

POL08319

**Schools, Examinations and Social Power: Structuring Access to
Tertiary Education through Academic Success in Botswana**

Mompati Mino Polelo
University of Melbourne

Paper Presented at the Australian Association of Research in Education (AARE)
Conference of the Held in Brisbane, Australia, 30 November - 04 December 2008.

ABSTRACT: *This paper seeks to examine achievement as a factor that determines how students navigate their way into Tertiary Education (TE) institutions. On the basis of a survey of first year tertiary education entrants and student funding data for TE, it shows that there is a relationship between students' academic achievement and other social variables such as socio-economic status (SES), school location and school type. As such, achievement is mediated by students' home origins and the schools they attend, which in turn significantly shape the routes they take into TE institutions. It is through this process that low SES students populate the non-higher education stream of TE in Botswana while their high SES background counterparts congregate in the higher education (HE) stream. The recruitment patterns of Botswana's TE therefore show that the scale is tilted in favour of privileged social groups. It is a system that functions as an elite formation agency. The system replicates and reinforces the larger social system. The TE system, an agency that propels individuals and groups to different social positions in the socio-economic hierarchy, is implicated in the construction of this elitism. The recruitment patterns of Botswana's TE system, however, are not different from those of the rest of the developing world. But the gender gap in access to different fields of study seems to be narrow. Nevertheless, access to Science, Engineering and Technology and Computer Science/ICT programmes reflect gender imbalances.*

KEY WORDS: HED- Higher Education

Introduction

This paper draws from a broad study that examined processes of consultative tertiary education policy making of a small Third World state of Botswana in relation to issues of access and equity. It argues that students from high income backgrounds, middle class recruiting schools and metropolitan areas, are more likely to access the higher education sub-sector of Botswana's TE system. It is this sector that positions them for more economically rewarding occupations like those of their parents. But SES intersects with urbanity, rurality and regionalism in explaining differential access to TE. This disadvantage is manifest when both home regions and school region are considered. The discussion that follows is structured in three parts. First, the paper locates issues raised by this study within the broad context of research on access and equity in HE/TE. Second, achievement as a factor that determines students' placement in TE is examined. Third, is the examination of the social characteristics of Botswana's TE students to project inequality in access.

Access to TE in Developed Countries

As this paper deals with access and equity in higher education (HE), there is need to briefly review research on participation in HE and post-compulsory secondary education to contextualise my arguments on access and equity in Botswana's TE. The chords may be multiple and varied, but researchers on equality of access to HE sing from the same hymnbook of education and the reproduction of generational inequalities. The spectre of social class, no matter how inventive we may be with new concepts that describe it, such as exclusion and self-exclusion, concepts laden with an ideology that seeks to present the working class as in dire need of educating to be educated, haunts us. Although the epicisation of social class in explaining inequalities of the 1970s is distant, it still gnaws at us. But inequality of access is inimical to democratic education.

In advanced democracies of the West, research on equality of access has two methodological strands. One strand utilises longitudinal and cross-sectional surveys, national or institutional data sets (Archer & Hutchings, 2003; Cabrito, 2004; Coates & Krause, 2005; Levy & Murray, 2005; Mackenzie & Schweitzer, 2001; Scott, 2005;

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Shiner & Modood, 2002; Teese & Polesel, 2003) to determine routes taken by students from different backgrounds or account for participation rates and variations in success and other factors explaining these processes. The other strand involves either the use of narratives or “number-narratives” (Ball, Davies, David & Reay, 2002, p. 53). This category of studies seeks to provide research subjects a voice on participation or non-participation in HE (Alston & Kent, 2003; Archer & Hutchings, 2000; Archer, Leathwood & Hutchings, 2002; Archer & Yamashita, 2003; Ball et al., 2002; Leathwood & Hayton, 2002; Lynch & O’Riordan, 1998; Macrae & Maguire, 2002).

Broad themes emerge from this research. Among these are social class and ethnic exclusion or self-exclusion through institutional habitus, differential cultural capital, the strategic positioning of the middle class vis-à-vis low socio-economic groups and ethnic minorities in relation to schooling, the curriculum and HE and the attendant channelling of individuals and groups to different routes within the labour market. Add to this rurality, remoteness and isolation to account for unequal access to HE.

In general, it is acknowledged that low SES groups, ethnic minorities and rural or isolated communities are less represented in HE. The most significant and enduring predictor of the chances of individuals accessing HE is social class (James, 2007). In Britain, the participation of students from blue-collar classes in HE is much lower than that of professional classes despite an increase in participation rates from 4% in 1960 to 19% in 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2005) in an education system in which 43% of the 18-30 year old population accesses HE (James, 2007). In Australia, participation of school leavers in Technical and Further Education (TAFE) increased from 10% to 14% while for HE it increased from 13 to 27%, between 1984 and 2004 (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2005). There is also an indication that there was a significant increase of young adult participation in HE, rising from 7% in 1984 to 23% in 2004 (ABS, 2005). However, low-income students have only about a 50% chance of completing school, going to university or TAFE and obtaining a degree/diploma as compared to high SES background students (Teese & Polesel, 2003). Furthermore, “people from high or medium SES background are twice as likely to go to university as those from low SES background” (James, 2007, p. 6). On the other hand, “people from high SES background are close to three times as likely to go to university as those from low SES backgrounds” (James, 2007, p. 6).

