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Ideology and the culture appropriation of the past in Mochudi village, Botswana

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mimetic attempt to mirror the perceived norms of an external and thus emasculating culture.

Beauty competitions are a wide-spread phenomenon in cities and villages. They are a common form of entertainment in the village. Young girls often hold beauty competitions in the neighbourhood at their homes. People from around the area attend and often throw down coins to get a favourite 7-single record played again and again. Inevitably a judge will arrive and the winner of the competition will receive a prize. Beauty competitions, apart from what we have mentioned in the above, provide informal means of circulating money in the village.

Reviewing the above competition, important aspects of it were i) the fact that complete and correct English sentences were thought to be an indication of intelligence, ii) the fact that I was asked to judge the competition, iii) the fact that I was continually asked questions as to what I thought was beautiful, iv) the fact that invidious comparisons were made between bare-foot spectators and the contestants, v) the fact that throughout, the search for a culturally external 'dignity' was stressed.

To conclude, general points concerning beauty competitions which may be made are as follows: i) they are a general and wide-spread phenomenon, ii) they are nearly always a mimetic attempt to mirror foreign and emasculated aesthetic norms, iii) they are a cultural example of an attempt to locate oneself within a continuum of superiority, to seek identification with what I have elsewhere called the vacuously prestigious. Before concluding on the nature and implications of one beauty contest, let us examine another context which illustrated the unreality of the aesthetic norms emulated in them and which,

ironically, contrasted stereotypical village portraits with imported conceptions of beauty in a polarized dichotomy which on one level implicitly negated village life and its so-called traditional aspects. However, as we shall see, although imported notions of beauty and behaviour are unequivocally accepted, the status of that which is considered 'ugly' is often 'traditional' in aspect. But the traditional itself cannot be so easily negated. It has the power to mock imported notions of beauty.(20)

The contest in question was a public beauty and an ugly contest held in Notwane Hall, Mochudi. It is the notion of ugliness here which primarily preoccupies me since we have dealt with notions of beauty in the previous contest. The uglies comprised an assorted group of men and women. To be an 'ugly' one had, in the words of one informant, to put on 'anything'. This entailed a so-called random selection of clothing with no consideration for affectation. One could, for example, 'take a sack' or 'a ragged garment' to wear.

However, some of the people portrayed in the ugly contest were identifiable members of the community. The girl who won first prize dressed as an old woman and made a great show of taking snuff in front of the judges and then sneezing in one of their faces. What is now perceived as ugliness is an easily identifiable member of the community, an old woman. The costume of old women, which was originally derived from missionaries, is seen in opposition to the clothes which young people wear today. But let us carefully examine why people laughed at the young girl masquerading as an old woman. It is not simply a matter of her clothes being archaic. People also laughed because of the audacity with which she confronted the judge. As we have seen in the previous account of the school contest, these occasions are

treated with a borrowed formality, the judges are revered. They are treated with a courtesy which has been derived from the observance of formal ceremonies conducted by those in power during colonial times. The uglies within the competition are therefore treated with ambivalence. Laughing at them entails both recognition of what they stand for and an inadvertant acknowledgement of their triumph over formality, i.e. the ability to mock so-called imported structures of interaction. The man who won second prize pretended to be a Bushman hunter and pointed his spear in several directions as if he were aiming at invisible game. This was primarily a racist portrayal and caused people to laugh complacently in the assurance of their so-called superiority in relation to the Basarwa. It is here that we are able to locate a perceived continuum of notions of superiority. In this particular neo-colonial context, people sometimes derive notions of superiority from their observance of the behaviour of their former rulers. Within this context their historically rooted relationship with the Basarwa becomes a convenient measuring stick for their own so-called relative superiority. The society becomes haunted with the pursuit of the vacuously prestigious.

The music competition

Circular presented to all people who attended the competition in the church: (written in English)

Botswana Teachers' Union Kgatleng
Branch
Branch Music Competition
(16th June 1979)

Programme

1. Tossing 7.30 a.m. - 8.30 a.m.
2. Opening prayer Rev. Tshenye
3. M.C.'s remarks Welcome Mr. Moagi
4. Official opening Miss Dinake (Administrative secretary)
5. Infant section Vernacular
6. Junior section Vernacular and English
7. Intermediate section Vernacular and English
8. Senior S.S.C. Vernacular - English
9. Adjudicator's remarks
10. Vote of thanks Mr. Balule (Branch chairman)
11. Results
12. Presentation of trophies Mrs. Makgatlhe
13. National Anthem

I have already hinted at the busy preparations for the music competition at my own school. All junior schools in Mochudi prepared for it in an equally fervid fashion, all songs for the competition having been chosen by the Botswana Teachers' Union. When the great day arrived thousands of children flocked towards the Dutch Reformed Church in Mochudi, the church built by Isang, which has continued to be symbol of respectability through the years.

All schools were grouped outside the Dutch Reformed Church. Entrance to the church was 60t for adults and 30t for children.* Very few people except teachers and expatriates could afford to come into the actual church. Most children, because they were outside, were unable to hear the other choirs singing or hear the adjudicator's comments. The only song in Tswana was that of the youngest children or 'infants' as they were called. All the other children sang songs in English and Zulu. The choirs were announced impersonally as choir A, B, C etc.,

*The Botswana thebe is almost the equivalent of the South African cent.

without the name of the school being given. Most of the people occupying the church were teachers, many of them wearing fur coats and boots despite the heat. Everyone had turned out in what they regarded to be their best. Each choir was conducted by a teacher. Many of the teachers were unable to conduct but they conducted in their fashion because the formal structure of the choir and conductor was so obviously meaningful to them. The songs in English were as follows:

a) <u>An English Country Garden</u>

Rosebud and lily
Pinks and sweet willy
A country garden comes to town.
Sing them a ditty, fresh and so pretty
And take some for your lady's gown.
Buy a bunch of roses
And make them into poses
For today very early
Fresh and so pretty
A country garden comes to town.
ENTRANCY (should be entrancing)
It's there before us
Better sing a chorus
As we go dancing down the street.
All the country flowers come to town
And as the sun is going down
People may stare
But what do we care,
A country garden comes to town.

b) Sing we enchant it
While love doth grant
Fa la la la la la la la la la la la la
Not long youth lastest
And all aghastest
Now is best leisure to take our pleasure,
All things invite us
Now to delight us
Hence care be packing
No mirth be lacking
Let's spare no treasure
To live in pleasure.

When I asked several teachers who taught the songs to the children whether they understood the meaning of various words, they invariably replied that 'No,' they 'did not'. Apart from the absurdity of singing about English country flowers in a scorching country like

Botswana and the importance of a care-free youth where youth has many responsibilities and is none the worse off for them, what was even more absurd was that the children were completely unaware of the meaning of the songs. In the light of this, the adjudicator's remarks were illuminating. She was a black musicologist from Gaberone. She said that the English songs were very difficult for the children to grasp and that they did better at the songs in the 'vernacular'. She said that the Teachers' Union should consider giving the children Setswana songs which they could interpret much more successfully. If teachers were to attempt English songs, she said, they should study the literal and musical meaning of the song before teaching it. With regard to conducting she said that she had noticed that teachers were not aware of the formal rules of conducting and often they did not indicate the time measure of their songs in the way that they conducted. For example, they sometimes conducted a $\frac{2}{4}$ beat when there were in fact a full 4 beats to a bar. These things, she said, had to be learnt properly if teachers were to improve the standard of music in Botswana.

4. Contrast of children's extra-mural activities to the vacuously prestigious

Children's cultural production differs vastly from adults' obsession with the vacuously prestigious. Whereas the latter indicates a lack of understanding of a cultural horizon together with its indiscriminate fetishization in adhering doggedly to form where the relationship between content and form is little understood, children's productions relate immediately to their experience. Whereas adults who value the vacuously prestigious attempt to imitate from afar a foreign culture in order to gain respectability, children are unconcerned with impressing the dominant cultural other.

Where they do incorporate elements of Sekgoa within their productions, these are intimately involved in the experience of villagers and migrants. Whereas the vacuously prestigious implies elitism and snobbery, children's songs and independent activities are totally devoid of these elements. More specifically, children often organize concerts of their own to raise money for school outings. These often comprise songs, sketches or playlets and sometimes fancy dress parades. All these activities are thought up and devised by the children themselves. The songs involve every aspect of village life, migrant labour, marriage in the village, religion, dress, the government, the civil [illegible] surrounding countries, towns and their dangers, traditional doctors. The playlets revolve around village [illegible] and often enact typical scenes between all ages and [illegible]ves, involving love stories, drunks, teachers, [illegible]en who disobey their parents, the latest 7-singles and the visiting which goes on in the community. The songs are in marked contrast to conducted songs, for example those sung for the music competition. Many of them are accompanied by dancing, whistles and occasionally a drum. All these activities are conducted in Setswana which accounts for their vibrancy. Occasionally an English word is used where this is appropriate, e.g. "disco" or "pick-up" for a police pick-up truck, or in a song where they are trying to master English. For example:

'Once there was a sadi
She had a lot of bana
She didn't know how to dira
Because she had no dijo
She gave them some bogobe
nama le diretlha
After they have gone
She sends them to robala.'

'Once there was a woman
She had a lot of children,
She didn't know how to do
Because she had no food,
She gave them some grapes
Meat and porridge,
After they have satisfied,
She sends them to sleep.'



A children's outdoor house game. This particular photograph depicts various traditional objects utilized for the maintenance of the home. Objects were said to represent cooking pots, wooden porridge spoons, sifting and winnowing baskets for mabele, collections of dung to smear the house, stamping blocks and pestles. This children's game was particularly significant since although school children took part, it was traditional etiquette and household tasks which were stressed. In depicting a process of waking up, completing daily tasks and then going to sleep, children never mentioned going to school. Young children not yet at school, as well as many school children, ignore the reality of school in their everyday games at home, possibly because what is learnt at school has so little bearing or influence on their activities outside the classroom. Notice that although the game stressed traditional objects used in the home, the actual objects reflect a multitude of bought products, 90% of which came from South Africa. (A Nestlé milk tin plus the spoons found inside the tins, a half-jack of brandy, the tops of jam bottles, deodorant sprays, mayonnaise bottles, broken plates and batteries)

In Appendix B I have incorporated a number of children's songs which indicate their variety and vibrancy. These songs indicate traditional values as well as the organic incorporation of new cultural elements, words and styles.

5. Criticisms of education

a) From the teachers themselves:

Almost all the teachers whom I spoke to were dissatisfied with the standard of teaching in the schools. Some, however, had very definite criticisms of the syllabus as such, others of method. As we have seen earlier, content and method are responsible for the ideological implications. A senior teacher expressed this in the following way:

> 'Our education is inappropriate. Everything is taught in a foreign language, English. There is no continuity between primary and senior school. In fact the Teachers' Union is made up mostly of primary school teachers. There is no co-ordination between these schools so children going to senior schools have a difficult time. The volunteers, peace corps, etc. who teach in secondary school know nothing. The practical application of education is more important than theory. In 1972 the Teachers' Union had a meeting to discuss the quality of education. We decided that quality was better than quantity. But so far the government has done nothing about it. For example, history is totally inappropriate. We are supposed to teach about Russia, America and England. This teaches people to look only to America and to despise their own country. If they are to be taught about the wider world why not start with the surrounding countries, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia. It is better to begin with things around the village.
>
> Teaching in colonial times was of a better quality because people were mature and, before they began to learn, worked hard. Today people are babies, immature and they need to be spoonfed. Because the quality of education is so poor most skilled teachers come from outside the country, (e.g. many Zimbabweans prior to independence). They are carrying the education of the country.

> Our education makes people fit for nothing but the mines and the women for walking round the village and having babies. It seems to be a plot by Anglo-American and foreign countries to brainwash us, to reduce the Batswana to nothing but cheap labour. When the children are finished with this kind of education they want to go to the towns because they have been made lazy. They just want leisure and a good time, that's all. And the school is treated like a creche by many parents. Most of them are at the lands. They give no assistance or direction with learning. Children only open their books again the next day at school. Also, despite the quality of education other teachers are not interested in reform because they do not want to cause trouble and only want the money at the end of the month. There are so few jobs in Botswana so people become teachers, not because of the teaching, but because of the money. Independence is only a word of the mouth. In reality it means nothing.'
> (Senior teacher -- Mochudi)

The above statement primarily deals with educational content and clearly shows dissatisfaction with the external orientation of education and its consequences. It implies that too much is taught and that what is taught is taught badly. Also that which is taught is inappropriate. It points to the lack of qualified teachers and questions their interest in teaching as such. It suggests lack of support in the community, especially among parents in attempting to discuss what is being learnt at school.

<u>The following statement is interesting with respect to teaching methods</u>. The teacher in question was one of the few good teachers in the school.

> 'After each lesson I revise what has been taught. I make sure that children understand the ideas in the lesson. I only make children repeat things after me when I am introducing a new word. It is important to have a direct relationship between the teacher and the pupils. I present everything myself rather than taking it out of a text book. If you read out of a text book, children often do not understand what you are talking about. Although a new method of teaching has been introduced I still teach in the old way. I refuse to run through the syllabus. My teacher taught me in such a way that he made sure I

> knew what he had taught me. He used to draw the map of Africa out of his head with all the important rivers drawn in too. He taught us to do the same. After a while everyone was able to draw the map of Africa and its rivers without looking at any book.' (Senior teacher -- Mochudi)

b) Alternative education: the brigades

Much has been written about the brigades and their attempts to generate employment in the rural areas (until recently these were non-government subsidized trade and co-operative schools). Succinctly it may be said that although their co-operative ventures are indeed commendable, it is virtually impossible for them to become viable given the predominant economic relations in the country without a change in policy with regard to rural development. However, the Brigades show an acute awareness of the importance of a change in educational content. Education, they claim, should be practical in providing people not only with technical skills but also the ability to work with others to organize and to plan projects, thus we may say that the ideological function of the Brigades is invaluable. The following critique of current education in schools was given to me by a prominent member of the Kgatleng Brigades.

> 'Young people are totally divorced from their past. One could call it an erosion of history. Through their education they lose the ability to do for themselves or create an environment which they can control. They flee from the rural areas to the towns and big villages. These areas offer no real alternative because they do not offer jobs to the unskilled. They don't even offer any real education through other forms of media as in other industrialized countries, there is only the bar, a place which is not conducive to constructive communication. After a few drinks an incoherent babble is the only way in which problems are articulated. Here too, people live in isolation just as individuals or in atomized family groups. It is true to say that they have indeed lost their history and with it the ability to think out a solution to particular problems. They have forgotten ways in which formerly they helped one another. And they fail to appreciate the similarities between the Brigades and these former

practices, so complete has been the process of individualization. For example, after each family had gathered his grain from the harvest, he would keep so many bags for himself and his family and the rest he would give to his headman. So too all the heads of family would give grain. The silos of the headman would fill up, not for the use of the headman himself, but for the use of the people themselves in years of famine. Today people just feed off one another.

'Also during the ploughing season people would gather together, pool their resources, oxen, etc., and within a small space of time would finish ploughing a large area. In return they would be fed by the host. So they would do the rounds. These "self-help" schemes are the aim of the Brigades. But the people have forgotten their history and look upon these with suspicion. Running away to the towns creates problems in attitudes because those who have fled look upon their grandmother as being "dirty", without taking into consideration the nature of the environment in which she lives. They do not see how clever she is to wash herself in a cupful of water. Today if people have any surplus grain they sell it without a second thought and in times of hunger buy it back at a higher price. Because people no longer work together they have to hire labour. They would have to be paid money, thus turning the whole crop growing exercise into a financial concern seeing that, for example in a year with no rain, the yield would be insufficient not only for consumption, but for raising the capital to acquire help for the next year's ploughing and harvesting.

'Education is totally inappropriate. It's imported straight from Britain. It teaches children subjects which do not equip them with the ability to work for themselves. Rather they join the flood to the towns. The uneducated and semi-educated have no place in the Botswana of today. The well-educated are fast filling up possible positions in the bureaucracy of the government. Latin and French are hardly appropriate at school level. Every year thousands of children leave school after their Std. 7 with little useful education but enough to make them sick of farming. A few thousand go on to secondary school and of those only a few hundred get to university. Education should not be for the elite or as a parade ground to boast about differences in mental ability of people. Rather it should equip children with practical and theoretical skills rooted in their own environment, so they can turn to themselves for help and not passively to another sector for work, a sector which is controlled by others to benefit the few. Although the government now sees the necessity for a new type of education, how long will it take to implement it

and what will it really be like?

> 'One of the subjects taught at school is development studies, a good subject that opens the brains of children. If taught properly, it teaches children to understand the position of the country and the forces which affect it. Because of this the government fears it and tries to water it down. But it's still an important subject that can really educate. The government benefits from an economic policy which widens the gap between rich and poor so it does not like to encourage independent thought.' (Brigade official -- Mochudi)

This statement more than any other indicates the ideological effects of education and it also brings together a number of themes contained within the thesis, for example attitudes to the past and their relation to current ideological orientation.

With regard to these issues, education is seen to be a foreign imposition with little relevance for the problems encountered in rural areas. This has led to what the informant has called 'an erosion of history'. Because young people have forgotten their history they perceive traditional ways of organization in a disparaging way. Useful practices in the past are overlooked. Being without any immediately relevant education, children lose the ability to do things for themselves. The type of education implies elitism and contributes to the flow of young people to the towns. With the past being negated in the schools and with nothing useful being put in its place, children become victims of their social and economic situation.

c) Critiques of pupils

Generally pupils are positive about their education and as has been indicated in the above, despite lack of application outside school and in spite of lack of understanding, education is prestigious. I did, however, discover

an exceptionally interesting children's song which inadvertently and poignantly points to the absurdity of what is taught in school.

Ga ke nwa groovy
Ga ke nwa groovy mamma
beleta groovy mamma
g, r, o, another o, v, y,
Ga ke je cheesie
Ga ke je cheesie mamma
beleta cheesie mamma
c, h, e, another e, s, e,
Ga ke je but'er
Ga ke je butter mamma
beleta butter
b, u, t, another t, e, r.

I don't drink groovy mamma
Spell groovy
g, r, o, another o, v, y,
I don't eat cheese mamma
Spell cheese
c, h, e, another e, s, e,
I don't eat butter mamma
Spell butter
b, u, t, another t, e, r.

