illegible] became traditional, and largely conservative [illegible]

[illegible] education relied heavily on the belief that all space was pervaded by the spirits of ancestors exercising control over men and shaping their destinies. They believed that the spirits of the deceased hovered over them and that they could influence the material world. Of the supreme God, known as Modimo, they had the [illegible] idea. Though the author of nature and more powerful than the spirits, he was nevertheless largely inactive [Molema 96, [illegible]

The task of educating the young fell on the family. Much of young children's informal play was to imitate the roles of elders. Not only did boys learn to care and fend for themselves, but they also learned the skills of survival in an education for life in the veld. Girls would, in a similar way, learn to collect proper stones for stamping

blocks, to weed gardens, t[illegible]
their elders. The ancestral backgrou[illegible]
or tribe, was the responsibility [illegible] "those outside" [illegible]
immediate family as well - all parents and elders helped [illegible]
this [Molema 1963; Mungazi 1979; Atkinso[illegible] 1984].

4. Cattle raising is the work of men, and, afte[illegible]
of nine, most boys stayed for varying periods at the cattle
post. Here they herded cattle, looked for strays, led cattle
to waterholes, protected [illegible] against marauding animals and
learned the skill of herdship from older boys. They all
aspired to becoming herdsmen themselves. Sometimes they
would return to assist in the ploughing. Agricultural labour
was largely the girls' responsibility. They might hoe, but
more usually they would sow the seeds after the ploughing.
After harvesting they would thresh the corn; finally they
would pound the grain till it became meal. In between the
natural rhythm of harvesting and sowing, they would learn to
cook, to make pots, to do other domestic chores, sometimes
even repair the huts [Mungazi 1979].

5. Round the fire in the evening the history of their
tribe would be told by the elders in detail, stories of great
leaders, and of proverbs and tales of animals with moralistic
viewpoints from which the young were expected to learn.
These stories relied heavily on oral tradition, and conveyed
social moral messages as well.

6. Initiation ceremonies formally taught boys and girls at puberty the rights and responsibilities of men and women in society. These initiation rites, or customary schools, appear to have operated in most tribal reserves. Closely linked as they were to the oral tribal tradition, they introduced the young to their social responsibilities in a more testing way. Isolated into customary groups - '<u>Bojale</u>' for girls and '<u>Bogware</u>' for boys; tested, in harsh climatic conditions in ordeals of endurance and resilience, they returned to tribal life having learnt how to behave toward older people, their rights and responsibilities, their moral behaviour, and the customs of the tribe. Boys would in addition receive military training in the <u>mophato</u> and these regiments were often called on to perform some tribal work [Atkinson 1984].

7. It was inevitable that formal schooling should eventually reach the Batswana. This began as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century when John Campbell initiated a programme of secular thought, reading and interpreting the Bible, of writing-education with a strong evangelical emphasis, however. Missionaries were firstly civilisers with definite aims and this influenced their whole approach. The training of the intellect would make it more susceptible to the truths they were imparting. Initially, they would teach the moral truths; then they would develop habits of industry; teach various skills and promote the

formation of christian character at odds with the older tribal morality. Lengthy lists compiled of early 'converts' were often misleading, as there was often little inward change [Shepherd 1971; Watters 1973; Lekhela 1970].

8. As the number of continuous years of formal schooling rises, as the educational level of society increases, less time is spent on local custom and ritual. The influence of the moral aspects of informal education declined especially from the 1940's onwards when initiation schools were outlawed throughout the territory [Watters 1973].

9. Nevertheless the entire early schooling of the Batswana was often solely the responsibility of the missionaries [Lekhela 1970]. The colonial government had seen its major thrust in education to be that among the European section in the late 19th and early 20th Century. From humble beginnings, many schools became boarding schools, training institutions and colleges [Sillery 1952; Watters 1973; Thema 1954].

10. The arrival of John Campbell in 1813 led to the establishment of the Kuruman Mission Station and the work of Robert Moffat [Shepherd 1971]. In 1831 the printing press was set up and Moffat worked on producing Setswana in written form, to translate the Bible and hymns, and to provide more materials needed for the ea ly teacher evangelists. Moffat was joined by John MacKenzie. His initial commonsense was

much needed. After work at Shosheng, he returned to take charge of the training of native evangelists. In 1879 he was in full charge of the Kuruman Mission Station.

11. Dr. Livingston had meanwhile arrived at Kuruman in 1841. Early on his drive to move north was apparent as, while awaiting the return of R. Moffat, he made 3 journeys northwards. After initiating schooling at Mabetsa 1844, Chonoane 1846; completing an Analysis of the Sechuana Language (printed in 1859) and a dictionary, his earlier determination to travel northwards ended his active involvement among the Batswana.

12. In these early years of the nineteenth century there were two factors in the history of the Batswana. The first was the evangelical drive which sent men not only to work among the tribe, but also to work for the interest of the British Empire in this far flung area and the ultimate attachment of the Batswana to Britain. The first contacts that the tribe had were with men like Moffat, MacKenzie and Willoughby who, as the chiefs recognised, were completely on their side against Boer antagonism. This area was to become one of the most widely christianised areas in Africa [Lye 1980; Thema 1954].

13. The other important factor was the conflict of Boer and Briton in Southern Africa. If there had been no British sphere of involvement, the Batswana would have been

incorporated in Transvaal and would have, in all likelihood, enjoyed no independent status [Yates 1983]. On the other hand if there had been no Boers, Bechuanaland would, without any struggle, have become an ordinary British dependency:

> "When the chiefs asked for a Protectorate they used the word in its literal sense: they want protection against the filibusters. In 1884-5 the political aims of the British Government to curb Boer expansion, MacKenzie's campaign for morality and humanity, and Rhodes's vision of an empire all to the north, all coincided, and the Protectorate came into being."
>
> [Sillery 1952 103]

14. Another indication of this British-Afrikaner rivalry was the arrival of the Hermannsberg missionaries in 1857. The Reverend Schullenborg worked at Shosheng where he baptised Khama the Great in 1860 [Watters 1973]. Later further schools were begun in 1865, at Mankgodi, and Ramoutsa in 1875. This stimulated the L.M.S. to expand their work and they began a training centre at Shozheng in 1872 and the Moffat memorial in 1876 at Kuruman. Through the early work of the Hermannsberg missionaries the Tswana were introduced to a different culture and ideology - that of Calvinism and its interpretation by Afrikaans-speaking communities [Sillery 1952; Lye 1980; Thema 1954].

15. Formal education during the nineteenth century developed primarily as a result of missionary effort and tribal cooperation. Initially an Education Adviser was responsible for the educational growth of the three High

Commission Territories. The curriculum was narrow and academically orientated [Ellenberger 1901]. Mr. James Burns noted excellent "industrial work" in some schools but the consensus of opinion was that old native handcrafts such as weaving, moulding pots, carving wood and stringing beads were generally omitted [Sargent 1908]. There was a movement towards tribal control of education as the chiefs and tribesmen felt that the emphasis on evangelicalism was misplaced. Sargent favoured increased emphasis on manual occupations.

16. Mr. H.J.E. Dumbrell was appointed Inspector for Education for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland [Watters 1973]. Little had changed since Sargent's report twenty-five years previously so there was little formal basis to what was taught. Dumbrell prescribed the Cape Primary Syllabus prior to the drafting of a new code. This syllabus gave Tribal school committees their first uniform guide to instruction. In 1935 he was appointed as Director of Education for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and a revised syllabus was presented in 1937 which stressed hygiene, gardening, games, singing and education directed to the lives of the Batswana.

17. Mr. Jowitt replaced Mr. Dumbrell as Director of Education in 1945. He found that the financial situation, the lack of facilities, the numbers of children had not shown

an overall improvement [Watters 1973]. To improve the situation, the Department of Education drafted and submitted to the Advisory Board for African Education a proclamation for the consolidation of education in the eventual introduction of compulsory education for all racial groups, allowed Resident Commissioner to vary membership of Educational Committees and enabled the Education Department to establish its own schools. The Board, composed mainly of tribal chiefs, rejected the proposal for they thought that the powers of Tribal School Committees and chiefs would be curtailed.

18. The proposal foundered on two main issues. First control of education fell into hands of village elders without professional knowledge or training and overloaded the responsibility placed on the District Commissioner and the Chief. On the other hand, local control ensured a high degree of genuine local interest, forced people to pay for their own education, and provided training in committee work and financial management. It was a dilemma that the African Advisory Council and the Department of Education were unable to resolve [Watters 1973 145].

19. Overall educational development was neglected, few teachers were qualified and the need for practical subjects in the syllabus was overlooked [Lekhela 1970]. The introduction of middle schools in 1945 was a small step in the

attempt to introduce secondary education. Moeng College was begun in 1946 and, with St. Joseph's College, preparations were begun to introduce the Joint Matriculation Board Examination. This was particularly necessary as the Bantu Education Act in 1954 ended new enrolments of Batswana students in South Africa [Malherbe 1977]. It was at this time that the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund made its first grant for secondary schools.

20. In 1959 the Joint Advisory Board on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate recommended that the Junior Certificate Examination for High Commission Territories replace the previously used Joint Matriculation Examination [Watters 1973]. This was recommended primarily because of the inordinate emphasis that the South African Bantu Education Act had on this J.M.B. syllabus. Amongst other matters that gave cause for concern was the emphasis on Afrikaans as additional language; restrictions on the choice of text-books; a heavy emphasis on rote learning and factual memorisation; much of the material was beyond the understanding of children of this age [Schoon 1983; Smith 1981, 1983].

21. In 1962 Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State, recommended that the "main educational emphasis should be on secondary and upper primary programmes that are linked with localisation" [Minutes of

the Joint Advisory Council Meeting 28 March 1962: Quoted in Watters 1973]. The rapid constitutional change dictated the need for qualified Batswana to take over the professional, administrative and technical needs of society. Schools needed to develop the supply of manpower necessary for self sufficiency in the shortest possible time with the limited resources available [Watters 1973 203].

22. In 1963 P. van Rensburg arrived at Serowe and began Swaneng Hill School [van Rensburg 1974; Devitt 1982(b); van Rensburg 1981]. This work was centred first on secondary schooling and later on the establishment of a completely new type of non-formal education combining production, vocational training, and academic learning : this education was to be more appropriate and more accessible than the formal system. Van Rensburg's ideal was to seek involvement in local economic development, to develop a commitment to evolve educational programmes which would serve the needs of independent Botswana.

23. The years between 1960 and 1966 saw the greatest increase in student enrolment, growth in expenditure, number of secondary schools, and teachers. This growth was particularly apparent between 1966 and 1969 [Table B(1) B(2) E F G]. Much use was made of expatriate teachers who were enthusiastic but generally departed before they had developed much commitment to the country [Yates 1983; Schoon 1982].

TABLE B : (1) Secondary Education in Botswana 1960 - 1969

Year	Number of Schools			Number of Pupils		
	Aided	Local	Total	Aided	Local	Total
1960	2	3	5	332	229	561
1963	4	4	8	543	433	976
1966	5	4	9	954	577	1531
1969	6	4	10	1794	1255	3049

(Bechuanaland Protectorate : Botswana Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960 and 1969)

TABLE B : (2) Growth of Secondary Education 1945 - 1969.

Year	Number of Schools Aided	Local	Total
1945	1	0	1
1950	1	2	3
1955	2	2	4
1960	2	3	5
1963	4	4	8
1966	5	4	9
1969	6	4	10

[Bechuanaland Protectorate : Botswana : Annual Reports for the Department of Education 1945, 1950, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1969].

25. Both of the villages of Serowe and Palapye are situated in the Bamangwato tribal lands (Figure no. 1). They are part of a sparsely populated region (Figure no. 2) of between 5 and 1 people per square mile and thus are fairly representative of a predominantly rural, village settlement in 1964. Serowe has a scattered population approaching 30,000 while Palapye's is half that [Census Report 1965 quoted in Watters 1973]. Both centres are settled away from the populated south-eastern corner, and though close to the mine at Selibe-Pikwe are removed from the diamond fields at Orapa and Jwaneng, though close to the envisaged 200 kilometre square coal fields.

26. The Bamangwato have the highest expenditure of tribal revenue 43.6% (Table C) spent on education and by far the highest percentage of school children enrolled in schooling 41.5% (Table C). When the secondary school enrolment is realised (Table B.1) against the slow growth of secondary education (Table B.2), Serowe and Palapye may be taken as typical examples of rural development.