Research on equality of access in HE in developed countries reflects the potency of social class in explaining social advantage. Risks and barriers to participation in HE by low SES and ethnic minority students are multiple and varied, intersecting with cultural and economic structures. These risks span narratives of studies that seek to offer research subjects a voice in their HE realities. Internalisation of failure or perceiving oneself as “not being good enough” (Archer & Yamashita, 2003, p. 60); fear of indebtedness and losing one’s class identity to become “snobby”(Archer et al., 2002, p. 111); being put off by old universities; lack of knowledge about university study and application processes; distrust of official knowledge and reliance on “grapevine”, “hot” knowledge (Ball & Vincent, 1998); inaccessible information on loans/fees and lack of knowledge about this; the hierarchy of universities and a loathing of alternative routes of entry into HE; lack of networks of support at the home; the poor-failing school and its associated pressures of regular inspections that stresses students and staff alike are but some of the many risks that cumulatively militate against ethnic minorities and low SES students’ access and success in HE (Archer & Hutchings, 2000; Hayton & Paczuska, 2002). Nonetheless, these factors also depend on the background factors such as race, gender, ethnicity and SES (Archer et al., 2002). Some opt for “safe” pathways and stick to what they feel they can handle (Archer & Yamashita, 2003, p. 60).

Access and Equity in the Developing Countries

In the developing world, where mass HE is still remote, the sector is elitist as it is a preserve of the wealthy (World Bank, 2002). As is the case in other developing countries, in Brazil HE is the preserve of students from the upper socio-economic strata (McCowan, 2004). Under the aegis of the World Bank, Brazilian HE is highly privatised and competition to both public and private institutions is high, resulting in the system being accessed largely by students from high income backgrounds who have the privilege of private school attendance and doing well in entrance examinations (McCowan, 2004). The potency of the school in positioning students for HE is very significant in developing countries (World Bank, 2002). In Brazil, the irony is that private schools position students for free public HE and entrance examinations, while user fees block access to the private HE sector, still making the

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

system elitist despite its expansion through privatisation (McCowan, 2007). Therefore, private sector increased access is skewed heavily in favour of higher SES background students and restricts students from lower SES to low quality courses and institutions as course fees correspond with quality (McCowan, 2007).

Shifting focus to sub-Saharan Africa, there is an insertion of gender in that inequality. In Malawi, enrolment in tertiary education is tilted towards males and young adults from high income families (Hall & Thomas, 2005). In Zimbabwe, approximately 8000 students qualifying for entry into higher education annually, out of the 22000 'A' level candidates, fail to gain this access (Kariwo, 2007). Only 7% of the age cohort accesses higher education (Kariwo, 2007). Although there is evidence of discord between HE and the labour market leading to high unemployment of graduates, and poor communication and performance skills in the work set up (Dabalen, Oni & Adekola, 2001; Hall & Thomas, 2005), competition to enter HE is high. It is also exclusionary.

South Africa provides an interesting picture on access to HE, largely explained by a stratified system inherited from the apartheid era where there were historically white, Indian and black universities. There are also inequalities between English and Afrikaans medium institutions and black institutions established to serve different ethnic groups during apartheid (Fisher, 1998). A divide equally exists between universities, colleges and technikons (post-secondary technical and career institutions) (Fisher, 1998). It is in this formally highly racially stratified system that blacks' underrepresentation in different institutions and areas of study was entrenched, with many African students concentrated in the humanities and social sciences at undergraduate level (Fisher, 1998).

In the 1990s the South African policy scene was characterised by a flurry of policy debates that produced a range of transformational policy documents (Griesel, 1999; Jansen, 2002). The restructuring of HE driven by the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), with equity and access as its imperatives, was part of that process (Griesel, 1999). Griesel documents statistical evidence to conclude that on the basis of enrolment, it appears reasonable to point to success in how institutions recruit black students. However, the diversification of student profiles is not seen across the HE

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

sector as enrolment at institutions that have been historically disadvantaged and technikons is still predominantly black (Griesel, 1999). Moreover, secondary school achievement is a predictor of success in HE thus limiting African students' participation due to limited access to quality schooling (Griesel, 1999).

The South African scene is therefore replete with the dilemmas of an inherited educational past explaining why research in this context eschews class in explaining differential and unequal access to HE. Nonetheless, in a system where racism was institutionalised, race and class interweave to produce disadvantage. The disadvantaged blacks largely fall within the low-income bracket. The indictment of the South African HE equity programme, though, is the political symbolism of post-1994 policy developments. Policy development in South Africa is more of political symbolism, marked by enthrallment with the articulation of new policy statements and preoccupation with inclusiveness and broadened participation in policy making, less concerned with policy implementation and outcomes (Jansen, 2002).