The drink, Groovy, cheese and butter are all scarce commodities and are hardly ever eaten by most people in the village. The song suggests on one level the fact that children learn to write about things with which they are unfamiliar. It also suggests the desire for scarce commodities and a magical enjoyment of the words themselves with their specific characteristic of a double vowel or consonant.

6. <u>The simultaneous affirmation and rejection of rural life on the part of the young</u>

a) <u>As revealed in essays:</u>

When attending school I read the essays of all the Std. 7 pupils pertaining to education and in fact they wrote an essay entitled "Thuto" or "education". These essays were particularly informative since many of them discussed a total or a social concept of education which not

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g, r, o, another o, v, y,
Ga ke je cheesie
Ga ke je cheesie mamma
beleta cheesie mamma
c, h, e, another e, s, e,
Ga ke je butter
Ga ke je butter mamma
beleta butter
b, u, t, another t, e, r.

I don't drink groovy mamma
Spell groovy
g, r, o, another o, v, y,
I don't eat cheese mamma
Spell cheese
c, h, e, another e, s, e,
I don't eat butter mamma
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a) <u>As revealed in essays</u>:

When attending school I read the essays of all the Std. 7 pupils pertaining to education and in fact they wrote an essay entitled "Thuto" or "education". These essays were particularly informative since many of them discussed a total or a social concept of education which not

only included schoolwork but life in general. Learning in this respect reflected an appreciation of traditionally appropriate modes of work and behaviour. Other essays, however, reflected a limited conception of education, education within the schools alone. These accounts inevitably contained aspirations which sought to divorce the children themselves from village life; they wished very clearly to approximate the ways of the English. One of the essays in this group ironically stated that no education existed prior to modern times and that although people ploughed they had no real knowledge of how to do so.

Some essays constituted an amalgamation of both conceptions of education. Sometimes drawing comparisons between them. Learning in the schools was clearly linked to job opportunities and access to money. Access to these was inevitably associated with whites, education according to its desired end, work and money, is perceived to be a means to learning the ways of the "English", "Sekgoa" (cf 8) (10)

Many of these essays poignantly reflect the great hopes placed on education as well as its implicit limitations, i.e. the role which it plays in preparing one to work more efficiently for a dominant power group. Education is inevitably associated with "the ways of the English" and to be educated is to show one's ability to subjugate oneself to the "English". Education is thus implicitly placed within a context of colonialism and migrant labour, and the necessity for wage labour.

Other essays which the children wrote concern rain, drought and comparisons between cattle and money and their relative worth. These essays clearly reflect the very real importance which people attach to rain and its connection with food production. Clearly, although children are obsessed with the "ways of the English",

they have immediate experience of the importance of rain. This experiential knowledge of drought and rain does not allow them to dismiss completely the importance of land and animals. It is these which they describe with emotional depth so that these descriptions differ greatly from their descriptions of the ways of the English. Their comparisons between cattle and money show an indisputable preference for cattle.

Below I have quoted translations of the most interesting sections of these essays. What are we able to conclude from this juxtaposition of often contradictory elements within the essays? We may undoubtedly observe that these essays are inevitably incorporated within a migratory labour system in which links with home cannot so easily be severed. Within this situation it is conceivable that people will both negate village life and praise it. They break bonds with the community in order to perpetuate these bonds. They negate village values and aspire to the "ways of the English" in order to maintain their parents with the money they will earn from their education. But these contradictions are not so evenly weighted. More and more attributes of the "ways of the English" come to precipitate themselves within village life itself, especially capitalist economic relations. All hopes are placed on the outside world for employment. When employment becomes increasingly limited in the outside world and the benefits of primary school education begin to dwindle and as access to traditional forms of wealth, e.g. cattle, become concentrated in the hands of a few, the majority of people will be marooned within an essentially unproductive environment. It will not have been incorrect to state that the ideological orientation of education will have contributed to this state of affairs.

Primary school pupils' conceptions of education

1. Social conception of education: all social activities, particularly traditional social etiquette, are seen to be educational.

3. Amalgamation and Comparison

2. Limited conception (relates solely to school work and emphasizes the relationship between education and the ways of Sekgoa.

4. School education is inexorably linked with job opportunity and access to money.

5. Jobs are invariably associated with whites and this makes learning the ways of Sekgoa an important ingredient in gaining a job.

All these points are elaborated and expanded in the conflicting notions expressed in the following twelve extracts from essays.

1. 'Learning is something which is very important among people. Learning has importance which surpasses other things. Learning is a way of life because if you have not been taught we say you are not a person but only a thing. Learning teaches a person not to curse or insult another, also so that you do not fight with others. Learning is very important amongst people. But other people learn nothing among themselves. They do not have understanding.' (Young boy -- Mochudi) (My emphasis)

The above stresses the social and moral aspects of education, its importance for harmonious social living. It is therefore an example of the social conception of education.

2. 'I have seen that learning is a very beautiful thing for me. It has given me a great deal of understanding so that I do not fight another person or insult another or pick arguments with another.' (Young girl -- Mochudi)

3. 'Teaching helps because a child is taught so that it knows. The importance of teaching is to teach children those things which are taught. Teaching helps children to learn English. The goal of teaching is to teach children so that they know English.' (Young boy -- Mochudi)

The above extracts illustrate the two opposing views of education, the social and the limited conception. The first clearly stresses education's relation to social morality, the second suggests that the goal of teaching is to understand English. Perhaps the tautologies contained in the second extract suggest the child's lack of understanding of what is taught because of its foreignness. This response also indicates the general orientation of the schools to teach little else but English.

4. 'Education has importance among the people because it generates good understanding. There are none who do not love education. Education can give you light. In the past education had no importance like today. I refer to the kinds of work which follow like

ploughing, to care for cattle, teaching, working in offices. Today you cannot care for cattle if you have not been educated. Also you cannot plough. This is because education allows us to learn from the vet and the farmers who instruct us so that we may care for our animals. We can manage to understand to distinguish a new field from an old field.'
(Boy -- Mochudi)

5. 'It is a duty to study. Women teach us to look after our husbands. We are taught to respect (obamela, literally bow down to) our grandparents. It helps people greatly to respect old laws and to listen to teachers. Teachers tell us that learning is mastering how to read and write and also not making a noise in the house of learning. Education helps us with ploughing and also in playing sport, also how to become a clerk. To be able to do these things is to be a person of learning. The importance of teaching is to gain understanding and to help the child who has not been taught.'
(Girl -- Mochudi)

Extract No. 4 indicates a comparison between the "social" and the "limited" conceptions of education suggesting the importance of modern technical education. The past is negated in that education is not seen to have been of any importance. Ironically traditional skills in animal husbandry and crop production are seen to be worthless. It is suggested that one needs modern education to distinguish an old field from a new and therefore by implication older generations are perceived as not being able to do this.

Extract 5, in contrast, strongly suggests the importance of traditional social laws. It incorporates new forms of education within this framework. Thus 'It helps us greatly to respect old laws and to listen to teachers'.

6. 'Learning is something which is greatly loved by the people. There are some people who do not like to study. If you do not like to study you will grow and want to find work and you will not be able to. The only work you will be able to find if you are not educated is herding cattle if you are a boy. If

you are a girl you will work in the home and carry children (have children, belega nowana). But if you like to study and you study well and pass, you will come out in front, you will finish school. If you finish school, when you look for work you will find it quickly and it will give you a lot of money for your children.'

Extract 6 suggests the importance of acquiring a job. It suggests the stark alternatives of becoming a herdsman or a mother. The extract suggests the importance of money in Botswanian society today. It therefore points to the necessity of migrant labour and that people are not able to survive without a money income.

7. 'Education is a thing which is taught to children. When you are little you know nothing about learning. You will gain understanding as you grow older. A child learns at home and at school. Learning is a good thing because it teaches the child about the good life. Learning teaches a grown person to rise up together with another neighbour. Learning is life. Also learning can take a person to other countries. Learning is a thing that helps people greatly. Many people love learning because they want to know the ways of the English. If a person is not educated he will not be able to find the work that an educated person can find. A person has the understanding to read.'

8. 'Learning is a thing which is honoured in all countries. Learning is to have an understanding of the ways of the English. Thinking about it, you will find that if you have knowledge of learning you will be honoured amongst the educated, you will become a big rich person (korokono). You will be feared by many people who know English well. You can save yourself and the people at your own place or your home country. To be educated is when a child is changed because it has been taught the truth. It is when your gift of education has helped another in his or her life.'

9. 'Education is a thing which is loved. There is not a person who does not love education. Every person wants their child to be taught. Education teaches a person many things. In school we learn to greet

others and to develop good conduct. Education renews things. If your parent teaches you, you can boast and rejoice in your work, you will be a person with new life. There are many primary schools in the country because learning is loved. People like education because parents need money. Education is very much needed in the country.'

Education is quite clearly associated with job opportunities in all these extracts. Note too that in Extracts 7 and 8 education and access to a good job is inexorably linked with mastering the ways of the English. Extract 9 explicitly suggests the importance of the wage and therefore migrant labour for the maintenance of the family. All three extracts also stress the social conception of education, the benefit to the community as a whole. These extracts therefore reflect an amalgamation of the social and limited conceptions of education as I have suggested them in the diagram.

10. 'In this Botswana life of ours if a person is not educated you cannot find work. If a person is taught a lot he can be proud to work for a white. We Batswana when we say a person is educated it is when a person has read books about God. A person who studies very hard will write the Std. 7 primary school pap - and will write the secondary school exams so that he or she will be proud to speak to a white person. A person in school does not know that this is education. Tomorrow you will be at the place of the white man and you will speak English.'

11. 'The purpose of education is to teach a person to speak with a white person in English. If a person speaks with a white in English when looking for work he is educated.'

12. 'Education constitutes goodness among us black people .... Learning is a way of life for black people. Other people say that life is very hard for us. But it is the goal of life to enter school to beseech God to help one pass both primary school as well as high school, to find work and to begin to work for one's parents.'

All three extracts suggest that the end point of education is to situate oneself within the labour market. Extracts 10 and 11 clearly stress the prestige afforded to one who has mastered the ways of the English. Ironically this mastery does not allow the individuals involved freedom to control their own environment and to revitalize it. Rather working in the place of the white man and his dominance are perceived as given. Extract 12 poignantly suggests the importance of supporting parents through access to wage employment. It thus implicitly reflects the entrenched migrant labour situation in Mochudi, its status as labour reserve and its inability to overcome the bonds of dependency. It may be said that almost all conceptions of education must be seen within the limitations of this framework.

Perceptions of rain, drought, cattle and money

13. 'Rain helps people by giving them water because in some people's lands there are no wells. They are saved by rain with its water. They have been killed by thirst.'

14. 'When there is drought, famine, perhaps you will find the rain will fall on you and then it will cease to fall and again when you have drought you find the leaves on the trees are withered and wind swept yellow grass is rejected by the wild animals. You find the leaves of the trees fall off the trees it seems to me just as in winter. If you have drought you find these living things die, the cow, the goat, the sheep and other things cry only. They call only for the black vulture.

If a man wants one of his small animals within two days he will despair because he knows the jackal has finished the animal or the lion. And when he arrives he will find only the bones and he will want to weep tears.'

15. 'I do not know if a great many people like the wealth which comes from cattle. The cow is something which the Batswana do not like very much. Although it helps the farmers amongst us when they plough. But there are other people who do not love cattle, but who love money only. If you speak to them about cattle they say you are disturbing them. They find happiness in money because others play with money.

A person drinks beer with it.'

16. 'The ox, its great importance is to help the work of the farmer. He ploughs with the help of the ox, he is building, truly building, with the help of the ox.'

17. 'The cow has milk which you drink when you are hungry, you will grow in the winter in this manner.

And if you are a cattle herdman it is imperative to know what your cattle need. When you hire them out to a farmer it is important to give them bone meal so that they become fat.'

18. 'In comparing the wealth of cattle to the wealth money we find that the wealth of cattle is better because it does not end. The ox helps us to see through a time of famine. The cow helps us in that we milk it, it gives us milk and meat. The cow is like a nation (it supplies all needs). The cow helps us by giving us riems and its hide. A motswana says a person is a cow, if one does not have a cow you are no longer a proper person.'

19. 'Money contains no wealth whatsoever because it finishes, you cannot leave it alone, it finishes when you buy porridge. But if you plough you will find a new kind of money. This means that one thing or another can be money (senowe le senowe ke madi).'

20. 'In comparing the wealth of cattle and the wealth of money I have seen that the wealth of cattle is better. The cow is a thing of great importance for the people. But money cannot compete with the wealth of cattle. The cow helps people with milk and meat. Also you can inspan it and it will plough. And also in the winter season as at this time you can be proud to inspan cattle to go and fetch logs of wood. The cow is in all ways truly better because it helps our women to be proud of their homes when they smear them with dung and also it helps us by giving us riems and money because if you sell two cattle you can be proud to build a big house with the money which you receive for them.'

21. 'I have seen that money does not contain much wealth because when you receive money you will only cry about it and worry because it will finish and perhaps you have only bought two objects with it. If you work and have children at the end of the month you will want to buy porridge, sugar, tea and bread. Also you will want to clothe your children and yourself. Also you will drink the money away. Cattle are better because they do not end.'

Although we have seen in the previous section that money is regarded as a necessity in village life we see in the above extracts that the value of cattle is valued much more highly than the exchange value of money. Whereas money is seen to be depleted rapidly, the wealth contained in cattle is perceived to be self-generating. Significantly however, extract 15 points to a conflict within the community between the relative attraction of money and cattle. This points to a conflict inherent in the migrant labour situation where migrants away on labour contracts are unable to tend cattle and where a conflict arises in the community between those who do and those who do not involve themselves in animal husbandry.

In conclusion then, we see that young children simultaneously uphold the ways of Sekoa because of their association with education and a job and at the same time uphold the traditional conceptions of cattle and resources in the village environment. This indicates the tension inherent in a migrant labour situation where workers are unable to become fully proletarianized and where their survival depends on continued association with their rural homes.

b) The Questionnaire (21)

I circulated a questionnaire among groups of the upper standards of the school. Those questioned included all the members of the senior class as well as all the members of a middle class Std. 4. There was no refusal rate since I only issued the questionnaire after having spent some time at the school. All children issued with the questionnaire were familiar with me. The questionnaires were issued in class and were completed during the course of a lesson. Section A of the questionnaire attempted an evaluation of different professions in terms of their relative prestige amongst school children.

This section more specifically attempted a comparison of the relative prestige between traditional and modern occupations. The questions were open ended in the sense that pupils could write qualitative comments as to how much they liked or disliked a type of work. For girls, order of ranking of activities and occupations was as follows: looking after children, 92%; typist and government clerk both 90%; shop owner 84%; nurse and teacher at 80%; shop assistant 70%; leader in church 55%; policewoman 51%; farmer 39%(22); selling beer in a bar 28%; domestic servant 11%; brewing and selling beer 10%. Notice the low ranking of farmer or grower of mabele, a woman's prerogative, as compared with a typist and government clerk. Brewing beer, the informal way in which women circulate money in the village is ranked lowest.

The traditional activity of women as being responsible for crop production is clearly negated in the above results. Also the predominant "profession" amongst women in the village, brewing beer to circulate money, is negated. Rather well paying jobs associated with the town are given the highest rating. Significantly however, looking after children, an activity which confines women to the village, is still ranked the highest.

For boys, order of ranking of activities and occupations was as follows: bus driver 85%; town clerk and shop owner 82%; headman 74%; truck driver 65%; farmer, priest 62%; carver 56%; teacher, soldier 53%; shepherd 52%; policeman 38%; traditional doctor 29%; migrant miner 21%.

Notice here the relatively high ranking of headman and farmer, both traditional occupations. Also compare greater male interest in farming to female interest, a reversal of positive conceptions concerning the traditional divisions of labour. Notice that the lowest

ranking is given to the traditional doctor and to the mine work. As with the girls, however, "modern" professions are clearly valued more than "traditional" professions. This ranking of professions provides a background for the assessment of other responses to the questionnaire.

1. Section A

Basetsana (girls)	Like	Like a lot	Not like	Total like	% like	% not like	Total sample
looking after children	22	25	4	47	92%	8%	51
farmer molemi	13	7	31	20	39%	61%	
leader in church	14	14	23	28	55%	45%	
nurse	22	19	10	41	80%	20%	
typist	28	18	5	46	90%	10%	
shop assistant	21	15	15	36	70%	30%	
shop owner	27	16	8	43	84%	16%	
brew & sell beer	5		46	5	10%	90%	
government clerk	32	14	5	46	90%	10%	
policewoman	20	6	25	26	51%	49%	
teacher	27	14	10	41	80%	20%	
domestic servant	6		45	6	11%	89%	
sell beer in a bar	12	3	36	15	29%	71%	
Basimane (boys)							
headman	12	13	9	25	74%	26%	34
farmer	13	8	12	21	62%	38%	
carver	12	7	15	19	56%	44%	
migrant worker (mines)	3	4	27	7	21%	79%	
clerk in town	20	8	6	28	82%	18%	
teacher	14	4	16	18	53%	47%	
bus driver	19	10	5	29	85%	15%	
truck driver	16	6	12	22	65%	35%	
soldier	9	9	16	18	53%	47%	
government minister	13	8	13	21	62%	38%	
shop owner	20	8	6	28	82%	18%	
priest	17	4	10	21	62%	38%	
policeman	9	4	21	13	38%	62%	
traditional doctor	7	3	23	10	29%	71%	
shepherd	13	5	16	18	52%	48%	

Section B of the questionnaire attempted to gauge in a qualitative sense pupils' alleged commitment to the towns, their perceptions of physical labour at the lands and the cattle posts and their long term commitment to these in terms of their desires to raise cattle.

Section B: Questionnaire:

1. Would you like to live and work only in town?
2. Would you like to work in town and live in the village?
3. Have you ever worked at the cattle post?
4. Have you ever worked at the lands?
5. Did you work at either of these places during the holidays?
6. Is it nice to work at the lands and the cattleposts?
7. Would you like to raise cattle when you grow up?
8. Who will herd them?
9. What does your father do?
10. What does your mother do?
11. Can you let me know what things you like about village life and what things you dislike about it?

Girls

1. Would like: 52%)
2. Would like: 24%) Would like both: 24%

Qualitative expression
'I would like to live and work in town for many days (malatsi a le mantsi)'

4 & 3 Worked at the lands 73%
Have not worked at the lands 27%
Have worked at the cattle posts 24%
Have not worked at the cattle posts 76%

Most girls have worked at the lands and not at the cattle posts.