27. Within the educational system there were two contradictory establishments : the one Swaneng Hill, established and run by P. van Rensburg was extended to include vocational training; the other, St. Anthony's Mission School, was developed and extended by Father L. Devitt, former Principal of St. Joseph's College, to a Junior Secondary School. Both

...involved in producing pupils capable of answering the ... of a newly created independent state : both should set ... example for consideration in the rest of Botswana and the ...

... enrolment in tribal ...

...	Tribal Revenue spent on Education	Total School enrolment	School age students (%)
Ramangwato	43.6	8,270	41.5
Ngwaketse	43.4	2,197	11.0
Barolong	8.[illegible]	255	1.3
Batawana	[illegible]	734	3.7
Bangwaketse	[illegible]	2,974	15.0
Batlokwa	[illegible]	360	1.8
Bakgatla	[illegible]	1,535	7.7
Bamalete	2.[illegible]	486	2.4

[Watters 1973 120]

TABLE D : Percentage of School age [illegible] primary schools.

Description	1960	1963	1966	1969
No. of Schools	214	239	251	280
No. of Students	36,287	54,845	71,546	82,214
No. of Girls	21,332	31,017	39,752	48,680
No. of Boys	14,955	23,828	31,794	33,534
% School Age Children attending Primary Schools	25	35*	44*	50*

* Reduction in the school entry age which began in 196[illegible] influenced the percentage of school-age children attending primary schools.

[Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Reports of the Department of Education for 1960, 1963, 1966 and 1969.]

TABLE E : Number of schools, students, teachers and student teacher ratio in 1945

	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Student-Teacher Ratio
African	134	21,139	378	1 : 56
European	11	182	14	1 : 13

TABLE F : Growth in African Primary Schooling

	1950	1960	1966	1969
No. of Schools	139	200	251	280
No. of Students	16,322	35,590	71,546	82,214

TABLE G : Expenditures for Primary Education

	1950	1960
African	29,107	179,204
European	11,214	48,741

(Bechuanaland Protectorate: Botswana: Annual Reports 1945, 1950, 1960, 1966, 1969)

V. THE CONCEPT OF THIRD WORLD EDUCATION

1. The 'Third World' is a term for the very poor, mostly ex-colonial countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Initially the extensive adoption of the name did not indicate that these countries were poverty-stricken, but it offered a fresh perspective on the political balance these poor countries might hold in the world. They were seen as forming a new group, distinct from the Western capitalist countries which formed the First World, and the Eastern Communist bloc [D'Aeth 1975 6].

2. With the release of tension in the late 50's this hope faded. Several countries had been independent for some time, others achieved independence at the end of the 2nd World War, while yet others were a long way from becoming independent. All that many of them had in common was poverty. In all countries progress was slow as most of them had few natural resources to reduce poverty.

3. The idea of production linked with education is not new. In most Third World countries there was no break between intellectual and manual labour in indigenous education. However, with the advent of formal schooling this dichotomy was evident. The fundamental concept of education with production demands a new relationship between the person and his real life situation. It is a period marked not by his

isolation and separation from spheres of activity but by the interdependence of theory and practice. It demands of the educator a knowledge of values, skills, and experiences of production in industry: of the pupil that he be committed to an education that will transform him from an unskilled to a skilled labourer able to take his place in community services [B.J. Siyakwazi 1984].

4. In most Third World countries there has been a drive to establish specialised agencies and extension services to introduce modern agricultural practices - as is seen in the post primary practices in Sri Lanka; the Barri high schools of the Philippines and their "industrial work" programmes [Sinclair 1980 28]; the colleges of rural education in Guinea, Cameron; the continuation programmes in Ghana. These projects have assisted in developing industries at local level. There has also been a major drive to raise the standards of rural development: projects in the nuclear and satellite schools developed in Bolivia before spreading across Latin America; production schools have grown in Panama; schools of countryside have spread in Cuba [Sinclair 1980 15]. The school as a major force in these moves has, as may be expected, declined.

5. On the other hand, the tremendous growth and expansion of the schooling system, immediately post war at primary level and only recently at secondary level, has led to many

shiftless school leavers. The persistent belief has been that schools, by introducing more relevant programmes, can overcome young people's frustration and ensure that they will remain within their home communities. Some effects of schooling, such as receptivity to new ideas and competitiveness, are directly relevant to the production of economic activity: examples are many - the Mayflower school in Nigeria; van Rensburg's experiences in Botswana; Above Rocks school in Jamaica and the Libowa school in Tanzania [Sinclair 1980 31]. Other side, issues such as tolerance, social and civic responsibility, are more personal or political in nature and, while they may also affect economic performance, contribute to rural community involvement in local development.

6. The ending of colonialism was a long drawn out process which started at the end of the 2nd World War, it reached its peak in the 1960's and was almost complete by the 1970s. Education was regarded as important for many reasons. Initially the political leaders were pressurised to provide a primary or basic schooling for all children. Education was seen as one of the basic human rights set out in the U.N. Charter and the overcoming of ignorance was a necessary means to improving the quality of life [D'Aeth 1975 31].

7. The quality of life of an individual and of the community in which he is living are intimately related. An

aid programme may fail because the individuals lacked the necessary skills, or because the social organisation of the communities involved was inadequate to the demands of the development programme. There are therefore two separate yet equally important requirements : one is for education of the individuals t enable them to meet new opportunities; the other is for social development of the community to enable it to respond effectively.

8. The main thrust for development in Third World countries in which most of the population is rural, should be through agriculture. Yet the difficulties seem almost insuperable : even in modern communities, farming has to be subsidised. Add to this the very factor of isolation, lack of permanent water, distances from urban areas; the fact that these areas are populated with people infinitely less well off than those of the urban sector and the odds against a viable rural economy rise.

9. There is moreover the steady migration from rural to urban areas with the appeal of bright lights, better facilities for social life, schooling - further opportunities to gain education at primary level and beyond - and entertainment. These are attractive alternatives to rural development that depend on complex factors which are difficult to control - land tenure; inheritance; market prices; rainfall and other aspects of weather; irrigation schemes; and education in new plant methods imperfectly understood.

10. D'Aeth states that there is a "subconscious appeal because modern society is seen as being essentially technological and urban" [Ibid 39]. Its biggest attraction is that the modern cities are seen as arising above the level of poverty and of expanding the wage earning sector. That the latter factor depends on the whole complex of associated requirements in modern marketing, communications, banking and other services that make up the complete network of development needed to provide the necessary infrastructure to support this growth, is often not as obviously noticeable.

11. The dilemma facing Third World educationists remains. The intention is to develop nationally relevant programmes that will supersede schooling designed to meet the requirements of a colonial power. The new curriculum often has as its base some form of work experience which will meet the problems of rural poverty and of prematurely rising levels of expectation with regard to material security and prosperity. President Nyerere's initiative in proposing 'education for self-reliance' in Tanzania is such an example [Sinclair 1980 29-30]. The basic reason is that productive work is seen as the key to the personal as well as the intellectual development of the pupil.

12. There is a tendency therefore to believe that work-orientated schooling will not only benefit the individual by adding a necessary 'balance' to the experience of schooling

but that it will also contribute to the solution of the social and economic problems - whatever these may be. A second theme is that the school should be brought together with its parent community. In the latter case the resources of the community would form the core of the curriculum and that the teachers and children, as full participating members of the community, should carry out projects for community development [Sinclair 1980].

13. The purpose of education in Third World countries foresees the commitment of the governments to meeting the challenges of independence so that the national resources might be best utilised for the formation of a new nation. To achieve this, it is necessary that the ideal of bringing all facets of the nation together in cooperation and independence be achieved so that initially the country's future, then that of the wider community of which it is part, will benefit.

VI. EDUCATION FOR KAGISANO

1. In the ten years since independence, Botswana had achieved a great deal through vigorous economic growth. New towns and new industries had appeared; basic services had been extended; more use had been made in localisation of staff in the public service. Education had grown dramatically, but had in fact changed little.

2. Society and economy had evolved in new directions, making fresh demands in terms of attitudes, skills and abilities; but the education system had been slow to respond. There is some feeling that the basic quality of education had declined, and that in spite of some very interesting and exciting innovations, it had failed to satisfy the hopes of the Batswana. Indeed the growing sense of dissatisfaction and the general feeling that the provisions of education needed investigation were the very reasons for the formation of the Commission under the chairmanship of Professor Torsten Husén. It was in the quality of education as measured by that traditional yardstick of ability to read and write and calculate that the most serious lack of development lay.

3. The commission [Botswana 1977 20] states in its preamble the aims of education:

- the principal aim of education is individual development

and it is only through changes in the developed capacities of individuals that society changes.

- any education system must relate to and reflect the values of a society of which it is part.

The commission therefore started by asking what type of Society Botswana wanted to create.

4. The four national principles that are outlined as the foundation for building the country are:

- Democracy
  implying a voice for all people in their future ... also in community, social, economic affairs.

- Development
  involving the creation of a strong economy whose benefits all may share; also the building up of human resources so that every Batswana may realise his or her potential.

- Self-help
  both at national level, in terms of bringing the economy under local control and replacing expatriates as soon as feasible, and at the individual level, enabling Batswana to progress through self-help on their own initiative

- Unity
  of all people of Botswana, with a greater awareness of national identity.

[Botswana 1977 24]

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[Botswana 1977 24]

Education and democracy:

Democracy involves giving each mature person a voice in the running of affairs and a chance to participate directly, or through representatives, in decisions affecting his life (Ibid 25). This means in effect that decisions must be taken by those most closely affected by them - the community and its parents. Communities must have a direct voice through school committees, through parent-teacher associations and through government in the way their schools are run.

Education and development:

Development is a process whereby the nation as a whole and the individual citizens come to have improved standards of living: increasing control over their environment; more options in the disposition of their time and material resources (Ibid 26). This means turning out productive citizens capable of manning the existing positions in the economy and of creating new opportunities for self-employment and the employment of others. This implies mental and social skills and sensational abilities, not exclusively people trained to work with their hands or with tools or other

Education must use imaginative resources and ways of reducing the cost of educating people must be found.

Education must be organised not only for development, but

through development as well. A great deal of the competence of the skilled worker is gained through experience and training on the job while being productive.

The cost of their education is likely to be less; they continue to contribute in production while learning; and the acquisition of knowledge and skills in a productive environment is likely to be more economically viable.

5.iii Education through Self-reliance:

Self reliance is important in any developing nation. It decreases dependence on foreign sources, both goods and manpower. Self-reliance allows institutions and individuals to take initiatives and seize opportunities [Ibid 28]:

- Self-reliance implies that communities must accept responsibility for training the young.
- Self-help schemes should receive government help.
- Self-reliance means providing opportunities for individuals who are prepared to attend evening classes and study part time.
- Botswana should take responsibility for its own educational system and should define goals and policy objectives.

Self-reliance pervades the curriculum which is all those aspects covered by the school. [The curriculum has a depth

greater than a syllabus, that is merely the content to be covered.] It implies a way of teaching and learning that is based on self-study and self-motivation. It is part of the spirit of the school where many labour intensive services are performed.

Self-reliance implies that institutions will be given greater autonomy.

5.iv Education and Unity:

Unity embraces a sense of national identity [Ibid 30].

- Unity implies that education must form a unified system. Schools and training courses in different parts of the country must be properly linked to a national system so that the young may move from one institution or level to the next.

- Unity implies that the curriculum must be placed in the Botswana context - in art, music, literature, language, history, geography, science, practical studies, civics and development studies. Botswana's links with the international community and the inter-dependence of all people should find their place in the curriculum.

TABLE H : Growth by total enrolment 1966 - 76.

Year	Total Primary Enrolment	Total Secondary Enrolment
1966	71 546	1 531
1967	71 577	1 854
1968	78 963	2 299
1969	82 214	3 099
1970	83 002	3 905
1971	78 442	4 740
1972	81 662	5 564
1973	95 511	6 152
1974	103 711	7 055
1975	116 293	8 434
1976	125 588	9 558

Source : Botswana National Commission on Education derived from Education Statistics

VII. A PROFILE OF OPINION OF INTERESTED EDUCATIONALISTS ON EDUCATION IN 3RD WORLD COUNTRIES

1. This profile of opinion was sought from many interested in education. Initially the sample of those interviewed was unstructured; priests in Bophuthatswana and Botswana; lecturers at training colleges; nurses; Mr. Bodenstein in charge of the technical training school in Bophuthatswana; sisters at St. Joseph's, Kgali. To support the project research, the sample became more specific. M. Schoon, educationalist and expert on African affairs; D. Yates, former Headmaster of Maru a Pula; Father Devitt, advocate for academic schooling in rural development; D. Matthews, present Headmaster at Maru a Pula; A. Mason, former teacher at Swaneng High School; D. Young, Professor of Education of Cape Town were consulted. All opinions gathered were discussed by the M. Ed. team at Witwatersrand University, D. Curtis, J. Kiely and the writer. Many discussions were conducted with the Roman Catholic Missionaries at St. Joseph's, Phokeng, and elsewhere that were introduced to the writer by J. Kiely. J. Graaff at University of Bophuthatswana proved invaluable with his comments on Third World Education.

