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SUPPORTING OUR CHILDREN'S LEARNING: A COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH AND TRAINING PROGRAMME IN MOTOKWE, KHEKHENYE AND TSHWAANE

A CONSULTANCY REPORT

by

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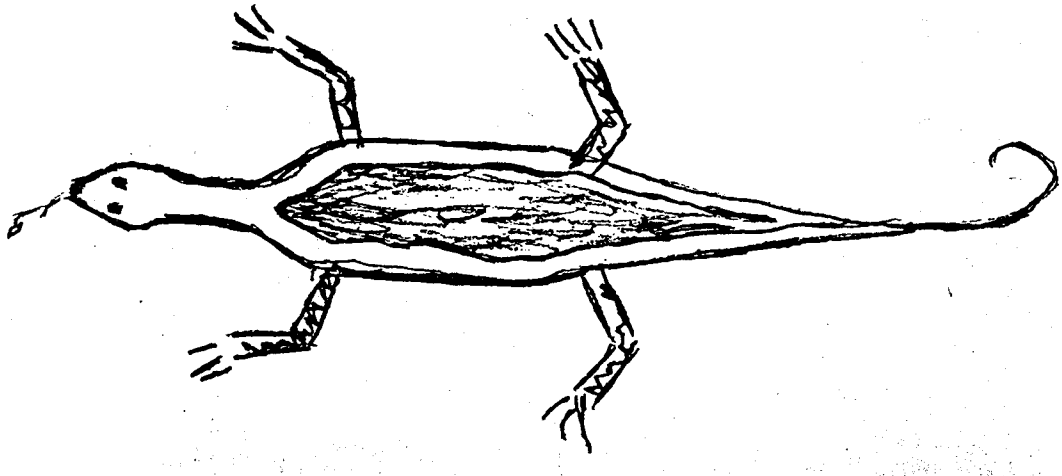
May, 1997



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INTRODUCTION

Education has been assigned a pivotal role in each of Botswana's national development plans, and as a result of the favorable economic conditions in the mid-1980s, the country has been able to adopt a policy of universal, free, basic education for all children. This provision of basic education, covering seven years of primary and the first three years of secondary school, has led to a massive expansion of school infrastructure. During the ten years between 1983 and 1993, the number of primary schools increased from 502 to 657, and the number of junior-secondary schools more than quadrupled from 42 to 186. Access to school has become a reality for most of the country's children. An estimated 83% of the country's school-age children (i.e. for Botswana from ages 7 to 13 years) are currently enrolled in school, and since 1993, all primary-school leavers have been eligible for entry into junior-secondary schools (Central Statistics Office 1996).

Yet this provision of basic education does not in and of itself reflect access to nor quality of learning opportunities, particularly across ethnicity, gender, and economic status. According to a 1993 UNDP/UNICEF document:

> It is not enough to adopt a policy of "**basic education for all**," as many countries have done, nor even to build primary and secondary schools all over the country. While these are essential pre-conditions, basic education can have the desired effects only when it reaches all its targets and conveys the minimum range and level of knowledge and skills necessary to achieve its objectives. This requires, among other things,
>
> - full access, i.e.., the availability of enough school places, and the removal of barriers to access, especially for adults, the disabled and other marginalised groups;
> - the adoption of measures aimed at the maximum use of capital assets such as school buildings and equipment, especially through improvements in the coverage and content of the curriculum, the levels and quality of staffing, the supply and maintenance of essential equipment and consumables, and the efficiency of school management and supervision; and
> - given the significant externalities of female education, special attention to the education of mothers and the girl-child, particularly in the rural areas. (UNDP/UNICEF 1993:32)

Numerous challenges concerning both efficiency and quality have accompanied this rapid expansion of Botswana's basic-education sector. Gender inequality, declining quality of education, and inequitable access to schooling, with particular reference to the 17% of the out-of-school children (most of whom are children of remote rural minorities) have been all articulated as concerns (Kann, Mapolelo, and Nleya 1984; Government of Botswana 1994). Prior recommendations have included making the centrally-designed curriculum

more relevant to the realities of life in Botswana and to the world of work, reducing the costs of education through cost sharing and cost effectiveness strategies, responding to the needs of different ethnic groups in society, and improving school-community partnerships in education planning and service provision.

In addition to these country-wide concerns, both the Revised National Policy on Education (Government of Botswana 1994) and "Missing Children" (Kann, Mapolelo, and Nleya 1984) emphasize that access to quality education in rural and remote rural communities remains a critical problem. As existing records document, non-enrollment, drop-out, retention, and substandard academic performance rates differ widely between urban to rural populations.

> The 1991 census indicate that there is considerable geographical and gender variation in enrollment among those who are supposed to be in school. Western Districts have lower percentages than those in the east. Western Districts also have students who complete less years of education. These Districts also have the highest rates of untrained teachers at the primary school levels: percentage shortfalls are Ngamiland 42%, Kgalagadi 39%, Ghanzi 37%. ...Overall, remote households, especially those that are female headed, are often in the most difficult situation. (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1995:29-30)

The area around Motokwe, in Botswana's Kweneng West, is both remote and rural. It consists primarily of non-Setswana speaking ethnic minorities, more than 1/3 of whom are classified as remote-area dwellers. An estimated 88% of the country's out-of school children reside in remote areas like Motokwe and the Khekhenye and Tshwaane settlements, where poverty, distance from schools, and cultural differences play a negative role in school attendance and performance.

The purpose of this consultancy is to formulate a community-based assessment model that involves local community members, in partnership with central and local government agencies, school personnel, international agencies, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in the gathering of information concerning the educational problems, concerns, and needs of children dwelling in the Motokwe area of Kweneng West. This information will provide the basis for UNICEF-supported interventions, designed and implemented collaboratively by community, government, and NGOs, to increase school attendance and provide a quality education for the area's children. (The Terms of Reference appear in Appendix A.) The report includes the following sections:

Section 1: Policy and Educational Status of Remote Area Dwellers
Section 2: Development Initiatives in Botswana
Section 3: Implementing the Triple "A" Process in Motokwe
Section 4: Project Results
Section 5: Raw Data

SECTION 1: POLICY ON AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF REMOTE AREA DWELLERS

SECTION 1 POLICY ON AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF REMOTE AREA DWELLERS

Section One of this report places the most remote of Botswana's citizens in an economic and political context. Using data from census reports, government documents, and programme evaluations, it examines the plight of the country's remote area dwellers and details the role education has played in their lives.

1.1 REMOTE AREA DWELLERS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

> Poverty in Botswana remains a largely rural phenomenon. Over two-thirds of those recorded as unemployed in the 1991 Census reside in rural areas. Agricultural potential is limited due to adverse climatic and soil conditions: rainfall is low and highly variable, and the country experiences periodic droughts which can often be severe and long-lasting. The soil is typically sandy and the few locations where there is sufficient surface water for irrigation either have poor soil and/or are distant from markets. (UNDP/UNICEF 1993: 16)
>
> Income distribution of wealth remains Botswana's greatest problem. The Gini coefficient was 0.56 in 1985, with 61% of the income accruing to the top 20% of the population and the poorest 40% receiving only 11% of total income. Some 30% of the people in the urban areas had incomes below the poverty line, in rural areas the figure was 64%. Poverty remains widespread in the rural areas, especially among female-headed households. As of 1994, unemployment was estimated at 14%. (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1995:3)

According to the 1991 Census, 55% of Botswana's population resides in rural areas, and as the excerpts above illustrate, poverty in Botswana is "widespread in the rural areas." The most disadvantaged of the country's rural poor are its remote area dwellers (RADs), officially defined as people who "live outside established villages" (Chr. Michelsen Institute 1995). While census data does not include ethnic origin of RADs and no official register of remote area dwellers has been developed or maintained to date, government uses the following description to classify individuals as remote area dwellers. RADs are people who tend to:

- tend to live in very small and scattered settlements (of 5 to 100 people), and are sometimes mobile over specified areas of land
- have either no cash income or an inadequate cash income
- are in a dependent position socio-economically to wealthier (i.e. livestock owning) families
- have no or inadequate water rights
- have no real access to land

- depend to one extend or another on gathered veld foods, and usually to a lesser extent on wildlife
- have to date been out of reach in terms of distance from generally available basic services such as schools, health posts, extension staff, etc.
- seldom own livestock
- are seldom literate, having had little access to educational opportunities
- often have a non-Tswana language as their mother tongue
- do not have traditional leaders or hierarchical social structures of their own
- tend to be a politically a "silent" sector (Tabachinck 1980)

While grouped together for policy reasons, remote area dwellers are found in several parts of the country and encompass a number of other minority groups, including rural Bakgalagadi, Bayei, HaMbukushu, and Bakoba, as well as a wide range of Sesarwa-speaking groups. In fact, the term *remote area dwellers* was coined to disassociate the development programme from any particular ethnic group. Despite government's official rhetoric, however, the term continues to be perceived as one designed for the country's Basarwa population.

> Basarwa is the Tswana term for the people who are otherwise and internationally known as the San minority of Botswana. Although there are also other ethnic minorities who live outside established villages (e.g. Herero, Bayei, Balala, and to a certain extent Bakgalagadi), there is a large overlap between the sociologically defined category of Remote Area Dwellers and the ethnic category of the Basarwa. Most RADs are Basarwa. It is most probably also true that most Basarwa are RAD's, although it is known that a significant population of Basarwa live in the villages or as squatters on the outskirts of villages in the eastern part of the country. (Chr. Michelsen Institute 1995:21)

Recent history concerning both Botswana's remote ethnic minorities and the Basarwa living within the country's borders revolves around official policies toward the country's remote area dwellers, dating back to the country's 1974 Bushman Development Programme, which was designed to assist men and women who had been displaced by the development of freehold ranches in Ghanzi District, through to today's Remote Area Dweller Programme (RADP). The programmes have undergone several transformations, mapping over political issues and changing opinions about ethnicity and nomenclature, but the overall aim and objectives have remained constant. RAD programmes have all aimed to improve the standard of living of the country's most remote residents through the establishment of organised settlements, the allocation of land for settlement dwellers, and the provision of basic education, health, water and sanitation services and income generation support to settlements at a level theoretically on par with non-RADs in villages. In addition, the definition of RADs as living in scattered settlements circumvents the country's rural development guidelines setting official village

populations at more than 500 people, and thus allows infrastructure development in smaller RAD settlements.[1]

Despite 20 years of government's efforts, however, RADs have remained poor, marginalised and dependent upon government support. A 1990 review of the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme, for instance, found that "according to estimates made by the RAD Programme, up to 90% of all RADs were dependent upon food relief in the period between 1982 and 1990" (Kann et al 1990:11). Hitchcock and Holms (1993) argue that this dependence is related to the programme's major flaws, they assert that:

- land allocated to the settlements has no relationship to the number of residents in the settlement;
- settlement residents do not control access to land resources and receive little assistance from the government to stop trespassing;
- partly as a result of the two former points, settlements have no income-generating capacity and men and women will stay in them for only as long as they function as distribution centres for famine relief (Chr. Michelsen Institute 1995:29).

1.2 EDUCATION IN THE REMOTE AREA DWELLER SETTLEMENTS

The provision of quality education has been one of the most controversial and complicated facets of RADP's work. The actual organization of education in the RADs is little different from that in the rest of the country. In Botswana, the provision of education is the responsibility of two ministries. Primary education is the shared responsibility of the Ministry of Local Government, Lands, and Housing and the Ministry of Education, while secondary education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The Revised National Policy on Education (Government of Botswana, 1994:8) makes no specific reference to the status of education for RAD children, subsuming them under the missing 17% of the children of primary-school age who are still not in school, and describing this entire group "as a major constraint to its efforts to achieve universal primary education."[2]

While the RAD policy permits development efforts in communities smaller than the official rural development figure of 500 people, the level of structural development, including the construction of primary schools, varies across settlements. In Ghanzi District, for instance, where an NGO has a strong presence and advocacy groups have been formed, the provision of infrastructure is more advanced. All RAD settlements there have council primary schools and almost all settlements have pre-schools with

1 According to the Chr. Michelson Instutite, RAD policy does not identify any particular minimum number of residents in a settlement to justify infrastructure development.

2 In an earlier government-sponsored report, the majority of these missing children were idenfitied as RAD children (Kann et al 1984).

trained teachers. However in Kweneng District, where little to no efforts have been made to organize communities, many settlements are considered too small to host a primary school, much less a pre-school.

In order to make education accessible to RAD children in settlements without schools, RADP provides hostel accommodation for RAD children near a village primary school. The distance between these host schools and home settlement ranges from more than ten kms. to 35 kms. RADP collects individual children from their homes and transports them to school at the beginning of each term, and returns them home at term's end. RADP also pays wages of hostel caretakers and cooks, provides school uniforms for children and meals during their residence in the hostels, and pays secondary school fees. RADP spent P1.87 million on school uniforms and secondary school fees in 1994-1995. In some districts, RAD officers also assist RAD children arrange their post-primary schooling.

Despite the relative proximity to school that a hostel provides, however, the continued low rate of school attendance and high drop-out rate of RAD children in settlement and village schools are clear indicators that obtaining a quality education is not only associated with the actual distance to school. At least part of the responsibility for low attendance and high drop-out rates lies with the implementation of the RADP itself. RADP hostels are in disrepair, staff is untrained, overall management is poor, and many RAD children lack both school uniforms and shoes (Chr. Michelsen Institute 1995; Kann et al 1990). But factors outside RADP have also been cited as contributing to RAD children's non-attendance in school. They include a lack of parental concern for schooling, parents' ignorance and illiteracy, poverty, children's responsibilities at home (e.g. looking after goats, caring for younger children), a disinterest in school, physical and mental disability, schools' use of corporal punishment, limited facilities, age limits, and clinic feeding (Kann, Mapolelo and Nleya 1984). Cultural concerns have also been commonly noted. Since cultural norms differ across tribal groups, teachers' beliefs about teaching, learning, child rearing, and discipline often conflict with those of RAD parents. Parents also resent when their young children stay away from home for long periods of time. In addition, since RAD children enter school with little to no knowledge of Setswana, language difficulties contribute to classroom problems for both teachers and children.

Girls, in particular, are adversely affected by both hostel life and cultural differences between home and school. Poor supervision of children and lack of security in the hostels has increased the chance that young girls will become pregnant while residing in a RADP hostel. Both traditional ceremonies carried out at the first menses and early marriage also prevent many girls from ever completing their schooling.

Many of the challenges involved in educating minority children are embedded in government decisions concerning the national education policy. Since the Revised National Policy on Education of 1994 prioritizes the building of the nation over the nurturing of group interests or group values, for example, the provision of education through mother tongue in the formative years of schooling is considered inappropriate and not supportive to the building of a nation state. RAD children are therefore provided with the same basic education as other children in Botswana, with no consideration given

to the unique conditions of their histories, economics, or culture. Despite their poverty and marginalisation, RAD children are expected to compete at a level equal to all other children from primary through secondary school.

Ample recommendations for improving educational supports for RAD children have been made in prior evaluations. Kann, Hitchcock and Mbere, in their 1990 evaluation of the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme, highlight the need for improved training of hostel staff, better management of hostels, and recommend that an education officer be attached to the RADP unit in the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing in order to pay greater attention to educational concerns. The Chr. Michelsen Institute's evaluation of NORAD's support of Botswana's RADP (1995:118) struggles with the difficulty of providing education in a multi-cultural context. Recommending that alternative models for primary education in multi-cultural contexts be explored, the evaluation suggests that NORAD "should take an initiative to suggest a pilot project in education, which should be operated by the Government with support from NORAD, to look for and experiment with alternative ways of providing primary education to the Basarwa children." The government's own National Development Plan 7 for 1991-1997 (Government of Botswana, 1991) recommends that the supervision of primary school hostels be improved, "the curriculum be made flexible enough to take into account cultural and linguistic diversities of the different ethnic groups, and teacher training will sensitive teachers to cultural differences." Project memorandum (PM) LG 127 also discusses RAD hostels and its own recommendations for the period from 1991 to 1995. Quoting the Michelsen Institute's report:

> Recognising the drawbacks of school hostels, the PM describes them as "a measure of last resort" and states that "every effort will be made to improve the hostel environment, in due respect of the cultural background of the children..." "Immediate steps" will be taken to recruit women from the children's home areas to work at the hostels. Where parents are still reluctant to send their children to hostels, local facilities to teach children to read and write Setswana will be set up. (Chr. Michelsen Institute 1995:52-53)

Yet as the statistics on the district's school leavers and the empirical data in this report highlight, these recommendations have had little to no impact on practice.

1.3 EDUCATION IN KWENENG WEST

This report focuses on access to and quality of education in three remote communities in Kweneng West, the village of Motokwe and the surrounding settlements of Khekhenye and Tshwaane. South of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the communities are approximately 386 km. southwest of Gaborone. While no census reports have delineated the actual number of primary-school age children in Motokwe, Khekenye, and Tshwaane, according to extrapolations of the data collected during this assessment, 500 primary-school age children reside in Motokwe, 101 in Khekenye, and 177 in Tshwaane. Since the schools do not group students according to residence however, it is difficult to ascertain the specific whereabouts of these children. 479 attend school in Motokwe and 105 in Dutlwe, approximately 30 kms from Tshwaane on a gravel road. The remaining 194 children, or 25% of the total estimated primary school-age population, may reside on area farms, may have dropped out of school, or may never have attended school at all. Follow-up research is warranted to find out more information about these children.

Motokwe, 26 kms. on a sandy secondary road off the tarred Jwaneng - Kang road, is the village hub for the surrounding RAD settlements, and as such is both host to the area's government workers, and the recipient of the majority of the government funds dispersed locally. Offices for the Land Board, Ministry of Agricultural, S&CD and Tribal Administration, as well as houses for extension officers have been built in the village. Motokwe is also home to the hub's primary school, the hostel for 106 of Khekhenye's and 12 of Tshwaane's primary school students, the clinic, post office, and cooperative. The village's 1523 residents are in large majority Bashaga and Babolongwe, the two main Bakgalagadi sub-tribes. A small percentage of Basarwa also live on the village's edge, while others are employed on lands owned by Bakgalakgadi residing in Motokwe.

Approximately 10 km. on a gravel and sand road from Motokwe, Khekhenye is a small settlement, populated by 200 men, women, and children from three different Basarwa groups, the Tlasi, the Kute, and the Kuera. The settlement itself is poor, with very little infrastructure and virtually no formal economic activity. Although a council borehole had existed prior to the location of the settlement, it dried up soon after Khekhenye's residents settled there, and residents are now completely dependent upon water trucked in by a government bowser. Because of its size, the settlement also has no school of its own. Primary school-age children from Khekhenye attend school in Motokwe, residing either in the RAD hostel or with relatives there. Khekhenye does have a one-room health post, built by residents with drought-relief funds. The building is only in use, however, when a nurse from Motokwe visits the settlement, on an average of once per month.

