

Part I: Africa

Chapter 1: Botswana

Jakes Swartland

Population (1988): 1,164,000

Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 3.3% per annum

Land Area: 581,630 square kilometres

Capital: Gaborone

GNP per Capita (1987): US\$1,040

Year of Independence: 1966

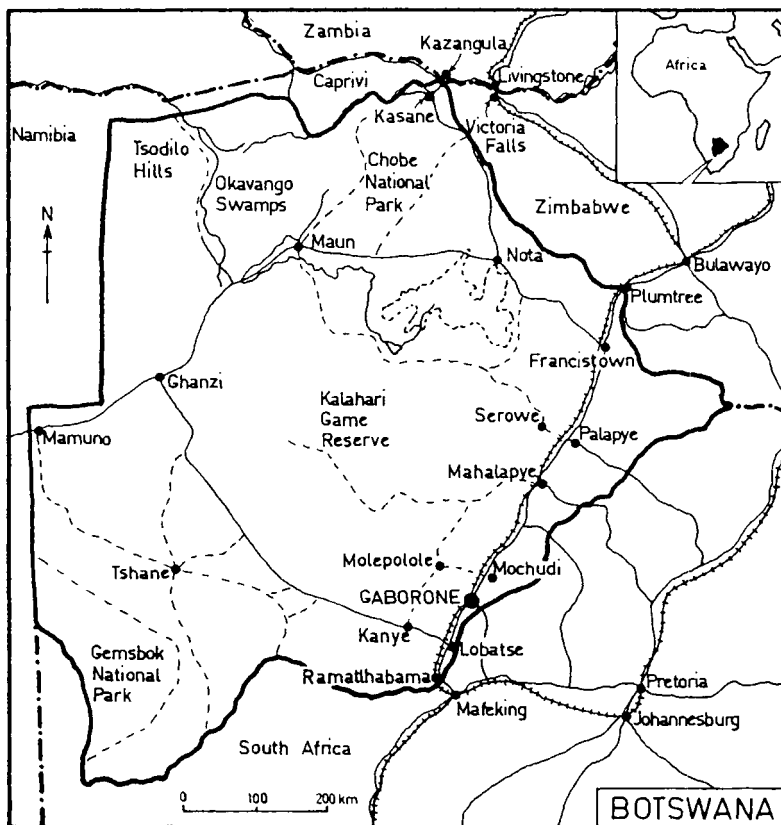
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1988): 85%

Human Development Index (1988): 0.646

Although Botswana has a small population, it has a vast area. This makes it very different from the other countries examined in this book. The population is spread unevenly with concentrations in the east and especially south east, but Botswana's overall population density is just two persons per square kilometre.

During the colonial era, Botswana was known as Bechuanaland. The territory became a British protectorate in 1885, and was administered as one of the High Commission Territories in southern Africa. The other two territories were Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Swaziland. Within Bechuanaland, gradual progress was made towards self-government, mainly through nominated advisory bodies. A new constitution was introduced in 1960, and a Legislative Council first met the following year. Bechuanaland was made independent of High Commission rule in 1963, and the office of High Commissioner was abolished in 1964. The country gained full independence in 1966.

At the time of independence, Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa. Since then, the government has achieved at least some of its goals of economic growth and sustained development. With



a semi-arid climate subject to periodic drought, Botswana is not well suited to agriculture. The economy has traditionally been based on the nomadic herding of livestock and the cultivation of subsistence crops. Since the 1970s, however, mineral deposits have made a major contribution to GNP. In addition to established extraction of diamonds, copper-nickel and coal, there are also deposits of asbestos, chromite, manganese and many other minerals. It was estimated that between 1980 and 1987 real GNP per head increased at an average annual rate of 9 per cent. This was the second highest growth rate among all the countries of the world for which data are available over the period.

Botswana is one of the few countries in Africa with a multi-party democracy. Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly, which has 36 members. Executive power is vested in the President, who is elected by the Assembly for its duration. He appoints and leads a Cabinet, which includes 11 ministers and three assistant ministers.

Local government is effected through nine District Councils and four Town Councils. These Councils hold important responsibilities, including the provision of rural health facilities, welfare services, water supplies, roads, and primary education. Each District Administration, which represents central government at District level, is headed by a District Commissioner. As will become clear in this chapter, the structure of local government has important implications for the administration of education.