2. A majority of those who were approached in interviews had clear opinions on the concept and role of education in Third World Countries. They saw education as a means of

community uplift. Education was seen as playing a vital role in the creation of strong economy as not only would the human resources be developed but every person within that framework would realise his or her potential.

3. Some educationalists did not see that it was an isolated phenomenon. Though it was a manifestation of the state system, the influence spreads to the life of the community that it serves. Not only should the community show sympathy and understanding towards the school predicament, but it must participate in the process.

4. The community's interests in the school, its objectives and techniques; its participation in the school's activities; the collaboration of community and school in joint activities were seen as equally important parts of community development.

5. Yet the school must serve the interests of the wider community - the country.

6. There was some divergence of opinion concerning the nature of the schooling system. Botswana was seen as needing to develop in all fields as quickly as was possible - not only in the academic sphere. Fears were expressed that the system was biased towards the academic elite and that insufficient attention was given to the upgrading of the

vocational element. This meant that the limited qualitative and quantitative expansion of formal schooling set on top of predominantly rural and traditional societies [van Rensburg 1981] did not provide the most suitable mode for those societies' development.

7. There were those who felt that the aim behind rural academic schooling equipped the school best to fit into the world beyond its immediate surroundings. Schooling did not limit the scope of achievement. The development of fundamental competencies allowed the child to move from his immediate surroundings of rural isolation to the urban sector.

8. It was further seen that the school made demands on the pupil in environmental studies as well as agricultural science that linked the school in a very real and purposeful way to the community. Moreover involvement in making improvements to the school environment tested and developed many interrelated skills. In this way the teacher is both guide, adviser and instructor.

9. There was condemnation of the South African system of education as being inadequate to meet the needs of the pupils of developing countries. Though it was held to be the best available at the time, it had done little to place the pupil within the society of the Third World.

10. The development of conventional schooling since independence had been marked, but there had been insufficient initial impact on the society.

11. The philosophy of Education for Kagisano was welcomed by educationalists as providing guidelines for future development. Whether it is understood sufficiently by all levels of educationalists remains doubtful.

12. One of the prime moves was that of strengthening vocational education. The rational for this was that it was an education for the community and that while it benefited the individual pupil by allowing him a place to continue to develop his potential, it also built up the resources of the local community.

13. It is through this strong link with the community that the enthusiasm for community projects, completed by those in vocational training, would see a development in the immediate human resources of the tribe. It was the most plausible way of implementing progress through self-help and initiative.

14. Churches were committed to academic involvement, particularly in rural development. However, their influence is slight when the extent of the government involvement is realised. Nevertheless the influence of mission workers is greater than their number allows as they appear on governing bodies and often work with tribal committees.

15. The move to replace expatriates as soon as possible is more applicable to volunteer vocational systems than to churches. The length of stay of expatriate volunteers is too short for any permanent improvement to be made to local development. Volunteers arrive unprepared for the demands of the environment and their place in the vocational system.

16. The fee structure of the volunteer vocational movement was best suited for an impoverished local community. Payment for the work completed meant little parental expenditure. Funding by overseas agencies also alleviated the necessity to find extensive local funding for enterprises. Moreover, the presentation of closely monitored programmes provided a rationale that was easily understood by major funding companies.

17. Private schools played a relatively minor role in the development of 3rd World Education. In fact, though primarily geared to academic curriculum - one is in fact linked to O and A level syllabuses - they do involve themselves in community uplift schemes which, while not fully vocational, do improve the community life.
In 1981 60 pupils per week looked after 5 completely destitute people, 30 near destitute people in rural villages. 'O' and 'A' level pupils taught English in primary schools: others helped in education as widely varying as Adult Education and nursery school schemes. The staff were as committed as the children [Yates 1982].

18. It is reasonable to suggest that no immediately identifiable schooling system will provide the perfect answer to the education demanded by a Third World country. Much depends upon the initiator's breadth of vision. But certain attitudes which are likely to have considerable influence on future development may be identified.

19. The programme created would have to benefit the participants directly and would need to be a viable strategy for development of society as a whole. The system devised would have to lead to dependency, self-reliance and collective participation which would transform the physical and social environment of the rural community.

VIII. PALAPYE COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

1. The establishment of an academic secondary school in Palapye was the result of the arrival at St. Anthony's mission of Father Leonard Devitt. A firm believer in the potential value of the school, within the framework of local governmental control, as a means of community uplift in both the immediate and wider spheres, he recognized the place of schooling witnin the integrated national system of education.

2. Father Leonard Devitt joined the Governing Bodies of Moeng College, Swaneng Hill, Shashi Bridge and Modeba (at Mahalapye) shortly after his arrival at Palapye. His negotiations with the Kgotla in Palapye led to the formation of a committee to start a secondary school. The local District Council realised the value of such a school in the area and promised assistance and material aid in providing the buildings needed for the start.

3. Initially the hall at Sebeso to the east of the mission was offered by the Local District Council for the start of the school. To this was added Mrs. Shaw's Hall in 1973. Building on the mission site began with the present hall in 1974; to this further buildings were added in 1975, 1976.

4. In 1972, classes were held in the open and at the Sebeso Primary School. There were initially some 30 pupils.

The following year, the school had two Form I classes and one Form II class - students were taught in the Community Centre and Mrs. Shaw's Hall. Further classrooms were built in a real community effort in 1974, 1975. In 1977 a thatched rondavel was built which would serve as Administration office. This building was erected by the students [Devitt 1981 2].

5. Limited facilities were available immediately for pupils. So numbers were likewise curtailed. Starting with small numbers in 1973, the school had grown to 253 by 1979.

TABLE I : Palapye Continuation Classes

Student Enrolment 1979

	Boys	Girls	Total
Form I A	16	30	46
Form I	19	27	46
Form II	15	30	45
Form II B	13	33	46
Form III A	13	20	33
Form III B	11	26	37

[Devitt 1982]

[illegible] was not an isolated phenomenon and paralleled rapid growth in schools across the country. The current demand for places is shown by the numbers that arrived for the initial testing and screening for entry into Form 1. Advertising was largely by word of mouth, though preliminary announcements might be made by radio. The extent to which pupils travel is shown in the Attendance Register in 1981. Here the distances that pupils journey to attend school at Palapye Junior Secondary Community School are shown. 21 pupils travel more than 100 Kms to board and attend school; 20 pupils travel between 51 and 100 Kms while a considerable number travel from Serowe, 45 Kms away.

There are four primary schools in the Palapye village that follow the normal primary school range of subjects. In these schools about 360 pupils complete their educational programme each year. Those concerned are Palapye Central Primary School, Serorome Primary Primary School, Lotsane Primary School and Sebeso Primary School.

TABLE J: Random sample of distances of districts from Palapye

(a) More than 100 km from Palapye

Lobatsi	345 km
Francistown	167
Pilikwe	151
Phala Road	149
Selibwe-Pikwe	125
Mmadinare	125
Tonoto	120
Mauntlala	112
Kalamare	102

21 pupils

(b) Less than 100 kms from Palapye

Mahalapye	69	Serule	75
Mogapi	67		
Moeng	60 + secondary	load	

20 pupils

(c) Less than 50 kms from Palapye

Serowe	45 kms

37 pupils

(1981 Attendance Registrar Palapye)

8. The Palapye Junior Secondary Community School is the only Junior Secondary School within a radius of 35 miles. Though it caters for those pupils who can live at home and attend on a day-school basis, this is a short term goal. Listed below is the number of standard VII candidates (for the years 1979, 1980 and 1981 and from the schools mentioned previously) who might expect to gain admission to Palapye Junior Secondary Community School.

TABLE K : Local Primary Schools' pupils attending Palapye Junior Secondary Community School for the years 1979, 1980, 1981.

Primary School	1979	1980	1981*
Palapye Central	86	117	148
Serorome	82	101	125
Lotsane	41	85	120
Sebeso	70	44	35

[Devitt 1982 3]

* 1981 totals are projections

9. The potential catchment area of the school is the whole of the Palapye district. It does, however, serve the central district of Botswana as is shown by the following table [Table K]. It would appear that the school population represents a fairly wide cross-section of local community in the central district from both urban and rural backgrounds.

A further point is that it is not unusual for pupils travelling long distances to board with relatives in the village. It may be presumed that the figures representative of the local primary schools conceal evidence of pupils from further afield.

TABLE L: Primary schools attended by pupils 1981 by town and village (1979 Form 1 intake).

Palapye	81	Bakda	1
Serowe	37	Modikwe	1
Mahalapye	11	Serule	1
Ramokgomain	10	Gobone	1
Moeng	6	Lecheng	1
Selibe-Pikwe	5	Rakops	1
Pilikwe	4	Phala Road	1
Mabeleapudi	3	Letthakare	1
Mmadinare	3	Kalamare	1
Mmasharo	2	Paje	1
Maunatlala	2	Seohvane	1
Mogapi	2	Phaphane	1
Francistown	2	Kgagadi	1
Tonoto	2	Lobatsi	1
Moletswane	1		

(205 pupils)

(1979 Attendance Register Palapye)

10. The parent body is most representative of agrarian employment as is shown in the 1975 Admission Register in which a large proportion of the parents are shown to be in rural occupations. By contrast the 1981 Admission Register shows how increasingly urbanised they are. The number in rural occupations has dropped dramatically (from almost 50% in 1975 to 5% in 1981). The greater variety of occupations in 1981 shows a dynamic community that is more urbanised than rural.

11. The increasing status of the white collared worker as is seen in the occupation of the parents in 1981 is reflected in the desires of the pupil to improve on the ennui of rural life, with its limitations, through schooling. This would open many areas previously closed to pupils. Education is desired by all. The initial thrust came from parents. In one randomly selected sample the influence of parents was placed at 50% in showing a strong desire for pupils to attend school; in another 96% [Appendix B].

TABLE M : Occupation of Parents

(1975 Admission Register)
(1981 Admission Register)

1981		1975	
Land Bank	1	(Land Board)	1
Soil Survey	1	-	
Farmer	11	Farmer	29
Medical Assistant	1	-	
Nurse	1	(Hospital Ass.1)	2
Attorney General	1	-	
Electrician	1	-	
District Officer	1	-	
Locomotive Driver	1	-	2
Policeman	1		
Railway Worker	1	-	
Councillor	1	-	
Cooperative Officer	1	Community Dev. Officer	1
Business Women	3	-	
Business Men	2	-	1
Builder	2		
Storeman	1	-	1
B.C.L. Driver	3		
Mining (Selibe-Pikwe)	1	-	
B.C.L. Mine Worker	1	-	7
House Wife	8		
Teacher	2	(Retired Teacher 1)	8
Head Teacher	1	-	
School Inspector	1	Health Inspector	1
Dress Maker	1	-	
Post Office	1	-	
Court (clerk)	1	-	
B.Meat Commission (clerk)	1	-	
Clerk	1	-	
Shop Assistant	1	2	
School Cleaner	1	-	
Garage owner	1	-	
		Pumper	1
		Typist	1
		Roads Department	1
		Carpenter	1
		Supervisor	1
		Foreman	1
		Retired	1
		Shop Owner	3
		Shop Manager	2
TOTAL	62	TOTAL	68

12. The student profiles showed a strong, all consuming drive to attend the entrance test to enable them to continue schooling. For many an initial entrance into the school would have allowed them simply to continue for further education. Many, however, saw schooling as equipping them "to help our country"; "to develop our country and to help those who are backward". Boys see the role of teacher as all important, but this does not necessarily encourage them to become teachers as only 25% see themselves as teachers. The majority of pupils see themselves in roles in the community as diversified as pilot, doctors, managers, chiefs and policemen [Appendix B].

13. These patterns shown here reflect the fast growing urbanisation of Botswana in the predominantly rural area of the central district. The patterns of pupil expectation show a divergence from parental occupations that further provides evidence of this trend of service towards a wider community other than the immediate traditionally tribal authorities.