Closing the research context chasm, in Botswana there is marked paucity of research in TE. There are a number of factors that account for the dearth of research on TE in Botswana. First is the small size of the TE system constituted by a single university, teacher education, health science and VET institutions. These institutions absorb "just over 6% of the age cohort" (Hopkin, 2004, p. 187). Secondly, most of Botswana's educational development was concentrated at the primary and secondary school level. In fact the first commission on education was silent on HE (Botswana, 1977). Concomitantly issues of equity and access were researched and debated at school level. The massification of junior secondary education since 2000, now accounting for 100% transition from primary to junior secondary education and an envisaged increase of transition from junior to senior secondary level to 100% by 2015 (Mogae, 2007), demands a focus on what the outcome of this access is.

Access to secondary schooling that does not culminate in a rewarding training programme and job is meaningless. Siphambe's (2000) study demonstrates that private returns of education in Botswana increase with the level of education and qualification. The study reveals that income earnings increase with the level of education. Education in Botswana is seen as intensifying income disparities.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

The high rate of return of higher levels of education indicate that the distance between the earnings of the highest and lowest worker in the skill hierarchy is large, which may be one reason why Botswana has such a high income inequality.

(Siphambe, 2000, p. 298)

The question then is, who accesses the sector of the education system that leads to qualification and lucrative jobs? Answering this question becomes even more crucial in an education system where there is a flight of the middle classes to elite private schools locally referred to as English Medium Schools. These schools often produce high pass rates, positioning high SES background students well for HE.

Quite often, when a country's patterns of educational participation are assessed, researchers draw data from international agencies. It is worth noting that international agencies' data, though a useful comparative tool, have certain limitations. Further, at times there is no convergence between national data and data posted in international organisations like the OECD and UNESCO, arising from the conflicting nomenclature on tertiary education. According to the UNESCO International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), there are three levels of tertiary education. ISCED 5A or first stage tertiary education comprises theoretical programmes leading to qualifications that can lead to entry into advanced research programmes and professions that require high skills (OECD, 2005, UNESCO, 2006). Generally the minimum length of such programmes is three years. On the other hand ISCED 5B generally embraces programmes similar to 5A, requiring a senior or upper secondary school certificate as an entrance qualification, but short, practical oriented, technical and preparing for the labour market more than ISCED 5A (OECD, 2005, UNESCO, 2006). ISCED 6 leads to an advanced research qualification that requires thesis submission.

In the context of Botswana the ambiguity of the definition of tertiary education is compounded by a range of pieces of legislation and policy documents. However, the Tertiary Education Council, in its recent policy report has recommended a definition

closer to the OECD's (TEC, 2006; 2007). But the agency that principally compiles statistical data on education, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) classifies tertiary education into two levels. Second level tertiary is constituted by teacher training, vocational and technical education while third level tertiary comprises colleges of education, Botswana College of Agriculture (BCA) and the University of Botswana. This classification is outdated as Teacher Training Colleges have long been upgraded to diploma awarding colleges of education (primary) and therefore would fall under level 3. Level 3 clearly meets the international criterion of tertiary education while level 2 includes some local institutions called Brigades, which border between secondary and tertiary education, often recruiting junior school leavers for vocational qualifications. These are closer to ISCED 4 constituted by prevocational, pre-technical, vocational and technical education.

Research Design and Methodology

It is in view of the limitations of this international data that this paper shifts specifically to the local context using data directly obtained from the Ministry of Education, the Tertiary Education Council (TEC) and local TE institutions to project patterns of participation. The Department of Student Placement and Welfare (DSPW) sponsorship data was analysed to determine who accesses tertiary education. The study also tracks the 2004 cohort of the Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education (BGCSE) and other senior school completers from elite private schools to tertiary institutions. Due to limitations of the DSPW data in reflecting individuals' demographic characteristics such as schools attended, school locality and SES, a cross-sectional survey of Year one 2005/06 tertiary education entrants was conducted to source this information. The students were randomly sampled from 9 different clusters of institutions as the first level cluster, followed by programmes of study and courses/subjects, to arrive at a representative sample. In all 1000 students were sampled. The whole data collection exercise lasted eight months, lasting from March – November 2006. Data was then analysed using SPSS. Descriptive statistics were used in the analysis