Tshwaane, 40 km from Motokwe on a gravel road heading east towards Dutlwe and Letlhakeng, is a much larger settlement than Khekhenye, with 120 Bakgalagadi households making up the main portion of the settlement, and a smaller number of Hua-speaking Basarwa families living on the community's periphery. Tshwaane has more infrastructure than Khekhenye, with a dependable source of water from several boreholes,

and several conspicuous concrete-walled, tin-roofed buildings, including a health post, adult education centre, and VDC houses, all built by Tshwaane residents with drought-relief funding. A privately-owned shop and several small tuckshops also operate in the settlement. Like Khekhenye however, Tshwaane has no school. Most of its children attend the primary school in Dutlwe, approximately 30 km from the settlement on a gravel road, and 105 of the children reside in the hostel in Dutlwe during the school year. Approximately 12 children from Tshwaane also attend school in Motokwe and board in the hostel there.

Despite the availability of primary schools in Motokwe and Dutlwe and the relative proximity and adequate space in community junior secondary schools in Takatokwane, Kang, and Mabutsane, Kweneng District, with its primary-school drop-out rate of 1.5% per year, ranks third highest country wide after the North West and Ghanzi districts. Not coincidentally, all three districts also have the highest number of RAD school-going children.[3] Drop-out rates are particularly high for RAD boys. In Kweneng District, for instance, 55% of boys do not finish school, a percentage even higher than Ghanzi's 52%. The declining attendance of boys is in large part related to the area's socio-economic conditions. With its dry, sandy, windblown topography of Kalahari lands, its remoteness, the dearth of income generating and employment options, both RAD and many non-RAD families are poor. Children leave school to contribute to their families' support. Boys leave school to become herd boys for wealthy area cattle farmers. Girls are also influenced by the area's scant resources; they leave school to help the family at home or to work as child minders for families outside their own communities. But girls are also affected by the government's policy on pregnancy. The policy mandates that any girl child who becomes pregnant leave school. In 1994, two RAD girls living in the Motokwe hostel left school because of pregnancy, and one left the Dutlwe hostel in 1995. The contingencies of real lives pull children out of school, and the school itself has not yet been able to create an environment strong enough to keep them in.

[3] In 1994, Ghanzi had both the highest number of RAD children and, at 2.6%, the highest yearly drop-out rate (Central Statistics Office 1996).

SECTION 2: DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN BOTSWANA

SECTION 2: DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN BOTSWANA

Section Two of this report outlines the role of the community in Botswana's development initiatives. Drawing on secondary data sources, it creates a context for the use of participatory, community-based assessment, grounded in UNICEF's Triple "A" Approach, in Botswana's remote communities.

2.1 COMMUNITY-BASED PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

> The emphasis of rural development in Botswana in the past has been on infrastructure provision, building of government institutional capacity for providing services in rural areas and implementation of development projects and programmes by sectoral ministries and Local Authorities. This has helped to overcome some of the fundamental constraints to development and has supported improvements in public services in rural areas. However, efforts to strengthen the rural economy and improve rural livelihoods have been less successful. The levels of rural poverty and unemployment have remained high. In many instances the formulation and implementation of rural development policies and programmes has been undertaken by government with only limited community involvement. This has contributed to a *dependency* on government support rather than to a momentum of self-standing, sustainable improvements. (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1995:4)

While over the past 30 years Botswana's development policies have been driven by the central government, the last few years have seen a growing awareness of the importance of community participation in development decisions. Different explanations are offered for grounding development efforts in community participation and basing development initiatives on community-identified needs. While organising communities to participate in their own development can be slow and is often fraught with both differences in perceptions and experiences and power struggles that play out on the local level, if pursued, community-based participation builds a community's capacity to organise itself, empowers people to understand and influence decisions that affect their own lives, and leads to a greater sense of responsibility for projects that are undertaken. Real participation by a broad base of men and women within a community also guarantees that work is grounded in felt needs, measured in terms of readiness to organise and to contribute. Participation is a starting point for changing consciousness, and in the process, for gaining an understanding of the constraints which hinder the escape from physical, intellectual, spiritual, and emotional poverty (Crook and Jerve 1991).

Despite the country's top-down development policies, Botswana has actually had a long history of community-based participation in development, dating back to the period pre-independence. The concept of *Ipelegeng*, or *self reliance*, has been used to mobilise local communities to carry out community projects at times when the country

has had very limited economic resources. The country's locally built schools, which flourished around the country from as early as 1910, are an example of projects initiated under *Ipelegeng* (Tshireletso and Kann 1987). Although government, to a limited extent, continues to encourage community participation in locally-based development projects, many communities, particularly those most rural and remote, lack the capacity to initiate and implement their own initiatives.

There have been some notable efforts however, by NGOs, including Kuru Development Trust and the Botswana Orientation Centre's Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), to mobilize community members in their own development efforts, efforts which have been focused typically on the country's most marginal groups (i.e. the RADs, women and the girl child). These are described below.

2.1.1 Kuru Development Trust

Kuru, an indigenous organisation based in D'Kar, Ghanzi, has provided a model for community participation in local development efforts in Botswana's remote areas. As a community-based program committed to full participation and decision-making rights of all community residents, Kuru Development Trust has as its objective the involvement of its people, the Basarwa, in the control of a situation of inevitable change. Kuru's focus is multi-faceted. Sustainable agriculture and natural resource use has been explored through the Trust's livestock production, ostrich farming, and cochineal projects. Through its economic-development programme, the Trust also facilitates training in income-generating activities and the marketing of products produced by the Basarwa, and has supported leather-ware production, sewing, silk-screen printing, tanning, and a now famous Kuru-art project.

Kuru's Bokamoso pre-school program is a particularly interesting case study for UNICEF's work since it focuses on the successful integration of Basarwa children into the formal school system. In addition to the training of pre-school teachers, its holistic approach to the children's teaching and learning processes involves the incorporation into and the revitalization of Basarwa culture in their lives through dance, story telling, and craft making.

2.1.2 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

PRA, a set of participatory data collection and analysis techniques based on visualisation and discussion, is an increasingly popular strategy used to assist communities gather and document local knowledge, build rapport between the local community and extension officers, and plan its own development efforts. A PRA exercise results in a community action plan, in which community members outline what will be done, when, how, and by whom.

Viewed as a process of empowering rural communities through their active involvement in the design of a village profile and needs assessment, PRA has gained the interest of the Rural Development Coordinating Division of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning for use in bottom-up planning. In Botswana, PRAs are most frequently facilitated by the Botswana Orientation Centre, which, along with its language and cultural orientations, has come to specialise in PRA methods. Strategies particular to PRA include community members' narration of the community's history, ranking the importance and salience of local institutions, developing a land-use transect and ranking land-uses, drawing land-use maps by gender, problem analysis and ranking, brainstorming solutions to problems and planning actions,

A PRA was conducted by BOC in Khekhenye during August 1995 and in Motokwe during October 1995. Up to 70 community residents attended the PRA in Khekhenye, and during the exercise they identified and ranked the following problems:

- Misuse of drinking water
- Poor access to draught power
- Poor communication with government departments
- Education problems/illiteracy
- Depletion of veld products
- Unemployment
- Poor access to health care
- Poor inter-community relations
- Poor housing
- Poor sanitation
- No legal access to wild life (Botswana Orientation Centre 1995a)

According to BOC's report, initial action planning in Khekhenye was very difficult, with community members "push[ing] the responsibility to solve all their problems onto the government" (ibid:30). However after breaking into smaller groups focused around single issues, an action plan was developed. The sub-group dealing with education decided on the following actions (as quoted from Botswana Orientation Centre 1995a:32):

- the action committee will go to Motokwe to see the Non-Formal Education officer and request for the Non-formal education classes to resume in Khekhenye.

- The action committee will request to have the form two school drop-outs as their literacy group leaders (the people want to be taught to read and write by one of their own people, failing which they prefer a Motswana, not a Mokgalagadi)
- The community will approach the Family Welfare Educator (FWE) to educate teenagers about family planning and prevention of pregnancy
- Parents of children attending school in Motowke will approach the RADP to talk about the abuse of children by care takers and the following possibilities relating to the caretakers:
  - a) the caretakers should be forced to move into the hostels (as is the norm), and perform their supervisory duties diligently
  - b) if this fails, the RADP should hire people from Khekhenye as care takers, so that they can take better care of their children.

The PRA in Motokwe, conducted two months later, was less well attended, with participation ranging from 17 to 63 men and women, and most often hovering around 25 in number. The participants identified and ranked the following problems:

- Decreasing wildlife
- Low yields
- Educational problems
- Low kgotla attendance
- Decreasing veld-products
- AIDS
- Unemployment
- Land degradation (Botswana Orientation Centre 1995b)

The village's educational concerns, low pass rates, teachers who are not serious, irresponsible head-teacher, poor parental guidance, were to be addressed by:

- the community meeting the PTA and discussing the problems
- delegating people to meet the Education Officer if above is not successful
- addressing parents at the Kgotla to encourage children at home to respect their teachers.

More than a year after the two PRAs were conducted, the primary follow-up to the exercises has been in the organization of a community agriculture plot in Motokwe, designed for veld-products, with support from Veld Products Research, a NGO based in Gabane, Botswana. The status of education in the communities has changed little, with the only progress in the form of the resumption of one non-formal class in Khekhenye.

District Council's efforts to improve the education of RAD children have focused on making education more accessible to children whose families reside in settlements. A hostel for RAD children was constructed with Council support, first on the school grounds and then later moved behind the school compound. At the time of this research,

the hostel housed 106 of Khekhenye's and 12 of Tshwaane's primary school students. While the construction of hostel facilities has increased the number of RAD children who attend school year round, the hostel is in poor repair, and lacks furniture, dependable potable water, and electricity. It is also not secure from night time intruders. To date, Council has not addressed these problems of hostel infrastructure and security. In addition, Council has not addressed any improvements in the quality of education that the children receive. There has been no District-sponsored teacher training to provide additional support for teachers assigned to RAD schools, nor any District-sponsored school renovations to make the school more welcoming to RAD children.

2.2 A SHIFT IN APPROACH

The Rural Development Council was established in 1972 to oversee the design and implementation of Botswana's rural development policy. A high-level body, composed of the Minister of Finance and Development Planning, the Minister of Local Lands, Government and Housing, permanent secretaries and district council, land board and parastatal representatives, the RDC both reviews policy matters and focuses on the implementation of particular development initiatives.

> In 1994 the Rural Development Council (RDC) appointed an inter ministerial working group to design a community-based strategy for rural development. This reflects concern over the poor performance of past rural-development strategies to increase rural incomes and employment and rural poverty. ... Existing institutional arrangements offer communities little opportunity to take part in shaping the approach to rural development activities, which undermined community-leadership structures and contributed to a syndrome of dependency on government. (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1995:1)

The "disappointing" picture described above by the RDC, both catalysed UNICEF's role in assisting the RDC to shape the country's proposed community-based strategy and influenced UNICEF's choice of a methodology for its proposed "Integrated Community-Based Strategy in Motokwe, Tshwaane, and Khekhenye." In listing factors that have inhibited decentralized planning in the past, Botswana's National Programme of Action addresses both community participation and the generation of disaggregated data.

> Another weakness of decentralised planning is that it has been a ritualistic exercise serving mainly as an instrument for legitimizing plans, programmes and policies formulated at higher levels. Participation of the people and even politicians has been limited. To a great extent, planning

> remains a 'top-down' exercise and the role of local organisations has been minimal.
>
> One major cause of insufficient participation is lack of data at village and community levels. When people do not fully understand the challenge to why they should respond, it should not come as a surprise if their response is inadequate. (Republic of Botswana 1995:98)

In order to address these past limitations, UNICEF Botswana has developed the Triple "A" (Assessment, Analysis, and Action), a strategy that reflects UNICEF's linking of survival, development, protection, and participation of children to decisions made at both the household and community levels. The Triple "A" process strengthens households, communities, and extension staff by providing the skills and experience necessary for community members to assume more control of their own and their children's development.

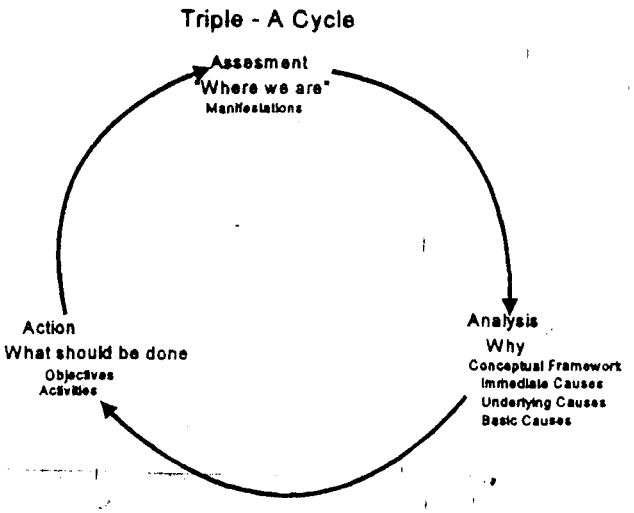
2.2.1 COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH AND THE TRIPLE "A" APPROACH

The typical research model utilised in development work is still all too often top down in nature, in which information and knowledge flow one way, from outside advisers to members of the local community. This "expert" model is represented by a researcher, often a consultant summoned from outside the country at considerable expense, who embodies knowledge about what is and what should be within the target community. Armed with survey tools and informed by census data and other demographic particulars, the expert flies in for a few days. He spends most of his time in the capital city interviewing a long list of ministry officials and private sector representatives. His actual visit to the target community is generally short. He surveys the scene by holding discussions with the local elite, and at best, gathers information from key respondents with the use of pre-written "closed" interview forms. In this model the consultant remains the expert. It is his knowledge which is official, and it is his interpretation of local particulars that provides the foundation for future development efforts.

The assessment in Motokwe and the two neighbouring settlements, Khekhenye and Tshwaane, turns this "expert" paradigm on its head. The participatory training and research model is one in which the local community takes an active role, in partnership with central and local government agencies, the school and school personnel, international agencies and non-governmental organisations, to gather information required to best respond to the educational problems of RAD children. Designed within the Triple "A" paradigm and grounded in a methodology of action research, the information flow is reversed here. The Triple "A" approach encourages and enables households and communities to assess or identify what prevails within a community (assessment); why the identified situation or problems exist (analysis); and what can be

done to improve or address the situation or problem (action), as represented in the diagram below.

Triple "A"



Although Triple A's assessment component can include an array of research strategies, in consultation with UNICEF staff, we decided to facilitate a participatory research exercise that builds upon the knowledge and information that is owned by community members. Within the participatory research paradigm, community members decide what they need to know in order to best ground development plans in the realities of local practice. Historically, the country's Basarwa have been positioned as the researched, rather than as researchers of their own lives. Many prior studies tended to be researcher-centred, expressing the views and perceptions of the researchers, rather than the subjects of the research. The Basarwa were often objectified as primitive and culturally deficient relics, who required the interventions of outsiders that were not necessarily appropriate to the unique circumstances of the Basarwa. While local consultants were commissioned to facilitate the assessment exercise in the Motokwe area, they were not positioned and did not position themselves as experts. Instead, they acted as workshop facilitators and support staff during the assessment. Members of all three communities actually designed the research and collected data that they themselves identified as necessary for their own planning processes. They were the experts in their own lives, and local knowledge about their own practices and practicalities shaped the research design and the way in which they carried out the research. The recommendations that come from this research are informed by the residents of Motokwe, Khekenye, and Tshwaane themselves, and are based upon their perceptions, experiences and social and cultural setting.

SECTION 3: IMPLEMENTING THE COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH PROJECT

SECTION 3: IMPLEMENTING THE COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH PROJECT

Section Three provides an overview of the two-week workshop in Motokwe, Khekhenye, and Tshwaane. Drawing on extensive notes and archival information on the sessions, it describes the workshop and its participants, and delineates the unfolding of a community-based assessment project in the three communities.

3.1 THE WORKSHOP

Beginning on Monday, October 7, 1996, over 180 community members, government and NGO representatives came together in Motowke to implement the first step in UNICEF's Triple "A" Process. A list of participants appears in Appendix F. Hosted by UNICEF and initiated by a formal ceremony at which Dr. G.K.T. Chiepe, Minister of Education gave a keynote address, the workshop extended over a period of two weeks. (A copy of Dr. Chiepe's speech appears in Appendix B). Through UNICEF's recruitment efforts, this training and research effort brought together participants who represented five communities, four NGOs, and 11 governmental departments.

Community mobilisers, split almost evenly between men and women and across age groups ranging from late teenagers to adults to elders, were selected from all wards in Motokwe, Khekhenye and Tshwaane, with the assistance of the kgosi and/or local extension workers. As stated in UNICEF's "Integrated Community-Based Strategy" (1996:3), "A major criterial attribute in selection of community mobilisers will be their ability to influence and/or their individual interest in child welfare issues. The number of community mobilisers per ward will depend on the size of the population in each ward." Forty two residents of the Motokwe participated, including members of the Village-Development Committee (VDC), the Village-Health Committee (VHC), the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA), the Farmers' Committee, the Crime-Prevention Committee, literacy teachers, the primary-school's teaching staff, and the general community. Khekhenye's 10 representatives included members of the Village Action Committee (VAC) and community members. The eight members of the Tshwaane contingent included members of the Village Action Committee (VAC), the Village Health Committee (VHC), a literacy group leader, and community members. In addition, 13 members of the Xaudane community and four members of Tsetseng participated.

Recognising the need to strengthen working relationships among government and non-governmental representatives who are concerned with the well being of the Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) and members of the RAD communities themselves, extension officers, district and national-level government representatives were also invited by the District Council to participate in the two-week session. The guiding principle here is that by providing extension officers with more intimate and sustained exposure to the lives and practices of RADs within their own jurisdiction, they will be better able to contextualise and understand the problems and responses of community members that they are assigned to assist. And by providing the opportunity for local and district-level

officers, NGO representatives, and community members to work hand in hand in identifying community problems and needs, relationships are fostered that are based upon real and sustained interactions, rather than in stereotypes, initial and preliminary impressions, or in local beliefs. Extension officers represented the Ministry of Education's Department of Non-Formal Education, Primary Education, Special Education Division, Women's Affairs Department, Teacher Training and Development, Educational Broadcasting, Social and Community Development (S&CD), the Teacher Training Colleges, the secondary school in Kang, the Museum, and the Department of Animal Health. NGOs represented included Veld Products, Kuru Trust, Tirisanyo Catholic Commission, and Child to Child Network. In collaboration with the district council and RAD office, UNICEF provided funds for meals and lodging for all participants during the two-week workshop. UNICEF also arranged for the video taping of sessions by the government's Teacher Education Department.

Over the two-week period, participants heard overviews about UNICEF, the determinants of child survival, and other NGOs working in the area, discussed culture and their own cultural practices, were introduced to the concepts and tools utilized in gathering data, and actually went out into each of the three communities to talk with community members and collect information about education, health care, economic activity, water and sanitation needs and practices. Sessions were multi-lingual, a combination of Setswana, Sesarwa languages, and English, depending upon the speaker, and translations moved back and forth between languages as needed. (The workshop overview and programme appears in Appendix C.)