Qualitative expression
'It is enjoyable to work at the lands and at the cattle posts.'
'People say it is enjoyable.'
'I would like to live at the lands.'
'It is good because at the lands you plough and at the cattle posts you herd cattle. These things are good.'
'It is enjoyable to work at the lands but not at the cattle posts.'

The responses to questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 are particularly interesting in that they reveal the following contradiction. On the one hand question 1 reveals the abstract desire to live and work exclusively in the towns by over 50% of the girls. This also bears a relation to the preferred professions which are predominantly situated

in the towns. On the other hand the majority of girls have worked at the lands, the place traditionally associated with girls and women, and their description of the work is positive. This positive response to work at the lands is brought out in the result of the next question. Note that 39% of the girls expressed the desire to become farmers although 75% express a positive attitude towards the work involved at the lands.

6.	Like the work	75%
	Do not like the work	25%
5.	Have worked here during holidays	78%
	Have not worked here during holidays	22%
7.	Would like to have cattle	97%
	Would not like to have cattle	3%
8.	Herded by relations (older brother, uncles, children, brothers)	52%
	Herded by the person herself	26%
	Herded by hired labour	22%

Qualitative expression
'They will be herded by me at the lands.'
This reveals a tendency which Kooijman points out in her thesis which is bringing both cattle farming and ploughing together in one location because of shortage of labour.

In response to questions 5, 6, 7, and 8 we are able to see that the majority of girls had worked recently at the lands, enjoyed the work and indeed expressed the desire to own cattle. The majority suggested that these would be herded by male relatives. This suggestion was not seen to be contradictory with their preferred professions which orientated them away from village life. A startling contradiction is that while 76% of the girls expressed the desire to live in town, whether permanently or occasionally, 97% expressed the desire to own cattle.

9. Fathers working at:

lands, cattle posts	33%
migrant, hired labour	49%
self-employed in village	6%
does nothing (O dira sepe)	11%

Migrants include people working in town (kwa toropong), at the mines (o dira makontraka), Gaberone, in offices (mo officing), for whites (makgoweng), Johannesburg (Gauteng). Self-employed included builders (moagi) and wood carvers (o betla dikika le dimetse -- meaning he carves stamping bowls and pestles).

10. Mothers working at

lands	13%
migrants	24%
employed or self-employed in village	15%
staying at home looking after children	48%

Employed or self-employed in village included people brewing beer (o apaya bojalwa molapeng), teaching, decorating houses with dung (o dira mmu), working in shops (mo benkeleng), hired labour (mo sebetse), collecting thatch (o kgetla bojang).

Qualitative expressions regarding mothers staying at home:
'She sits only, she does nothing -- o ntse fela ga a dire sepe.'
'She works at home (the courtyard) -- o bereka mo lolwapeng.'
'She watches the home (courtyard) -- o lebelela lapeng.'
'She cares for the children -- o thlokomela bana.'

In the response to questions 9 and 10 we see that only 33% of the fathers are working at the lands or cattle posts while only 13% of the mothers are involved in crop production. This contrasts with the desire to become farmers of 62% of the boys and 39% of the girls. Significantly 49% of the girls' fathers were away on migrant labour or were hired by others, 11% were unemployed. Only 6% were self-employed in the village. Significantly 48% of the mothers stayed at home looking after children.

These mothers did not involve themselves in agricultural production. 24% were migrant workers. Thus only 28% of the mothers were involved in productive activity whether within the village or at the lands. The aspirations of the girls in wanting to gain access to jobs in the towns is sharply contrasted with the fact that 48% of the mothers are permanently occupied with caring for young children in the village and are not engaging in other productive activities.

Boys:

1.	Would like		60%
2.	Would like		40%
3 & 4	Worked at the lands		89%
	Worked at the cattle posts		75%
	Have not worked at the lands		11%
	Have not worked at the cattle posts		25%
6.	Like the work		100%
	Do not like the work		
5.	Have worked here during the holidays		89%
	Have not worked here during holidays		11%
7.	Would like to have cattle		100%
	Would not like to have cattle		
8.	Herded by relations		26%
	By the person himself		46%
	By hired labour		28%
9.	Father working at:		
	lands	3/28	11%
	cattle posts	8/28	29%
	migrant	11/28	39%
	employed or self employed in village	4/28	14%
	does nothing	1/28	7%
10.	Mother working at:		
	lands	5/28	18%
	migrant	10/28	36%
	employed or self employed in village	4/28	14%
	staying at home	7/28	25%

Note that 60% of the boys expressed the desire to live permanently in the towns. This is a slightly higher % than the girls. Most boys had worked at both the lands and the cattle posts. This contrasts with the girls who had predominantly worked at the lands. This reflects traditional divisions of labour. All the boys as did most of the girls, expressed enjoyment of the work involved. This repsonse is contradicted with that of the boys' preferred employment, that of bus driver or clerk in town. All boys expressed the desire to own cattle and they predominantly stated that these would be herded by relations. 39% of the boys' fathers were away on migrant labour. 27% were unemployed. A significant number of mothers were also away on migrant labour.

No. 11 is given and evaluated separately. This section of the questionnaire was particularly open ended in the sense that children were required to give expansive qualitative answers to questions asked.(23)

Question 11, because of its expansive nature, requires separate discussion. I have chosen to group both the girls' and boys' responses so as to bring out the general tendencies in both. I shall give a qualitative indication of:

1. An evaluation of village life.
2. Notions on village development.
3. Normative statements concerning life in general.

1.contains both positive and negative evaluations of village life. The negative evaluations express a desire for city life.

2.indicates material aspirations which approximate the "ways of the English of the white man". These aspirations as realized in the community are regarded as "development".

3.indicates a desire for peaceful social relations within the village and laments heavy beer drinking.

In passing, let me mention that a high proportion of children mentioned their dislike for beer drinking and gumba gumba, the music associated with shebeens. Most expressed a desire for peaceful village life. Thus in the end most affirmed the village and sought to change it through instituting material improvements which approximated the "ways of the English". Their attitude towards infrastructural improvement is passive and unequivocally positive.

1. <u>An evaluation of village life</u>

a) 'There is nothing I do not like in the village. This is because a village of the people at home is very good in every respect (moste wa gaetsho).' (Boy)

b)
i 'I want to know one thing that is to be liked in the village. There is nothing that I like in the village. I say this because nothing pleases me.' (Boy)

ii 'I like to see people from the towns and from Gauteng (Johannesburg). I do not like village schools. I like schools in town.
I do not like the shops in the village.
I want to build my home in the town.
I want to work in the city.
I would like to build at my home.' (i.e. in the village) (Boy)

c) 'I like to enter school.
I like herding cattle.
I like living in the village.
I would like to live at home and find work here.
I don't like eating pork.' (Boy)

Responses to a) and b) constitute opposing conceptions of the village, a) being an affirmation and b) a total negation.

Extract b)(ii) reflects in the end the experience of the necessity of maintaining links with the village, despite the prevalent desire for the city. This typically reflects the contradictions contradictions contained

within a migrant-labour situation. It contrasts with response c) which unequivocally affirms the village environment.

2. All notions of development centred around material buildings, tapwater and electricity. Implicit within a positive evaluation of these things was a particular kind of respectability. In not a single instance did ideas on development indicate a necessary re-organization of social relations.

a) 'I do not like the fact that beer is drunk here. I like to have offices and post offices and other similar things. Also I like to have churches and schools and again hospitals and shops. I do not like it when people quarrel and fight in the village.' (Girl)

b) 'I do not like houses made of tin. I like horses but they frighten me. I like my school.' (Boy)

c) 'I always like to perform deeds with my hands. To see different kinds of houses makes me truly happy and the people too, they are very good. I would like it if electricity (dipone) was brought to the village. A thing which I like is the mmitolente (meadowland) type of house (a brick house with a verandah, named after the district in Soweto).' (Girl)

d) 'A thing I don't like in the village is that we have no electricity. A thing which I do not like in the village is the rubbish which clogs up the village. Many papers fill and mess up the environment. If a person were to see this they would think that no people live here when they see the dirt which no-one carries away. I would like it if there was only cleanliness in the village.' (Boy)

e) 'I like it in the village because it is being improved. We have been helped with taps. We have built shops and schools. We are proud to be taught. We are bringing taps to the home. We are not made to feel weak from carrying water. We have transport (dipalami, literally mountably objects) which we use when we go to Gaberone. We have banks which help us not to waste money but to put it in the bank.' (Girl)

3. Normative statements:

These statements all reveal a desire for peace, for respectability, for an end to noise, particularly at night, and an end to fighting and wars. Many of the statements also praised the ability to do for oneself or work with the hands, a traditional value of long standing.

a) 'I like very much to perform deeds with my hands. I like the village to develop. I do not like to sit and do nothing. I would like to work in the village and not far away. I like to do many needed things, all the necessary things which people do. I like to help my parents with the work in the home. Again I do not like to sit and do nothing.'
(Boy)

b) 'A thing which I do not like in the village is killing people. A thing which I like is to live, to sit peacefully and do the work of the home.'
(Girl)

c) 'I like beautiful people in the village. I do not like those who sleep in the shebeens. I do not like beer when people drink in the village because I do not like people to fight in the village. I only like people who live peacefully and who do not fight in our village. I do not like the night churches making a noise when we are trying to sleep. I like day churches and not the night churches with their drums.'
(Girl)

d) 'I don't like fighting with knives, I dislike wars.'
(Boy)

e) 'I do not like the chief of Rhodesia (Smith) because he is fighting with our country. He wants to kill our chief. Also, I like the brigades. A thing which I like is our chief because he looks after our people with watchfulness.'
(Boy)

f) 'I like ploughing and herding cattle and looking after the women at home.'
(Boy)

g) 'We are poor at home. But I do not like it because we did not plough because we do not have those things which are required to plough. We do not have cattle. I do not like not having ploughed because we are

being killed by a hunger for mabele (sorghum).'
(Girl)

h) 'I do not like contract work (mining migrant contracts)
(Boy)

The value of kagiso or peace, doing with one's own hands, looking after kin and caring for cattle and tending the lands is clearly stressed in the above. The traditional values attached to these phenomena are clearly important. Note that these normative statements concerning respectability and peaceful living are sometimes amalgamated with notions of respectability that are generated by the commodities associated with the ways of Sekgoa. In this particular appropriation "traditional" and "modern" notions of respectability have fused. In other instances however, traditional values are contrasted with "modern" values.

In concluding this section I would like to succinctly state the conflicted nature of children's attitudes to village life. Their affirmation of village life is counterposed by their admiration for the ways of Sekgoa. I have chosen to include within this chapter drawings by young children which affirm traditional values as well as indicating the prestige of commodities characteristic of the ways of Sekgoa. I have also included photographs of houses, implying in the commentaries accompanying them, their symbolic significance. I have inserted a general conclusion to this section after the photographs.

With regard to drawings, drawing 1 for example, reveals interest in Sekgoa with a simultaneous rootedness in Setswana. Drawings 2 and 6 reveal the prestige of the commodities of Sekgoa. Drawing 4, on the other hand, stresses the importance of traditional social interaction.

In looking at the houses, it is important to recall references to housing and its symbolic importance in the

previous chapter. Some of the photographs reveal a pride in a traditional type homestead. Others reveal the desire to emulate Sekgoa. Still others indicate an interesting combination of both.



A child's drawing depicting a tree house seen in Johannesburg while visiting his father who works there. Note the steps leading up to the house. The boy depicted inside the tree house is white (note the hair). The general domestic scene is of interest. Note the other objects in the drawing. They all are objects well known to a village boy. They do not necessarily relate to the ways of Seknoa. (The truck, the cooking pot, the main house similar to traditional Tswana homes, the washing on the line). Note also the mother standing at the bottom of the tree calling her son.



This house was decidedly different from the house in which the young girl who drew the picture actually lived. Her home lapa was traditional in nature with an outdoor kitchen and a number of sleeping rooms built in an arc within it. Also her actual home was devoid of the pot plants & flowers which you see in this drawing. Also conspicuous is the cross on top of the house in that her actual house is without one. The image which she attempts to project, given the content of the drawing and the way in which the contents of the house itself are made visible, suggest the desire to communicate certain values, notions of prestige, which partially reflect her own aspirations & which have been created to please the white observer (myself). Note too the conspicuous air vent at the top of the house, a feature absent from the traditional home.



drawing of a radi



Portrait of the author by a young boy



Translation of the words in the drawing

Molifi -- Molefe high school in Mochudi.
ntlwaneng (toilet)
ntlo (house)
lapa (homestead)
river
ba a bua (they are talking)
Serowe
Batho ba tsa maya; ba ba raro (People are walking, they are three)
khefi (café)
Batho (people)
lentswe (cliffs)
Pilane (Pilane station at Mochudi)
motho o mo setlhareng (a person in a tree)
batho ba eme mo tseleng (people who are standing in the road)
twalete (toilet)

This drawing contrasts greatly with other children's drawings of Mochudi. These predominantly feature buildings such as the bar, the school, the café, a shop. This drawing, in contrast, stresses the social importance of people speaking to one another and walking around the village.



A young girl's drawing of a house. Note how the interior of the house is exposed. Note the symbols of respectability: flowers, ashtray and radio on one table; "teapot", tea-cup saucer and spoon and flowers on the other. Note the trees outside the house: another concession to "Sekgoa" within the lapa.



The author, greeting in passing a young woman and her family.



A well-preserved traditional home. Note the contrast with the house in the background.



Another modern structure situated behind a much larger brick house and referred to as a "storeroom" by the young boy in the photograph.



A traditional Tswana kitchen made out of green branches with a thatched roof. The kitchen was situated outside an extremely large and prestigious western-type house. The woman of the house asked me why I was taking a picture of a traditional kitchen when surely whites would prefer to see a picture of the main house. Would they not think the Tswana backward if they saw such a picture? Interestingly enough, this house also contained a western-type kitchen inside. The traditional "setlagana" or "kitchen" was maintained because it was cool in such a hot climate.

Note the tea tray. The serving of tea inevitably accompanies the visit of any prestigious visitor.



A section of the main house mentioned on the previous page. The structure of this homestead as a whole is of interest. The main house, situated on the right hand side of the photograph, is immediately visible to passers-by in the pathway in front of the house. It contains a sitting room, a dining room and a kitchen. Behind it is situated another brick house containing bedrooms. This house is surrounded by a traditional lapa -- wall made out of bricks, the floor of the lapa having been covered in concrete. On the periphery of this lapa are situated other sleeping quarters, the one, a recently restored round house with deep verandah and thatched roof. The "setlagana" or traditional kitchen, is situated in the extreme left hand corner of the photograph. The homestead as a whole is surrounded by a brick wall and a fence. The highly prestigious house, the most immediately visible structure within the homestead, constitutes a departure from traditional homes in that the interior of the house, the reception rooms contained therein, the rarely-used modern kitchen, constitute "sights" for the visitor. These sights are geared to impress upon the observer the social prestige and magnitude of the owners of the house. This front (literal as well as metaphorical) constitutes the formal image which the owners wish to project of themselves. This contrasts with the more traditional anterior of the homestead, where visitors are received within the lapa and are generally barred from entering the privacy of the sleeping quarters.

The bottle store: a type of shop well scattered throughout the village, as are the proverbial "khefis" or cafés.



Relatively old advertisements now situated within the Mochudi Museum.





Note the traditional type lapa wall which encloses three different types of housing. On the right is a highly prestigious "mitolente" (or meadowland) type of house. In the middle is a rectangular house with deep verandah reminiscent of early beer houses. To the left is the round rondavel or "mokgorong."



Th's is a typical "modern" house with fence and "ntlwaneng" or outdoor pit toilet. Note the traditional wall within the fenced enclosure. Also unique to this particular house although found elsewhere in the village, a servants' quarters on the right hand side, situated outside the lapa wall. This servants' quarters is a particularly ostentatious symbol in that it attempts to emulate the ways of Sekgoa encountered across the border in South Africa and in the affluent homes in Gaberone.



A traditionally decorated wall: one of the few surviving traditional features fairly widely distributed throughout the village.



An early type rondavel with deep verandah.



Grandmother' (mmamogolo's) home. Note the carefully preserved la_ wall and floor as well as the "Sefalana" or grainhouse in the background.



A young girl and her brother care for their sister's child. The log in front of the door indicates that a young mother and child are occupying the hut.

Conclusion

The above exposition, particularly the description of a schoolday, hopefully reveals how education in Botswana is a purveyor of specific ideological content This content locates its initial roots in the profound rejection of "the native way of life" by colonial powers together with an underlying interest in its perpetuation. This initial state of affairs has resulted not only in the creation of underdeveloped areas in the economic sense but has also resulted in a situation where the young do not perceive how the urban environment affects the rural environment.

More precisely they do not see how the ostentatious wealth of the urban centres, the valued prestigious commodities are situated within a neo-colonial framework which renders them much more sinister than they appear since their existence and the type of production which they entail, inevitably benefits the few and perpetuates and even worsens the poverty of the rural environment. The situation of impoverished rural areas is hypostatized and is thus seen to be the inevitable and natural state of a rural environment. Thus the traditional past is totally devalued as being responsible for its own impoverishment. Wage labour, the job in the metropole centres, whether within or outside the country, become the means to "uplift" these areas. There is no sense, even if abstract, of the possibility of generating productive relations within the village itself, or of generating the kind of work which would benefit the community directly by lessening the dependence and vulnerability of the isolated migrant worker. For example, community projects are often regarded with fatalistic apathy or suspicion and are, in fact, not regarded as being work at all. The resources of the area itself, the land, agricultural produce, cattle, are viewed negatively by the semi-educated young as soon as they

are associated with the work required to perpetuate their viability. The potential of these resources is often unrecognized within the present social formation since this potential may only be recognized if new relations of production are organized. It is for the so-called "uncivilized" elderly persons and unschooled hired hands to perpetuate this sector with their labour, the inference being that both are "uncivilized", the elders because they know no better, the unschooled labour because of their "ignorance".