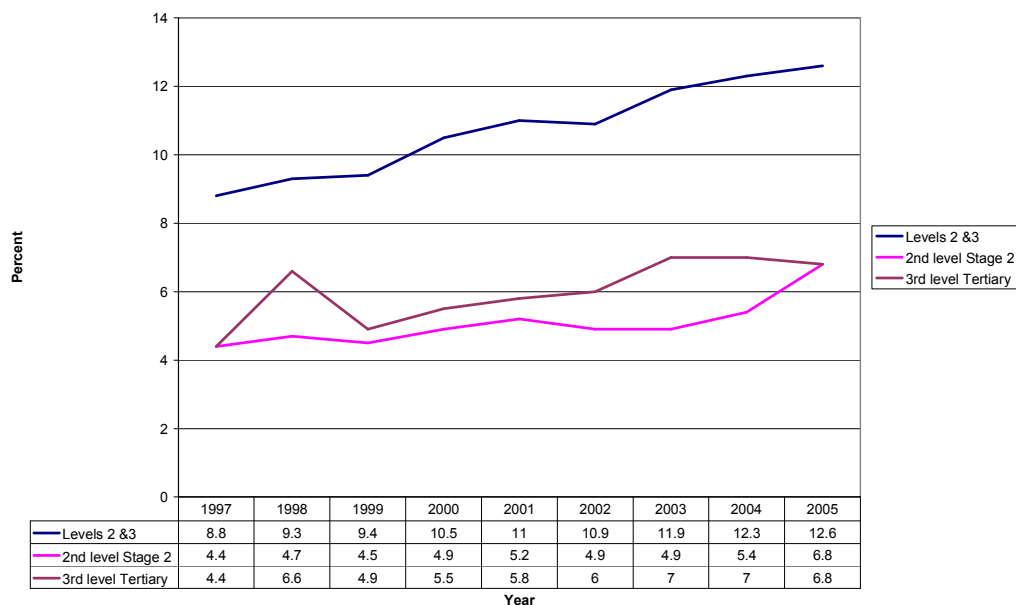
ACCESS TO POST-SECONDARY AND TERTIARY EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA

Since the 1980s Botswana's education system expanded rapidly to increase access to both primary and secondary schooling. Mass schooling has led to 100% transition from primary to junior secondary education and 67% transition from junior to senior secondary level with a projected increase to 83% by 2009 and 100% by 2015 (Botswana, 2008; Mogae, 2007). As such, access to basic ten year education, that is, up to junior secondary, is universal. Such a massive expansion has implications for the demand for tertiary education.

Figure 1 presents the level of access for post-secondary education in Botswana. This plots the number of school leavers who enrol in post-secondary institutions after school completion as a proportion of the age cohort of 18 year olds (TEC, 2007). The number of new entrants to year one, irrespective of age, is divided by the population of the official age (18 years) and multiplied by 100, with the purpose of showing the level of access to tertiary education of the eligible population (TEC, 2007). Between 1997 and 2005, the participation rate only increased by 2.4% for both level 2 and 3. Presently the tertiary education participation rate is 6.8% which translates into 7 students in every 100 accessing tertiary education. When this is viewed in relation to the size of the school age population, it can be seen that only a small proportion of school students make the transition to TE.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Figure 1: Level of Access to Post-secondary Education