3.2 INTRODUCING TRIPLE "A"

The two week-workshop was formally opened by the Honorable Minister of Education, Dr. G. K. T. Chiepe. After the morning's ceremonies, the workshop began with the writing of workshop objectives, facilitated by UNICEF Project Officer Pearl Matume. The objectives for the entire workshop were identified as:

- to understand and apply Triple A Assessment, Analysis, and Action;
- to understand the determinants of child survival, development, protection, and participation;
- to understand inter-sectoral linkages (local and central government and NGOs) and how UNICEF's program relates to them;
- to understand methodologies on information collection and analysis;
- to understand UNICEF private sector initiative.

The process for accomplishing these objectives was outlined as:

- Raising empathy and generating sensitivity on issues affecting the well-being of children, and particularly those of RAD girls;

- Building a team comprising of children, extension workers, community mobilisers, central and local government, and non-governmental organizations;
- Theoretical training on Triple "A" and action methodologies and principles.

Each morning and afternoon of the next three days was dedicated to specific topics that were tied to the workshops' objectives. The workshop format for these first days revolved around general discussion, small group work, report backs to the large group (including role plays, didactic stories), and summaries of the session activities. Day two began with a cross cultural exploration by the workshop participants, and was followed by presentations from the Ministry of Finance, Development, and Planning, Tirisanyo Catholic Commission, Letlhakeng Sub-District, UNICEF's Private Initiative, Kuru Development Trust in the afternoon.

Day three focused on the Determinants of Child Survival and was grounded in the following objectives:

- to understand the Determinants of Child Welfare within the context of the conceptual framework;
- to understand the basics in the Convention of the Rights of Children;
- to realize the need for integration and coordination in activities related to the promotion of child welfare.

Facilitated by UNICEF Project Officer Pearl Matume, the morning session began with an introduction to the rights of children, and a discussion of children's need for a safe up-bringing, sound development, assured security, healthy interactions, life, health, cleanliness, a good living, time to play, education, a national and ethnic identity, parental support. The participants then divided into groups around their membership in the Village Development Committee, Village Health Committee, Parent Teachers Association, and Non-Governmental Organizations, and their roles as teachers, traditional leaders, youth, and parents to address what each group does "to bring up the child." Report backs to the large group were in the form of role plays. During the day's summary, the facilitator stressed the inter-relatedness of the groups in the care of children.

Day four moved the focus to Triple "A," with the morning dedicated to an overview of Triple "A" by UNICEF Project Officer Pearl Matume. Triple "A", grounded in a Freirean notion of praxis, is based upon a "repeated practice of assessment, action, re-assessment, re-analysis, and renewed/modified action," as delineated in UNICEF's draft on community-based strategies. Always rooted in the communities' own reference points, talk about the use of Triple "A" as a planning tool began by inserting it into a framework of existing practice. The importance of each step, assessment, analysis, and action, was emphasized, and the problem of poor scholastic results was used as an example to illustrate the strength of the Triple "A" approach.

After this comprehensive overview by UNICEF Project Officers, the workshop was handed over to the consultancy team, who began by outlining the research-focused objectives for the remainder of the workshop. They were:

- to give communities skills and knowledge to use research processes as an empowerment tool in developing their communities;
- to gain skills and participate in gathering information to inform problem solving skills and development planning;
- to help government workers gain skills that will enable them to better understand and work with the communities to which they are assigned.

Workshop participants first discussed the "usual" ways of identifying problems in either their households or in the larger communities, and choosing among the kinds of actions they might take. They talked about identifying problems and their manifestations, describing possible causes, and suggesting solutions, adding that the process is not so much systematic, as ad hoc common sense. Triple "A" was related to this local and less formal approach of identifying and solving problems, differentiated only by its deliberateness and systematic-ness. As the facilitators explained, "We are going to be more systematic in using the indigenous approach." After much discussion, consensus was reached that Triple "A" made sense and could be easily built onto local model of problem solving.

Moving the discussion to data-collection tools, participants again talked first about their local practices, gathering information through gossip, questioning, observation, reading the printed word, listening, and discussion, and pointing out that the choice of strategy is determined by the type of information to be gathered. The facilitation team introduced and described interviews, surveys, observations, and focus groups as more formal tools for collecting information, village profiles and the household survey producing broad-based descriptions of each community across sectors and cultural groups, observations providing information on what happens locally, and interviews and focus groups yielding details about both what people do and what their actions mean to them. The focus again was on the relationships between informal methods and these more systematic research. Dividing themselves into four methods-based groups, participants chose one of these four tools to gather information about Motokwe, Tshwaane, and Khekhenye. Each group identified areas on which they wanted to focus, and designed questions within each area to guide their data collection. Extension officers, NGO representatives, and members of all represented communities worked side by side in the four groups, negotiating all necessary divisions of labour amongst themselves. While this was the first time that the great majority of participants worked closely across status lines, the groups quickly became autonomous units in their planning and discussions of information-gathering strategies. This group work was interspersed with whole group sessions, in which participants discussed basic protocols concerning interaction with potential informants. Role plays and simulations were enacted, demonstrating ways of identifying and accessing informants and using each tool.

The remaining week and a half of the workshop was completely action-oriented. Participants went into the field each morning to interview or observe, and returned each afternoon to organize the data and share the newly collected information across teams. They also kept journals during the two week workshop, some writing about their feelings,

concerns, and experiences, others drawing pictures of themselves or their surroundings. These journals had a three-fold purpose. They provided participants with a personal forum for their own reflections on their participation in this research process, they offered a critique of and recommendations on the research itself, and they have become yet another source of data about the community. (See Appendix D for selected journal entries).

3.3 THE DATA COLLECTION TEAMS

3.3.1 Village Profile

A team of approximately 24 workshop participants, including both community members and extension officers, gathered information to assemble village profiles of Motokwe, Tshwaane, and Khekhenye, providing an over-all description of each community and its infrastructure. Team members identified segments of each community from which they wanted information (including the school, water sources, the customary court, the community hall, non-formal education, the clinic or health post, toilets, the cooperative and other shops, committees, the number of kind of disabilities individuals suffer). They then listed questions to ask about each area. Their questions, in their own words, included:

Clinic: Is there any clinic? How does it help? How is it working with the people? Do people like traditional doctors or the ones at the clinic? Are there any medicines?

School: Is there any school? How is it helping? How are the students' results? How many students are there in the school? Are there any classrooms? Which grades does it have? How many boys and girls attend? Are there any toilets? Are teachers qualified? Do students attend school? Are there facilities?

Village Development Committee: Is it there? Is it strong? What is its duty? How is it doing? When was it formed?

Parents Teachers Association: Is it there? Is it working well? How is it helping? What is its role?

Village Health Committee: Is it there? How is it helping children? Where is it helping? How is it working with the people of the village?

Boreholes: Are there any borehole? What are they used for? If there are no boreholes, why are they not there?

Water taps: How many are they? Are they working well?

Shops: How many are they? What are they selling? When are they opened and what time do they close? How are the prices?

Toilets:	Are they good for health? How many are there? Are they used? Are they clean?
Non-formal:	Is it there? What is it doing? Is it important? How many people attend the lessons? How many drop-outs are there?
Disabled:	Are they there? What kind? From where do they get help?
Post Office:	Is there a post office? Who is it important? Are there facilities? Is it in use? How is the relationship between the people and the post office employees?
Teenage pregnancy:	Is there any problem of this kind? What part do parents play? How can we reduce or solve this problem?
Co-operative:	Is there a cooperative in the community? What kind is it? Does it relate well to the people of the village? What do you do to become a member? Is it selling the necessary things to the villagers? What are the profits to its members?
Farmers' Committee:	Is there a farmers' committee? How does it help people? Are people interested in it?
Farms:	Are people given land by the land board or do they just farm there without formal deeds to the land? Do they farm or plant anything there? Are the people benefiting from them? What do they farm? Where do they get assistance?
Cattle posts:	Are there any cattle posts in the vicinity? What is their duty? Who owns them? What do they rear there? Are there any boreholes?

Team members clustered themselves into three groups around these topics, and throughout the next week, collected information by observing village life and talking with people in each of the three communities.

3.3.2 Interviews

In order to obtain more in-depth information about particular facets of life in the three communities, a team of approximately 17 community members and extension officers volunteered to conduct interviews with selected individuals from Motokwe, Khekhenye, and Tshwaane. As a group, they identified community members to interview, and developed a list of questions for each respondent. An outline of their questions follows:

Police:	What is your duty in the village? What facilities exist in the community? Describe any criminal activity in the community. Who normally engages in criminal activities (e.g. teenagers, elders)?
Nurse:	How is the health in general in the village?

What	What are the most common diseases contracted in the village? What causes them?
	Do people understand how to prevent these diseases?
Kgosi:	In what development efforts has the village been involved? What are their status?
	How do you work with the people in your community?
	Describe the people who live in the community.
VDC Chairman:	In what development efforts has the village been involved? What are their status?
	What problems do people face in the village?
	To what facilities do community members have access? What facilities that are needed?
	What is the VDC doing to obtain access to those necessary facilities?
PTA Chairman:	Describe the relationship between teachers and parents.
	What problems exist between teachers and parents?
	What role does the PTA in the care of children residing in the hostels?
Community members:	What is your role in village development efforts?

The group then divided themselves into three smaller sub-teams of six, six, and five members, ensuring that each sub-team included at least one member who could assume the reading and writing responsibilities. They interviewed:

- two parents in Khekhenye, four in Tshwaane, and one working on "the farms;"
- 13 school leavers at both the primary and JC levels, nine (six girls and three boys) in Motokwe, and four (one girl and three boys) in Khekhenye
- the dikgosi of all three communities
- A VDC member, the nurse, a police officer, a member of the Motokwe PTA, the senior teacher at the primary school, and the social worker in Motokwe;
- Four villagers in Motokwe.

In addition to these group interviews, the consultants re-visited the dikgosi, interviewed the nurse, four teachers (including the senior teacher), the social worker, postal workers, community members in Khekhenye and Tshwaane, the caretaker and students living at the hostel in Motowke, the hostel caretaker in Dutlwe, the Literacy Assistant from the Department of Non-Formal Education based in Motokwe, and parents and residents in each community.

3.3.3 Household Survey

A team of approximately 30 individuals, including both community members and extension workers, volunteered to conduct a household survey in the three communities in order to obtain information from a large segment of the population on a wide variety of sectoral issues. A copy of survey instrument appears in Appendix E. The team began by reviewing a survey instrument that had been designed by the research facilitators, discussing each question in-depth in order to gain a real understanding of the kind of information that their questions would elicit.[4] They then enacted role plays to practice introducing themselves and explaining their purpose as village researchers to their informants, they discussed anticipated difficulties, and brainstormed possible strategies to obtain the information they desired. This larger group subsequently divided itself into eight mixed-gender teams of two to three members, ascertaining that each team included at least one potential scribe.

The survey was targeted at 30% of the households in each of the three communities (i.e. 78 households in Motokwe, 14 in Khekhenye, and 36 in Tshwaane), and over a five day period the survey sub-teams collected data on a total of 149 households, 106 in Motokwe, 16 in Khekhenye, 27 in Tshwaane). Concentrating on one community until the targeted number of households had been surveyed, the teams began in Motokwe, and then moved to Khekhenye and Tshwaane, using the same sampling technique in each community. Setting out in different directions, sub-teams interviewed at least one individual in each occupied compound. Although the target number if survey respondents was not reached in Tshwaane, the interviewers literally interviewed everyone who was in the settlement. Going compound to compound over the two days, teams interviewed someone in every compound that was inhabited.

Data collected during the household survey in Motokwe, Khekhenye, and Tshwaane focused on the demographics and history of each household, family members' educational experiences, health care practices, languages spoken, household economics, nutritional data, and sanitation facilities.

3.3.4 Focus Groups

A team of approximately 20 men and women, including both community members and government representatives, conducted a series of focus group interviews with particular community members and government representatives in order to gather a range of in-depth perspectives on particular issues that affect the community. By interviewing one or more community member simultaneously, the focus group was able to probe deeply into specific issues to obtain a more complete picture of education in

[4] The household survey was multi-sectoral, and was developed to address questions relating both to educational concerns and other sectors on which UNICEF may focus in the future.

Motokwe. "This focus group is for those who wanted to discuss issues," explained team one member.

The focus group investigated the differing perspectives of Basarwa and Bakgalagadi parents on dropping out of school, on Basarwa children's participation in school, and on hostel life. After compiling these diverse perspectives, the group interviewed Basarwa parents and elders from both Tshwaane and Khekhenye, in order to provide space for and obtaining information from voices that are often silenced in larger community discussions.

3.3.5 Observation

Approximately 18 men and women, representing the communities, NGOs, and government, observed throughout the three localities in order to document what people do in their everyday lives. Like the other teams, the observers first listed village sites at which they wanted to observe, and then detailed characteristics of or specific parts of each setting on which they intended to focus. Breaking into two sub-teams with at least one scribe in each group, the members observed activities at:

- kgotlas
- standpipes and watering holes
- clinic and health posts
- the school in Motokwe
- the hostel in Motokwe
- the post office in Motokwe
- surrounding farms

Their observations provided another layer of information on the communities' activities that complements individual and focus-group interviews and data from the household survey. In addition, consultants observed village and settlement life, hostel activities, clinic practice, and school-related activities.

3.4 EVALUATION OF THE PROCESS

The workshop was very well attended, ranging from 150 men and women during the opening ceremony to the 94 individuals who actively participated throughout the two weeks. Participants represented a wide range of perspectives cutting across organizational, ethnic, economic, gender, and age lines. Men and women, youth and elders, Basarwa and Bakgalagadi, community members, governmental, and non-governmental representatives all spoke openly about community concerns, and all participated in gathering information across communities. As the next sections illustrate, for many, the experience was transformative, through which they gained new competencies and re-framed ways of viewing community and development. Yet the workshops also highlighted challenges that accompany participant research. As Sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4 illustrate, when community members begin taking control of their own development, the role of donor becomes complicated and questions about control of the process arise. Donors also need to be aware that development work can be politically charged. At the very heart of community-based development is the redistribution of power and resources to those who have had little access in the past. Working with Basarwa in Botswana is highly contentious, and political divisions within the communities themselves, as well as between communities and local and district governments can become problematic if not recognized and addressed.

3.4.1 Creating Post-Field Dissonance

Extending over two weeks, during the first part of week one the workshop focused in a large part on presentations and discussions concerning UNICEF, governmental departments, and NGO and the way their work relates to determinants of child survival, development, protection, and participation. The purpose of these initial discussions was not only to share experiences and provide information, but also to elicit pre field impressions of the communities from the participants. Epistemologically this meant that a stage was deliberately set from which participants could contrast their pre-field impressions of their own communities with pictures that emerged from their field experiences and data.

At times, the community-based research process confirmed long-held beliefs. But other times it created moments of dissonance, in which individuals were forced to question and re-think their assumptions about their own lives and communities. One example of the contrast between pre-field perceptions and the empirical information that team members collected concerns hostel children's cooking responsibilities. During the workshop, parents of children who reside in RAD hostels complained, "Our children are made to cook for themselves even though the matron is employed to cook for them." However, data gathered during the two weeks by community members themselves revealed that parents wanted hostel life to be as similar to children's homelife as possible. Since parents did not want their children to lose touch with their cultural values and

practices while living away from home during the school year, as at home, girls residing in the hostels should cook. Parents admitted that they were indeed privy to this decision and that they had no misgivings, asserting again that older girls should cook for younger children.

Another example of the contrast in pre-field and post-field experience revolves around differentiating rumour from fact. During the pre-field sessions, parents complained that they had heard that teachers were harassing their children in class. Further investigation by members of the focus group, however, revealed that the children residing in the hostels experienced problems different from those identified earlier by parents. Children complained of internal problems at the hostel, describing situations in which younger children where harassed by older children, who had on several occasions stolen items of clothing from children too small to protect themselves. Hostel dwellers also complained about the harassment they receive from Bakgalagadi children who live in the village, confiding that they are verbally abused as they walk to and from school, and on occasion, pelted with stones because they are perceived as receiving undue benefits from the District Council. Parents were shocked when assumptions they had held were invalidated through their own systematic questioning and observations. Research facilitators and participants discussed the power of systematic data collection in providing grounded information about beliefs and practices, and establishing truths became an important part of the information gathering process.

These and other junctures of dissonance were uncovered as the research unfolded and over the two weeks, what started as surprise over findings became moments of joy, wonder, and expectation. Workshop participants began to look forward to plenary sessions, where they shared and discussed their findings with the larger group. Apart from producing raw data, the research process also yielded intangible, yet invaluable results. Participants gained experience in collecting data, shifted and expanded their outlook concerning their own practice and beliefs and gained confidence in their own skills and abilities. When new facts were unearthed, learning, defined here as a personal paradigm shift, took place. To quote Doris Lessing, "That is what learning is. You suddenly understand something you've understood all your life, but in a new way."

3.4.2 Gaining New Research Competencies

Prior to entry into the field, participants expressed much anxiety that research was an exclusive preserve of experts and consultants. But during two weeks of working together, community members and extension workers, the latter never having participated in previous research projects, became excited about the skills they were acquiring. Involved in the actual process of systematically gathering data, research teams not only acquired experience in asking questions and gathering information, but they also gained the much-needed confidence and the self esteem that comes from doing it. Roles were modified as community members moved "from passive, dependent beneficiaries to active participants" in their own research process. They were empowered, and as the consultation paper correctly asserts, community empowerment is the key to establishing self-standing, rural-development initiatives capable of attracting strong, local leadership and commitment (Government of Botswana 1995:11).

3.4.3 The Role of Extension Officers

Importantly too, the roles of both community and extension workers were reversed. Community members were no longer objects of research; they were active participants, moving house to house, village to village, collecting information on their own lives. Similarly, extension workers moved from their role of expert to the new position of co-learner alongside the community members they are assigned to serve. For many, this role shift was disorienting and uncomfortable. Working hand in hand with community members for the first time, extension workers were forced to confront a situation in which they were no longer the sole reservoir of knowledge, and in which they did not have all the answers. For some, this shift was exciting and thought provoking. For others who were not ready to give up the power inherent in the expert role, it was uncomfortable and even painful.

Lack of orientation for extension officers prior to the workshop contributed to this ill ease. While UNICEF representatives made numerous efforts to gather together government and non-governmental representatives in Gaborone before the workshop, many of those in attendance in Gaborone either did not visit Motokwe at all, or stayed only for the opening ceremony. They sent junior officers, who were unprepared for both Motokwe's arduous conditions and the disorientation that came with shifting status positions and roles. While the participation of extension workers and other government representatives is essential, those who attend future assessments must be oriented, and those who are oriented should attend. The strength of the participatory process rests with individuals who participate willingly, not because they are forced by superiors. The challenge of eliciting equal participation by and support of government, NGO and community has long been a challenge in community-based development. Time and energy must be invested in working with community members to identify who should be

involved in the process and in recruiting and orienting those extension workers and NGO representatives.