1. Educational Development

The chief educational challenges facing the government are to extend basic education to all, and to reduce inequalities in opportunity between different groups and localities. At the same time, the high rate of economic growth has led to widespread shortages of trained manpower for the modern sector of the economy. Equity ideals confer priority on the quantity and quality of basic education, but manpower needs and the demands of the people create pressures to expand secondary and higher education.

The period since Independence has brought remarkable expansion of education (Table 1.1). Between 1966 and 1988 primary enrolments increased 3.5 times, and secondary enrolments increased 26.3 times! It is estimated that around 85 per cent of the primary school aged population is now in school, and over a third of the primary school leavers gain access to secondary schools. Transition rates have also improved at the post-secondary level.

Table 1.1: Expansion of Education, Botswana, 1966-88

Year	--- Primary ---		----- Secondary -----			
	Schools	Pupils	<i>Government/Aided</i>		<i>Private/CJSS</i>	
			Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1966	251	74,500	9	1,530	-	-
1976	335	125,600	15	9,560	15	4,380
1980	415	171,900	22	13,420	16	4,900
1983	502	198,300	22	15,680	20	7,120
1988	559	261,350	23	19,060	50	21,300

Note: CJSS = Community Junior Secondary Schools

Source: Planning Unit, Ministry of Education.

In spite of these achievements, however, much remains to be done. The objective of universal access to primary education is yet to be achieved, and post-primary education is still not available to the majority of primary school leavers. The government aspires to provide universal access to nine years of basic education by the mid-1990s. It is also anxious to maintain and improve the quality of education.

Botswana has had local provision of tertiary education since the foundation of the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland & Swaziland (UBBS) in 1964. The name of this institution changed in 1966, using the names that the constituent countries adopted on the achievement of independence, and became the University of Botswana, Lesotho & Swaziland (UBLS). In 1975 Lesotho nationalised its campus, thus leaving only Botswana and Swaziland together. Finally this partnership also ended, leading in 1982 to the formation of separate the Universities of Botswana and of Swaziland. Today the University of Botswana has nearly 2,000 students, and operates Faculties of Education, Humanities, Science and Social Sciences.

One final feature of the education system which requires explanation here is the system of brigades. These institutions aim to provide a form of vocational training in such skills as building, carpentry, motor mechanics and farming at the post-primary level. The first brigade was set up at Swaneng Hill in 1965, after which the institutions became a significant part of the system. The brigades are administered through a specific section of the Ministry of Education.

2. The Ministry of Education

(a) Structure

The structure of the Ministry of Education of course changes from time to time. This chapter chiefly refers to the structure existing in 1988.

An organisation chart of the Ministry headquarters is shown in Figure 1.1. At the apex are the Minister and the Permanent Secretary, with the latter being assisted by the Deputy Permanent Secretary. Including teachers, the Ministry has over 10,000 employees. This is almost twice as many as any other ministry, and the Ministry of Education is the largest employing organisation in the country.

