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G. K. T. Chiepe

An Investigation of the Problems of Popular Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the light of a comparative study of similar problems in the early stages of English Education and in the development of Education in Yugoslavia and Uganda.

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Otherwise the dissertation is my own independent work.

M. S. Billups

19th September, 1957.

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B England

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INTRODUCTION

"The study of education in different countries usually brings a double experience to those who have the privilege of making it. On the one hand, they are impressed by the similarity between the problems which face one country in the present and those which faced another country at some recent or remote stage in its educational history..... On the other hand, they meet differences of racial temperament and social structure that go so deep as to suggest that no valid generalizations are possible, and that each country must face its problems as it comes to them and work out their solutions ....." (Report of the West Africa Study Group, 1953 - African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.)

It might be wondered why I chose a comparison of Bechuanaland with countries in such different circumstances geographically, politically, economically and socially. Perhaps a few words to explain this will make sense of the comparison to follow.

The educational system of Bechuanaland is an imperfect copy of that of Britain and still has many traces of 19th century English educational characteristics - standards determined by performance at annual examinations instead of forms according to age groups, inadequacy of suitable premises and trained teachers, an examination-ridden system and many others as will be seen later. Although efforts are now being made to retain and encourage the development of Tswana culture, Western culture, mainly British, has been exported to Bechuanaland by the British Government which is responsible for the administration and welfare of the territory and is anxious to introduce into the territory what it deems the best in democratic principles and general culture of the west. In order to understand the relation of the present complicated system of English Education to Bechuanaland it may be a help to study some aspects of the early stages of this system.

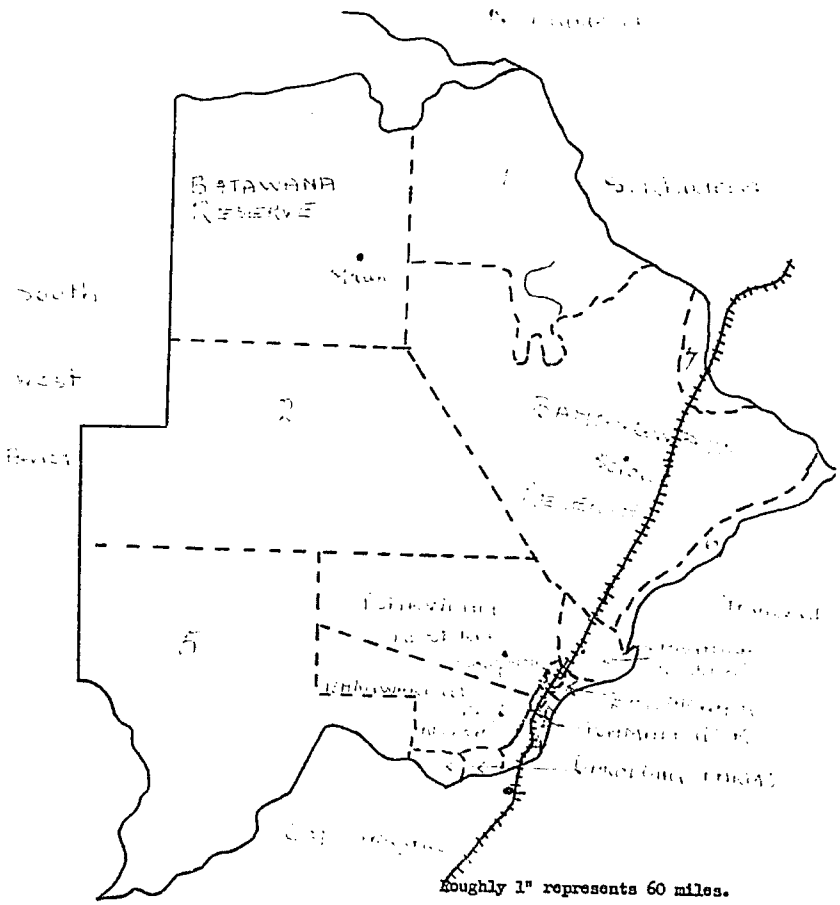
It may be a help also to know that although to a Bechuana the present system of, and provision for, education are all one could desire, things have not always been so bright in English education; that it has had its very pronounced ups and downs and that not very long ago; that some of the difficulties and problems England faced about a hundred years ago or more recently, Bechuanaland is facing now; and that such problems, seemingly insurmountable, are not impossible to solve. An understanding of similar problems faced in England then, how they were solved and how certain characteristics and traditions in the English system came about might help Bechuanaland in adapting the system she has inherited, to her own peculiar conditions.

Yugoslavia is a very young country in the educational field. Her education has advanced very rapidly since World War II, so rapidly that it was felt worthwhile to try and find out how she managed to make such great strides in such a short time, what peculiar problems such rapid development brought about, how she copes with her inevitable growing pains, whether her very different political and social ideology is completely responsible for her success - apparent and real - and whether any of her methods of approach to the problem might be practicable in Bechuanaland under different political, economic and social circumstances. Moreover, Yugoslavia is not yet a rich country and although there is a certain amount of urbanisation a large percentage of the population are peasants and live under conditions not very far from those prevailing in Bechuanaland. I was interested to see peasants working in their maize (mealie) fields, oxen pulling carts or wagons and women carrying their luggage on their heads. But for their colour and the material used in building houses, and the topography of the country, I could have been in Bechuanaland.

Uganda was included in this study as a representative of other African territories. It is of interest because it is, like Bechuanaland, a British Protectorate which happily has no white settler problem and the Government's declared policy is to develop it as an African territory.

Many of its background problems are similar to those of Bechuanaland, although it is the richer of the two territories. The fact that it is developing pretty rapidly should be of greater interest to Bechuanaland than might be the case if it were a European country which Bechuanas would in any case expect to be advanced, and should encourage Bechuanaland to make greater efforts to improve her conditions. It would be easier for Bechuanaland to feel that if Uganda, her neighbour and equal, can do this or that surely she can do it too, than to think of competing with or copying a country very different from herself.

A. THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.



1 - 7 Non-tribal Areas and Crown Lands. (C.L.)

1. Chobe District - C.L.
2. Ghanzi " "
3. Gaberones Block "
4. Lobatsi "
5. Kalahari District.
6. Tuli Block - mainly Dutch Farmers
7. Tati Concession

Territorial / Tribal } Boundaries

Railway line.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Background leading to Political Development to date.

The people of Bechuanaland are of Sotho stock, related in language id some customs to the people of Basutoland and to several tribes who live in the Western Transvaal and to the Pedi tribes of the Northern Transvaal. In the absence of written records, like that of other members of the Sotho group of the Bantu tribes of Southern Africa, their early history is shrouded in legend.

There are several tribes in Bechuanaland which came to, and settled in, Bechuanaland at different times and in different circumstances. The principal tribes are traditionally believed to have descended from a people ruled by a chief named Masilo who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century. He had two sons, Mohurutshe and Malope. The former founded the Bahurutshe tribe in the Western Transvaal where they for a long time suffered from the invasions of the followers of an Amazon called Mma-Ntatisi and, later, of the Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulu warriors. Some of the Bahurutshe are scattered among the Bechuanaland tribes where in theory they are still regarded as senior members of the group though they hold no position of political importance. The majority who live in the Western Transvaal, though they may have blood relations in the Protectorate, are not Protectorate nationals, but are under the Government of the Union of South Africa.

Malope, Masilo's younger son, had three sons, Kwena, Ngwato, and Ngwaketse. Ngwato and Ngwaketse broke away from Kwena and hived off with their followers and settled in different parts of Bechuanaland. Later, a small group under Tawana, one of the sons of the then ruling chief Mathiba, broke away from the Bamangwato (the followers of Ngwato) and formed the Batawana tribe. The tribes thus formed were: Bakwena, Bangwato (Bamangwato), Bangwaketse, and Batawana, named after their respective leaders. The Batawana broke away from the Bamangwato at the end of the eighteenth century.

Fairly recent immigrants into the Protectorate from the Western ansvaal are the Bakgatla, the Bamalete, and the Batlokwa, pushed stwards by the Matabele warriors and the invasion of the Boers. They do not have as big areas as do the Bakwena, Bangwato, Bangwaketse and Batawana tribes, and there is a certain amount of land shortage in their reserves. Another group is the Barolong along the southern border of the Protectorate, the majority of whom live in the part of the Cape Province known as British Bechuanaland which is now part of the Union of South Africa but was until the 19th century part of Bechuanaland.

These then are the eight principal tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. They form the nuclear communities to which the chiefly house of each tribal division belongs. They speak several dialects of one language, Tswana (or Setswana, sometimes written in books as Chuana, Sechuana or Chwana). To them are affiliated other tribes who for various reasons have come from the Transvaal, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, and South West Africa, and have voluntarily or otherwise accepted the rule of the chief of the principal tribe and have become his subjects. Some were conquered tribes while others voluntarily surrendered their independence in return for protection against powerful enemies or in return for land. Some like the Bakaa and the Bahurutshe, are of Tswana stock, while others like the Kalanga, Herero, and the Talaote are of completely different origin to the Tswana and differ in language and custom from their hosts. The Talaote have, however, adopted the language of their hosts. The affiliated tribes are either absorbed into the tribe of their adoption or have their own settlements within the tribal area and, although they have their own traditional chief or headman, they are presided over by a representative of the senior tribal chief, who is usually a relation of the chief's. Apart from the fact that they can never supply a tribal chief for the area (as chieftainship is hereditary and strictly within the ruling tribe) they do enjoy the same privileges as do the members of the principal tribe, and have a large measure of internal independence. In fact when the tribe is spoken of as such they are included as full citizens.

The Yei and Mpukush of Ngamiland (Batawana country) and the Kgalagadi and Sarwa in any tribe are subordinate tribes of a status bordering on serfdom, and do not often enjoy the same privileges as do the Talaote, Kalanga, Birwa and others. Until recently (and in some remote parts they still are) they were, as it were, part of a man's property, like his domestic animals, and performed his duties for no wages. Although they were to be treated humanely and fed and clothed they could be given away or lent to friends like any other property and they could not leave their master and offer their services to someone else in return for wages. Although they are now to a very large extent emancipated, and are free to go where they will and demand pay for their labour, and can neither be sold nor given away, they are still regarded as of a lower status and are not accepted as equals socially.

Although a Motswana resents being treated as, or made to feel, inferior to a white man, and hates having to go into the white man's house through the back door where the servants are, instead of being asked in through the front door, he thinks nothing of treating a Mosarwa (singular of Sarwa), Koba, or Mokgalagadi in exactly the same way. Extremely few Batswana (Bechuanas) will offer one of these subject people a chair to sit on let alone sit at table with him, no matter how clean the latter is. As a matter of fact some Batswana will not as much as serve him with eating utensils used by their family. He is treated as something sub-human.

In the Southern Protectorate the allied tribes, as distinct from the Sarwa - Kgalagadi group, form a small part of the population. But among the Bamangwato and Batawana tribes in the north (see map on page 1) they far outnumber the principal tribe. The following analysis of the 1946 census by A. Sillery in his book, The Bechuanaland Protectorate, may be of interest (numbers to the nearest hundred). The principal tribes are in order of seniority:

1.	Kwena	25,400
2.	Ngwato	18,100
3.	Ngwaketse	28,000
4.	Tawana	7,500
5.	Kgatla	27,600
6.	Lete	13,000
7.	Tlokwa	3,100
8.	Rolong	7,400

Subordinate or allied tribes in order of numerical strength are:

	Kalaka (Kalanga)	33,200
*	Koba or Yei	17,600
*	Kgalagadi	15,700
*	Sarwa	14,400
	Tswapong	11,200
	Birwa	9,600
	Khurutshe	6,400
*	Mpukush	6,000
	Herero	5,500
	Kaa	4,100
	Hurutshe	3,600
	Talaote	3,500
	Pedi	2,600
	Tlharo	2,500
	Subia	2,500
	Phaleng	2,400
	Najwa	1,600
	Rotsi	1,000
	Seleka	900
	Teti	400

* Subordinate, socially subject tribes, though some of their members live independently, e.g., the Kgalagadi and Sarwa (Bushmen) of the Kalahari Desert.

The Bamangwato tribe, the largest and wealthiest, consists of the 18,000 true Ngwato, more than half the 33,200 Kalanga, almost all the Tswapong, Birwa, Kaa, Khurutshe, Talaote, Phaleng, Pedi, Seleka, and a large number of Koba, Sarwa, Kgalagadi, Hurutshe, and Teti. The dependent tribes differ in status within each tribal area as well as from place to place and from area to area, and their status is influenced by the affinity or otherwise of their language to that of the tribe of their

adoption as well as by their material and educational progress.

Although on wider tribal and intertribal issues all these tribes, except those marked X above, are regarded as equals and there is a certain amount of integration through intermarriage, there are all sorts of prejudices, fears, and jealousies among some members of the senior tribes, and resentment accompanied sometimes by undue self-assertion on the part of some members of the subordinate groups. These prejudices and distinctions conflict with progressive democratic principles which demand that position be determined by capability, and are a stumbling block to advancement, particularly as often ill-feeling and resentment result when a member of the supposed inferior groups acquires a position above the station in life apparently predestined for him.

British Administration

Until early in the nineteenth century Bechuanaland affairs were characterised by chaos caused by internecine quarrels and struggles among the tribes, and invasions of the Matabele hordes from the Transvaal. These were further complicated by the impact of the Boer trekkers from the Southern Cape and along the Transvaal border. The Boers rid the Bechuana of the Matabele menace but they themselves became a menace to the peace of the country. The Bechuanas in Southern Bechuanaland, the country which then included the Mafeking and Vryburg districts as far south as Kuruman, appealed to the Cape authorities against the Boers and asked that their country be annexed to the Cape Colony which then comprised the south-western corner of the present Cape Province. In Northern Bechuanaland Khama, chief of the Bamangwato tribe, made representations to the British High Commissioner that his country be taken under British protection. Cecil Rhodes, dreaming of a British Empire stretching from Cape Town to Cairo, and disliking the Boers intensely, saw Bechuanaland as the "Suez Canal to the North", and strongly supported Khama's appeal. As a result the whole of Bechuanaland was proclaimed to be under British protection early in 1885. On 30th September, 1885, Bechuanaland south of the Molopo River was proclaimed British territory as part of the Cape Colony while

the area north of the river remained under the protection of Her Majesty the Queen. Sir Hercules Robinson was appointed to be the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bechuanaland, in his capacity as Governor of the Cape Colony. On 1st October Mr. (later Sir) Sidney Shippard was appointed Administrator of British Bechuanaland (Southern Bechuanaland) and Deputy Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the north, with his headquarters at Mafeking, the present seat of the Protectorate Government.

In 1896 the British Government was considering handing over the administration of the Protectorate to the British South Africa Company, led by Rhodes, which aimed at opening up the entire African interior for British imperialism. Chiefs Khama of the Bamangwato, Bathoen of the Bangwaketse, and Sechele of the Bakwena, accompanied by the Rev. W. Willoughby of the London Missionary Society as guide and interpreter, went to England to protest against the suggested transfer. They reached an agreement with the British Government that if they ceded a strip of land on the eastern side of their territories for the construction of a railway they should remain under the Queen's protection. This they did and the only railway line in the Protectorate to date runs through this strip of land, from Cape Town to Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia and beyond.

So began the present Protectorate. It was then, and at the time of the Act of Union (in 1910 when the Union of South Africa was formed by uniting the Provinces of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State), taken for granted that at some future date - and perhaps not distant future - the Protectorate, like British Bechuanaland, together with the other British High Commission Territories of Basutoland and Swaziland, would be incorporated into the Union of South Africa. As a result, when the administrative machinery was tidied up later, the tribal as well as territorial boundaries were clearly and permanently defined, the territorial administrative headquarters remained in Mafeking, outside the territory's frontiers, to the disadvantage of all concerned. If ever the inhabitants of Bechuanaland have had no desire to be incorporated into

the Union of South Africa it is now, and the fact that their capital remains in the Union is more than a mere inconvenience.

Bechuanaland is one of three British Protectorates in South Africa administered by the High Commissioner. It is divided into nine tribal reserves (named on the map on page 1) and non-tribal lands (numbered on the map). It is not one country, politically, as is Basutoland or Swaziland, its sister Protectorates, with one paramount chief and one capital town. It is an amalgamation of eight autonomous, independent African tribes, each owing no allegiance to the other and ruled by its own traditional chief, under the direction and supervision of District Commissioners and Officers representing the British Government. Crownlands, i.e., lands which were ceded to the British Government by the different tribes in return for protection, and other non-tribal lands are independent of the tribal reserves and are administered directly by the Government. Each tribal reserve has its own capital where the chief and senior members of the tribe live, and there are other villages, smaller than the capital, scattered in the districts, each village having its own sub-chief or headman. Among the bigger tribes there may be chief's representatives or subordinate native authorities in charge of areas, to whom local headmen are responsible, especially where such areas are inhabited by subordinate tribes.

In each reserve there are one or more District Officers stationed mostly in the capital villages, who help, advise, and supervise the chief in his carrying out of his duties. The District Commissioner's Court is a court of appeal from the chief's Court (or Kgotla as its correct name is). District Commissioners are responsible to the Resident Commissioner.

"The constitutional position in the Bechuanaland Protectorate is governed by various Orders in Council and Proclamations, of which the most important is the Order in Council of Her Majesty Queen Victoria dated 9th May, 1891. That Order in Council empowered the High Commissioner to exercise on Her Majesty's behalf all the powers and jurisdiction which Her Majesty at any time before and after the date of the Order had or might have within the Protectorate and to that end empowered him further

to take or cause to be taken such measures and to do or cause to be done all such matters and things within the Protectorate as are lawful and as in the interest of Her Majesty's service he might think expedient, subject to such instructions as he might from time to time receive from Her Majesty or through a Secretary of State" (Colonial Reports, Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1954). The High Commissioner was empowered by the same Order in Council to appoint administrative and judicial officers and assign them duties subject to his own powers and authority and "to provide by proclamation from time to time for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue and generally for the peace, order and good government of all persons within the Protectorate." He was instructed to respect native law and custom which regulated social relations except where these laws and customs might be incompatible with the due exercise of Her Majesty's power "or were repugnant to humanity". This is Indirect Rule by which the Protectorate, in common with the other two Protectorates, is governed by the issuing of High Commissioner's Proclamations which usually, though not necessarily always, apply to all three territories.

Although they recognise one common stock, intermarry between the tribes, and except one or two minor language groups referred to above, speak the same language, and have the same traditions, folk lore and customs, the Batswana have no strong national or racial feeling. They are not much concerned with each other. Their educational, social, economic and other efforts are sporadic, isolated, and very often consequently too weak and puny to be effective. There is very little, if any, co-operation, one tribe watching another's efforts and failures with indifference if not secret amusement, little bothering about the effect such efforts, progress, or failure may have on themselves. This indifference to others' and Protectorate problems as such may be an unconscious relic of the past when the tribes fought one another and either joined their neighbour's enemy or watched disinterestedly. It shows itself in educational, social or political struggles where people ought to be united and speak with one voice. The Basutos and Swazis are ahead of the Batswana

in some ways as they each are one nation, in addition to the fact that they have strong national and political organisations and are, therefore, able to make known to Government their feeling on certain issues, as a nation.

The African Advisory Council, established by the Government to advise the Resident Commissioner, is the only body where representatives of the different tribes meet once a year under the chairmanship of the Resident Commissioner. No elections are held for membership to the Advisory Council. Tribal representatives are nominated or elected by the individual chiefs and, while they may do so carefully in the interests of their tribes, there is a real danger of the temptation to choose either personal friends, relatives, or those not likely to disagree with their chief. The body is purely advisory with no legislative duties or powers. Its members neither sound public opinion before the Council meetings nor do they report back to the people they are supposed to represent, and there being no local newspapers and very few wireless communications, the majority of tribesmen are in complete ignorance of what efforts are being made or are required in education or any other sphere of the life of the country.

The Government does not interfere with the chiefs' rule unless it is necessary. There are advantages as well as definite disadvantages in this policy of non-interference. As Lord Hailey points out in "An African Survey", the institution of hereditary chieftainship still commands great respect among the Batswana, but reforms are long overdue. Before British Indirect Rule and until the chiefs were given undefined and apparently unlimited powers and made salaried officials "chiefs were in close touch with their people, and indeed dependent on them, and the tribe had an effective voice in the conduct of affairs, all affairs of the State being freely discussed", while the money or its equivalent raised by the chiefs through taxes and fines was used by the latter for the good of the whole tribe. The change under British administration resulted in the chiefs' becoming less and less dependent on their tribe and on occasions quite

autocratic. It was felt that the growing autocracy of the chiefs, meeting in its turn a growing consciousness among the tribesmen, might disrupt tribal structure. By 1930 it was evident to Government that it was necessary "to regularize the authority of the chiefs and to establish their courts on a proper footing .... Opposition was expressed by the chiefs and the Proclamations seeking to define their powers, which were made in December, 1934, were not put into effect...." (Tshekedi Khama : Bechuanaland and South Africa). In support of his argument for the institution of elected representative councils, both local and central, Mr. Khama goes on to say, "With regard to the chiefs, there never has been a time when the people of Bechuanaland were so disorganized as they are to-day .... A feeling exists among a certain class of Africans, that the views expressed by their chiefs are sometimes accepted by the officials mainly because they conform with the policy of the Government." Mr. Khama, until 1950 Acting Chief of the Bamangwato tribe, and a very powerful chief at that, was one of the strongest opponents of the Proclamations to define the powers of the chiefs, in fact in his Tribal Area these Proclamations were further delayed because he filed a petition testing their legality. He was then believed by many to be against the introduction of administration by councils because that would reduce or undermine the authority of the chiefs. Since then desire for forming councils, local and central, has grown and in fact in his pamphlet quoted above he champions the cause in no uncertain terms, and hardly any man could know the present political climate of the Protectorate better than he. He has the tacit support of the great majority of young people.

A chief interpreting and standing for the wishes of his tribe may incur the displeasure of his immediate Government officer and perhaps that of the Government itself. Sometimes he has to choose between pleasing his people and pleasing the Government, which is often not an easy choice to make. Sometimes when both the chiefs and the Government are doing their utmost for the country, the tribesmen who are not consulted and are ignorant of the former's efforts and difficulties unduly criticise them. If the tribesmen elected their own council members and felt truly represented

in the administration of their country and were informed as to efforts being made, obstacles in the way to progress, possibilities of development and the part they might play, they would probably be less critical and better inclined to co-operate.

Subordinate tribes though not openly against their rulers sometimes assume a passive resistance to instructions from the latter, regarding them as an imposition of authority. They are resentful of the fact that they do not have a full share in the administration of the country.

Because these tribal groups have no common central figure, e.g., paramount chief or representative body, to look to for co-ordination of activities and pooling of resources there is no cohesion in educational aim, policy, and effort. Each tribe as an independent entity entirely responsible for education in its area is not financially strong enough to stand alone, and isolated ineffective methods are uneconomical.

There is a tendency to provide reasonably equipped and more or less adequately staffed schools in the big centres to the neglect of most outside villages although the latter play an equal part in paying taxes to their central treasury and indirectly to the Protectorate Government. The people in the chief villages pay nothing extra for education, medical facilities and other social amenities where there are any, and the fact that most allied or subordinate tribes live in the outlying unprovided villages makes the whole thing a political question. The fact that there have not been formal and loud protestations is due mainly to the country's social setting and political matrix which do not lend themselves to organised representations. Moreover ignorance, fear, and the absence of the press make such protestations difficult.

All activities normally in the charge of different heads of government departments in countries where there are representative governments, are in the hands of the chief who may or may not seek the advice of senior members of the tribe. This arrangement sufficed when everything was straightforward according to native law and custom and a definite traditional pattern understood by all, was followed. A fast changing economy and social pattern demand a change in the political pattern of the territory

Political development might follow the Uganda pattern with variations to suit local conditions. Elected councils could be instituted as follows:-

Village tribesmen to elect a village council which will send a representative or representatives (depending on the size of the village) to an area council; Area Councils to elect a representative to the Divisional Council, and the latter to send a representative to the central Tribal Council. This pattern could be adopted by the Bamangwato and other big tribes, while small tribes like the Batlokwa and Bamalete might have Village Councils sending representatives to the Tribal Council. Each Tribal Council to be represented on the Central Protectorate councils. Their duties could evolve from purely advisory to legislative and executive. To suit the psychological climate of the territory traditional headmen, subchiefs and chiefs might be represented on these councils though elected members should be in the majority. But, as the existing tribal organisation which "casts the aristocracy as the 'stars' and the villagers as the 'chorus'" (as an ex-Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland put it recently (1957) in an address at a conference in England) is a deterrent to progress, provision should be made for responsible positions - ministerial and otherwise - to be determined by capability and not the accident of birth. This would be an incentive to local hereditary rulers to educate their sons, as they do in West Africa, so that they can compete for posts and positions instead of being born into them.

History of Education in Bechuanaland.

The first Europeans to come into contact with the people of Southern Bechuanaland were a party which was sent to the north by the Governor of the Cape Colony to procure draught oxen in 1801. Just before Lichtenstein's visit in 1805 a half-hearted effort to establish a mission station among the Tswana was made by a Dutch Missionary Society. Kok and Edwards were sent to work among the Tlhaping tribe. Edwards penetrated as far north as the Ngwaketse country in 1807 and 1808, but apparently was more interested in enriching himself than in preaching the Gospel as Robert Moffat points

out (quoted by Sillery) : "Having amassed a handsome sum, and long forsaken his God, he left the country, retired to the Colony, purchased a farm and slaves and is now.....a hoary-headed infidel". Then followed the London Missionary Society who founded a mission station at Kuruman in 1820. Moffat and his wife Mary came to stay at Kuruman in 1821 and he travelled into what is now the Southern Protectorate. He was followed by David Livingstone, the great Missionary explorer who lost no time in touring the country and establishing mission stations. These men and other missionaries who followed them identified themselves completely with the people in their charge, and shared in their troubles.

The first schools to be opened were mission schools which aimed at teaching converts to read the Bible. Because of lack of funds as well as trained personnel instruction was elementary and buildings were inadequate. The chiefs got interested in education, and in 1903 Chief Bathoen I of the Ngwaketse tribe demanded two shillings from every taxpayer to meet the cost of maintaining schools and paying the salaries of teachers. This levy continued annually until 1920 when an educational grant was received from the Protectorate Government's Native Fund. A similar levy was made, also in 1903, by Chief Sechele I of the Kwena tribe. Following the London Missionary Society the Hermannsburg Mission, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, entered the educational field.

"It was during the regime of Sir Ralf Williams," wrote the Rev. R. Haydon Lewis of the London Missionary Society in 1937, "that the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in consultation with the administration, undertook a pilgrimage throughout the Protectorate ..... in order to stir up the interest of the native peoples in the course of their children's education. Prior to that the Protectorate Government had left the whole task of educating the natives to the missionary societies. While from the point of view of some missions, this was exactly as it should be, the London Missionary Society which is undenominational felt that it was neither fair nor wise that educational matters should be left to the warring

sects but that education should be placed upon a national basis and should be made a first charge upon the financial resources of Government."

The London Missionary Society proposed cooperation with the Government, the latter partly financing the schools, and that local control should be through a committee consisting of the local magistrate as chairman, the missionary as honorary secretary and other missionaries having schools in the area, together with the chief and six tribal representatives. The proposal was approved by Government, by the High Commissioner and by the Secretary of State. Numbers of school children increased beyond expectation and schools were up-graded from Standard II or III to VI. Consequently the question of the qualification of teachers became urgent. School committees had to look beyond the Protectorate boundaries for suitably qualified teachers. There was very little supervision and this was given by missionary superintendents. The enthusiasm for education which resulted in increased enrolments, and the demand for more and better qualified teachers required more financial assistance from the Government. A tax of three shillings per head was suggested, the proceeds of which were to be shared between the medical and veterinary departments and mission schools. It was felt necessary that there should be an Inspector of Education. The Inspector of Basutoland was appointed to visit, during his holidays, the schools of the Protectorate. His visits were short and the task too great. In 1928 a Director of Education was appointed to devote six months of his time to Bechuanaland and six months to Swaziland. In 1931 the system of school committees as outlined above was generally adopted. The sharing of the Director of Education's services with Swaziland was discontinued in 1935 and in 1938 an Inspector of Schools was appointed.

When, owing to financial difficulties, the Government was compelled to reduce its grants and the scale of teachers' salaries various tribes, with Government's permission, voluntarily taxed themselves to maintain their schools.

For economic as well as educational reasons the London Missionary Society was anxious that the Government should take over education. In

the same article by Haydon Lewis quoted above, he writes, "The Government will be wise from the point of view of native administration, to keep the education of the children of the territory in its own hands and to refuse to allow the disturbing influence of denominational schools to nullify its own educational policy by the cultivation of religious feuds such as will inevitably result from a dual system which the permission to start denominational schools at the expense of the taxpayer would bring into being." This advice was duly followed and missionary societies have not been allowed to open primary schools since, except in special circumstances in non-tribal areas where the Roman Catholics have opened schools in their missions. This was a very wise step which saved Bechuanaland from religious conflicts in educational matters, which have been characteristic of educational problems in Uganda since the first schools were opened. But it has also deprived Bechuanaland of a very effective educational force which has made possible a greater educational advance in Basutoland than in the other two High Commission Territories.

"In 1931 a Board of Advice on African Education was established, and its personnel includes representatives of the missionary societies, and non-official African and European members" (Annual Report of the Director of Education, 1.1.1938 to 31.3.39). At the time of writing it consists of:- The Deputy Resident Commissioner, the Director of Education, a Women's representative, the Director of Medical Services, an Education Officer, a representative of the European Advisory Council, representatives of the Roman Catholic and Dutch Reformed Churches, representatives of the Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Bakgatla, and Barolong tribes (chiefs), a representative of the African Teachers Association, and the Welfare Officer. It is not a statutory body and is purely advisory, meeting only when it is called upon to consider some particular question when it becomes a major one, and therefore not regularly. It is the practice to co-opt any experts or people specially interested in the subject to be discussed.

In 1938 Tribal Treasuries were established in seven tribal areas deriving their revenue from 35% rebates on hut tax collected. From the

revenue of these treasuries the sum of £9,898 which represented 37% of their total estimated revenue, was allocated for education, and they received no further grants for education from the Government. Two more tribal treasuries have been established since, and these nine treasuries are entirely responsible for buildings, equipment, and teachers' salaries of all the schools in their area, as well as for other social services.

Tribal representatives on school committees, as on any other committee, are not appointed from an elected body of the people. They are nominated by the chief and there are grave dangers in this system. A big area like the Bamangwato Reserve for instance, has only one committee at headquarters administering schools widely scattered in an area of over 40,000 square miles. (This authority has recently established a sub-committee in the north but other big authorities have not). More often than not members of the committee have no first hand knowledge of conditions in outlying districts. There is no co-ordinating body on a national basis.

The following line of development in educational administration might be considered:

In place of the existing Advisory Board on African Education a statutory central Advisory Council on Education could be instituted as follows:-

The Director of Education as chairman,
The Director of Medical Services,
The Director of Agriculture,
The Director of Veterinary Services,
Divisional Commissioners (North and South)
Secretaries or one representative each, of School Committees,
One representative of the Legislative Council (when such exists,
One representative of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Teachers Association,
and Three representatives of religious bodies active in the Protectorate.