14. Father Leonard Devitt was headmaster of Palapye Community Junior Secondary School from its beginnings till 1977. The pass rate at Junior Certificate level was high. In 1978 in line with declared government policy of allowing greater local involvement, Father Leonard Devitt became Chairman of the Board.

TABLE N : Success rate in the Junior Certificate Examinations Palapye Community Junior Secondary School

Percentage Pass Rate	Year	Comments
76%	1974	
78%	1975	
90%	1977	Influx:
59%	1978	Father Leonard Devitt Chairman of the Board in line with Government Policy
49%	1979	
29%	1980	Discussed Board of Governors meeting 1981 (26.2).

15. The disastrous drop in successful passes was contributed to many separate facets of the educational policy. An attempt had been made earlier to lower the school entry age. This meant younger pupils were coming through to Form I. Automatic promotion meant that more pupils were continuing to the Standard VII level of primary education before being unable to continue into secondary school through lack of places. A contributory factor was that many pupils came to Palapye Community Junior Secondary School with poor grades - grades that were insufficiently high to get them into other schools. This meant that this was their last chance to gain entry to higher education.

16. Further reasons in the Minutes of the Board (26.2.81) suggest that these students were less committed than was usually the case. This had led to a "carefree attitude' prevailing in the school. Father Leonard Devitt hoped that the staff would pick up momentum in order to produce the results expected of them. Another factor was the inexperience of the new headmaster who lacked expertise in the running of the school.

17. In 1981, partially to rectify the poor impact of the first headmaster, Dennis Mekimra was appointed at a salary of P7 572. He was aided by a deputy, Leonard Mpofu. These two replaced M. Gasemotho, dismissed September 20th, 1980.

18. The standard of teaching was a contributary factor of falling standards. The archaic rote learning techniques, the beating and the uninspired teaching resulted in very little satisfactory progress being made. Most of the teachers were unqualified, as the salaries of qualified teachers would have been beyond the limits imposed by the school fee structure.

19. In 1981 use was made of volunteers : 2 were British, 2 were from the Peace Corps. Dave Gibbon (Peace Corps, stayed the longest and was the soundest teacher [Devitt - in conversation]. Volunteers were encouraged to stay as flatlets were built to accommodate them. K. Molotsi, a qualified teacher from Zambia, was another who worked to improve the poor results of 1980.

20. Much of the teaching at secondary and tertiary levels was initially undertaken by volunteers from overseas organisations. There appears to have been more success achieved by volunteers in the field of education than in other areas. Even so they were seen as either necessary evils or as an important and natural part of a developing Third World countrys' growth. Generally the conditions in developing countries were too foreign for the transference to be made easily and to great effect. Secondly, after the initial settling in period, few volunteers stayed after a second year. Volunteers appear to have had little long term effect on education. Volunteers also came to Third World countries from a variety of sources, a further limiting factor.

TABLE O : Volunteers: A random sample of sources in both country and church bodies suggesting the complexity of International Aid Organisations

Countries supplying volunteers:	Organisation
Netherlands	O.N.V.
Denmark	
Norway	
Sweden	S.I.D.A. [Swedish International Development Authority]
Canada	
America (United States)	Peace Corps
United Kingdom	I.V.S. [International Voluntary Service]
	V.S.O. [Voluntary Service Overseas]
	HEVOS
	Bernhard van Leer Institute
	Project Trust

Church Bodies

Menonites

Catholic Institute for International Solidarity

Young Catholic Society

Inter Church Co-ordination Committee

Christian Aid

[Yates 1983, Schoon 1982]

21. Many of the volunteers did, however, have close contact with parent bodies in First World Countries. This contact did release funds which would make the school less costly. Martin wrote to the Memnonite Christian Council:

> "We have long been telling the MCC what wonderful things Father Leonard is doing in Palapye.
> [Devitt 1972(a)]

Jim Juhnke wrote in reply:

> "One way to demonstrate our concern is to assign resources to such schools as Father Leonard's in Palapye ... Botswana needs models for low cost education
> [Ibid 1972(a)]

He stated further that Palapye Junior Secondary Community School was one:

> "which will be more relevant in its course offerings and its basic philosophy.
> [Ibid 1972(a)]

22. The influence of the Principal is evident in the excellent cooperation of volunteers and staff at school. His vital enthusiasm, his belief and involvement in all aspects of the educational structure in the Central District ensured the progress necessary in an academic school. Among his many impressive attributes was his strong belief in the purpose of education, to equip the individual child to meet the challenge of the demands of a developing country. His extremely wide knowledge, understanding and belief in Tswana culture made him a highly respected figure in educational circles.

which he was held is shown in two ways. the visit paid by K. Kaunda to St. Joseph's, 1969 Kehilwayne 1969, Khalian 1969); the second the Presidential Award he received from President Seretse Khama 1979.

The curriculum was the usual one that was offered for Junior Certificate.

- English
- Mathematics
- Setswana
- Biology
- Agricultural Science (for boys)
- Health Education: Physiology and Hygiene

This was, however, not a static curriculum and fluctuated, according to the need seen and realised by Father Leonard. In 1975, Biology was extended to an integrated General Science. Needlework was dropped in favour of Agriculture for girls. In 1976 Needlework [which was taught, strangely enough, by Father Leonard Devitt himself] was reintroduced and remained in the syllabus until 1980 when it was withdrawn. In 1976 Building Science was introduced - theory and practice being taught by qualified Building Instructors. So successfully was this done that several buildings were later completed by the pupils.

- In 1974 owing to the generosity [illegible] classrooms were built. This was a real community effort.
- In 1975 three more classrooms were built [illegible] manner.
- In 1977 a thatched rondaval was built [illegible] temporarily as an Administration office. This building wa built by the students.
- In 1978-1979 another thatched rondaval was built. [illegible] this was to be used temporarily as the Administration Office.
- In 1980 teachers' quarters were built [illegible] students who carried stones and sand to the site. [illegible] Wood-Bird 1981; Botswana Annual Teachers' Refresher Seminar 1980; Devitt 1982].

25. Students carried stones and sand to the site while member of the community donated 180 packets of cement. The particular report (Devitt 1980(c)) concludes with a statement:

> The parents' meeting with the Board and teachers was a success. The parents reiterated their willingness to be involved.

This was not an isolated incident but follows a tradition established earlier in 1979 (Minutes of the first meeting of Board of Governors Devitt 1979(c)):

6. Donations were acknowledged from parents and local traders of sand, bricks and cement. H.C. Freeman was, in point of fact, to supply all the cement for the envisaged 6 new classrooms (8 and 9 on the Fleet Wood-Bird Plan 1981).

26. Meanwhile, in 1976 the growth of the school led to appointment of a Deputy Principal and, in addition, a library was added. In 1978 Integrated Science was dropped and Human Biology and Religion incorporated. In 1980 Building Science and Needlework were once again dropped from the syllabus. [In 1982 sewing machines of the slightly old fashioned type were standing idle on the verandah]. Agricultural Science was run on a competitive basis: 256 "plots" were divided into three areas to facilitate the testing and teaching programme envisaged by the syllabus. A Form 3 Continuation Class was taught in the evening from 19h00 to 20h00 hours and again on Saturday from 09h30 to 11h00 for those part timers who had either qualified as repeaters or had work during the day. Typewriting was an additional subject offered at night school. Father Leonard Devitt accommodated subjects in the curriculum according to the need.

27. Favourable opportunities existed within the curriculum for the establishment of close relationships between the school and the local community of which it is part. Father Leonard Devitt not only launched a self-help scheme after negotiations with the Kgotla, but was also, as a European missionary, secretary for the Central District of the Tribal

Authority under the Ministry of Education. Self-help Schemes extended beyond the confines of the school where several poor houses were erected in the village with pupils help.

28. There were several reasons for the pupils being able to identify satisfactorily with the wider national community of Botswana. The first was the character of the principal with his links to regional tribal bodies, school Governing Bodies, and to the national Ministry of Education. Secondly, there was the presence of volunteers. Thirdly, there were the visitors, Catholic priests, local officials and friends who continually called at the mission. These imparted a sense of the wider community. The daily communion service at the church followed by weekend services ensured that all pupils were made further aware of a wider world of Catholicism.

29. Steady improvement in the quality of work also ensured that the relevance of further advancement in academic fields, with the chance of university and professional careers, was always possible. This was likely to win support of the community, the tribal leaders, and the parents.

30. Pupils were selected for entry on the results of Father Leonard Devitt's own entrance test. This tested the ability of the pupil in Mathematics and English: for the former test a few simple sums, for the latter, a short comprehension and easy sentences. The boys did invariably worse than the girls

at this stage; no doubt a reflection on their itinerant early life style (and hence interrupted schooling) on the cattleposts. The intake at a comparatively new mission school was usually pupils with a primary certificate 'C' aggregate pass. Pupils with an 'A' or 'B' grade pass would be accepted at government aided schools. Pupils with these grades who could not gain admission would apply to mission schools and other tribal schools, partly assisted by government subsidies.

31. The careful husbandry evident in running a school of this nature was shown in Father Leonard Devitt's own concern. He was unlikely to draw a salary, but was able to take a token 'fee' from the Governing Body for his position as Chairman of the Board. The school that was a mission in 1969 is a thriving school in 1982. Numbers of pupils are continuing to rise - both full time and continuation or part-time courses are in heavy demand. Government aid has been attracted, World Bank finance is being negotiated. The forecast of Father Leonard Devitt for the World Bank envisages a growth to 325 in 1984, 360 in 1985. This is linked with an expanding budget rising to P80 000. The school's place in the community seems assured [Devitt 1982].

32. It may be realised that the initial phase of development of Palapye Junior Secondary Community School has been successfully concluded. Father Leonard's plans for

consolidation and enlargement should see a further improvement in all aspects of the schooling provided. Houghton and Tregar [1969 15] state:

> "There is more to a Community School than a set of syllabi which take into account local conditions. A Community School is in the fullest sense, the school of the community, not just that school that stands in the community".

33. The school serves the wider community, yet the commitment of the local village community is seen in the fund raising for the provision of physical facilities since the school's inception. The school is committed to the ideal of universal access to education, to meeting the nation's demand for qualified manpower.

IX. THE BRIGADE MOVEMENT

1. In Africa, as in other parts of the developing world, most people have traditionally acquired their skills, knowledge and attitudes from tribal ceremonies, initiation rites and close liaison with parents and elders - outside the formal schooling system. Learning acquired in a life-long process is of far greater importance than knowledge acquired and transmitted in schools (Sheffield and Diejomaoh 1972 141.

2. The accelerating pace of development in Third World countries, the moves to Independence, the drive towards industrialisation placed demands on developing countries that they were initially unable to meet. Formal schooling grew and multiplied, especially at primary level, but the rigorous selection at secondary level meant that fewer and fewer pupils were achieving an education that they saw would lead them to fulfilling their expectations.

3. The newly independent powers began to search for different ways of developing the latent potential within each person. A special emphasis was placed on vocational schooling and the system that developed initially embraced youth training programmes.

4. Initially it was the Nahal group leaders from Israel who were to help in the formation of non-formal educational groups [Sheffield 1972; Graaff 1979]. Early models were the 'Brigades' of Ghana and the 'Young Pioneers' of Malawi. The Harambee Schools of Kenya were the result of liaison between local authorities and parents, between government and community [Graaff 1979]. The Harambee movement foundered on the fact that it catered more for the social elite than the many unemployed school leavers. It seemed that the only long term solution was to return to the land as had been previously tried in Tanzania [Graaff 1983].

5. Nyerere's proposals were modelled on earlier agricultural programmes of the 1950's. Students, however, saw the move as "forced labour" [Graaff 1979 101, second-class, and inferior. Once again students objected to conditions of service, type of programme, length of service: moreover, they lacked physical maturity, were unable to cope with concepts of sound agricultural management, and worked on land which, under tribal rule, they could not acquire for themselves. Yet in 1967, by the Arusha Development and President Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance of the same year, the country was committed to an experiment of African socialism and rural development.

6. In Africa the appeal of new movements gained wide acceptance with school-leavers. Motivated less by idealism

than by materialism [Graaff 1979], however, the school leavers needed a different answer from that offered by an agricultural venture of a limited economy attained by moves to independence.

7. The Brigades of Botswana, less ideological than those in Ghana, less firmly rooted in agricultural enterprises than the Young Pioneers of Malawi or the rural development schemes of Tanzania, offered a new deal to the youth. Founded in spite of presidential wishes that rejected the idea of a Botswana based mass youth movement [Henderson 1974] they were founded by the inspiration of one man, Patrick van Rensburg.