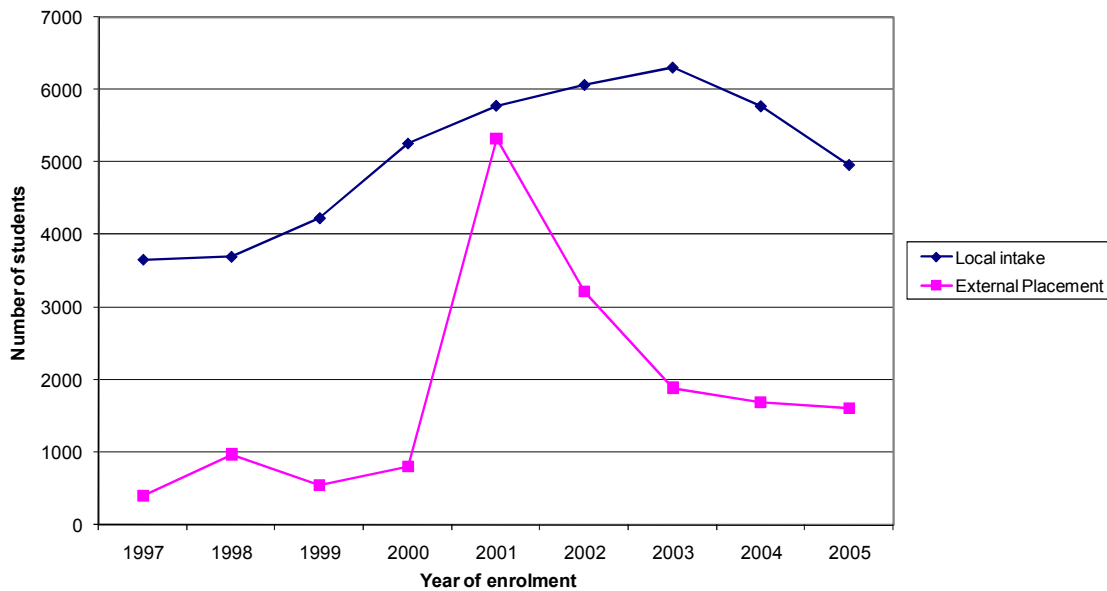


Source: Tertiary Education Council

Another way of examining participation is to document the number of government-sponsored students entering TE. Despite the limited participation in TE already noted, the numbers of sponsored students into this sector are also declining. Given the limited capacity of local tertiary education institutions to absorb a substantial number of students, the government has, over the years, funded students for placement in external institutions, mainly in South Africa. The number of students funded for external placement reached a peak in 2001, largely explained by the double intake resulting from the termination of a one year national service. So, 2001 really does not reflect an increase but shows that there were two cohorts of secondary school completers who entered tertiary education at the same time. **Figure 2** shows that since 2001, the number of students funded for external placement has dramatically dropped. The local intake equally took a downward trend after 2003.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Figure 2: New Students Sponsored for Tertiary Education, 1997-2005



These results show the potency of a selective education system. It is against this background that the next section examines the characteristics of those within the system. Admittedly, at this stage much winnowing has been done to separate husk from grain through senior school leaving examinations. But even then, institutions, curriculum streams or tracks, and programmes are hierarchical and absorb students differentially. The students themselves are imbued with varying cultural capital that interplays with the school type and location, and homes from which they come to position them for TE differentially. In short achievement may be mediated by social factors and the education system itself. Hence the need to closely examine achievement as a factor that determines students' placement in TE institutions. Is it the best meritocratic selection process as it is often made out to be?

ACHIEVEMENT DIFFERENCES FOR STUDENTS IN TERTIARY EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

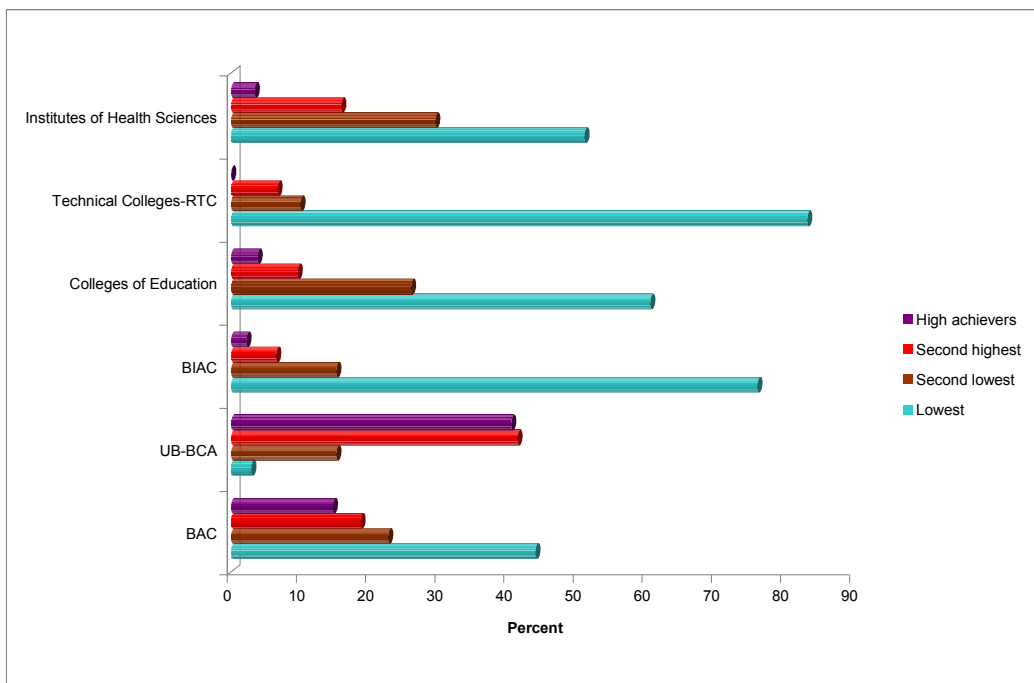
In Botswana in general, it is assumed that since students are automatically funded by government once they have been admitted by TE institutions, such funding equalises opportunities. All the students have to do is to perform well in the senior school

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

leaving certificate. Therefore such performance will determine where they fall in the TE landscape. In other words choice is restricted by performance at school level. **Figure 3** below shows the quartiles of achievement of students in the sample (n =1000) and how they are distributed in institutions. This achievement measure was constructed first by obtaining total points of the best six subjects in their school leaving certificate. The reported students' points were then divided into approximately four equal ranges, with the lowest achievers as 16-33 (27.8%), second lowest achievers; 34-35 (17.8%), second highest achievers; 36-38 (28.9%), and highest achievers; 39-48 (25.5%). The lowest achieving students appear to be spread out in all the institutions. However, they are more concentrated in the Technical Colleges-Roads Training Centre (RTC) and Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce (BIAC), the low status institutions in the hierarchy of institutions. They are virtually not represented in HE, constituted by the University of Botswana-Botswana College of Agriculture (UB-BCA). On the other hand, the highest achievers congregate predominantly in UB-BCA and Botswana Accountancy College (BAC) and are least represented in the low status institutions. In short, low achieving students seek refuge in Technical Colleges, BIAC, Colleges of Education and Institutes of Health Sciences (IHS).