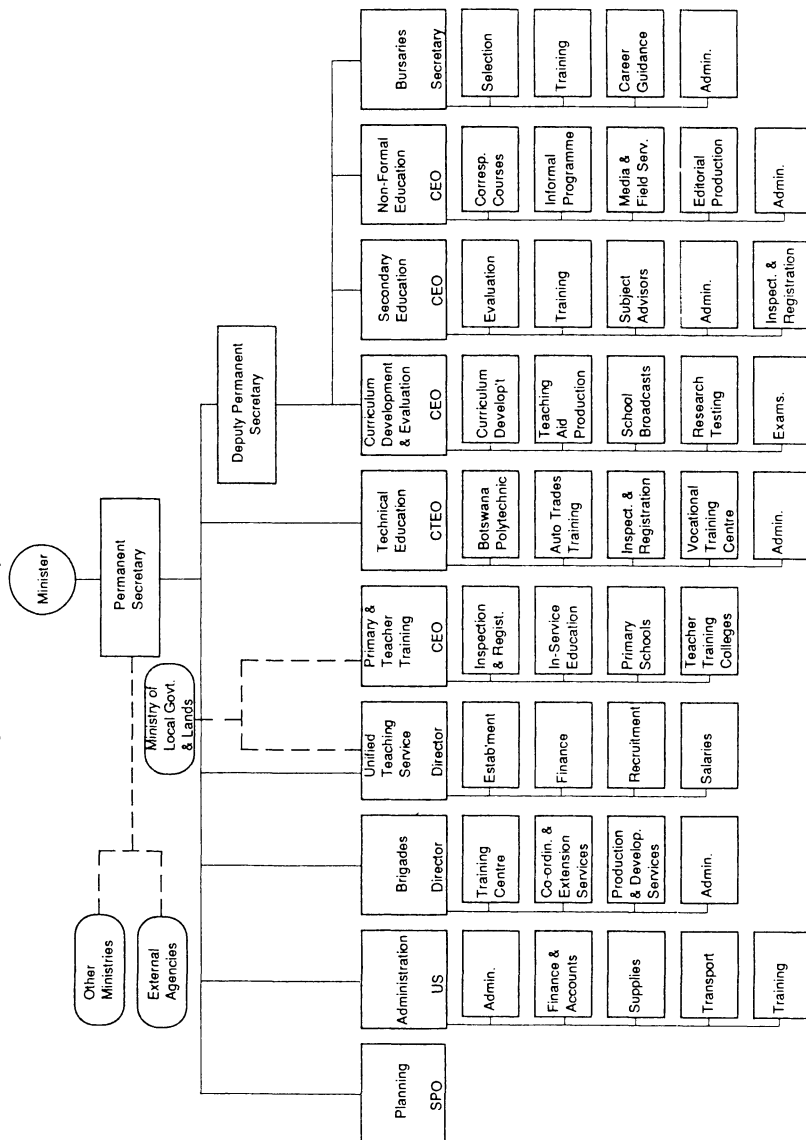
The 10 Departments in the Ministry are responsible for:

- Planning,
- Administration,
- Brigades,
- the Unified Teaching Service (UTS),
- Primary Education & Teacher Training,
- Technical Education,
- Curriculum Development & Evaluation,
- Secondary Education,
- Non-Formal Education, and
- Bursaries.

The titles of the department heads reflect the nature of their jobs. Four of the professional departments are headed by Chief Education Officers (CEOs), and one is headed by a Chief Technical Education Officer (CTEO). The Unified Teaching Service, which is responsible for the management and administration of teachers, is headed by a Director. The Administration Department is headed by an Under Secretary (US). This title is used for the administration branches of all ministries in the government. Of course the distinction between administrative and professional work is to some extent arbitrary, for the CEOs also do a great deal of administration. However, the Ministry of Education has retained the nomenclature of Under Secretary for this particular branch.

Several other systems documented in this book have only one CEO. In Barbados and Dominica, for example, the title is reserved for the head of the professional wing. The fact that Botswana has five CEOs partly reflects expansion of the sector, which has caused each CEO to have responsibilities approximately equivalent to those of the old-style

Figure 1.1: The Ministry of Education, Botswana



CEO. In other systems comparable officers might be called Senior Education Officers rather than Chief Education Officers.

During the mid-1980s there was pressure to create another Deputy Permanent Secretary post to balance the system and to reduce the work of the Permanent Secretary. For some time this was resisted by the Department of Public Service Management, which considered the responsibility load insufficient to justify the additional post. However, in 1990 an additional Deputy Permanent Secretary post was created, permitting redistribution and regrouping of responsibilities at the top.

(b) Organisational Evolution

In order to understand the nature of the Ministry, it is important to appreciate the way in which it has evolved since Independence. The original role and scope of the Ministry was much narrower than at present. At Independence the Department of Education formed part of the Ministry of Labour & Social Service. This was changed in 1967, when it became part of the Ministry of Education, Health & Labour. A separate Ministry of Education was created in 1970. The administrative change reflected the strong emphasis on education and the considerable planned growth.

The scale and speed of expansion placed great strain on the Ministry, which was short of staff and had little time to consider goals and policies to improve the quality and content of education. Moreover, the size of the Ministry failed to keep pace with the growth of its responsibilities. Severe criticism from many quarters made clear the need for a thorough review of the education system.