This type of world view is to be located primarily among the semi-educated young whose aspirations are to escape from the rural areas and who have not yet realized the inevitability of returning to them. It is these people who end their education before it contains any critical edge: for example, a reappraisal of tradition among some educated government officials whatever the underlying interest. These people are required to go out and work. Migrant labour is taken to be an inescapable fact of life by all ages. However, the values attributed to it by different age groups are different. Whereas older people view village life positively and define many of their values in opposition to the urban environment and to wage labour, the young view their work as essentially prestigious and they return to the village to flaunt their "civilized" pretensions which include communication through dress, an insistence on boredom, the voluble rejection of even the thought of physical labour in the lands, and the languid enjoyment of the latest records.

I initially located the root of this world view in the past and indeed it is possible to locate pretensions to "civilization" of older people despite their voluble antagonism to the "ways of the English". Recall how I described the implications of this concept in Chapter 4 and how it is used as a code to condense many aspects of

the industrialized world, not necessarily those of the English per se. Material examples of this phenomenon are the Victorian houses built primarily by the royal elite in the past. In other words there appears to be recurrences of this world view with every generation and with its recurrence, the desire to visibly brandish the attributes of "English" civilization.

Education in colonial times, as in the present has always represented the potential to master the ways of the white man. Here technical knowledge becomes ideologically imbued with notions of civilization. Being educated has been and continues to be perceived as a means of entering into that world, of to use one prevalent desire as metaphor, of gaining access to the "offices", of shutting the door on "exhausting" physical labour, of entering an anaesthetized world free of "dirt". But, as reality dictates, there is no ultimate escape from the rural areas and so one returns there to either reappraise village life or to become a member of an ideological elite which insists on purging social behaviour of uncivilized traits and surrounds itself with appropriate material artifacts. It is important to note that many teachers belong to this group.

Aspects of this ideology and its behavioural effects have filtered down throughout society, to become "traditional" aspects of society, for example, tea drinking ceremonies.

Schools are not only purveyors of ideology because of the content of what is taught, but primarily because of the aspirations of teachers themselves which often divert and ignore government intentions. Although a great deal of government ideology contained within education syllabi, especially suggestions for informal extra-mural activities, involves a reappraisal of village life and an

attempt to tap its resources more resourcefully, it also assumes implicitly a separation between urban and rural areas just as most of the villagers do. The economic modus operandi of the two areas is assumed to be different. The apparent backwardness of rural areas is assumed to be the result of the tenacious survival of traditional modes of agriculture and traditional ideas. On the other hand village life is idealized because of the imagined survival of communal organization. It is precisely with the vestiges of this organization in mind that the government attempts to initiate group projects amongst the children. In many respects it ignores the extent to which the nuclear family has become isolated and the extent to which so-called communal co-operation has become exploitative. Also the short term rewards of migrant labour seem to be so much more rewarding than the attempt to develop self-help schemes. This conception of communal co-operation is used much more radically by the old and poor when they acknowledge its disappearance. It is here that it may be used as a critique of current developments. The school's particular significance in the rural area is that it is the only government institution which as yet had any really significant effect on the community at large. It forms a bridge between the urban and rural environments. It is perceived to be a vehicle of modernization.

To bring certain of the factors mentioned above together, the rural environment, primarily because of the entrenchment of migratory labour, perceives modernization to lie elsewhere, namely in the urban areas. Urban and rural areas are presumed to have different modi operandi. The salvation of the rural areas according to the educated young and government is for the rural area to change its modus operandi to that of the cities. This will be achieved, it is thought, through the psychological reorientation of the rural population and an openness to

new methods. The majority of young, however, perceive the village as stagnated, hence the flow of youth to the cities. Education does not have the desired effect of directing people's energy to the rural areas. Rather, it only further alienates them from these, turning their gaze towards the cities. In a situation where the individual has been isolated as a discreet unit of labour, despite survivals of ostensibly communal organization within the village economy, there is no real alternative than for the young to venture forth in isolation to seek employment in the cities.

To conclude, although one may locate a recurrent ideological rejection of the rural areas by the young of every generation, this has become more wide-spread among both sexes since there is today a high attendance of school by all village children. In the past many more girls attended school than boys and because the boys were involved in cattle herding when they became young men, they often mocked the education of their sisters as well as associated preoccupations like church. Many of them remained staunch traditionalists, valuing the rural way of life and the satisfaction of doing for oneself as opposed to working for another. But it is my contention that since most young people are attending primary school (primary schooling became free in 1980), the education extends the false promise of better employment in the urban centres to all. In a country with so few real opportunities for well paid jobs, the benefits of primary school education will soon disappear, these jobs being taken up by the educated elite. Thus my contention is that primary school education will have achieved little other than the creation of a specific ideological outlook among the young, which divorces them from village life and its problems. The actual content of education diverts interest away from agricultural areas to the cities and to the industrialized world and achieves

little other than divesting the young of the agricultural skills which they possessed in the past. This only contributes to a frustrated rejection of, and yet inevitable, incarceration within the village community.

Schools are imposed on the village and what is taught is of little relevance to everyday life. This has the consequence that what is learnt in school is never applied or even spoken about outside of school. Children's games outside of school ignore school altogether except for the incorporation of English words within songs. Education, because it is not applied within the community and is never practically externalized, becomes coterminous with a magic slogan.

Methods of teaching do not ensure understanding of the material taught. The very act of teaching itself whether conducive to understanding or not, is sanctimoniously treated as being innately beneficial and prestigious. Children's attitude towards education becomes ideological in the negative sense because of this vacuous root.

What they are learning, even if they do not understand it, is something of which they are proud. The act of attending school is prestigious even though few of them open a book after school hours. What becomes associated with school is the method of teaching, not what is being taught. Children being called upon to act out what they are being taught in school appoint a teacher to conduct them in endless repetitions, these all delivered in lulling unison after the call of the child teacher. What is particularly remembered is the authoritarian relationship between teachers and pupils and the method of teaching.

A religious attitude to vacuous education has two consequences, strangely contradictory. Young children who

have just entered school are immersed within village life and all their games in and out of school reflect a rich participation and affirmation of that life. Simultaneously their education is perceived to be the key to a prestigious job in the city. Although their essays often reflect an affirmation of traditional social values, the questionnaire which I conducted revealed that all children valued modern jobs as opposed to traditional occupations. Prestige, however, does not refer to village life, rather it becomes irrevocably associated with the appearance of assimilation of so-called civilized commodities, whether this be education in school or certain kinds of behaviour. What is thoroughly understood ceases to be prestigious. Rather that which is thought to be prestigious is the enactment of behaviour of an externalized other. This enactment is necessarily vacuous since although, to use a metaphor, all the props are utilized and the words learnt by heart, the roles are not properly internalized. Prestige becomes coterminous with affectation.

CHAPTER 5

1. World view, as I have used it in this context, refers to the way in which the world is naturally perceived by those immersed in social life. Berger & Luckmann write of Scheler:
'.... Scheler analysed in considerable detail the manner in which human knowledge is ordered by society. He emphasized that human knowledge is given in society as an a priori to individual experience, providing the latter with its order of meaning. This order, although it is relative to a particular socio-historical situation, appears to the individual as the natural way of looking at the world. Scheler calls this the "relative-natural world-view" of a society.'
BERGER, P.L., LUCKMANN, T. The Social Construction of Reality. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973, p.20.

2. HOYT ALVERSON also remarks generally about this factor in his book, Mind in the Heart of Darkness (1978).

3. ALVERSON, H. (1978), p.118.

4. Ibid, p.122.

5. John Berger's conception of advertising and the ultimately unfulfillable desires which it creates relegates our desires and wants to the passive realm of fantasy which ironically allows for the continuation of monotonous work in our society with little resistance.
Cf. BERGER, J. Ways of Seeing. London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 4th ed., 1975.

6. The following extract from Alverson's research clearly indicates the response to cities of older people who have more or less permanently settled in the rural areas. Note that rejection of village life occurs mainly among the young who have not yet been initiated into extensive migrant labour.
'Life in town corrupts most Africans. A good example is me. I grew up in a rural life and after this at an early age I lived in town. When I returned to the cattle post I became confused totally. I thought the cattle posts were terrible places. I wanted to return to town. Now I realize, of course, that the only real life is at home.'
ALVERSON, H. (1978), p.239.

7. KOOIJMAN, K. (1978), pp.51-52.

8. ALVERSON, H. (1978), p.258.

9. A village just to the north of Mochudi.

10. My emphasis.

11. Makgabe are short fringed girdles worn by young girls and ditsega are small pieces of cloth worn round the hips by young boys.

12. Note that mabele in Tswana, apart from meaning grain, also means female breasts.

13. Alverson has for example recorded:
'The Europeans created an era in southern Africa in which they sat in luxury at the top of the mine waiting for the toiling Africans to bring them lumps of gold. European technology dominated our minds and our reasoning. The power of their technology blinded and awed us. It was a veil over our understanding. There is no truth in (the) belief of Europeans that we are of limited intellect. The conditions of learning are what affect learning. Africa has imprisoned the Tswana, we haven't become aware of this knowledge until recently. But given an equal access we can learn all that the Europeans have learned.'
(Self-subsistent young) ALVERSON, H. (1978), p.262.

14. Alverson for example has recorded the following with regard to similar issues:
'From the beginning Tswana have honoured their cultural roots by farming and raising stock. Cattle are the Tswana bank. We are also proud of our independence. We make everything we need from local resources. Self-sufficiency of the individual is a feeling beyond description (tlhaloso).'
(Elder from Kgaphamadi)
Ibid, p.267.
And with regard to the young:
'Our culture has very little that helps us with modern-day problems. This is because Tswana today despise their culture. The Europ ans respect their culture and for this reason it thrives. There is nothing left of Setswana but ploughing and raising cattle. But even this we gained from Europeans. So the Europeans surpass us altogether. My conclusion is that we should welcome European culture, but we have nothing to offer them in return.'
(Kgaphamadi young)
Ibid, p.269.

15. In relation to this conflict, Kooijman for example recorded the following conversation:
'As Ramatshu, an old man, entered, John jumped up to offer him a seat and asked him: Mr. Modid, please sit down and tell us some stories.
Ramantshu sat down and answered gruffly: Why should I tell you tales? You are not really interested, you have neglected Lowe's rules and regulations.

(Lowe is the mythical ancestor of the Tswana and the creator of Tswana culture. When people refer to tradition they personify it as Lowe)
John: These regulations were not dropped by us but by our parents. We are not the sons of Lowe himself but the sons of his sons. My father used to tell me stories about some of the rules and about Lowe's cruelty and strictness, but my father never made me do any of these harsh rules.
Ramantshu: You see you have been told and you never kept the orders. You young men are guilty because you were told and never obeyed.
John: We were not told to do it but to know it. Lowe had his schools but they sent me to a different school.
Ramantshu: You are strange. Always when told to do something you say it is because old people are blind and ignorant, all that they say is just the same as Adam in the land of Eden and you say we are not in the land of Eden but coming from school. But I tell you, you are going to meet misfortune in the days of your lives.'
KOOIJMAN, K. (1978), p.56.

16. The "mogoga" is a sacrificial ceremony performed for the dead either shortly after the death or whenever it is felt by the relations that the dead are displeased.

17. Report of the National Commission on Education 1977 Paragraph 1.15, p.12. Gaberone: Government Printers.

18. Ibid, pp.24-25.

19. Briefly these principles are i) Puso ya batho ka batho: democracy -- rule of the people by the people in political, economic and community spheres. ii) Ditiro tsa dithabololo: development; to develop physical and human resources. iii) Boipelego: self-reliance; bringing the economy under local control and replacing expatriates. iv) Popagano ya Sechaba: national identity, unity. These are said to lead to kagisano or peace, social harmony, justice, self-reliance, unity.
(Cf the previous report on Education)

20. Recall the ambivalence of the concept of the rich man in Chapter 4.

21. Cf. appendix p.365.

22. Farmer or molemi which means "one who ploughs" is equally identified with women since women in Tswana society are primarily involved in crop production.

23. Cf. appendix p. 368.

CHAPTER 6

PERCEPTIONS OF THE ANTHROPOLOGIST; STEREO-TYPICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE WHITE MAN

Introduction

'It is a good thing to place civilizations in contact with each other; that it is an excellent thing to blend different worlds; that what ever its own particular genius may be, a civilization that withdraws into itself atrophies; that for civilizations, exchange is oxygen; that the great good fortune of Europe is to have been a cross roads, and that because it was the locus of all ideas, the receptacle of all philosophies, the meeting place of all sentiments, it was the best centre for the redistribution of energy.
But then I ask the following question: has colonization really placed civilizations in contact? And I say, that betw on colonizer and civilization there is an infinite distance...'(1)

In the light of the previous chapters it should be clear that whites are generally associated with the "ways of Sekqoa" and all that this implies. A white is thus primarily a stranger and because of the generally conflicted and oppressive relations which govern society, the white is supposed to have disdainful opinions of "African life". A white's culture is thus seen to be in opposition to, and in fact antithetical to the so-called ways of African life. Thus people are perplexed at the presence of whites living in the community in the way in which ordinary people live in the village since this is seen not as characteristic of"Makqoa"or white people. This is in contrast to other whites living in the village, doctors, nurses, teachers, who live in a visibly "European" way which is easily identifiable.

This primarily negative, in the sense of antithetical

perception of whites, implies the typification that all whites secretly despise the "African way of life", that they are unable to live simply but must get others to do and work for them, hence their domination of others. They are wealthy and seek to generate their isolated wealth at the expense of the other, without sharing it with him. Within this typification, contact with blacks on the part of whites always conceals an ulterior motive in that whites are seen only to approach a black man if they require something of him.

This negative conception is not without its "Janus face", thus being white in a community, leads to the inevitable perception that one is wealthy and that one will impart good fortune and wealth to those around one. The White in this instance is revered, becomes an accessible mediator between rural and urban life, is seen to be able to offer unlimited employment. These perceptions contain within them an acknowledgement of the white's assumed "inevitable or natural" dominant position in relation to the villager. The white man becomes the oppressive creator, the innovator, the provider and mediator and all these characteristics are necessarily associated with paternalistic relations of dominance.

In the above I have very generally explored the two ways in which whites are perceived as strangers or aliens. The abstract category, "white", necessarily indicates that which is alien. However when a white ceases to be a stranger, this moment witnesses the attempt on the part of villagers to incorporate him within their particular social horizon. In this instance, being incorporated into the family through some fictitious kinship tie becomes a means whereby one is progressively incorporated within the traditional horizon.

Interestingly, this response to the white is not so

different from those mentioned previously. As I have stressed, the category, "White" or "lekgoa", is in all cases alien in the sense that no allowance is made for mediation between the two cultural horizons except in rare instances of prolonged interaction. One is either a stranger or part of a family group. Perhaps this absolute distinction reflects the very real relations of dominance which generally characterize broad political relationships between blacks and whites. These opposing conceptions of black and white are obviously not without ambivalence. Thus for example, the categories can be used in two different and divergent senses. Often these divergencies may be combined. Thus on the one hand, they may contain a specifically racist meaning in a particular ideological discourse in that all blacks inevitably belong to a vague typification of the "African way of life". Thus in the situation of emerging class differences, wealthier blacks are not perceived to be exploitative, rather the traditional monopoly of wealth by the few is erroneously seen to be equivalent to the monopoly characteristic of traditional social relations. The flexible ideological content contained within typifications of white and black can be used in yet another way in which the qualitative difference between two cultural paradigms are stressed and in which whites and blacks approximate themselves in varying degrees to these typifications. In this case as we have already clearly seen in the thesis, certain blacks in Botswana are perceived to be approximating the ways of the English. Because of the absolute separation of the two typification paradigms, approximating the ways of the English is seen to initiate a distance between "black-whites" and the people and their needs. Note that the "people" in this instance designates those who belong to the "African way of life". This latter conception, as we shall see in Chapter 7, mirrors Laclau's emphasis on the importance of such broad categories for

ideological discourse (cf. p. [illegible] .

In being both white and a researcher, people responded in all the above ways to me. More specifically in relation to myself I wish to discuss,

1. The confusion arising from my life style, (I lived, ate, slept and worked with a family as an ordinary family member) and the fact that I was white suggested various typifications which were not being reflected in my life style.
2. Secondly I shall deal with responses in which I became the revered white, the knowledgeable one, the wealthy one.
3. Thirdly I shall deal with my progressive incorporation within the family and the advice which family members gave to me.
4. Fourthly I shall deal with people's perceptions of research as such.
5. Fifthly I shall explore my own reasons for wishing to "mediate" with other people in putting myself in a position which attempted to experience within limits the way of life within the community. This experience necessarily indicates in itself the boundaries of the research. In this section I shall also indicate my research method which is implicitly given in the way in which I situated myself in the field.

1. _ nfusion arising from Lifestyle

A) Brief description of fieldwork conditions

For eight months during 1979 I lived with a young Tswana family in Mochudi. The young father, Bra Segale, worked in Johannesburg where we had originally met. We discussed the possibility of my coming to live and work in Mochudi with his family, his young wife Elizabeth and

their five children. During these months we shared many happy days together. Segale would often join us and his astute intellect, general help and friendship proved to be invaluable. Sometimes Elizabeth returned to Soweto with him taking the little twins with her. The three eldest children and I stayed together. They were all of school-going age. Apart from the housework, there was time spent walking in the village, interviewing people whom I had met on my own and through Segale's family, attending church services, schools, kgotla meetings, concerts, playing music with local musicians and on occasions stamping mabele. The daily round of life included typical jobs such as fetching water from the borehole, chopping wood, making fires, tending chickens, washing clothes, airing blankets and cooking: in other words the work of the home. Given the fact that I was visibly seen to be doing these tasks and given the fact that I was known to look after the children on occasion, cookin and eating traditional bogobe (sour porridge), morogo (green vegetables) and sometimes nama (meat), people responded to me in different ways.