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Figure 3: Institution by Quartiles of Achievement



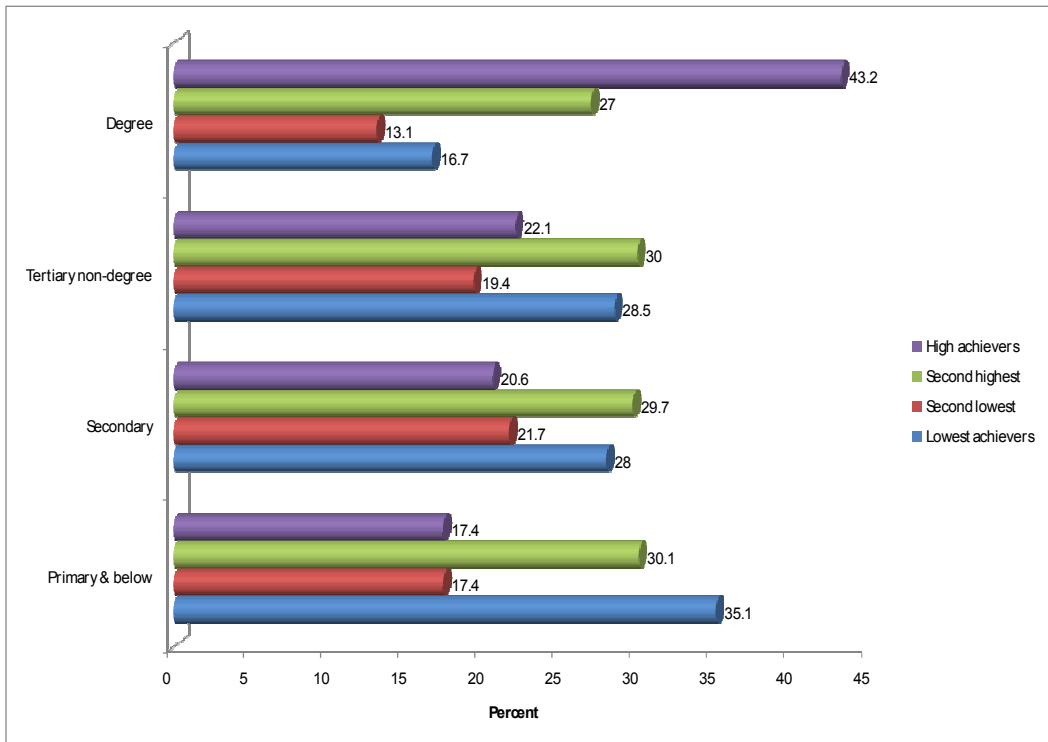
The relationship between students’ achievement and placement in a TE institution was assessed further. A statistical test, the Pearson chi-square was done. The institutions were grouped into UB-BCA (tertiary higher education) and Other (tertiary non-higher education). The academic profile of students entering UB-BCA is significantly different from those entering Other institutions. *The difference is statistically significant as indicated by a Pearson Chi Square value of 491.300 (Sig .000).

Achievement is not just a product of the innate abilities of individual students. It may be mediated by SES, the school and its social location. **Figure 4** below establishes the relationship between students’ achievement and the educational background of parents. 43.2% (96 of 222) of the students with parents possessing degrees are the highest achievers. Only 16.7% (37 of 222) fall in the lowest achievers’ category. In contrast 35.1% (99 of 282) of students from backgrounds where parents have primary school certificates or below are in the lowest achievement quartile. Further, only 17.4% (49 of 282) of students from that background are in the highest achievement quartile. Clearly, on the lowest and highest quartiles of achievement, there is some

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

association between achievement and parents’ educational background. If viewed in relation to the previous chart, it is students from homes with parents who have higher educational qualifications who access higher education while those from homes where parents are less educated are recruited by low status institutions such as Technical Colleges and BIAC.