Until Bechuanaland's administrative divisions are geographical rather than tribal, and the people regard themselves as Bechuanaland citizens rather than as belonging narrowly to a particular section of a certain tribe, school committees must continue to be constituted on a tribal basis. But with the development of local councils a different approach to the administration of education should be possible. The different local councils could appoint small committees to deal with educational matters in their area. Major decisions will still be made by the Central Tribal Committees but as local committees gained in experience they could be given financial responsibilities as well.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS (Communications, Climate) AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

Bechuanaland is bounded on the north-east by Southern Rhodesia, on the south and east by the western boundary of the Union of South Africa which follows the Notwani, Marico and Limpopo rivers, on the west by South West Africa, and on the north by the Caprivi Strip. It has a common boundary with Northern Rhodesia for a short distance in the north. It lies roughly between latitudes 18° South and 20° 50' South, and longitudes 20° and 29°20' East, and is therefore in the interior of the large land mass of Southern Africa. It covers an area of roughly 275,000 sq. miles with an average altitude of 3,300 feet. The Kalahari Desert extends over most of the western areas, west and south of the Batawana Reserve. This is not, however, true desert but consists of vast expanses of undulating sand-belts dotted here and there with limestone belts. Large areas are wooded. Untapped reservoirs of water are believed to exist in the limestone belts. Apart from the northern and the south-western corners of the Kalahari which has the least vegetation and the most sand dunes, grasslands are excellent. The better-watered areas in the east and north are wooded.

In the north-western part of the Protectorate are the Okovango Swamps into which the Okovango river, flowing inland from the north-west, pours its flood waters. Here is beautiful scenery of "luxuriant vegetation, big stretches of water studded with delightful well-wooded islands teeming with game ..." (Sillery, The Bechuanaland Protectorate.) Papyrus and other aquatic plants grow luxuriantly and often choke the water courses, causing the water to spread out over the level land and forming swamps. The soil in this area is reputed to be very rich, and it has been stated that reclaimed for agricultural purposes the swamp area could produce enough food to supply not only Bechuanaland but the whole of Southern Africa with grain. This is probably an overstatement but there are great agricultural possibilities there.

Apart from the Okovango swamps few places have permanent open water. The perennial springs at Moeng and in the Chadibe hills of the Bamangwato Reserve, and one or two such springs in other reserves are examples. The luxuriant vegetation found near these places is proof enough of the growing power of the soil given sufficient water supply.

The country depends mainly on underground water supply obtained by sinking wells and boreholes. Water is struck at anything from a few to over two hundred feet deep, and often wells are abandoned after considerable digging before water is struck. Bechuanaland rivers flow only a few days a year, after the rains. Their banks are deeply cut and vertical, and their beds are formed of coarse sand which gets saturated with water while the river is flowing. Below the sand level often lie a series of natural rock-bars extending across the river and these check the downward seepage of water into the subterranean stream. As a result, many months after the river has ceased to flow and is apparently dry, water can be found by digging in the sand. This is an important feature of Bechuanaland rivers as very often whole villages of populations of over one thousand persons, or a number of cattleposts spread over a wide area, depend entirely on such rivers for their water supply during the long dry season. These so-called sand rivers are an important factor in the conservation of water.

The climate of the country is,on the whole, sub-tropical, varying slightly with latitude and altitude. The average annual rainfall is eighteen inches but varies from nine inches in the western Kalahari to about twenty-seven inches in the north. The more populated portion is a saucerlike depression on the eastern side bounded by higher ground at the extreme south (Hildavale) and the north-east (Southern Rhodesia) where the country rises to over 4,000 feet. The biggest two townships (Serowe and Kanye) and Ghanzi in the west are 4,000 to 5,000 feet above sea level.

The climate of the higher parts of the Territory is sub-tropical to temperate with warm to cool winter days with occasional spells of cold weather, and rather cold nights sometimes with sharp frosts. The summer

days are hot but a prevailing north-east breeze which generally begins at night, and the high altitude, have a cooling effect. The low-lying parts are very hot in the day and uncomfortably warm at night in summer and pleasantly warm during the day and cool at night in winter. But this dry heat is less enervating than the humid heat characteristic of some tropical and even sub-tropical areas. A characteristic feature of the climate of Bechuanaland is the August winds which blow from the west coast across the Kalahari, laden with volumes of sand and dust. At this time everything is literally covered with dust.

The 1946 census gives the population of Bechuanaland as 297,310. The figures, particularly those of the Africans, were in many cases estimated as some parts of the Territory are virtually inaccessible and also, vital information is likely to have been withheld by suspicious tribesmen. The latest figures are being compiled, the census having been taken towards the end of 1956. It is estimated that the total figure will be between 350,000 and 400,000. Vital statistics are maintained for Europeans only, even in large centres. If compulsory education is envisaged in the foreseeable future it is time that a beginning in maintaining vital statistics for Africans, particularly in the bigger townships, was made. If the correct date of birth is not known in the case of children born at the lands, at least the month or, for that matter, the year in which they were born, would be a help. The great majority of the people live in the better watered eastern and north-western parts of the Territory and about half the total population live in villages of 1,000 or more inhabitants.

This Tswana custom of living in big towns which is as old as their tradition is unusual in Africa. As a result "the Tswana have long been noted for the durability and neatness of their houses, which are obviously meant to last a long time. ... Apart from the chief's capital, which is the principal town in the reserve, there are in most reserves subsidiary but still considerable settlements" (Sillery: The Bechuanaland Protectorate).

A Tswana village or town is formed as follows:-

A group of related families in the same part of the town form a

household, several households form a family group and one or more family groups form a ward, while a number of wards together make a town. Each ward, therefore, consists of numbers of more or less closely related families, and occupies its own part of the town, defined according to traditional rules of seniority and precedence. It is also a political and administrative unit under a hereditary headman. Though the ward is composed chiefly of interrelated families, strangers who come to settle are admitted to membership as every person must belong to a ward and accept duties and responsibilities as a member. Each ward has its own kgotla or meeting place where men meet to discuss their affairs or just sit and talk. The different kgotlas are subordinate to the Chief's kgotla which is the administrative headquarters of the tribe. The Kgotla is a crescent-shaped windbreak of closely raised poles. Women only appear in kgotla if and when involved in a case which is being tried.

Appendages to the Tswana town are "the lands" (agricultural farms) and the cattleposts or grazing lands, often at great distances from it. This is the result of living in towns which cover a very big area. A family with five or six huts enclosed in a palisade occupies a big area and several hundreds of such families forming a town cover an extensive area. As most if not all members of different families have fields, it is obvious that the fields cannot all be within walking distance, particularly those fields which belong to households in the centre of the town. Moreover, since with the present agricultural and pastoral methods the lands and grazing lands near the towns soon become worked out, the Tswana are bound to move their farms and their herds about, particularly in view of the fact that in many parts of the territory there is no shortage of land. Land is communal property and may not be fenced. So, neither fields nor grazing lands being fenced, domestic animals have to be kept away from agricultural lands, hence the cattlepost system. A man in Serowe, for instance, may have his lands seven to fifty miles away from his home in town, and his cattlepost one hundred or more miles from town, in the opposite direction. This necessitates the building of homesteads both at the lands and at the cattlepost. The buildings at both these

places are not permanent structures like those in town. Those at the cattleposts are particularly ephemeral as herdsmen move house constantly in search of fresh pastures and water within a wide area, sometimes settling within a few yards of their old home.

Such widely scattered interests involve the people in much travelling, and more time is spent at the lands than in town. When the rains fall in October or November there is a big exodus from the towns to the lands to plough. Only a few senior members of the community and workers, e.g.civil servants, and shop assistants and school children remain behind. From this time until June or later, work in the fields demands the continuous presence of the adult population, particularly the women who are engaged in ploughing, sowing, hoeing, bird-scaring, harvesting and thrashing, at the lands. Now and again, during this period, the men must visit the cattleposts. After ploughing many able-bodied men go to the mines in Johannesburg for work and leave all the agricultural work to women and children, while they work for money with which to buy consumer goods, pay their children's school fees and their own taxes. The Tswana, therefore, hardly spend more than four or five months of the year in the towns.

The merits of this urban system are that administration is made easier as the authorities can keep an eye on every tribesman, decisions are easily made known to most people, laws more easily enforced and taxes more easily collected; that social services can be more easily provided in a town than over a wide sparsely populated area, and that it fosters a community spirit. All this would not be so easy in view of the absence or inadequacy of communications. Its demerits are the amount of travelling involved in a country whose transport facilities are most unsatisfactory; complete separation of the cattle from the agricultural lands, particularly in the larger reserves, and the consequent lack of milk in the towns and at the lands, and the abundance of milk - which is wasted - at the cattleposts, resulting in herdboys and dogs at the cattleposts being very well nourished and school children and the rest of the population not so well nourished. (Infact it is not unusual to find a man who owns several cattleposts having tea without milk because he cannot afford to buy a bottle of milk); and that it makes mixed farming practically impossible.

The effects of this system on schooling and education will be discussed in a later chapter.

Transport and Communications.

The only railway line in the Protectorate runs roughly parallel to the eastern boundary and about 50 miles from it all the way. It runs from Cape Town to Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia, covering a stretch of 394 miles in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and is administered by a body established under the laws of Southern Rhodesia and operating under the laws of the Rhodesias and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Principal and other towns are joined to railway stations by motor transport.

There are no national macadamised roads. "The roads ..... are of earth and sand formed to shape and camber, the only exceptions being where they pass through townships and have been gravelled (and in two cases tarred) for short lengths. The aggregate length of gravelling is a fraction of one per cent of the total road mileage, and the roads must therefore be classified as earth roads only" (Bechuanaland Protectorate Annual Report, 1955). Sometimes during heavy rains it is wiser and easier to walk than use motor transport on these roads. The Public Works Department maintains the main roads covering roughly 550 miles. In the north the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association whose concern is to find and transport African labour to the gold mines in the Union of South Africa, maintains about 950 miles of road, subsidised by the Protectorate Government. District Commissioners receive small allocations to carry out essential maintenance and repairs and these allocations do not go very far. Main roads are often heavily corrugated while minor country roads often have sharp stones and stumps in the middle. Heavy lorries dig deep into the soil or sand and smaller cars must fit into their track and should, therefore, have a wide range and a high clearance. As a result the life of a car in Bechuanaland is very short, and tyres are seldom worn smooth. Every motorist soon learns and appreciates the importance of carrying a spade and an axe in the boot of his car to dig himself out of the mud or sand when he gets stuck.

Bechuanaland transport is still at the ox-waggon stage. During the exodus to and from the lands and cattleposts ox-waggons carry the people and all their essential household effects. Many people walk not only the seven to fifty miles to the lands but even the many many miles to the cattleposts. Sometimes so many people ask for a lift when somebody's waggon takes a trip that all they can do is pile their luggage in the waggon and walk. It is unusual and most unpopular to refuse somebody a lift. A few well-to-do people travel on horseback, but horses are very expensive in Bechuanaland, a number of oxen being sold in order to buy one horse. The donkey is used a great deal. Women either travel in waggons or lorries, or walk, carrying their luggage on their heads. They do not generally ride horses or donkeys. Time, therefore, does not matter to the average Motswana who is not bothered about being on time for an appointment (in any case the great majority have no watches, and there are no clocks for the public's benefit) and consequently irritates his foreign friends or rulers.

Lorries are the chief form of modern transport but as a result of the heavy, difficult roads and high costs of maintenance, fares are very high, considering the average income of the people. Transport is consequently difficult, irregular, and very expensive. Sometimes transport charges are greater than the actual cost of goods imported from outside. Floods and heavy mud during the rains may stop lorry transport and in fact all transport for some days or weeks. Canoe transport is used to a certain extent on the Okovango and Chobe Rivers by the local inhabitants of the areas.

Although there is no public air transport there are aerodromes at eleven centres and, in addition, emergency landing strips at five places. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association which transports its recruits from northern Bechuanaland, Nyasaland, and Portuguese East Africa to the Johannesburg mines by air from Francistown has built a hangar - the largest of its type in Southern Africa - at Francistown. Air transport is used mainly by senior Government officials, e.g. the Resident Commissioner or High Commissioner, touring the country, or by officers of the Colonial

or Commonwealth Relations Office or other State visitors to the country.

The main centres of population not far from the railway are connected to the South African and Southern Rhodesian telegraph system. Lines south of Lobatsi are operated by the South African Government while those north are operated by the Southern Rhodesian Government. There is a wireless service originally intended to serve the Government only, in areas remote from the telegraph line, but public demand soon made it accept telegrams from the public for transmission and so it was connected to the telegraph system.

There are nine post offices at which money order and savings bank business can be transacted, and twenty-one postal agencies at smaller centres. In many small villages villagers get their letters care of the local trader who brings local post with him whenever he goes to the nearest railway station or siding to collect goods for his shop. Often tribesmen walk up to eleven miles or more to the nearest trading store to buy a stamp, post a letter, or collect one. Shoppers bring their friends' letters if they find them at the shop, an admirable neighbourliness, but letters are liable to be lost or forgotten. Urgent messages from cattle-posts and villages without facilities are delivered by hand post or messengers who may travel on foot, by donkey, or on horseback. As there are special post days, this method is sometimes quicker than posting a letter even where there are postal facilities.

Economic Position and Development.

The economy of the territory depends almost entirely on subsistence agriculture. Traditional, unscientific methods are used, and these methods depend entirely on the rains as no irrigation is carried on. Ploughing depends on whether or not the rains fall at the right time of the year. Crop losses may be due to flooding after or during the ploughing season, long protracted droughts between seed germination and harvest time, heavy rains just before or during harvest time, or late ploughing as a result of drought so that winter sets in before the crop is ripe and the latter

is damaged by frosts. Often crop losses are due to insect pests and fungal diseases. As soon as corn begins to ripen birds become quite a pest and destroy large quantities of corn.

All land in the reserves is communal property allocated to members of the tribe by the chief in his discretion. Although in principle land does not automatically pass from father to son and is not owned by any one person, in practice, on the death of a person to whom an area has been allocated, his heirs continue to occupy it unless they ask for a different and perhaps bigger area or have displeased the chief. No land may be alienated, nor may it be fenced.

Cattle roam at will in grazing areas and are kraaled only at night to protect them from wild animals. After harvest domestic animals are allowed to graze in the agricultural plots and all are entitled to graze anywhere and everywhere. No plant matter is ploughed back into the soil for fertilization purposes. Land is denuded of all plant remains, the soil is exposed to the baking sun and is turned into fine dust by the trampling of domestic and wild animals. This fine dust is blown away by the wind or carried away by flood waters thus causing erosion. The fact that land can neither be sold nor fenced in, and that families can be moved about at will by the chief, gives no incentive to an individual to improve his lands. Land improvement is a long term investment,so a man who may be removed to another piece of land while the one he had is allocated to someone else, who may not fence his land against animals, and who knows that he may not sell his land even if circumstances require him to, is not encouraged to put his whole energies and money into soil improvement. Yet annual departmental reports in agriculture and veterinary services show that given economic and technical assistance, on the whole, Batswana are very keen to improve their agricultural and animal husbandry methods.

Except under government experimental schemes hardly any fertilisers are used to improve soil fertility - not even kraal manure which in some areas is plentiful and costs nothing. Soil productivity is reduced by erosion and veld fires as well as by planting the same crop in the same

plot year in and year out. More land is ploughed than can be reasonably and efficiently cultivated and looked after. Apart from the actual ploughing almost all the work lasting six to eight months is left entirely to women and children while men migrate to the mines in the Union of South Africa to work or go to the cattleposts or just laze about. In the circumstances only very little compared with what might be, is harvested, and the yield per acre may be as low as under 10% of what it might be under more favourable conditions, as the following quotations from the section on production dealing with demonstration plots, shows: ".....some excellent yields were recorded, notably in the Bamalete reserve where the highest yield was 16 bags (200 lb. each) per acre. There the average yield from all plots was 964 lb. per acre compared with the figure of 170 lb. per acre from a sample of lands planted in the traditional method." (Colonial Reports, Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1955). Crops are grown for home consumption but any surplus is sold to traders for cash to pay fees, fares, and taxes and to buy clothes and consumer goods from other countries. Grain is also exported because of lack of suitable internal storage facilities. People get very little money for their grain, compared to what they have to pay when it is imported.

Cattle, sheep and goats are reared in large or small numbers. Here again no scientific methods are used. Numerical strength of livestock is valued more highly than quality. Reluctance to reduce stock has nothing to do with religious beliefs or superstition as is sometimes suggested by foreigners. It is due to ignorance of better methods of animal husbandry and to fear of epidemics. The idea is, if a man had 10 head of cattle and 10 died he would have nothing left whereas if he had had 20 at least he would still have 10. Animals are not properly cared for and given supplementary feeding during the dry winter months when there is no grass and they live on twigs with practically no leaves. They are turned out to the veld and left to themselves and to fate or to the incompetent care of small boys and sometimes women. There being no individual fenced farms and cattle movement not being restricted to any particular grazing area at a

time, thousands of cattle concentrate along water courses and these courses are so heavily stocked that grass, however well established after the rains, cannot survive and soon the places are devoid of all traces of plant matter. There is complete lack of supervision of their cattle by most owners who are either in the towns or at the South African mines. Cattle are not herded strictly and a great deal of mixing takes place, thus making it impossible to control breeding. During the drought season cattle are driven very long distances in search of water and may be watered once every two or three days while small stock are watered even fewer times a week. Many die and those which survive are for a long time of no market value. As the Batswana depend almost entirely on the sale of their cattle for money these drought conditions which come with regrettable regularity are a real setback in the economy of the Territory.

"The Western world imposes a strain upon ancient social and economic systems which have evolved in very different surroundings, money with all it implies - wages, taxes, money prices, international trade, etc. - thrusting aside their traditional economy." (Education for Citizenship in Africa - Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 1948.). Cattle and grain are being replaced by money. Cattle sales depend on animal condition. When an area is cordoned off because of an outbreak of disease, unless the people have a fair harvest there is bound to be starvation and misery. Until two or three years ago when an abattoir and cold storage was opened in the Protectorate, cattle were exported to the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and the Belgian Congo alive. Due to the huge distances involved they lost weight in transit and were generally marketed after they had passed peak condition. The abattoir enables producers of first grade animals to sell their cattle in peak condition.

There are no industries of any importance. Deposits of a variety of minerals such as copper, coal, asbestos, and kyanite, some of which are believed to exist in exploitable quantities, have been confirmed by a geological survey financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare grants. There is one small kyanite and one small but promising asbestos mine. The

results of the survey have attracted commercial interests and this might be the turning point in the Protectorate's economy. So far the industries of the whole territory comprise a bonemeal mill, an asbestos mine about five years old, a gold mine, a kyanite mine and an abattoir.

"Over 95% of the population is engaged in stock raising .....few... are employed as herds and drovers by European farmers, but the great majority are themselves the owners of livestock which are cared for on a family or tribal basis .... and in consequence there is little paid employment in the Protectorate" (Colonial Reports, Bechuanaland Protectorate 1954). The principal occupations and approximate numbers and average wages per month of African wage earners are given in the above quoted report as follows:

B.

	Approximate numbers.	Average Wages per mensum
Government Service	3,500 (includes about 2,400 casual labourers)	£5. to £57.
Agriculture	3,000	£3.
Building	300	£6.
Trade and Industry	1,800	£6.
Domestic Service	2,000	£3.

In the light of the above figures the average prices of the principal commodities as given in the 1954 and 1955 reports as compared with the 1939 ones should be considered.

C.

Commodity	1939 £	s.	d.	1954 £	s.	d.	1955 £	s.	d.
Sugar per lb.			4½			7¼			7½
Tea " "		2	11		9	0		9	0
Coffee "		1	7		6	9		7	0
Salt " "			1			2			2½
Tobacco "		2	6		4	11½		5	7
Rice " "			4¾		1	6¾		1	6
Maize meal per 180 lb.	1	0	7	2	12	0	2	14	0
Maize per 200 lb.		17	7	1	14	1½	1	17	4½

Commodity	1939 £	s.	d.	1954 £	s.	d.	1955 £	s.	d.
Sorghum per 200 lb.		14	9	1	11	9	2	5	10
Paraffin per 4 galls.		11	10½		17	6		18	10
Soap per bar			3½		1	7¼		1	8
Beef per lb.			3		1	4		1	5
Mutton " "			?		1	7		1	10
Butter " "		1	7		3	6		3	6
Eggs per doz.			10½		2	0		2	6
Wheat flour per 200 lb.	1	8	0	4	4	7½	4	15	0

The few trading stores that there are are owned mainly by Europeans who are, on the whole, well off and guard their interests jealously against intrusion by Africans.

The new African teachers' salary scales introduced in April, 1953, are as follows:

D.

	Male.	Female.
Unqualified Std. VI with no Junior Certificate (comprising over 45% of teachers)	£36. x 6 - £60.p.a.	£30.x 6 -£54 p.a.
Junior Certificate	45 x 6 - 69	39 x 6 - 63.
Matriculation	54 x 6 - 78	48 x 6 - 72
Elementary Teachers Certificate	60 x 6 - 96	54 x 6 - 90
" " " plus J.C.	" plus £9.p.a.	" plus £9.p.a.
" " " plus Matric.	" plus £18.p.a.	" plus £18.p.a.
Primary Lower Certificate	72 x 6 - 168	60 x 6 - 156.
plus J.C.	" plus £9.p.a.	" plus £9.p.a.
plus Matric.	" plus £18.p.a.	" plus £18.p.a.
Primary Higher Certificate	102 x 6 - 210 p.a.	84 x 6 - 192 p.a.
plus Matric.	" plus £12.p.a.	" plus £12.p.a.

An allowance of £3. per annum for each year of a completed industrial course is made in addition to the basic salary for other qualifications held, where the teacher is engaged in teaching subjects taken in the industrial course. Head teachers' allowances are paid at the rate of £6. per annum for a second assistant and an additional £6. for each assistant beyond two, with a maximum of £36. per annum.

Against this background of high cost of living, low wages, few wage earning facilities and a subsistence economy based on unscientific agriculture and animal husbandry are the facts that: (a) An average African family consists of father, mother, about five or more children and their grandparents; (b) Normally only the man is the wage earner in the family; (c) The man is expected to, and does, look after his younger brothers and unmarried sisters and their children if they have any, and very often his relations' children too. (d) Where a man works away from home, e.g.,at the mines, he has to divide his very small pay between himself and his family at home.

Economic development is the key to educational development and expansion. Without money all plans, aims and policies are practically meaningless. Economics determines the content and method of teaching as will be shown later. Inadequate finances result in poor or no school buildings, in insufficient or no equipment, in the employment of untrained, uneducated teachers even where suitable ones might be available, and in far fewer schools than are needed.

As the country is practically entirely dependent on agriculture for its economy, agriculture might well be the starting point for development. The main aim here should be to increase the food production of the country so as to make it ultimately self-supporting in basic needs and have a constant surplus for export. At present the country's import and export trade in agricultural products fluctuates in accordance with the uncertainty of rain and other weather conditions. Much can be done to improve production even against the vagaries of climatic conditions. Dry farming and the use of manures and fertilizers can increase output. The Okovango swamps which cover thousands of acres could be reclaimed and made available

for agriculture. With underground water development irrigation is possible.

The 1954 annual report of the Agricultural Department indicates that the people, on the whole, are willing to acquire knowledge of, and apply, scientific methods of cultivation, and that output can be stepped up by the application of kraal manure which is plentiful and free, and fertilizers like superphosphates, in addition to proper cultivation, planting and spacing. In one area where the average yield of grain in plots cultivated in the traditional methods was "well under a bag per acre", the average yield from demonstration plots worked by the department staff with the co-operation of land owners, where kraal manured and fertilizers were applied, was well over five bags per acre. "The results obtained," says the report, "stimulated interest in the work and, in addition to the new co-operators enlisted for next season, several land owners were observed to be applying manure to their lands while others commenced destumping with the object of becoming co-operators .... Yields of over 8 bags per acre in this reserve were not uncommon and the demonstration plots have made a considerable impression on the people." Similarly encouraging reports are given about one or two other small areas where the Agricultural Department has been able to organise and aid small groups of "co-operators" through its demonstrators and implements to use the correct methods of cultivation. The department staff is limited and so are its resources, but the results are heartening. "Numerous requests for help have been received from peasants in areas which are not at present served by demonstrators". In the 1955 territorial annual report records of exceptionally high yields in experimental plots are given.

Expansion of the scope of the Agricultural Department's extension work was made possible during 1954/55 by the availability of the Colonial development and Welfare Fund Scheme D.680. The whole section on extension work shows that given leadership, guidance, and capital, the people are willing and desirous to improve their production. The results of agronomic investigations and fertilizer and manure trials show that although the agricultural potential of the Protectorate is as yet not known, production can at least be more than doubled. This work, at present in its embryonic

stage, needs to be greatly extended to cover several areas in all reserves. The possibility of obtaining technical assistance through the Food and Agricultural Organisation or the International Labour Organisation could be investigated and application for aid made. All possible sources of funds should be tapped. Loans might be obtained to augment the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund grants, so that financial and technical assistance can be made available to those who need it and ask for it - financial assistance on a loan basis. A scheme like the Acholi farm school in Uganda (to be described later) adapted to adult instruction and needs could be started and men (with small families) encouraged to bring their families for a period of two or three years to study agricultural methods.

Forestry, fruit growing, and vegetable gardening might be encouraged. The country depends entirely on the Union of South Africa for fruit and vegetables. Distances and weather conditions so affect them that often by the time they get to their destination they have gone bad. Traders charge high prices to cover transport and make up for losses incurred when stuff goes bad. The climate of Bechuanaland is such that most vegetables grow all the year round and much tropical and subtropical fruit grows well where water is available. Given water there is scope to develop this side of agriculture and improve the dietary position of the country.

Animal husbandry needs just as much attention. Experiments have shown wonderful results in quality improvement, but progress is not as easy to achieve here as in crop production due to the prevailing system of land tenure which makes control of breeding and grazing well nigh impossible. The veterinary department is doing good work in teaching people how to control and combat disease.

Improved agricultural production will reduce the incidence of starvation and as a result check wastage in education where it is caused by food shortage.

Linked with agriculture, veterinary services, education and other social services must be the development of water supply. Colonial Development and Welfare Fund grants are making this possible but they are far from adequate. While dams are of immense value, in view of the high rate of

evaporation during the hot season more efforts might be concentrated on water boring though individual and co-operative dams should be encouraged.

Every means possible needs be employed to encourage the exploitation of minerals whose exploitable quantities have been confirmed. Care should be taken in the development of mining to make sure that the territory derives the maximum benefits possible without discouraging private enterprise if that is the only possible course.

Development of mining will inevitably lead to development of towns around or at mining centres, followed by development of secondary industry. Town planning along modern lines is necessary in advance. Good housing with essential services will have to be planned and emphasis should be laid on family units rather than compounds and barracks for male workers who of necessity must leave their wives and children behind. The tendency of authorities, in African housing, to put up poor inadequate buildings with no ablution facilities and the attitude held by some Europeans that because Africans normally live in huts they need not be provided with decent adequate houses is not the best way to encourage the African to improve himself and appreciate beauty and comfort. The squalor, misery, crime and all the evils which characterised the period of the Industrial Revolution in England as a result of rapid growth of towns without planning could be avoided. Preventive legislation dealing with the employment of youths could be effected in advance.

The possibility of raising incomes by general economic development together with development in social welfare will increase the demand for manufactured goods and thus develop industry. Manufacture of dairy produce - cheese, butter, condensed and powdered milk - could be carried out on a fair scale under improved farming conditions. The building of effective grain storage facilities on a territorial basis and the building of grain mills would reduce the incidence of starvation due to mass grain disposal for fear of destruction of grain by insects and general deterioration.

Industrial development would provide greater scope for productive utilisation of labour and reduce migration to other countries with all its evils. This should lead to a healthier family life, provided the men do

not leave their womenfolk in the rural areas and go to the industrial centres like they do in Uganda. Money earned as wages would circulate in the territory thus helping to improve the general economy of the country.

Co-operatives might be introduced and encouraged by the provision of initial capital on loan, free of interest or at a low interest rate, and by providing technical guidance where necessary. Talks on the International Labour Organisation and its work and fellowships might be given and all possible information on the work of UNESCO, ILO, FAO, UNICEF, and other such organisation made available to those who would improve their lot if they knew how. People's attention should be drawn to the availability of such information. In order to be able to advance the necessary capital on loan to co-operatives and individuals a credit fund subscribed to by all the tribes might be started.

All the development envisaged above must of necessity entail the provision of such essential services as railways and proper roads to link up agricultural areas with their marketing centres, industrial centres with their source of raw material and labour and for quick, efficient and regular transport of goods and passengers. Medical, educational and other services will have to be provided to cope with a growing population bound to follow economic and social development, in a rapidly changing pattern of life.

CHAPTER III

TRIBAL EDUCATION (Pre-European with Survivals into present day).

The first European contact Bechuanas made was with Pieter Jan Truter, Dr. William Somerville, a missionary, Anderson, and their party who, in 1801, were sent into the interior by the Governor of the Cape to procure draught oxen as the oxen at the Cape had suffered a great deal from drought. The expedition was recorded by John Barrow and his account of it makes very interesting reading. They found the Bechuanas living in "populous" cities consisting of neat houses (huts) enclosed by palisades, and carrying out agriculture.

In 1805, Henry Lichtenstein was invited by the Governor of the Cape to go on an expedition to "investigate the country and the people to the north of the Orange River." He visited a town of the Tlhaping tribe - a Tswana tribe - and estimated the number of houses making up the town to be between five and six hundred, remarkably commodious and durable, and, as he reported, "built with great care and exactness." He found in the people themselves "a certain degree of civilization ... the dress of the upper class was elaborate, that of the common people was simple ... but decent." He did not encounter the nakedness which seemed to be common among the non-Tswana tribes of the south. He wrote "The Bectjuans are extremely modest even among each other ... both with men and women the greater part of the body is covered: the women wear several aprons, one over the other ..."; for adornment they wore ivory, brass, and copper rings on the forearm, and beads round their necks. The young people wore their hair in bunches smeared with a shining ointment. Hairdressers used razors for shaving children's and in some cases, men's hair. Women and girls smeared their faces, arms, and legs with a type of red ochre mixed with some ointment to keep their skin smooth and supple and to give them a healthy complexion.

The next Europeans to come were Missionaries who built mission stations, started evangelizing the Bechuana, built schools and brought about a new form of education.

From the foregoing, and from many records of early travellers and missionaries, it seems clear that Bechuana life was more highly organised than at least that of the Ngumi tribes of the south and the country now known as Zululand, and such organisation presupposes an elaborate system of formal and informal education.

Formal education took the form of initiation schools for adolescent boys and girls run every so many years - say once every 5 or 6 years. Here adolescents were introduced into tribal adulthood by initiation rites after 2 or 3 months' training. The schools were strictly single sex schools, and the young were instructed in tribal lore and custom, warfare as well as procreation rites. Instruction dealt with matters historical, traditional, physiological, ethical, and religious. Sex education was given there. Everything taught, said, and done there was treated as 'top secret' and nobody who had not been to such a school could know about it nor would the one sex know what the other sex did. People who had not been to school were despised by their comrades and often treated as inferior until they too graduated. Morality was rated very high, particularly as regards girls, where a girl brought disgrace to all her family and friends if on examination on the eve of her wedding day it was discovered that she had had premarital intimacy with a man. Marriage guidance was given at these schools as well as on the eve of the wedding day or at the end of the wedding when the bride left her own home for her husband's.