8. Patrick van Rensburg took up a teaching post at Serowe in 1962. He began Swaneng Secondary School, although he had no formal training, and as an adjunct to this started his first Brigade movement. By 1972 this movement had grown to 45 Brigades in 11 centres, the full impact of this move has yet to be realised. They are considered by many educationalists in the government as promising new creative enterprises that would provide a key to the development of rural Africa [Botswana 1977; Graaff 1979; S.I.D.A. 1973].

9. The Brigade movement is seen by Sheffield and Diejomaoh [1972 65] as possessing:

"Many attributes of a religion; it has a creed, a talented and committed group of disciples and even a messiah, Patrick van Rensburg, now largely removed from the day-to-day running of the Brigades".

10. Patrick van Rensburg's philosophy was concerned with four broad areas [1974]:

- Firstly, it was an attempt to combine formal education, technical training and production in a single institution. Pupils would be trained in both skills and academic subjects. The latter consisted of Mathematics, Science, English, Setswana and Development and Cultural Studies (developed on site by R. Oakshott); the former engaged in productive enterprises designed to cover production, education and training costs and to instruct the pupils in various skills.

- Secondly, it was a method of expanding the educational system in a less developed country.

- Thirdly, it was an attempt to revolutionise the educational system by redirecting attention towards and changing attitudes to development of rural areas.

- Fourthly, it was an attempt to discover sources of employment, new resources, goods, services and innovations.

It would innovate projects and industries appropriate to rural poor that were economically viable, technically

feasible; that would provide a net increase in employment and secure work in a manner that would be duplicated throughout Botswana. It would benefit the poor by increasing incomes of those not directly participating in the work. It would make life intrinsically more rewarding and would have a catalytic effect on other development [Schoon 1982]. Van Rensburg believed that the Brigades would become focal points of all community development activity [van Rensburg 1976].

11. Certain further principles [Sheffield and Diejomaoh 1972 65] guided the early development. Selection to the Brigade movement was on a first-come, first-served basis, rather than on academic examinations. It was understood that the students would contribute voluntary labour rather than pay fees. Initially staff would be recruited from overseas volunteer organisations, than from local Batswana. Finally, the most important principle was that recurrent costs would be covered by self-help and by income derived from work done for outside concerns.

12. The principles that formulated van Rensburg's inspiration for the Brigade movement stem from a deep-seated socialist idealism [Sister Gregory 1982; Yates 1983]. The socialist system [Graaff 1979 28] provides the philosophy which will drive those involved into changing and improving the realities of their situation. This entails breaking the dependence of the rural areas on the cities, by

offsetting the imbalance of their social pull, and making people in rural areas self-motivated, self-reliant, and self-activated. Van Rensburg hoped to redress the capitalist balance in the state through a single handed determined attack on the system. By influencing equality of access to education, and, as a result, employment opportunities, van Rensburg felt that the school could do more than reflect the goals of society without greatly altering them. Van Rensburg felt that his system could constitute a pressure group on government policy and on pockets of parental influence in communities across the land (Schoon 1982).

11. Robert Oakshott, van Rensburg's right hand man in the early days, stated his view of the work he and van Rensburg undertook as follows when he affirmed the principles behind his Development Study Course (Watters 1973: 207):

> "We want students to question the elitist concept of education. It is encouraging to see some students seize the principle of education for self-reliance and argue for the acceptance of spartan living conditions in all secondary schools ... We can't expect to move mountains.
>
> We aren't asking to change the values of society, hopefully, we can change their sensitivities and create a sense of social responsibility: e.g. ever if they work in an office they will volunteer for night schools, scouts, or community development".

14. In the curriculum of the Brigade movement, emphasis was placed on practical subjects, and on manual labour with its inherent value to those in a rural society. While academic subjects were included in the syllabus, their bias was also practical. English, for example, to support the practical bias required by the Brigade administration, dealt with practical matters: students were taught to write letters; how to read catalogues; how to complete forms; how to write up minutes; to know the procedure of meetings and how to send telegrams. To explain the rationale of his policy, van Rensburg and Oakshott introduced Cultural and Developmental Studies [van Rensburg 1974 152-168]. His inspiration was to remove the stigma attached to manual work, to remove the basic sense of inferiority of students not admitted to the traditional "elite" of the conventional schooling system.

> "My own ideal of education is that it should develop to the full the personality, skills and intellect of every individual as a member of society; it should encourage the individual to acknowledge his obligations to society, and education should enable everyone to liberate himself from want. It should create fully conscious men, with the recognition that men are political, economic, social and cultural beings, and it should give them the ability to control the environment but the sensitivity not to destroy it. There are accumulated wisdoms, values, knowledge and artistic expressions over the whole range of human experience which each generation and each society will want to transmit, though some selectivity and bias may be necessary. [van Rensburg 1974 123]

14. In the curriculum of the Brigade academy, emphasis is placed on practical subjects, and on manual work of inherent value to those in a rural society. Many academic subjects were included in the syllabus, but they had a practical. English, for example, to support the drama bias required by the Brigade administration, dwelt on practical matters: students were taught to write letters how to read catalogues; how to complete forms; how to write up minutes; to know the procedure at meetings and how to send telegrams. To explain the rationale of the policy, van Rensburg and Oakshott introduced Cultural and Technological Studies [van Rensburg , 1 152-168]. The compilation of to remove the stigma attached to manual work, to remove basic sense of inferiority of students not admitted to traditional "elite" of the conventional schooling system

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15. Eventual control of the curriculum was taken over by the National Brigades' Coordinating Committee. The main function of this controlling committee was to help with the rationalisation of curricula of the various centres. This would allow for a national grid to be set up where pupils could without prejudice move from one centre to another. Shortly after this the Brigade Development Centre (BRIDEC) was set up for the training of managers and instructors. This meant that much of the Brigade development that had initially relied on expatriate inspiration was controlled by and placed on a more localised footing.

16. The Brigade staff was initially largely expatriate. Much of the early planning was controlled at Sunday Seminars, which was the nearest the Brigade system came towards a central planning body in its formative years. Some staff, for example R. Oakshott, stayed and became extremely important to the movement; other staff came for the length of their contract with the various overseas volunteer services - usually two years - and then left. So the seminars were important as a means of development and control of new services and fresh approaches. Reorientation and upgrading of teachers and instructors was of central concern to the movement. One other major concern was the decreasing of the authority gap between teacher and pupil and increasing contact between Brigades and surrounding community.

17. Not all those concerned with the Brigade movement were swayed by van Rensburg's idealism. Egner, Eustice and Grant [1980 9] state that van Rensburg withstood "vociferous pressure to start purely commercial projects" and he yielded in only a few cases and with extreme reluctance. Sister Gregory [1982] mentioned that John Binns had left the Brigade movement after van Rensburg had criticised his making a profit and the way he ran the garage. Van Rensburg could work easily with those who shared his idealism and from them he demanded as much as he did from himself.

18. The demands van Rensburg made on his staff were similar to those made on his pupils. Not all were motivated as he was, not all were as idealistic. Many were in the Brigades for one reason, to use them for their own ends. The Brigades taught expertise needed for the acquisition of work in the modern sector. Swedish International Development Authority [1973 25] states that the most serious drawback to the Brigade movement was the lack of motivation on the side of the trainees: "Their reason for coming to the Brigades is not to produce but to receive training".

19. There seems to have been little incentive for the pupils to work for the benefit of the community. Many were part of a labour force that moved away from the rural areas. Graaff [1979 34] suggests that the strenuous efforts made to keep the trainee pupils in rural areas was unnecessary as

there were fewer jobs available near the city. On the other hand he sees the appeal of rural areas' development as being strictly limited as there is no financial reward. S.I.D.A. [1973 63] believes that trainees would return to their homes in rural areas only if they really wish to do so.

20. A major claim for the Brigades was that through productivity they covered the costs of training and education. This first and main selling point for the early donors was the practical self-help motif - it was thought that most, if not all, of the costs of education and training for rural youth, could be recovered from revenue generated by work carried out by trainees as they learned their skills on the job [Egner, Eustice and Grant 1980]. As a result, the expansion of educational and training facilities - an expensive undertaking - becomes feasible [van Rensburg 1974 30].

21. In fact S.I.D.A. [1973] paints a different picture of the actualities of the Brigade movement. In research undertaken into this most significant statement of Brigades' aims, S.I.D.A. found that costs had in fact been only marginally covered in a few initial projects. Egner, Eustice and Grant [1990] make a further point. Initially the best customers were the brigades themselves. An integral part of early development at Serowe and Shashe River complexes was built with capital grants from donors. In these special

circumstances it was possible to show an impressive degree of cost recovery. The majority of projects were, in fact, dependent on government and foreign aid in the form of finance, transport, and expatriate volunteers who were temporary and uncommitted to the Brigade way of life and its ideology. Cost covering was further limited in fact by Botswana's very limited labour market. It was so limited in fact that Brigades might well flood the market with unemployable skills. So, in order to multiply and expand, the Brigades would have to diversify further. This in turn would mean a heavier dependence on a wider range of skills, more capital, and dependence on a greater number of expatriates.

22. Brigades had further trouble marketing their produce. Firstly, when contracts were sought on open markets it was found that medium-sized construction companies could compete with Brigades successfully in both price and quality [Egner Ibid 1980]. Then, secondly, buying power in rural areas is limited. On top of this, there is often fierce competition from mass produced goods crossing the border. To overcome this, van Rensburg [1974] did attempt to introduce his concept of Boiteko - a move towards a self-sufficient mini economy with its own money. This ran for a while but proved an unsatisfactory way of running a local economy as the village people lacked commitment to spontaneous capital formation [van Rensburg 1974 44].

23. Problems of costing were further complicated by the archaic ystem (at best) which set out the rules by which each i.m in stock could be satisfactorily controlled [Devitt 1982(b)]. There were several steps required by a store manager, for instance, as he signed out material (see Table P). But more serious than this was the paper work that van Rensburg undertook. He was himself a prolific writer, not only of his own experiences elsewhere, but also of his experiences in Swaneng. He was always driving on improving his methods, advising, drawing up schemes, and always keeping a finger on the pilse. It is surprising that he did not lose himself in his paper work. Two examples, will suffice here to show the scope of his involvement in widely varying areas: the first is his tremendous drive to attract donor agencies from overseas. This meant not only working on his theories, but also accounting for how the money was spent, and devising new ventures. The second is a detail which shows how deeply he thought out every move in his planning. This particular venture was the Proposal for Scheduling borehole maintenance (Table O). This schedule reflects how such a comparatively minor matter can generate paper work and how convoluted the thinking and reasoning was behind new ventures. It also touches on the very obvious concern of Brigades for cost reduction in ventures in the high priority area of rural development. Father Leonard Devitt [1982] and D. Yates [1982] both held that the Brigades charged unnecessarily high fees and the work was not always impressive. This crucial

issue is examined below; firstly Figure 3 will outline the cost and related factors of a poor house development, while secondly, a Schedule for borehole maintenance (below) will provide a rationale for the high fees charged.

FIGURE 3 : A poor house and related cost factors

Note:

(i) This is an illustration of a poor house erected by the Roman Catholic Mission for the old in Palapye. Using local labour which could cope with the single window, door and frame, Father Leonard bui't this for P500. The Brigades in Serowe negotiated a price of P1100.

[Devitt 1982]

(ii) D. Yates held that the work of the Brigades at Maru a Pula was expensive and poorly done. Walls built by the Brigades were more often knocked down than not.

[Yates, 1983]

(iii) A third problem is when Brigades were unable to finish the construction. A letter, 11 February 1971, from the Serowe Construction Society Society Limited to Father Leonard Devitt states:

... please appreciate the problem created by having to take over the job from the Builders' Brigade.

[J. Mosedame (Business Manager)]
[Devitt 1970-1982]

TABLE P 1 Borehole maintenance schedule

(i) Preventive Maintenance

Time per visit, one day, one team	P19
Transport 50 miles at 25c per mile	P13
	P32

(ii) Two visits per year P64

(iii) It is generally found that the cost of doing a job is 20 per cent higher than the estimated cost, because no organisation can be 100 per cent efficient (if a mechanic forgets to take the correct parts to the job, he will have to make an extra journey of (say) 100 miles - all this has to be included in the estimates). There are also items like stationery and telephone bills which have not been included specifically, but are best included under this general 20 per cent allowance. It must be stressed that this 20 per cent is not profit [my emphasis].