Some, assuming that all whites coming into a community soon amass wealth for themselves by getting others to work for them and who quickly transform their environment by growing plants and by building, tended to categorize me as the "stupid white", the child, who was not living up to the so-called cunning supposedly intrinsic to whites. In this instance typical conceptions concerning whites are linked with the notion of reverence. The fact that I learnt most of my Tswana from children also contributed to this specific conception of me. Others, given their experience of South African whites, were astounded that I was living with a family and speaking rudimentary Setswana. In this instance they admired what I was doing and because of their absolute typification of white South Africans, they attempted to dissolve what they perceived to be an anomalous situation

by denying my ancestry. Thus the following conversation with a visitor:

> 'Look at her calling me "rra" (father). She respects me. She must be stupid. But she is clever to have learnt as much Tswana in 4 months. Is it possible that you are a Leburu?' (South African)
> 'Yes I am.'
> 'Do you believe in Apartheid?'
> 'No, or I would not be living here.'
> 'I don't believe you come from South Africa. Where were you born?'
> 'In South Africa.'
> 'Well then your parents must be from somewhere else.'
> 'Both my parents were born in South Africa. Their ancestors came from Scotland.'
> 'You know, I worked in Gauteng (Johannesburg) in 57. The whites were no good. Let me tell you this. If you meet an Englishman you can be sure he's no good, too cunning, a wolf in sheep's clothing. If you meet an Afrikaner he's also no good, very cruel. An Irishman makes you hold your breath and your heart.' You have to be careful because of his anger. An American, well, he's only a cowboy, but I feel at home with a Scotsman.
> You stay in this very lapa, don't you? Well, you're a good girl, you'll be looked after here in Mochudi.'
> (Middle-aged man -- Mochudi)

This conversation witnesses a number of ideological circumlocutions. I am antagonistically perceived as stranger and yet I am an anomaly still seeking categorization. Nationality, race, are attributed with absolute characteristics. If I do not typify the perceived characteristics of my immediate relatives, then surely I typify those of my ancestors. Although whites in general, together with their distinct nationalities, are perceived negatively, the anomaly is dissolved by attributing, at least situationally, positive characteristics to my particular ancestors. In this way my particular lifestyle and an absolute conception of nationality are reconciled. Perhaps the last lines of the conversation indicate a partial mediation in that general typifications are temporarily suspended, the barrier of alien falls away and is accompanied by an expression of good will.

An interesting instance in which my research and life-style were perceived to be irreconcilable was when the housework which I did was perceived to be characteristic of "a woman in the home", "mosadi wa lapa". The ideal conception of the woman is that she should work hard at her home and not wander about the village. This assimilation of me within the traditional cultural horizon is also accompanied by the desire to protect me from those outside my immediate family.

In the three examples given above, we have dealt with the three specific types of typification which I suggested in the introduction to this section. These typifications are governed by the category of stranger and its inversion. These types of responses are typical of superficial and infrequent interaction. Instances of mediation where both parties, Tswana and English, recognize their difference and yet attempt to establish common ground through mutual sharing of ideas and words indicates a hermeneutic process whereby discourse, to use Laclau's phrase, is disarticulated and rearticulated by the mutual revelation of cultural assumptions and the coming to new insight. I managed to establish such relationships with a few older people with whom I had prolonged contact. Older men, particularly partial to philosophic discussion, are eager to exchange views. This exchange is seen to take place within a medium of reconciliation. Thus:

> 'Young people today are better, they are keen to find out about other cultures and peoples. More than that, they are keen to learn from them which is important because whites used to pretend to "know" the African but of course did not know him at all because he saw him only as a servant. It is very good that we come to some understanding together. Young people are cleverer than those of before because they are enquiring. They are comparing norms and ways of life. It is good to travel. Travel broadens the mind.'
> (Elder -- Mochudi)

The tension between, on the one hand, being expected to be a woman of the home and on the other, necessarily having to involve myself in research and enquiry, thus exhibiting the "cleverness" of the young, gave rise to a number of conflicts.

In many ways, the confrontation between "strangers" is exceedingly complex. Bandying typifications is often a means of establishing a ground for the interaction of equals. Thus for example, a politician I was introduced to greeted me immediately with the following challenge:

> 'Whenever a white person comes to a black man you can be sure that they want something from you. Also, do not think that you can convert me in any way.'

The same man later expressed his desire to exchange ideas and asked me to come and see him whenever I felt like it. Typifications are brandished in order to reveal the nature of the other. Aggression often contains a warning in which the other establishes an equal identity.

2. The revered white

Typically reverence towards whites in general is characterized by admiration for what I have called elsewhere in this thesis "the vacuously prestigious", or obsession with the prestige which all kinds of commodities generate. Often reverence for sekqoa contains the seeds of self-negation in that whites are seen to monopolize intelligence, creativity, wealth. Others were pleased with the way I was living because they felt this would dissolve such entrenched feelings of reverence and would facilitate the re-assessment of village life on the part of the villagers. Obsession with the prestigious would be challenged. Thus:

> 'It is good what you are doing here living like an ordinary person. You are really accomplishing a good thing because people will see that you are an ordinary person. It will lead them to understand

that all whites are ordinary persons although different. It is easier then to free oneself from oppression, from those whites that dominate.'
(Young father -- Mochudi)

The following accounts in contrast, represent in a certain way the imprisonment implied in absolute typification where the status of oppressed and oppressor are naturalized.

One day while travelling by bus to Rasesa, I met a woman slightly drunk on "khadi"(2). She told me that she had learnt that I carried a bucket on my head fetching water in the early mornings.

'You should not be doing these things because you are a "lekgoa". You are stupid to do Setswana work. Surely you could get someone else to carry it for you. You could pay them for it. It really is not the kind of work for a white woman.'

This statement contains the notion that this kind of work is undignified, that certain people should be exempt from it because of their privileged position.

The following perceptions of me were reported to me by Segale:

'She is like a child. Why doesn't she get someone to wash her clothes for her? I have seen her doing the general work around the house. Normally when whites arrive one sees transformations taking place. They change their surroundings and manage to get people to work for them. She must be stupid not doing these things. I don't think she learnt anything at university. Really she's nothing but a child playing games with children and learning Setswana songs. After being educated what does she want with Tswana songs?'
(Old man -- Mochudi)

Linking this response to the vacuously prestigious, we see that this old man was at the time building a pit toilet at his daughter's home. She had built a huge prestigious white man's house with many rooms. She had only one child to occupy all this space. She had acquired status in the eyes of some because of "this

work of hers". This particular man considered it inevitable that the poor be paid low wages by the rich and when asked the question why he thought some people were rich and others poor, he replied, 'God made them that way.'

3. Whites as innovators

Concern with the vacuously prestigious leads to the perception that whites are the innovators, the knowledgeable ones concerning the "correct" way of doing things. Thus we have seen I am approached by teachers to help judge a beauty competition, the concepts of beauty pertaining to my cultural horizon are revered. Dignity, beauty and propriety are seen to lie outside the community. Also as we have seen in the story speculating on the origin of the part of Mochudi called Mosanteng, all new innovations are perceived to be introduced by the cultural "other", even innovations in language in that people adopt English names taking them to be their own creation. Internalization of the cultural other results in a number of kinds of behaviour, for example, the obsession with protocol, the right procedure for the right occasion, with clothes, houses, specific kinds of furniture, with English, with elitism and disdain for the poor. It is particular concern for the vacuously prestigious which leads to the desire to purge oneself of one's negative self image, to become watch-dogs for the artefacts of so-called civilization. The process necessitates an attempt at distancing oneself from the rest of the community. Particularly the concert competition in the Dutch Reformed Church witnessed an obsession with protocol reflected in the choice of venue, in dress, and in the programme and method of conducting. Some of the actual absurdity of the occasion was suggested in the adjudicator's remarks concerning the choice of songs. It is also within this context that the white is perceived as the potential do-gooder. Through whites one

gains access to money. A particular woman suffering psychologically from her particular circumstances combined both a tenacious interest in appearances, the vacuously prestigious, and in the perception of me as her salvation, a sharer of wealth. This woman was in a particularly desperate situation because she had been divorced by her husband early on in their marriage when he ran away with a white woman. Although her children were well educated and relatively well off, she insisted on living at her ancestral home, her father's home, because she perceived herself to be its guardian. Her father had been an important man in the tribe. He had built a huge Victorian mansion in 1914 with high walls and wooden ceilings. Today the house is in a visible state of disrepair and it is occupied by the man's daughter and her two last retarded sons. She is practically destitute, having had no job for some time, and very little support from her married children. She attempts to make some money by sewing and embroidering. Often she runs out of materials and food to eat. The woman is obsessed with restoring the house to its former grandeur although she has no means to do so. She describes a past in which the house was surrounded by a carefully tended lapa, smeared immaculately with dung and intricate patterns. She describes the surrounding walls and huts and even produces the stencils used by her mother to paint the outside of the huts with patterns. In her bid to restore her home she had spent all her money on cement and bricks. Young men from the Brigades building school were plastering the walls for her and she had no food to give them to eat. Neither had she food for herself. She showed me objects and relics from the past which she endlessly polished and kept in boxes to protect them from the dust. Among them was a defunct Singer sewing machine on an elegant stand. These objects represented for her elements of the prestigious life style which she craved. Her particular desires and real

circumstances were at such variance that she had literally become confused. The weight of her suffering planted itself permanently on her face and her thoughts jumped from one preoccupation to another without ever following them to their logical conclusion. The tragedy of her situation was that she was unable to give up her longing for prestige and thus used all her limited resources on things which could not possibly contribute to her most immediate needs. Sometimes she became acutely aware of these dangers and lamented the fact that she had no money with which to get her field de-stumped of trees. She was afraid that if she left this field for one more year without ploughing it the land board would reclaim it and allocate it to someone else who would put it to immediate use.

Coming from a royal clan she had had an extremely sheltered childhood in that others had worked for her. Given her notions of prestige she is reluctant to work for herself, she has few skills such as knowledge of housebuilding. Within this context I became the "wealthy" white redeemer of her conflicting dreams. Given her particular background, she was unable to work for herself utilizing local resources around her such as grass and dung and clay, rather she was dependent on others working for her. Hence her desire for money even in cases where it was not strictly necessary. She began asking me to supply her with immediate necessities, food and embroidery threads and parts for her machine and ultimately suggested that I finance the de-stumping of her field and the building of a small house at this field so that she could escape from the shame which she experienced in the village, the sense that all eyes watched and ridiculed her absolute poverty which starkly contrasted itself to what she remembered of her girlhood. I had little money of my own and could not possibly contribute to her most ambitious fantasies.



The author fetching water

The tragedy of her situation was that her family, all well off with houses of their own had, to all intents and purposes, abandoned their mother because of their own desire to acquire as quickly as possible the artefacts of civilization. She was thus dependent on an utter stranger whom she knew little about but whom she assumed had lots of money. This utter dependence rendered her totally helpless in relation to her own problems. She was unable to conceive of the possibility of doing for herself in any way.

Perhaps it is important to mention in this context that preoccupation with the vacuously prestigious has led to severe divisions within the community. Ostentatious wealth creates both respect and derision among spectators since this wealth is seen to distance its exclusive owners from poorer people. This has led to what people have termed "jealousy" amongst the people. Much of the confusion within the community has arisen through the privatization of wealth. The acute competition for wealth and the individualism which characterizes its accumulation under capitalism renders one who has fallen from wealth ignominious in the eyes of all because wealth is respected by many despite the acknowledged divisions which it creates, and to fall from wealth is a reminder of the precarious access to wealth under present social conditions.

The concept of the white as developer, the potentially benevolent innovator was most clearly brought out by those people who compared me with Lady Mitcheson, a close friend of the chief Kgosi Linchwe, who had taken great interest in the Bakgatla and who had contributed large sums of money to build schools and to establish a library as well as to initiate development projects. Because I lived simply, ate village food and spoke to people around me I was often told that Lady Mitcheson

had behaved in the same way. The fact that I was "writing a book" about village life was viewed positively because I would be able to tell the rest of the world about Mochudi and its people. It was also assumed that given the fact that I was favourably disposed towards the village and its people because of my assumed wealth I would be able to contribute in monetary terms to its development. Development then comes to be seen as the result of arbitrary donations from the cultural other. The school becomes a symbol of this so-called development. The necessity of self-generative labour is ignored and people are paralyzed in the face of their present economic crisis because of their essentially passive attitude to their environment.

4. Incorporation into the family and advice of family members

Progressively during my stay in Mochudi, members of the family began to call me "daughter-in-law". Segale initially introduced me to people as his "sister". Particularly during the preparations for the mogoga ceremony in which all family members came together to prepare mabele for beer, there was quite a lot of work to be done. Relatives, especially aunts, began to jocularly order me about, saying, for example, 'Ngwetsi, (daughter-in-law) come here, come and help us carry the beer pot.' The fact that I was visibly seen to work during the mogoga ceremony was appreciated by most people. During the actual celebration I was asked to join the "daughters-in-law" at a particular moment when certain parts of the animal are given to all women married into the family.

This classification of strangers within the kinship structure is a common phenomenon. The "malome" or maternal uncle, an important personage for the occasion, insisted that people explain to me what this work of

t'airs was all about, so an old aunt was sent to me and she explained to me in simple Setswana:

> 'The old, dead father of the house is unhappy about the family and he is hungry and thirsty so we are going to kill an ox for him and brew beer so that he can eat and drink.'

Many relatives became concerned that I should join mephato or the new women's regiment and when my grandmother told them that the chief's wife did not want any non-Bakgatla taking part, they said that the authorities should be told that I was not really a lekgoa because I could cook bogobe and generally was able to do Setswana housework.

Particular advice which family members gave to me simultaneously suggested that they acknowledged my position as stranger in that I was unfamiliar with cultural norms in the village and that they sought to indicate these norms showing that my compliance with them would ultimately be best for me. They sought to familiarize me with the community to make me cautious in the face of strangers, to protect me from others. Thus when relatives discovered that I was lending money to others, one said:

> 'When you come to a new place it is better to look before you leap. It is better to keep cool and quiet. You have pity for people. So did I when someone came to ask me for food because they were hungry. I would give them food. There are many homes that I helped but they gave me nothing, not a penny. Today people have eaten from you. They have taken your money and given you nothing. When you sew a dress for someone, make them pay. Get yourself a little pocket money. Say that you are a stranger here and that you are not ploughing. Because you are not ploughing you need money.'
> (Grandmother -- Mochudi)

During 1978 I spent the month of November in Botswana. During this time I had fallen ill. Some people explained the illness by obliquely suggesting that I had been bewitched. When I came to live in Botswana again in 1979 I asked my grandmother about the possibilities of

bewitching strangers so as to try and find out what connections people make between whites and Baloi or witchcraft. This would assist me in creating an overall view of perceptions of whites in general. In most cases people initially stated that it is impossible to bewitch strangers, however in time, some admitted that it is indeed possible and that strangers are bewitched because they bring wealth to those with whom they live. Thus my grandmother's response:

'A person like you cannot be bewitched because you are a stranger.'
'Are you sure?' I asked. We continued to speak about other things for quite a while when suddenly she referred to the way in which certain people had attempted to borrow money from me.
'It is possible for someone to bewitch you. It is easy to perceive you as someone who is bringing food to Mmago-Sebatseng's family. They could respond in two ways to this situation. They could respond, "Let us bewitch the white. She is bringing food to MmagoSebatseng." Or they could decide, "Let us bewitch MmagoSebatseng. She is eating too well." You want to know about this witchcraft. You want to know about everything. Among whites there are no secrets. They do not know how to keep secrets. They let everything out. If their mother tells children a certain thing telling them to avoid certain people sometimes they do not heed it but instead of keeping quiet they tell the very people whom they have been warned against. It is not wise to not listen to parents. I hear that you have been eaten by people whom you were warned against. People are always ready to spread evil rumours about others or in fact to do them evil. It is always necessary to keep "cool" so that other people's jealousies or the actions of wizards and witches do not affect your mind. This story concerns my own life. A certain couple came from Soweto to live in Mochudi and a woman invited them to stay with her until they had built a house. They refused to stay with her because the woman was still mourning for a relative who had died. So they slept in the open because they had not yet constructed a house. One night it began to rain and they came to my house asking for shelter. I let them in and gave them a skin to sleep on. After this the woman whom they had refused to stay with began to say evil things. She said that she did not understand how a woman and a man, husband and wife, could get undressed with dignity in the same room as myself. When I heard about this story I avoided all the people involved.

> It is easy to make a wrong decision in a community like this because people are always talking especially if you are a stranger. It is best to stay and work in your lapa and not wander round the village like some women who just go round picking up news about people.'
> (Grandmother -- Mochudi)

The desire of the family to incorporate me within the family, to emphasize my role as "mosadi wa lapa" (woman of the home), indicated a concern to protect me from certain trends within the community, to protect me not only from those who sought to extract money from me, but also from those who sought to foist antagonistic typifications onto me. The family thus tried to create a distance between other typifications of whites in general and myself, for example the assumed wealth of whites and secondly their assumed arrogance and exploitative relation to blacks. Thus for example, when I was refused permission by the chief's wife to partake in mephato, a young male member of the family consoled me by saying, 'They are just as interested in apartheid as the South Africans and we are not. Do not be unhappy. Mephato is a thing which few people take part in today.' Although the chief's insistence on the formation of an exclusive Bakgatla regiment indicated a desire to protect the sacred and secret ceremonies from indiscriminate and mocking scrutiny by ethno-centric researchers, this was taken to indicate a form of elitism on the part of the chief organizers by a family member since other tribes in the surrounding area which had previously joined the formation of the Bakgatla regiment were also barred from participation.