When Bechuanaland adopted Christianity early in the nineteenth century initiation schools and ceremonies were abolished by those chiefs who became converts, as pagan rites incompatible with the Christian religion. This abolition gradually spread until at present only one small tribe still runs occasional initiation schools. Sometimes tribesmen from neighbouring territories have stealthily sent their children across the borders to these schools on payment of fees, but penalties have been very high when their own chiefs have discovered it.

Some awful things did happen at these schools and some of the physical exercises purporting to train the youth in endurance of pain without outward signs were absolute torture. So it is a good thing the system was abolished. But at least one subject has suffered, and that is sex education. Everything connected with sex is clouded in mystery. Parents will not discuss sex with their children, teachers in schools will not touch the subject out of both shyness and ignorance, the Church which is in contact with a very small proportion of the youth avoids the subject and adopts a Victorian attitude towards girl/boy relationships. Everybody avoids the subject and so by trial and error, by furtive underhand methods, young people pick up scraps of information, knowledge of which they would flatly deny if asked. Ignorance, suspicion, and unsatisfied curiosity sometimes lead children into mischief and difficulties.

Informal education has survived the vicissitudes of modern Bechuana life to a certain extent and has had a stabilising influence against disruption of tribal life. Arts and crafts were handed on from father to son and from mother to daughter; beadwork, basketry, and pottery for women and wood-carving and skinwork for men. With the introduction of European machine-made, cheaper and more durable articles these arts and crafts are unfortunately dying out. Household duties were, and still are, learned as a matter of course. Girls learn to cook, work in the fields, balance loads on their heads, smear huts to keep down dust, thatch, or make brooms, without purposive instruction, and boys learn to milk, herd, tame and handle domestic animals, by experience. There is division of labour and men and women do not encroach on each other's ground.

Girls and boys soon learn to be useful members of the community as they take part in such family or tribal duties as building a home, where the girls and women cart the soil, draw water, and build the walls while the boys and men collect the timber and rafters for roofing, and do the roofing. One type of thatch is done by the women and many of them are experts, particularly when it comes to trimming and decorating the front. Another type - driven thatch - which is more elaborate and durable - is done by men. At every stage experts emerge and among men thatching becomes

a specialised, lucrative career while women offer their services free. Home decoration is learned in the same way and experts are often called upon to put finishing touches to houses or courtyards built at the chief's place, teachers' quarters, or in some cases mission stations or parson's quarters when tribal labour is employed.

Like Scouts boys learned to stalk animals and as a prelude to stalking they had to be able to distinguish different animal smells and footprints, whether or not an animal was in a hurry, or whether it was wounded, and how long ago or how soon the animal went past. This was very necessary when they lived on hunting, but there is not much hunting done now except occasionally for sport or at cattleposts. So this rural skill is dying out. As hunting and fighting no longer occupy men's time as first duties men might consider taking over some of the duties normally relegated to women, particularly those dealing with agriculture.

There is no written code of behaviour, but children soon learn and practise accepted patterns of behaviour from not using their left hand for eating to behaving correctly before adults. Seniority by virtue of hereditary position, e.g.,royalty or belonging to the upper classes as against servants, or by virtue of age, is strictly respected, and sometimes position gives way to age. Children and juniors learn that they must not speak to their seniors standing erect as it is a sign of disrespect, but rather that they must sit down, bend or, preferably, kneel down. This particular custom is of interest because it conflicts sharply with the Western idea of standing when addressing, or being addressed by, a senior. Official administrators and others (expatriate) should study some of these customs if they wish to understand the behaviour of their wards and not judge as impolite a man who, according to his up-bringing, has behaved most politely. One of the things girls learn is to behave themselves decently and quietly, and not to shout when they speak. Children, particularly girls, must be seen and not heard. This early home training later conflicts with conditions in school where two or more classes occupy one room and the teacher necessarily wants his pupils to speak out.

Because of the communal nature of the life of the Bechuanas and the absence of a Welfare State to look after the aged and the destitute as well as orphans, there are accepted traditional laws, and tribesmen learn to take their share of responsibility for their needy. The sense of communal obligation is real and it is not imposed by threats of punishment or promises of reward, though in some cases there is some punishment as will be explained later; in such cases the punishment is accepted in very good spirit, so much so, that it is often shared. Certain animals killed in the hunt, or parts of animals slaughtered for food, for instance, may not be eaten by a person or a group of individuals when there is someone older than they within walking distance (within a radius of say five or more miles). In other words, if a hunter kills a particular animal,or a man slaughters a domestic animal, the animal or a portion of it is given to the next person in seniority according to age. He in turn passes it on until it gets to the oldest person or persons in the neighbourhood. If somewhere at the intermediate stages somebody fails to pass it on, all members of the age group to which the culprit belongs will be required to pay a stipulated fine in cash or kind. This safeguards old people with no possessions from starving. It may sound ridiculous or even arbitrary but as an accepted tradition no ill will results and it does some social good.

Children learn the correct way to address old people or seniors, e.g., to use the third person as if they are talking of somebody else not the person spoken to, or as in some tribes, if the second person is used, to use its plural form. They must not call adults by their first name but by saying 'mother/father-of-so-and-so' using the name of their first born child. Where a married couple has no children of its own often the name of a brother's, sister's, or cousin's child who usually stays with it is used. Where somebody is not married or has no relative's child staying with him/her "Mme" or "Rre" (meaning mother and father respectively) is prefixed to his or her name. Even husbands do not normally call their wives or wives their husbands, by their first name. The introduction of the English Mr., Miss and Mrs. has helped to solve the problem, particularly

among the younger generation. Though seniors may call juniors by their name they usually do not do so if the latter have children, just as a sign of respect.

Bechuanas have many prohibitions where no explanation is given. Certain things are just not done and that is that and children soon learn not to ask too many questions - rather a pity for the enquiring mind. Taboos are learnt and accepted as part of life. They may seem mere superstitions but many of them often serve a useful purpose and rational reasons could be given for them if carefully studied, e.g., some of the trees or bushes which may not be used as firewood produce pungent smells or fumes which irritate the eyes and might cause eye trouble if used regularly for fuel. The sense of the insistence that fires must be lighted before dusk is obvious in a community which has no electric switches at the door and there is danger of stepping on poisonous creeping creatures in the dark. Where there are no straight, even, and paved roads, and thorns, where stones and stumps are plentiful, children walking backwards are likely to stumble and fall and get hurt. Hence the taboo 'never walk backwards'. All these do's and dont's are learnt without formal schooling and although many are superstitions and others have wrong reasons attached to them, where reasons are given, many others have useful, protective, and deterrent purposes.

There have been, and still are, two types of medicine men or doctors, the notorious witchdoctor or witch hunter, and the herbalist. Sometimes a man is both herbalist and witchdoctor. Their skill has been passed on from father to son or from grandfather to grandson and sometimes to a non-relation on the payment of an agreed fee and apprenticeship over a certain period, in some cases the apprentice only becoming a master after the death of his tutor. Witchdoctors believe that by using their charms, bones (lots), and other devices, they can tell the person who caused the illness or whatever trouble is being investigated, that they can foil the enemy's plans, and even bring him mishap by doctoring the patient or his clothes. People go to witchdoctors to find out who has caused their illness or that of their patient, who has stolen their property or has made their animals go astray, and they are fooled into paying to get their lost property or for cure as well as for vengeance

on their malefactor. The whole business is very clever as the witchdoctor must be alert and intelligent enough to pick up cues from the patient's story regarding social and family relationships and quarrels so as to choose a likely suspect. Witchdoctors have exploited many ignorant people and as long as there are no adequate proper medical facilities they will continue to do so. Herbalists are more reliable. They do not sow strife among tribesmen by pretending they know the cause of illness, and people do not go to them concerning lost property. They do not cast lots. Their sole aim is to heal the sick. Experience has taught them effective remedies for many diseases, some of which it is believed still baffle medical science. Unfortunately they carry on their work under primitive, unhygienic conditions which sometimes counteract the effect of their herbs. Both men and women belong to this class of medicine men, among whom are midwives and specialists in women's diseases. Medical science might benefit by testing some of their drugs under scientific conditions and proving their worth, if the herbalists will co-operate, and put their knowledge at the disposal of science. Usually they guard their secret jealously and want nobody else to know what plant roots or leaves they use. While every means possible should be employed in schools and elsewhere to discredit witchdoctors and release people from the fear of witchcraft, the difference between the two classes of medecine men should be made so clear that when the need arises in the majority of areas where there are no hospitals people should seek the help of herbalists and consciously avoid witchdoctors.

The aim of tribal education, pre-European to date, is to integrate the community into a composite structure of interdependent individuals. It often comes into conflict with the demands of a cash economy and the result- and philosophy of 'every man for himself and God for us all'. Standards and social codes are undermined by rapid economic and political change. Seniority which depended on age and heredity is challenged by modern education which makes it possible for younger people to be qualified to teach older men and therefore be above them in station and for the common man to transcend social boundaries. But even with these changes the educational foundation remains, teaching respect of age and position, the difference

being that position is acquired and not inherited.

Tribal sports and dances which used to provide social occasions have practically died out. Cross country and relay races as well as bullock riding used to be popular. Traditional sports, games and music should be revived and adapted to modern conditions while at the same time new ones are learned.

Thus tribal education goes on. Children are being educated all the time by all those, both contemporary and older, whom they meet - members of the family, playmates, people in the streets, shop-folk, workmen at their jobs. The whole community is educating the young consciously and unconsciously. Established traditions are being handed on. But life is changing fast and traditional patterns of behaviour are breaking down. Doubts and uncertainties enter the minds of men and are translated into acts which are copied by children in their process of assimilation, be they good, bad or indifferent. There is need to give cohesion and meaning to a child's experiences, to interpret to the child its environment, and this is best done through formal schooling. In the past, before the abolition of initiation and circumcision schools, all children obtained formal teaching and training at a certain stage of their life. Now the rising complexities of a changing life, the impinging impact of outside influences, and the breaking down of custom and traditional patterns of life, demand more formal education than was needed in the past when life was simple. Yet now only about a third of the children of Bechuanaland get formal education at some stage in their life. The rest have to grope along the path of life and find their way by the natural if most uneconomical method of trial and error. There has been much elimination of an imperfect and in some ways injurious system, but with very little substitution, and unless this state of affairs is remedied it may have very unfavourable effects on the life of the community.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM AND CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN BECHUANALAND WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON :

(a) Wastage, in part due to :

(b) Poor Teaching and

(c) Absence of Obvious Economic Advantage of completing a School Course.

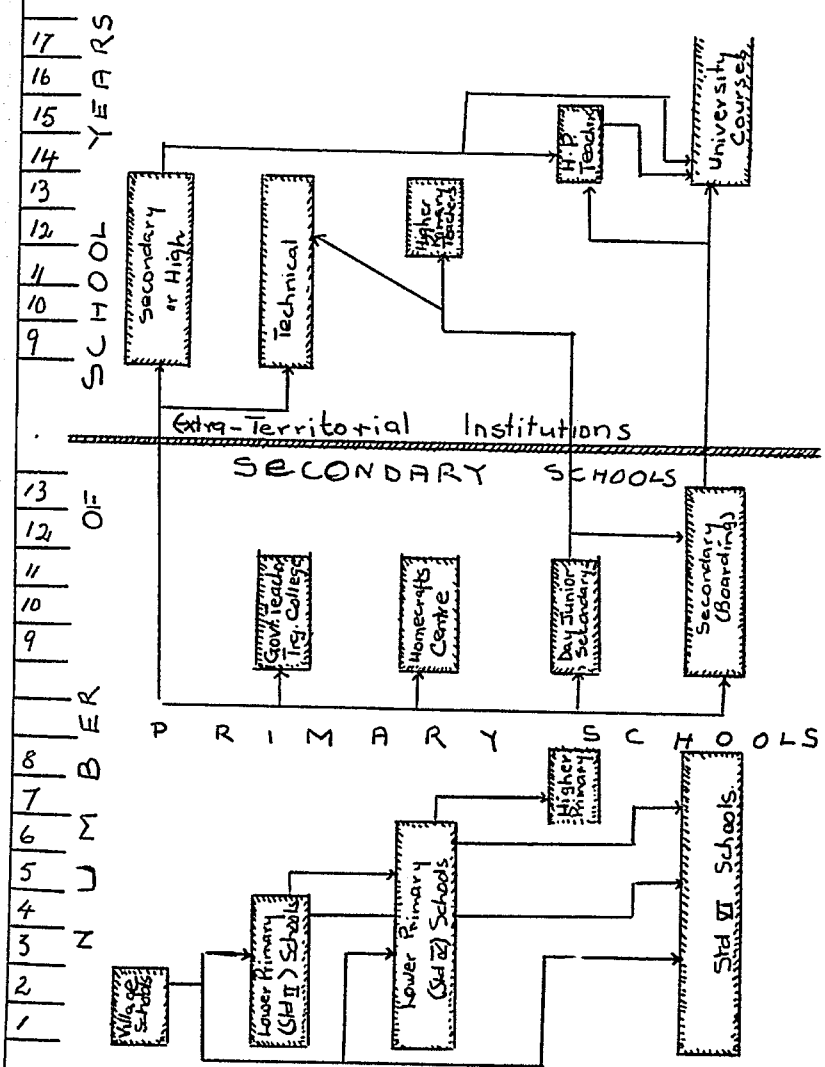
The diagram on page 46 illustrates the system of African education in relation to extra-territorial institutions upon which it depends for the more advanced facilities which are inadequate or not yet available in the Protectorate.

Primary education is an eight year course comprising two grade classes or substandards, and standards I to VI. Except the five secondary schools, the Homecrafts Centre, and the Teacher Training College, the schools generally offer a four - , six - , or a full eight-year course and are named Standard II, IV, and VI schools respectively. The first two types of schools are also known as Lower Primary, while the third group are simply, primary schools. There are a few schools in small villages which offer only two years' schooling, and are feeder schools to nearby bigger schools serving two or more villages. They are, however, fast being replaced by Std.II schools. In some of the chief centres where there are several Lower Primary schools there are Higher Primary Schools - one in each centre - which run only Stds. V and VI classes. They are usually adequately staffed with suitably qualified male teachers but often have difficulty in obtaining suitably qualified women teachers. In 1953 only 19.5% of the Protectorate Schools were Std. VI or Higher Primary Schools.

The segregation of Stds. V and VI into separate schools has proved unsatisfactory, and the intention of some of the authorities concerned now is to convert Higher Primary schools into Std. VI schools and to up-grade some of the Std. IV schools to Std. VI level. At present three to six or more Std. IV schools feed one Higher Primary school. The reason for this

E

Bechuanaland Protectorate System of African Education in relation to Extra-Territorial Institutions.



At every step of the educational ladder there are those who do not make the grade. Therefore some pupils spend 10 or more years in the primary school.

arrangement was economic as small numbers of Std. V and VI pupils in the individual schools demanding suitably qualified teachers and the need for additional classroom accommodation, were avoided. In one such centre in 1955 four Std. IV schools with a population of over 1200 fed one Higher Primary school with a population of 100 Std. V pupils in three classes and about 60 Std. VI pupils in two classes. There were six classrooms and six teachers (including the headteacher) at this school. If the Std.V and VI pupils were evenly distributed among the five schools there would be about 20 Std. V and 12 Std. VI pupils in each school requiring 10 classrooms and 10 teachers instead of the six given above, thus increasing expenses tremendously. But the village covers an area of over 30 square miles. All post Std. IV pupils have to go to the Higher Primary School which, though on the whole centrally situated, may mean a walk of five or more miles for some of the children living on the outskirts of the village. It also means splitting families, the older children going to the Higher Primary school and leaving younger children to walk to their school by themselves. This is particularly undesirable since for the greater part of the year children are at home without their parents, the latter being out at the lands. The segregation of Std. V and VI children into Higher Primary Schools has also meant the concentration of the best qualified and most able teachers in these schools thus depriving the other schools of the valuable contribution of these teachers to the laying of the foundation of primary education. Higher Primary teachers often complain that they get pupils who have not been taught properly up to Std. IV and a lot of their time is spent going over ground which should have been covered in Stds.III and IV, hence the poor results in Std. VI examinations. In 1955 there were altogether 152 primary schools with an enrolment of 20,475.

There are five secondary schools comprising three tribal junior secondary schools offering a three-year course leading to the Junior Certificate of the University of South Africa or the Union 'National Junior Certificate', and two boarding secondary schools - one a Roman Catholic Mission School and the other the Bamangwato Tribal college which has now become an inter-tribal institution. These schools offer a full secondary course, i.e.three years leading to the Junior Certificate and a further two years leading to

the Senior Certificate or South African matriculation equivalent. Pupils who have obtained the Junior Certificate can enter teacher training colleges in Basutoland and train as Higher Primary Teachers (until the recent Union ban on extra-territorial students most of them trained in the Union of South Africa) or go to Basutoland or Swaziland for commercial or technical courses. Many used to go to the Union to train as nurses. A number from the day junior secondary schools go to the boarding schools for senior certificate work. From the primary schools pupils who have obtained a satisfactory pass in the School Leaving Certificate examinations proceed to the above-mentioned secondary schools or extra-territorial ones, to the Government Teacher Training College, or to the Homecrafts centre for adolescent girls. Some seek employment in the Government service as messenger-interpreters, orderlies, "police boys", and in the tribal administration. Many are employed as unqualified teachers and others still train in Bechuanaland hospitals for the High Commission Territories' General Nursing and Midwifery Certificates which are not registered or recognised anywhere except in the High Commission territories.

University education has in the past been provided by the Union of South Africa mainly at the University College of Fort Hare and in one or two cases at the Witwatersrand, Natal and Cape Town Universities. A few years ago the Roman Catholic Mission opened a University College at Roma, Basutoland. Its first group of students graduated in 1955, obtaining external degrees of the University of South Africa. It serves all three territories and came in handy just as the Union decided to ban outside students from its institutions and universities. In view of the Union ban the Protectorate Government has made an arrangement with the Central African Federation Government whereby a number of students from the Protectorate will be admitted to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury. It is hoped that some Bechuanaland Protectorate students will be able in future to attend East and West African Colleges and United Kingdom Colleges and Universities.

Plans for the development of education within the Protectorate are limited in scope by the financial and economic resources of the country and by the smallness and sparseness of the population. Some of the more immediate aims stated in departmental reports from time to time are:-

(a) The establishment of differentiated secondary courses at the two boarding secondary schools, and an increasing number of day junior secondary schools.

(b) In co-operation with Basutoland and Swaziland to extend the scope of existing institutions and to open new ones for higher and specialist teacher training and vocational courses.

(c) Introduction of school medical inspections and possibly supplementary feeding of school children.

(d) The inauguration of a library service for young and old.

(e) The bringing of primary education within the reach of a much larger proportion of children of the school age population and an extension of secondary facilities.

(f) The concurrent development of adult education when financial assistance becomes available.

(g) The improvement of school buildings and equipment, the raising of standards, and the amelioration of the teachers' conditions of service.

The above aims are obviously not set out in order of importance. There has been definite progress during the last six to ten years in the improvement of school buildings and equipment, and teachers' salaries were raised in April, 1953 (see page 31) to compare more favourably with those of adjoining countries. But by the time the new scales came into operation the other countries introduced new ones and increased their cost of living allowance. More and more new schools are opened each year, some tribes being more active and enterprising than others, thus bringing primary education within the reach of more and more of the school-age population. But not all new schools are in buildings worth the names. Sometimes it seems that quantity is being encouraged at the expense of quality.

It is anticipated that steadily a number of Std. II schools will be up-graded to Std. IV status and that a number of the Std. IV schools will become full primary, and that in the end all will become full primary as is the case in most areas in Basutoland.

The Department's professional staff comprises a Director of Education, a Deputy Director of Education, 4 Education Officers, a Homecrafts Education Officer, a Welfare and Information Officer and six African Supervisors of Schools. The duties of these members of staff are briefly stated as follows:

(a) Director and Deputy Director of Education: Control of policy and administration; tours of inspection when possible.

(b) Education Officers: inspections of schools ....

(c) Homecrafts Education Officer: encouragement and supervision of homecrafts instruction, and general inspection of schools in the Bakgaka, Batlokwa, and Bamalete Reserves.

(d) Welfare Officer: Youth Movements, audio-visual education, bursaries, school equipment and buildings, welfare work.

(e) Supervisors of Schools: inspections of schools, demonstrations, etc., in their own areas.

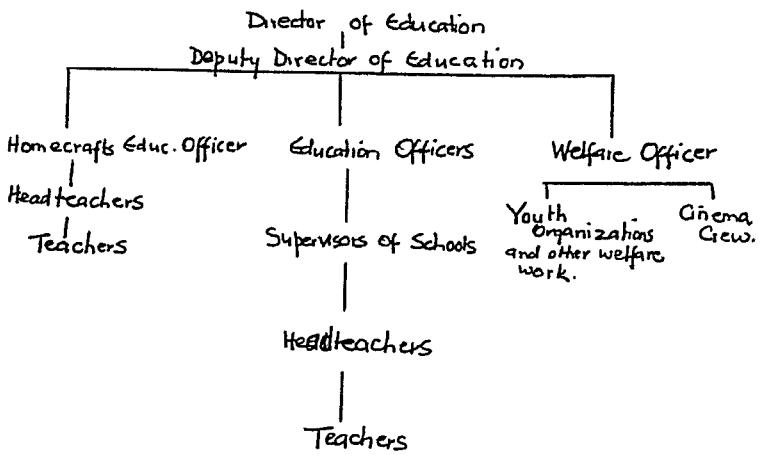
The diagrams on page 51 illustrate the running of educational matters - professional and administrative. The relationship of school committee members, described in the first chapter and all the other people concerned with education is shown in the second diagram.

Minutes of all school committee meetings are submitted through the Director of Education to the Government Secretary so that action proposed is noted and commented on before the committees or tribal authorities can take action. Committees can take action on urgent matters, e.g. suspensions or dismissals, pending confirmation by the Director of Education.

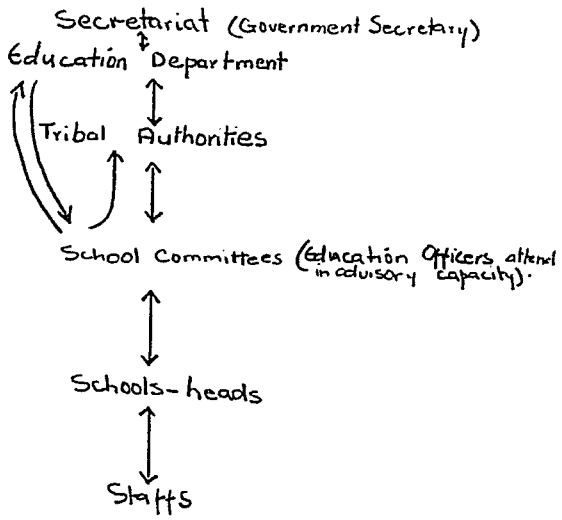
Departmental itinerant and professional staff report on their visits to both tribal and non-tribal schools as all schools are subject to their inspection. They make recommendations regarding staff, buildings, accommodation and equipment, but the Department itself can only draw the attention of the committee concerned, to such recommendations. Sometimes the same recommendations are made several times before the committee decides on or is able to take action. While their (the committee's) progress is influenced a great deal by the initiative, guidance, and encouragement given by sympathetic administrative officers and the assistance freely given by those

Education in Bechuanaland — Existing System

F Professional



G Administrative



missionaries who devote so much of their time to their secretarial duties, its rate depends a very great deal on the committees' growth of initiative, perspective, and a sense of financial and other responsibility, and a community willingness to make heavier sacrifices on behalf of their children. This in turn depends on the chief's or tribal authority's attitude towards educational matters, his sense of public duty, the way he nominates his committee members and trusts them to do the job efficiently, his general outlook on the wider issues of life and a real desire to improve his area. Some authorities and consequently their committees are reactionary and this, in addition to financial difficulties, does slow down progress, while those who are doing their best for their people do make progress in spite of limitations imposed by inadequate finances.

The Board of Advice on African Education has been described elsewhere. In view of its composition it should be very helpful in its suggestions in dealing with the heavy programme of educational reconstruction which faces the Protectorate now.

Teacher Training:

The only Teacher Training College in the Territory has an average output of 15 teachers per annum, qualified to teach up to Std. IV. Official opinion is that to replace unqualified teachers gradually, and to meet normal wastage it is necessary to turn out approximately 40 Tswana teachers annually. In 1953 eleven completed the course. In July, 1956, after carrying on in temporary, borrowed buildings for about 15 years, teacher training moved into new, suitable and satisfactorily situated easily accessible premises. It is hoped that here it will be possible in the near future to enrol more than 50 new students each year. In the past lack of accommodation limited enrolment to not more than 50, and a number of prospective students had to be refused admission.

Duration of the course of training is three years after Std.VI. In addition to professional and general subjects emphasis is laid on practical work in local schools both with and without supervision by the College staff. A certain amount of formal, regular teaching is done to raise the trainees'

Although formally there was none, there is now a practising school, which is under the direct supervision of the training college. In addition to it student teachers do practice teaching in neighbouring schools. Distance makes it difficult for the students to gain experience from a variety of schools.

The presence of a practising school is a help as experimentation can be done in methods and organisation, but experience in schools under normal Bechuanaland primary school conditions is necessary.

academic standards as these are often low, particularly as regards students from remote and inadequately staffed village schools. (Insert)

A small boarding fee is payable at the Training College and students buy uniform. Like those in extra-territorial institutions some students are assisted by Government bursaries.

Future plans assume that primary lower teacher training for Bechuanaland, and domestic science for all three High Commission territories would be carried out in Bechuanaland while higher primary, secondary, and specialist teacher training would probably be carried out in Swaziland and Basutoland on an inter-territorial basis.

Because of the shortage of suitably qualified teachers in the territory, and for lack of funds to employ any available teachers in neighbouring countries (there are many primary lower teachers seeking jobs, particularly from the Union of South Africa where they have become redundant as a result of the Bantu Education Act) Std. VI people are recruited as teachers. The following table shows the staffing position during the last three years:

H.

	Qualified.			Unqualified.			Total.		Grand Total.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	M.	F.	
1954	193	94	287	128	177	305	321	271	592
1955	218	105	323	133	178	311	351	283	634
1956	225	114	339	130	182	312	355	296	651

Percentage of unqualified teachers, 1952 to 1956, was as follows:-

I.

1952	47.2
1953	48.5
1954	51.5
1955	49.1
1956	47.9

*Tswana with its various dialects is the language of approximately 65% of the population of Bechuanaland. Variations in dialects are not such as require different readers. More than half of those who are not true Batswana can and do speak Tswana - in fact some of them use Tswana as their mother tongue. But there are many Non-Tswana people who can hardly speak a word in Tswana. Children belonging to such parents find Tswana very difficult, particularly so where most of their teachers may themselves know very little or no Tswana at all.

Subject matter: Arithmetic, Tswana. English, Scripture, health education, physical education, geography, history, writing, singing, gardening, needlework and handcrafts form the curriculum. Methods and extent of reading are determined and influenced by limitations in facilities and teaching staff. Needlework, though admittedly very important for girls as most of them leave school early, is only taught in the senior classes of Std.VI schools or in Higher Primary schools. In the Std. VI schools where there are no qualified women teachers needlework is not taught. Sometimes it is not taught merely for lack of materials. Domestic science, child care and home nursing are not taught because there are no teachers qualified to teach them, and because a certain minimum provision of equipment, utensils and ingredients would be required. Agriculture is reduced to vegetable gardening, practical work being done only at certain times of the year when water is available. Some simple, often unimaginative, woodcarving is done by boys using local materials and improvised tools but proper carpentry is not taught as it is expensive. Religious instruction (Scripture) is compulsory in all schools and is an examination subject for the School Leaving Certificate. (Christianity is the only religion practised in Bechuanaland). Some teachers are either not interested in religion or do not have much religious knowledge, while some may be definitely against religion. But they all have to teach scripture. Those who teach in bigger schools may exchange lessons with those on their staff interested in, and willing to teach, scripture, while they (the former) teach their history or other subject. But those in one or two teacher schools where exchanges are not possible must teach it.

Art is not taught in African Schools for the obvious reason that there are neither facilities for its teaching nor teachers qualified to teach it.

Where Tswana is not the mother tongue* and is not known at first instruction is in the medium of the mother tongue, Tswana being introduced as a subject at the earliest possible time, and English is introduced almost simultaneously with Tswana. In Std.II Tswana officially becomes the medium of instruction while more and more periods of English are introduced. In StdIII English officially becomes the medium of instruction, Tswana the

second language and the mother tongue dropped. Reasons for making English the medium of instruction are:

(a) It is the official language of the Protectorate - Tswana is the second official language.

(b) If pupils want to become Government clerks, messenger-interpreters, teachers, or nurses, and if they wish to become successful farmers or business men and study agriculture, animal husbandry and commerce - practically all available information on these subjects is in English - they must have some knowledge of English.

(c) It is very important as an international language and an open sesame for higher education.

(d) In view of the very little, if any, contact pupils have with English speaking people and therefore their lack of chances to learn English outside the school it is necessary to concentrate on its teaching in school.

(e) There is very little literature in the vernacular.

(f) The vernacular has not developed enough to evolve its own technical and scientific terminology.

At least 1½ hours a week are devoted to music or rather singing. The Church in whose hands education was until about 25 years ago prohibited or discouraged African music, games and dance. Children sang hymns and acceptable songs in English or translated from English, or vernacular ones composed along Western lines. The Tswana who are a musical people, and had various types of musical instruments, lost them as they became "civilized" and Christianised. Without the necessary musical instruments and people qualified to teach European music and games, Africans were not able to substitute the latter for their lost music and games. The policy now is to encourage traditional African music, games and crafts but there are not many among the teachers who are able or willing to teach them. Parents, teachers and pupils are suspicious of what they regard as a return to barbarism. The attitude shown towards reviving African music, dance, and games, as well as when suggestions are made to make education more realistic and adapted

to local needs and conditions by doing away with some established but out of date practices was aptly summed up by the British group leader at a Conference on Educational Problems of Special Culture Groups, held at the Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1949, when he said: "I believe it is true that in the realm of ideologies, institutions, and, perhaps above all, in education, we export to the colonies what we ourselves have faith in ..... There is a time lag between the acceptance of new educational ideas... in Britain and their export and adoption by the Colonies. One of the results of this faith in the past was to saddle the colonies with the Victorian type of elementary schools, and one of our headaches today is to convince the colonial peoples that we no longer believe in that type of school." What one often hears during singing periods is an odd mixture of English, Afrikaans, Tswana, and Zulu words sung to the latest jazz tunes, and meaningless songs incorrectly learned from gramophone records.

To encourage children to learn local arts and crafts and also to provide creative activity for them about 2½ hours a week are devoted to craftwork. But due to lack of materials (children often have to provide their own material) and interest on the part of the pupils, parents and teachers, these periods become periods of relaxation if not tedium, and the articles completed, if at all, often have nothing to commend them except that they provided some form of occupation for the pupils.

In the four secondary schools there is no choice of subjects except perhaps between doing two languages (English and Tswana) and Mathematics, and doing three languages and no Mathematics at all. This is not surprising. A wide choice of subjects necessitates and demands the employment of a large staff and a liberal provision of classroom space and equipment so that three, four or more groups of the same class can receive instruction at the same time. The choice of subjects is limited by inadequate staffing due to lack of funds. If there is a serious shortage of mathematics and science teachers in countries like Britain, the position is worse in Bechuanaland. Pupils with a scientific leaning, who might later become doctors, chemists, veterinary scientists, agriculturalists, or engineers, have their future careers crippled and narrowed down by lack of facilities at secondary level,

particularly now that they cannot proceed to the Union of South Africa where there are differentiated courses. As a result some pupils after such a secondary course follow a purely arts course at University and after their first degree decide to do a medical course or veterinary science course when they have not got the basic scientific foundation for such a course of study.