Attaining a personal balance is always difficult as individuals felt thrust into completely new roles. Yet despite the personal tensions, out of the two-week process in Motokwe emerged a genuine spirit of cooperation, of working together to better understand the communities and their problems. The blurring of roles and distinctions helped foster a spirit of collaboration, a fast-disappearing resource in rural development. These high levels of collaboration put in high relief the possibilities and opportunities that await UNICEF's proposed community-based program to improve the lives of the area's children.

3.4.4 Analysis, the Next Stage

Another difficulty arose from the strict bifurcation of the next stage of the Triple "A" process, analysis, from the assessment activities. Despite Motokwe's afternoon heat, its dust storms and two weeks away from family members and friends, participants became engrossed in this learning process and they voiced much excitement about moving into the second "A," the analysis stage of UNICEF's Triple "A" approach. However, UNICEF representatives were explicit in their desire to limit the workshop to assessment activities, postponing this second analysis phase until UNICEF's staff members reviewed this first round of data. Interrupting the process was disheartening for many. Assessment and analysis are inextricably linked within an interpretive framework. The gathering of information requires constant analysis in order to learn what additional information is required, what gaps exist in the data, and what supplemental questions need be asked. One old man, an active member of the workshop, commented cryptically, "This postponement is like an interrupted orgasm."

The long break between assessment and analysis and action will certainly disrupt, if not quell much of the excitement that was raised during this first phase, and bringing participants to the level of enthusiasm they manifested at the end of the assessment phase will be a real challenge. Community members may grow increasingly cynical of research processes as they continue to invest in research without seeing many visible results. For Motokwe and Khekhenye residents, the community-based assessment followed PRA exercises that took place in the communities in 1995; many community members voiced feelings of being over researched. The smooth movement from assessment to analysis and action is essential to keep control of the development process in the hands of the community. Interrupting the cycle while the consultants write up a formal report and donor's specialists analyze data takes control away from communities and puts the donor in a role formerly occupied by central government.

3.4.4 The Data

While community-based research increases community members' role in the development process and strengthens the community as a whole, the data that is produced may not be as detailed or as accurate as that obtained by econometricians or trained ethnographers. Consultants can expose community members to research and methodology and methods, and can provide opportunities for individuals to practice and gain experience gathering information about their own communities. However, community members are not trained professionals. Many are illiterate, and others may not be accustomed to the level of specificity and particularity required by donor funded data collection. Information itself is culturally specific, and what western-based donors require may differ from what remote communities value or prioritize. While UNICEF officials requested a wide range of information on the three communities, for instance, participant researchers complained constantly that gathering the kind of data required was burdensome to them and their community informants.

Giving control back to communities implies giving up complete control not only of the development projects initiated in a community, but also of the information required to make development related decisions. It requires a trade-off that can feel uncomfortable to donors and implementing agencies. Augmenting community-gathered information with data collected in preliminary and follow-up visits conducted by a team of researchers and trained assistants can relieve some of these data-related issues. However, in order to avoid community members' feelings of being over probed and over researched, decisions also need to be made up-front concerning what data is essential and what is tangential to the project.

3.4.6 Local Politics

Political divisions surfaced during the workshops that were difficult to address within the scope of this project. Much of the contention stemmed from a history of inequitable power and resource distribution, with the Basarwa participants complaining about past injustices suffered at the hands of their Bakgalagadi neighbors, ill-treatment of Basarwa workers on Bakgalagadi farms, and the disproportionate amount of development funding allocated to Motokwe, to the detriment of the nearby settlements. These concerns surfaced in large group discussions, in questions about inviting Basarwa farmworkers to the workshop, and in formal and informal interviews with Basarwa members of all three communities. While remarks must be aired and voices must be given space, the ethnic-based rifts have been deeply drawn over long years. The plight of the Basarwa has been a contentious issue in Botswana over the past one hundred years, and cannot be settled over the course of two weeks. Like all real contexts, social interactions in Motokwe, Khekhenye, and Tshwaane area are both political and volatile.

Although the kgotla, a traditional Tswana forum for eliciting opinions of community members on issues that affect the village as a whole, is often described as a

forum for community participation, in practice, kgotlas are not completely neutral. Some individuals feel more comfortable than others in expressing their views publicly, with this level of comfort often mapping over economic status, gender, and ethnicity. Like other places in Botswana, the kgotla remains the main forum for discussing issues in the Motokwe area. However, views on Basarwa issues that are expressed at the kgotla tend to be those of Bakgalagadi, who have greater control of both political and economic resources than their Basarwa neighbors. As opinion leaders in the community, they are often seen as conduits to the community itself, the usual practice in Botswana's rural development, as well as in development literature in general. While not completely disagreeing with the practice of working through community leaders, it is also fair to say that their opinions should be problematised, rather than assumed to be the only truths.

Social interactions between community and local government can also be contentious. Botswana's RAD programmes signify additional funds for cash strapped districts, and increased community control of development within RADP districts can unnerve district and local officials. Careful consideration needs to be given to potential divisions between communities, as well as those between communities and government. While the needs of Basarwa residents, arising from past and present treatment by government and other groups within Botswana, must be addressed, a real challenge lies in balancing the concerns of the area's Basarwa residents, their neighbors, and government representatives.

SECTION 4: ASSESSMENT RESULTS

SECTION 4: ASSESSMENT RESULTS

Section Four of this report presents a comprehensive portrait of education in and around the Motokwe area, in order to provide a better understanding of the way "the provision of basic education" unfolds in one remote setting. Synthesizing qualitative data on the experiences and perspectives of children, parents, teachers, and community members with quantitative data collected during this project, it describes the area's current status of education, focusing on issues of both quality and access, and highlights those junctures where the provision of education in and of itself does not assure access or quality. Indicators for education used in this section include: class size, teacher-student ratios, enrollment, pass, continuation, and drop-out rates, school resources and equipment, levels of teacher training, and classrooms per school.

4.1 CURRENT STATUS

4.1.1 School Infrastructure

Although both Khekhenye and Tshwaane are RADs, and thus not held to the 500 people minimum required by government to build a primary school, no primary schools have been built in either settlement. The primary school in the Motokwe area provides education for the children from both Motokwe and Khekhenye as well as for a small percentage of school-going children from the settlement of Tshwaane, 40 km from the school.[5]

A total of 479 students, 251 boys and 228 girls attend the Motokwe school, with 118 of the settlements' children residing in a RAD hostel that was built behind the school compound in 1992. The Motokwe school is stretched beyond capacity in order to accommodate children from these three communities. With 16 teachers, the teacher-student ratio is 1 to 30, exceeding the district average ratio of 1 to 26 (Central Statistics Office, 1995). As Chart 3.1 illustrates, classes in the school average 30 children but range widely in size from 25 to 41 children, with the most populated classes in standards three and one.

[5] The remainder of school-age children from Tshwaane currently attend school in Dutlwe, approximately 30 km. from that settlement. While a RAD hostel has not been built in Dutlwe, RADP rents several VDC houses in the village that serve as a hostel for 118 RAD children, 105 of whom are from Tshwaane, attending Dutlwe's school.

Chart 4.1: Class Size, Motokwe Primary School

Class	Total Students
Standard 1A	37
Standard 1B	37
Standard 2A	28
Standard 2B	27
Standard 2C	26
Standard 3A	38
Standard 3B	41
Standard 4A	26
Standard 4B	28
Standard 4C	25
Standard 5A	30
Standard 5B	30
Standard 6A	26
Standard 6B	23
Standard 7A	28
Standard 7B	30
AVERAGE CLASS SIZE	**30**

Source: Motokwe Primary School Establishment Register

In order to be on par with this district average, two additional teachers are needed. However, like most primary schools in rural Botswana, the Motokwe primary school also has a shortage of classrooms and has no place to accommodate any additional classes or teachers. While the school hosts 16 streams of children from standards 1 through 7, it has only 12 classrooms.[6] The space problem is solved locally by having students in the four surplus classes arrive at school at 10:30 am, meet outside for two hours, and move into classrooms at 12:30 that are then vacated by other classes. But as several teachers commented, "It is hard to progress if the students are learning outside."

It is clear that only by juggling overcrowded classrooms can the school's existing infrastructure provide ample access for the area's children. While these tight conditions may stimulate creative solutions for the shortage of space, they can also have a negative effect on the quality of education that the school can provide. When classrooms are crowded, students compete with each other for teachers' attention. Since competition for space and voice always results in winners and losers, this over-crowding may result in the silencing of children who feel least comfortable in school (e.g. girls, RAD children).

While the infrastructure itself is in relatively good condition, the school has no office space, teachers' room, library, tutorial or counseling facilities outside the

[6] At 25%, this shortage of classrooms is slightly better than the national rate of 29% (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 1995).

classroom. Quality of education is affected by the lack of these additional learning facilities. Children have no place to access books or other supports, and even though heat and frequent sand storms often make the compound virtually uninhabitable, any extra-curriculum activity (e.g. physical education, assemblies, teacher preparation) takes place outside in the school compound. While infrastructure alone cannot ensure the provision of quality education, it is a reflection of both the wealth of a school and the value placed upon its students. Lack of books and other resources for children's use, lack of a well-lit place to read, study, or seek additional academic or personal support outside the classroom inarguably contributes to an environment in which rote, rather than real learning, is prioritized, and in which children are accommodated, rather than supported.

4.1.2 Teaching Staff

Teachers' own education, experiences, and attitudes toward learning and teaching play a vital part in the educational experiences of their students. As mentioned in the previous section, ten men and six women, all from outside the community, have been assigned to teach at the primary school in Motokwe. The staff as a whole brings ample experience to the classroom. Teaching experience at the school averages 8.625 years per teacher and ranges from 0 to 22 years. This experience is also evenly divided among high and low standards, providing what appears to be ample support for new teachers.

Chart 4.2 illustrates this range of experience by number of teachers and by standard.

Chart 4.2: Teacher Experience by Number of Teachers and Standard

Teaching Experience	Number of Teachers	Standards Taught
22 years	2	standards 1, 4
16 years	2	standards 3, 4
12 years	2	standards 2, 3
8 years	1	standard 5
7 years	1	standard 6
6 years	1	standard 7
4 years	3	standards 2, 2, and 7
3 years	1	standard 6
2 years	1	standard 5
no prior experience	2	standards 1, 3

Source: Motokwe Primary School Establishment Register

Teachers however, articulate the need for additional training to better respond to the particular needs of their students. Without this additional training, access to education is hindered and the quality of education provided by the school suffers. At present, all but one teacher has obtained her Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC), and she holds a semi-PTC.

Language differences between teachers and students critically restrict children's classroom learning, particularly for children in the early standards. The Motokwe area is a pluralist mix, a melding of two main Bakgalagadi sub-tribes, the Bashaga and the Babolongwe, and three different Basarwa groups, the Tlasi, the Kute, and the Kuera, as well as teachers and government workers who represent a range of Tswana or Kalanga groups. According to the household survey conducted as part of this project, none of the 149 households surveyed use Setswana as their first language, and 89, or 59% speak no Setswana at all in the home. Yet Botswana's educational policy states that all instruction must be in Setswana beginning in standard one, with English introduced slowly starting in standard 3. For young children entering school in Motokwe, language becomes a real barrier to full access to education. Since the first years of schooling in Botswana are Setswana medium, the language teaching strategy is immersion, and the area has no pre-school programmes to prepare children for school or for these linguistic differences, children spend the majority of their first two school years understanding neither their teachers nor their text. "Most students who come to school have difficulty with Setswana," explained the primary school teachers. "It's the first time they've heard it spoken." They added, "Even Bakgalagadi don't speak Setswana until they come to school. Sometimes if you are not Mokgalagadi, you can't understand anything they say. And your job is to teach many subjects." No one has received any training to assist the children in the challenges of learning a new language. "In TTC we were taught how to teach slow learners," a teacher explained. "But we have problems in this place, since Setswana is their second language." While all teachers' lack of training in teaching Setswana as a second language, and requisite lack of strategies to assist the children in their learning Setswana severely restricts their student's access to classroom activities, assigning a teacher with no previous teaching experience to a standard one class only amplifies the gap in comprehension.

Teachers lack of specialized training also impacts upon children with learning disabilities or physical challenges. One deaf girl and one mentally retarded boy attend the primary school in Motokwe, and both are mainstreamed in regular classes. While these children have been granted formal access to school, their access to the substance of school is limited by teachers' lack of training and experience in special education. No staff member at the school knows any of the standard modes of communicating with the deaf, and teachers have had no training in developing learning tools for retarded children. A teacher explained:

> We want training. To specialise in Special Education. We have a child here, we can't help her properly because we don't have the skills. There's a deaf girl and a mentally retarded boy from Motokwe, they are in regular classes. At home they communicate by activities. But we have had very

> little parental assistance. They just say she's deaf, we have to find ways to deal with her ourselves. For the mentally retarded child, we didn't know anything. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

The quality of instruction is also affected by teachers' lack of insider knowledge of local practice. Norms concerning gender, learning and teaching, and adult-child interactions differ across cultural groups, and while teachers described cultural and socio-linguistic discontinuities between themselves and their students that stem from these differences, they could not articulate strategies for helping children cope with the difficulties that ensue. Culturally-grounded interactional difficulties make classrooms places of friction and can negatively influence both teachers' treatment and perceptions of children and children's performance in school.

4.1.3 Curriculum

In Botswana, the classroom syllabus and curriculum are centrally developed, standardized, and exam-driven, without any allowances for variation across urban and rural locations, for language differences or ethnic origins. Children enrolled in Motokwe's school are far from Gaborone in terms of geographic distance and cultural capital and their lack of exposure to concepts embedded in the curriculum affects both the quality of their participation in the classroom and their performance on exams. As one teacher explained:

> They don't know certain ideas. We need to provide transportation to take students to see things. They don't know what is a museum, an abattoir, even though we read a story "A Trip to a Abattoir." Parliament. "A trip on a train," they don't know what a train is. When the exams come, they are talking about the train. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

Students in Motokwe's primary school and RAD children in particular are geographically and culturally marginalised from Botswana's mainstream norms and knowledge, and the curriculum's dependence upon culturally-referenced vocabulary and concepts puts them at a serious disadvantage. Yet no provisions have been made to increase their exposure to the world outside their communities. No funds are available for field trips to other parts of the country, and children have neither the opportunity nor the money to travel outside the district. Since the school lacks audiovisual equipment (e.g. slide projects, videos, film projectors, TVs) and a library, visual references are also at a minimum. Currently organized after-school clubs include the Drama Club and 4B. While the clubs provide some extra-curricular support and can potentially validate cultural practices (i.e. by involving children in dramas, songs, and craft making), children who reside in the hostels lack organized recreational activities that provide academic stimulation and recreational opportunities.

The culturally-based curriculum and exam system also continue to make language differences salient through the seventh grade, where teachers assert that the children's limited vocabulary forces them to grope for words when taking the exam.

> If a Mokgalagadi child uses a Sekalagadi word because he doesn't know the Setswana word it is wrong. The problem is the exam markers are from Gaborone. They do not represent different cultures. We need markers from different tribes. They need to be more respectful of different cultures. Different cultural groups should be represented. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

School children in Motokwe compete with children from all over the country, yet they have neither the resource supports nor the experiences of those children. Reliance on a national curriculum without the provision of extra academic resources and supports both penalizes children in the country's remote areas for regional differences and minimizes their local knowledge.

4.1.4 Hostels

While neither Khekhenye and Tshwaane have been officially declared remote-area dweller settlements, most children from both communities are considered Remote Area Dwellers, and as such, are given the opportunity to reside in RAD hostels during the school year in order to ensure their proximity to educational facilities. While the country's education policy does not afford any special consideration for the physical support of RAD children, according to RAD policy, the children are also to be provided with school uniforms, nutritionally balanced meals, and transport from the settlement to the school at the beginning of each term. By decreasing the distance these children travel from their homes to school, the hostels have had a positive impact upon school attendance. According to the senior teacher at Motokwe primary school, "The children come to school daily with the [construction of the] hostels. The problem with attendance was when they stayed in their villages." Previous to the construction of the first hostel for RAD children in Motokwe for instance, children walked the ten kilometres from Khekhenye to Motokwe every morning.[7] With the construction of the hostels, the distance children travel to school has decreased drastically, and therefore, their access to school has increased.

Parents in Khekhenye are divided in their opinions on the hostels, and on the household survey, positive and negative responses on the hostels are equal in number. On the positive side, parents recognized that the residential arrangement makes school more accessible for their children. "The hostel is helpful because I'm staying far,"

[7] A temporary hostel was built on the school grounds in Motokwe in 1989. The hostel was moved to its present site behind the school compound in 1992.

explained a Khekhenye parent, with another adding, "Now children do not travel long distances." Parents also welcomed the support (i.e. uniforms, meals) that the RAD program promises to school-going children. "Children are well-fed," explained a Khekhenye mother. A Tshwaane parent asserted, "I wanted them to receive RAD protection."

Yet the implementation of RAD policy is different on paper than it is in practice, and the tension between policy and practice adversely affects children's access to and quality of schooling. Parents essentially hand over their children to officers of the Remote Area Dweller Programme (RADOs), with these officers acting *in loco parentis* during the school year. Yet the officers do not monitor the children with any regularity, nor do they distribute uniforms and other clothes items as outlined in the RAD policy. According to the hostel care taker in Dutlwe, "RADOs don't normally come [to the hostel], only in passing. They haven't come to see the children." RAD children attending school are to receive school uniforms that are purchased with District Council moneys, but the last time uniforms were provided for the children residing in either the Motokwe or the Dutlwe hostel was in 1993. When clothing does come, only 1/3 of the items ordered ever arrive. "I order 15 uniforms," explained the caretaker, "only five are brought. Others go without. Shoes, there are maybe only seven pairs" for the 119 hostel residents. No other clothing is distributed by the RADO officers, and so the children wear the few pieces of clothing they have until they are no longer wearable. The shortage of water at the hostel in Dutlwe compounds this problem. Children are unable to wash their clothes, and so they literally wear them, unwashed, until they fall apart. Because of this clothing shortage, children often go to school in tatters of uniforms. They are sent home by their teachers because of the poor condition of their clothing. They miss school, and since they have no change of clothes, they return to school the next day wearing the same tattered uniforms. "Even one student was sent back this morning going to school with his buttocks out," a caretaker confessed. "I tried to patch them, but it didn't help. The teacher tells them to go back and get their uniforms, but there are none here." Ten students from the Dutlwe hostel are in the process of dropping out of school because of this lack of uniforms. This gap between RAD policy and practice clearly affects children's access to school. While the hostel in Motokwe has a more regular water supply, the situation in there is similar. Children have no shoes. "We want shoes, socks," explained a young girl living in the hostel at Motokwe. "Now it's so hot, we don't have shoes. The sun burns our feet." They have not received uniforms for three years and wear clothes until they are in tatters.