5. Perceptions of my research as such

The position of researcher in a community is specifically ambivalent. People are accustomed to an influx of voluntary workers who hold immediately understandable jobs

for example, agricultural advisors, land board officials, teachers in schools and technical brigades. Since Schapera's time, Mochudi has been inundated by researchers of all persuasions. The necessarily predatory identity of the researcher, in that he enters a community, collects information and disappears with it, dispersing his findings in another community, has resulted in a number of responses to him, all of which are dependent on the way in which he situates himself within the community. As has been indicated in the previous section, typifications of whites and in this case specifically the researcher, are inevitably directed towards one by strangers or people on the periphery of one's field of intense inter-personal interaction. Typifications thus gain a life of their own and the typifications held by those in power can have inhibiting effects on research as such.

a) Response of the Tribal educated elite

The educated elite are acutely aware of colonial relations not only in the past but also in the present. Independence has brought with it the desire to invigorate traditional ceremonies and culture. During my stay in Mochudi, the Botswana government were moving from village to village recording traditional songs so as to broadcast them over the radio. Likewise "mephato", or the formation of new regiments, initiation, have been revived particularly among the Bakgatla. Together with this desire to invigorate traditional culture, there is the concomitant desire to protect these developments from the traditional European critique of them, that is the typically colonial response, to view the culture of the "other" as barbaric and of no real value, also to ethno-centrically misinterpret the meaning of such ceremonies. The chief aim of those who are trying to get people to re-assess their culture and to regain pride in it is to protect the songs and ceremonies from indiscriminate and instrumental appropriation by foreigners. Thus

for example, whites are barred totally from taking part in the mephato ceremonies. People in Mochudi were particularly disgusted by a woman who published secret mephato songs in the Botswana Notes and Records and who was totally unperturbed by this breach of promise and also having naively interpreted the songs without any idea of their deeper meaning and significance. It is therefore not surprising that these people are fundamentally opposed to researchers. They define them as people who come "to milk the ideas of the old and who then disappear from the community gaining credit and degrees from their work when in reality it constitutes the work of others." For all the truth contained within this response, the polarized, production of typifications concerning the foreigner, often assists the avoidance of exploitative relations within the community itself. The exclusive nationalist conception contained within this particular re-appropriation and appraisal of traditional culture can result in the inhibition of a truly penetrating critique of internal divisions. Thus a man suggested in some instances the importance of analytical research:

> 'It is sometimes good to do research because you can analyze a situation. People will for example tell you about a steering wheel and an engine not knowing that it is a car and that it should be made to move. They hold onto the steering wheel and say, "It's mine", refusing to share it. People in Botswana are not really bad. It is only the rich who try and control everything and everybody. But they have not totally succeeded. It is only when ordinary people begin to see differences between themselves and others that things become bad. They choose special company to mix in.'
> (Young man -- Mochudi)

b) Response of Government Officials

Government departments in general have had a long history of association with expatriate "advisors". Given the latter's assistance in planning development policy, in agricultural research and management, in education etc.,

assistance and research are viewed as being neutral or of scientific value. Thus for example, government departments are helpful and only insist that any research being done in the country become ultimately available to them. This type of approach obviously ignores the ideological, strategic and ethnocentric implications of research. Government bodies, for example the land board, proved especially helpful, were courteous and showed great interest in my research.

c) Response of School Teachers

During my stay in Mochudi I attended a number of primary schools in my area. Teachers were initially flattered by the idea of my visiting the school but when I requested permission to attend lessons as an observer and participator, many became wary of me. The headmistress of one particular school granted me permission to enter the school and I tried as quickly as possible to gain teachers' acceptance of me through conversation during lunch hour. I told them where I was staying and with whom, why I had come to Botswana, where I had come from and my particular interest in education. After they had become assured of my good intentions, that I was not a "typical" South African, that I was not a spy for the government come to criticize their disciplinary methods, I became, so to speak, co-opted, in that I was requested to judge a beauty competition. The teachers' response is an example of how people occupying certain positions become sensitive as to how their behaviour will be interpreted.

d) The response of people in general

Ordinary village people, except for key personalities such as village historians, are perplexed by research but are generally willing to share their experiences once having established some kind of rapport with the

researcher. Certainly they are less antagonistic to researchers than those who hold important social or political positions. Many view the process of research as a process in which both parties share ideas. It is this mediation which is regarded as being culturally and aesthetically valuable. Many people too, are pleased to have a "book" written about themselves. They see this as a means to communicate with the outside world. Because people view mediation as important, the conduct of the researcher must be seen to be courteous, respectful and humane in that he too must be seen to derive pleasure from the sense of community which is generated in discussion. These types of conversation are said to contribute to peace and humanity (botho) within the community. The attempt of people to understand one another is highly valued.

6. Discourse of anthropologist and villagers

Firstly let us explore the characteristics implicit within the ethnographic or research situation where one is attempting to research a cultural horizon of which one has no real knowledge in the sense that one does not share the every day assumptions of the life world of the particular cultural horizon to be investigated. One is therefore a novice in the true sense within such a field work situation since one has no understanding of the broad implications of language or the assumptions contained within communicative behaviour which render communicative interaction meaningful. One is therefore without the "natural attitude" extended to a familiar cultural or linguistic horizon of the everyday life world. Because of this one is unable to manipulate linguistic and behavioral symbols skilfully and one is thus unable to juggle with cultural meanings with the dexterity which inside members of a cultural horizon display. One has to therefore attempt to locate the

everyday assumptions of this cultural other. One is therefore saddled with a problem of interpretational relevance. Schutte and Zernitz have metaphorically expressed this ambivalent identity by conceiving of the anthropologist as a "dual stranger". To extrapolate on this conception, the anthropologist is firstly a stranger in the sense of a communicative stranger(3). As communicative stranger he does not share the basic assumptions of the everyday life world of the cultural other. Secondly he is a cognitive stranger because as communicative stranger he has to utilize different cognitive methods from the people immersed within the given cultural horizon in order to interpret communicative interaction and to establish questions of relevance. Typifications of the flow of experience of the ethnographer into "important events" indicates a quest for topical relevance. The notion of the anthropologist as dual stranger is rooted in Schutz's exploration of the nature of the stranger. Thus the anthropologist is an "alien" or an "immigrant" in terms of communicative face to face interaction(4). The anthropologist is "intellectual" or cognitive stranger in terms of making general transformatory interpretations of face to face interactions(5). This movement indicates the transformation of face to face interaction which is transitory in the sense of being embedded in very particular kinds of content dictated by the limited aims of the conversation, into hypotheses of broad and general relevance. Schutz summarizes the attributes of stranger in the following way:

> 'The stranger .... does not share basic assumptions (and) he has no place in questioning nearly everything that seems to be unquestionable to the members of the approached group. To him the cultural pattern of the approached group does not have the authority of a tested system of recipes .... (he), therefore approaches the other group as an outsider in the true meaning of the term. At best he may be willing and able to share the present and future with the approached group in civil and immediate experience:

> under all circumstances, however, he remains excluded from such experiences of its past .... The approaching stranger .... is about to transform himself from an unconcerned onlooker into a would-be member of the approached group. The cultural pattern of approached group then, is no longer a subject matter of his thought but a segment of the world which has to be dominated by actions. Consequently, its position within the strangers' system of relevance changes decisively, and it is means that another kind of knowledge is required for its interpretation.'(6)

One's status as stranger therefore defines the type of knowledge construction implicit within the ethnographic situation and has implications for research method. Turning more specifically to my own field experience, and examining questions of trust and the approach of strangers, I initially assumed a non-directional attitude towards initial conversations. I experienced the necessity of remaining alert at all times because of my lack of understanding of the cultural horizon. Thus any fragment of conversation, behaviour or song could be of some relevance. Particularly my own topic, ideology, suggested that any act was potentially saturated with ideological meaning. Obviously the exploration of ideology as presented in the thesis is certainly not all inclusive and is open to unlimited thematic elaboration. The endless evocation of meaning is given in the hermeneutic relationship between "stranger" and "people" in which specific cultural horizons are mediated. Confrontations of strangers also dictates certain patterns of mutual respect and avoidance in the sense that the world of the other cannot be totally invaded immediately since one's lack of knowledge of the other's specific cultural horizon inhibits one with the knowledge that if one were to contemplate this metaphoric invasion one would do so arrogantly wielding one's own cultural and even theoretical assumptions which would immediately reveal one's gross lack of knowledge of the cultural other and would mirror dominating relationships and their distortions within the broad political interrelation

of cultural horizons and classes within our society. In this situation the quest for mutual understanding would therefore be immediately dissolved. The approach of strangers so that communicative discourse may become truly illuminatory, is gradual. It is only such an approach which through mediation is able to discard mutual typifications of the cultural other. It is thus only after prolonged interaction, a process which Schutz has termed "growing old together"(6),that one is able to invade his personal life and, for example, take photographs of him or expose him to a phantom partner in dialogue such as the tape recorder. It was only when such relationships had been formed that I was prepared to ask individuals specific questions. Prior to this I allowed people to reveal what they were prepared to reveal without too many questions. Much of the thesis I think expresses this very process, the process of gaining mutual trust and the confrontation of strangers prior to this.

Prolonged philosophical conversations are an example of successful communication over time, hostile typifications are, on the other hand, an example of the initial confrontation of strangers. I think that within the context of this particular thesis it is important to extend the concept of the dual stranger as expressed initially to include awareness of the particulr political problems confronting the ethnographer in such a situation. This should be clear from the particular explorations of the ways of Sekgoa and the ways of Setswana together with the conflict between the two in the thesis. This situation necessitates the gradual approach of "strangers" which I have suggested in the above and such an approach implies the development of mutual trust over time through face to face interaction.

Briefly to conclude on the reason why I chose to immerse myself within such a field situation; there seemed to be

a need to mediate in this fashion with a specifically rural community since both academics and city-based blacks are equally fond of making definitive and abstract generalizations about the rural "stranger". Such generalizations often assumed the natural unquestionability of their own assumptions, which in the saturated political context of Southern Africa implied arrogantly ignoring the interests of the other and underestimating his importance and problems within the total social context.

CHAPTER 6

1. CESAIRE, AIME. Discourse on Colonialism. Trans. J. Pinkham. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1972, p.11.

2. A potent drink with a sugar base.

3. SCHUTTE, A.G., and ZERNITZ, P. "Ethnography as reconstruction: an essay on transitional discourse." Discussion paper for the Social Theory Discussion Group, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980, p.3.

4. Ibid, p.9.

5. Ibid, p.9.

6. SCHUTZ, A. Phenomenology of the Social World. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972, p.165

CHAPTER 7

Some Aspects of Current Theoretical Debate on Ideology and Their Relation to Findings in the Thesis

'It can be excluded that economic crises directly produce fundamental events: they can only create more favourable grounds for the propagation of certain ways of thinking (and) the decisive element in every situation is the force which can be advanced when one judges the situation favourable ... The essential task is that of paying systematic attention ... to forming and developing this force, consciousness of itself.'(1)

'The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is a vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneoulsy the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history by the positive and negative influence which it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, amongst men or groups of men within society, as well as among different societies.'(2)

'Political thought ... is always the elucidation of an historical perception in which all our understandings, all our experiences and all our values simultaneously come into play -- and of which our theses are only a schematic formulation. All actions and knowledge which do not go through this elaboration and which seek to set up values which have not been embodied in our individual or collective history (or -- what comes down to the same thing -- which seek to choose means by a calculus and a wholly technical process), fall short of the problems they are trying to solve. Personal life expression, understanding and history advance obliquely and not straight towards ends or conceptions. What one too deliberately seeks he does not find; and he who on the contrary has in his meditative life known how to tap its spontaneous source, never lacks for ideas and values.'(3)

1. The Important Themes of the Thesis

There are two general and central issues which have emerged from this thesis:

The first being the persistence of traditional ideas and the different ways in which they are appropriated, the second being a conflict which I have suggested as being endemic within societies plagued by the spectre of migrant labour, a conflict which cannot be linked directly to class but which rather constitutes an inter-generational struggle for values. Traditional values in this context are therefore not an irrelevant survival from the past. Neither are they necessarily reactionary. In this sense traditional values cannot be judged according to their content. Rather the way in which they are joined with other values and the way in which they are appropriated by different groups implies their social and political meaning.

Specifically speaking the meaning of traditional values is only revealed when we place these within the context of the conflict between the ways of Setswana and the ways of Sekgoa and how this conflict is related to the emerging class structure.

If we recall the suggested four different appropriations of the past in Chapter 3, it was shown how the government's appropriation of the past tended to underplay the conflicts between current and past reality whereas the traditional appropriation provided the basis of a critique of current reality. These two appropriations substantiate the contention that within the context of neo-colonialism, there are two possible appropriations of the past. Let us assume that we cannot escape from the particular influence which tradition or past externalizations exert upon the present. Given this appropriation of tradition the past can either be used in a truly

illuminatory way in contrasting itself with the present, showing real differences between the traditional past and the present or these differences can be ignored on one level incorporating elements of the past as if unchanged within the present situation. The first appropriation implies the possibility of revealing true insights into present reality. It allows the past and present to mediate, to simultaneously disclose their differences. This mediation not only allows for a potential departure from past forms of domination but it also allows for a critique of present developments through the mediation with past reality. The second appropriation implies ignoring the erosion of the past or its changed meaning within present social formations. It implies hypostatizing the present, allowing distorted assumptions about the past to coexist with present assumptions. This deprives past survivals of their critical edge and assumes their easy incorporation within current social reality.

Let us now turn to a third appropriation of the past which we noted in Chapter 3, the alienated appropriation.

This appropriation is different from the two appropriations already mentioned in that it negates the past whereas the others continue to stress the importance of past values in different ways. This desire to purge the present of traditional values must be situated within the conflict between the ways of Setswana and the ways of Sekgoa. The appeal of the ways of Sekgoa must also be placed in relation to the emerging class structure in Botswana and in the context of the colonial past. What then does negation of tradition among certain groups in the village imply? The problem does not lie in the fact that tradition is being negated as such, rather the problem lies in the fact that tradition as a possible critique of the given social situation is negated. Sectors which have at least consciously negated their tradition

and historical past have ironically had their interests neutralized in relation to government despite government's so-called interest in tradition. They have appropriated an aspect of the ideology of the ruling class, the particular contents of which have their roots in colonial ideology.(4) Perhaps a clue as to why particular sectors of the population, including the ruling elite, strive to negate the past, lies in the typical colonial relationship between colonized and colonial, the way in which the colonialist attempts to objectify the colonized.

To expand: within the colonial situation of direct conquest and domination, little attempt is made on the part of the colonizer to involve the "other", the black masses, within a common horizon of ideological discourse. Rather we witness the self-rationalization on the part of the colonizer; the attempt to constitute the colonized as object, as the alien other. The worlds of the colonizer and the colonized are perceived to be incommensurable. Thus an alien status is attributed to the colonized in which the colonized is banished to an other than "human" status, banished from society as such. This inevitably lays the foundation for their allocation to a state of nature. Nature in capitalist society ceases to be treated with any modicum of respect and becomes the inanimate realm open to man's exploitation. In this instance, colonial domination becomes synonymous with the domination of nature. This colonial horizon was set up in Botswana by British administration and also through Botswana's interaction with South Africa, an interaction which has familiarized the Botswana with economic exploitation and racist ideology.

Within this context the appropriation of certain aspects of the ideology of the ruling elite requires therefore the purging of the traditional self and the acquisition of so-called "civilized" attributes.

Let us suggest an example of how this appropriation may be related to findings in the thesis. In Chapter 5, dominant ideological discourse in the schools implied the possibility of children becoming fully proletarianized. This implicit "promise" suggested the possibility of escape from the migrant identity which is rooted within the particular articulation of present social relations. Belief in this promise succeeds in disguising true domination precisely because it glorifies a specific set of social relations, those implied by the capitalist sector and ignores their determining relation to the state of the rural areas. The articulation of present social and economic relations is falsely polarized into an implicit notion of dual society on the part of both government and many young regardless of class. Tradition in this context is absolutized as wreckage belonging to the past, a hindrance to true progress. Capitalist progress is not seen as a result of its interrelationship with and perpetuation of traditional relations.

The implicit conception of dual-economy in ideological discourse leads the subject to ignore conflict within the social formation, or more specifically, to absolve the dominant classes from responsibility for the stagnation of the rural areas.(5) In other words, this kind of appropriation neutralizes the antagonisms in society. Colonial ideological discourse appropriated by all agents both colonized and the dominant groups, justifies domination through appeals to "civilization", prestige, technical-progress and counterposes these to "barbarism", social obscurity, total ignorance of technical innovation. The dominant classes which, on one level, harbour the notion of dual economy which on the ideological level tends to negate tradition, are able to posture as having nothing to do with so-called "traditional survivals", the plight of the rural areas, etc. The state of these

areas is seen to be due to their inherent "backwardness" and therefore any intervention on the part of dominant powers appears as a magnanimous attempt to save those areas from their state of destitution. If the ruling classes fail in changing these areas, it is not seen to be because of their concealed interests which promote the exacerbation of the current state of affairs, rather failure is seen due to the so-called essential immobility of these sectors.

Others however, as we have already intimated in the traditional appropriation of the past, avoid these appropriations, effectively showing how their state is ultimately attributable to the dominance or power of the other. There is no inherent "backwardness" among the people. It is these people who keep alive the notion of "working with the hands", the self-satisfaction of doing for oneself and one's family, of achieving the "great work" of self-sufficiency.

This ideological notion is extremely important since it keeps alive the realization of different types of social organization and economic organization directly opposed to those suggested by capitalism. We are able to intimate the profound importance entailed within an ideological identification with the other as we have described it, since this particular ideological identification also contains within it a rejection of a specific productive process which is fundamentally opposed to capitalist notions of value.

To conclude, a virile appropriation of tradition must necessarily differentiate between the past as it no longer exists and the past as it is incorporated within the present social formation. References to a past which has irrevocably disappeared can provide a critique of oppressive elements within present or past social formations. In the latter case even if the past is

idealized in providing a critique of the present it is not without real critical power. This is because this idealization contains the bitter knowledge that the traditional past is dead. The past is not easily incorporated within the present and where it is, it has changed its meaning. There is the realization that only by coming to grips with the present reality can any changes be made within the social and moral horizon. This does not mean that the traditional horizon of values is vacated, rather it is used as a virile force to disclose present particularities, neither does it mean to say that survivals of past social formations do not exist within present ones. The past appears to exist within new social horizons particularly in a country like Botswana where old social economic relations have fused with new ones. As long as it is clear that these past survivals are different in meaning to different stages in the colonial and neo-colonial past; that the past is being simultaneously eroded and maintained; there is no longer the danger of disguising the exploitative relations which underlie both so-called traditional social relations and modern ones. As we shall see from Laclau's analysis of populism, ideological content in itself cannot tell us about the nature of its emancipatory potential since the same ideological content can be used effectively by both dominant and oppressed classes. It is precisely the class interests which lie behind ideological interpellations which indicate their relation to possible emancipation.*

In a situation of underdevelopment where the increasing impoverishment of the rural areas is linked to productive efforts which only benefit the industrialized world through export and which enrich a small elite which controls and ensures the continuation of this type of production there is always the possibility of opposing class

*See page 353-354

ideologies misconstruing the nature of tradition and also of the present in similar ways. This is in one instance because the national bourgeoisie still maintain close links with the countryside, for example the cattle owners of Botswana. Tradition is misconstrued in relation to the present idealizing the "innate nature" of traditional social organization and assuming a moral immunity on the part of a people to capitalist and neo-colonial relations of production and their social consequences. Here both traditional social formations and capitalist formations are anthropomorphized in the sense that they become social organizations based primarily on an ethical foundation. It is sanctimoniously assumed on the part of the national bourgeoisie that they are morally incapable of precipitating extreme inequality within their society since traditionally social life is assumed to have run on communal lines.