Whereas all concerned are very much awake to these difficulties and shortcomings in the system, at present it is not practicable to give a choice of subjects. The number of pupils receiving secondary education in the Territory does not warrant the employment of a large teaching staff even if suitably qualified staff were available and funds were not short. (325 pupils in two big boarding schools and three junior secondary schools in 1956. One of the boarding schools can accommodate more than 250 pupils).

The Homecrafts Centre in the Southern Protectorate is a small residential institution providing education for adolescent girls in homecrafts subjects, e.g. cookery, laundry, housewifery, needlework and pottery, health and physical education, and other subjects, on the same lines as, though on a much smaller scale than, Dan-e-coed in Swansea and a similar centre in London both run by the Institute of Houseworkers of England and Wales. The Homecrafts Centre provides (a) a three-year course after Std. VI (in special cases girls who have not passed Std. VI are admitted) which trains girls to be better housewives either in their own homes or in other people's homes when they seek employment as houseworkers, and (b) a year's training in the teaching of domestic subjects for qualified women teachers. The Institute of Houseworkers for England and Wales does not only train its girls but secures or helps them to secure suitable jobs and tries to see that they get a fair deal from their employers. In Bechuanaland there is no employment bureau and the Homecrafts Centre takes no responsibility in securing jobs.

The one year course for teachers does not receive as many applications as one would wish to see because (i) there are not many qualified women teachers; (ii) there are hardly any facilities for the teaching of domestic subjects and (iii) one or two teachers who qualified in this course apparently

did not get (or perhaps did not apply for) the extra pay this training entitled them to, and so the economic benefit to the individual teacher has not always been apparent.

Women's Education: More than 60% of the school population consists of girls. The proportion is greater in the lower classes but as the cost of education increases each year - fee increases, more books and exercise books to buy - the boys get priority, So fewer girls get to Std. VI and as a result the percentage of women teachers in school is much lower than that of the men. The ratio of qualified women teachers to girls in schools was as follows:

1953	1 : 128.4 (primary)
1954	1 : 134.4
1955	1 : 120.9
1956	1 : 131.0

All schools, primary and secondary, are co-educational (except the Homecrafts Centre) and there is no discrimination in the admission of pupils. Even public opinion is not against the education of girls at all. It is just a matter of family economics which gives boys as future bread winners better educational chances. But life is not static. With changing life there is a change of opinion in the right direction. Educated young men want educated wives and are constantly marrying outside their area or, for that matter, outside the Territory, to the consternation of would-be mothers-in-law and perhaps the girls at home. The more young men marry from outside the fewer the chances are for their womenfolk to get husbands, and cost of living being as high as it is, fathers and brothers do not relish the idea of being burdened all their lives with jobless unmarried daughters and sisters respectively, particularly because monogamy, which is widespread, also gives rise to a large number of unmarried women. So new incentives to girls' education now are that it enhances a girl's chances of getting a husband, and if that fails educated girls can at least to a certain extent look after themselves and their aged parents. The idea of a girl as a prospective bread winner is gradually being accepted.

Now and again married men who have worked or taught for some time do go back to school (secondary or teacher training) to further their education but it is practically impossible for a woman to leave her family and go back to school once she is married. Also, domestic duties after school tie women teachers down so much that they hardly get time to undertake correspondence courses and thus further their education after leaving school. A number of Protectorate male teachers have acquired the Junior or Senior Certificate and in one or two cases degree courses in this way, but hardly any women.

The problem facing the education of girls in Uganda resulting from the single-sex nature of many schools and consequently fewer schools for girls than for boys does not affect girls'education in Bechuanaland. The moral question involved in long unescorted walks or journeys to boarding school in Uganda does not arise in Bechuanaland though children walk or travel long distances here too. Perhaps boy/girl relationships do not cause as much anxiety, but the need for the girls' help in domestic duties is the same in both countries as well as in most parts of Africa.

Wastage:

From the statistics given in tables J to M the following facts can be seen clearly:

J. (1) There is tremendous wastage between the first year or two of school life and Std. VI.

(2) More than 50% of the primary school population are in the two bottom classes - 50.6% in 1947, 54.6% in 1950, and 55.3 in 1953. The percentages in Std. VI for the same years were: 2.6, 2.3 and 1.9 respectively.

(3) Of the 7,478 pupils who were in Grade A in 1946 only 3377 (incidentally this figure includes possible repeats) or 45% were in Grade B in 1947.

(4) Of the same 7,478 fewer than 300 or 4% reached Std. VI in 1953 -

Wantage

J. Comparative enrolments in various classes from 1946 to 1953.

	Grade A	Grade B	Std.I	Std. II	Std. II	Std. IV	Std.V	Std.VI
1946	7,478	4,596	3,272	2.136	1,429	1,270	565	428
1947	5,381	3,377	3,100	2,052	1,485	945	539	455
1948	5,096	3,063	2,766	2,068	1,550	890	524	389
1949	6,545	2,918	2,492	2,082	1,604	1,074	503	396
1950	5,812	3,092	2,305	1,729	1,565	1,021	386	383
1951	6,429	3,391	2,679	1,703	1,440	1,049	430	342
1952	6,620	3,446	2,639	1,805	1,305	1,142	442	343
1953	6,314	3,745	2,857	1,951	1,333	1,046	582	356

K. Total enrolment figures in all Protectorate schools for the years 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1956:

	Secondary			Primary			
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Grand Total
1953	92	60	152	6,757	11,427	18,184	18,336
1954	128	66	194	7,422	12,467	19,889	20,083
1955	165	77	242	7,858	12,617	20,475	20,717
1956	202	123	325	9,312	14,813	24,125	24,450

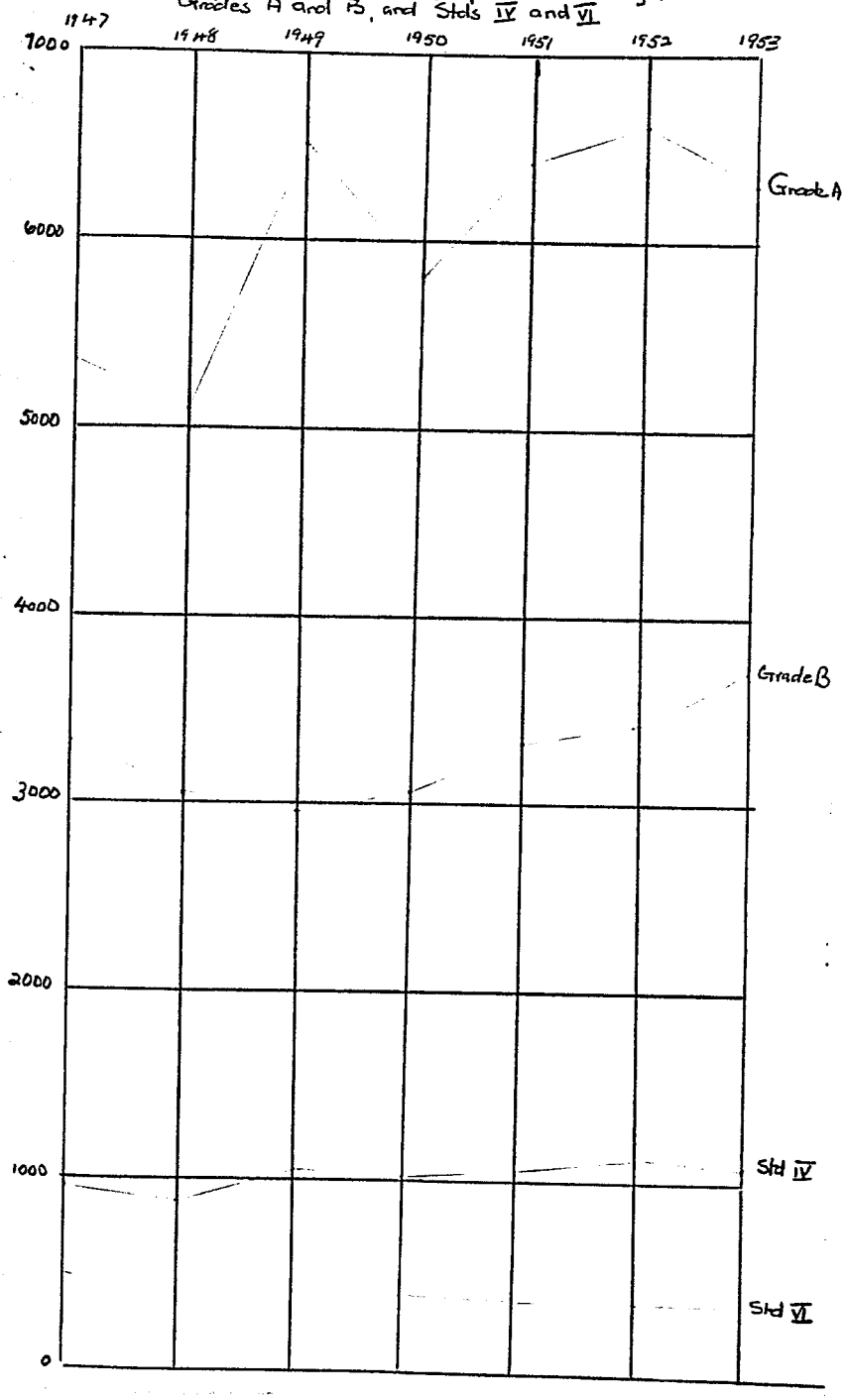
L. Percentage of girls in primary school:

1939	61.3
1953	62.8
1954	62.7
1955	61.1
1956	61.4

M.

61

Graphical Representation of Table J for Grades A and B, and Stds IV and VI



NUMBER OF AFRICAN PUPILS BY SCHOOL YEARS AND AGES - AS AT 30. 11. 53 (Annual Report, 1953).

	YEAR OF SCHOOL COURSE.																									
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Below 6	3	6																									3	6
6 - 7	67	106	1	2																							68	108
7 - 8	134	189	9	7	-	2																					143	198
8 - 9	196	265	22	50	12	5																					230	320
9 -10	224	405	50	126	11	26	4	3	1	1																	290	561
10 -11	301	515	104	221	42	96	8	27	1	7	-	1															456	869
11 -12	263	464	112	329	80	144	39	50	15	16	1	6	-	1													510	1010
12 -13	326	715	203	506	139	390	62	163	27	79	4	30	5	7	-	1											768	1893
13 -14	266	506	207	477	167	390	110	308	53	144	17	66	6	28	1	3											829	1924
14 -15	223	406	199	370	125	330	109	239	73	203	44	105	16	45	5	15											794	1713
15 -16	174	221	148	196	166	255	142	197	83	178	61	126	43	81	8	28	1	3									826	1285
16 -17	117	66	117	114	107	146	117	131	69	121	73	118	62	67	28	31	4	5	1	2	-	1					703	822
17 -18	49	38	58	41	69	48	66	52	60	63	71	114	51	57	37	34	9	6	4	2	3	1					477	454
18 -19	26	9	37	15	51	21	46	28	26	14	63	37	31	23	30	34	3	5	2	6	1	3					366	195
19 -20	7	-	15	4	12	6	22	6	34	11	29	12	31	4	19	25	10	5	6	2	3	1					189	76
Over 20	3	-	5	1	14	1	16	4	11	2	39	7	22	2	41	16	14	3	12	5	19	10					198	51
	2383	3031	1284	2461	995	1662	743	1206	494	639	422	624	267	315	169	187	41	27	25	17	26	16					6849	11,487

62.

the figure 356 includes those pupils who were repeating Std.VI as well as those who had repeated one or more standards in the course of their studies. The 1949 annual report for instance, dealing with the Std. VI examination points out that "among the candidates were no fewer than 139 who were repeating the examination in which they had failed the previous year ...." This is a common occurrence not only in Std. VI examinations but at every step of the primary ladder even in the grades or substandards.

(5) Of the 1074 pupils in Std.IV in 1949 about 350 or 32% were in Std. V the following year and about 300 or 27% in Std.VI in 1951.

(6) Std. VI numbers have constantly dropped from the 1946/47 figures of over 400 to 356 in 1953, in spite of the fact that in the lower standards figures have been increasing.

(7) Enrolment figures fluctuate from year to year (see graph).

K and L.

(8) There is a preponderance of girls over boys.

(9) Although the percentage of girls has dropped from 70 in the early 1930's (not shown above) it has kept steadily between 61 and 63.

(10) Enrolment figures are steadily increasing annually, particularly in the secondary school where the 1956 figures are more than twice the 1953 ones - a sign of growing interest in education.

M.

(11) Girls start school at an earlier age than do boys, on the whole.

(12) The proportion of girls to boys in class gets smaller the higher they go up the educational ladder, i.e., there is greater wastage among the girls than among boys.

(13) In 1953 of the 18,184 (Table B) pupils in primary school 5,489 or approximately 30.2% were above the apparent age of 15.

(14) Of 6,314 pupils in the two bottom classes 1,406 or 22.3% ranged in age from 15 to over 20, three young men over the age of 20 being in the first grade, the class for six year olds, and five men and one woman in Grade B, possibly with one or two seven-year olds in the same class.

(15) There were in 1953 no pupils doing the senior certificate course in the Protectorate and this means that from 1953 to at least 1955 there were no possible candidates for university education.

(16) When failure at the Junior Certificate, Form IV, and the Senior Certificate levels is taken into consideration, and when employment after Junior and Senior Certificate, and teacher training as well as training in nursing are taken into consideration, it is quite clear that of the 42 pupils in the final Junior Certificate course in 1953 only one or two may have proceeded to university in 1956.

According to the 1953 education report "367 candidates entered for the Primary School Leaving Certificate as against 352 the previous year; 164 were successful. The percentage of successful candidates, 46, was higher than in previous years although the same standard of achievement was required." The 164 successful candidates represented 0.9% of the primary school population. Some of them went in for teacher training, some for general secondary work, many became unqualified teachers, a number went to the Homecrafts centre, a few were employed in the Government service and by tribal administrations, and the rest, finding no employment, joined the masses and in view of lack of facilities for reading, and in the absence of any form of adult education, are fast losing whatever skills they acquired and will soon be as illiterate as the rest of the community, only the worse for having wasted more than eight years of their life in school, and possibly disillusioned and bitter.

From the foregoing it is clear that the biggest problem to be faced is wastage, tremendous wastage. What exactly is involved in wastage?

As shown by the figures on pages 60 and 62 far too few pupils get

through the bottleneck at the end of their first or second year at school. Time and energy spent by children and teachers is thus wasted. When so many children drop out of school at Grade A or B or even at Std.IV level, time, energy and man-power have been wasted as they have gained practically nothing by attending school. In the 1952 Education departmental report a section on one of the areas, among other things, says, "In the ... area an analysis of the enrolment figures shows that approximately 80% of all pupils leave school before they reach Std.II. In terms of money this means that £2,400. of the £3,000. allotted to education in the .... District is to all intents and purposes wasted". This is true of the whole Territory, the percentage varying from place to place. Wastage also includes the time and energy spent over and above the normal length of the course as a result of failing annual examinations at every stage of the primary course, and having to repeat the standard failed. Constant failure to pass examinations may discourage children from staying at school and therefore is a cause for early school leaving.

Causes of wastage are:

(a) Poor teaching - to be described fully later.

(b) Indifferent homes. Some parents are not really convinced of the importance of education and therefore are only too ready to make their children leave school for the least possible excuse. In the case of girls mothers often want their daughters to help them in their carrying out of household chores. Some parents deem it a waste of time and money to educate their girls when they ought to learn household duties at home and prepare themselves to get married. Ignorance on the part of some parents is responsible for their indifference to education.

(c) Poverty: Education is neither free nor compulsory. All children pay school fees and buy their own reading and writing materials from their very first year of school life. By European standards the fees are very low ranging from about 3/6 to 10/- per annum in the first year, and increasing annually or every two years to 30/- or more in Std. VI. Books and exercise books increase

and cost more each year and many people are not able to raise these truly meagre sums. Genuinely necessitous cases might be admitted without paying fees but not many poor people know this and in any case children who go to school must fulfil certain minimum requirements in clothing which they would not require at the cattleposts or lands, and keep a certain standard of cleanliness. There also is need for extra food for them apart from the family provisions when the family are away at the lands or cattlepost. So there is more involved than just the 5/- or more payable in school fees. In times of starvation parents are forced to take their children with them to the cattleposts where they can obtain a little milk and perhaps meat from hunting game. This partly explains the fluctuations in enrolment as shown on pages 60 and 61. For instance in 1946/47 drought conditions prevailed resulting in poor crops for both years. The result was a big drop in enrolment all round in 1948. But 1948 itself was a very good year for the greater part of the Territory, so the following year there was a big increase, particularly as regards beginners. Leavers do not often go back to school with a return of favourable conditions. However, because of the small intake at the Grade A level in 1948, in addition to normal wastage at this stage, fewer children were in Grade B in 1948 than during the previous year. And so it goes on, increased enrolments following a good or fair harvest and poor or no crops leading to decreases in enrolment.

(d) Faulty School Organisation due to lack of funds. About 80% of primary schools are either Std. II or Std. IV schools and there are more Std. II schools than there are Std. IV ones. Many children in village or lower primary schools far from the big population centres leave school at Std. II or Std. IV merely because in their school that is as far as they can go and the nearest school with higher classes is not within walking distance, i.e. well over 10 miles, and it may be over a hundred miles away. There are no hostel facilities in Std. VI centres where children from outside might stay.

Many parents would not be able to pay boarding fees, even if there were boarding facilities unless the charges were extremely small. A very negligible number manage to stay with distant relatives, friends, or even acquaintances. Arrangements in such cases are often so unsatisfactory that many children decide to leave school even before they complete their course. This is one of the biggest causes of wastage. Children in Std. II or IV villages hardly ever complete more than the top standard of their school and so the villages depend entirely on outsiders for teachers who are difficult to get, particularly if the villages are remote and inaccessible. Yet year after year the school is maintained and each year a handful of aimless Std. II or IV pupils leave school to join the masses and later become illiterate once more.

(e) Outside attractions and age: See page 63 No. (13) and 64 (14). These young men and women becoms very conscious of their size when they find themselves side by side with 6 to 10 year olds. They are made to do childish things. Imagine a young man of eighteen seriously learning a nursery rhyme! They get bored and discouraged and they leave. Or they see their comrades working as delivery boys or garden boys, as housemaids or nurse girls or going to the Johannesburg mines. Perhaps their friends get married. They get attracted by adult life and they leave school.

(f) Absence of economic advantage of completing a school course. This is by no means the least cause of wastage. It comes second to poor teaching, and it has many serious repercussions apart from wastage.

An expanding educational provision must be accompanied by the provision for economic betterment as well as political and social improvement. When children go to school their parents lose their services at home and unless parents can see a brighter future for their children as a result of attending school they see no point in sending them to school. A boy who stays at the cattlepost and tends his father's cattle is likely to be better off economically in 4 or

years than one who goes to school and leaves after 4 or 5 years. The latter's father's cattle might have suffered while he has not gained much and is likely to lose the little he learned. A Std.IV pupil obtains a leaving certificate on passing the annual Std.IV examination but cannot get a job. If he becomes a garden boy he is not likely to get more than another boy who has never been to school but has been a garden boy all the time, and who in fact, having worked for a long time, is likely to get a better wage. The same applies to a girl who becomes a nanny. Even those who pass Std.VI do not always get jobs. They have probably learned enough to realise their plight but are not in a position to improve their lot. A number go to boarding school for the secondary course and pass the Junior Certificate examination. For lack of funds they cannot go any further. As there are no differentiated secondary courses they follow a purely academic course and are not qualified for any particular job and so they cannot get a job. Others go further and obtain their matriculation but they too do not qualify for any special job and in any case there are no jobs. The administration may need one or two clerks but they have not got commercial subjects. They cannot type, take shorthand notes or do bookkeeping. They might be trained if there was a shortage of staff but all departments have their full establishment. They turn to teaching, that misused field to which all failures turn only to find that they cannot even compete with the lowest qualified teachers in salary, although academically they are superior. Even at degree level there are no openings except in the teaching field. No graduate teachers are employed in primary schools. If the secondary schools have their full complement of graduate teachers or have no funds to employ more than they have then these young graduates have to turn to other countries for jobs. The idea of education for its own sake is meaningless and impracticable in a poor, struggling, backward country. Education must fit the young to get jobs for their economic betterment as well as the enriching of the intellect and mind to lead a

full life. With limited or no prospects there is no incentive and wastage results. For those who struggle on and get some education and then fail to get suitable jobs a serious disillusionment and bitterness are a natural reaction, and this stage is worse than blissful ignorance for where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise.' This is no recommendation that people should be left in ignorance for that is impossible now, but rather that the powers that be - Government and tribal authorities - would do well to plan actively to meet the challenge of education in a changing community and take preventive measures against disruption and social upheavals which are bound to come as a result and in spite of education. The absence of economic advantage of completing school courses will not only result in wastage, as it does, but will result in many political, social and economic complications as well. A degree of education renders a certain standard of living imperative, a standard which demands economic betterment.

B. Poor Teaching: And now I come back to the chief cause of wastage, namely poor teaching. Many factors contribute to poor teaching, some of these factors looked at superficially may seem to have nothing to do with teaching, but they are ultimately responsible for poor teaching. The following are some of the major factors contributing to poor teaching and learning:

(i) Physical conditions in schools.

The following extracts from education departmental reports are worthy of note: 1949 "There is little to record under this heading (Physical Conditions in Schools). The Director of Medical Services in his parallel report writes:- 'It had been hoped to commence the regular medical inspection of schools, but this was not possible owing to staff difficulties. It is expected that this important aspect of preventive medicine will start shortly.' "It is a matter for regret that although prisons are inspected weekly by the Medical Officer concerned, it has not yet been found practicable to hold even an annual medical inspection of school children, nor to ensure by such examination that teachers-in-training are physically fit for their important

and strenuous vocation." 1953: "For many years it has been the intention ... to institute regular and systematic school medical inspections. That such ... inspections have not eventuated is explained by shortage of staff .... All teachers on first appointment are medically examined where facilities are available. Students at the Teacher Training College are examined before admission." The first quotation holds for 1957 except for the portion on teachers in training.

Because of lack of medical facilities in most places (there are about 9 or 10 hospital centres where medical attention can be got on the spot, several dispensaries which are visited once weekly, fortnightly or monthly. The rest of the country has no facilities.), in the absence of regular school medical inspections, and sometimes for lack of outpatients' fees on the part of teachers or pupils where facilities are available, many preventable health troubles are not discovered in time if they are at all. Unwell pupils and unwell teachers carry on as best they can sometimes irritating one another, and this affects performance of both teachers and pupils. There is no supplementary school feeding. Often teacher and pupils have their first meal for the day after school. Although malnutrition is not apparent many children are under-nourished and consequently not in a position to get the maximum benefit they are capable of getting from lessons. Any teaching designed for, and suited to, well-nourished healthy pupils becomes poor teaching as it does not produce the best results possible. Under-nourishment lowers the body's resistance to infection and devitalises pupils so that they become dull, inert and almost uneducable and fail to pass examinations as a result or do not do as well as they might otherwise do. Physical condition of children varies from home to home, from area to area and from season to season. As pointed out in the 1953 Report, the physical condition of children who live at the cattleposts in charge of the cattle is usually better than that of school children, as the former usually have unlimited milk and opportunity to supplement their diet from the veld. For that reason some parents remove their children from school before they complete their course and send them to the cattlepost for nourishment.

School buildings are frequently poor in quality, and the barest

essentials in equipment are often lacking. In the chief centres and a few big population centres solid buildings of concrete or brick and iron are provided by the central authority, but in many cases in outside villages they are erected by the local community to local standards and with local material. Consequently they are deficient in spaciousness, in lighting, and in ventilation. Many of them are hideous temporary structures which look as if they will collapse any moment, and seem a danger to the pupils. Open spaces in the walls serve as windows and doorways and cause much misery and a great deal of coughing in winter. Sometimes the roof leaks and during heavy rains children either go home or spend a lot of time huddled together in some corner or other, and this interferes with school work. Most pupils in the lower classes are taught out of doors for lack of classroom space and when it rains three or more classes are conducted in one room or one or two rooms under an unceiled roof, partitioned by non-sound-proof walls. Each teacher and pupils do their best to shout the others down and the result is a noise as deafening as that at a railway station from shunting engines. How the pupils manage to pick out their own teacher's voice from the din is a mystery. Where most teaching is done out of doors in winter it is affected by the sharp cold winds, and in summer much time is spent following the shade, moving from tree to tree, and, in the centre of biggish villages where often there are no big trees, along the walls of school buildings. During heavy rains and severe cold children are sometimes sent home. No wonder they despair and leave school. Because of lack of proper lock-up buildings the head teacher is often compelled to keep school property at his home where he may have one or two huts or share a few huts with several other teachers. There is a big temptation to use school property like chairs, tables, buckets and garden tools for private purposes and they either get damaged or disappear. Constant moving of chairs and tables to and from school damages them. Occasionally teachers get tired of having them carried up and down and leave them at home and do what teaching they can without them. Sometimes somebody forgets to collect the blackboard from the teacher's quarters in the morning and work goes on without it for the day. This, coupled with few or no books and no

apparatus, results in poor teaching. Sometimes there are fixed brick benches or raised mounds of earth which prevent movement and therefore discourage the use of the classroom for active methods of learning or group work. This occurs mainly where the building is a church as well as a school. In such a case it belongs to the church and the church services do not require a great deal of movement so these benches suit the people and the school cannot break them down even if they wished. Some classes are held in church buildings with fixed pews and again this influences methods of teaching. It must be stated here, though, that buildings are improving gradually in quality but the poor quality ones are still very much in the majority.

Slates are generally used at least during the first two years of school life. They are expensive and break easily. Quite often they are the source of quarrels as one child steps on another's slate on the floor. No permanent record of work can be kept and so a child cannot take its day's work home to learn. The whole process of learning is thus slowed down and much time wasted. Most unhygienic methods of cleaning slates are used and the teacher has to be alert and see that pupils use damp cloths from home and not their saliva. Slate pencils break easily too and get buried in the sand and are thus lost easily. Some make permanent marks on slates and reduce the amount of writing space available.

Where buildings are unsuitable the provision of school furniture and other equipment is wisely withheld, but this affects the quality of teaching. Supplying equipment to such schools would be unwise because after school domestic animals, particularly goats,enter the building for shelter from the heat or the rain, and they do damage to property. Goats seem to eat anything and everything and leave the place in a mess. White ants (termites) are a real menace in Bechuanaland. They eat books, registers and receipt books. They eat door and window frames as well as rafters, and they eat the thatch grass reducing buildings to ruin in a short time. Anything left lying on the floor or stacked against the wall runs the risk of being damaged. The question of storing school furniture during the holidays is a real problem in small village schools which consist mainly of mud and thatch structures.

(2) Distances and inadequate transport facilities and communication as they affect the supply of equipment, and materials, and as they affect supervision. In some cases the head teacher walks up to nine miles to post a letter at the nearest store, or he sends school boys to do so in which case they lose up to a whole day's lessons. He requisitions for equipment - blackboards, chalk, registers and furniture, and often has to wait a long time because the school year begins in January which is the time of heavy rains and transport may be at a standstill from January to February and for some remote places even March. At this time teachers have to do their best in difficult circumstances. Local building materials are often of a very poor quality but cost of transport makes the importation of suitable material out of the question in many places. School fees are received by the head teacher as they come. He keeps the money in his hut until he has collected a reasonable amount to send to head office. He has no safe at school or at home and paper money is liable to be eaten by white ants. Receipt books and paper money have been known to be eaten. In some areas not only school fees money is kept but book fees are collected before children's books can be sent from head office, as money has to be sent with each order for books. Those children who pay for their books when the school opens may have to wait a long, long time while the teacher collects money from slow payers and sends it off to head office and waits for several weeks before the books arrive.

Supervision of education is difficult because of the vast distances involved, inadequate transport facilities, and inadequate itinerant staff for such a big territory. Education officers have subsidised cars but for the more remote inaccessible schools they depend on Government lorries or vans, and on public transport which is often inconvenient in that visits to schools must be fitted to days of the week when transport is available. Often lorries which serve as public transport get to places in the afternoon and leave in the morning, which does not suit school hours. Supervisors of schools depend on public transport and carry their bicycles with them for use where no lorries are available. While the more accessible schools are visited a few times in any one year, the more difficult places may have only one visit in

a year and some may not have a visit from the inspectorate for two or three years. Unfortunately it is these remote areas which need greater supervision and guidance as they are the most difficult to staff, and usually get some of the poorest teachers.

Teachers are unable to organise visits to places of interest or to organise interschool visits. The school is thus completely cut off from others and as a result teachers have no idea as to what is happening in other schools and how others have overcome difficulties they happen to be facing.

(3) Social Systems. Seasonal migration to the lands and cattlepost greatly affect teaching and learning. The teacher is a member of a shifting population, his family is out at the lands for at least half the year and during the cultivating period he spends all holidays and weekends with his family away from his school. He often starts school half-an-hour or an hour earlier on Fridays so as to give himself and his pupils time at the end to leave early for the lands, to come back either on Sunday evening or on Monday morning just in time for school. Teacher and pupils may start work on Monday morning tired from the long walk home from the lands. The teacher who not only went to the lands on Friday but worked the whole day Saturday there, has had no time to prepare and ponder over the next week's work. Nor has he had time on Friday to enter weekly records.

The school day is five hours long and extramural activities are very difficult to plan as either parents want their children to help with home duties or both children and teachers, in the absence of their families, must go home and prepare their own meals after school. With no water laid on, no coal, gas, or electricity, this takes quite some time.

"The idea of individual property within the family is still strange in many places and social tradition insists that .... the rich (everyone earning regular pay is regarded as rich) shall maintain all who are poorer than they. This admirable family solidarity has sometimes caused the young clerk, teacher, dispenser ... to be burdened with the duty of supporting a large number of relatives. The salaried man is often compelled to concentrate more of his attention on increasing his earnings to meet the demand.....

The insistent family pressure to supply .... ready cash makes it extremely difficult to maintain the standards of honesty which their employers require and they themselves wish to maintain." (Education for Citizenship in Africa - The Advisory Committee on Colonial Education, 1948). This is true of Bechuanaland, and the teacher, like the minister, is often expected to include in his generosity not only his relatives but people outside his family circle, and strangers in a village go to the chief's or headman's place, the minister's place or the teacher's home for food or any other help.

In view of difficult communications described above, while waiting to collect all or a reasonable amount of school and book fees before he can send the money to the central office, in fear of the destruction of paper money by white ants, and whilst awaiting his own salary in two, three or more weeks' time, the teacher in an emergency may be tempted to use all or some of the money so far collected to meet family demands. If this money is called for before he is able to replace it he is found guilty of misappropriation of school money and may ultimately serve a term of imprisonment if he is unable to pay back the money, and lose his job as unworthy of the noble profession. It is pleasing to know that extremely few teachers do in fact misappropriate school funds in this way. One may wonder what all this has to do with actual teaching. The point is a teacher who is so involved and preoccupied is not likely to make the best efforts in teaching as his mind will be distracted from his work. He may still be a good teacher compared with one or two others, but he might have been a much better teacher in the absence of the above problems.