Figure 4: Parents’ Education by Quartiles of Achievement



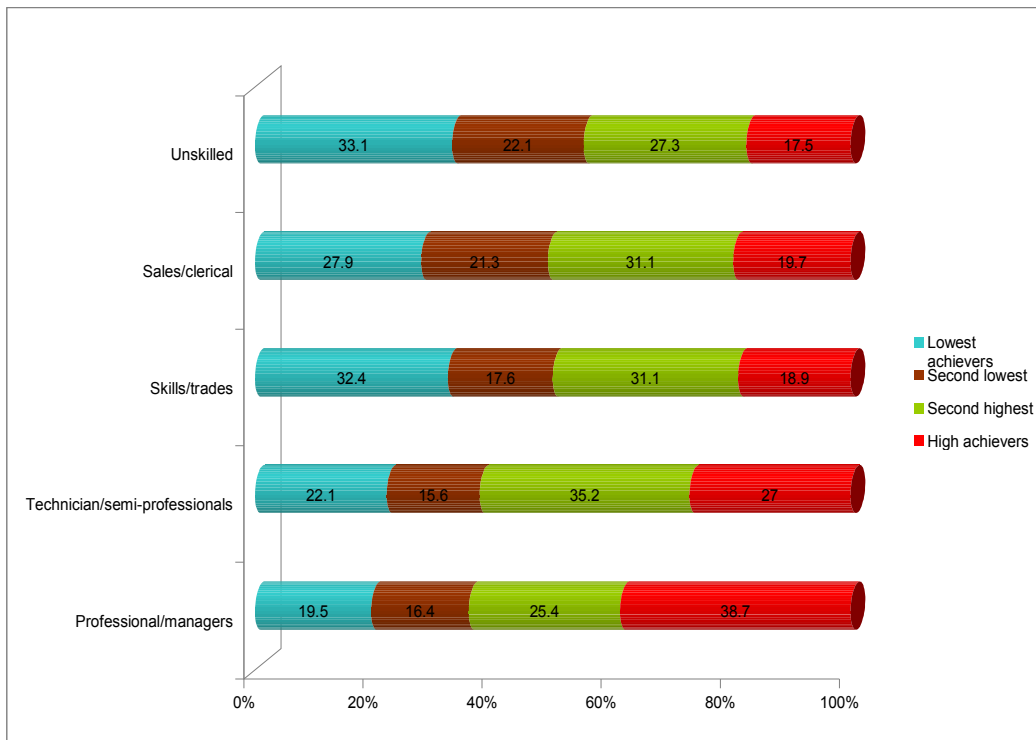
A related factor that may explain differences in achievement is the parents’ occupational background. As can be discerned from the figure below, the highest achievers dominate in the professional/managers category while the lowest achievers dominate in the unskilled occupational group. If we consider parental occupation, we find that 38.7% of students from a professional/managerial background are amongst the highest achievers. By way of contrast, 33.1% of students from an unskilled background are in the lowest achievement quartile.

This analysis shows that there is a relationship between SES and achievement measured in terms of parents’ occupation and education. Students in TE who come

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

from homes where parents are either professionals or possess degree qualifications are more likely to be high achievers on the basis of their school certificate results as opposed to those whose parents are unskilled or possess qualifications below secondary education who are more likely to be low achievers. Conversely this illustrates that SES is mediated through achievement. It is students from privileged homes who perform well in school and subsequently not only access TE but are recruited by its upper hierarchy institutions such as the UB-BCA.

Figure 5: Parents' Occupation by Quartiles of Achievement



When the location of students' homes is considered we find that nearly half of the students from cities/towns are in the highest achievement quartile – 46%. By contrast, only one in five rural students fall in the highest achievement quartile (**Table 1**).

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Table 1: How Would You Describe Your Home by Quartiles of Achievement

			Quartiles of Achievement				
			Lowest achievers	Second lowest	Second highest	Highest achievers	Total
How would you describe your home	Cities/towns	Count	25	16	33	63	137
		% within How would you describe your home	18.2%	11.7%	24.1%	46.0%	100.0%
	Urban villages	Count	164	97	129	120	510
		% within How would you describe your home	32.2%	19.0%	25.3%	23.5%	100.0%
	Rural	Count	75	57	114	61	307
		% within How would you describe your home	24.4%	18.6%	37.1%	19.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	264	170	276	244	954	
	% within How would you describe your home	27.7%	17.8%	28.9%	25.6%	100.0%	

Table 2 presents a cross tabulation of students' home region by achievement quartiles to illustrate the relationship between achievement and regions in which TE students' homes are located. Regionally, the cities/towns have the highest percentage of high achievers (42.9%) followed by the northern and central region with higher percentages of the second highest achievers at 41.5% and 29.8% respectively. At the other extreme, in the western region, 50% of the students fall within the lowest achievement quartile, though caution should be exercised given the low number of survey respondents in the region.

In general, these patterns are similar to those of other countries. But this is on top of a highly selective school and TE entrance system.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Table 2: Home Region by Quartiles of Achievement