P64 + 20% = P77 [my approximate figures]

(iv) It has been estimated (in (iii) above) that each team would spend about 20 per cent of its time ordering basic stores, receiving general mechanical training, etc. - i.e. the above estimates must be increased by a further 20 per cent.

P77 + 20% = P93

(v) A further profit margin of 20 per cent is then added.

P93 + 20% = P111

The final sum is very high, and moreover, is much higher than the amount with which negotiations may be considered to have started [Devitt 1982]

24. The major costing of the Brigade movement, however, came not from local payment, but from overseas funding. Van Rensburg, in his negotiation with the Bernard van Leer Foundation, justifies the work done by the Brigades:

> "... By and large, Brigades have proved themselves as training institutions and where they have not proved cost covering, they have substantially reduced subsidisation.
> [Devitt 3rd September 1971]

25. Financial transactions were not always in payment. Some were donations in kind. A printing press was donated and van Rensburg's notes are brief and to the point:

> "... The printing press, although established on the property of Swaneng Hill School, was not a gift directly to Swaneng Hill School, but to me on behalf of a non-profit making group that would be set up to run and control the printing and paper. The Board will have to decide where control and ownership rests."
> [Devitt Swaneng 1970]

26. The Brigade movement was one of rural development and uplift. This relied on three integrated operations : training of course leaders; teaching of pupils, and production. Of these three facets production was the most important as it was largely responsible for the income of a Brigade.

27. Production was not always successful. Initially, the most important single factor was shortage of staff - largely expatriate, few stayed longer than their contract. The staff

were further handicapped by inadequate syllabi, lack of teaching qualifications, and lack of professional expertise in planning and management.

28. Secondly, the pupils were poorly motivated. Primarily this was owing to lack of obvious material benefit. Often the training they underwent was disorganised, sometimes it was non-existant [S.I.D.A. 1973 25-26]. Then the pupils felt they were being exploited as cheap labour - mainly as they were unaware of the financial state of the brigades or the way in which the Brigade depended on production. Often their performance was poor and was not comparable with the quality of formally trained builders. Father Devitt [1982] states that building could be undertaken by local school pupils and completed a great deal cheaper than with the brigades. Schoon [1982] suggests that too much was physically demanded of the trainees for them to achieve even a moderate success. Egner [et al 1980] feels that most of the commercial projects or "business opportunities" would have been undertaken by entrepeneurs if they had been viable.

29. Graaff [1979 39] sees that the Brigades have the potential to contribute to Botswana's growth in a number of ways:

- through the training of employable trainees
- through the creation of employment

- through the launching of production units
- through the encouragement of self employment
- through the stimulation of community development in rural areas.

30. Egner Eustice and Grant see the biggest single factor militating against Brigades' success in rural areas as its lack of appeal to the local community which could not necessarily see itself developing as a result of any amateur undertaking [Egner et al 1980]. Graaff [1979] cites several further reasons for lack of achievement. Despite even greater local representation on Boards of Trustees and Brigade Governing Bodies, interest is not taken in work actually done. Then the concept of the Brigades - while appealing at a national level, as their ventures are often costed privately and their recruits come from elsewhere - militates against local involvement. Often their production centres are outside the village so community involvement is further decreased [Finlay 1981].

31. Brigades do not often build major works in rural areas, they do not train in large numbers, and they have only a passing influence on community life. No matter how worthwhile the aims of the brigade movement are, they are, in essence the aims of expatriates or resident Europeans [Henderson 1974]. Henderson continues by stating that as

...rigade activity is ad hoc ...
...enthusiasts have a short term ...
...created, ... Brigades are likely ...
...remain marginal to the mainstream of community ...
...developmental activity.

...] succinctly sums up the ...
...Brigade Movement on rural community ...

> ...community development and cost covering are not always commercially viable as there may be a fundamental conflict in any community development programme between the policies identified by governmental or other funding agencies and the real needs of the community".

... Brigades were begun and controlled by van ... Funded by overseas sources, their development was ... a trust that included the funders. That these ... movements were funded independently of government ... a disturbing issue when the volume of funds is considered.

... that this system should be adopted. ... Brigade centres at Lobatse and Kanye were the first to be set ... the Department of Community Development which in turn ... responsible to the Ministry of Lands and Local Government. Then in 1969 the National Brigades Coordinating ... was started. Its function was to coordinate the

[illegible] various brigade activities and to ensure that [illegible] projects with government plans was avoided.

35. It is only very recently that the government has begun taking a more positive attitude towards the brigades. However, it still views the idea of [illegible] among which one must mention van Rensburg himself with some [illegible] (Graaff 1983). Even at local level [illegible] cooperation and coordination between the [illegible] Departments.

36. S.I.C.A.'s recommendations [illegible] are the areas of weakness of some brigades. It was felt that each brigade that was established should [illegible] could, in an advisory capacity, [illegible] time to deal with their interests, and was [illegible] them to use a legal set-up which would [illegible] brigades to make contracts, receive [illegible] any required [illegible] activities in any way needed.

37. [illegible] small step in the [illegible] which are now [illegible] mean that a board of directors will [illegible] but it is unlikely that [illegible] control will [illegible]

personnel vis-a-vis the Board, mutual rights and powers have been carefully defined in the Deed of Trust [Graaff 1979 46].

38. Control of funds and stores was a major concern. S.I.D.A. [1973] reported extremely inefficient bookkeeping. Father Devitt [1982] doubted the effectiveness of control of the stores (see Appendix D) and expressed concern over bookkeeping. Attached to the minutes [Palapye 25 26 January 1971] was a figure below capital costs for "P4 000 for items not thought of".

39. It is understandable that politicians and civil servants are reluctant to accept the principle that relatively large, independent activities - such as the Brigades - can negotiate and divert potential available resources which might otherwise be put at the government's disposal to be used according to the government's own priorities [Graaff 1983] (Appendix C).

40. S.I.D.A. [1973 60] saw that considerable tightening up was necessary - some of their recommendations are listed below:

(1) Where production brigades (i.e. those not concerned with training) were running at a loss, accounting practices should be tightened up

(2) Non-profitable Production Brigades should be discontinued.

(3) Production Brigades should fall under the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning - which would also decide on the issue of negotiation for foreign aid.

(4) That training brigades should fall under the Ministry of Education; the farming brigades under the Ministry of Agriculture.

41. The problems of such an expanding enterprise rest mainly on the need for control and coordination. But the danger inherent in such a move, although attracting government financial support, is increasing bureaucracy. While these steps have advantages, such as that Government involvement meant crucial access to expertise, this growth is not likely to stifle interdepartmental competition nor interest and influence from politicians - rather Government control will see an increase in bureaucracy. Most important of all it will lead to a stifling of sensitivity to local conditions and new openings.

42. Government enterprises have much to learn from the experimental side of non-formal enterprises. The biggest pity will be if tighter fiscal control smothers both the experimental spirit and the essence of successful innovations. Moreover, the fear is that Government control may be too

heavy-handed for the various activities involved in the Brigade movement.

43. A more serious issue is what appears to be the gradual withdrawal of van Rensburg. Sister Gregory [1982] said that she was aware of his own idealism evaporating. Graaff [1983] felt that his system was being taken over and modified so that it fell short of his ideal. Did he feel manipulated? or was he simply lost in the increasing diversity of his enterprise?

44. Van Rensburg has now extended his activities to Mozambique Zimbabwe and Angola. Graaff [1983] feels that he may be investigating smaller groups in each of the three territories (Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) and each member he admits to his team must be committed to his ideals of socialism before he joins his movement.

45. In the eyes of the world though, van Rensburg, with his international award and as a prime mover behind the Foundation for Education with Production [Guardian March 25 1981] will be judged as an innovator of magnificent vision. [Note: Prize $50,000 awarded to P. van Rensburg for his work on Replicable Models for Third World Education. This prize (also known as the alternative Nobel Prize) is known as The Right Livelihood Foundation Prize. (The Star 6.12.1981)]. He achieved full government support for his training efforts

though his political views remained suspect to the end [Egner et al 1980].

X. CONCLUSIONS.

1. It should be reasonably clear from the observations of this research report that developments in education cannot be divorced from the background of development in Botswana. Education must not only be seen as an integral part of the development of a rapidly changing and increasingly urbanised society, but must also adapt to the challenge of rural development.

2. The aims of educational development for Botswana were formulated in the concepts embodied in Kagisano. This was in part an attempt to evaluate the tremendous growth and expansion in not only the schooling system but also the relevant extension programmes that developed after the ending of colonialism. This took into account the fact that the quality of life of an individual and of the community in which he is living are intimately related.

> "An aid programme may fail because the individuals lacked the necessary skills or because the social organisation of the communities involved was inadequate to the demands of the development programme. There are therefore two separate yet equally important requirements: one is for education of the individuals to enable them to meet new opportunities; the other is for social development of the community to enable it to respond effectively". [V. Para. 6]

3. The main thrust of van Rensburg's Brigade system involved the social uplift of the Community [Schoon 1982;

Graaff 1983]. When the research team [J. Kiely; D. Curtis; H. Huggett] visited Serowe it was aware of the physical spread of the Brigade units. The town is dominated by the mountain sacred to the Khamas, but on the side is the hotel built by the Brigades. From the moment the town is approached the Brigade work is in evidence. Just off the road on the left as one enters Serowe, there is a Brigade building; there is evidence of further Brigade work at Swaneng Secondary School, then there are further buildings of various Brigade activities tucked away in odd corners of the village - there are many examples of the physical presence of the Brigade movement.

4. In Palapye the writer was aware of a larger sprawling town, untidy in its extent. The Palapye Community Junior Secondary School was removed from the centre - almost out of the way. It was not easy to find, it had no dominating position. The largest building in the vacinity was the church. This was the first visible sign of a link with a wider, world community.

5. The physical presence of the Brigades showed greater awareness, in the opinion of the team, of the creation of a new social order built to uplift the community, to fulfil the basic values of the community while linking it with the underlying economic forces of a newly independent state. While innovating projects appropriate to the rural poor were

economicall, viable and technically feasible in that they would benefit the poor by increasing incomes [those not directly participating in the work [IX para 10], they would nevertheless train pupils in both skills and academic subjects.

6. At Palapye Community Junior Secondary School, the influx of pupils who arrived seeking a place in the school, was frankly surprising. This was the first inkling the team obtained that the school was serving a wider community than the immediate village. Little prior notice had been given, yet it was surprising to find a multitude of aspirant pupils from some distance away - in many cases in excess of 100 Kms (VIII para 6). This suggested the wider drawing power of the school as providing an answer to the Third World Development in the eyes of the Community. Parents were committed to the school and ensured that their children received what was to them the qualification that would help them and their community.

7. S.I.D.A. [1973 25] states that the most serious drawback to the Brigade movement was the lack of motivation on the side of the trainees:

> "their reason for coming to the Brigades is not to produce but to receive training".

Further it was often apparent that few of the Brigades - trained students wished to work in the Brigades' system

whether at Shashe River or Serowe. The number of past Brigades' pupils seeking to return to the units that had trained them was slight [Graaff 1981]. Contrast this with the figures of the aspirant pupils who saw themselves helping out the community in some way and the difference is interesting [Appendix D].

8. The next aspect of Brigade activity that interested the team was the disarray of Brigade buildings. Initially it was felt that this reaction was purely in response to the neatly arranged order at Palapye Community Junior Secondary School. But in walking on site, the writer was taken aback by complete disarray of the printing unit - to take one example [IX para. 26]. The building was in poor repair. But this was not the worst aspect. Inside the building piles of unused printing card and paper were either simply piled haphazardly in corners of rooms - sometimes a metre square - or strewn across the floor. The machines stood idle covered with dust. The complete disorder was disturbing.

9. One of the main claims for the implementation of the Brigades' movement was that through cost covering and self-help, costs of training could be recovered [IX para 20]. S.I.D.A. [1973] points out that costs had only been marginally covered in a few initial projects when the brigades had contributed towards Brigades' buildings at Serowe and Shashe River complexes. It is worth noting that

the work of Brigades was seen as poor [Devitt 1982; Yates 1982]. A further noteworthy point is that local contractors were often preferred as they were cheaper and offered a better finished product [Devitt 1982]. Again students in fact did often, without training yet with parental involvement, complete buildings on-site and in the community [one example are the poor houses build by Father Devitt in the village; another the school buildings].