Children staying all by themselves while their parents are away are deprived of parental care, supervision and guidance during their formative years. Married teachers with their wives away, having to cope with their own meals and other household chores (no restaurants, cafes, canteens, laundries), are tempted either to eat no properly prepared meals but look for beer, or to depend on women teachers, bigger school girls or women who for some reason or other remain in the towns when everybody else leaves. Young unmarried female teachers are without the protection of older members of the family. That fewer moral cases seem

to arise among school children than one would expect is surprising, particularly in the larger population centres.

(4) Conditions of Service. Teachers are appointed on a contract which can be terminated by three months' notice on either side ending 30th June or 31st December. But for disciplinary purposes school committees, with the confirmation of the Director of Education, can terminate a teacher's services at short notice any time. The three months' notice ending 30th June or 31st December safeguards schools losing teachers at awkward times when there can be no new teachers available. But the fact that a teacher who ought or wants to resign or should be relieved of his duties has to wait for 1st April or 1st September to serve notice means that sometimes for months he cannot leave or be got rid of unless disciplinary action is justifiable. Such a teacher may do more harm than good or at best be indifferent to his responsibilities.

Teachers are neither pensionable nor do they receive a gratuity on retiring. One or two authorities have in the past paid lump sums of £30. to £60. to highly deserving teachers in recognition of their long, satisfactory service. It is doubtful whether in the whole territory more than half a dozen people have received such gratuities. Teachers' salaries are given on page 32 and these do not compare favourably with salaries for government employees with comparable academic attainments, the latter in addition to better salaries are either pensionable or are on a Provident Fund scheme. All Government servants are entitled to free medical attention, not so teachers. Teachers' sick leave regulations, two weeks on full pay and two weeks on half pay, result in many teachers dragging themselves to school and hardly doing anything worthwhile at school, just to make sure they do not lose their pay by being absent from school. For fear of loss of pay or continuity of service through continued absence from school, maternity cases sometimes return to work rather soon and are either not in a fit condition to teach or their attention, time, and energy are unevenly shared between their babies and their pupils and sometimes they are not strong enough to do both.

Unless teachers' remuneration and conditions of service are made more attractive it will not be easy to secure the best material in the primary school for the teaching profession. As things are at present, in many cases candidates go in for teaching only when they cannot get vacancies in, or afford, other openings. Headteachers' allowances are not commensurate with their responsibility as they are paid according to the number of their assistants up to a maximum of £36. p.a., so that in an understaffed 2 or 3 teacher school where the headteacher may teach the top two or three classes and has very little time to supervise his assistants except looking at their records and registers out of school hours, gets a smaller allowance than another headteacher in a more favourably situated school who consequently has 4 or 5 assistants and teaches only one class.

Teachers posted to outlying centres often are without such services as hospitals, shops, and adequate water supply. When no suitable applicants are available, willing though unsuitable ones are posted.

The teacher in most small places enjoys the high social status enjoyed by the minister as leader and guide. In fact in most areas the word "moruti" is used for both teacher and minister or preacher, although people who are more particular use"moruta-bana"(teacher of children) for a school teacher. The teacher on the whole commands respect by virtue of his post, particularly because for a long time he was the one person who possessed money, no matter how little, and who knew more than anybody else. But when other people, e.g. nurses, Government clerks, and shop assistants received higher salaries than he and therefore could afford more consumer goods which are part of the Western culture which is being adopted, the respect he commanded more or less ceased to be automatic. There were other competitors in the field of progress. In addition most of the qualified teachers in big centres and most teachers in small centres (even ordinary untrained Std.VI teachers) are recruited from outside, the former from outside the borders of the Protectorate and the latter from other villages. The community tends to despise them or be indifferent to them. Their historical background is not known and they do not belong. Sometimes assistant teachers are members of the local community who, in spite of their own educational limitations, often do not see why a foreigner

should lord it over them. Children are echoes of their parents' sentiments and attitude and sometimes the poor headteacher or teacher has only his rod to command respect and uses it faithfully against all regulations as long as he is not found out. Naturally his pupils' attitude towards him affect, his teaching. As often members of the community are asked to put up teachers in their homes a teacher may find himself staying with a difficult family which shifts him from one hut to another as often as other members or friends of the family come for a visit. If there are school children in the family the family's attitude to him may soon spread to the school and if these children tell their mates at school stories about the teacher which are not complimentary he will not find it easy to maintain discipline in his class or school and that is bound to have disastrous effects on his teaching.

(5) Qualification and Quality of teachers. Although this is put last it is by no means the least cause of poor teaching. It could reasonably have been put first and is only put last for emphasis.

As shown on page 53 the percentage of unqualified teachers in 1956 was 47.9, an improvement on the 1955 and 1954 figures which were respectively 49.1 and 51.5 but still higher than the percentage in 1952. On the whole, Higher Primary schools are staffed by qualified teachers only, so that the proportion of qualified teachers in Lower Primary schools is smaller still. A very small percentage of headteachers in primary schools hold the Primary Higher Teachers Certificate. These are trained to teach up to and including Std. VI and form the majority of headteachers of Std. VI schools. The bulk of qualified headteachers hold the Primary Lower Certificate, and are trained to teach up to and including Std. IV. Now and again they teach classes beyond Std. IV, particularly if since qualifying as teachers they have through private studies, obtained the Junior Certificate. Quite often, apart from being headteacher a P.L.3 man may be the only qualified teacher in a three, four, or five-teacher school. In such circumstances only he is able to teach the top classes, usually Stds. III and IV, and the lowest classes where the foundation should be laid are put in the charge of unqualified often inefficient teachers. Even in schools where there are two or more

qualified teachers unqualified teachers are put in charge of the lowest and largest classes, the assumption being that these classes are the easiest classes to teach - a fallacy which has for a long time affected the quality of education in many countries. An effective foundation of primary education cannot be built on teachers with so poor an educational background, and, with the age of first entry to primary school dropping as it gradually is, with so little maturity. Most of these unqualified teachers, many of whom are headteachers or the only teachers in Std. II schools, have had no schooling whatever beyond the Std. VI level. They have attended school in their own village for at least eight years and on passing the Std. VI examination have been appointed in the same school. They do not command much respect among those who in December were their playmates and in January must treat them as teachers. Their academic standards are very modest. They need guidance and supervision and cannot get it from a headteacher who is a full-time teacher and perhaps teaches Stds. V and VI in the school. In the absence of libraries, teaching aids and vacation courses they have reached the end of their educational career. They are not required to have attended any special courses or lessons within a stated period after their appointment.

What about the quality of teachers in the service? All kinds are represented. There are those who have no sense of vocation and no sense of duty, the irresponsible type who would, if possible, get the maximum pay for the minimum work done. Among these are qualified as well as unqualified teachers. They need not lack in ability. There are those whose very modest qualifications make resourcefulness almost impossible, the type who will do what they have been shown and nothing further and cannot cope with a slightly changed situation. An Education Officer visited a school recently (1957) and discovered that no classes were held on Fridays. He enquired from the headteacher why there was no school on Fridays and the latter replied that goats had eaten the Friday part of the timetable! Obviously this teacher had previously been instructed (as they often are) to draw up and use a time-table. It may even have been drawn up for him and perhaps for a year or so he had followed it slavishly and now the ubiquitous, omnivorous goats

had eaten the lower portion of the time-table, the Friday part, and he could neither remember what he used to do or think up something to do. Instead there was no school. On the other hand he might be a rogue and used the goats as an excuse. Another teacher 3 or 4 years previously had to be dismissed from teaching because in spite of several warnings that school children are not the servants of teachers he continued to use pupils to cultivate his field, smear his hut, or build his courtyard, and all that during school hours. His pupils so occupied lost a full day's teaching or even more days if there was much work to be done in the field.

As stated above many qualified teachers are recruited from outside the territory mainly from the Union of South Africa and sometimes from Basutoland. Their own countries pay much higher salaries and provide better conditions of service, particularly the Union of South Africa. It has occurred in the past that people blacklisted in their own countries, or who for disciplinary reasons could not obtain employment in their country for some time, have obtained employment in the Protectorate and both their work and character have left much to be desired. Sometimes teachers have accepted posts in the Protectorate whilst looking for better ones and left as soon as they got the desired appointment and if they could not fulfil the terms of their contract with tribal authorities they absconded and it has not been easy or worthwhile to trace them. Such birds of passage do not have their heart in their work and so their teaching is not as good as it might be.

But not all poor teachers have bad characters. Many of them, particularly unqualified ones, are very good men and women. They mean well but they just have no idea of what is required of them. Some of them are head-teachers in Std. II schools or the only teachers in remote one-teacher village schools because of their willingness to go to these remote areas and perhaps because they have taught the longest and the other teachers are no better qualified anyway. They often write their own language very well but know practically nothing else and their teaching is extremely poor.

Some of the unqualified teachers are most conscientious, resourceful and really enterprising. They are very keen to learn and accept advice willingly. For that reason a number of Std. VI teachers who have taught

satisfactorily for many years - usually 15 years or more - have been granted honorary Elementary Teachers Certificates. It would be a real investment if such teachers were not left too long but were sent to college to train fully as teachers. Government bursaries have been granted to a few such deserving teachers on the recommendations of their Education Officers, but the number is very small.

Before leaving the subject it must be made clear that not all teachers from outside are birds of passage or undesirable people. Some of them are extremely fine men and women who identify themselves with the people they have come to serve and give of their best; just as among Bechuanaland citizens there are good as well as bad teachers.

The above factors singly and collectively militate against good and effective teaching and result in a very big wastage. What is most striking, though, is not the failures but what in fact is being achieved, little as it may seem, in spite of such apparently insurmountable obstacles and extremely difficult conditions. Many teachers whose own education is modest, to say the least, and who work under very difficult conditions for very little pay, so have their heart and soul in their work that they produce good results. They are so keen to learn and so ready to accept advice that it is a pity that such advice is not always available due to their isolation from those who might be helpful to them.

CHAPTER V.

The main points of the preceding chapters studied in their relationship to the educational history of:-

(a) the United Kingdom

(b) Uganda

(c) Yugoslavia.

A. At this juncture in our study it may be well to summarize the main problems in Bechuanaland as set forth in the preceding chapters, in order to see if the educational experiences of the three countries selected, the United Kingdom, Uganda and Yugoslavia, can throw any light and guidance on their solution.

(i) Motivation: The reasons for the rise of modern education in Bechuanaland.

Originally schools were started in Bechuanaland by missionaries to help their wards study the Bible. The influence of the trend towards broad education preached by the Nonconformists and Secularist movements was felt in Bechuanaland, but the Missions had neither the qualified staff needed nor the funds to undertake such development. Different Missions put up schools, until, at the suggestion of the London Missionary Society, the main religious body, schools were handed over to Government. In order to encourage tribes to run their own affairs through Indirect Rule, the Government handed the schools over to Tribal Authorities during the years after 1930.

At this time the public was still not greatly concerned about education. People either vaguely wanted it, or passively received what was provided. The public is now expressing its opinion in a growing demand that their children shall attend schools.

The Government, both Local (tribal) and Central, sees education as a means towards developing the country so that it does not lag behind its neighbouring territories, and of producing enlightened citizens, capable of thinking for themselves and useful both to themselves and others.

(ii) How the system grows in extent and stature.

More and more new schools are being opened each year. Enrolment figures in established schools increase beyond expectation, and requests for up-grading pour into tribal central offices from Standard II and Standard IV schools. Departmental regulations aim at preventing too great an expansion without the means to meet the demands. Up-grading will only be considered where the following conditions have been fulfilled:-

There must be suitable and adequate accommodation and equipment, and the school must be suitably and adequately staffed.

Sometimes authority is anticipated and pupils are admitted, pay fees and buy books at the one school in the district. Because of the isolation of the villages and inadequate visits of supervision this may only be discovered after some months when it is not easy to force the pupils to leave.

An additional unqualified teacher is appointed to ease the situation at such a school. And so the system grows rapidly in extent but very little in stature. V.L.Griffiths in his "An Experiment in Education" (Sudan) dealing with the disastrous effects of expansion before reform, writes, "..... Anyone who had had a secondary education and was willing to come, was given a short course and pushed out to teach. The effect on the little progress in reform that had been made was disastrous." The picture Griffiths gives is pretty grim, but the position is worse in Bechuanaland where most of these "willing" people have not had a secondary education - not even junior secondary - and are not given a short course. Many of them are sent out to remote areas to run one - or two-teacher schools. An authority faced with twenty vacancies to fill and half a dozen applications to consider can have no choice and the effect of such lack of choice on the quality of education is obvious - very little growth in stature.

(a) The problem of the recruiting and training of teachers is

accentuated by (i) the fact that there is only one Teacher Training College in the whole territory with an annual output so far of less than 20 teachers, (ii) poor conditions of service, e.g., teachers are non-pensionable, receive no free medical treatment, have much lower salaries than their Government counterparts. All these make teaching an unattractive job. As a result a number of Bechuanaland born teachers are gradually leaving the territory for better teaching posts elsewhere. (b) The problem of how to diversify and enrich curricula is closely associated with the problem of the recruiting and training of teachers. Without suitably qualified teachers it is almost impossible to enrich the curriculum, and with an acute shortage of teachers at all levels it is not easy to diversify the curriculum. In 1957, for instance, Nature Study was introduced in primary schools and a comprehensive syllabus drawn up. Most teachers had never studied or taught it before. Although clear suggestions were made when the syllabus was drawn up many teachers either made no attempt or made a very poor attempt at teaching it because they did not understand what was required. The problem was accentuated by lack of books for reference, in some areas.

The attitude of parents, teachers, and pupils to certain subjects, e.g. handwork, makes curriculum reform difficult. Non-examination subjects like health education, writing, and nature study do not receive as serious attention as Arithmetic, English, Geography and other examination subjects. Craftwork is particularly unpopular as pupils are encouraged to do traditional crafts in which they are not interested. In the book quoted above, Griffiths says, "When people were in the mood to look outwards and learn about the World, it was no use telling them bluntly to look backwards and admire their own tradition." This is also the mood in Bechuanaland. Whereas in countries like Great Britain education can well include an aim to perpetuate tradition, education in Bechuanaland, as in many underdeveloped countries is an instrument of change and should therefore be handled by people who are aware of this psychological stage and therefore suggest what skills and attitudes may be encouraged and how. The ideal thing to do would be to call a halt to expansion until there is adequate suitably qualified staff, satisfactory and sufficient equipment and accommodation. But can a halt

be called at some point and expansion only be allowed commensurate with the availability of an improved quality of teacher? The pressure from the public is tremendously strong. The people are not prepared to wait. Yet this move might be considered seriously. It might be a good idea to run a few well provided schools to which the cream picked from all other schools is sent and trained to form the nucleus of a small properly educated group.

(iii) Economic Aspect of Education.

(a) How is it paid for ?

At present education in the territory is almost entirely financed by the individual tribes which derive their revenue mainly from tax rebates. Tribal funds are woefully inadequate not only for educational needs but for other services as well. Local authorities vote more money for education than for any other service, yet the demand far exceeds their provision. One area, for instance, for 1957/58 voted £26,742 (35.1% of their estimated total expenditure) for education, yet the shortage includes among other things seating accommodation for 75% of its school children, and 168 classrooms. It requires over 100 more teachers, and lacks accommodation for 119 out of 287 teachers employed. The authority concerned is aware of these conditions, but it is unable at present to raise any more money for general expenditure, having an estimated deficit of nearly £1,000.

Ways by which education might be paid for are discussed in Chapter VI. Increased tax rebate and development of minerals would improve the tribes' financial position, but Government subsidisation of education would add impetus.

Development of agriculture and mining, which is likely to lead to industrialisation, even if but on a small scale, will improve the national income, and this in turn would improve educational facilities, and provide outlets for the school product.

(b) Present outlets for the product of the schools.

The lack of outlets for those who have received some schooling is a serious handicap to the development and growth of education.

Of those who complete a Secondary Course a few may be absorbed in the Government Administration as interpreters, clerks and typists, or

for Nurses' Training; and of those who finish the Primary Course a few may find work as messengers. But the majority of Standard VI people who look for employment are those who join the teaching profession as unqualified teachers. All those who leave school before they reach Standard VI have extremely few chances of getting jobs of any sort. Many leave the territory to seek employment elsewhere, mainly in the Union of South Africa. But the Union's African policy is now driving many Protectorate Africans back home where, as we have seen, there are no openings.

(iv) Administration.

Local Authorities control and administer Primary Education. Finance is the entire responsibility of the individual tribes, except in Government institutions, but all plans and programmes must be approved by Government. Policy making and all professional matters come under the responsibility of the Government, which makes its recommendations to Tribal Authorities. These include such details as necessary equipment, and the number and qualification of teachers. But as these things are dependent on finance, recommendations often are not implemented. Then in extreme cases the only course is to de-grade or close the school pending possibilities for better conditions.

Since the devolution of the schools from Mission to Tribal Authority the Church has a small share in the educational policy by its representation on Local School Committees, a resident missionary usually acting as honorary secretary. Present day negotiations, because of several Missions seeking to run schools in the territory, may bring a more direct influence of the Church on education. But in the last quarter of a century Bechuanaland has lacked the keen and active interest in education which the Churches have taken, for instance, in Uganda, which has resulted in such good progress there despite some bad effects of denominational rivalry.

How these factors appear in the educational experience of 3 countries, each of which has some affinity with Bechuanaland, viz:

England, whence Bechuanaland's system was derived,

Uganda, an African colonial territory, with the same English background as Bechuanaland but a different social, economic and political framework, and

Yugoslavia, an underdeveloped European country, starting from almost nothing.

England:

Motivation

Early English education was determined by the requirements of the Church and so religion was its focal point, as was the case in early education in Bechuanaland. The Industrial Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in a big flow of humanity from the country to the towns for employment. The change over from domestic industry established on a family basis to the machine and factory age brought about the breakdown of established patterns of behaviour. In the industrial towns slums were created in which congregated children from all over England and Wales, who were complete strangers to each other. They were uprooted from their communities and divorced from parental care and supervision. (In Bechuanaland the breakdown of established patterns is brought about by the impact of Western culture.)

"The new rows of tenements had no parish church, no local vicar with his school (as was the case in the country whence they came) no cultural background or local tradition....."[1] Children were crowded under conditions most favourable for the spread of epidemics and were often treated most callously. Social, economic, and moral conditions of the poor sank to the very depths. The behaviour of the children was most appalling, particularly on Sundays when they were not at work. Raikes, moved by the sad plight of these children, wrote in the Gloucester Journal "The nuisance of Sunday appears by the declaration of every criminal to be their first step in the course of wickedness..... the farmers and other inhabitants of the towns and villages receive more injury in their property in the Sabbath than in all the week besides"[2] He saw clearly the connection between ignorance and crime. He also

1. Nicholas Hans: New Trends in Education in the 18th Century.

2. S.J.Curtis: History of Education in Great Britain.

felt that education was necessary for the preservation of the health and morals of the workers. Parents now had very little control over their children. Life moved extremely fast, new and unprovided for, unthought of complications arose at such a rapid rate that parents could not cope single handed with the situation. Raikes was moved to start a Sabbath School to keep children out of mischief. It was realised that no reforms, social, economic or political, could be effective without education - just as Bechuanaland is realising today. More Sabbath schools and other voluntary schools were started by Churchmen who regarded it their duty to spread the principles of Christianity. "They longed for a sober, diligent, enlightened and, above all, Christian working class who would understand that suffering and poverty were in the nature of things but not inimical to man's salvation."[1]

The authority of the Established Church was undermined by the activities of the Secularist Movement, Dissenters and Non-conformists, while its complete and unquestioned control over all schools was weakened by legislation which brought about the emancipation of Catholics. Thus much religious toleration led each part of the Church to give strong support to philanthropic persons and organisations within the Church. Methodists and Nonconformists generally preached that religion is primarily the direct intimate personal relation between a man and his God. But such an idea would be meaningless unless man understood its implications, and such an understanding could only result from education which included an intelligent study of the Bible.

They, therefore, sought to establish their own schools where possible. When they realised the disastrous effect on education of denominational rivalry, and also because they realised the magnitude of the question of educating the nation, they decided to stop competition and strongly supported the move to make national education a responsibility to be shouldered by the Government. But the Government delayed its taking over of education because the earnestness and conviction of each side of the Church led those Communions to compete in providing good

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1. H.J.Dent: Change in English Education.

education for their children. There is no such parallel in Bechuanaland with its resulting stimulus to education.

The handing over of education by the London Missionary Society and other Missions to the Government was possibly influenced by the Non-conformist support of Government responsibility for education in England. But in Bechuanaland the move may have been premature as at that time Government was not in a position to supply the impetus to education that the fervour of a religious body, or even competition between denominations, might have done.

Right through this struggle the general public in England was not as enthusiastic about education as are Africans today.

The immediate effect of the use of labour-saving machinery, the introduction of railways, the invention of the electric telegraph, and the penny post was to aggravate the problem of unemployment. Times were heavy, wages low, and as a result of the Napoleonic wars the price of food and other commodities was high. "However much a parent wanted to take advantage of the educational facilities provided by philanthropy with or without State assistance his first concern was to see that sufficient was being earned by himself, his wife and children, to gain the bare necessities of life. With State aid it was possible to build schools, but without restriction upon the hours of child labour it was impossible to fill the places provided."[1] Hence attendance was due not to the absence of obvious economic advantages of staying long in school but to the availability of jobs which required very little, if any education at all, and to the economic conditions which encouraged child labour.

In Bechuanaland at the present time there is no stigma due to child labour, but in very different circumstances. Many boys from the age of six till their late teens look after their families' livestock and then often seek to enter school, while girls may attend school earlier, but leave after a few years to work in the lands belonging to their families. As has been stated elsewhere, these children are better

1. S.J.Curtis: History of Education in Great Britain.

fed and generally in better health than those who go to school. So child labour in Bechuanaland has nothing to compare with that of the crowded industrial cities with its injury to health experienced in 19th Century England. But the resulting wastage of school years is the same.

It is the children who remain in the larger villages to attend school while their parents are far away at their lands whose behaviour and general well-being is adversely affected, but here again, probably to a less extent than that of children working in such uncongenial conditions in England during the last century.

As industrialisation provided more and more occupational outlets and economic resources, popular education had to develop rapidly in extent and quality if it was to meet the demands for order and literacy as a technological skill. Thus educational objectives grew from the purely religious aim of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge together with the Charity Schools through to the more social aim of Robert Raikes' Sunday School movement, the efforts of Bell and Lancaster, the schools of industry, the ragged schools, then Stow and finally, the State.

As the economic importance of education became increasingly and inescapably obvious, the State reluctantly and gradually assumed responsibility.

Growth of English Popular Education.

(a) Teachers

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century no special effort was made to train teachers. Most teachers in the schools for higher education - Public Schools and some Endowed Schools - came from Universities and were Clergy, so though they were not trained teachers they were educated. The voluntary schools of the Sunday School movement and other charitable bodies gave no previous training for their teachers though the publication of the Sunday School repository or Teachers' Guide in 1813 aimed at guiding teachers to make instruction more effective. Private schools were run by generous and well-meaning individuals whose own educational attainments were often very modest, and there were many who turned to teaching when they failed in other fields. This is so in Bechuanaland now, and excepting that

individuals are not allowed to open private schools the following would fit Bechuanaland very well: "Those are too old, too poor, too ignorant, too feeble, too sickly, too unqualified in one or every way, to regard themselves, and to be regarded as unfit for school keeping.... When other occupations fail for a time..... a private school can be opened.... Any room however small and close serves for the purpose; the children sit on the floor....."[1]

The popularity of the Sunday School movement revealed the people's desire for education but there were limitations due to the large number of pupils of all ages usually under one master - the problem facing Bechuanaland's primary schools now.

Dr.Andrew Bell and Mr.Joseph Lancaster started the monitorial or Madras system which hung on the employment of one master who taught the monitors only, these passing on the instruction received to their school fellows. Bell, while an army chaplain in Madras, India, started a scheme of employing some of the older pupils as assistants to teach beginners, and made a success of it. When he came back to England he introduced the system in 1797 by publishing a pamphlet describing it. Bell claimed that a school of 1000 boys could be run at the expense of one master, and the greater the numbers of pupils the cheaper the running costs per head. Joseph Lancaster popularised the system. He had read Bell's pamphlet and he introduced into Bell's methods his own innovations and improvements. Its popularity paved the way for the provision of elementary instruction on a national scale as it compensated for the inadequate supply of teachers. It was severely criticised by Dr.May for its mechanical nature, but upheld and praised by Whitbread for its utility and economy. Educationally the system was too mechanical to be much use except in drumming pupils in the three R's.

There were a number of Teacher Training Colleges run by denominational institutions, but too few for the country's requirements. These accepted trainees at the age of 18, but most children left school at the

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1. Dr.Hodgson's report to the National Commission - S.J.Curtis: History of Education in Great Britain.

age of eleven to thirteen. So there was a very big gap between school leaving age and the age at which the children could enter training colleges.

Between 1833 and 1902 efforts were made to get trained teachers by varying patterns of filling the gap.

The problem was how youngsters who left school at the age of 10 to 13 could be taught so that teachers would be provided for a great expansion of schools. The pupil-teacher system was the answer.

An attempt to supply suitable teachers was made by David Stow when he founded the Glasgow Infant Society. He started the Normal Seminary or Training College in association with a model school and a practising school where his trainees (or 'trainers' as he called them) could do their practice teaching. A similar institution was started in Edinburgh by Wood and it was these seminaries which impressed Dr.Kay. Stow's course lasted eight or nine months and included teaching and observation in the model schools as well as lessons in the seminary proper. Criticism lessons of various kinds were employed in the practical training. Stress was laid on the importance of physical exercises indoors and out of doors.

The Glasgow seminary developed from providing training for infant teachers only to training elementary teachers as well. The number of trained teachers turned out increased, but even this increase was not adequate to meet the demand from rapidly increasing schools.

Dr.Kay introduced the pupil-teacher system at the Poor Law Schools at Norwood where he chose the best among the more mature pupils and gave them special instruction in the evenings, and if they made satisfactory progress they were made pupil teachers. Every six months examinations were held and successful pupils were promoted to the rank of candidate teacher. Then they were apprenticed for five years. This was a definite improvement on the monitorial system. Bechuanaland cannot even boast of the pupil-teacher system. Her Standard VI teachers compare more with the monitorial system than with the later pupil teachers. They are not apprenticed to qualified masters and very often they are the only teachers in a school. The pupil-teacher system became the pattern right through the 19th Century, although originally it was

designed as a temporary measure to fill the gap.

New Colleges were started and existing ones gained financially during this period. The Revised Code of 1862 brought about a setback to educational progress. Pupil-teachers were not to be apprenticed to teachers any longer. There were complaints that the educational standards of pupil teachers were extremely low when they entered training colleges, as many of the masters to whom they were apprenticed were not able to train them properly. This could also be said of some Standard VI pupils in Bechuanaland who decide to go to the Training College after teaching for several years under a qualified teacher who may be handling two or three classes himself, and therefore has no time to supervise or guide his assistants. Thus in England there was great need for better trained teachers. Residential Colleges were expensive and often far away from students' homes, so Day Training Colleges were recommended.

Similarly there was great need for trained certificated teachers in Secondary Schools, which were made a responsibility of public authorities by the 1902 Education Act. This Act gave Local Education Authorities power and responsibility both to start training colleges of their own and to establish secondary schools which would keep boys and girls at school until they were old enough to go to college: thus these schools acted as feeders to the colleges. It was felt that Universities should provide a training department for intending teachers in addition to the training colleges.

In 1944 the new Education Act permitted the formation of Area Training Organisations under which responsibility for the direction of the training of teachers was transferred to Institutes of Education established as parts of Universities.

Through the first half of the twentieth century these colleges and University departments produced increasingly more adequate teachers, for their training was greatly improved by application of the knowledge of child psychology.

The second world war years brought about an emergency scheme (a) to meet the shortage of teachers arising from the wastage of war and ancillary causes, (b) in view of the prospective raising of the

school leaving age to 15; (c) to obviate the possible effects of the policy of secondary education for all as laid down in the 1944 Act, and (d) to make possible the progressive reduction in the size of classes envisaged. This was possible because it was based on the fact that the majority of the people had had secondary education and this formed the background for their emergency training. Such a scheme in Bechuanaland would go a long way towards meeting the acute shortage of teachers resulting from the snowball increase in enrolment which the country is facing at present. But at the same time one realises that the very low educational standard of a Standard VI pupil makes a longer not shorter teacher training more desirable, although even a short training like this would be better than the present practice of recruitment without any training whatever.

(b) Curriculum:

When the emphasis was on religious knowledge, only that and the three R's were regarded as education. The curriculum was narrow and 'no frills' were included. This policy was further aggravated by the system of "payment by results" where requirements for Reading, Writing and Aritmetic were neatly outlined for Standards I to VI and failure in any one subject meant that the teacher forfeited the amount of 2s 8d per pupil. This encouraged teachers to concentrate almost entirely on examination subjects and not to go beyond the minimum requirementsfor a pass. The examination syllabus was detailed in the Revised Code of 1862 even for pupil-teachers. Examinations were carried out by inspectors of schools. The effect of this system on teaching was similar to that on teaching in Bechuanaland now, where certain subjects in Standard IV and Standard VI are examined externally by officers of the Education Department. Apart from the effect of the policy of "payment by results", the curriculum then, as in Bechuanaland now, could not really be expected to be varied because teachers were not educated enough to think for themselves and thus experiment with the curriculum, with confidence. They had to be guided and such guidance indirectly became instructions. At this stage teachers cannot help

being stereotyped in their teaching.

The "payment by results" policy was discredited by educationists and ultimately abolished. Teaching skill improved with emphasis on teacher training for both elementary and secondary school teachers. More and more openings and professions came about and child study became an important part of education. Better teaching facilities were provided. As a result of all this, the curriculum became so varied that practically every subject was provided for and education became dynamic. Examination shifted from the hands of inspectors to those of the teachers.

Now the choice of subjects and subject matter, as well as reading matter is to a very great extent left to individual heads of schools. Continuation classes, teachers' vacation courses, teachers' conferences, improved facilities for visual aids all gave teachers courage to experiment with the curriculum. Differentiation of secondary schools into grammar, technical, and "modern" types as well as bilateral and comprehensive ones, suitably equipped and adequately staffed have meant an enriched and varied curriculum. Requirements of industries, their offers of apparatus, equipment or scholarship under certain conditions have also helped towards making education dynamic.

In Bechuanaland and in Yugoslavia as well as in Uganda where reading material is not so varied or profuse, and where central direction is more close, it is possible to predict within a matter of weeks what lessons are likely to be dealt with at any given time. This is not so in England where there is so much variety in reading material, in curriculum and in methods that English schools differ from one another a great deal. This phase will come in due course in the educational experience of the three underdeveloped countries under discussion. So far close supervision must continue even if it results in stereotyped lessons or rigidity in subject matter. For this is better than groping in the dark with no direction.

Economics:

Originally English popular education was run on a voluntary basis either by individuals or by groups of individuals attached to and supported by the Established Church and, later, Nonconformists. At this stage education was inexpensive if inefficient. Denominational initiative lasted between 1833 and 1870 gradually receiving Government Aid. By the late 1850's Nonconformists were actively campaigning for secular schools. Government grants depended on what it wanted and accordingly its grant policy differed from time to time. When Government began to doubt the adequacy of denominational initiative it set up the Newcastle Commission and several subsequent commissions to enquire into, and report on the conditions of different aspects of elementary education. This was all the more necessary because Government subscribing increasingly to the financing of education had to satisfy itself that public funds were not being wasted. From about 1870 to 1902, while continuing to rely on denominations so far as they could go and giving them grants, Government provided education by filling in gaps where there were not sufficient facilities offered by denominational initiative, by creating local School Boards. By 1902 it decided that only big Local Education Authorities could take adequate initiative in elementary and secondary education, with substantial Government grants. From 1902 to 1944 Local Education Authorities and Government took full responsibility for national education but continuedto accept what denominations could offer. From 1944 the Ministry of Education took power through Local Education Authorities.