In addition, staffing at both hostels is skeletal at best. Two adults are employed full time at the hostel in Dutlwe, while in Motokwe, only one woman caretaker had been employed up until October 1996.

> They are always alone, they are not encouraged. Even these people of the RAD office don't give them enough paraffin or candles. They don't have a place to study. Only to sleep in their beds with their exercise books.
> (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> Sometimes children from the hostel come to school having nothing to eat. Maybe it's a problem of water, last term there was no water for one week. They don't eat bread, only bread flour, vegetables and meat. Sometimes you find that they are sleepy, or sleeping in class because they haven't eaten. But now there are two care takers, so the children are not cooking in the morning. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

While appreciating their children's proximity to school, conditions of life in the hostel frustrate and anger mothers and fathers who have no voice in the management of the RAD hostels. They complain that the hostels are dirty, and that their children are not well cared for. "They are not in good care," asserted a father from Tshwaane. "No one encourages them to clean themselves." "Children are not well-bathed because no one bathes them," explained a Khekhenye mother. Parents consistently voice the need to have more control over hostel management, and assert again and again that they themselves, rather than strangers from outside the community, should be hired as caretakers, night watchmen, and cooks. Yet their concerns go unattended. When a second matron was finally hired, for instance, Khekhenye community members received no notice of her hiring.

> That's the problem, they hire someone from outside, without asking us, instead of hiring someone from here. We want someone who comes from here. There's been no time anyone has contacted us about our recommendations. We just hear after something is done. (mother, Khekhenye)

> The RADOs just tell us we are not supposed to go and look after the children there. The problem is they don't want us to earn money from the council. (mother, Khekhenye)

Parents and children also complained about the lack of security in the hostels, asserting that it creates a situation of open entry in the evening. No guards are employed at either hostel, and if the caretaker is away, no adult sleeps on the premises. Because of this lack of security, older boys and men from the village have been able to enter the girls' rooms at night, resulting in at least three girls' pregnancy and their subsequent termination from school.

> In as far as I know, three girls have left school due to pregnancy. These pregnancies were caused by their homeboys. There is no support from the boys' parents to the pregnant girls' parents. In fact, in most cases, they start life with new partners. The child gets supported or looked after by the parents. My son was once caught in the girls' rooms. I sent someone to the hostels to discipline him. (father, Khekhenye)

As stated earlier, in Botswana, becoming pregnant translates to immediate expulsion from school for at least one year. For girls especially, this lack of security in the hostels can be devastating.

The hostels are not only skeletal in terms of staff, but are also barren and emotionally cold places. They provide only the barest of supports for children, and offer no academic, physical, or recreational stimuli whatsoever. Children sleep three to a mattress on the floor, 12 to 14 to a room. The rooms have no furniture or decorations of any kind, nothing is present to spark children's interest or curiosity to learn. The hostels have no books or other reading materials, nor any toys or manipulative playthings that would reinforce classroom lessons or newly acquired physical and cognitive skills. The lack of both adult supervision and concern and an environment that encourages creativity and feelings of security has resulted in a government-sponsored living arrangement in which children are neglected emotionally and physically, and are hostile to each other and fearful of others.

Resented by children in the village for their RAD status, and the belief that the status brings unearned wealth, the children's RAD identity is actually exaggerated by their hostel residence, often becoming a point of tension for the children. Girls residing in the hostel in Motokwe complained, "We have a problem. When we walk to school, people from the village will stone us, saying 'These Basarwa are eating the money of the Council alone.' The village children are jealous of us for eating bread. The Bakalagadi kids say we shouldn't be eating rice, that it's just for them because they are superior to us." Both girls and boys talked about the two-sided nature of their RAD status, and their teachers noted that in class the children also segregate themselves across RAD and non-RAD lines. While these differences, constructed around ethnicity and legitimized by RAD status, may not directly affect school access, they weigh heavily on children and affect their self esteem, confidence, and sense of self. For many children, life in the hostel is detrimental to their health, welfare, and their ability to learn.

Both mothers and fathers talked about the painful separation of child from parents that is engendered by hostel life and the inability of young children to care for themselves. Over and over again, in private conversations and large group discussions, parents of children residing in hostels asserted that children below standard 3 should not be separated from their parents. These feelings catalyzed much discussion about the construction of smaller multi-graded schools in each of the settlements for children in standards one through three. Parents in Tshwaane insisted that their already built VDC houses could serve as school structures and parents in Khekhenye voiced their willingness to construct buildings for the purpose of teaching the children in the settlement who are in Standard 3 and below.

4.1.5 Economic Poverty

According to teachers in Motokwe, attendance at school is seasonal. While schools remain open in the winter, the mere provision of formal instruction does not in and of itself ensure access. Winters in the sandy desert of Motokwe are cold, and all the children, both those who reside in Motokwe and those staying in the hostels cannot keep warm. "In winter they desert school. After winter they return," asserted several teachers. Children lack warm clothes and few have shoes. In addition, the hostels in which RAD children reside are in a constant state of disrepair, windows and doors are broken, and both blankets and mattresses are in short supply. In theory children may have access to the school throughout the year, however, in practice that access is limited by poverty, combined with plummeting temperatures. Poverty, compounded by the cold, acts as a barrier to accessing public education.

4.1.6 Parental Interest

Anecdotal evidence suggests that most school-age children in all three communities attend primary school. As the kgosi in Khekhenye asserted, "Everyone sends their children to school. Just the small ones are here. Probably eight years old is time to go." All respondents to both the survey and the in-depth interviews conducted in all three communities stated that their school-eligible children attend or have attended primary school. In practice, the government's messages concerning the importance of education for both personal and national development seems to have made an impact upon area parents. Parents asserted:

> I see a difference between people who go to school and those who don't. The ones who went have a better life. I want my children to be teachers as they were taught. (father, Tshwaane)
>
> I like their education, they can provide income for us. (mother, Khekhenye)
>
> Education can be the wealth no one can take from you. (mother, Tshwaane)
>
> We want our children to be educated, so they can have a future for themselves. (father, Motokwe farms)

The few children who did not attend school were known throughout each community. One Basarwa boy in Tshwaane for instance, had attended standard 1, but would not return to school for the next school year. "We tried to talk to him," explained his father, "but he won't go. He doesn't say anything, just cries. ...His tears run out. We

think he has been bewitched." In this situation, like many of the other encountered cases, parents attempted to send their children to school, and felt helpless when the child refused to attend.

The quality of parental support however, is negatively affected not by their beliefs, but by their own lack of education.

> We don't know how to support the learning efforts of our children. Nobody has ever taught us how to support them. Because of illiteracy among the parents, our children think they know better than us parents. Therefore we don't know how to support them. (parent, Khekhenye)

No support networks or workshops have been facilitated for area parents, literacy classes offered through the Department of Non-Formal Education are not offered regularly in this remote area, and parents from Tshwaane or Khekhenye have neither a role in school activities, nor voice in the school's management. "The PTA is not representative of us parents of children at the hostels," explained one parent. "PTA members are people from Motokwe. It is therefore not fair to say we are not cooperating with PTA."[8] Marginalised from their children's schooling by illiteracy, logistics, and political decisions, parents' best intentions play a positive role in their children's initial enrollment in school, but not in the quality of children's education nor in their continued participation in school.

The preponderance of households headed by single females in the Motokwe area, like Botswana in general, also affects children's ability to participate fully in school. 53% of the households surveyed in all three communities are headed by a single woman, and according to data from the Botswana Orientation Centre (1995b) 62 %, or 161 of Motokwe's 260 households are female headed. Female-headed households are significantly poorer than two parent families. Rates of economic activity are much higher for men than women, for instance. 92% of adult men, versus 45% of adult women identify themselves as economically active outside the home (ibid:15). As Chart 4.3 illustrates, male headed households own at least two times as many goats and cows as female headed households across all three communities.

[8] According to PTA members. "We don't have transport to collect people from their places like Tshwaane and Khekhenye."

Chart 4.3: Average Animal Ownership by Household

5.8.3 Average Animal Ownership

Settlement/ Village	Identified Household Head	Number of Goats	Cattle	Chickens	Donkeys	Horses	Sheep
Khekhenye	Both	2.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Father	5.83	5.00	0.50	2.00	0.00	0.00
	Mother	2.00	0.00	1.17	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Avg.	3.36	1.67	0.56	0.67	0.00	0.00
Motokwe	Both	11.71	16.43	2.71	0.86	0.00	0.00
	Father	8.34	11.74	0.68	1.52	0.20	3.33
	Mother	4.08	6.17	0.33	1.20	0.00	0.00
	Avg.	8.04	11.45	1.24	1.19	0.07	1.11
Tshwaane	Both	5.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
	Father	7.77	6.38	1.00	0.40	1.50	0.00
	Mother	1.62	1.15	1.23	0.29	0.00	0.00
	Avg.	4.80	2.84	0.74	0.56	0.83	0.00
verage for All		5.40	5.32	0.85	0.81	0.30	0.37

Sample size = 149 households

Because of this lack of both economic activity and animal ownership, female heads of households are able to provide far fewer resources for their children than their male counterparts. Children's work is of much value in these households, while adult supervision is at a minimum. According to a UNICEF report (1996:4), life in "solo-parent families... [is] associated with poorer school performance, greater risk of teen pregnancy, higher rates of delinquency, and a worsening of the mental health of both mothers and children."

4.1.7 Disabilities

Children with physical or mental challenges also encounter barriers to basic education in the Motokwe area. While children with physical disabilities were identified in both settlements, all were prevented from attending school by parents or community members. The assumption held in both settlements is that children who are physically or mentally challenged either from birth or after an accident should stay at home, not be sent to school. Two children, a lame boy and a deaf girl, were named in Khekhenye, for instance, but neither has attended school. While villagers in Tshwaane had difficulty quantifying children who were disabled, they asserted that "Most of them are those who are mentally disturbed, those who cannot walk, those who are deaf, and those who are blind. There's no help which they are receiving. We tried to see a social worker to help about this problem, and he told us they are still going around this country counting the disabled, and after that, that's when he'll come and give us feedback." None attend school. Access to school has been consistently denied to these children because of community members' lack of knowledge and understanding about disabilities.

A deaf girl and a mentally retarded boy, both from Motokwe, are attending classes in the village's primary school. Mainstreamed into regular classes, these children have gained physical access to school. However, as delineated in section 4.3, the quality of education with which they are provided is hindered by the teachers' lack of training in special education. No teacher knows any language of the deaf. Teachers communicate to the deaf child by a loose repertoire of signals. The education of the mentally challenged boy is also affected by the teachers' level of training. Without a real understanding of multiple modes of instruction or supplementary learning tools, teachers may not be able to provide a quality education for these special students.

The social worker and clinic nurse in Motokwe are generally aware of these children, but they have not had helped the school deal with the children's special needs.

4.1.8 Gender

While parents talked about sending both daughters and sons to school, attendance in the primary school in Motokwe is slightly lower for girls than for boys. 47% of the school's students are girls, 52% are boys, compared with the national average of 51% girls and 49% boys attending primary school. In fact, as Chart 4.4 illustrates, boys outnumber girls in nine of the school's 16 classes.

Chart 4.4: Ratio of Girls to Boys in Motokwe's Primary School

Class	Total Boys	% Boys	Total Girls	% Girls
Standard 1A	24	65%	13	35%
Standard 1B	23	62%	14	38%
Standard 2A	15	54%	13	46%
Standard 2B	16	59%	11	41%
Standard 2C	13	50%	13	50%
Standard 3A	20	53%	18	47%
Standard 3B	24	58%	17	42%
Standard 4A	10	38%	16	62%
Standard 4B	14	50%	14	50%
Standard 4C	15	60%	10	40%
Standard 5A	14	47%	16	53%
Standard 5B	13	43%	17	57%
Standard 6A	11	42%	15	58%
Standard 6B	13	56%	10	44%
Standard 7A	10	36%	18	64%
Standard 7B	17	57%	13	43%

Source: Motokwe Primary School Establishment Register

Patricia Lone asserts that girls' low attendance relates to their role in the family and the cost to the family of sending girls to school.

> When a poor family considers how much a daughter can help in cleaning, cooking, collecting wood and water, and looking after younger children, and how little opportunity there will be for her to get a paying job even is she is educated, then the returns rarely seem to warrant the expenditure. So it is usually the daughters who are withdrawn from school. (Lone, 1996:29)

According to respondents to the household survey, girls are indeed valuable members of the household, responsible for the care of the compound, cooking for the family, and the collection of firewood and water. Because their responsibilities at the hostel are not so different from those at home, their attention is divided between school work and domestic work, regardless of residence.

Girls also take risks by their mere attendance in school, and the girls living in the RAD hostel in Motokwe regularly voiced concern over their safety. With windows that do not close and doors that don't lock, they are easy prey to men and boys from the village and hostel. "Boys sometimes come in the room at night," explained one 12 year old girl in the Motokwe hostel. "We all beat on them, so they will leave. There's nothing else to do because the door doesn't lock." Girls understand the risks they are facing.

They know that if they become pregnant, they will be forced by government policy to interrupt their education, perhaps forever.

The beginning of menstruation also affects girls' access to school. In Basarwa tradition, a young girl is confined to the house up to four months during her first menstruation. According to Khute participants at the workshop, "When she has her second menstruation, she is kept away again." While the time of seclusion has been shortened to accommodate school-going girls, they nonetheless return home during their first menstruation, flanked by age mates who hide the girl as she walks. According to a teacher:

> When a girl gets her period, she stays home for three to four days. For hostel dwellers, three or four girls will accompany the secluded girl to her village. We just allow them to go. Usually the caretaker finds out for the first time [a girl has her period] and they report it to the school. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

Yet while girls' access to school may be hindered by family circumstances, cultural practices, unsafe conditions, or government policy, girls who attend school do well. According to school records, of the 33 girls at the Motokwe school who took the standard 7 exam in 1995, 23, or 69.9% passed, including one who earned A's in all her subjects. The girls' pass rate is far more impressive than the boys' 31.8% (i.e. 7 of the 23 boys passed). Teachers explained this discrepancy by asserting that boys are "too playful." Regardless of the rationale, test results provide evidence that girls take their schooling seriously, despite the array of outside factors that impedes upon their continued access.

4.1.9 Post-Primary Opportunities

Access to junior secondary school in Botswana is relatively open and fluid. As delineated in the first section of this report, the government's school-building campaign of the 1980s increased the number of community junior secondary schools country-wide from 42 in 1983 to 186 in 1993. Students from the primary school in Motokwe continue on to junior secondary school in Kang, Takatakwane, or Dutlwe, where ample slots are available for even those who failed the standard 7 exam. But the construction of senior secondary schools has not followed this same pace, and in 1992, only 28% of Form 2 completers accessed education beyond community junior secondary school (Central Statistics Office 1995).

Our of school youth were highly visible during the workshop. Nearly one third of the workshop's participants were Junior Certificate (JC) holders, all in their early 20s, all looking for a job, "any kind of job" they explained, and all voicing feelings of hopelessness at their lack of options. Most of these young men and women were average students, obtaining a grade of C, but as one girl offered, "They want only first and second

class at senior secondary." Government policy gives priority to those students who earn first or second class, and the Cs are admitted based upon availability of space. However, space in senior secondary schools is limited, and the schools state that they cannot accommodate these mid-range students. Young people talk of repeating form one and two in the hope of obtaining higher exam results, but repeating junior secondary school in a government school requires a respected advocate (usually in the form of a teacher, head master, or informed and empowered parental figure) who can talk with the school authorities to gain permission for the child to re-enter school. These advocates are rare if not completely unavailable to children of RADs. No private schools operate in the area, and those in other parts of the country are inaccessible because of their cost and location.

There is an explicit shortage of alternative post-school opportunities for youth in the area. The Brigades in Kang offers the only area vocational training, enrolling a total of 157 participants in four tracks (i.e. auto mechanic, metallurgy, carpentry, and building). But despite the Brigades' goal of 3% enrollment of RADs, few youths from either settlement attend its training. To date, one Mosarwa from Kang has completed the Brigades training and is now employed as an instructor in the metal and fabrication division. One young man from Khekhenye also completed the Brigades building course, but as of this project, he had not yet found steady work. The Brigades' enrollment criteria of standard seven and successful performance on a science-oriented aptitude test may contribute to the low attendance rates of RADs.

Formal employment opportunities are also virtually non-existent. The area has few businesses, and even fewer that are in a position to hire employees. While several young people in Khekhenye have participated in sewing and knitting classes through the RADP, no assistance has been provided to start income generating projects and "no one from IFS (Integrated Field Services) ever came to start businesses." Only one income-generating project for youth operates in the area. With funds from Social and Community Development (S & CD), a poultry project, located behind Motokwe's primary school is run by three young people, and produces eight to nine dozen eggs per day. For other youth, subsistence farming and minding cattle for wealthier families are the main economic activities available. Lacking access to post-primary education or outside employment, their inactivity is a waste of the communities' energy and potential resources.

4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The Government of Botswana's school-building campaign of the 1980s and 1990s has ensured broad based access to education from standards one through form two. In the Motokwe area, space in classrooms is available for children from both village and settlement and for those who can sustain themselves through standard 7, entry into community junior secondary school is assured. Despite government's success in providing educational infrastructure, this report has revealed that while physical access is a necessity, it is not sufficient to ensure that all area children are active participants in an educational process that is of high quality and equitable across gender and ethnic group. This section addresses some of the gaps that were delineated in Section 4, and makes preliminary recommendations for UNICEF's educational support in Motokwe, Khekhenye, and Tshwaane. Recommendations for future action are grounded in the data collected during this research project and are organized around the three elements of UNICEF's educational programme: improving the instructional environment, improving the boarding environment, and pre-school preparation.

4.2.1 Improving the Instructional Environment

- While the government primary school in Motokwe provides basic classroom infrastructure for its students, the lack of space and supportive learning facilities continue to inhibit the quality of education children at the school receive. In order to address these limitations, sufficient classroom space and additional resource support are essential considerations. The construction of a real library and learning centre, with solar power as an energy source for instance, would allow children to peruse books and access additional learning materials, and would provide adult learners with the opportunity to study, learn about government programmes, and read books and magazines in the late afternoons and evenings. Battery or solar powered audio-visual equipment can augment the existing curriculum, and along with books, can expose children to life outside the Motokwe confines. Funds for at least one field trip per class per year would provide students with the opportunity to visit the museum in Gaborone, Seretse Khama's centre in Serowe, or the trains in Mahalapye, and through those visits, bring the curriculum to life. Museum staff can bring the world to the classroom by developing museum kits for school use that help children better understand and appreciate their own history and culture.

- The question of medium of instruction is a delicate one in Botswana, yet one that needs to be addressed within this report. Basarwa children experience linguistic problems in their first three years of school, because they do not understand Setswana, the medium of instruction. Rather than an immersion approach, we advocate a gradual, Setswana as a second language learning strategy, with the mother language serving as the dominant language of instruction for at least the first three years of school. In this scenario, children would be slowly introduced to Setswana phrases by teachers who are

trained in Setswana as a second language theory and strategies, while studying math, science, and other academic subjects in the mother tongue. While this recommendation will require additional curricular support, Botswana can learn from Namibia's experiences and borrow from the curricular work that this neighboring country has already produced.