Thus to conclude these general points, all people of whatever emerging class may potentially draw on tradition as firstly a way of rationalizing the status quo or of critizing it because of the links between urban and rural environments. There is an ethnocentric tendency even among the most radical researchers to condemn traditional culture as being ultimately reactionary. However, one cannot extricate oneself abstractly from the past or a given social situation. It is autocratic and ultimately of no real value to impose foreign conceptions on a community in the hope that they will take root. Any such attempt, however well intentioned, is oppressive. It is the experimental immersion within a given social situation together with the cultural and ideological material at hand which provides the basis for the assimilation and generation of new political and cultural orientations.

We now come to illustrate diagrammatically the ideological discourse of the people-power bloc or of broadly differentiated classes. We also illustrate polarization across society in terms of gnerational conflict. Both these discourses include elements of tradition and elements of Sekgoa but in different ways.

POLARIZATION ACROSS SOCIETY IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENT CLASS STRUCTURE AND ITS ARTICULATION WITH THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE WAYS OF SEKGOA AND THE WAYS OF SETSWANA

MASS OF PEASANTARIATE, (MIGRANT WORKERS.)

Here a virile appropriation of tradition is associated with the poor. Traditional values are often used as a critique of new social relations.

Certain ways of Sekgoa are adopted here, for example, certain kinds of science. Sekgoa is praised in so far as it contributes to the general welfare of all.

TYPIFICATIONS OF TRADITION OR "SETSWANA"	TYPIFICATIONS OF "SEKGOA"
Here tradition is appropriated in an emasculated form.	Dominant classes are seen to be approximating the ways of Sekgoa in its negative neo-colonial sense: the sense in which interests between the ruling elite and the poor become separated.

RULING ELITE, LARGE CATTLE OWNERS, TRADITIONAL ROYALTY, ETC.

POLARIZATION ACROSS SOCIETY IN TERMS OF THE GENERATIONAL CONFLICT

YOUNG

Traditional life as it is rooted in village life is negated by the young, especially work associated with "subsistence" agriculture. This negation is extended to agricultural work in general of whatever kind.

The young attempt to escape village life and traditional obligations identifying with the commodities of Sekgoa. They idealize the urban environment and the work obtainable there. This polarization is specifically developed in schools and aids dominant classes in that children negate tradition and village life and condone development in town associating this with government. This kind of development is treacherous in that these ultimate aspirations of the young cannot be met. Thus the young are falsely interpellated by ruling class ideological discourse into becoming "modern, civilized" subjects, an interpellation which in fact perpetuates their impoverished situation in the rural areas.

SETSWANA (TRADITION)	SEKGOA
The old attempt to re-incorporate the young within the traditional horizon of values within the village, emphasizing traditional obligations and relations of kinship. The old affirm the ultimate desire of working for oneself in the village environment.	(HERE SEKGOA IS EMBEDDED WITHIN NEO-COLONIAL RELATIONS WHICH EVOKE THE SPECTRE THE CULTURAL OTHER) The old recall their infatuation with the ways of Sekgoa in the past or at least as migrants where they could not differentiate the qualitative differences between working as migrant and working for oneself in the village

OLD

2. Restatement of the Problem

Having isolated the themes of the thesis it seems that these necessitate the reassessment of the relationship of ideological discourse to the past. More specifically the persistence of traditional and ethnic constructs within the current social formation has to be examined. In a situation where capitalist relations of production have intermingled with and transformed pre-capitalist relations, and where these changes have been accompanied by social transformations, it is no longer possible to make the following errors. On the one hand one cannot hypothesize the disappearance of traditional appropriations because of the apparent predominance of capitalist relations. An hypothesis such as this implies that traditional constructs are anachronistic and essentially static in nature and that they constitute mere survivals from the past. This also conceals a reductionist conception of ideology where ideological discourse becomes an epiphenomenon of economic relations. It is a fact that despite the erosion of many of the productive and social relations of the past, traditional constructs survive with vigour in current ideological discourse. On the other hand it is no longer possible to assume that ethnicity is necessarily reactionary by linking its propagation with a dominant class. More specifically one cannot confine the utilization of ethnic constructs to a ruling elite which strives to disguise emerging class structures by appeals to nationalism. This appropriation of the past is indeed possible but then, as we have shown, there are other possible appropriations of the past, appropriations which indeed challenge the former appropriation. The above error also conceals a reductionist conception of ideology precisely because it confines the use of ethnicity to one particular class.

Given then, the persistence of traditional and ethnic

constructs in discourse and their utilization across the whole of society regardless of emerging class structure, a non- reductionist conception of ideology seems imperative.

Having isolated the above problems concerning ideology in terms of the findings of the thesis it now remains to situate them within the context of current marxist theoretical debate. Before doing this, however, we shall briefly elaborate on the nature of the types of reductionism which have emerged in marxist theory.

3. Critique of Conventional Political-Economy Analyses

Reductionism as it exists in marxist theories of ideology in some instances stems from the theory's adoption of an inverted Hegelian historicist model in which all contradictions are brought under the dominance of a single essential contradiction; in Hegel's case, the spirit of history and in Marx's case, class contradiction.(6)

More specifically there are two kinds of economic reductionism which have often been linked in marxist thought but which have not always been adequately delineated. The first seeks to establish a causal link between economic base and superstructure where superstructure is reduced to a mechanical reflection of the former. It follows from this that ideological constructs become epiphenomena of the historical process which is determined by the necessary resolution of contradictions within a specific mode of production. The second aspect of economism is concerned with the nature of the superstructure and not directly with its relation to economic relations. Here the content of ideology is perceived to be determined by the position of class subjects in the relations of production. In this second type of

reductionism a certain amount of efficacy is granted to ideology but class reductionism is none the less present(7).

More concisely the first type of reductionism reduces ideological discourse to a necessary reflection of specific economic relations. The second type of reductionism ascribes specific content to the ideological discourse of specific classes. As we have seen in the above-mentioned themes of the thesis the first type of reductionism cannot account for the persistence of traditional thought over time even when the economic relations accompanying such thought in the past have undergone radical changes. Likewise, the second form of reductionism cannot account for the fact that similar ideological elements are shared by different emerging classes on the level of discourse.

4. Heuristic Elements of Current Theoretical Debates

Despite the forms of reductionism which I have sketched in the above, there are a number of theorists whose work displays an attempt to come to terms with this problem by positing new ways of conceptualizing ideological discourse.

In this regard I wish to briefly explore Gramsci's notion of hegemony which stresses the importance of alliance between classes. The importance of alliance suggests that allied classes overcome their individual corporate interests and share common moral and political convictions.(8) We shall also examine Laclau's notions concerning the relative continuity of tradition and the non-class content of ideological discourse,(9) Laclau's notion of the relative continuity of tradition,(10) Saul's work on ethnicity and class is also of specific importance since it constitutes an application of Laclau's

theoretical elaborations within an African context(11).

Notice that central to all these theoretical debates are the conceptions of class structure and class struggle. Whereas the social context in which Gramsci was writing was characterized by a well defined class structure, the social context of Botswana is different in that as we have seen in Chapter 2, classes are only beginning to emerge. However, there are important parallels between the situations in which Gramsci, Laclau and Saul were working and those of Botswana.

Laclau explored populism as a world wide phenomenon. Much of his insights were gleaned from his research in South America. Both South America and Botswana reflect third world problems. Also, Laclau's notion of the "people-power bloc", a term indicating popular alliance, transcends any narrow definition of class and its role in the political struggle. Gramsci's stress on political alliance and particularly his interest in the Italian southern peasantry and its importance for any successful political struggle is also of relevance(12).

On a general theoretical level, let us now explore the way in which theorists have suggested the parameters of the problem of a non-reductionist conception of ideology.

a) <u>Gramsci's conception of hegemony</u>

Gramsci reassesses the importance of politics for social change and implies that politics is bound up with ideological discourse(13). Ideological discourse is important for Gramsci because of its ability to bind together classes and class fractions in positions of dominance and subordination. This is precisely what Gramsci's conception of hegemony entails. A class becomes hegemonic or dominant because it has gained legitimacy in the eyes of

other class fractions on the level of ideological discourse(14). Thus Gramsci's conception of ideology does not judge ideological discourse in terms of criteria of truth or falsehood(15). Ideology is not merely a necessary set of illusions guaranteeing the continuity of a specific set of productive relations. Rather ideology is the "terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position and struggle."(16)

Given Gramsci's stress on the importance of ideology in forming alliances between class fractions, it is possible to point to the existence of the ideological struggle of classes but not to specific class ideologies.

Gramsci isolated two forms of hegemony, the first being transformative hegemony and the second being expansive hegemony. The first type of hegemony, hegemony through the mechanism of transformation, constitutes the strategy of a group already in power which through reformist policies attempts to absorb spokesmen from different classes with allied and even opposing interests. This type of hegemony according to Gramsci is not true hegemony or the most emancipatory form of hegemony since at best it implies "passive consensus" on the part of the popular alliance.

Expansive hegemony, however, is different from the above type of hegemony. As opposed to passive consensus, this type of hegemony implies active and direct consensus which is derived from the genuine adoption of the interests of the popular classes by the hegemonic class. This type of mediated and active consensus is capable of leading to the creation of what Gramsci has called a truly "national-popular will". The former type of hegemony, in contrast, does not attempt in any systematic way to overcome contradictions within society, rather it attempts to entrench its position by neutralizing or

co-opting opposed interests in society and thus preventing other groups from articulating their specific demands.

The expansive notion of hegemony is inextricably bound up with the notion of political, moral and intellectual leadership(17). The notion of leadership is exceptionally important since it does not imply the imposition of so-called "scientific" ideas on other class fractions in a bid to gain their support. It recognizes the importance of mediation within ideological discourse. This conception of leadership acknowledges the idea that already established ideas or "traditional" ideas are the means whereby people come to disclose contradictions in society and to rescue utopian anticipations from their rationalization and naturalization of the status quo.

Thus Gramsci proposes that the party does not act mechanistically on popular thinking from a removed external position, but that it enters the mind of common sense thinking in order to open up its contradictions(18).

Gramsci also differentiates between two kinds of ideologies, organic and traditional ideologies. Organic ideologies are linked to fundamental or dominant classes within a social formation i.e. the fundamental classes of a dominant mode of production. Traditional ideologies are linked to classes expressing previous modes of production. It is important to note that Gramsci's conception of traditional ideologies is linked to his concern for the Southern Italian peasantry which he felt could not be excluded from political struggle and decision making.

Gramsci attributes importance to the material and institutional bases of ideological practice particularly of the ruling class which he terms hegemonic apparatuses.

These include, for example, schools, churches, names of streets, architecture, in fact the entire range of media.

Gramsci also stresses the importance of intellectuals in spreading ideologies and in contributing to the realization of moral and intellectual reform. The ideologies which they propagate are not necessarily of the particular class to which they belong. Thus Hall writes:

> 'The organization and appropriation of ideologies is a specific practice that is not reducible to the classes to which intellectuals are linked. Hence ideas are not expressive of classes but comprise a field in which conflict takes place in particular forms.'(19)

Thus the "popular will" consists of knowledges drawn from different social classes and earlier ideologies; hence the importance of both the "organic" and "traditional intellectual".

To conclude then, the following aspects of Gramsci's work are clearly useful in making sense of the findings of the thesis. Firstly the notion of political alliance together with the moral and intellectual conditions of such an alliance are useful in examining government strategy in its attempt to gain legitimacy with the migrant and "peasant" classes. Gramsci's conception of the reformist type of hegemony could be applied here, in which case traditional ideologies mediate with organic ideologies concealing the interests of the dominant emerging bourgeoisie or auxiliary bourgeois class behind an appeal to universality or for legitimacy.(20) The mediation between organic and traditional ideologies may be compared with the different appropriations of tradition which I have mentioned in the above. In Mochudi, for example, we may say that on the one hand "traditional" ideologies are negated. This negation reflects the influence of colonialism on the intergenerational conflict between young and old. It also reflects the identification

of the more privileged classes on some levels, with the ways of Sekgoa. On the other hand one may suggest that "traditional" ideologies are being affirmed in Botswana but by two different interest groups. The government on the one hand strives for legitimacy in the eyes of other emerging classes through the incorporation of traditional ideologies within ideological discourse. The more "popular classes" to use Gramsci's phrase, use traditional ideologies on the other hand as a critique of government.

Gramsci's conception of the "ideological structure" or hegemonic apparatuses, the churches, the schools and official media clearly parallels the way in which buildings, houses, churches and schools are in varying degrees associated with what I have termed "the vacuously prestigious". Equally we may suggest the way in which the emergence of a truly "popular will" is potentially linked to traditional ideologies and their virile appropriation by villagers.

b) Laclau's conception of interpellation

Central to Laclau's conception of ideology is the notion of interpellation. According to Laclau, the function of all ideology is to interpellate or constitute dividuals as subjects.

Laclau, as does Gramsci, situates ideology within the nexus of class struggle. Thus whereas ideologies of the dominant classes aim at the reproduction and rationalization of the system, ideologies of the dominated classes tend towards the transformation of the social formation. The content of these ideologies may well be the same in some instances. People are interpellated to become ostensibly similar subjects by fundamentally different classes. However the true nature of these interpellations

is only revealed when the fundamental interests of specific classes within the ideological struggle are disclosed. In relation to Laclau's insistence on the classless content of ideology as well as its qualified relationship to class, he writes:

> 'The isolated elements of (an ideological) discourse have no meaning in themselves. In trying to analyze the ideological level of a determinate social formation, our first task must be to reconstruct the interpellative structures which constitute it."(21)*

Laclau goes so far as saying that the shared ideological content of different classes enables articulated class struggle, or to use Gramsci's phrase, the "alliance" of different classes. He writes:

> 'It is precisely this background of shared meanings that enables antagonistic discourse to establish their difference.' Each class strives to become the authentic representative of 'the people', of the 'national interest'.
>
> Thus, 'classes exist at the ideological and political level in a process of articulation and not of reduction.'(22)

Laclau names ideological contents which are not class based, "popular democratic interpellations" and the articulation of classes and class fractions within ideological discourse gives rise to what he has called, "the people-power bloc"(23). This implies the alliance of all subordinate classes and class fractions against the dominant classes.

*In order for a class to become hegemonic, it must co-opt interests of other subordinate classes. Thus:

> 'A class is hegemonic not so much to the extent that it is able to impose a uniform conception of the world on the rest of society, but to the extent that it can articulate different visions of the world in such a way that their potential antagonism is neutralized.'(24)

b) (ii) Laclau's conception of the relative continuity of popular traditions.

Within the nexus of the "people-power bloc" contradiction, Laclau points out what he has called the "relative continuity of popular traditions", a phenomenon which has long been neglected by conventional political-economy analyses. Laclau contrasts this continuity with the historical discontinuity of class structures(25). Simply stated, traditional notions of legitimacy persist over time and are used continually in ideological discourse despite the fact that economic relations of production may change rapidly over time. Popular traditions and their interpellations express precisely for Laclau, the people-power bloc contradiction apart from class contradiction.

Laclau suggests that the reason for the persistence of popular traditions lies in their immersion in past historical experience. Thus:

> '... popular traditions are far from being arbitrary and they cannot be modified at will. They are the residue of a unique and irreducible historical experience and as such constitute a more solid and durable structure of meanings than the social structure itself.'(26)

Laclau gives a more descriptive account of the importance of the continuity of tradition in a passage concerning a migrant worker and the way in which he meaningfully situates himself within the working environment.

> 'Having arrived at an urban centre, the migrant starts to experience a complex of pressures: class exploitation in new places of work, transforming him into proletarian, multiple pressures of urban society -- problems of housing, health, education, through which he enters into dialectical and conflicted relationships with the state. Under these circumstances, a natural reaction would be to assert the symbols and ideological values of the society from which he has come, in order to express his antagonism towards the new society which exploits him.

> Superficially this would seem to be survival of old elements but in reality, behind this survival is concealed a transformation: These "rural elements" are simply the raw materials which the ideological practice of the new migrant transforms in order to express new antagonisms. In this sense, the resistance of certain ideolcgical elements to their articulation in the dominant discourse of older urban sectors can express exactly the opposite of traditionalism. The refusal to accept capitalist legality which in this sense -- reflecting the most radical of class conflicts -- expresses a more "advanced" and "modern" attitude than European-style trade unionism.'(27)

The above passage clearly reveals the way in which appropriation of past symbols involves a process of transformation. The nexus in which such transformation takes place is the contradictions within current social relations. Given the transformation of ideological elements it is no longer possible to assign essential meanings to these elements. They are involved in an ever changing process which both Gramsci and Laclau have termed the "articulation and disarticulation" of discourses. The appropriation of the past as a critique of the present implies a response to new social conditions.

To conclude then, which aspects of Laclau's explorations are valuable in terms of the thesis? There are two important points which reflect our conceptions regarding different appropriations of tradition as well as the persistence of traditional ideologies. The first point may be linked to Laclau's work in terms of his conception of the non-class content of ideologies. If we recall, Laclau shows how the ideologies of the dominant class and of the dominated classes of popular sectors often share similar ideological content. He shows, in fact, how this is a necessity if alliances are to be formed and if legitimacy is to be gained by the hegemonic class. Laclau suggests how ideologies of the dominant classes tend towards the reproduction and rationalization of the status quo whereas ideologies of the dominated classes

tend towards its transformation. In the fieldwork we have indicated that government ideology attempts to neutralize conflict whereas the "traditional" critique of some of the villagers tends to point out problems of the modern state as it exists in Botswana. Certain traditional ideas in Botswana are equivalent to what Laclau has termed "popular-democratic interpellations" since they appeal to all sectors of the population and cannot be confined within the boundaries of class. A common notion which spans the whole field of ideological discourse is, for example, Kagiso or peace.

The second point of relevance in Laclau's theory is the notion of the continuity of popular traditions. This suggests that popular traditions are not easily eradicated even if some would short-sightedly aim to achieve this. Significantly Laclau suggests the relative continuity of popular traditions as opposed to the discontinuity of class structure. In Botswana where a class structure is developing, traditional conceptions persist and continue to inform new social relations. The power of popular traditions lies in the fact that they are, in Laclau's words, "residues of unique and irreducible historical experience". If we recall, for example, elements in the history chapter, we shall see how historical experience is used in stressing the importance of autonomy in the current situation. The experience of the Bakgatla in South Africa during the formation of the Boer Republic informs their resistance to imposed forms of government.

c) Saul's exploration of ethnicity

In John Saul's exploration of ethnicity in Africa he draws inspiration, among others, from Laclau. Saul's findings are based on a similar economic and social situation as that of Botswana and are particularly relevant for our work.