Different Commissions were followed by progressive Education Acts, the most important of which were those of 1870, 1902 and 1944 respectively. They provided for the gradual reorganisation of the whole system of education into primary, secondary, and further education, thus removing the overlapping which existed between the top section of the elementary schools and the junior section of the secondary or

high schools. The school leaving age was progressively raised and education became free and compulsory. These progressive measures of reform the State could not have introduced without taking financial responsibility in education. Bechuanaland Government's difficulty in introducing educational reforms is in part due to Government's lack of direct financial support of primary education.

The Newcastle Commission appointed in 1858 to enquire "into the present state of popular education in England" and to recommend among other things, "what measures if any are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction of all classes of the people", revealed in its report conditions not unlike those found in Bechuanaland to-day - defective knowledge among children who left school at the age of 11 (compare with children who leave school after Standard II in Bechuanaland) incompetent teachers, irregular attendance, poor buildings, inadequate equipment. Teachers argued that they could get better results if early leaving was stopped, and they asked for compulsion. But although the Newcastle Commission recognised the disadvantages of a short school life it was not prepared to recommend compulsion. Instead it recommended night schools for wage-earning ten-or-eleven-year olds who left school, and the system of "payment by results", and the Government jumped at the latter as a means of getting results from individual schools and teachers by offering direct financial incentives.

School meals for necessitous children were introduced because it was realised that "to educate underfed children is to promote deterioration of physique by exhausting the nervous system".1 This was done on a voluntary basis but was later taken up by the State when school feeding was instituted and balanced meals were subsidised not only for necessitous children but for children whose parents might be working and so unable to prepare meals for them. Bechuanaland needs a school feeding scheme particularly during the six to eight months when children are by themselves at home.

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1. **Newman: The Building of a Nation's Health.**

Whether it received its impetus from voluntary organisations or from Government, English education has always been carried on a rapidly increasing national income. This has made its growth in extent and stature not only possible but fast. Uganda has the same advantage of a rising national income though not to the same extent. Yugoslavia has that advantage too. Bechuanaland's national income rises very slowly and so the country is unable to cope with the rising demands of education. Moreover, England's rapidly rising national income making possible great expansion in industry and other fields has meant that there have always been good prospects of employment for the school product. In fact, as it has already been stated, sometimes these occupational outlets have resulted in early school leaving. Where prospects of employment were a major consideration in following certain courses, such outlets were an incentive to education. If trade and technical schools were opened in Bechuanaland, they would increase interest in education, for the value of vocation is an important factor in education. Children who return to cattleposts because they see no future in further schooling might be encouraged to stay on and study agriculture and animal husbandry, which study should make their cattlepost life more rewarding and therefore worthwhile.

As the economics of the country improved more and more, and nationalisation of certain social services was adopted, education became the sole responsibility of the State through Local Education Authorities, except that voluntary initiative is not precluded as long as it fulfils certain requirements. Bechuanaland's policy seems to tend to encourage voluntary initiative and this augurs well for the future of its education.

Administration:

As stated above, between 1833 and 1870 education was left to denominational initiative supported by Government grants which rose from £150,000 in 1851 to £541,233 in 1857 and kept on rising. Schools in receipt of these grants had to observe instructions issued from time to time by the Committee of Council, established in 1839. By 1870

it was clear that denominational initiative was inadequate and therefore alongside it were established Local School Boards. These increased their sphere of action as denominational impetus subsided. By 1902 it was clear that Local School Boards were too small to cope with the increasing demands of such a dynamic force. They did not have enough insight or capital to meet the demand, so Local Education Authorities with bigger resources and greater powers were created on the basis of county and borough local government and replaced the School Boards. As education was growing faster than local government bodies could evolve means and ways of meeting all its demands, the Ministry of Education which superseded the Education Department took much greater powers to direct Local Education Authorities. The State, through its Ministry of Education was able as a result of large grants to Local Education Authorities as well as to Church bodies, to direct and control education. Denominational administration was recognized as long as Government Aided Church Schools conformed to certain regulations laid down by Government.

Thus uniformity in content, method and administration has not characterised English Education. Private enterprise, religious fervour, and State intervention provided variety which prevents education from being static and uninspired.

From the foregoing Bechuanaland can learn a great deal. (a) There must be drive from somewhere. This is provided by the African's keen desire for education. It must be backed by some organisation able to provide facilities. The Church, Local Authorities, and the State can all work together and complement one another's efforts. It took England about 70 years to realise that education from start to finish must be a national responsibility. Bechuanaland should benefit by the knowledge of the bad effect on education of this fact.

(b) With school entrance age falling in Bechuanaland, she will soon be faced with the problem of filling the gap between school leaving age, after Standard VI, and the age of entry to training colleges. Britain's pupil teacher system seemed to be the answer, but it was discredited by educationists as not a long term investment. The best move would be to

increase secondary school facilities to give a sound background to teacher training.

(c) Openings. As there are none efforts must be made to create them.

(d) Without economic development very little progress in education may be expected.

Uganda.

Motivation:

The history of education in Uganda as elsewhere in British Africa is very closely bound up with missionary enterprise, just as that of English education is bound up with the Church and Church voluntary organisations.

The first schools, and for a considerable time the only schools, were run by Missionaries. "Owing to the political situation in Europe and in East Africa at the time (in the 1830's) and to the fact that the Protestant Missionaries were mainly British while the Roman Catholics were French, religious differences developed into a fierce political rivalry. The success of their work depended largely on maintaining successful relations with those in power, with the result that the rival missions became potent factors in the local struggle for powers and in ..... internal upheavals..... This missionary influence has lasted until the present day and religious divisions are an important consideration in the social and political life of the country."[1]

The missionaries started schools in order to teach their converts to read and write. For many years they assumed the obligation to meet the increasing demand for education as at the time the British Government - Uganda being a British Protectorate - was reluctant to assume responsibility for education. We have seen a similar reluctance in the history of education in Bechuanaland, and in the United Kingdom during the 18th

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1. Report of the East Africa Commission 1953-1955 page 16.

and early 19th Centuries. Here is a big difference between the short history of education in Yugoslavia and that of England and her dependencies.

Church schools did not accept children who were not of their fold unless they promised to become members. Religious rivalry provided the necessary impetus for the provision of schools. Sometimes there was such rivalry and competition between the Churches that there was an unnecessary duplication of the same type of school in the towns whilst other places were left without schools. But then, as now, the motive power behind education was religion which is almost lacking in Bechuanaland.

The Government reluctantly and gradually assumed responsibility in education and as a result there are now many Local Authority schools not attached to any particular Church and there are Provincial and other schools provided by the Central Government. Although the move within the last few years has been toward State provided education, and Local Authorities are very active in order to develop and improve economic, social and political conditions in the territory, denominational administration is recognized as it has all the time been recognized in England. The public is passionately enthusiastic about education and parents will sacrific almost anything to get their children in schools which are still inadequate in numbers to meet the demand.

Growth:

Although there are still many deficiencies and inadequacies in the educational system of Uganda, it is a rapidly growing system carried on a growing national income. There is great wastage which results from conditions not unlike those prevailing in Bechuanaland, viz: poor buildings, inadequate accommodation, lack of equipment, shortage of suitably qualified teachers, poor physical condition of pupils, distances to be walked to and from school, etc. But in spite of this wastage and poor conditions, education in Uganda is growing very rapidly both in extent and in stature.

(a) Teachers

Education depends a very great deal on the qualifications and quality of teachers. Denominations provided education and trained vernacular teachers. They provided impetus but standards remained low. Government had to step in to improve the training of teachers, and to insist on standards which denominations as such could not have set. The number of unqualified teachers in aided schools is now small but many of the so-called qualified teachers have attained very modest academic standards. Vernacular teachers in particular, have only the six years' primary education as background to their teacher training. In unaided private schools, and there are many such schools, a large number of untrained teachers can only boast of six years' primary education. With such low qualifications, and in poor physical school conditions, their teaching is bound to be poor and their performance not unlike that of monitors and later pupil teachers in 19th Century England.

The other grades of teachers are:

(i) Grade I teachers who take a four year course, two years pre-training and two years professional training after Primary 6, or two years' professional training after three years' Junior Secondary. This in a way corresponds to Bechuanaland's Primary Higher Certificate.

Pre-training courses for those who could not go to Secondary Schools were introduced in order to bridge the gap between the age of passing Primary 6 (the top segment of the primary system) and the accepted minimum age of entering a training college or school. Apart from merely bridging the gap it provides opportunity for raising academic standards while it makes it possible for those who could not afford five years post primary schooling, to train as teachers in four years.

(ii) Grade II teachers take a two years' professional course with School Certificate as entry qualification. They teach senior classes in primary schools or in Junior Secondary schools.

(iii) Grade III teachers trained at Makerere where they complete a two-year intermediate course followed by a two year professional course in the faculty of education. Teachers in this grade teach mainly in Senior Secondary Schools, though there are a number who teach in Junior

Secondary Schools.

The Department of Education in 1955 estimated an annual output of 1000 or more Grade I teachers as from 1956 - a very high figure compared with Bechuanaland's 15 - 20, even taking school population into account. The local output of qualified senior staff is still extremely small, and for some time the country will rely on overseas appointments for secondary school and teacher training college staffs.

Up-grading courses have been started in Uganda for serving teachers. These are courses of one year's duration to enable vernacular teachers to gain promotion to Grade I on successful completion of the course, and Grade I teachers promotion to Grade II. These courses, started in 1953, apart from offering promotion and thus improving the teachers' economic position, have to some extent reduced the acute shortage of suitably qualified teachers. Actual in-service courses in the form of weekend lectures for town teachers, or vacation courses would help towards raising and maintaining standards and the quality of teaching.

As stated above, staffing of secondary schools and training colleges is more difficult as there are extremely few suitably qualified local people. However the situation has been greatly improved by the recruitment of "Attached Staff". An agreement was arrived at between the Protectorate (Uganda) Government and the Governing bodies of self-governing schools and training colleges, whereby a governing body recruits a teacher through the office of the Overseas Appointment Bureau of the Institute of Christian Education which works in collaboration with the Colonial Office. The teacher is appointed by the Protectorate Government on a Government salary scale and conditions of service and is immediately "attached" to the particular institution with an undertaking that he will not be moved without the consent of the Governing body and his own agreement. This system enables a Governing body to obtain staff which it might well be unable to do on its own, particularly on missionary salaries. At the same time it gives security to the teacher. Staffing of the very few secondary schools that there are in Bechuanaland is very difficult, particularly

that of the non-Roman Catholic Schools. A similar system might improve the situation. The move taken by one Governing body of such a school in Bechuanaland is to equate its teachers' salary scales and conditions of service with those of Government employees.

The training of teachers is regarded as a very important part of the whole system of education, not only of new teachers, but the training of experienced lower grade teachers is regarded as very important, and teachers in the field are encouraged to take advantage of the facilities provided for short courses. Just as the training of "Elementary Teachers" was discontinued in Bechuanaland about ten years ago, so the training of Vernacular teachers has been discontinued in Uganda. But, as shown above, Uganda has taken steps to up-grade Vernacular teachers to Grade I while Bechuanaland has no immediate plans for the up-grading of her teachers with the "Elementary Teachers' Certificate". She might copy Uganda's example.

(b) Curriculum.

Until recently the educational pattern was an imperfect copy of the 19th Century English Elementary School system, and there was not much adaptation of the content and methods of teaching to local needs and conditions. There was too much emphasis on the so-called academic subjects and people either despised or were indifferent to manual work. Teachers concerned themselves with preparing primary school pupils for secondary schools, and the latter with preparing children for the School Certificate in spite of the fact that only a negligible percentage of pupils in primary schools got more than four years schooling. Practical subjects like agriculture, homecrafts and needlework were generally neglected. Now technical and agricultural education is being developed and although there still are misgivings regarding it, and there is suspected inferiority of non-white-collar jobs, more and more people are beginning to see the wisdom of adapting education to local conditions. There is a feeling that in recognition of the fact that for the present only a very small minority can, and will

attain University level, general education must be reorientated to cater for the majority, while at the same time the latter must be provided for. Bechuanaland needs such a change of heart.

There are 16 aided and 10 unaided Rural Trade Schools offering post primary training in simple village crafts and agriculture. Local Education Authorities are responsible for these and for post primary homecraft education for girls. Some of these schools and the Technical Institute offer both evening and part-time day classes in a variety of vocational and recreational subjects. There is a great deal of wastage in technical subjects, however, this phase will pass as experience grows.

A very interesting and useful institution is the Acholi District Farm School. This was started when it was realised that, as the economy of the country depends so much on agriculture, the agricultural education given in primary schools in the limited time set aside for it, was inadequate to provide the necessary knowledge and intensive training and practical experience required for successful farming. Organised by a Local Education Committee consisting of the local District Commissioner as Chairman, representatives of missions, agricultural and education departments, and the Acholi Local Government, it was opened in 1951.

Although the Verona Fathers' Catholic Mission was asked to run the school, as it was under the Local Education Authority, boys were to be admitted regardless of creed. Costs were shared between the Education Department, the Agricultural Department, and the Local Government. These costs covered teachers' salaries, initial agricultural equipment, capital grant towards buildings and their maintenance, and a further grant towards menial staff. This provides a very good example of real co-operation between Central Government Departments and Local Government, and between Government and Missionary enterprise.

The school runs a two year post primary course admitting 21 students annually, divided among "homesteads" with 7 in each. Each

homestead is a farm on its own, yet part of the school as a whole. In addition to practical training in farming methods, in the afternoon there are classes in principles and theory of agriculture as well as in Arithmetic and English to give the students a background of theoretical knowledge. Fees are low. Students take part in a profit-sharing scheme on their crops - half the profits going to the students, and half being used for improvements in the school. The share profits to the students are not paid in cash but in equipment to help them set up their own farms when they leave. Often a student gets a plough, a team of oxen, and a wagon, and arrangements are made so that students may borrow money from the African Loan Fund (Uganda Credits and Savings Bank) on the recommendation of the District Council and the backing of the school.

This good scheme is described in detail because it is one which Bechuanaland might try out at a few centres, with advantage, of necessity adapting it to her own local conditions. In Bechuanaland mixed farming might be taught, and leaving students, with the consent of Local Authorities might be encouraged to have their lands and cattleposts in one area instead of the present two separate areas miles apart. This would enable them to use kraal manure which at present is wasted at cattle posts for fertilising their lands. If, however, the system of land tenure cannot be revolutionised immediately, training at such a Farm School could take that factor into consideration. A system of crop rotation would make the limited amount of kraal manure available at the lands go a long way. The scheme deserves serious study.

Co-education: Co-education is the normal pattern in Bechuanaland in both primary and secondary schools. Only one school, the Homecrafts Centre, in the whole territory is a single-sex school. This is not the case in Uganda. Most schools, both boarding and day schools are single-sex schools although the number of mixed schools is growing.

Girls' education is miles behind that of boys. Whilst in Bechuanaland the percentage of girls in primary schools is over 60,

in Uganda it is 25.6. Apart from the universal habit of parents providing greater educational facilities for their boys than for their girls, and the usual African desire of mothers to keep girls at a useful age engaged in domestic duties, there are other and perhaps more important factors in Uganda which do not adversely affect girls' education in Bechuanaland and other countries at least in Southern Africa. These are:

(a) The uncompromising attitude of most Uganda Africans against co-education. They refuse to let their daughters attend mixed classes. This means that many girls leave school after two or four years' schooling even when within walking distance of a mixed school offering higher classes than does their girls' school.

(b) The fact that many schools in Uganda particularly boarding schools, are single-sex schools (the tendency now is to build more co-educational schools than single sex ones.)

(c) The national outcome of (b) is the provision of a large number of boys' schools and a small number of girls' schools so that many girls who desire to go to school and would be able and willing to pay the nscessary fees cannot find places. Among the reasons given by parents to the de Bunsen Commission, why girls' education is so behind that of the boys were:

(d) the long distance that girls have to walk to school. In Bechuanaland boys and girls walk the same distances and this does not seem to raise any special problems for girls, although it would be a great help if some of these distances were reduced by the opening of more schools

(e) The moral dangers to which girls, particularly the older ones, may be subjected on those long walks to schools.

(f) Difficulties of travelling to boarding school - particularly the expense and the moral dangers of long unescorted journeys.

The last two reasons make one wonder whether the moral question is so acute in Uganda that boy/girl relationships are more unhealthy

than in other countries. In Bechuanaland and some other African countries children walk or run to and from school in groups, and family relationships being as wide as they are, children from one area are usually related one to another in some way or other so that the question of moral issues hardly arises. But apparently this is a serious problem in Uganda as the Commission even took the trouble to suggest that a way might be found of financing a system of escorting girls to boarding school.

In both Uganda and Bechuanaland special efforts are necessary to encourage girls' education, for general education in any country is bound to suffer if girls' education seriously lags behind. While more co-education might be the answer in Uganda, to avoid duplication of staff, classroom accommodation, equipment, etc. in Bechuanaland encouragement might be by way of special bursaries for girls in addition to open ones to counterbalance the effect of parents' providing more for the boys.

Economics.

Missionary enterprise provided the first schools and because of Missions' limited resources they did not aim at a high standard of education. Although fees were charged and conditions were poor Uganda's national income has been steadily rising and this has helped education. Uganda's economy like that of Bechuanaland is based very largely on subsistence agriculture and a few cash crops. There are few substantial mineral deposits, to step up industrialization and improve the country's economy as has been the case in the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and West Africa. The system of land tenure where land is communal property, like it is in Bechuanaland, is not conducive to large scale investment in the soil as land cannot be profitably disposed of for economic reasons and there is no real security of ownership. Uganda is, however, a step ahead of Bechuanaland in that its people can and do lease land for many years and are doing more to improve their agriculture. Cash crops are increasingly important. There are a few industries in the towns which provide

employment for the men locally. As men leave their womenfolk in the rural areas and go to the towns for employment the evils of migratory labour - lack of home supervision and discipline, the leaving of agriculture in the hands of women and children, broken homes - are not avoided even though the men do not leave the territory as they do from Bechuanaland to the Union of South Africa.

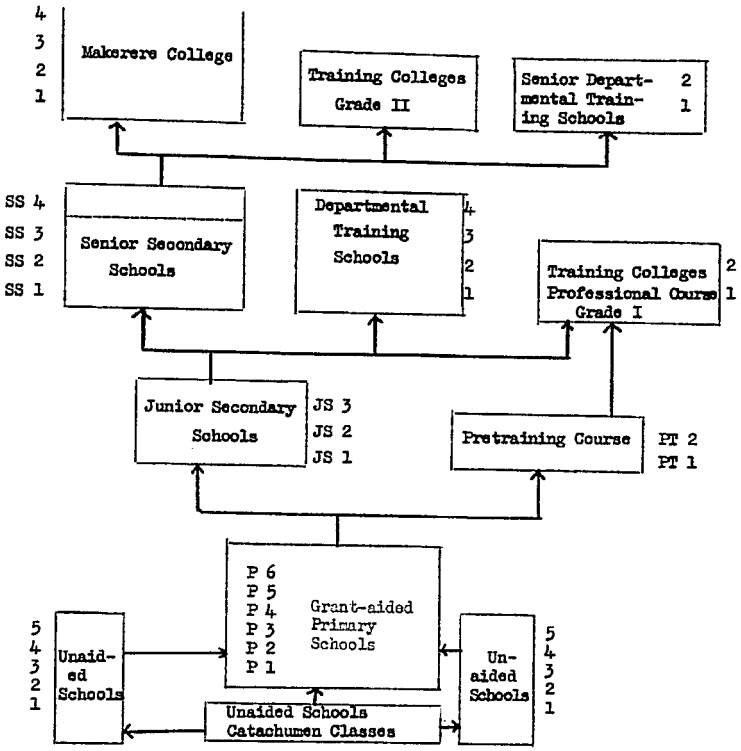
Education is paid for by the Missions and by the Government, both local and central and there are bursaries and scholarships to help necessitous children at all levels of education. Private enterprise is not stifled. Although it is a good thing to allow private enterprise where Government cannot provide adequate facilities, there is the danger of unscrupulous people taking advantage of the situation and of the people's ignorance and getting money from the people under false pretences.

Wages for unskilled labour are very low and those pupils who leave school after four or six years and are not suited for any particular work become unskilled labourers and are none the better for their little learning. But, unlike Bechuanaland, Uganda offers real scope for those who qualify suitably for a variety of employment and does provide the necessary training. Pupils who graduate from the various technical and trade colleges and schools in Uganda join industry and Government technical departments, or set up their own business. Thus not only are outlets created, but facilities are provided for the training of local students for the posts created.

Administration.

Schools are organised into primary, junior secondary, senior secondary, post primary schools, teacher training colleges and trade schools as shown on pages 108(i) & 109(ii) These schools are administered aided, unaided or Government schools. Administration has evolved from denominational superintendence to control by local school boards which are responsible to Local Education Authorities. In order to qualify for Government grant-in-aid schools must fulfil certain conditions which are reviewed from time to time, and be open to inspection by itinerant

Q. **Present System of African Education**



Key: Figures represent years at each type of school (allowing for no failures at different steps of the educational ladder).

P stands for Primary

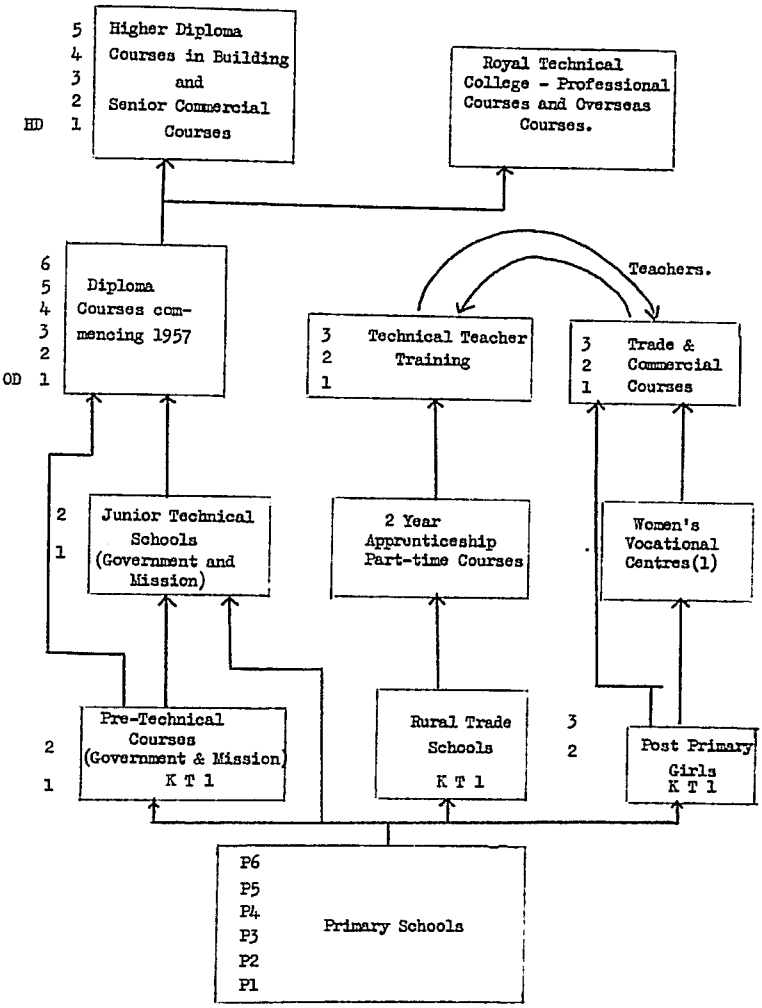
J S " " Junior Secondary

P T " " Pre-Training

S S " " Senior Secondary.

R.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION



Key:
- OD Ordinary Diploma
- HD Higher Diploma
- (1) One centre
- KT 1 Kampala Technical Institute (now affiliated to Bristol College of Technology)

officers of the Government Department of Education. Different Government Departments are represented on governing bodies and work as a team in planning development schemes. Missionary enterprise which provides the majority of schools is represented at all levels. Representation on Education committees is by nomination from Local Government, which is elected.

The Department of Education which is responsible for policy making and all professional matters comprises the Director of Education, Deputy Director of Education, Deputy Director of Education for Technical Education, Provincial Education Officers and Education Officers, whose duties are both inspectorial and administrative. Local Authorities provide funds for, and administer their own schools. There is keen competition between different Local Authorities, between Local Authorities and Missionary enterprise, and between the denominations. This competition provides impetus for education.

Yugoslavia:

Motivation:

The impulse toward education in 19th Century Britain and later in Uganda and Bechuanaland originated with the Church. The aim was to win the souls of men for God and therefore religion was the focal point. Learning the three R's was incidental to Bible Study. The widening of the scope of education was the result of the decision of religious bodies and individuals to remove factors which they felt were conducive to unrule behaviour and general immorality, factors like squalor and ignorance which they were sure brought about social ills. English education emerged as a result of religious enthusiasms and antagonisms and the tremendous speed of industrialisation. The same factors influenced and motivated education in Uganda although the speed and extent of industrialisation have been on a much smaller scale. In Bechuanaland, as in Uganda at first, it was religious enthusiasm alone which motivated education, and this force has been practically removed. In Yugoslavia the drive came through a social revolution following the

Second World War with strong central and provincial Governments determined to develop very rapidly economically. It was a socio-political move not only divorced from a religious impulse but in many ways antagonistic towards religion.

Before the second world war, Yugoslavia was a divided backward, and poor country, not unlike Bechuanaland to-day. From its inception after the Social Revolution and the over-throw of the ruling classes in the War of Liberation the new State was faced with a number of difficult problems - economic, social and political. The war left the country's economy paralysed. It had to be reconstructed while at the same time some resources were invested to strengthen the national defence. Thus the new State had to face the following problems:-

(a) To raise the country from backwardness and lay the educational foundations which alone could improve the very poor conditions which prevailed.

(b) To build a political system based on a new ideology

(c) To provide popular education.

These three factors had to be considered together as they were interdependent. Loans were received from America and other countries and technical assistance sought. Industry and production were nationalised and speeded up. Skilled hands were desperately needed in every field and there were not enough schools in the country. Factories which wanted skilled hands ran or sponsored week-end or vacation courses and granted leave of absence to their employees to study certain aspects of their work. Impetus was supplied by the central as well as by the provincial Governments, driven on to concentrated efforts to provide the education demanded by the new socialist ideology; and the people had to be prepared to forgo immediate financial and material benefits in favour of the long-term general development of the country.

Growth:

After the War of Liberation (1939-45), Yugoslavia had a great outburst of energy which gave rise to nationalisation and the principle of equality. A literacy campaign was launched and evening classes

started.

Inefficiency and wastage, bound to be experienced at the beginning, were apparent. After four years' schooling children were hardly equipped for any jobs and in any case they were too young to work. So there was a big gap between school leaving and the age at which the children could work. In large centres there were facilities for 8 year elementary schooling and for secondary education. But distance, lack of transport, and lack of accommodation at these centres made it almost impossible for country children to avail themselves of these facilities. This state of affairs was like the present state of affairs in Bechuanaland's villages where there are only Standard II or Standard IV schools. Physical conditions were very poor.

(a) Teachers

Numerous schools were opened in addition to running night schools after the war. Expansion far outpaced development plans and there was as there still is, a serious shortage of teachers. This shortage of teachers was due to:

(i) Loss through the war

(ii) The tremendous increase of pupil enrolment at all levels following the decision of the New State to make education free and compulsory for eight years

(iii) Opening of many new schools which claimed more and more teachers

(iv) The high birth rate which followed the war years which resulted in an abnormal increase in the school-age population seven or eight years after war

(v) Many teachers taking up other engagements after the war to step up national production and help in administration. Teachers did not leave teaching for better paid jobs.

As a result of this shortage many unqualified teachers were employed. Their performance was no better than that of senior boys in England's monitorial system or Standard VI teachers in Bechuanaland today. Instruction on what to teach and how and when to teach it was provided for these teachers' benefit, naturally resulting in uniformity

and stereotyped lessons. Until the country can produce adequate teachers with suitable training, and teachers with vision and courage to experiment, regimented teaching is inevitable. But even such an imperfect scheme serves a very useful purpose where there would otherwise be a vacuum.

Meanwhile efforts were made to train as large a number of teachers as possible. Two types of training schools were set up:
(1) Pedagogical Schools for which there is no entrance examination, students being accepted after completion of elementary education in an eight-year school, or four years in a Secondary School. This gives rise to a certain amount of unofficial complaint from the teachers that pedagogical schools are burdened with students not intellectually equipped to benefit from them.

Owing to the low educational level of students at entry, the three years' professional course is preceded by two years of further education.

Fifth year students, in addition to practice teaching in pedagogical centres or practice schools visit village schools obtain first hand experience there. They do ten days' actual teaching at a time, staying with villagers and taking part in parent/teacher meetings and other extra-curricular activities. This is a good system as it gives practice in real-life village conditions which are usually not found in specially provided practice schools.

Uganda's Grade I Teacher Training may be compared with the Pedagogical Schools of Yugoslavia, but Bechuanaland's Teacher Training does not compare so favourably. Although a similar standard of education is required for entry to the Training College for Primary Lower Certificate, the course is for three years only. But as the out-put is so low production could not be arrested for two years in order to increase the period of training to five years. Neither could Bechuanaland adopt the scheme of school practice in villages owing to the distances involved and the scattered nature of the villages there.

Moreover such a scheme would not be of much use unless there were suitably qualified and conscientious teachers in the village schools to guide and supervise the trainees' teaching and give critical reports of their work. Such suitably staffed village schools are rare in Bechuanaland at present.

(ii) Higher Pedagogical Schools. Here training is given to teachers who will teach in Secondary Schools. Training lasts three years after Matriculation from Secondary Schools, but many of the students have taught for a number of years as unqualified teachers, and are awarded scholarships on full pay.

The aim is to build more of this type of school, and as the staffing problem eases gradually replace the former type of school with the latter.

Yugoslavia also had its Emergency Scheme for a short time for the training of people in a three or four months' course to cope with the Elementary Schools set up by the Partisans after the War of Liberation. When it was discontinued teachers who had been trained during that time, as well as all untrained teachers, were required to be properly trained. Those who do not comply with this requirement are appointed on a temporary basis and are paid by the hour.

As conditions of service are the same for teachers as for other servants of the State, teaching is quite a popular profession, and there is no peculiar problem regarding recruitment. Shortage of staff is due to the fact that expansion takes place much faster than Training Schools can produce new teachers, and of course other professions absorb a proportion of the school product.

(b) Curriculum

Originally agriculture played a very important part in the country's economy as most Yugoslavs were peasant farmers. But agriculture did not figure high in educational development, because agriculture is a long term investment which does not produce immediate results. But Bechuanaland, with limited natural resources, cannot afford to neglect agriculture as a school subject.

Factories in or near villages tend to have Secondary Schools built near them, and the factories determine much of the curriculum

of the pupils, its future workers.

Within a very short time popular education grew from a literacy campaign, through an emphasis on the Three R's to an elaborate system with a very high bias on Science and Technology. This was essential if industry and production were to develop rapidly.