10. Van Rensburg's philosophy appealed to world charities and yet it is interesting that the writer could find no reference to World Bank Finance Support. This would tend to suggest that the academic syllabus firmly rooted in a national curriculum coupled with steadfast development within the national educational framework was found acceptable by hard headed business men [as is seen from Father Devitt's application to the World Bank 1981].

11. Fatner Devitt, himself an experienced headmaster, made comparatively little use of expatriates. Many teachers were either local or from elsewhere in Africa [Appendix E]. Initially, it seemed with van Rensburg that his philosophy was firmly based on expatriate inspiration. Schoon (1982) mentioned to the writer that much of the Brigade movement especially when it began was rooted in inspiration of expatriates [Appendix F]: remove them (and other expatriates seldom lasted more than 2 years) and the Brigade activity ceased.

12. Convoluted paper work, intricate methods of keeping stock and accounts were evident in Brigade activity [Structure of storeroom control to be used by storekeeper - Appendix D; Borehole maintenance schedule - Table P: Devitt 1982(b)]. Then much additional outlay was necessary for on-the-site-training. Father Devitt showed us such convoluted accounting system either in the work he did or the buildings he put up at Palapye Community Junior Secondary School. This may in part be to the simplicity of the projects; it may also be due to the simplicity of his modus operandi which saw buildings built simply by either contractors or pupils and parents. Father Devitt's accounting system was simple, direct and uncomplicated. The "stores" needed were kept on the verandah and simply and easily controlled, while the building - also at a central venue - could be likewise readily managed by one man [Appendix G].

13. The expenses of running the school were high when one considers the income of the local parent body. Yet evidence of careful husbandry was evident. Father Devitt himself mentioned to the writer (1982) that his "salary" was a minute fraction of the outlay at the school. It was only after some years that his P50 per month became P100: that was an increase recommended by the Board at Palapye Community Junior Secondary School to the Chairman of the Board. By sharp contrast the financial affairs of the Brigades were a

[illegible] necessary. It was often the world [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] not accounting be found [illegible] difficult to monitor. Father Devitt, on the [illegible] hand, was a capable judge, more easily controlled, yet [illegible] to succeed or flounder [illegible] from [illegible] revenue, or from [illegible] church.

The character of the two men is also interesting. [illegible] Devitt was close to many crimes. Such was his depth [illegible] and his consistency that he was able to rise [illegible] in his time. Swanson Secondary School [1982b] [illegible] [illegible] early in Van Rensburg's time [illegible] Secondary School. These riots were so contrary to [illegible] Van Rensburg hoped, planned and desired that he had a [illegible] breakdown (Mason 1984). Van Rensburg was attempting [illegible] [illegible] ideal in the community, Father Devitt was [illegible] and was shaping what was already there: a professed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] was desired by the community.

[illegible] was clear that the schooling systems had over the brigades was, initially, the issuing of a school leaving [illegible] [illegible] the period that the writer was researching, [illegible] difficulty that the brigades were [illegible] [illegible] parents of school going children [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they passed, being [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] universal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] supported the school, the

children likewise co[illegible]
studies further afield.

16. The Brigades were not as [illegible] because the local community could not [illegible] as a result of any amateur undertaking. After [illegible] success, the development might in fact have been removed from the immedialy of the local communit so that they would be even less likely to see any immediate benefit. In this regard the school was compact, its specific locality allowed it to possess a focus for all local community work that was important, and it was close to the church a further verifying factor. While the Brigades were likely to remain marginal to the mainstream of community development, the school was seen as being central to the community and its uplift programme - a paradox when one considers what was said earlier [X para 4].

17. Sheffield [et al 1973 73] states:

> "Community development and cost covering are not always commercially viable as there may be a fundamental conflict in any community development programme between the policies identified by governmental or other funding agencies and the felt need of the community".

The inspiration that promoted the early Brigade ventures was evident in their variety [Appendix E: Variability of Brigades Projects: a random sample]. Nowhere was there

evidence that Father Devitt was developing anything that was other than the norm, understood and accepted by the community [Appendix H: Capital Development Funds].

18. The team went on a hiking trip to Old Palapye to discover some of the history of the area. On the way the first sighting of the old buildings was missed and suddenly the team came across a new school in the middle of the bush. A need felt by government and community - there appeared a deep harmony. The buildings followed a recognisable pattern: the playing field was central. It was smaller than the Palapye Community Junior Secondary School (or, for that matter, Swaneng Secondary School) but the underlying similarities were there).

19. To the writer there was a frenetic disarray in the patterns of Brigade development that often relied for development inspiration upon expatriate inspiration [Appendix E].

20. One the the reasons for this must be in the underlying principles that motivated van Rensburg. Van Rensburg was a man deeply committed to his ideals - the Brigade movement "has a creed, a talented and committed group of disciples" [Sheffield et al 1972 65]. Yet van Rensburg himself was committed to the aim of education with production, to the production of citizens dedicated to the ideal of working

towards the creation of an egalitarian society based upon Marxist principles [Siyakwazi 1984 120; Schoon 1982]. The education must be based on the ever widening concep of social and cultural responsibility, to the acquisition of knowledge and skills.

21. Van Rensburg believed in the underlying strength of the cell movement, yet he was often unable to maintain the loyalty of the trainers [Sister Gregory 1982] or the trained [Egner, Enstice, Grant 1980; S.I.D.A. 1973; Graaff 1981].

22. One reascn for this is the high economic growth rate of Botswana which is one of the highest in Africa [111 para 13]. Botswana is well placed to continue this growth exponentially: the 1967 Orapa mine; 1971 Letlhakane; 1975 Selibe-Pikwe Jwaneng mine 1981; and the envisaged 200 kilometre square rich in coal between Serowe and Palapye, and the rich soda-ash deposits on the Makarikari Salt Pan suggest a wealth of hitherto undiscovered mineral deposits.

23. This suggests to the writer that the holding power of the Brigades will continue to lessen. In spite of the power wielded by the coordinating umbrella Brigades parent body, in spite of the magnificent training centre, BRIDEC, erected on the outskirts of Gaborone, the movement will continue to loose its labour force to the mines of South Africa, and the expanding mineral mines and their enveloping towns in and around the many rapidly developing centres outside Gaborone.

24. The position of Land Boards and Local District Development Committees at village level will continue to place emphasis on local development that is going to be centred on the schoo . It may well be that the old missionary tradition, dating back to the early Kuruman Mission, has more of a hold on the minds of the Development Officers than is realised. This unshakeable belief in the benefits of education and schooling is a force that transcends boundaries and ages.

25. The challenge for the new order must lie in developing the minds of the people so that their commitment to a society in transition is realised. The hope is for new insights to be learned to meet the new age and for greater flexibility. This is the self-reliance that will integrate the young in the community.

26. Yet what is the community? D'Aeth sees it as essentially technological and urban [V para 9]; Yates (1983) sees society as essentially universal, transcending local boundaries. Houghton [1969 28] sees the responsibility forcing the relevant educational systems is to equip the individual to see further than the confines of his immediate surroundings to that of the world beyond.

27. Kagisano [VI para 5 ii] sees education as turning out citizens capable of manning existing positions in economy and

creating new opportunities for self employment. This must be through schooling because it is in education that initiatives are taken and opportunities seized.

28. Democracy gives to each person a voice in the running of his affairs and a chance to participate, directly or through representatives, in decisions affecting his life [VI para 5 i]. It is in schooling through Local Development Committees, through Parent Committees, through Governing Bodies that this thrust will be met. It is part of the long tradition of western schooling and must continue to be a force in the Botswana of the 80's.

29. Schooling is found in every small village and is thus the start of a lifelong process where human potential may be developed. Kagisano [Botswana 1977 25] states:

> "Education can only fulfil its responsibility to society if parents, the community and its leaders in turn fulfil their obligations to young people and the school".

This is used to equip the young "to participate effectively in a rapidly changing society" [Ibid. 23].

30. The interlocking phases of this society must be realised at several levels - tribe, local community and the nation [I para 5]. Schooling in Botswana teaches humans their potential by being not as specific as Brigade training: it draws the wider horizon which Brigades by their very specific

nature can do but can only do to a more limited extent. Just as a young man might study classics at an overseas university, yet go into business; so for the young Batswana, schooling is the entry into the life of the twentieth century.

31. Yet the realities of the situation demand that both formal schooling and Brigade development co-exist. Brigade development has spread across Botswana. The Government interest showed a rationale that accepted the status quo. Given the sounder Government control which would lead to a national development movement, with similar accounting practices, the Brigade movement is an answer to Third World Development - but not necessarily to rural development or to community life.

32. Siyakwazi [1984] provides a Taxonomy of the Philosophy of Education with Production [Appendix I]. This leaves us with the prospect of the overreaching power of the movement begun by van Rensburg at Serowe to become the model for future schooling. At the moment the Brigade movement is still in its infancy.

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APPENDIX A : Names of those who agreed to take part in structured interviews.

BODINSTEIN J. Principal Technical High School Rustenburg

DEVITT, FATHER LEONARD. Missionary; Chairman of the Board of Palapye Community Junior Secondary School

GRAAFF, JOHANN DE V. (1983) : Head of Development Studies, University of Bophuthatswana

GREGORY, SISTER (1982) : Ursuline Sister, Serowe

KIELY, BROTHER J. Missionary, St. Joseph's Mission Phokeng

MASON A. Former teacher Swaneng School

MATTHEWS D. (1981) : Headmaster Maru a Pula

SCHOON M. Director, British Overseas Volunteer Placement Service

SYMMONS M. M.A. Oxon, Educationalist

YATES D. Former headmaster Maru a Pula

YOUNG D. Professor of Education, Cape Town University

APPENDIX B : Results of structured questionaires

TABLE A: Girls: Group 2

(a) **Why are you here?**

* Interview for places	20
* Near my home	10
* to do Form one	13
* the liking for school	9
* to learn to read & write for secondary education	9
* I only have grade 'C' (Std. 7) pass.	6
TOTAL:	67

Others:

* Many intelligent pupils at Palapye	
* There is good teaching here: (there are more teachers, and it's attached to the church)	
* I'm too big for primary school	3
TOTAL:	70

(b) **What aspirations do you have once you've finished schooling?**

Further Education	34
* to be like others who've passed Form 1	
* to work myself	
* to go to university	
* to develop our country	
* to help those who are backward	
* to go to Gaberone	
* to go to other countires	
* to work in offices	
* to become rich	

TABLE B: Girls. Group 1

(a) Reasons for coming to Palapye

To sit the entrance test	27
The wish to go to school	14
No space elsewhere	1
Unspecified	4
TOTAL:	46

(b) Reasons for wishing to go to school

To seek further education (mainly to reach Form 3)	25

Other answers:
* to drive a lorry
* to work for government
* to obtain work
* to open the gateway to yet further schooling
* idleness at home disliked
* to become a nurse
* to become a teacher
* to help our country
* it is our home
* life is knowledge

Other more general yearnings:

* to nurse	2
* to teach	6
* for a better life	5
* to develop our country and others who are backward	3
* to help myself and my parents	6
* unspecified	5
TOTAL:	70

(c) Who told you to write the test?

* Parents	8
* Mother	9
* Father	9
* Self-motivated	6
* Friends	5
* Close family xx (xx one had attended the school)	4
* Father Leonard	3
* Other teachers	3
* Principal (?)	1
* Did not specify	22
TOTAL:	70

TABLE C: Boys Group 1

(a) Have you heard of anyone at this school?

* Friends	7
* Family	4
* Yes (unspecified)	3
* Father Leonard Devitt	2
* No	8
TOTAL:	26

(b) Who told you to write this test?

* Father	7
* Mother	6
* Parents	4
* Close family	6
* Friends	2
* Unspecified	1
TOTAL:	26

(c) What do you wish to become when you leave?

* Further education	8
* Teacher	6
* Botswana Defence Force	2
* Policeman	2
* Doctor	2
* Work (unspecified)	1
* Nurse	1
* Pilot	1
* Unspecified	1
TOTAL:	26

TABLE D: Boys: Group 2

(a) Have you heard of anyone at this school?

	10
* Pupils	5
* Headmaster	1
* Father Leonard Devitt	1
* From church	2
* Teacher	1
* Brother	1
* Unspecified	
TOTAL:	40

No. 17

(1 Spoilt)

(b) Who told you to write this test?

	19
* Father	13
* Mother	3
* Parents	4
* Close family	1
* Sister Elizabeth	
TOTAL:	40

(c) What will you do when you have left?