A National Commission on Education was appointed in 1975 to undertake this review. The Commission's report, submitted in 1977, was entitled *Education for Kagisano*. The word *kagisano* was taken from the Tswana language, and incorporates the principles of social harmony, justice, interdependence and mutual assistance. The report included a specific section on the organisation of the Ministry.

Following receipt of this report, the government redefined the objectives and priorities for Education. Of direct relevance to the organisation of the Ministry was the establishment in 1978 of Departments of Curriculum Development & Evaluation and of Non-Formal Education. However, the continued growth of the system also had major implications for the operation of the Ministry. The structure existing in the late 1980s remained in many respects unsatisfactory.

(c) *Structural Problems*

The structure of the Ministry has evolved in an *ad hoc* manner as a result of evolutionary growth. One aspect in which this is obvious is in the grouping of functions. Despite the official lines of authority, both 'professional' and 'service' functions are under the responsibility of the Deputy Permanent Secretary. This is partly a result of the philosophies and the experience of the individuals concerned. The Permanent Secretary feels that all department heads should be sufficiently knowledgeable on professional matters, and that it should not be necessary to bother him. Therefore, whenever the heads need advice on professional issues they tend to consult the Deputy Permanent Secretary, who has wide experience on professional as well as administrative matters. His previous job was Chief Education Officer in charge of curriculum development and evaluation.

While this situation is workable, the main problem is that up to seven department heads report directly to one organisational action point. Since the Deputy Permanent Secretary also has to act during the frequent and lengthy absence of the Permanent Secretary on official business, his impact and effectiveness as a coordinator and controller of professional functions is seriously reduced.

Additional problems are that:

- * Although the Brigades are have a strong technical bias, they are administered separately from the Department of Technical Education.
- * Bursaries are more for 'support and service' than for purely professional matters, and it is questionable if they are correctly placed under the Deputy Permanent Secretary, who is theoretically responsible for professional matters.
- * Although Technical Education is a professional matter, it has been placed directly under the Permanent Secretary.
- * The combination of Primary Education and Teacher Training made sense when the two components were small and when teacher training was only for the primary schools. However, it is no longer desirable, first because the department is now very large, and second because the coverage of teacher training now extends into the secondary sector.

Expanding on the last point, a 1986 analysis of functional loads indicated that the head of this department carried 20 per cent of the total functions of the Ministry. This was far greater than that of any

other officer. The department is very much aware of this problem, and has proposed that a separate Department of Teacher Training be established. The new department would then coordinate and control the teacher education undertaken by Teacher Training Colleges for primary teachers, Teacher Training Colleges for junior secondary teachers, the Faculty of Education at the University of Botswana for senior secondary teachers, and the Botswana Polytechnic for teachers of technical subjects.

On the other hand, problems already arise in the division of labour between the teacher training section and the Department of the Unified Teaching Service (UTS). These problems would not be solved by the creation of a separate Department of Teacher Training. The Department of the UTS is responsible for the employment of teachers, and for their recruitment, placement and development. Although for historical reasons it has developed separately from the Teacher Training section, it would be logical to link the two functions more closely.

It would also be desirable to avoid the overlap inherent in the fact that the Department of UTS has responsibility for the maintenance of high standards among teachers, while supervision and inspection of teachers in schools is undertaken by the Education Officers of either the Department of Primary Education & Teacher Training or the Department of Secondary Education.

A further potential source of conflict arises from the role and status of the Planning Unit. This unit is staffed by professionals with expertise in data analysis, forecasting and cost analysis. However, all department heads should be actively involved in analysing relevant trends, interpreting government policies, considering what resources are needed, and exploring alternative courses of action. Planning is not seen as a specialised technical activity that should be left exclusively to the Planning Unit, and the overlap of roles has sometimes led to tension.

3. Manpower and Personnel

The overlaps and shortcomings arising from structural deficiencies are particularly problematic for a small country short of qualified manpower. It is true that they have arisen primarily for historical reasons and cannot easily be avoided, but it seems highly desirable to put more effort into rationalisation.