Almost right from the beginning of school life science subjects are taught. Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Biochemistry are taught in the Elementary Schools to a level amost too advanced for the pupils. Science laboratories are very well equipped - sometimes extravagantly so, one thought.

This emphasis on Science and Technology is necessary in a country which is developing fast industrially. For they do produce immediate, material and satisfying results: and how otherwise could be accomplished the gigantic task of lifting Yugoslavia from 17th century conditions almost overnight to conditions of the latter half of the 20th century without the intermediate-century steps?

But there is a real danger of the human soul being lost in it all. Such education may produce masses of very efficient machinelike persons, but not human beings with living souls unless the humanities are given more attention to balance things. Some signs of this may be seen in the introduction of music and art, also physical training in some schools. But religion is categorically excluded and though officially not victimised, teachers with religious tendencies are thought to be unenlightened and looked upon as superstitious.

Satisfaction and balance in life, and ability to use leisure hours profitably will depend on foundations laid down in schools, and this is not likely to happen in a system of education which turns out human beings who will be mere cogs in an elaborate machine.

Bechuanaland and other under-developed countries, when they embark on industrialisation and base their curriculum on the demands of materialism might pause and think deeply on this question.

Economics:

Yugoslav popular education for some time depended largely on voluntary contributions - teachers and any others who were literate ran night schools free. These are now run by the State. The country is reputed to have substantial natural resources so Yugoslavia applied for foreign capital for initial development. In the same way Bechuanaland might have to depend on foreign capital for initial development of her apparent mineral deposits.

Determination to forgo personal financial benefits by keeping the salaries more or less at subsistence level has made possible a rapid rise in national income. Salaries are paid on the basis of educational attainment, regardless of profession. Thus, elementary or primary school teachers, clerks and typists in 1957 were receiving a salary of about 1200 dinars a month (about £11), while graduate teachers, doctors, lawyers and engineers 1500 to 2000 a month (about £13).

One would not advocate mere subsistence salaries for any country, but an incidental result of the above system is to ensure that teachers are not attracted to other professions by larger salaries.

All possible means and ways are employed to increase industry, and Yugoslavia is building up a growing export trade. All this helps to pay for education which is a national responsibility.

Administration:

Yugoslavia is a socialist country and according to the people of Yugoslavia all administration is by the people. Whatever is administered, be it education, factories, railways, or roads, the people elect their own representatives. Members of local committees send representatives to regional bodies, the latter to provincial councils, and provincial councils are representated at the central council of the Republic. All Committees are elected according to a certain formula. Peasants, teachers, railwaymen, etc., are represented on school committees, as on

other committees. This is a good idea in a way but it can be carried too far. When it comes to administering education, for instance, often teachers' opinion is defeated by that of people who know very little about schools and education. These committees decide what must be taught and how.

As stated above, in England teachers largely decide what to teach and how. But Yugoslavia, like other under-developed countries - though developing fast - has very little real autonomy.

The point to avoid here is the making of a system so rigid that it is not suited to changing times. Yet it should be firm enough to give guidance to teachers without much background.

What is the significance of these comparative considerations for Bechuanaland?

Motivation:

That elimination must in most cases be by substitution is as true in education as anywhere else. It was a good thing to eliminate or minimise denominational rivalry in England as a result of the view of the Nonconformists from 1850 onward. But it would have been disastrous if this had not been accompanied by Government providing the driving force. The public were not passionately enthusiastic but impetus came from the Church and from influential people who forced Government to assume responsibility. In Uganda denominational rivalry has always been the motive power and helped where things might have become static, or even deteriorated for lack of Government active support or lack of funds. Inter-tribal rivalry has increasingly provided impetus. A new power house comes out of African nationalism in Uganda and the African's passionate desire for education. In Yugoslavia the motive power came from a national revolution which resulted in a new ideology which captured the thinking and actions of the masses.

In Bechuanaland denominational rivalry was removed prematurely when Government was not in a position to take over education effectively.

But Bechuanaland has not lagged much behind other African territories in a passionate desire for learning. This enthusiasm can be met by giving Africans a greater share in the administration of education than they have at present, by encouraging them to undertake self-help activities and by making known to members of one tribe what progressive steps have been taken by other tribes where such have been taken.

A wider use of the mobile cinema unit as an instrument of education, showing films on what people in other African territories are doing to improve their country, would set Bechuanaland people thinking. If any such film should depict some aspect of improvements going on in Bechuanaland, it would add to the interest of the people in whatever scheme is being publicised. The interest is there. What is required is guidance by people who can work with the ordinary man in the village without appearing to issue instructions from above. A very important factor is that there must be outlets for the school product.

Growth:

Teachers: Both England and Yugoslavia used the pupil-teacher system to tide themselves over a critical time. This system has a tendency to perpetuate itself as it did in England, although it was shown to be educationally unsound. After 1902 England, and later Yugoslavia, realised that the best way to fill the gap between primary education and the age of entry to training colleges is to expand secondary education. Uganda is doing so by providing secondary education or pre-training courses to improve the academic background of would-be teachers. Bechuanaland has not had the problem of the chronological age of pupils being below that requiredfor entry to training schools (although that is coming) because of the fact that many children start school late in life. But even apart from the problem of age, academic standards reached at Standard VI level require an intermediate course before teacher training. A junior secondary course would be the answer.

England, Uganda and Yugoslavia lay emphasis on expansion of teacher training. This is urgently required in Bechuanaland. Expansion of teacher training presupposes an expansion of secondary schools to feed the colleges. This presupposes large numbers of pupils finishing primary education. This latter requires adequate staff. Up-grading courses like those provided in Uganda would encourage teachers with low qualifications to improve their condition while improving the quality of teaching. In-service training on the lines of the scheme carried out in Ghana after the introduction of free education, or of the schemes followed by Area Training Organisations in Britain, simplified to suit local conditions, might be considered. Yugoslavia's principle of equal pay for all professions might be studied and the possibility of introducing it considered.

Curriculum: Uganda is seriously re-thinking her educational policy. Her great interest in agriculture is producing good results. There are several farm schools like the Acholi one described above, trade schools at different levels, and technical education is so important in Uganda that there is a Deputy Director of Education solely responsible for it. The value of vocation is recognised. Bechuanaland urgently needs trade schools.

Economics:

England had potential for very rapid expansion. Yugoslavia is passionately committed to material advancement which she believes is the answer to life's problems. She also has potential for rapid expansion, and above all the will to succeed in interpreting her ideology to the world. Uganda's economic position is brighter than that of Bechuanaland. But she too needs to plan her economic development in such a way that no time, effort, and money are wasted in following second rate schemes. Bechuanaland's economic position is the worst of the countries under consideration. But she has the advantage of the possibility of studying

how the other countries solved some of the problems she is facing now. By avoiding mistakes they made, adapting some of their successful methods to her conditions, she could save time, labour, and money. Her main line of economic development should be agriculture. She has more arable land than any of the other countries and could use it to greater advantage.

Administration:

In order that central administration should be the motive power behind education it must have a direct share in financing education at all levels. England recognised this after a long time, Yugoslavia started that way, and Uganda is doing so now. The Governments of these countries are consequently in a position to insist on certain conditions being fulfilled in schools, and on certain standards being attained. They provide training facilities and adequate training colleges either directly or by greatly subsidising them. Expansion of teacher training should be the Bechuanaland Government's major education plan. There is talk of a second training college being started but so far there are no signs of its coming into being though it is long overdue.

In concluding this chapter the whole situation is reflected as follows:

Modern school education in Bechuanaland is or ought to be an instrument of change based on the principle of teaching children to broaden their minds, to increase their skills and to think for themselves and not just accept other people's decisions without passing judgment on them. Its aim is or should be to produce good and useful citizens in a fast changing world, and to introduce new skills, thoughts, and attitudes in the life of the people of Bechuanaland. Economic and political conditions are constantly changing. To fit children to these changing conditions education must needs break the conservation of Bechuanaland's traditional society. Old beliefs must be searched and either substantiated or discredited and thrown overboard. This can be effectively done not by ruthlessly uprooting the

people from their already shaky ground but by gradually introducing progressive steps which are obviously better than hitherto accepted traditional ways of doing things. This should, where possible, be preceded by a sympathetic study of traditional patterns of behaviour and their possible explanation where there is no given reason for such patterns.

As already pointed out in Chapter III, the aim of tribal education, pre European to date, is to integrate the community into a composite structure of interdependent individuals. This comes into conflict with the demands of a cash economy and all it entails, e.g. individualism. Standards and social codes are undermined by rapid economic and political change. There is a gap between the new and the old ways of life which must be fathomed and bridged. The community sees its traditional way of life slipping away and a new harsh and unfriendly way taking its place. It recognises the fact that the old order must change but because people do not know the new and, therefore, fear it, they cling to the old with one foot shakily stepping into the unknown. They are thus caught between the two and feel lost. Education, while it brings about disintegration of many traditional patterns of life must give cohesion and meaning to life's change. This can be done if teachers have a broader educational background than they have at present. Then they could pick out the good in tribal education and adapt it to present day conditions by using modern methods. This could be done by teachers' meetings, parent/teachers' meetings and parents" meetings. Before the close of 1957 the writer held several meetings with teachers and several, separate meetings with parents in different wards or sections of the village to discuss among other things such problems as discipline, irregular attendance at school, unsatisfactory work by teachers, and by pupils, and the part played by teachers and that played by parents in the education of the young. It was interesting to note the tendency on the part of the one group to shift all blame to the other, e.g. parents blaming teachers and teachers, parents. But sooner or later the two groups each acknowledged their responsibilities and their failures, and

in theory anyhow, were prepared to try and improve their part.

An interesting fact was revealed in several parents' meetings when parents accosted with allowing their children to do certain things they should not have done or neglect certain duties, explained that they did not know that they had any right to question what was done in school, or complain about anything done by teachers because the latter where in authority. Several misconceptions were apparent, and it is hoped that they were cleared. The next step should be to arrange for combined meetings.

Perhaps the foregoing has shown something of the basic requirements if the country is to develop. Certainly methods of agriculture must be revolutionized and industry begun. But a deeper need is for the whole outlook of the people to change. Instead of complete dependence on the community, waiting for orders to be given, and a contentment at living on a subsistence level, with a resultant lack of individual initiative, each person must feel his responsibility for contributing towards the progress of the country. This calls for serious planning and action at the present time, with the recognition of education on a national basis as a major instrument in bringing about this change of attitude in the people, and in working towards the political, economic and social development of Bechuanaland.

CHAPTER VI.

PROPOSALS FOR BECHUANALAND.

Before proposals for educational development can be made it is necessary to consider the aims and principles of education. What is the aim of education in Bechuanaland? Why should parents send their children to school? How long ought they to keep them in school, and why? Why should authorities provide schools for an ever-increasing number of children of school age? Is education for its own sake a feasible proposition in a poor, backward country? Can the Government's declared aims and policy be realised under the prevailing circumstances? These and other questions must be considered as a prelude to educational planning.

Most children in Bechuanaland, like children everywhere up to a certain stage of mental development when they start having definite (or vague) aims in life, go to school because their parents send them, and because they want to be with their playmates. A large number of children start school life after the age of ten when they insist that they must go to school because they want to become teachers, clerks, or nurses in order to earn money without going to the mines, or they want to learn English so that they may work for Europeans. Some go to school because they would like to marry an educated man or woman and so they too must be educated. People who have been to school long enough to qualify for jobs are not often required to take part in regimental labour (when tribesmen/women of a certain age group are called upon by the chief or headman to do a job like making a road, putting up a public building or ploughing the chief's field without pay), so many young people go to school to escape regimental labour. Also, attending school releases many from looking after the family's and relatives' cattle, and from domestic chores, and to an outsider schooling seems a pleasurable occupation. Some go to school for adventure. Whatever their reason, they sooner or later bump against difficulties and for one reason or another they have

to leave school.

Parents send their children to school because they want them educated in order to improve their standard of living. They have seen in their own life time the breakdown of their traditional customs, the disruption of family and community solidarity and interdependence. They hear of what goes on in other countries and wish to make provision for their children's security. They see in a few educated men (apparent) economic independence and a climb up the social ladder - people of inferior birth leaving the station in life to which everybody believed they were destined. They do not understand how this is achieved but believe that education, the white man's magic, is the answer. The majority of parents have not had any education and feel they have missed a great deal which they would not like their children to miss. Most of the foregoing applies in Uganda as well. There is a general saying among the Bechuanas that education is an inheritance of which nobody can be deprived once they have it. When a man dies his livestock is divided among his sons by their uncle(s), the eldest getting the most. An epidemic or a drought can wipe it all out and his children will be the worse for it. A greedy, selfish elder brother (or senior by virtue of his mother's position as senior wife in a polygamous marriage) can appropriate all his father's property and leave hardly anything for his younger brothers (and sisters). Unscrupulous uncles can misappropriate some of the property for themselves. But if a man invests his property in educating his children no unscrupulous uncles or selfish elder brothers can rob them of their inheritance. This is one of the strongest arguments now often given by Bechuanas in favour of girls' education in particular, and education generally. But if they are so concerned about their children's education and future why do they not keep them at school? Many parents do want to keep them at school but sooner or later realise that they cannot afford to. When they realise that their children will have no opportunity for real and adequate education to give them security against the future they decide they might as well cling to the little they already have and so the children have to leave school and herd

cattle or till the soil.

Of course, there are those who send their children to school because it is the done thing or because they vaguely think it is necessary, and are only too ready to make them leave school for the slightest excuse. No rule can be made to exclude from school children of such parents so that fewer children could be catered for and all effort concentrated on them for the best results. Parents' aims and motives in sending their children to school cannot be analysed, and in every community there will be those with a genuine desire for their children's education. After all, even in countries where there is universal, compulsory free education, e.g. United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, there are many parents who send their children to school just because their government requires them to do so. The education of a country cannot depend on the desires and whims of individual parents. It is the government through, and in co-operation with, district councils or local authorities, which must have definite aims and policy of education, what type it wants and how its needs can be satisfied, and set about to implement its policy. This is what the United Kingdom has done, what Yugoslavia is doing, what Uganda aims at and what Bechuanaland might do.

Parents should send their children to school because it is necessary for their future economic independence and social and political well being. Because they cannot grapple with the problems of modern life without formal and informal education - instruction as well as all round education. But schooling up to Std. II or IV is not going to help much. In fact it is a waste of time, energy, money and man-power. Before Std.VI, under prevailing conditions, children have not developed habits, attitudes and skills necessary for industry, independent thought and sound judgment and sustained effort to improve their lot. They have not learned to use their minds and acquired skills to enquire or seek for further knowledge through books and other channels. They can only read and write but soon forget even that. Therefore parents who do send their children to school should be required to keep them at school for at least six years. I would say that children should remain in school up to and including Std.VI,

after which they are in a position to pursue correspondence courses if they so desire and can afford, and can read or receive instruction in both their language and simple English. The latter is important because there is not much written material in the vernacular. In the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia education is compulsory for at least eight years.

What about teachers? What is their aim? Many have been forced into the field by circumstances. They must earn a living and that seems the only way open. They are concerned with instruction rather than education in its broad sense. In any case often they cannot give more than mere instruction. Some love children and think that teaching is just the job for them, while others still want to improve the standard of living among their people and feel they can only do so by inculcating the right attitudes into the minds of the young at school as well as training them in certain skills, but are often discouraged by such limiting factors as lack of equipment, books and accommodation, and the effect of wastage.

Tribal authorities are responsible for education. The success of their schools depends on how much money they are prepared to spend, what types of building they put up, how they equip the schools, and the teachers they employ. All this depends on what their aims and policy are, apart from the limitations imposed by the smallness of their revenue. If their aim is to spread literacy in a narrow sense then they will make provision for elementary instruction in the 3 R's but not much more, and this is often the case. Requisitions for gardening tools and needlework materials are dismissed with "there is no money for such things" as if they are mere extravagant trimmings. They need have a clear-cut policy as to why they want schools, unless they provide them just because they have to. If they aim at something beyond and above literacy they need actively to bring about social, economic and political reforms which will provide openings for those who apply themselves to studies. They might aim at concentrated effort in a number of places rather than spread their efforts so widely and thinly that they lose all effectiveness.

Government: The Protectorate Government's general aims are based on the "Memorandum on Educational Policy in Africa" which was approved

by the Secretary of State and issued as Command Paper No. 2374 in 1925; and on the Memorandum on the Education of African Communities" (Colonial No. 2375), both quoted from time to time in official reports:

> "The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the Administrative and Technical Services as well as those who, as Chiefs, will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education in Africa, must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves permitted to profit by such education." (Comm. Paper No. 2374).

> "The true educational aim is the education, not only of the young, but of the whole community, through the co-ordination of all the agencies aiming at social improvement. This involves a clear recognition of the intimate connection between educational policy and economic policy, and demands a close collaboration between the different agencies responsible for public health, agriculture, and schools." (Colonial No. 2375).

Some of the more immediate aims have already been referred to, viz., establishment of full differentiated secondary courses, the bringing of primary education within the reach of a much larger proportion of children of school age and extension of secondary facilities, the concurrent development of adult education, introduction of school medical inspections and investigation into diet of pupils with a view to supplementary feeding, and others.

There is nothing to quarrel about as far as both general and specific aims are concerned. The question is are they being realised? Are the best lines being followed for their effective realisation as fast as possible? Yes, they are being realised slowly. But the demands which necessitate a much greater speed and more effective schemes and methods are so great that all concerned would do well to work at top speed and

race against time continually reviewing their methods. Unless the Government takes active steps to encourage education, to provide facilities and opportunity for all who are capable of benefitting by education, and scope for suitable employment on completion of courses, the goal set by the aims quoted cannot be reached. Unless educational facilities are matched by openings for work only bitterness and frustration will result. The European countries considered are not faced with this problem. Uganda is taking steps to solve it.

If the Government established and announced, five or six years in advance, posts in the administration, veterinary, agricultural and educational services, and specified what qualifications would be required and provided financial assistance where necessary for training, that would act as an incentive, as well as putting into practice its avowed aim of "training those required to fill posts in the Administrative and Technical Services." Also the problem of students doing courses and degrees for which there are no openings in the Protectorate would be reduced.

More ways in which Government might realise its aims will be discussed under finance, curricula, and administrative development.

So far no provision is "made for the training of ... those who, as chiefs, will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility", and this is a matter for regret because the conservativeness or progressiveness of each tribe depends a very great deal on the chief. Also, the educational system has concerned itself almost entirely with the young and not the whole community.

Finance.

Economics is the biggest determining factor in the educational and general development of the country. Without economic development educational aims and policy cannot be realised. Some possible lines of improving the economy of the country were discussed in Chapter II.

Actual expenditure on education by the nine Tribal Treasuries in 1953 was as follows:

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	Recurrent £	Capital £	Total £
Bamangwato	14,706	2,810	17,516
Bakgwaketsi	7,498	-	7,498
Bakwena	5,156	241	5,397
Batawana	2,343	1,330	3,673
Bakgatla	3,839	326	4,165
Tati	3,001	10	3,011
Bamalete	804	-	804
Barolong	768	780	1,548
Batlokwa	720	-	720
	38,835	5,497	44,332

Practically the whole recurrent expenditure is money spent on the payment of teachers' salaries and some tribal authorities find difficulty in meeting the demands of annual increments. In framing new salary scales of teachers the ability of these poorer authorities to cope reasonably with them is taken into consideration and this keeps the Protectorate scales lower than they would otherwise be.

Expenditure from public moneys on the education of all races for the same year is given in the 1953 Annual Educational Report as follows:-

	Recurrent £	Capital £	Total £
Protectorate revenues	45,140	1,381	46,521
Tribal Treasuries	38,835	5,497	44,332
Colonial Development and Welfare	3,110	6,895	10,005
	87,085	13,773	100,858

Of this total £77,118 was devoted to African, £22,703 to European, and £1,037 to Coloured education. In other words the Protectorate Government contributed £32,786 towards African education mainly spent on schools

in Crownlands, the Government Teacher Training College and the Education Department. A further £6,752 was expended on bursaries for Africans and Europeans to obtain education extra-territorially. According to the same report the £46,521. spent by the Protectorate Government on education represented 5.6% of the Government's gross expenditure and the £10,005. from Colonial Funds represented 5.6% of the gross expenditure from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, while the £44,332. spent by tribal treasuries represented 39.7% of their gross expenditure.

The financial position of the tribal areas for the financial year 1954/55 was as follows:

	Revenue '54/55	Expenditure '54/55	General Revenue Balance on 31.3.55
	£	£	£
Bamangwato	51,861	54,574	71,362
Bangwaketsi	35,169	24,420	54,395
Bakwena	12,629	16,436	30,409
Batawana	12,474	10,502	17,287
Bakgatla	11,017	9,212	8,670
Tati	9,624	6,806	14,033
Bamalete	3,614	2,378	7,211
Barolong	2,719	2,574	10,593
Batlokwa	792	1,099	2,387

The above figures show how development and expansion are strictly limited by tribal revenue, and in spite of extreme care to limit estimated expenditure to estimated revenue, actual expenditure often exceeds both estimates and actual revenue, and when there are no non-essentials to cut down on, big cuts are made on bare essentials. If as in 1953, 39.7% of total expenditure in 1954/55 was spent on education this meant an increase of roughly £6,484, which mainly met increments on teachers' salaries, repairs here and there, and left very little for expansion in spite of the very big increase in enrolment.

Clearly tribal revenues are most inadequate to meet the demands not only of education but of general development. When tax rebates, i.e. money returned by Government to the tribes from taxes collected - the main spring of tribal revenue - are increased from 35% to 50% in the next

year or so as one is made to understand, there will be a very big and welcome difference in the finances of tribal treasuries.

Instead of increasing the percentage of tax rebate which of course is not being decried, it might have been a greater incentive to development, particularly in education, if a grant-in-aid system were introduced on a percentage basis. This would maintain standards as authorities would qualify for grants-in-aid in respect of individual schools on the fulfilment of certain conditions stipulated by Government. In addition to grants-in-aid Government might pay, or contribute to the payment of, teachers' salaries, again insisting on authorities employing a certain proportion of unqualified teachers to qualified teachers to qualify for such aid. Having such a direct share in financing education, Government, without centralising education, would direct education more effectively and advantageously than is at present possible where it can only recommend certain improvements and threaten to down-grade or shut down a school if such recommendations are not carried out, and eventually carry out its threats - justifiable in the circumstances but a negative policy. Because the Governments of the other countries considered have a large share in financing education, they are able to follow a positive policy.

For some time now Bechuanaland has been well ahead of other African territories in decentralising education and giving the local communities - the tribes - responsibility in running their own schools - a commendable feature of the territory's administration. Nyasaland is only waking up to that fact. East Africa has only recently started such a policy. But without adequate financial backing by the central Government the policy in some way defeats its own end, and often there is lack of vision and interest on the part of local communities.

To carry out its task education should be able more than ever to count upon an adequate supply of qualified teachers, as well as a sufficient number of suitable school premises. So the most important step to be taken is that of the expansion of teacher training.

Since the body of the thesis was written, a prefabricated classroom has been erected to house the New Higher Primary course starting in January 1958. This provides accommodation for a very limited number of students. There is provision in the 1958/59 estimates for the building of two additional classrooms so that in future both primary lower and primary higher teachers will be trained at this college.

Government is planning to build a similar institution in the northern part of Bechuanaland.

Expansion of Teacher Training

Expansion of teacher training should be given priority as on it depend all development, improvement, and expansion in primary education. There is a general cry for more and more school places, but unless teachers are available the opening of new schools and expanding of old ones will simply be a waste of money as the incidence of wastage will be aggravated. This year (1957) one of the biggest tribal areas was instructed by the Government not to appoint any new teachers or open new schools as it may not exceed last year's estimates. It has not been able to obtain the number of qualified teachers it can pay for. Meanwhile one of its schools has 280 more children than it had last year, and several other schools have similarly big increases. How the teachers will manage is a problem. It is inevitable that most of these extra children who will not have proper teaching will leave school within the next two or three years after wasting their time, energy, and money. In order to meet this terrific demand teacher training needs to be expanded rapidly for even if this particular area, and others, had the money to pay teachers' salaries they would not be able to get half the number of trained teachers required even with possible recruitment of teachers from the Union of South Africa. The present Teacher Training College might be extended to be able to admit at least 50 new students annually so that its enrolment at any given time should be 150+ with an annual output of about 50. The teaching staff of the Teacher Training College should be increased to 3 times its present size. All school fees for teacher training could be abolished; alternatively a very liberal bursary system adopted.

Another Teacher Training College might be opened for the training of higher primary teachers in the territory. The need justifies this step rather than dependence on Basutoland.

An emergency inservice scheme might be planned on the lines of, and after studying, the Ghana scheme launched with the introduction of universal primary education. This is done in three ways -

(a) After-school instruction given by suitably qualified headmasters in the preparation of lesson notes. In Bechuanaland it could be twice or three times a week excluding Friday so as not to interfere with the week-end exodus to the lands - the head teachers to get remuneration for such services. It is realised, of course, that this training can only take place in certain centres.

(b) Saturday classes are organised three times a month at suitable centres by Assistant Education Officers. In Bechuanaland it could be done once a month during the period when people go to the lands and three times a month during the 3 or 4 months everybody is at home. Supervisors of schools, suitably qualified teachers and Education Officers could conduct these in their areas. All Std. VI teachers should be required to attend some of these classes where they are available within their reach.

(c) An emergency training college which runs six-week courses for primary teachers, catering for 60 students per course. Suitable candidates accepted for these courses might receive their full pay while away from their schools and not be required to pay fees. After such training the students could receive regular cyclostyled lectures and be in a position to sit a departmental examination within a specified time, say two years, after the emergency training; successful performance in this examination should give them the qualified teacher status for primary lower teaching.

The scheme carried out in Uganda where one year residential courses are held with the purpose of up-grading successful candidates to the next grade might be considered in the case of Elementary Teachers Certificate holders.

Schemes (a) and (b) above should not lead to any special certificate but should aim at improving teaching standards and encouraging teachers to thirst for knowledge. Vacation courses, also not aiming at producing certificates, might be given at least once a year particularly for teachers who have had no training. It is encouraging to learn that a vacation

course was held in June 1957. The 1948 and 1951 courses have catered for qualified teachers, mainly from the senior schools, thus leaving out those teachers who most need help and guidance and who in small lower primary schools have no trained teachers to look to for guidance. In view of difficulties of transport and accommodation, as well as the distances involved, courses could be run at different times at different centres, for different areas and itinerant officers of the department could attend one course after another, giving lectures and demonstrations with the assistance of members of other departments, e.g., medical, agricultural, veterinary and district administration. Leading local tribesmen might occasionally be asked to give an informal talk on the history and geography of their locality.

The question arises as to who will train all these teachers and where, as the territory itself cannot produce the tutors. The system of attached staff described in the educational system of Uganda could profitably be adopted. The staff could be appointed to the secondary schools but seconded to the Training Colleges for three years or so, and by the time the period of their secondment is over the day secondary schools which are just beginning now, should be ready for their services. Because there are no suitable buildings to be leased or borrowed a new site could be chosen and buildings put up so planned as to make it easy and possible with minor adjustments to turn the school into a permanent training centre or a secondary school.

Expansion of teacher training presupposes a big number of primary school children completing the primary course and qualifying for entry into the Training College. This increase in number of post-Std.VI pupils demands a big increase in the number of Higher Primary teachers of whom there are at present extremely few. A large output of higher primary teachers presupposes expansion of secondary education to feed the training colleges for higher primary teachers. Thus three big steps need to be taken concurrently and on a large scale. They are:

(i) expansion of teacher training, both lower and higher primary, with inservice training;

(ii) expansion of secondary education. For the time being this might be by extending the present institutions and improving their quality by strengthening their staffs by the appointment of attached expatriate staff, rather than by opening new schools while the existing ones are half empty, understaffed, and inadequately equipped. The existing schools can accommodate at least twice the number of students at present catered for. The opening of new and varied types of secondary schools, of course, should be included in a long term programme;

(iii) increasing of facilities for higher primary classes.

As the age of entry to primary schools is dropping many prospective candidates for the profession will finish their primary course at the age of 14 or 15 two or three years before they are old enough to be admitted into the training college. Either a two-year pre-training course on the lines of the one provided in Uganda could be started or all such candidates might be assisted to do the junior secondary course for three years and then the primary higher course for two years. In either case the time taken is five years. The former course might be cheaper as all training would presumably take place in the Protectorate while Primary Higher training would require students to go to Basutoland or elsewhere, but the latter will pay higher dividends, in that the trainees will be qualified to teach both lower and higher primary classes, and will get better pay apart from the added advantage of a high academic standard.

The disastrous results of expanding education beyond the supply of trained teachers have been shown, the chief of which is wastage. Unless head teachers are properly trained both in actual teaching and in school management, and have themselves acquired a reasonable standard of education - at least of secondary standard - before or in addition to teacher training, there is very little hope for real progress. Because many teachers become heads with no previous teaching experience this aspect of the profession (headship) should be catered for in training - correspondence, requisitions, orders, and returns. School societies and clubs

might be introduced so that they may learn how to run these when they can, e.g. in summer when the evenings are long and light and the people are not at the lands.

No new schools should be opened until there is adequate accommodation and equipment for all the schools already running, and there are enough trained teachers and buildings for the new schools.

If there is an adequate supply of trained teachers, head teachers will be appointed not only by qualification but mainly by character and the quality of their teaching backed by experience as there will be a good number to choose from. Promotion will be earned. Properly trained and with a sound education and judgment they should at least have a say in the appointment of their staff and should be consulted when a member of their staff is transferred or dismissed. Promotions at Std.IV level and the issue of s chool leaving certificates after Std. VI would be greatly influenced by their opinion based on records. At present this cannot be done because many are either incapable or unscrupulous and unfair discrimination would be apparent if no general rule applied to all schools. There have been one or two instances, for example, where a school's performance in an external examination was an average of 35% whereas school records gave an average of 70%.

Teachers' associations (there is a Bechuanaland Protectorate African Teachers' Association) might be encouraged and if possible subsidised by Government until teachers can manage on their own. Head teachers might be encouraged to form an association. Such financial assistance would enable teachers in remote areas to attend conference meetings.

Expansion of teacher training, apart from depending on the output of primary and secondary schools, depends a very great deal on the conditions of service which greatly influence recruitment to the profession.

Recruitment of Teachers and Conditions of Service.

Bechuanaland has lagged behind other territories in the recruitment of qualified teachers. At least 47% of the teaching staff have had no training or schooling beyond the primary school course. It might be a good idea (for the time being at least) to lay down the maximum percentage of unqualified teachers in any one school and to make special efforts to upgrade Std. VI teachers to Elementary Teachers Certificate level and Elementary Teachers Certificate ones to Primary Lower level as described in the section on expansion of teacher training.

More people would be attracted to the teaching profession if conditions of service compared favourably with those of other services. Recruitment to the profession is adversely affected by:

(a) the fact that teachers in training have to pay fees unless they are bursars, and they buy their own uniform. They are maintained by their parents or guardians while their counterparts in the nursing profession not only do not pay fees but also receive some remuneration or allowance and free uniform. They are thus able to help their parents even while still on training. So nobody need fail to do nursing because of lack of money. If conditions for teacher training cannot be made similar to those for training nurses at least the abolition of fees would be a big step towards solving recruitment problems.

(b) Unsatisfactory conditions of service. While civil servants of equal training have, on the whole, better conditions of service - free medical treatment for themselves and their families, free transport facilities for themselves, their families and household effects on first appointment as well as on transfer, and provision of, on the whole, suitable accommodation, these privileges are wanting in the teaching profession. Local authorities might provide these uniformly, throughout the territory.