- In terms of content, while parts of the school curriculum need to remain centralized in order to ensure a sense of nationhood and shared history, we advocate localizing aspects of the primary school curriculum, in order to take into account the culture and language of these minority children and involve them fully in their own learning. While the academic content should remain rigorous to allow the children to compete with their peers in other parts of the country, teachers should apply lessons to the local context. Particularly at a young age, the orientation of school subjects must be grounded in the experiences of the children, so they can appreciate that school relates to them as individuals.

- Additional training opportunities for teachers, both to allow them to gain their much sought after diplomas, and to augment their existing skills and knowledge, will also improve the instructional environment. Cultural sensitization will help teachers better understand and value cultural differences, and training in teaching children with special needs will enable teachers to better support learners with physical, mental, or learning challenges. Exposure to theories and methods for teaching Setswana as a second language, and an introduction to Sekgalgadi and local Sesarwa languages, will provide teachers with tools to assist non-Setswana speakers in their classes.

- It is clear that students in Motokwe's primary school would benefit from a more flexible and supportive learning environment, one that values the wealth and diversity of knowledge and traditions that they bring to the classroom. Training parent aides to support teachers in the classroom, assigning a teacher who is knowledgeable in second language learning to the school as an additional resource, bringing the community into the school by inviting parents to teach traditional songs, dances, and skills, are all ways of creating an atmosphere that values difference while respecting government's need to maintain Setswana as medium of instruction. Opening the school to parents and the community by sponsoring events that celebrate local culture through traditional dance, songs, and story telling transforms the school into a place where students and their experiences are valued. Parents can also be organized to both produce literature on local culture for use in classrooms and teacher training and teach basic conversation in Sekgalagadi and local Sesarwa languages to teacher and extension officers.

- Increasing parental support of their children's education is another way to enhance the instructional environment, and is supported by policy statement 13.2 of the Revised National Policy on Education. In addition to an increased role in the classroom, parents from the settlements also voice the desire for greater participation in the school's management. The current PTA is restricted by logistical difficulties to parents in

Motokwe; the exclusion of other parents contributes directly to their marginalisation from school and their children's education, and emphasizes a growing divide between parents and children. Management training for the school's management team (i.e. the PTA, the head teacher, etc.) may help current members understand the importance of opening up the school's structures and provide them with strategies for involving other area parents in the management of the school.

- More accessible education for adults will also increase parents' ability to support their children's education. Parents themselves confessed that their own illiteracy and lack of education experiences hinder them from helping their children with schoolwork. Yet the government's non-formal programme is virtually inactive and no other opportunities exist in the area for adults' education. Responsive educational and vocational programmes for adults, offered at the primary and other convenient locations, through a collaboration among the Department of Non-Formal Education, the National Library Service, the museum, and NGOs, can provide adults with literacy, numeracy, and vocational skills to better help their children in school.

- The provision of income-generating opportunities, including funding availability and small business training and support, is an important part of helping adults become more capable parents. Enabling parents to better support their children financially can translate to a decreased dependence upon child labour, and an increase in their children's participation in school.

- Sustainable income generating opportunities and increased networks to on-going educational opportunities are also important for out of school youth. While children need evidence that education leads to increased opportunities and possibilities, the preponderance of JC leavers idle in the community only serves to disconfirm rhetoric about the power of education. Helping these young people connect with post-JC opportunities draws upon and validates their educational experiences and interests, and will thus improve the educational climate of the entire community.

- Lastly in this section on the instructional environment, we would be remiss if we did not encourage UNICEF to fund small multi-grade settlement schools in both Tshwaane and Khekhenye. Community schools operating in Namibia, Australia, and the United States can provide models for these demonstrations. In sync with the recommendations of the country's National Development Plan 7, Khekhenye and Tshwaane residents were adamant advocates for community schooling of young children up to standard three. Implementing demonstration schools for the lower standards in both communities would afford young children the opportunity to attend schools while staying with their families, and would alleviate the highly contentious situation of accommodating the very youngest of RAD children in hostels. It would also provide government with an opportunity to study the feasibility of the multi-grade school in remote settings.

4.2.2 Improving the Boarding Environment

- While boarding facilities have moved RAD children closer to schools, in practice, hostels currently provide only the most basic of necessities to RAD children, that is, proximity, a roof over their heads, and three meals a day. Both the care that children receive while residing in RAD hostels and the infrastructure of the hostels themselves are unacceptable. Part of the responsibility for the poor conditions of the hostels lies with a lack of clarity in the RAD policy itself. Hostels have long been considered a temporary measure, yet in the interim an entire generation of children has been neglected through inaction. A clear RAD policy concerning government's role in providing equitable education for the country's most remote children, with properly implemented policies, supporting structures, and clear lines of authority, will allow both RAD officers and educators to better assist RAD children.

- At present the educational support for RAD children is shared by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (MLGLH). While the Ministry of Education has provided educational resources, MLGLH has experienced administrative difficulties in distributing school uniforms to RAD children. We encourage a review of the uniform policy, and suggest that the Ministry of Education become more involved in assuring that uniforms are regularly distributed to children.

- If providing residence in hostels remains a strategy for bringing RAD children closer to school, then RAD-sponsored hostels can look to hostels at government senior secondary schools and privately funded schools for children with disabilities as models for infrastructure. Hostels need sturdy and comfortable furniture, electricity, a dependable potable water supply. Security needs to be improved, particularly in the evening, so that men from the village cannot enter without permission. A regular schedule of recreational and extra-curricular activities should be organized at the hostel to support a culture of learning and offer safe physical activities for growing children.

- Staffing is another area that deserves inspection. Staff-children ratios low enough to allow caregivers to provide adequate attention to children, with one adult, preferably from the community, actually living with each "house" of children as a "house parent," will make the hostels more secure for children. Assigning Tirelo Sechaba participants (TSPs) to hostels to support care givers and hiring parents to assist with cooking, security, and child care will provide better care.

- Special attention needs to be focused on girl children who are boarding in the RAD hostels. These girls, living far from home, are at particular risk in a living arrangement in which security is insufficient. Several of the recommendations suggested here (e.g. hiring a night guard, assigning a house parent to each group of hostel) can increase girls' safety. Other interventions can also support the health, education, and

development of girl children. Initiating a mentor programme for instance, matching each girl to a female adult in a responsible position (e.g. teachers, TSPs, health care workers, mid-wives) would provide girls with adult figures on whom they can depend and models for girls' personal and professional development. Special after-school programmes (i.e. focusing on health, safety, educational, and recreational issues) implemented at school or the hostel compound, and designed to address the needs and interests of girl children residing in the hostels can enrich girls' hostel and school experiences.

- Eliciting collaboration from NGOs (e.g. Veld Products, Child to Child), the museum, and even university students to work with hostel children in planting gardens, building play areas, developing a learning and study centre, and implementing after school activities will vastly improve the learning and living environment at hostels, and in turn, stimulate children's curiosity and interest in learning.

- Parents can also play a greater role in hostel management. A Parent Oversight Board, with parents of hostel dwellers elected as members, can help identify, assess, and solve problems related to hostel life. UNICEF can assist in training parents to assume these management positions and in negotiating Board related logistics.

4.2.3 Pre-School Preparation

- Although no pre-schools operate in either the village of Motokwe or the two surrounding settlements, area children would greatly benefit from the preparation for school that pre-schools can provide. Ample documentation exists on the Head Start Programme in the United States has highlighted the educational boost that pre-school can provide to children from families who have been marginalised from mainstream norms. More locally, the Kuru Trust's Bokamoso pre-school programme offers a model for integrating children into the formal school system that has been successful with Basarwa children and could be replicated in the Motokwe area with both Basarwa and Bakgalagadi children (Kuru Development Trust 1995). Providing the area's parents and teachers with the opportunity to visit the pre-school and talk with teachers can help them both understand the role of pre-school in preparing children for school and spur their own discussions on establishing pre-schools in their settlements and village. Collaboration among teachers, community members, and NGOs in initiating local pre-schools can best ensure that channels for communication are established and that pre-schools support and enhance the primary school.

4.2.4 Related Concerns

- Three concerns relate to the recommendations delineated above. The first involves the necessity to design interventions as broadly as possible. Deep divides already exist within and between the communities and by targeting interventions solely at particular groups within the wider community can only serve to intensify existing animosities.

- The second concern centers on the next steps in UNICEF's Triple "A" process. Extensive data waits to be analyzed from this first participatory research project that can provide indicators for future programmatic success. At the same time, however, the involvement of community members and extension officers in analysis and action is essential, and should not be delayed much longer. Implementing both levels of analysis simultaneously, with expert informing community and community informing expert, can move the process forward, ensure analysis of existing data, and maintain the momentum required to design action plans and implement and monitor community and school-based projects.

- Although in theory, the participatory-research strategies outlined in this report are replicable in other remote areas of the country, every village and settlement in Botswana is unique. The particularities of social, political, and geographic contexts will influence the ways in which other training and research projects unfold, and the successful planning and implementation of those future efforts will require preliminary site visits, and flexible and responsive facilitation.

SECTION 5: RAW DATA

SECTION 5. RAW DATA

Section Five is a compilation of quantitative and qualitative data collected during this community-based research project, and supplemented by census data and BOC's prior work in Motokwe and Khekhenye. Village profiles, interviews with teachers, parents of hostel dwellers, hostel dwellers and out of school youth are included, as are tables compiled from household survey data using a Microsoft ®Access Data Base.

5.1 MOTOKWE VILLAGE PROFILE

5.1.1 The People and their Economic Activities

Motokwe, lying across a long salt pan, has an estimated population of 1523, with individuals divided across 260 households, averaging 5.75 children each. Originally residing in the Tsabong, Kang, and Mabuasehuba areas, Motokwe's residents moved to the village's present site in 1958 for its available water supply. Most are members of two main Bakgalagadi sub-tribes, the Bashaga and the Babolongwe, who segregate themselves by ethnicity in the village's seven wards. Three wards are Babolongwe, and four are Bashaga. While a small percentage of Basarwa live on the edge of the village, others are employed on lands owned by the area's Bakgalagadi.

Motokwe is the area's village hub, and according to data from the Central Statistics Office (1991), 61%, or 253 of the men and women between the ages of 20 and 49 are economically active either in the formal employment sector, on cattle posts, at the lands, or are actively seeking work. While 49% of those economically active adults are employed, others rear cattle, farm, brew beer, obtain temporary work in the government's drought relief schemes, or in a few cases, operate family businesses. In addition, 27% of these men and 42% of these women receive remittances from either within or outside Botswana (BOC 1995b). Compounds reported owning an average of eight goats, 11 cows, one chicken and one donkey, but ownership of those animals is widely skewed. Forty eight households report owning no cows for instance, while 39 own ten or more. In addition, male heads of households own two times as many goats and cows as female heads of households.

The cooperative and one privately-owned shop sell an assortment of groceries and clothing, and another smaller, privately-owned "tuck shop" also sells basic food supplies. In addition to these shops, a bar and a liquor restaurant also operate in the village. While Motokwe's informal sector is relatively undeveloped, a few village women sell fat cakes, oranges, seeds and sweets at different locations around the village, a sewing group of six women make dresses, skirts and shirts on an irregular basis, and three youth operate a poultry project that has been sponsored by S&CD.

Individuals also identify themselves as skilled in a range of areas: 19 knit or sew, eight sing, six tell stories, two write and recite praise poems, two are carpenters, two tan skins, two carve horns, one carves wood, one bakes, one roofs houses and one decorates compounds, and one makes jewelry from ostrich eggs. However, neither funds nor

advisory support have been made available for business start-up, and while individuals are occasionally able to use their skills to generate income, none have been able to parley their talents into permanent employment.

5.1.2 Education

Motokwe's local primary school is attended by 479 students, 251 boys and 228 girls from Motokwe and the RAD settlements of Khekhenye and Tshwaane. Accommodating standards 1 through 7, the school has 12 classrooms that house all but four classes, one office, six teachers' quarters shared by the school's 16 teachers, and 11 toilets. The school follows a standardized curriculum, and offers compulsory after-school study hour for all students from 3:30 to 4:30 each day. Students are also participate in the Drama Club and 4B, where they make crafts.

Ethnically Bakgalagadi and Basarwa, few, if any of the students speak Setswana when they begin school. Like other government funded primary schools in Botswana, the medium of instruction is Setswana for the first three years, even though the children themselves state that they require up to two years to communicate fluently in Setswana. In 1995, 30, or 54% of the standard 7 students obtained a passing grade in all subjects, an increase from the pass rate of 41% in 1994. Girls' pass rates were higher than their male counterparts, with 23, or 69.9% of the 33 girls passing in 1995, including one who earned A's in all her subjects, compared with only 7 or 31.8% of the boys passed. Yet according to the senior teacher, pass rates have been inconsequential since the community junior secondary schools in Takatakwane, Kang, and Mabutsane have ample space, and all students who earned a grade of D or higher have been able to continue on to form 1. The school maintains no official records of drop-outs. However, according to anecdotal records, no girls terminated their studies due to pregnancy in 1995. In 1994, however, two girls of a class of approximately 50 children left school when they became pregnant.

The PTA is made of parents from Motokwe, since "we don't have transport to collect people from their places like Tshwaane and Khekhenye."

118 children, 90% from Khekhenye and the other 10% from Tshwaane, reside in a RADP hostel behind the school. Up until very recently the hostel had only one full time caretaker for the 118 children. While a second caretaker was hired in October 1996, no watchman has been employed to date. The children are housed up to 14 to a room, two to three to a mattress. Of the eight hostel residents who attended standard seven in 1995, 62.5% (that is, four of the five girls and one of the three boys) passed.

No other schools, training providers, or crèches operate in the village.

Three literacy classes for adult learners, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education's Department of Non-Formal Education, are taught by three female literacy group leaders. Approximately 47 adults attend these groups.

5.1.3 Health Care

The village clinic has a maternity ward, a general care ward, and a pharmacy, staffed by two nurses, a health worker, and two cleaners who treat approximately ten patients and weigh nine children per day. Two people come for daily injections. The most common ailments seen at the clinic are skin and respiratory diseases. 26 cases of skin disease were treated in August, 16 in Sept., and 16 in October. According to the clinic nurse, the cause of these skin ailments is "lack of hygiene. They are not washing at all." Nine TB patients are regularly treated at the clinic, and Motokwe residents themselves report cough and TB as the most prevalent ailments. According to the nurse, Motokwe also has a high HIV rate, with eight Aids-related deaths between January and October 1995. Those deaths included individuals between two and 35 years of age. According to household survey respondents, the village suffered 37 child deaths, 12 from unknown causes, five from diarrhea, three were still born, three from swelling of the body or stomach, two could not pass urine, one was a miscarriage, one of a broken back, one at delivery, one was premature, and one each due to vomiting, small pox, a sore navel, TB, and a tooth problem. Two maternal deaths were also reported.

The clinic building has no electricity or telephone, and health workers communicate via walkie-talkie. Staff described problems with the transport of medicine from the Council in Letlhakeng, limited evening emergency care due to the lack of electricity, a weighing room that is so small children have to be weighed out of doors, and a floor that is so slippery patients risk falling.

Villagers assert that no other traditional healers practice in the village, explaining that they "are all dead."

5.1.4 Communication

Villagers communicate with the outside world via a public phone installed at the kgotla, and through the mail via the post office in the centre of the village. Buses run between Molepolole and Kang, and from Gaborone to Kang once a week.

5.1.5 Water and Sanitation

Villagers obtain water from 11 water taps, describing an average distance of 675 metres to the water source. (57% of the residents surveyed stated the distance from a water source was 300 metres or less). Several boreholes have also been dug in a long central pan that cuts through Motokwe. Two of the boreholes belong to the council. One is dedicated for human consumption, and the other for watering cattle.

42% of the survey respondents in Motokwe assert that they have a latrine, which is used by the family, young and old alike. 96% stated they like the latrines because they

provide privacy and proximity, however, only 24% received council assistance in the building of the latrine. 76% of the compounds without a latrine reported using the bushes, and 24% use a neighbor's latrine.

88% of the survey respondents in Motokwe say they wash their hands after using a latrine, stating that "I wash the germs away," or "I want to prevent dirt that causes disease." Of the 12 households that responded negatively only one gave rationale. He offered, "I didn't know washing hands was necessary."

Motokwe residents also state that their proximity to water allows them to take an average of 1.57 baths per day.

Residents were also asked about the hygiene practices children learn at school. 89% stated teachers teach about hygiene, with 94% of those respondents saying they were pleased with the lessons, because "Children can know how to keep clean," and "Our children like cleanliness."

5.1.6 Village Committees

Motokwe residents have formed a wide range of committees, including a Village Development Committee, Parents Teachers Association, and committees focusing on Village Health, Crime Prevention, Conservation, Farmers' Committee, Catering, Consumers, Choir, and the Cooperative. Most villagers also participate in a burial society .

5.2 KHEKHENYE VILLAGE PROFILE

5.2.1 The People and Their Economic Activities

Khekhenye is a small RAD settlement, approximately 10 km. on a gravel and sand road from Motokwe. Populated by 200 men, women, and children across 47 households (with 5.6 children per household), Khekhenye residents align themselves with three different !Xoo speaking Basarwa groups, the Tlasi, Kute, and Kuera. Before their settlement in the existing site, Khekhenye's residents had a nomadic lifestyle. "Before we were just going around. Whenever there was water we would stay," explained one woman. Settling in their present site in 1991, Khekhenye's residents moved first from Tsetseng to Motokwe in 1960, returning to the bush in 1978 to avoid persecution by Motokwe's Bakgalagadi. In 1980 they moved again to Moraba wa Matotshwa, where the government allotted them land and provided a tractor for plowing. Eleven years later, government's promise of a regular water supply brought them to Khekhenye. However, the council borehole dried up soon after their arrival and Khekhenye's families now remain in a state of limbo, waiting for additional government support and threatening to move again.

The settlement's residents have had a long and acrimonious relationship with Motokwe's Bakgalagadi villagers. According to BOC's PRA report (1995a:8):

> They met in the old Tsetseng in 1957. Since then they have worked for Bakgalagadi in the farms and homes. They rear cattle, work in the fields, collect drinking water, pound sorghum, etc. Instead of paying them for their labour, the Bakgalagadi keep all the harvest to themselves, as well as the pounded sorghum, forgetting that it is the Basarwa who toiled in the first place. The women who pound the sorghum are given the chaff to eat, whilst the men are given khadi in return for cattle rearing, despite the fact that they are promised beforehand that they would be paid.

The settlement's residents now perceive themselves as losing in a competition with Motokwe for political attention and economic resources.

Except for work with Bakgalagadi farmers, and temporary employment in government drought relief efforts, little formal economic activity is on-going in the settlement.