(at school)

	14
* Further education	10
* Teacher	4
* Work	2
* Manager	1
* Messenger	2
* Botswana Defence Force	1
* Agriculture	1
* Doctor	1
* Chief	1
* Policeman	2
* Spoilt	1
* Unspecified	
TOTAL:	40

APPENDIX 3 : Diverse Moneys donated to Brigades

Apart from large amounts received - as from the Bernard van Leer Foundation - diverse sums were always flowing in as is minuted 30.12.70.

Amounts received:

War on Want	3,945.45
S.A.I.H	570.00
Trondheim School	1,020.00
Trondheim Commune	2,000.00
Norwegian Schools in Africa	1,500.00
	9,035.45

APPENDIX D : Structure of storeroom control to be used by storekeeper

A] Numbered record of all stores issued showing:

(1) Description
(2) Quantity
(3) Date
(4) Purpose for which required
(5) Name of drawer

B] Numbered record of all stores received showing:

(1) Description of item
(2) Quantity
(3) Date of receipt
(4) Unit price
(5) Supplier

C] Stock book detailing every item stored

(1) Quantity on hand at the beginning of each stock-keeping period
(2) Amounts received with each number reference
(3) Amounts issued with number reference

D] In respect of all tools and equipment in his charge the storekeeper will keep a book

(1a) All tools and equipment held
(2a) New items written off by authority of Site Agent
(3a) Items written off by authority of Site Agent

(1b) A book showing the issue of all items, date of issue, name of recipient of item

Note: When tools or equipment cannot be recovered, the store keeper shall make a written report to the Site Agent.

APPENDIX E : Availability of Teaching Staff

According to the existing plans, the teaching staff is drawn from these three main sources:

(1) Volunteer teachers made available through the Ministry of Education and any others so designated by the Government of Botswana.

(2) Source, through the initiation of the Board of Governors.

(3) And the recruitment of some teachers on the open market within the region.

The Palapye Community Junior Secondary School has an experienced, qualified Headmaster. The Headmaster is a well known, proven professional. The Headmaster is a qualified graduate with a significant number of years of relevant teaching experience.

[Devitt: 1982c : Self-help application to World Bank]

* Note recommendations drawn up by Father Devitt when Chairman of the Board at Palapye Community Junior Secondary School.

APPENDIX F : Variability of Brigades Projects: a random sample [Schoon 1982]

Abandoned

Tannery
Village workshop
Soapstone carving
Mats and corn husk flowers
Day Care Centre

Operating

Back yard broiler
Gourd engraving
Corn husk dolls
Diamond mesh fence production
Cement block production
Construction Teams
Carpentry
Metal work
Fruit preserving

Underway

Bakery
Grain mill
Horn workshop
Vegetable garden and vineyard
Citrus
Shallow well drifting unit

Planning

Piggery
Rabbits
Honey production
Community vegetable garden

APPENDIX G : Balance Sheets 1976, 1977 and 1980 as a reflection of School Growth (Presented to the P.T.A.)

INCOME	1976	1977	1980
School Fees	18,675	28,840	35,525
Book Fees	4,755	5,310	9,300
Agricultural Fees	2,070	270	1,230
Building	717	718	760
Exam. Fees	-	-	1,476
Sale of Furniture	-	-	1,159
Sundries	-	-	50
Sport Fees	1,125	797	-
			2,638.83** (excess expenses over normal)
	27,342	36,135	53,368.83

APPENDIX G : continued ...

EXPENDITURE	1976	1977	1980
Agricultural & Gardening	54	46	-
Bank Charges	21	42	70.50
Books & Stationary	3,472	6,109	8,800.00
Catering	105	108	-
Donation	110	30	-
Exam Fees	717	718	
Insurance	120	-	-
Medical	76	-	-
Post	13	6	195.92
Prizes	13	6	-
Repairs and Maintenance	344	317	-
School Equipment	298	-	5,443,71
Sports Equipment	130	-	761,00
Sundries	55	32	800.40
School Fees refund	-	-	737.00
Travel	363	226	560.00
Water	239	321	1,019.50
Salaries	16,422	24,571	28,000.00
	22,543	33,553	53,368.83
Surplus	4,789	2,582	2,638.83 (loss)

[Devitt 1982c]

APPENDIX H : Capital Development Funds

The community of Palapye village has been in the process of raising funds for the provision of physical facilities for the school since [its'] inception.

Additional funds have been raised from the following sources:

(1) Organization of Nederland Volunteers (ONV)

(2) The community in the Palapye area of the Central District of Botswana. The people in the Palapye area have already raised funds to cover the capital costs of the school. In addition, they have pledged to continue their support for the school during [its'] further development.

The Government of Botswana is being requested to provide finance for the physical facilities.

It is estimated that the contribution of the community has been P20,000 towards the costs of building the existing school.

Community Contribution:

The Government of Botswana is being requested to assist with funds for the provision of facilities as outlined in this paper, while the community in the Palapye area will provide funds for the following:

Appendix H Continued ...

(1) Staff Housing

The community in the Palapye area is very pleased to have the existing junior secondary school. Furthermore, they are encouraged to hear of the possibility of obtaining outside assistance in the upgrading of the community school.

The total value of the existing building and equipment of Palapye Community Junior Secondary School is estimated at P20,000. This represents the Palapye community's continued support of the school.

Operating Costs of the school:

A very crude estimate of the operating costs of the Palapye school, over the next five years of its' existence is projected as follows:

Year	Amount in Pul
1983	P 60 000
1984	70 000
1985	80 000
1986	80 000
1987	80 000

Appendix H Continued ...

In respect to each year under reference, the teachers salaries will take more than 75% of the amounts required.

Initially, the recurrent finances are provided from the following sources:

(a) Fees payable by the students

(b) Contributions by the community

(c) The Ministry of Education

Since the school is private, and it will continue to be self-financing as much as possible, the fee chargeable to each student will be P150 until such time as a change is deemed necessary.

The figure of P150 does not represent the full economic cost of each pupil's education, and hence it has become necessary that additional operating budget funds be provided by the community and by the Government of Botswana.

Projected estimates of the operating budget over the next five year period will be as follows:

Appendix H continued ...

Year	Pupils	Teachers	Budget	Fees	Deficit
1983	285	11	P 60,000	P 42,750	P 17,250
1984	325	13	70,000	48,750	21,250
1985	360	15	80,000	54,000	26,000
1986	360	15	80,000	54,000	26,000
1987	360	15	80,000	54,000	26,000

If the Botswana Government provides a P20 grant assistance per pupil enrolled in the school, then it can be assumed that the deficit amounts shown in the above table will be reduced further as is indicated below:

Year	Deficit	Government Grant	Net Deficit
1983	P 17,250	P 5,700	P 11,550
1984	21,250	6,500	14,750
1985	26,000	7,200	18,800
1986	26,000	7,200	18,800
1987	26,000	7,200	18,800

it is our intention to reduce the annual deficit by the following means:

(a) By community endeavours.

APPENDIX I : A Taxonomy of the Philosophy of Education with Production-Model

Levels	I Practical	II Theoretical and Practical	III Creative, Theoretical and Practical
General Characteristics	(a) A purposeful and productive activity; (b) Operation of the activity demands little or no theoretical knowledge; (c) Emphasis on practical skills.	(a) Emphasis on worthwhile and productive activities. (b) Recognition of both intellectual and practical goals; (c) Emphasis on theoretical understanding of concepts and theories; (d) Application and integration of theory and practice; (e) Promotion of knowledge and desirable skills and societal values; (f) Promotion of research and technology.	(a) Promotion of originality and creative work; (b) Promotion of innovative ideas and inventions; (c) Integration of creative, theoretical and practical elements.
Expected outcome of an activity	(a) An income generating project e.g. gardening, poultry, painting, bricklaying, etc.; (b) Services to community, family or school e.g. house cleaning, weeding cleaning school grounds.	(a) Skilful in the application of knowledge; (b) Income from a project e.g. school garden, orchard, furniture, industrial products; (c) A successful lesson by a classroom teacher or lecturer; (d) Research publication - creation of knowledge; (e) Valueing learning and labour.	(a) Inventions e.g. a computer or any new product or rural technology; (b) New findings in research work or new theories; (c) Originality of ideas with national or international impact; (d) Creation of new knowledge.
World of Work	Community services, factory workers, houseworker, a miner, etc.	Technicians, nurses, teachers, lecturers, farmers, M.P's., researchers, carpenters, etc.	An inventor, an outstanding film producer, a great States man, outstanding researcher, etc.

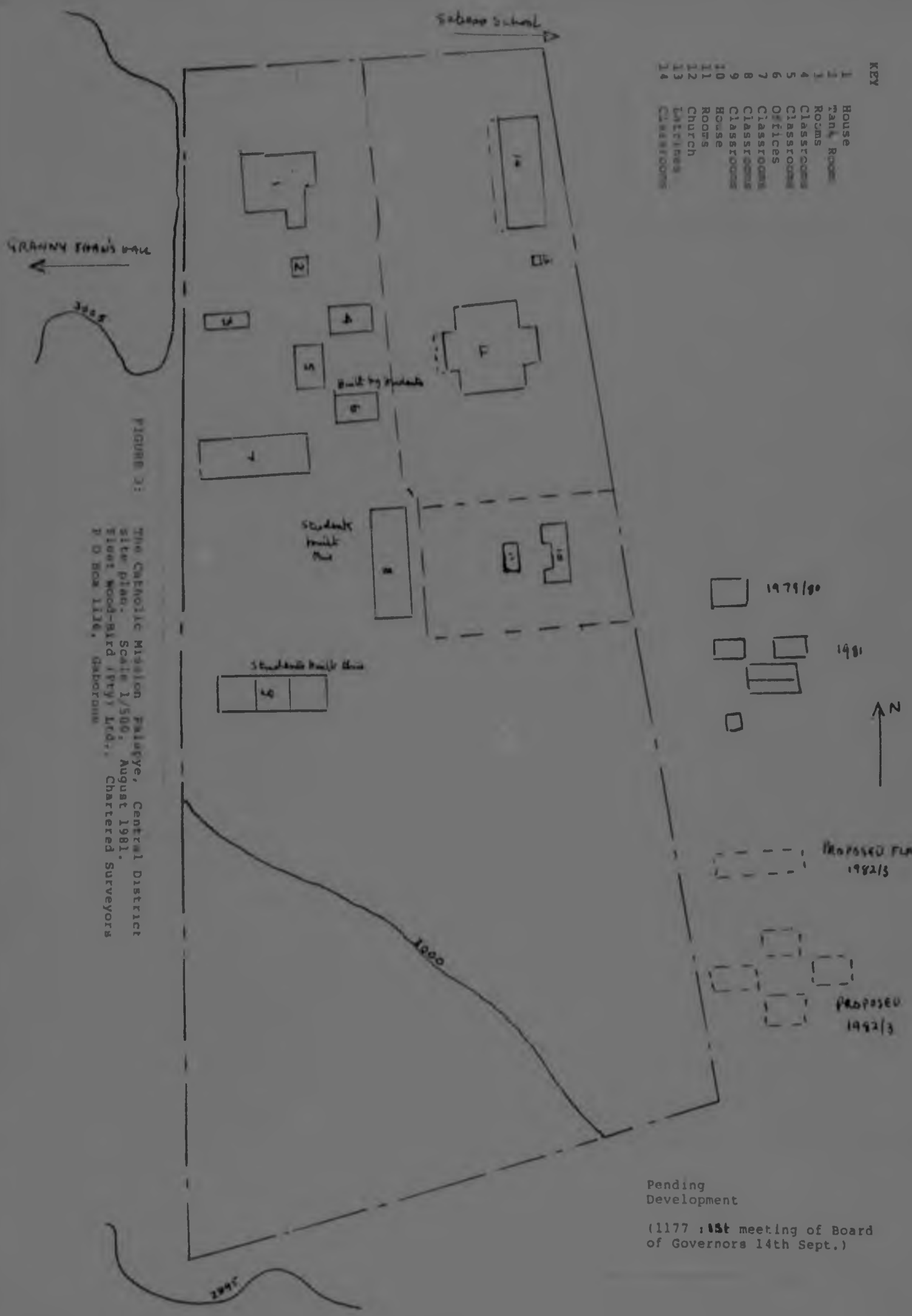

FIGURE 3: The Catholic Mission Paisley, Central District site plan. Scale 1/500. August 1981. Sleet Wood-Bird (Pty) Ltd., P O Box 1136, Gaborone Chartered Surveyors

Author Huggett H H
Name of thesis Rural Community uplift in Botswana - two educational enterprises 1984

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