(c) Unsatisfactory salary scales and the absence of pensions and gratuities or provident fund scheme. Government servants get better salaries than their counterparts in the teaching field. They are also

covered by either a provident fund or a pension scheme. They are entitled to more sick leave on full pay and on half pay than teachers (Government servants 3 months full pay and 3 months half pay; teachers 2 weeks full pay and 2 weeks half pay). Teachers are neither pensionable nor are they employed on a provident fund scheme. They are not entitled to any gratuity when they retire. In the past one or two authorities have paid small gratuities in a lump sum (about £30.) in one or two cases in recognition of services rendered, but such cases are extremely rare.

In order to secure for the teaching profession a due proportion of the best material in the primary schools the remuneration and conditions of service could be made more attractive, for many candidates go in for teaching only when they cannot get vacancies in, or afford, other openings. This can be done if the Government undertook to pay all teachers' salaries or a substantial portion of them. Any changes made in the salaries of civil servants could be balanced by an appropriate change in teachers' salaries. A cost of living allowance for teachers might be introduced on the same lines as that paid to civil servants. Headteachers' allowance might be determined either by the number of pupils, in the case of schools with a big enrolment, or by the number of classes run rather than by the number of assistant teachers since where the establishment is lower than it should be or the school is understaffed for lack of teachers the headteacher gets a smaller allowance than he would get normally though his responsibilities are greater. If all this could be achieved it would be possible for teachers to enjoy good physical and mental health as well as excellent nervous, emotional, moral, and intellectual ability and consequently do their job effectively.

The question of teachers' quarters is discussed under school buildings.

While the above suggestions deal mainly with making local recruitment for teacher training attractive there are other factors to be borne in mind. For secondary schools and Teacher Training College staffing the

Protectorate depends almost entirely on recruitment of teachers from outside, mainly from the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. To leave their own territories and come to the Protectorate teachers from the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia must be attracted by either higher salaries or better conditions of service than those prevailing in their own countries, unless for some reason (possibly as undesirable elements in their own country) they cannot get jobs at home. At present graduate teachers' salaries in Bechuanaland compare very unfavourably with those of teachers in both the Union and Southern Rhodesia. In fact the latest Southern Rhodesian scale of £480. -£1,080 per annum practically starts at the top notch of the Protectorate scale, which is £565. per annum. This means that not only will Union and Rhodesian teachers be encouraged to stay at home but Bechuanaland born teachers probably will, as in fact they do, leave their country and seek employment outside. Although the Union Government measures may make it impossible for Protectorate teachers to get jobs in the Union, as has been the case in the past, Rhodesia which has not got enough graduate teachers will be only too happy to welcome those from outside. Of the less than 12 Protectorate born graduate teachers, seven have taken up better-paid posts in the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia while vacancies in Bechuanaland have always been very difficult to fill. Some of these men have, however, come back home mainly for patriotic reasons.

One authority recently offered fourteen primary school appointments to applicants from outside who seemed quite keen to join the Protectorate service but on receipt of copies of salary scales they all declined except one who unfortunately for the committee did not know the Tswana language.

Teachers' salaries are therefore the biggest enemy to the recruitment of suitably qualified teachers as well as of intending teachers for training, and need be improved.

For education to become effective active measures might be taken to combat wastage. It has been pointed out elsewhere that roughly two-thirds of the money voted for education by tribal treasuries is to all intents and purposes wasted as it is spent on providing education for children who leave school before they reach Std. IV, and who are barely

literate in their own language but soon lose their literacy and forget all they ever learned. Wastage also includes extra time, energy and money spent in repeating standards, thus spending more than the normal eight years in a primary school.

The economic importance of wastage might be thoroughly explained to parents and their co-operation sought to combat it. Gentle pressure could be brought to bear upon them that once they send their children to school they should be obliged to keep them in school at least up to and including Std. IV. Efforts might be made to ensure that children who start school stay on to complete the primary course. The assistance of District Commissioners, chiefs, and members of school committees as well as the Church could be enlisted in controlling wastage.

In big population centres night schools could be conducted and big girls and boys removed from day schools and classes, or if they must be taught during the day to keep them occupied as otherwise, there being no jobs for them to do during the day, they might fall into mischief, they might be separated from small children. The maximum age at which children may start primary school could be fixed at 10 or 11 and reduced as time goes on, to obviate the embarrassment which results when teen-agers are mixed with 6 or 7 year-olds, and are required to do 'childish things'.

Annual examinations should be abolished for classes up to and including Std. III and gradually abolished up to the final year. This will not be an easy step as not only teachers but parents and children all firmly believe in examinations and would take such abolition as a definite lowering of standards if not the destroying of education itself. Formal tests ought to be replaced by more effective methods of teaching and these will depend on the selection and training of teachers. As long as untrained Std. VI teachers preponderate in Lower Primary Schools examinations will be the only means of assessing the amount of work done (or not done) and there will be many failures at every stage. Children cannot be grouped according to age range and appropriate methods of instruction used to suit their mental development.

One of the main causes of wastage is the fact that almost 80% of the Protectorate's schools do not provide the full primary course and there are no boarding facilities at centres where higher classes are available. The ideal thing to do would be to up-grade all existing Lower Primary schools to Std. VI level. But this is economically impossible now and will remain so for some time. The number of classrooms would have to be at least doubled if not trebled and the number of teachers increased considerably. This can only happen over a number of years. Even if all the necessary financial resources were available it would take a long time to put up the required number of buildings, particularly in view of lack of trained masons and the absence of building contractors. The number of teachers required would be impossible to get. Moreover, at first the numbers involved in the different schools would be so small that it would be most uneconomical to adopt such a scheme. But a remedial, immediate and economical plan could be adopted. It is suggested that at least two hostels be built, one in the Northern Protectorate and the other in the South, to cater for boys and girls in the north and south respectively, providing accommodation for at least a hundred pupils. At either centre there could be a boys' hostel and a girls' hostel not very far apart, with a common dining hall and kitchen between them. These hostels could be built at strategic centres, say Serowe or Francistown in the north and Kanye, Molepolole, or Mochudi in the south, where there are several primary schools. The school buildings at such centres would be extended and staff increased to provide for the extra 100 or so pupils. Where the number in any one class is increased by four or five there may be no need for additional classroom space or teachers. Where such extension and increase of buildings and staff are necessary, they will be nothing compared to that required if all primary lower schools were to be up-graded. The children who cannot get higher classes in their village school could then be sent to these two centres, distributed among the local schools and housed in the hostels. The cost of building the hostels to be borne jointly by the areas served. Missionary enterprise in this sphere might be inspired and encouraged by subsidies and

grants-in-aid from the Central and local Governments. Children who, of necessity, must stay in such hostels should not be required to pay any more for their education than they would if their village school were a standard VI school. Special concessions and road warrants or rebates on fares might be made available for those in need. The churches,which are in a way losing touch with growing and educated minds, would increase their sphere of influence through the corporate life of the hostels where health habits, cleanliness, and Christian principles would be inculcated in the minds of the young. Children would learn democratic methods in their election of House committee members and in running their societies and other activities. With such facilities children would be encouraged to go on with their education beyond the limitations of their schools.

This is not an ideal arrangement as it means that children of primary school age will have to leave their homes and parents and go to boarding establishments, but it seems the only practicable immediate remedial measure. Run on a Christian basis and with the possibility of children going home during mid-term holidays in addition to the winter and summer vacations the scheme should be a success.

Relieved of the task of having to walk long distances to waterholes and waiting for hours to get a bucketful of water (assuming arrangements will be made for pipelines to bring water to the hostels from nearby boreholes), and from having to prepare their own meals, these children would have more time for other educational activities outside the five school hours. They could have a well-cared for school garden to supply all their needs for vegetables.

Apart from acting as a check on the amount of wastage these hostels could be used as meeting places for teachers' conferences, week-end courses when the pupils are away, and vacation course centres for teachers and youth organisations, thus solving one of the chief difficulties in arranging vacation courses, viz., lack of accommodation.

Meanwhile, whenever possible, lower primary schools should be upgraded to Std. VI level. When there is no need for primary school children

to leave their homes the hostels would be used as conference centres and would very likely be needed to house students attending junior secondary day schools which it is hoped will have increased in number.

School Buildings and Equipment.

It is suggested that no new schools be opened unless the buildings fulfil certain conditions, e.g. walls made of burnt brick or concrete, neat durable thatch, adequate lighting and ventilation. Where a local community provides the building the School Committee must satisfy itself that these conditions have been satisfied before making recommendations to the Director of Education for its opening, and at least a member of the education staff should see the building and confirm that it fulfils essential educational requirements before such a school is opened. The local authority might provide steel windows and door frames. A solid permanent type of building should replace the temporary structures which are both ugly and wasteful of time, energy and material as they have to be repaired ever so often. Each school should aim at comfortably accommodating all its pupils in doors, and should have sufficient desks, blackboards, and teachers' tables and chairs. Hardly a school in the Protectorate has a staff room or, for that matter, a headmaster's office or even a storeroom. Staff meetings are held in classrooms. School property is kept in classrooms or at the teachers' home at the risk of loss or damage during transit.

Every classroom needs to have a cupboard and every school with more than 100 pupils a storeroom and a headmaster's office. Schools with more than eight teachers on the staff should have a staff room.

Sanitary arrangements should be regarded as an essential part of the school and no school should be opened unless these are available while steps might be taken to ensure that sanitary facilities are provided in all existing schools.

Greater attention might be given to repairs and extensions to existing buildings to enable them to accommodate their pupils adequately before new schools are started. Repairs and additional buildings in big centres

which have so far enjoyed more than their fair share of facilities without any extra pay or sacrifice should be part financed by a local levy and not entirely from tribal taxes. In building new schools, villages other than the big centres should be given priority according to their needs, in allocating tribal treasury funds.

Although it is not desired to isolate education from the Church or to decrease the Church's already very small influence on the schools, the present practice in many villages where a building in the form of a hall with no furniture at all, serves as a church on Sunday and a school room during the week is very unsatisfactory. Apart from its inadequacy as a school building it loses its identity and has neither the atmosphere of a place of worship nor that of a school. Very often the maintenance and repairs of such buildings are left to the local community who sometimes do not seem to make up their mind whether they (many of whom may not be church-goers), the Church or the Central School Committee should shoulder the responsibility. All new schools, unless they are Church schools, might be sited outside the local church grounds.

In addition to the school building and lavatories, teachers' quarters should be regarded as part of the school and should be built in the same materials as the school itself. Where practicable, for instance, in the major centres of population where Public Health Regulations are administered by the Medical Officer of Health and Health Inspectors, suitable quarters might be erected on the same lines as Government quarters for civil servants and rent charged. The rent could be low so as to encourage teachers to take up accommodation in suitable buildings near their school and not choose to live in inadequate unsuitable buildings away from their school, where, in the absence of local public transport, they are often bound to be late for work.

School Health and Medical Inspections.

It is recommended that free medical inspections of all school children be made once a year where there are medical facilities. Tribal authorities should contribute to the financing of such a scheme from local rates.

Where services are available school children receive medical attention as members of the community on the payment of an out-patient fee of usually two shillings. This fee is obviously low, but that many children whose parents have not got the necessary amount at the time of illness fail to go to hospital is a common occurrence. This is more so where children are by themselves at home while their parents are out at the lands. If possible tribal authorities should be responsible for the payment of medical fees for school children. Again this might come from local rates rather than general revenue depending on taxes paid by the whole tribe as the latter method of taxation would not be fair to tribesmen living many miles from centres with medical facilities whose children, though at school, cannot always reach a hospital.

In 1944 the Colonial Development Corporation provided the sum of £7,923. to finance a feeding scheme at one centre - Kanye. "The experiment continued for two years and established definitely the fact that one supplementary school meal, composed of vegetable stew, improved the nutritional status of the African school-going child, and that the incidence of school absenteeism declined with supplementary feeding." (1953 Education Report). A similar experiment was carried out in Francistown in 1950 with similar results. If clear explanation is made and advice given tribesmen might be induced, with the help of agricultural demonstrators, to start vegetable gardens to supply schools. Different sections of the community would have different duties assigned to them at different times so that they all have a share and only a little money will be required to pay for specialised labour, e.g. cooks, and to put up and equip kitchens, compared with what such a scheme would cost if entirely financed from a central fund. For a start tribesmen could bring their own ploughs and teams of oxen to do the ploughing of the gardens. Different wards could do the tilling in different seasons or years in rotation according to an agreed plan. Wagon-loads of wood for fuel could be got in the same way, thus reducing cash spent on the scheme. Boring for water supply to irrigate the land during the dry season could be financed from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. If such a

scheme is explained with extreme care and tried in one centre other centres might in due course follow suit.

Most schools have school gardens which could be worked more efficiently than they often are. These, during the wet season, could supply some of the school's needs instead of the vegetables from them being sold to the public as they often are. When vegetables are plentiful (some coming from school gardens) some could be sold to the public and bring in needed cash towards running costs.

A suggestion might be put to small village communities where cattle-posts are usually not extremely far away from the village, to organise a school herd on a ward system. A ward or group of wards could collect 10 to 15 cows for the school (or fewer depending on the size of the school) to provide half a pint of milk per pupil per day. The school could build the necessary kraal during manual work periods and a herd-boy can be got easily and cheaply. When the cows go dry they would go back to their owners and another ward or wards would do the same. No money would be involved except the herdboy's wages which could be obtained by selling surplus milk and from other sources. This might be more feasible than the other scheme described above. Bechuanas are accustomed to doing all sorts of things for no pay, on a tribal basis, so such a scheme well introduced should not prove impossible. It may even induce some parents to send their children to school.

Syllabuses and Curricula.

The Cape Province syllabuses for primary education and teacher training and South African syllabuses for secondary schools have been in use for a long time, the former slightly adapted by a circular memorandum to suit Bechuanaland conditions. The circular memorandum referred to was issued about 1946, but either some schools have lost their copy or those which were started subsequently did not get copies of the circular although they received copies of the syllabus, so in many village schools the few adaptations suggested in the circular are not followed. These syllabuses are in many ways both inadequate and unsuited to local conditions

The geography syllabus, for instance, requires a detailed study of the Cape Province, and the provinces, towns, ports, climate, and products of the Union of South Africa, at the stage when the pupils ought to be doing their own tribal areas and the Protectorate generally. As the Protectorate no longer has to satisfy entry requirements to South African post primary schools there is need for a change from the present system. A new syllabus based on Protectorate conditions and requirements should be drafted and first tried in one area (preferably in the south where the Teacher Training College is, so that it may take an active part in trying out the syllabus) and revised in the light of experience before it is put into general use.

Closely linked with the question of syllabuses is that of books. There is hardly any suitably written information on the history and geography of Bechuanaland for teachers. The great majority of qualified teachers in the service were trained in South Africa. They studied the history and geography of South Africa and either bought text books or made notes on South Africa, during their training, in which Bechuanaland is either not mentioned or dismissed in a short paragraph. The position is worse with Std.VI teachers. Teachers who can, might be encouraged to write simple books suited to primary school children. Until the country produces its own authors of children's books and school textbooks, the Education Department would do well to compile, with the help of other departments, information to aid teachers. Until the publication of A. Sillery's "The Bechuanaland Protectorate", in 1952, information on Bechuanaland - its history and up-to-date circumstances - was scattered in different books and pamphlets on Africa, in official reports and white papers, in missionaries' reports and diaries and in unpublished articles, to all of which teachers had no access. Sillery's book has not got all the necessary information and although it is a very good book, it was not written as a school textbook. Moreover it is too expensive (30/- a copy) to be afforded by either teachers or school committees for supplying schools.

While it may not be easy to find teachers able to write history and geography books it should not be very difficult to find teachers who

can write simple vernacular books for children, and these might be encouraged to do so.

The primary school curriculum could remain as it is if given a wide interpretation and the subjects integrated and not treated as unrelated, isolated facets in water-tight compartments, allowing of no intercommunication.

Tswana and English (reading, oral,and written language work) could be closely linked with writing, history, geography and other subjects. History and geography could be treated either as individual subjects or in a course of social studies which would include folk lore, factors which have influenced traditional patterns of behaviour, a study of outstanding African personalities in Bechuanaland, South Africa and Africa generally, as well as events in Europe and elsewhere which influenced African affairs at the time of the voyages of discovery and subsequently, local affairs, Protectorate affairs and relations with neighbouring states; African affairs, British Commonwealth and world affairs - geographical, economic, cultural and human. Teachers with a very limited background and no newspapers could not cope with such a course, but if short items of educational interest though not necessarily connected with Bechuanaland were included in the Education Department newsletters that would be a help to teachers. A way might be found of financing a scheme for subscribing to a newspaper by schools likely to benefit by it.

More time could be devoted to agriculture and homecrafts subjects. The success or failure of syllabuses will depend, however, on the quality and qualification of teachers.

Girls' Education.

Perhaps because of the co-educational nature of its policy Bechuanaland has made no special facilities or options for girls and women. There are no special bursaries or allowances for girls' education. In East and Central Africa as recently as 1951 the standard required for entering teacher training has been lower for women than for men. Even where the standard was nominally the same, soft options were allowed to girls.

This is fortunately disappearing, and although it is not recommended for Bechuanaland it is cited as an indication that these countries have made special efforts to encourage girls' and women's education.

As already stated in an earlier chapter, although two-thirds of the primary school population consists of girls, the education of women lags seriously behind that of the men, and wastage is far greater among girls than among the boys. Special factors affecting the wastage of girls are:

(1) Fees - boys have priority.

(2) Mothers' need of the girls' help in the home.

(3) Lack of women teachers which results in one, or two-teacher schools run by men only in spite of the preponderance of girls over boys, many of them adolescent girls needing special care by women teachers.

(4) The fact that many parents think that their daughters' education is sufficient if they are barely literate in their own language.

(5) A curriculum and methods of teaching unrelated to the needs and future of girls and women.

(6) The importance and value of educating women both for themselves and for the benefit of the community is not recognised by many Bechuana.

For some time it might be a good idea to introduce bursaries open to girls only, both at Government level and by the various tribal authorities. Married women teachers might be encouraged to remain in the profession by adopting a uniform territorial maternity leave policy giving, say six weeks' leave on full pay and extra leave if regarded necessary on medical grounds without breaking continuity of service, and under favourable conditions.

Facilities which reduce domestic chores like maize or corn-pounding, water-carrying and collecting wood for fuel, which take up so much of girls' and women's time, would liberate women for education both formal and informal. Piped water and grinding mills would result in girls and women having several hours a day at their disposal. It is not argued

here that Government should provide these things, but rather that tribal authorities and individuals or cooperatives be encouraged and possibly subsidised to provide them.

Women and girls need education which fits them to live in a world of social change whether as wives of clerks in the Government service or tribal administration, as wives of specialised workers or professional men, or as wage-earning spinsters or church voluntary workers. For them to cooperate fully and intelligently with their menfolk in raising the level of African life socially, economically, and intellectually, special efforts should be made by all concerned to induce them to stay on in school beyond Std.IV level.

Although separate schools for girls are not recommended for obvious financial reasons as well as educational ones, special efforts might be made within the present system to provide facilities for the teaching of homecraft subjects.

For many years women teachers' salaries were the same as those of their male counterparts. With the introduction of an incremental scale women's salaries became much lower than men's. It is fully realised that tribal treasuries are finding it difficult to meet the burden imposed by an incremental scale, as well as appoint additional teachers each year. But the possibility of reverting to the old policy of equal pay might be investigated against the economic background. This cannot be envisaged for the immediate future, but should be kept in mind as a possible inducement, particularly if Government can help towards the payment of teachers' salaries.

These special efforts to improve girls' education will, if undertaken, cost a great deal of money, but it will be money well spent for it will release so much human material at present wasting in idleness and dependent on other people, for developing the country. It would make women useful members of the community both to themselves and others by being able mothers, better wives and intelligent citizens.

Vocational Training.

There is a great need for vocational training. This was available for Protectorate students in the Union of South Africa mainly at the London Missionary Society Institute at Tiger Kloof, before the Union's ban on extraterritorial students. Apart from teacher training and secondary academic courses students did domestic science, dressmaking, tailoring, shoemaking and leatherwork, carpentry, masonry, and cabinet-making. In the Protectorate those who go to secondary schools follow the academic course whether they are capable of benefiting from it or not and even when there is no likelihood of their going in for higher education. Because when they finish the course they are not qualified for any special job and the salary they get is consequently lower than that got by those whose academic qualifications are lower than theirs but who are trained for their particular job, they get frustrated. It is suggested that one or two farm schools like the Acholi farm in Uganda be started to encourage agricultural development on a scientific basis. A Government trade school where carpentry, leatherwork, and building instruction would be given could be started. A building course is essential as for a great number of years to come extensive building projects are inevitable. Already many Batswana are putting up better homes but skilled builders are very scarce. Even when the money and building materials are available building programmes are often greatly hampered by lack of builders. Building Contracting firms dealt with are Union firms and often unavailable. A lot of building, particularly school building, is done by unskilled labour under the supervision of a works foreman or superintendent who has several projects in his charge. Sometimes the structures put up leave much to be desired and much money and material are wasted. It is suggested that no school fees be charged for the building course to encourage recruitment and also, since during the course of their training, students will or should put up some needed permanent buildings. The school should be easily accessible along the railway line. A three or four-year post-primary carpentry course would enable the trainees at some stage of their

course to make some items of school furniture to be sold to Local Education Authorities, possibly at a lower price than they pay for imported furniture. The Homecrafts Centre at Mochudi in the south might be extended to be a full fledged domestic science college. In fact it would be a long-term investment if no fees were charged not only for building instruction, but for all trade school work.

Bechuanaland is famous for its traditional skinwork - mats and karrosses - which is the best in Southern Africa. All this is done by illiterate experts who unfortunately are dying out. One or two such tribesmen might be employed to instruct the youth in this truly beautiful art just as some village women experts in pottery and beadwork should be made use of in the teaching of homecrafts at the homecrafts centre and in adult classes when and if they get started.

Courses offered at trade schools should be such as will help pupils after completing a course either to set up their own small business or be absorbed in local industry when it is developed.

Adult Education

There is a real need for adult education in Bechuanaland. At present there is none. The following are some of the major reasons why adult education is necessary.

(1) The long over-due improvement in methods of agriculture calls for education other than, and beyond, a few years at primary school.

(2) Democratic elections envisaged in the political and administrative development necessitate a certain amount of literacy and understanding to obviate the risk of political intimidation and steam rolling. Constant, direct personal contact between elected members of councils and their electors will be rendered difficult by distance and inadequate and costly transport. Contact could be made through correspondence and the press with a literate electorate, as well as by broadcasting, as the country develops, and facilities increase.

(3) In order that what is taught at school is not undone at home by adverse home conditions, e.g. unhygienic living, squalor, unbalanced diet, bad habits due to ignorance of their consequences and effects on health, adult education is necessary.

(4) It is necessary to counteract the bad effects of the impact of Western Civilization and a changing economy by improving standards of personal and community living.

(5) Also it is necessary in order to bridge the gulf between those who do not go to school or have only four year's schooling and the few who get secondary and higher education, as well as between parents and their children, and the older and the younger generations.

(6) As the whole community is the educator of its young and education cannot be limited to schooling, it is necessary to have an educated adult community.

Seasonal migration to the lands makes community education planning difficult, but it is not as impossible as it is often made to appear. There are definite periods of the year (3 to 5 months) when work at the lands ceases and people go back to the villages. These periods could be turned into concentrated instruction periods and occasionally, where practicable, people could be given "homework" to do or finish at the lands. Agricultural education could be organised by demonstrators of the agricultural department in their areas. Mass literacy campaigns spread over the entire territory would be both impracticable and uneconomical. The best plan might be to encourage small groups (first in the big centres where organisation would be easy) to run cultural clubs and women's institutes by helping them with essential equipment and premises, and literature pamphlets. The Laubach method of each one teach one could be employed in literacy classes, and services of Government departmental officers, teachers and educated members of the local community sought on a voluntary basis. Pamphlets and newsletters issued in simple language by the agricultural, veterinary, medical, administration and education departments regularly and in cooperation would be useful

in literacy classes. Shows and competitions thrown in here and there would liven the courses and arouse interest. Perhaps once a year a week's course for different areas could be run for those taking part as instructors to meet, learn, and exchange idsas. School Committees might be encouraged to run such courses and seek professional advice from area education officers.

In smaller, remote villages, willing teachers might help conduct evening classes for adults, but as often they are the only teachers in schools with four classes (Std.II schools) this should be allowed only where there are literate or semi-literate interested adults and youths who can do most of the work as the teacher has in such circumstances more than enough to cope with. People who left school after Std. II or Std.IV would be glad to feel that they are useful while at the same time they would be improving their own standard of literacy.

Emphasis should be on health education, homecrafts, food production and preparation, child welfare and self-improvement activities. The work should be directed and coordinated by the Education Department and reviewed from time to time to assess progress made, consider weaknesses and difficulties which have cropped up, and how to avoid or overcome them, and to review policy and aims.

Courses will have to be designed according to local needs and conditions. Different members of the community should be considered. Courses should be suited to illiterate adults or youths, continuation classes for those who have at some stage attended school.

The Girl Guides, Scouts, and the Boys' and Girls' Brigade movement are doing excellent work but they are mostly linked with school as the leaders are chiefly teachers and the youths school children. Much propaganda is necessary to encourage citizens other than teachers to take an interest in youth movements and to invite non-school going children to attend. The difficulty of possible irregular attendance due to work at the lands and at cattle posts is a real one but perhaps special activities might be organised for the few months people are in the villages, in other words, seasonal courses might be arranged.

A number of educated Bechuanas read South African or Rhodesian newspapers, a very good idea, but these papers do not provide news of local interest. It is not suggested that the Government should run a newspaper for the Protectorate, but rather that it might encourage a few individuals with journalistic tendencies by offering financial assistance until the paper can pay for itself. This is a dangerous suggestion as the paper may be cramped in its style as subscribers may fear writing on controversial questions. Nothing would kill it more quickly than that it should provide Government announcements and opinion alone. The fact that civil servants may not write articles to the press on any matter which may be deemed of a political or administrtive nature is a natural state of affairs in many countries but in a country where there are very few educated people, most of whom are civil servants, there might be some relaxation of this general rule provided of course that it is made clear that disciplinary action can and will be taken where necessary. This would encourage the circulation of local news in the people's own language (as well as English) and an intelligent interest in current affairs both locally and abroad. Government influence even if purely financial should be withdrawn at the earliest possible time.

Political education should seriously be embarked upon if representative councils, the formation of which is now being considered, are to have any meaning. People must realise that election must be by ability and not by heredity and as the whole system is foreign to the masses, they must be educated concerning principles and methods of democratic elections, and delegation of authority to the elected body. Otherwise, even if the people were given political power and democratic rights they would not know how to use them and their state would be worse than the present one.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

A development programme for the next ten to fifteen years might embody the following:

(a) Expansion of teacher training to a possible annual output of 50 Primary Lower teachers.

(b) Inservice teacher training of Std. VI and E.T.C. teachers for upgrading to Primary Lower Teachers status.

(c) Higher Primary teacher training within the territory with possibility of extension as more and more children pass Std. VI at the age of 13 or 14, too young to train as teachers, and, therefore, have to do the Junior Certificate before teacher training.

(d) Up-grading of several lower primary schools so that by 1970 at least 50% will be full primary and the rest Std.IV schools.

(e) At the same time provision of hostel accommodation for those in Std. IV schools who may have to leave home to do higher primary work.

(f) Expansion and improvement of secondary education to provide a varied curriculum and to form the foundation for higher primary teacher training. This to include farm schools, trade, and technical schools for non-academic pupils. The Uganda policy of a general course in the first two years of secondary work leading, as a result of an examination, to a third year of agricultural or technical education on the one hand or an academic course leading to senior secondary work, on the other.

(g) Improvement of teachers' salaries and conditions of service, e.g. suitable teachers' quarters, free medical service, pension scheme, and a higher headteachers' allowance.

(h) Improvement of present buildings and equipment.

(i) Facilities for post secondary education and teacher training to enable authorities to staff secondary schools and teacher training centres, and the adoption of the "Attached Staff" system.

(j) New schools, so that by 1970 at least twice the present percentage of the schoolage population are within walking distance of a school. There should be a school at every village with an adult population of say 300.

(k) Introduction of soup or milk in schools and school medical inspections where possible.

(l) A new syllabus for primary, secondary, and teacher training. As educational relations with the Union of South Africa have been severed, and as the territory hopes to send its students for University and other forms of higher education to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, other African colleges and to the United Kingdom, the territory might well give up the Union of South Africa examination arrangements and work for the Cambridge School Certificates as do the other African countries mentioned above.

(m) Creation of lending libraries at strategic centres.

(n) Extension of the work of the homecrafts centre to provide more facilities for the training of adolescent girls.

(o) Introduction and encouragement of adult education.

Success in carrying out much of the programme suggested above will depend on how fast the country's economic development takes place, on Government playing a big part in financing education, on the attitude and leadership of tribal authorities, on teamwork and cooperation between tribal authorities and officers of Government departments, and on the whole community being prepared to sacrifice money, time, or immediate comforts for the general improvement of the country, and being able and willing to take an active and intelligent part in development schemes, individually and collectively.

These suggestions are made in the light of what was achieved in the United Kingdom, what is being achieved in Yugoslavia and what Uganda has started doing. Naturally it would not be appropriate for Bechuanaland to follow the same lines or to adopt precisely the same measures since

there are great differences in conditions and background problems, particularly between Bechuanaland and the European countries. In view of her limited resources she cannot hope to make as rapid advances as did the countries being compared with her. But she can seriously study their developmental history. In the United Kingdom and in Yugoslavia once education was embarked upon on a national basis teacher training was considered a very important factor in solving the problem of popular education and steps were taken on a large scale to match educational advance by providing facilities for training teachers. This Bechuanaland can do. She cannot provide for universal, compulsory, free education for at least eight years as is the case in the European countries, but she can take steps to see that those who do go to school spend at least six years there before they can leave. Uganda aims at providing school places within walking distance of every child of school age for at lease four years. It is recommended that in Bechuanaland the minimum should be Std. IV (six years) with facilities to finish the primary course in Std. VI centres. The United Kingdom and Yugoslavia provide free, regular school medical inspections and the former provides free milk and subsidised school dinners. Uganda has no such facilities. Bechuanaland can introduce medical inspections where possible and organise her school supplementary feeding according to her own lines. In any case the question might be studied by experts and practical suggestions made.

Adult education as further education is a national undertaking in the United Kingdom. In Yugoslavia the people's night schools and the people's universities are provided. Uganda has embarked on adult education, and runs women's institutes and clubs. Bechuanaland can plan her own to suit her own conditions.

A select committee might be appointed to study educational problems in Bechuanaland in the light of a study of what other countries, particularly African countries, with a similar background, are doing, suggest possible lines of development. The suggested lines of development, though based on knowledge gained from the study of other countries, must in the end be Bechuanaland's own methods influenced by her peculiar

conditions which are not identical with those in other countries. The desire for progress is there even if it is vague. All possible resources- natural, Government, community and individual - should be harnessed and directed into properly planned channels. Trial and error methods are wasteful and should be avoided. So much has gone on(and greater and rapid change is bound to come)that Bechuanaland can neither go back to 19th century conditions nor can she fold her arms in despair. She must take action, and responsibility rests with all citizens, but more so with the Government and the Chiefs, to ensure that all her children are adequately equipped for their uphill struggle to become citizens of Africa and the world.

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