> People look for jobs, but they didn't find any. The business only wanted people who can read, who have drivers' licenses. If factories could come, the job problem would be solved. (Kgosi, Khekhenye)

Since 1989, settlement residents have also harvested and sold Sengaparile to Thusano Lefatsheng, a local NGO. Other men and women in the settlement brew beer, raise chickens, and engage in piece jobs, farm labour, or domestic help for the Bakgalagadi in the area. Several individuals have participated in RAD sponsored training in tanning,

knitting and sewing, and shoe making, and 13 individuals say they can sew, five carve wood, two massage, one is a traditional healer, one roofs, and one cooks. However no funds have been available to start any businesses of any kind in these areas.

Individuals own dogs, goats, and horses, but very few cattle. Animal ownership in the settlement is a reflection of its poverty, with households reporting owning only 40% as many goats as their neighbors in Motokwe, and 14% as many cows. But even within the settlement, ownership of large animals continues to be skewed. 15 of the 16 compounds surveyed own no cattle, while the remaining compound owns 30. Seven households report owning no goats and two report owning between ten and 20. In addition, male heads of households own two times as many goats as female heads of households.

Although 42 of the 47 households in Khekhenye have been allocated farming plots, the scant rainfall, sandy soil, and a lack of plowing capacity results in no one farming.

> Although there are a few people who own donkeys, and four people with plows (two from RADP and two privately obtained through ALDEP by two individuals) those who own donkeys refuse to lend them to anyone, and the same applies to those who have plows. The result is of course that no one plows. (BOC 1995a:13)

Khekhenye's RAD status has not improved its economic situation. It has not officially been registered as a RAD settlement, and as such, receives little additional assistance from the government.

> We are under RAD but we are not given any provisions. No goats or cows, nothing since we came. They just give food to those who are old, and to the children who go to the clinic, not to all of us. Now we thought all children could go and eat there, but it is only the underweight children. The RADs haven't done anything here. They haven't done anything. (Kgosi, Khekhenye)

> Food? We don't eat. The first days we were given food. We were called to come and group. They asked our names. They ticked it out of their list, and we didn't get anything. We were not given any explanation. (Woman, Khekhenye)

The settlement remains poor, with very little infrastructure, and no shops of any kind.

> We have to go to Motokwe for everything, even a cigarette. There's no money here. We have long applied for a coop, but even now there's nothing. (Kgosi, Khekhenye)

5.2.2 Education

Khekhenye has no school. Primary school-age children attend school in Motokwe. "Everyone sends their children to school," asserted the kgosi. "Only the small ones are here." According to settlement residents, however, two children in the settlement do not attend school because of their disabilities. One boy is lame, and a girl is deaf. While some children stay with relatives in the village, most, approximately 100 of Khekhenye's children, reside in the RAD hostel in Motokwe, built in 1992 under a government drought relief scheme. Before the construction of the hostel, Khekhenye's children walked the ten kms. to school each day. Parents voiced their appreciation of the hostel's proximity to school, but protested vociferously about their lack of voice or participation in the hostel's management. During the workshop and in interviews, Khekhenye's parents advocated that members of the community be hired as caretakers and watchmen. Due to lack of available transport, parents are also not involved in the school's PTA.

Three community members have been trained as literacy group leaders by the government's Department of Non-Formal Education. They hold classes, however, on an irregular schedule, and during the research, only one teacher was teaching.

> The teachers are always tired after coming from Motokwe. I myself took classes. We were just able to understand something. The problem is now they're not teaching. (Kgosi, Khekhenye)

"We like it very much," asserted another resident. "There should be a building where we can be taught. Everybody can be taught there."

No other education or training initiatives are presently available in the settlement.

5.2.3 Health Care

Khekhenye has a one-room health post, built under drought relief in 1990. While the nurse from Motokwe is scheduled to visit every other week, a shortage of transportation and frequent vehicle breakdowns often disrupt her schedule. According to the settlement's residents, she visits at most once time a month.

> They do come, they were here yesterday. They should come two times a month, but now they come after a long time. When the car has gone to service, or a disease takes them away, their visits are irregular. (community member, Khekhenye)

Sixty two percent of the survey respondents stated they have access to health care, and feedback about the health post was generally positive. According to the kgosi, "We like it very much. We like the pills and medicines you can get in the bottle." Residents identify coughs and TB as their most common ailments. Four children were reported by survey respondents as dying, with only miscarriage and small pox offered as causes. No maternal deaths were reported.

Lack of transportation to the Motokwe clinic for seriously ill patients was also noted as a concern. Donkeys are the only transport available to Motokwe, but the distance makes the trip arduous. As specialized back-up for persistent problems, community members avail themselves of the services of the settlement's three traditional healers.

> They are there. They are expensive so people prefer to go to the clinic. When he checks you you pay 100 pula. Then you come back after taking the medicine and pay again. We pay in installments. (Kgosi, Khekhenye)

> People normally go to the clinic for simple problems. If the problem is so big the clinic can't cure it, people go to the traditional healers. (Young woman, Khekhenye)

> Traditional doctors are there and they can help those who are sick, but sometimes a sick person needs whites' medication. When this person needs that kind of medication, it's very difficult to transport him to Motokwe, because it's so far away from Khekhenye. (community member, Khekhenye)

5.2.4 Communication

Other than walking the ten kms to Motokwe, hitching to the tarred road, or visits by the nurse or other government representatives, the settlement has no way of communicating with the outside world. Khekhenye has no phone, no post office, no access to public transportation, and no paved roads.

5.2.5 Water and Sanitation

Khekhenye inherited a pre-existing council borehole, which dried up soon after the settlement was established. Residents, now dependent upon water irregularly trucked in by government bowser, voice much concern about their lack of water. During this assessment, water was delivered twice in one week, and then not at all the following week.

> The main problem above all of these is water. Because the tank which we have there is too small, it doesn't keep water for a long time. And the people who normally fill it don't come regularly. (community member, Khekhenye)

> There is no water in Khekhenye, so there is no work. Water is the source of development. (Kgosi, Khekhenye)

When the settlement lacks water, individuals transport water by donkey or donkey cart from Motokwe. The water shortage is also reflected in the number of baths per day reported on the household survey. Respondents claim an average of .8 baths (compared with Motokwe's 1.57 and Tshwaane's 1.3). Ninety four percent of the respondents in Khekhenye stated they did not have enough water to bathe, and while only one of the 37.5% of respondents who do not wash their hands after toileting gave "lack of water" as rationale, the water situation and hygiene are clearly linked.

The settlement has no latrines, and all survey respondents but one reported using the bush as a latrine.

Sixty eight percent of Khekhenye residents also agreed with the school's hygiene education, stating, "Children are clean when they are from school," They advise us on how to remain clean," and "If they are not taught about hygiene, they will eat with dirty hands and become sick."

5.2.6 Village Committees

Since there is no school in the settlement, it has no PTA of its own. Due to a lack of transportation, settlement residents also do not participate in the PTA at the Motokwe primary school. A VDC was organized in the settlement in 1995, which has identified its main activities as the building of a shade and two toilets at the kgotla.

> It's active. It's building the kgotla and it's continuing to do developments in the village like building a kgotla shade and the toilets. (community member, Khekhenye)

The settlement's Village Health Committee has as its task the encouragement of area cleanliness.

> It's active. It's looking after the cleanliness of the compounds. When someone's ill, it can tell the nurses and the doctors about that person. Children are weighed every month. But the main problem is when the car is not working. (community member, Khekhenye)

A farmers' committee and a show committee have also been formed. However members assert that they are awaiting fencing assistance from Ministry of Agriculture extension workers.

5.3 TSHWAANE VILLAGE PROFILE

5.3.1 The People and Their Economic Activities

Lying on the edge of a salt pan, Tshwaane is a much larger settlement than Khekhenye. Its 120 compounds are in the most part Bakgalagadi, with only a few =Hua speaking Basarwa families living on the settlement's periphery. (Families in Tshwaane average 4.6 children per household, the least of all three communities.) Tshwaane also has more infrastructure than Khekhenye, with a dependable source of water, and several conspicuous buildings (including five VDC houses, all empty, a non-formal building currently not in use, a senior hostel in which an elderly Basarwa man and woman reside, and a health post) that have been built with drought relief moneys .

Both in their talk and participation at the workshop, Tshwaane residents were active advocates in their requests for increased village development. According to one elderly man:

> Water is the first thing which is needed for development to happen. We want a school and a clinic because there is water, even though the water supply is salty. We are so serious about those things because we have to travel a long distance in order to get these facilities. (Tshwaane resident)

The settlement has one shop that sells cold drinks, basic food and toiletry items, and as one community member stated, "Even though the prices are high we are still using it." Several small tack shops, located within families' compounds, also sell assorted produce. Four individuals in the community tan skins, four carve wood, three sew, two fence, one constructs houses, and one tells stories.

Animal ownership in Tshwaane is also skewed. Sixty two percent of the respondents asserted owning no cattle, and 11% reporting owning ten or more heads. The difference between animal ownership in male and female headed households is even greater than in the other two communities, with male heads of households stating they

own an average of four times as many goats and five times as many cows as female heads of households.

5.3.2 Education

Like Khekhenye, Tshwaane has no school. Its children moved from the school in Dutlwe to the one in Motokwe and back to Dutlwe again, and most of its children now attend standards 1 through 7 at the primary school in Dutlwe, approximately 30 kms on a gravel road from the settlement. According to Tshwaane's Kgosi:

> At first all the students were in Dutlwe. They were not taken care of, there was no water. Then we took all the students to Motokwe. Then the Dutlwe head teacher complained that all the students were leaving. The parents don't like either school because their children aren't taken care of. But Dutlwe is worse because of the lack of water, so children will starve. (Kgosi, Tshwaane)

105 children from Tshwaane reside in the hostel in Dutlwe. Home to a total of 60 boys and 58 girls (i.e. ten of the children are from Dutlwe and four from Lozette), ranging in age from six to 17 years, the hostel in Dutlwe consists of a group of VDC buildings that RADP rents to house RAD children. Despite this difference in RADP arrangements, conditions in the hostel are not unlike those of the hostel in Motokwe. The students are housed eight per room, three to a mattress in buildings that are stark and in disrepair. However, unlike the hostel in Motokwe, the hostel in Dutlwe has no regular water supply and water is bowsered in. A second difference is that both a caretaker and a cook are employed full time at the Dutlwe hostel.

Statistics on disabled children were impossible to collect in Tshwaane. While the kgosi asserted that no children in the community are disabled, another community member asserted:

> They are there. Most of them are those who are mentally disturbed, those who cannot walk, those who are deaf, and those who are blind. There's no help which they are receiving. We tried to see a social worker to help about this problem, and he told us they are still going around this country counting the disabled, and after that, that's when he'll come and give us feedback. (woman, Tshwaane)

No other educational facilities operate in the community. Tshwaane residents built a building for non-formal education classes using drought relief funds, however, the building is not currently in use.

> People from the village don't show any interest. Only a few go to classes. The teacher is not happy about the salary. Non-formal has not met with

the people from the village to inform them about non-formal. (community member, Tshwaane)

5.3.3 Health Care

Like Khekhenye, Tshwaane has a mobile health post, rather than a clinic.

> The agreement is that the doctor comes to Tshwaane every month. But sometimes it doesn't happen, and we won't get the message that they won't be coming because it's so far away. We want a clinic built for us, because when a person is sick, he doesn't get the help he needs. Traditional doctors are there to help those people who are sick, and the preachers are also here. These preachers and traditional doctors can't cure aids. (community member, Tshwaane)

Survey respondents identified cough, TB, and diarrhea as their most common health problems. Tshwaane residents reported ten child deaths, attributing three to unknown illnesses, three to diarrhea, one to a navel infection, one to a bladder problem, one to TB, and one to bewitching. One maternal death, cause unknown, was reported.

Nearly 30% of the survey respondents stated they did not have access to health care and that they were dissatisfied with this situation. Settlement residents utilize the services of three traditional doctors, all Bakgalagadi, when clinic assistance in unavailable or ineffective. One, in particular, has established a reputation throughout the district as a powerful healer, practice in Tshwaane. "The problem is the traditional healer is expensive," explained the kgosi.

5.3.4 Communication

There is no telephone or post office in the settlement, and community members who have postal boxes use the Dutlwe and Motokwe post offices.

5.3.5 Water and Sanitation

Each ward has a water tape, which residents assert work well. "Those that are not working well are those that are not fenced with sticks," explained one man. The average distance to water in Tshwaane was reported as 566 metres, less than the distance reported in either Motokwe or Khekhenye. Tshwaane residents also report an average of 1.3 baths per day, with 80% of the respondents stating they have ample water for bathing. However, several residents complained that while water is readily available, it has a salty taste.

One borehole in Tshwaane is used by both people and animals. The VDC has drilled a second borehole specifically for animals.

Only one survey respondent reported owning a latrine, which was built without council assistance, however the village reports a total of three private latrines in the village. Using drought relief funds, the VDC has built eight additional public latrines, all which are in fair condition. All respondents without latrines stated they use the bush.

Eighty five percent of survey respondents stated they wash their hands after toileting in order to "remove germs" and "to prevent diseases."

5.3.6 Village Committees

Ten people, five men and five women, all literate, serve on the VDC. Established in 1991, the committee has been responsible for building VDC houses and the kgotla. The settlement has no PTA or farmers' committee, and while both a Village Health Committee and Trade Fair Committee have been formed, both are inactive.

5.4 PRIMARY-SCHOOL TEACHERS' INTERVIEWS

The 16 teachers from Motokwe primary school conveyed a staff meeting to discuss UNICEF's proposed work in the area, and conversations were later held with teacher-selected representatives to discuss their concerns. In addition, separate interviews with the senior teacher were conducted by members of the interview group and by research consultants. These conversations focused on teacher training, the school's curriculum, the area's educational facilities.

While teachers expressed a sincere interest and concern for their students, they also realised that the school is operating in difficult circumstances. With at least one quarter of the school children designated as remote area dwellers, Motokwe's student population differentiates the school from many other primary schools in the country. Teachers talked about the RAD children, and the difficulties they encounter.

> Most of Khekhenye's children are in the hostel. In winter they desert school. After winter they return. They have no shoes, no clothes. Two children dropped this year. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> They haven't been given clothes since 1993. The school makes orders for uniforms, but there is no response. Even those who are registered with S&CD [Social and Community Development] are never supplied with clothes. Even when uniforms are distributed the only get one per child. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> They don't have school uniforms. Their own clothes are in tatters. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

Their initial focus was on these structural difficulties. However, when pushed, they also talked about cultural differences that they have detected between their own cultural norms and those of their Sesarwa speaking students.

> Basarwa parents aren't used to teaching children when they are young. They just let them play. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> When we want a child to dust the board, with a Bakgalagadi child, anyone will take the duster. But with the RADs, they will wait until a particular child is called. If you call, you need a name or the children will run away. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> We communicate well with the parents, but sometimes when we find fault with the RAD pupil, parents don't understand because they themselves don't train their children. Most understand Setswana, but not the idea we're trying to communicate. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> There are some linguistic problems. They say yes, rather than yes madame or yes sir. They don't greet. They don't greet at home. The parents say the children are very young, that they don't know how to greet. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

They also stressed, however, that the school's linguistic complexities extend even beyond those of the RAD children. At least a quarter of the school population is ethnically Basarwa who speak a Basarwa language or Sekgalagadi as their first language. The other 3/4s of the students are Bakgalagadi, who speak Sekgalagadi at home. "What makes much difficulty," explained a teacher, "is that students are from different backgrounds." Others continued.

> Our results are a bit lower because of language. We need Setswana as a second language support. Even Bakgalagadi don't speak Setswana until they come to school. Sometimes if you are not Mokgalagadi, you can't understand anything they say. And your job is to teach many subjects. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

> Most students who come to school have difficulty with Setswana. It's the first time they've heard it spoken. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

No crËches or kindergartens have been established in the area, and there are no organised forums to prepare pre-school children for school. "There is just talking about it, but no plans. They want a crËche, but it has been only in plans," explained the teachers.

All teachers voiced the desire for additional training. Perhaps responding to a government trend towards offering diploma-level qualification at all primary teach-education institutions around the country, the teachers identified "diploma training" as a real need. But in addition, they also talked about specific training that they would help them be better teachers, voicing the need for training in teaching special children, those who don't speak Setswana as a first language, for instance, or those who are physically or mentally challenged.

> We'd also like to specialise in different subjects, like the secondary schools. We would like to divide the school into three groups, infants, medium and upper, and those who specialise in infants will work with them. (Teacher, Motokwe primary school)

Teachers also identified several support and structural needs. One area was teaching support. "Our exam results are a bit lower than other schools, because of language. We need Setswana as a Second Language support." Another concerned the infrastructure. Teachers complained about the need for classrooms, since four classes study outside and after school hours. They asserted that, "It is hard to progress if the

students are learning outside." They proclaimed that they want a library, since there is no reading room or outlet to purchase books in the area. They also suggested obtaining solar power for one classroom and a library so the rooms can be used in the evening. Part of the rationale here is that with night lighting, the school could be opened to the community. One teacher suggested, "The school could function as a night school for standard 7 and form 2 leavers." Another added, "Form 2 leavers who fail, if the library had solar power, teachers may be able to tutor form 2 leavers in the evening, so they are not idle." Additional teacher quarters, since there are not ample accommodations for each teacher, and an office for administration purposes were also suggested.

5.5 PARENTS OF HOSTEL DWELLERS, FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS

Before the Focus Group Team conducted its focus group interviews in both Khekhenye and Tshwaane, team members sampled views of the workshop participants across several topics. Workshop participants were mixed ethnically, Basarwa from Khekhenye and Bakgalagadi from Motowke, and the Bakgalagadi were more outspoken in general, always ready to give opinions about Basarwa. Given these differences, both the focus group and Consultants agreed information should be aggregated across the two ethnic groups.

Below are some of the views expressed by Bakgalagadi about Basarwa children. Bakgalagadi participants attributed the high drop-out rate among Basarwa children to:\

- the separation of children from their parents at the tender age of three;
- going to school hungry;
- some impairment of one kind or another undetected by untrained teachers;
- family problems (e.g. poverty, domestic violence due to drunkenness);
- a lack of cooperation between parents of Basarwa children and teachers;
- a lack of interest by both parents and children in schooling, do to parents' illiteracy;
- dishonesty among children;
- pregnancies.

The dominance of the discussion by the Bakgalagadi participants prompted the vice principal of the primary school to urge Basarwa participants to air their views. After much persuasion by both UNICEF staff members and consultants, Basarwa began to speak out. Some of their comments follow:

- "Our children are made to cook for themselves even though the caretaker is employed to cook for them. *Go tshwanetswe go tsamaiwa ka distepis* (procedures have to be followed)."
- "The PTA is not representative of us parents of the children at the hostels. PTA members are people from Motokwe. It is therefore not fair to say we are not cooperating with PTA."