Meanwhile, though, it is useful to note one positive strategy through which the Ministry does improve use of some scarce human resources. Most department heads have had varied careers within and

sometimes also outside the education system. The Chief Education Officer in charge of primary education and teacher training, for example, might have some knowledge of secondary education through previous experience as a Senior Education Officer at that level. Recognising this, the top managers harness experience through committees. For instance, the working committee on Improving Access to Secondary Education incorporates the CEO (Nonformal Education), the Director (Unified Teaching Service) and the CEO (Primary & Teacher Training) as well as the CEO (Secondary). Although the present jobs of these individuals may be unrelated to the task at hand, their previous experiences are valuable. Especially in a small ministry, expertise is too scarce to be wasted by strict adherence to job descriptions.

The above example also highlights the fact that individual promotion paths are not restricted to previous avenues. While there are dangers in promoting a Senior Education Officer from one sector to become a Chief Education Officer in another, the practice does encourage integration. Perhaps even more important, it expands the prospects for promotion in what would otherwise be a very tight system. There is also considerable movement between ministries, especially from the rank of department head to Under Secretary and Deputy Permanent Secretary.

However, it remains true that the small size of the ministry limits the prospects of some officers, which leads to frustration. One result is that individuals try to upgrade their existing posts by inflating their levels of responsibility and/or job descriptions. This is another reason for the large number of CEOs.

Awareness of manpower constraints has also led to decisions to merge certain functions, and not to undertake others at all. For example special education is included in the primary education division. Less attention is given to special education than might be desired, but for the time being it is difficult to meet all needs. Likewise, although Botswana sets its own examinations up to the Junior Certificate level, at higher levels it still uses the University of Cambridge Overseas Examination Syndicate. As well as conserving on manpower in a small system, this arrangement provides benefits of credibility and external recognition.

A final point relates to the culture of the ministry. In a small society where everybody knows everybody else, personalities have a strong impact on the operation of the organisation. A junior officer who knows that it is difficult to get advice or help from a department head who employs a 'closed-door' management style may turn to another head who is known to be more willing to listen. In this way,

the junior officer hopes that messages will get across to the head when the two senior officers meet either formally or informally. This has happened on many occasion on matters needing the attention of either the Permanent Secretary or the Deputy Permanent Secretary. It illustrates the point that lines of communication as depicted on the organisation chart may not be adhered to strictly. On many occasions officers cross lines of communication to consult, according to the nature of the problem and the personalities concerned.

4. Inter-Ministry Cooperation

One of the most prominent areas of inter-ministry cooperation is with the Ministry of Local Government & Lands (MLGL). The Community Development Officers employed by this ministry are responsible for pre-primary education. The MLGL is also responsible for primary education at the district level, and works closely with the Ministry of Education in ways described below. The important liaison role of the MLGL is reflected in the dotted line linking it with the Ministry of Education in Figure 1.1.

Another area of cooperation is with the Ministry of Finance & Development Planning (MFDP), which is the formal employer of staff in the Planning Unit. The MFDP also employs comparable planning staff in other ministries. In some cases the dual loyalties of these officers leads to conflict, but in the Ministry of Education relationships have generally been harmonious. Placement of MFDP officers in the various ministries helps strengthen linkages in the administration as a whole.

While the types of linkage with the MLGL and the MFDP may be found in large as well as small states, another linkage is worth mentioning because it is characteristic only of small states. This is the arrangement for preparation of education statistics, which is primarily done by the Central Statistics Office. This arrangement has the strong benefit of making use of scarce professional expertise, and of effecting economies of scale in a way that is difficult in small states. However, as noted in the 1977 Report of the National Commission on Education, the arrangement can have a problematic aspect. The Report noted that the range and quality of education statistics was very impressive, but pointed out that, perhaps because the statistics were collected by an external unit, they were very little used within the Ministry itself. Since that time usage has improved; but the Commission's observation and warning is still worth bearing in mind.

A further form of cooperation is with the Ministry of Works &

Communication. All government construction is undertaken by this ministry, but when the Ministry of Education embarked on massive expansion of secondary education in the early 1980s it was considered necessary to establish a unit to coordinate construction of the community junior secondary schools. The unit was created under a World Bank project which provided most of the funds. Although the unit was supposed to be temporary, it is still in existence. The Ministry of Works & Communication would like to transfer it to their ministry, but the Ministry of Education has resisted this move.