Saul's conception of ethnicity is akin to what I have elsewhere described as tradition. Saul, just as the above-mentioned theorists, is at pains to sh ow tradition is not a stubborn and archaic survival. With regard to the appropriation of ethnicity he stresses the importance of two variables in the African political, economic and social horizon, namely, imperialism and the centre-periphery contradiction. The imperial variable suggests that capitalism was generated in the third world countries not through natural processes but primarily through conquest and political intervention. This suggests the "virility" of pre-capitalist modes of production -- suggests a sense in which the articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes implies struggle and not the abstract imposition of the laws of ion of any one mode of production(28). Capitalism generated through conflict has led in many instances to a specific form of ethnic politicization, namely nationalism. On the other hand, centre-periphery contradictions suggest a way in which capitalist relations have not fully penetrated rural economies of the third world although they have heralded their extended demise. This has led to a specific type of class structure of elite bourgeoisie and peasantariate, people who maintain close ties with the countryside, subsidizing wage labour by engaging in pre-capitalist relations of production(29). Given this specific context ethnicity and class are closely associated. It is also clear that within this context a wide range of ethnic interpellations are possible.

Saul maintains that by associating ethnic interpellations with any particular class one ignores the emotional power and the general "availability" of ethnic elements for ideological discourse(30). Saul insists that both dominant emerging classes and the dominated majority of people are both <u>equally genuinely</u> interpellated to become ethnic subjects(31). This implies that both broadly

differentiated classes believe in ethnic interpellations and that appeals of ethnicity are not just a plot conceived by those in power to obscure the true nature of relations within society. Saul, I think, implicitly suggests that recognizing the malleability of ethnic elements is not sufficient in explaining their availability within ideological discourse. He briefly attempts to explain this availability through the proximity and reccgnizability of such things as language, culture, kinship ties and so on.

According to Saul, ethnic elements can appear both within the interpellation accompanying class contradictions inherent within the imperial framework and within interpellations which are accompanied by the centre-periphery contradiction. Thus:

> 'It is not surprising that such an ideolgy often can be brought to bare not only vis-avis the imperial centre perse but also vis-a-vis entities conceived of as being more proximate agents of external incursion, the new nation state itself, for example, or other ethnic groups whose competitive claims on "the centre" come more clearly into focus as a threat once the world has begun to be defined from a peripheral-cum-ethnic perspective.' (32)

Saul suggests that the availability of ethnicity in ideological discourse and its virility is to be understood if placed within the wider context of a synthesis of extended concepts of modes of production. This conception implies that the synthesis of modes of production does not imply the pure extension of the capitalist mode or the feudal-peasant mode. A dominant mode is never given, rather the articulation of modes of production indicates a process of struggle. It seems, however, to me that linking ideological discourse in such a way to relations of production, still conceals a reductionist element, because it links too the continuity of ethnic interpellations with past relations of production. Be that as it may, there are a number of Saul's ideas which are useful

in examining ideological discourse in Mochudi.

Saul locates two variables in neo-colonial societies, societies which are akin to Botswana society. These are, firstly, the imperialist variable and secondly, the centre-periphery variable. If we recall the chapter entitled 'National versus Local Politics' we see how, for example, the B.D.P. was largely successful because of its incorporation of traditional interpellations within its ideological outlook. The imperial variable in Botswana has led to the "ethnic politicization" of nationalism and it is clear that government attempts to maintain legitimacy through ethnic or traditional nationalistic appeals. However, as has been clearly shown in the economic chapter, a centre-periphery contradiction is already well-established in Botswana. This contradiction suggests a way in which capitalist relations have not fully penetrated the rural areas but which have contributed to their ossification and decline. The conflict between the ways of Sekgoa and the ways of Setswana as I have described them in the thesis may be seen both within the context of the imperialist variable and the centre-periphery variable. More specifically within the imperialist context the ways of Sekgoa are associated with the white man, the ex-colonizer. Thus the emerging bourgeoisie, in its incorporation within a neo-colonial framework, tends in some instances to identify with the ways of Sekgoa. In terms of the centre-periphery variable, people occupying the periphery, apart from young people, strongly uphold traditional values and counterpose these to the ways of Sekgoa, which they believe the ruling elite is rapidly approximating.

CONCLUSION

In stating problems encountered in ideological discourse

in Mochudi we mentioned two important points which had to be examined. The first implied the non-class character of much ideological material and the second noted the persistence of traditional interpellations. In concluding, I would like to mention succinctly the way in which parallels may be made between the works of Gramsci, Laclau and Saul when considering such questions. Firstly with regard to the non-class content of ideological elements we may make the following connections. Gramsci's conception of alliance and the necessity of overcoming the corporate interests of particular classes in the formation of a truly popular will suggests the existence of shared ideological content across class boundaries. The nature of shared ideological content of allied classes is revealed when we consider whether the type of hegemony is transformative or expansive. This is supported by Laclau's contention that ideological elements have no essential meaning. His conception of popular democratic interpellation no doubt would provide material in precipitating the emergence of Gramsci's popular will. Saul's demarcation of the imperialist and centre-periphery variables in neo-colonial countries also reveals the way in which ethnic interpellations are used by different classes in an ideological struggle.

With regard to the second point concerning the persistence of traditional interpellations, although Gramsci did not mention this specifically, he none the less emphasized the importance of traditional ideologies in any democratic struggle. Their continuity is implicit within his conception of the mediation between organic and traditional ideologies. Laclau's conception of the relative continuity of tradition is particularly important. So too is his contention that this continuity of tradition always involves a transformatory process. Although Saul does not examine the persistence of tradition in as expansive a manner as Laclau, he does point to the emotional power of ethnic interpellations and their general

proximity and availability within neo-colonial social formations.

We may say that within the context of the above-mentioned problems, these theoretical elaborations provide skeletal tools with which to make sense of the appropriation of tradition and ethnicity. We have clearly shown how these elements cannot be conceived as mere survivals. Rather they provide a reservoir of material with which to actively make sense of present contradictions within society.

CHAPTER 7

1. GRAMSCI from MESZAROS, I. (ed.), "Contingent and necessary class consciousness." in, Aspects of History and Class Consciousness. s. New York: Herder and Herder, 1972, p.50.

2. CABRAL, AMILCAR. Return to the Source, Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral. Edited by Africa Information Service; New York, London: Monthly Review Press, 1973, p.41.

3. MERLEAU-PONTY, M. Phenomenology, Language and Sociology. London: Heinemann, 1974, p.80.

4. Recall the government appropriation of the past in the history chapter where both traditional and "modernizing" influences were combined.

5. For the notion of dual-economy cf. for example ANDRE GUNTER FRANK, "The Development of Underdevelopment" in WILBER, C.K. (ed.) The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment. New York: Random House, 1973, p.95.

6. MOUFFE, C. "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" from Gramsci and Marxist Theory. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1979, p.171.

7. This latter form of economism is evidenced in LUKACS' conception of "class-specific" consciousness.

8. Cf. GRAMSCI, A. HOARE, Q. and NOWELL, G. (eds.) Selections from the Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

9. Cf. Laclau, E. Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory. London: New Left Books, 1977. Ch. 4, pp.143-198

10. Cf. SAUL, J. "The Dialectics of Class and Tribe". Race and Class, vol. xx4, 1979. Pp.345-372

11. Cf. LACLAU's chapter entitled "Towards a theory of Populism" in LACLAU, E. (1977), p.144.

12. Cf. GRAMSCI, A. "Notes on the Southern Question" from Selections from Political Writings 1921-26. HOARE, Q. (ed. & trans.) London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1978.

13. MOUFFE, C. Gramsci and Marxist Theory. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1979, p.177.

14. Cf. GRAMSCI, A. "Notes on the Southern Question" HOARE (ed.) (1978), p.443.

15. HALL LUMLEY, McLENNON,
From SCHWARZ,B. (ed.) 1977, p.48.

16. GRAMSCI, A. Prison Notebooks (1971), p.377.

17. My emphasis.

18. HOARE, Q. NOWELL, G. (eds.) (1971) pp.331, 180-5.
Cf. also MOUFFE, C. (1979), p.181.

19. HALL in SCHWARZ,B. (ed.) Cultural studies 10, On Ideology. University of Birmingham, 1977, p.51.

20. Cf. COLIN LEYS for the notion of auxiliary bourgeoisie in a neo-colonial state. Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism 1964-1971. London: Heinemann, 1975, p.174.

21. LACLAU, E. (1977), p.102.

22. Ibid (1977) p.161.

23. Ibid, p.167.

24. Ibid, p.161.

25. Ibid, p.160.

26. Ibid, p.167 (my emphasis)

27. Ibid, p.157 (my emphasis)

28. Cf. WOLPE, H. (ed.) The Articulation of Modes of Production; essays from Economy and Society.
Particularly Wolpe's introduction.
London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1980.

29. This reflects the emerging class structure of Botswana.
Cf. Chapter 2 on the emergence of class structure in Botswana.

30. SAUL, J. (1979), p.352.

31. My emphasis

32. SAUL, J. (1979), p.356.

APPENDIX A

	TSA TIRO	BASIMANE
1.	Kgosana	Ke rata go nna Kgosana thata.
2.	Molemi	Ke rata gonna Molemi thata thata.
3.	Mmetli	Ga ke rate go nna mmetli.
4.	Mokontraka (moepi kwa Maepong)	Ga ke rate go nna Moepi Maepong.
5.	Mokwadi kwa toropong	Ke rata go nna Mokwadi kwa toropong.
6.	Morutisi	Ke rata go nna morutisi thata.
7.	Mokgoetsi wa bese	Ke rata go nna mokgoetsi wa bese.
8.	Mokgoetsi wa lori e tona	Ga ke rate go nna mokgoetsi lori e tona.
9.	Lesole	Ke rata go nna lesole thata thata.
10.	Ministara	Ke rata go nna ministara thata thata.
11.	Rra benkele	Ga ke rate go nna rra benkele.
12.	Moruti	Ke rata go nna moruti.
13.	Lepodisa	Ke rata go nna lepodisa thata
14.	Ngaka ya Setswana	Ga ke rate go nna ngaka ya Setswana.
15.	Modisa	Ga ke rate go nna modisa.

2. TSA TIRO	BASETSANA
1. Go tlhokomela bana	Ee ke rata go tlhokomela bana thata.
2. Molemi	Ee ke rata go nna Molemi.
3. Mogogi wa kereke	Ga ke batle go nna mogogi wa kereke.
4. Mo-oki wa kwa sepetele	Ke batla go nna mo-oki wa kwa sepetele.
5. Mokwadi ka machine	Ke rata go nna mokwadi machine.
6. Morekisi kwa benkeleng	Ga ke batle go nna morekisi kwa bankeleng.
7. Mma benkele	Ga ke batle go nna Mma bankele.
8. Go apaya bojalwa le rekisa (go titiela)	Ga ke rate go titiela.
9. Go rekisa kwa bareng (motima le nyora)	Ke rata go rekisa kwa bareng.
10. Mokwaledi wa ga Goromente	Ke rata go nna mokwaledi wa ga Goromente.
11. Mosadi wa lepodisa	Ke rata go nna Mosadi wa lepodisa.

1. A o rata fela go dira, O nna kwa Toropong?

   Ke a rata go dira, Ke nna kwa Toropong.

---

2. A o rata go dira kwa Toropong, O nna kwa gae?

   Ke a rata go dira Kwa toropong ke nna Kwa toropong.

---

3. A o kile wa dira kwa morakeng?

   Ke kile ka dira kwa Morakeng.

---

4. A o kile wa dira kwa masimong?

   Ke kile ka dira Kwa masimong.

---

5. A o dira kwa Morakeng kgotsa kwa masimong ka nako tsa boikhutso?

   Ka nako tsa boikhutso ke dira Kwa Morakeng.

---

6. A go monate go dira kwa masimong le kwa morakeng?

   Ee go monate go dira kwa morakeng.

---

7. A o tla rata go rua dikgomo fa o godile?

   Ke tla rata go rua dikgomo fa ke godile.

---

8. Di tla disiwa ke mang?

   Di tla disiwa ke batho ba ke ba hirileng.

---

9. Rrago o dira eng?

   Rre o bereka mo ofising.

---

10. Mmago o dira eng?

    Oa ruta.

---

11. Fa ona le bo kgaitsadio ba dira eng?

    Fa ke na le bone boa apara.

---

12. A o ka nkitsisi sengwe se o sa serateng a sengwe se o se ratang mo motseng?

    Nka go itsisise selo se ke sa serateng.

APPENDIX B

1. Tshidi Sekebere o dula sola
sola ke madisco.

Tsidi is dancing a solo dance
dancing solo is the way of the disco.

This song is an example of how what is regarded as style in the cities is imported to the village. But the form of the song and the way it is sung, are traditional so new ideas are given particular interpretations according to village horizons.

2. A re yeng Bamangwato
re a go bona flimachini
ditshipi tshipi
Seretse ke lekgoa.

Let us go to the place of the Bamangwato
and see the aeroplane (flying machine)
things of iron, things of iron
Seretse is a white.

This song witnesses fascination with technical innovations and clearly associates them with the ways of Sekgoa by identifying Seretse as a white.

3. Ke dilo ke dilo
ke dilo sta botsoti fela
o se ntswara jalo mojita
o tla bolaisa bommé ko gae.

It is only the way of tsotsis
don't grab me like that gangster
you will cause the women at home to die.

This song stresses the relationship of a m'grant to the women at home and his responsibilit towards them. In being attacked by a gangster it is not only he who is threatened but also his dependents.

4. Piek-up e malume
nye nye nye
basopa e bona
pick-up etelele
pick-up e zingela mapodisa
e tlola ma sepala
e re tha! malume
basopa pick-up-o.

The police van is approaching, uncle
be careful of the pick-up
It is coming, the long pick-up
The pick-up that brings the police
It cannot be controlled by the
municipality (it jumps away from it)
It is scornful uncle (it says tha!)
be careful of the pick-up.

This song is particularly interesting since words of a number of languages have been combined to create the atmosphere of township life. The song is addressed to a migrant uncle who is warned about the voracious and animal-like pick-up truck that jumps around the municipality swallowing people as it goes by.

5. Ko ko matswale (x 3)
oska nthuta boloi

Knock knock in-laws
don't teach me the ways
of witches.

This song indicates the traditional pre-occupation of maintaining peace between in-laws and suggests also the potential conflict between them.

6. Banyana ba ikgansa ka disco fela) descant
Makgoa a ikgansa ka milo fela)

Too many people we are suffering) base line

Young girls are only proud of disco
Whites are only proud of drinking milo
Too many people we are suffering

Although this song has already been incorporated in the thesis, of particular interest here is the base line which is derived from a popular song heard over the radio.

7. tla o lele tla o lele (chorus)
mphe mphe ya lapisa motho
o gonwa ke sa gagwe
(Chorus)
kgaitsedi ya ka ke lesutlha
o thlapa manga ka sesepe
(Chorus)
lebele la mmamoruti le kathlala
ntontwane.

legodimo ga le na poso nkabe
ke itse go kwala nkabe ke
kwalela Jesu.

Basimanyana ba ka jeno ba
gotla ke thedi marago.

Basimane ba sutla le mothlageng
le dinoga ga ba di tshabe.

ke rile ke ile kwa go bothabo bosigo
ba ntshubisa ka ditotse ka re ga ke
je ditotse ba re didimala o ngwetsi

Basimane ba kajeno ba mpoledise
ke kelegetwa ya selo.

baaitjie ya monna waka e kwadile
K ka momorago.

nkonko mmabliksem o beile
bulumara mo maragong.

Erile ke kopa metse
a re nte ke oo soene.

Translation

Come and cry out, come and cry out
to ask continually for things from others
makes people tired
A person who has things can
eat that which is his own.

My big sister is a lazy one
(she does not care for her appearance)
only when her feet are covered
in callouses does she begin to
wash them with soap
(She is too lazy to scrape them with a stone).

The breast of the priest's wife
fills up completely a small pot.

Heaven doesn't have a post office
if I was able to write I
should be writing to
Jesus. (But there is no post office in heaven).

Young boys of today are
scratching their buttocks
because they are no longer
used to crouching (as they used to)

Boys creep through the bushes
they are not even afraid of snakes
(implication sexual. Boys today are not afraid
of traditional authority)
I once went to Thabo's place at night
they gave me pumpkin pips as a
side dish. I said that I did not
eat pumpkin pips. They said
keep quiet. You're our daughter-in-law.

Young boys like to take you half-way
Today I am burdened by a heavy thing.
(It is polite Tswana manners to take a visitor
half-way back to his own home. In this instance,
however, the [illegible]ession is sexual).

My husband's [illegible] has the letter K
written on the b[illegible] of it.
(The woman's h[illegible]d has K written on his jacket
so that his wi[illegible]able to identify him coming
out of other [illegible]huts).

Granny mmabli[illegible] (because she is always
swearing), has pulled her underpants
down below her bottom.

Once I asked for water
and the woman there said come
here and kiss me before I give you
water.

This song is a particularly amusing one in that it is filled with sexual innuendoes. The chorus line is sung by all the children between verses. Individual children will then come out randomly with well-known jokes, usually in the form of a double entendre. Often, however, children come up with original and funny observations of people in the village.

8. Botshelo jwa Setswana
kgomo ene e le selo
se sikantsweng thata
Batswana ba re ke modimo gae
gontleng go moo
motswana o ne akake
a age moste.

In Setswana life
the cow is a thing
which is greatly trusted
Batswana say that the
cow is the god of the home
without a cow a motswana
cannot build a home.

(home in this sense implies a potential nucleus of a village and implies the importance of children to status).

This song is devotional in character and praises the cow, stressing its traditional importance for people and indeed the way in which cattle and people are regarded as part of a single identity. The cow too is associated with wealth and marriage and through marriage with the continuation of the descent group and its potential in establishing a village.

9. dinaka sta setswana
di lala ka marapo
marapo a dikgomo
dikgomo ste sule
para para (chorus)

traditional Setswana doctors
see the future with the aid
of bones
the bones of cattle
cattle that have died.

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