These differing views prompted the group's decision to facilitate separate focused discussions with Basarwa parents in their communities. Armed with these sampled views, the focus group team proceeded to gather information from Basarwa parents from Khekhenye whose children who reside at RAD hostels. The following are synoptic overviews of those conversations.

1) The focus group conducted an interview with Mr. "Sisco", a farmer from Khekhenye with a boy and girl at the Motokwe hostel. "One is doing standard 2, I don't know what standard the one is doing. I have never asked. *Ke lekgarebe*. (She is a young lady). Asked how often he visits his children at the hostel, he replied, "I check them once a month. There is

no regulation that prevents me from visiting them more often. I am lazy to visit them frequently."

Sisco asserted that one of the problems contributing to high drop-out rates is caused by older children taking smaller children's clothes. Complaining about the Kweneng Council's failure to provide clothes to all children, he explained that when clothes finally come, they are not sufficient for all the children. Some children go a long time without proper clothes. Asked whether he has problems with his children living at the hostel or attending school in Motokwe, he responded, "I do not have problems with kids attending school at Motokwe, as long as they are properly looked after."

But Mr. Sisco felt strongly that a nursery school for younger children should be built in Khekhenye. Children should only go to school in Motokwe after standard three. "Younger children should remain with us until they are old enough to wash their clothes."

2) In talking about sexuality of their Basarwa girls with Mme Mmalepone, a Khekhenye parent, Mma Mmalepone explained, "Sexual activity starts at an early age, certainly before puberty. Our children tell us *bone ke basha* (live in modern days). They live a different type of life from their parents."

"I want my children to go to school and be different from me. They should take advantage of government's services and resources." Asked why she thinks school is useful, she said, "To qualitatively improve the lives of Basarwa, to find better employment."

3) Mma Kgosi, the Khekhenye chief's wife, was asked whether she or her husband ever encourage their children to read at home. She replied, "Children do not show an interest in reading at home. They are very playful. The conversation moved to the hostels, with Mma Kgosi asserting that children should only stay at the hostels after standard three or four, "When they are able to bathe themselves and do their own washing."

There should be a security fence between the boys' and girls' hostels, she added. "In the event there is no *makatane* (night watchman). We are tired of being led by other tribes. The night watchman should come from among us Basarwa. One government officer once said to us, '*Ga le sa thanye, re tsile go le palama go fitlhelela lesong,*' (If you don't wake up we are going to oppress you/ride you to death). Asked to comment on the possibility of a Mosarwa employee being bribed, corrupted, or too lenient with Basarwa wrongdoers, she commented, "He will have to take this as a job. If employing a Mosarwa as a night

watchman becomes a problem, parents of the children at the hostels should take turns in guarding the hostels, to stop boys visit girls' hostels."

Like parents in general, Mma Kgosi stated that her children are satisfied and happy with the way the caretaker looks after them.

4) In a group interview with five parents and two village elders, the group asserted that they wanted a Mosarwa to be employed at the hostel. "We need someone who understands us. *Ga re batle motho yo madi a gagwe a sa tsamayeng le madi a Sesarwa.* (We don't want to employ someone whose blood doesn't agree with Mosarwa blood.)

The VDC chairman complained that young children are made to cook. "There are possibilities of boiling water spilling over and causing serious burns. Two girls at the hostels were burnt while cooking. We are not against children cooking. We have agreed as parents that while living at the hostels children should not be made to lose touch with their culture. But we also strongly fee that the caretaker needs assistants. She cannot cope alone. Problems always arise at night, such as children falling sick or bullies harassing young ones or girls. It is not safe for her as a woman."

Asked about steps taken by parents concerning boys who sexually harass girls at the hostels, they explained that boys were called to order by their own parents when parents were made aware of problems. The actions are effective, they asserted, "Because such incidents never occurred again, at least from the same boys."

5.6 HOSTEL DWELLERS IN MOTOKWE, INTERVIEW

While discussions with hostel caretakers, teachers, and parents provided important details about the lives and education of children living in the Motokwe area, talking with the children themselves, both individually and in groups was essential in learning about their lives, their feelings about schooling, and their hopes for the future. We spent several hours getting to know the children who live in the Motokwe hostel. We watched them mime karate fights, play *morabaraba*, a traditional game played with stones in the sand, and accomplish the daily tasks of life at the hostel. We talked with them about school, the hostel, their experiences, and their dreams.

The Motokwe hostel sits on a small incline between the village's primary school and the small youth-run poultry project. Enclosed by wire-mesh fencing, the hostel is actually a series of tin-roofed, concrete-block buildings that include four two-room dormitories, a two-room caretaker's quarters, an ablution block, three two-room latrines, and a large dining room. Other than an out-door cooking area, fenced with thorn bushes, no other structures interrupt the sand-swept area. No trees have been planted within the compound, and the only solace from the harsh desert sun is found in the shade cast by the buildings. Although the hostel is only five years old, the dormitory rooms of unpainted grey concrete are in disrepair. Windows and door handles are broken, and the buildings themselves have begun to sink into the omnipresent sand dunes.

Segregated by gender, girls have been assigned to two of the houses, and boys in the other two. The 118 children who live in the hostels during school terms sleep 12 to 14 per room. Only the two rooms for the "completing" children have beds. Children assigned to rooms for standards 5 and under sleep on mattresses on the floor, three to each mattress. No wardrobes or any other furniture are in the rooms; the children's clothing are piled in one corner of the room.

The hostel has no books or any play things to occupy the children's time. When they are not in school, the children complete assigned chores, talk on the stoops of the hostel buildings, engage in mock karate fights, listen to an elder student read aloud from a school book, sing, and dance their version of traditional dances. "The songs we heard, we learned here, from Lydia [the Veld Products extension worker] and women from Ghanzi," explained some of the girls.

Security is non-existent at the hostel. The doors do not lock, no watchman is employed, and only one care taker has had responsibility for all 118 of the students residing there. When that caretaker is ill or away from the hostel, no adult acts as advocate or protector for the children. In late October 1996 a second hostel care taker was appointed, however, since the hostel does not have sufficient living quarters for two caretakers, she stays in government housing in the village. Upon her arrival, the senior care taker, who had been feeling ill for several weeks, traveled to Molepolole to the hospital to seek treatment for an illness that she had been fighting for several weeks. During her absence, no adult was present in the hostel at night.

The Girls

We talked with a group of nine girls, seven from Khekhenye and two from Tshwaane, while they were polishing the steps of the care taker's house one afternoon after school. The young girls, all in standards three and four, were dressed in their tatters of after-school clothes. Introducing themselves, they explained that while they are ethnically Basarwa, they speak Sekalagadi at home. "We can hear our parents speak Sesarwa, but we can't speak."

Only momentarily shy, they had ready recommendations for hostel improvements, and offered a sharp critique of their lives in Motokwe.

> They should paint the houses, plant trees, oranges. We want fruits.
>
> It should be cleaned so we RADO kids can be happy. The holes should be filled in the fence, so the cows don't come to eat our clothes.
>
> We want a wheelbarrow so we can clean around here and carry water when there is no water.
>
> After washing we should wear nice dresses.
>
> Even soap so we can wash our clothes. Hair conditioner for our hair.
>
> I want a comb for my hair. We are beaten [in school] for not coming our hair.

This mention of beating spiraled into a narrative about the beating the girls received that very morning. "We are beaten for no reason," they asserted. "Mr. Morime called us in this morning, said we were having a relationship with boys. And beat us. It is not true. Last night we sang and went to sleep. Cubby [a TSP] came and beat the older girls. After that we were beaten this morning. 20 times. It was all of us from the hostel. We kept quiet and went to school. Those from the village were already in class."[9]

They moved to talk about their relationships with the age mates who reside in Motokwe itself. Their stories of resentment and persecution from their village counterparts were repeated again and again by each group of hostel children.

> We have a problem. When we walk to school, people from the village will stone us, saying "These Basarwa are eating the money of the Council alone." The village children are jealous of us for eating bread. The

[9] A teacher from the primary school later explained that the TSP claimed when he had visited the hostel during the evening he had found several boys and girls who had paired off for sexual encounters. He beat the children and related the circumstances to the school staff, who decided to beat all the children from the hostel for the episode. The hostel caretaker was absent from the village during this time, and the children had been left alone at night for more than one week.

> Bakalagadi kids say we shouldn't be eating rice, that it's just for them because they are superior to us.
>
> When one standard 7 boy dishes out beans [at school] he never gives us enough, because he says the Basarwa eat too much.
>
> The boys from the village come. They beat us. For what reasons we don't know. They beat us when there was a [UNICEF] party here. We told them no, we were asleep [during the party]. They are jealous because we are eating council food, but the council are the ones who let us go to school.

We ask if they know of a way they might become friends with the children from the village.

> No, we couldn't be friends. When we pick up litter [in the village] we just group together. If they try to beat a hostel person, we just group together, because we're staying in the same hostel.

We conclude by talking about their future aspirations. Like most children, they aspire to professions for which they have readily available models. Seven said they want to be teachers, explaining, "When we become teachers, we will beat the children of teachers who are beating us." Two talked about becoming nurses, two police, and one, in a whispered voice, said she wanted to be a soldier.

The boys

We talked to two groups of boys, one composed of younger boys who attend standards 1 through 4, and one of boys currently attending standards three through six. The large group of younger boys, five from Tshwaane and 14 from Khekhenye had been miming karate, but readily stopped to talk with us. They wore shorts with holes so large that more of their body was uncovered than covered, and their T-shirts were more like pieces of rags than shirts. Their concerns were few but dramatic.

One boy explained that "Khekhenye's better than here. Here I cry because some of the teachers are beating us." Another talked about his wishes. "I want to attend school in town. Not here. It's beautiful in town. I want to see the place Seretse was buried."

They also had ready recommendations about hostel life that ranged from a child's wish for a ball to elaborate schemes to keep the sand blizzards at bay.

> We want electricity. We want electricity in the laundry.
>
> We want to see an electric iron.
>
> There should be a brick wall around the hostel, so when the wind comes it shouldn't bother us. And there should be some nets at the top.

A vegetable garden. We want to eat nice things. Cabbage, carrots, apples, onions, bananas.

A ball to play with.

The older boys, residing in the neighbouring building, had been listening with rapt attention to a Setswana story read aloud from a school text by one of the standard 6ers. Many were already tall young men, and two or three of the most senior were better dressed than the younger boys. In matching track suits, they appeared far more urban than their younger cohorts. Their talk focused primarily on the hostel itself, and on their ideas concerning possible improvements.

The hostel is bad. The problem was water. Now they've fixed the boreholes. Because there was no water we were even fighting with the teachers for water.

It's just okay. Just a lack of things to play with. The doors are damaged, even the windows.

Even balls, so we can challenge teachers to play against the hostels. There's nothing to do, only reading.

We want combs, uniforms, shoes, socks. The uniforms have been changed, but still we don't have it. We got these in 1993.

They should plant trees.

Even a rake, so we can clean up.

A vegetable garden.

The holes along the fence let the goats in.

Electricity. When the lamps come, they break. They are now too broken, even though they have just come recently. We have only light from candles.

We want this house [the meeting room] to be used as a kitchen. Because when it's windy it's too hard to eat.

There should be cooks, so when we come from school there's food. Sometimes when we come back from school we cook for ourselves.

> We want a telephone so if we want something, we can tell the people at the Council.

The boys explained that they too are harassed by the village children. "Even us, it's the same [as the girls]. They call us *Mosarwa, Mosarwa* when we walk." "We just shut up, because we're scared of them."

In talking about what they wanted to do "when they grow up," the boys identified traditionally gendered models to which they aspired. Interestingly, the desirable male roles revolved around either law and order and transportation. Five said they want to be soldiers, four want to work for wildlife, and four for the council. Three of those want to be council drivers. Two boys want to be police, while others named a government driver, a truck driver, and a mechanic.

5.7 SCHOOL LEAVERS, INTERVIEWS

In order to gain a better understanding of the role of education in the lives of young people in the Motokwe area, the interview group conducted interviews with school leavers at both the primary and JC levels. Given the regularised patterns of mobility in Botswana, school leavers, defined simply as young people who did not continue on in school, were not easy to locate. Often absent from their families' homes, some were residing on a temporary basis with relatives outside Motokwe, others were outside the immediate area seeking employment. Others were at the lands or cattle posts.

The group conducted in-depth interviews with a total of 13 young people, nine (six girls and three boys) from Motokwe, and four (one girl and three boys) from Khekhenye. Similar to other village and settlement populations in the country, the majority of school leavers interviewed in Motokwe had obtained their Junior Certificate. Few youth from Khekhenye go beyond standard seven however, and all those interviewed had left from primary school[10]

Of the nine former students interviewed from Motokwe eight (or 89%) had earned their JCs, but were unable to continue on to senior secondary school. The 9th, a 14 year old boy, left Motokwe school in standard 5, stating simply that "it was difficult for me. I would continue, but my parents have not gone to look for a place for me." He is currently "look[ing] after animals." Only one young man indicated an awareness that the government's distance education program is a vehicle for continuing education. However, he spoke from a position of inertia. "I have heard of Distance Education but I haven't taken any action. But think it would be better if I associate myself with them." The others claimed "I never heard anything about Distance Education."

Of the four former students interviewed from Khekhenye however, only young man had finished form 2. Now age 17, he is living at home, not involved in any other activities. The three others left school before finishing their primary education. A boy, now aged 16, and a girl, aged 14, both left Motokwe primary school from standard 4. The boy had "impregnated another student," and the girl "...had a disease which was bothering me." Stating a desire to return to school, the boy explained, "I want us to go back to school, but in different places. Our parents will remain with the child." However, he has not applied to any schools. The girl is still ill. "Maybe if I was taken to the doctors I would have been better. I wish the doctors can help me, see what kind of disease I have and give me medication." One other boy, now age 17, left Motokwe primary school from standard five. Residing with relatives while he attended school, he claimed he left because he had not been well cared for. "I did not have a school uniform.

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[10] Two girls from the settlement, one now pregnant, were exceptions. Both obtained their JC, but were unable to continue. One explained, "I failed form two, I don't know where to go. ...No, I got no help from the head master."

Other exceptions include a boy who left from form 2 and subsequently finished the BrigadeÕs building. Still unemployed, he was building a fence around the kgotla for the VDC during our visits. Another boy from Khekenye is currently attending form 3, and yet another is in form 5. One boy and one girl are also attending typing courses at a private school in Kanye. The school appears to be a popularly contemplated option. As one girl from Khekenye asserted, "Maybe when they come back I will go." According to one of the settlement's residents, "no one finished form 5 and is working."

The people whom I was staying with were not taking care of me. I would have continued if the people whom I was staying with could have sent me to RADP. I wanted to be educated."

Whether leaving school from the primary or secondary levels, the education of all of these young people was interrupted not so much because they left school, but because they could not continue. Primary school students left school because of illness, pregnancy, or the inability to afford the costs inherent in attending school. JC holders were unable to continue on to senior secondary school because their exam results did not earn them one of the few precious slots available. Like the 72% of their age cohort (CSO 1993) who do not continue on to Form 3 after completing their JC, they became school leavers.

While four of the female JC holders from Motokwe talked about applying for work, their focus was on the government sector. One explained, "We want to work for the government. We don't have the constitution to work in business. We are still young, we can play with the business, and then it will fall down. The government should hire more workers, especially in the villages." Another talked about the logistical difficulties in finding work.

> The government has different kinds of work. We applied everyday, but no response. To TTC, Wildlife, Local Police. We have received no response at all. If they reply the date has already passed. If the interview is in Letlhakeng, we have a lack of money and transport. By the time we arrive, the interview is finished. They should collect us, like the Southern district.

5.8 SAMPLE DATA TABLES

The following seven tables are included in this report to illustrate the capacity of the software data base to generate tables from data collected in the household survey. The software used to compile the data is Microsoft®Access, a relational data base which allows the user to query across a number of different areas on the survey. A copy of the data base on computer disc and the completed household surveys are included as part of this report.

5.8.1 Number of Children per Household

Settlement/ Village	Identified Household Head	Number of Households	Number of Boys	Number of Girls	Total Children	Average per Household
Khekhenye	Both	4	8	15	23	5.75
	Father	6	15	19	34	5.67
	Mother	6	16	16	32	5.33
Motokwe	Both	7	28	20	48	6.86
	Father	51	133	140	273	5.35
	Mother	48	114	128	242	5.04
Tshwaane	Both	1	0	4	4	4.00
	Father	13	30	46	76	5.85
	Mother	13	25	27	52	4.00
Totals		149	314	342	784	5.26

Sample Size	Khekenye	16	
	Motokwe	106	
	Tshwaane	27	
		149	Households

5.8.2. Main Source of Income (No. of Households), 1/3

Settlement/ Village	Identified Household Head	Brew Beer/ Kgadi	Raise Cattle	Drought Relief	Farming	Plowing
Khekhenye	Both	0	0	0	0	0
	Father	0	1	0	0	0
	Mother	0	0	2	0	1
Motokwe	Both	1	5	1	0	0
	Father	8	9	1	14	6
	Mother	12	5	6	5	2
Tshwaane	Both	0	0	0	1	0
	Father	0	4	3	2	0
	Mother	1	0	5	0	2
Totals		22	24	18	22	11

Main Source of Income (No. of Households), 2/3

Settlement/ Village	Identified Household Head	Leather Work	Traditional Healer	Pipe Fitter	Sell Grass	Sells Wood
Khekhenye	Both	2	0	0	2	0
	Father	0	1	0	1	1
	Mother	0	0	0	0	0
Motokwe	Both	0	0	0	0	0
	Father	1	0	1	1	0
	Mother	0	0	0	1	0
Tshwaane	Both	0	0	0	0	0
	Father	2	0	0	0	0
	Mother	1	0	0	1	0
Totals		6	1	1	6	1

Main Source of Income (No. of Households), 3/3

Settlement/ Village	Identified Household Head	Misc.	No Source of Income
Khekhenye	Both	0	0
	Father	0	2
	Mother	0	3
Motokwe	Both	0	0
	Father	3	7
	Mother	6	11
Tshwaane	Both	0	0
	Father	2	0
	Mother	1	2
Totals		12	25

Sample Size		
	Khekenye	16
	Motokwe	106
	Tshwaane	27
		149 Households

I am confident that given the involvement of all interested parties in Government and non- Governmental organisations that are participating in this training programme, successful implementation of this project is assured. My optimism in this regard stems from the background that through out its activities in Botswana UNICEF has been at the forefront of action-orientated programmes that are targeted at child development and survival issues. In this regard, UNICEF continues to be an important partner in the implementation of our country's social sector development programmes. I should also, on behalf of the Botswana Government, express my sincere appreciation to the Norwegian Government for having deemed it fit to provide such generous funding support for this project. As His Excellency, the Norwegian Ambassador to Botswana recently stated Botswana and Norway have a long history of bilateral relations - and these relations have manifested themselves in a number of programmes and projects that have been funded by the Government of Norway in Botswana. To the non- Governmental organisations, I simply want to sate that Government values and appreciates your input and involvement in a spirit of true partnership to ensure that projects of this nature are successfully implemented.

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