A final form of cooperation is with the University. Although some research is undertaken within the Ministry, particularly by the Planning Unit and the Department of Curriculum Development & Evaluation, the Ministry has no Research Unit *per se*. In this respect Botswana is fortunate to have its own university, the staff of which undertake many important research projects. Cooperation is not only with the Faculty of Education but also with the National Institute of Development Research & Documentation.

5. Decentralisation of Functions

Although Botswana has a small population, for the geographic reasons noted at the beginning of this chapter it is necessary to operate a system with a high degree of decentralisation. Even in a much larger system the manpower demands of decentralisation would be prominent. They are especially obvious in a system which is both small and short of well-qualified professional staff.

The primary education system is based on the principle of partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government & Lands. The latter delegates responsibility for the day-to-day management of primary schools to local authorities. However, the Ministry of Education has retained national responsibility for integration and coordination of professional standards, and has legal power to control the education system through the appointment of teachers, through inspection and if necessary through closure of schools.

The Department of Primary Education & Teacher Training has 35 Senior Education Officers (SEOs), Education Officers (EOs) and Assistant Education Officers (AEOs) based in the districts and sub-districts. The role of these officers is to maintain and raise professional education standards in primary education. The Ministry of Education and the MLGL have set out in some detail the respective functions at local level for the Education Officers and Education Secretaries, and given this information wide publicity. The relationship

at District level appears to work satisfactorily.

The Department of Secondary Education has 16 SEOs or EOs. These staff are not based in the Districts, and the Ministry is concerned that with the expansion in secondary education the span of control (by 1988 over 73 schools) will become too wide for the existing operations centralised in Headquarters. To ensure efficient management and the effective use of resources, a programme to decentralise the administrative and professional support services has been initiated.

The UTS is presently centralised, with the MLGL Education Secretaries acting as local agents for teaching personnel matters. While the UTS *employs* teachers directly it *deploys* them through the Education Secretaries. Also, transfers and promotions are normally made with the agreement of local councils. This working arrangement avoids the need to appoint a separate cadre of field personnel officers for the UTS, which conserves on scarce manpower, keeps costs down, and reduces the problems of coordination. The UTS has spelled out in some detail the roles and responsibilities of Education Secretaries and the arrangements for cooperation and consultation with Education Officers, Education Committees and the UTS itself.

Nevertheless there is considerable concern that the Education Secretaries can be occupied for 50 per cent of their time on personnel matters relating to teachers, at the expense of their other responsibilities. This situation has arisen as a result of the growth in the number of teachers, with a corresponding increase in the number of routine duties (casualty returns, salary queries, leave applications, etc.) that have to be undertaken.

On the other hand the Ministry is aware that it cannot implement education policies properly unless it has the full cooperation of all those at the local level, i.e. teachers, Parent-Teachers' Associations, and officials of the District and Town Councils particularly the Education Secretaries. This is especially important where matters relate to the appointment, posting, transfer, promotion and disciplinary control of teachers. It is also applicable to nonformal education, administration of which is similarly decentralised.

6. Conclusions

Although the population of Botswana is small, it is larger than that of the other countries covered in this book. This is reflected in the structure and size of the Ministry of Education, which has many specialist branches. Botswana also benefits from having a university of its own, which has a Faculty of Education able to undertake many

research and other projects of benefit to the education sector.

However, the Ministry of Education is still constrained by small size. The vast area of the country has created a need for a decentralised system which has a high human resource cost to a small system. The manpower constraints are exacerbated by the youth of the system and the continued shortage of well-qualified professionals. Moreover, even though the Ministry is relatively large it still has no units for research, pre-school education or special education.

This chapter has also highlighted problems arising from overlap of functions between various departments. This overlap has arisen primarily for historical reasons. It has created considerable friction, and has wasted resources in a way that a small, manpower-scarce system can ill afford. The problem has been reduced through constitution of *ad hoc* working groups for specific topics, but needs to be addressed in a more fundamental way.

Nevertheless, in conclusion it is also worth quoting one further observation of the 1977 Report of the National Commission on Education. This is that "the key to effectiveness lies as much in the area of appointment of good personnel to the key positions, as it is a matter of organisational restructuring".