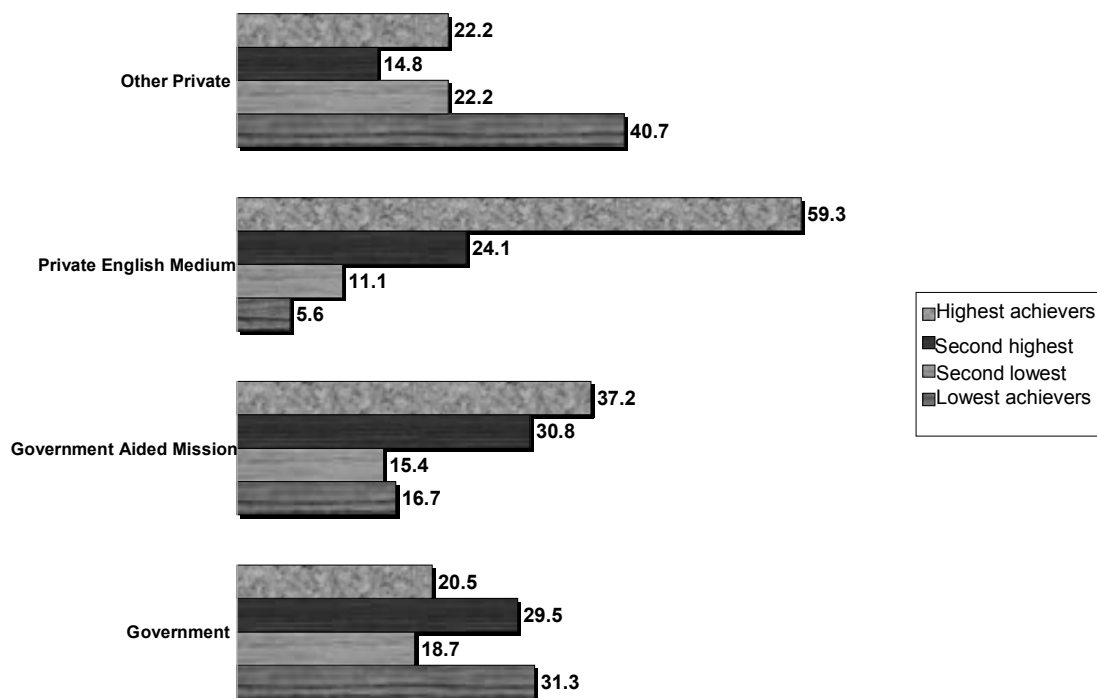
			Quartiles of Achievement				
			Lowest achievers	Second lowest	Second highest	Highest achievers	Total
Home region	Cities & towns	Count	26	19	39	63	147
		% within Home region	17.7%	12.9%	26.5%	42.9%	100.0%
	Eastern	Count	96	63	75	67	301
		% within Home region	31.9%	20.9%	24.9%	22.3%	100.0%
	Central	Count	107	66	111	89	373
		% within Home region	28.7%	17.7%	29.8%	23.9%	100.0%
	North	Count	28	18	49	23	118
		% within Home region	23.7%	15.3%	41.5%	19.5%	100.0%
	West	Count	10	5	3	2	20
		% within Home region	50.0%	25.0%	15.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		267	171	277	244	959
	% within Home region		27.8%	17.8%	28.9%	25.4%	100.0%

SCHOOLS AND THE POSITIONING OF STUDENTS FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION THROUGH ACHIEVEMENT

SES is not the sole determinant of students’ success in navigating their way into TE. Schools are agencies through which the privilege of accessing TE in a developing country like Botswana is constructed. This can emerge through varying patterns of performance of different schools which are also determined by structural factors such as their location, the resources they are endowed with and their institutional practices of shaping students’ attitudes towards study and success. My analysis therefore also sought to establish differences in achievement levels of students of different school types, localities and regions. **Figure 6** illustrates that 59.3% of students from Private English Medium schools are amongst the highest achievers. Further, many of the students from Government Aided Mission schools fall within the two highest quartiles of achievement. It is the students from the low status private schools i.e. schools recruiting largely low income students who have failed entry into public schools, who are most likely to be low achievers. As can be seen in this chart 40.7% of students from other private schools are in the lowest achievement quartile, followed by students in Government schools at 31.3%.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Figure 6: School Type by Quartiles of Achievement



When the location of schools is considered, **Table 3** below reflects that among students drawn from schools in the cities and towns, nearly one third are in the highest quartile of achievement - 31.8%, with another 30.3% in the second highest quartile. Within the urban village and rural area schools, the lowest achievers account for 34% and 30.4% respectively of all students.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Table 3: School Locality by Quartiles of Achievement

		Quartiles of Achievement				Total	
		Lowest achievers	Second lowest	Second highest	Highest achievers		
School locality	Cities/towns	Count	79	73	122	128	402
		% within School locality	19.7%	18.2%	30.3%	31.8%	100.0%
Urban villages	Count	157	80	132	93	462	
		% within School locality	34.0%	17.3%	28.6%	20.1%	100.0%
Rural	Count	28	18	24	22	92	
		% within School locality	30.4%	19.6%	26.1%	23.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	264	171	278	243	956	
		% within School locality	27.6%	17.9%	29.1%	25.4%	100.0%

A similar pattern emerges in school regions' patterns of achievement, further supporting evidence of the strength of students' home background in determining students' academic success as was observed in **Table 2**. Below, in the schools located in cities and towns, the majority of students fall within the highest bands of achievement. Schools in the northern region also position students well for TE as 40% of students from that region are in the second highest achievement quartile. In the other regions, most students congregate in the lowest achievement brackets. The worst performing region is the west. More than 85% of students from that region are in the low achievement quartiles.

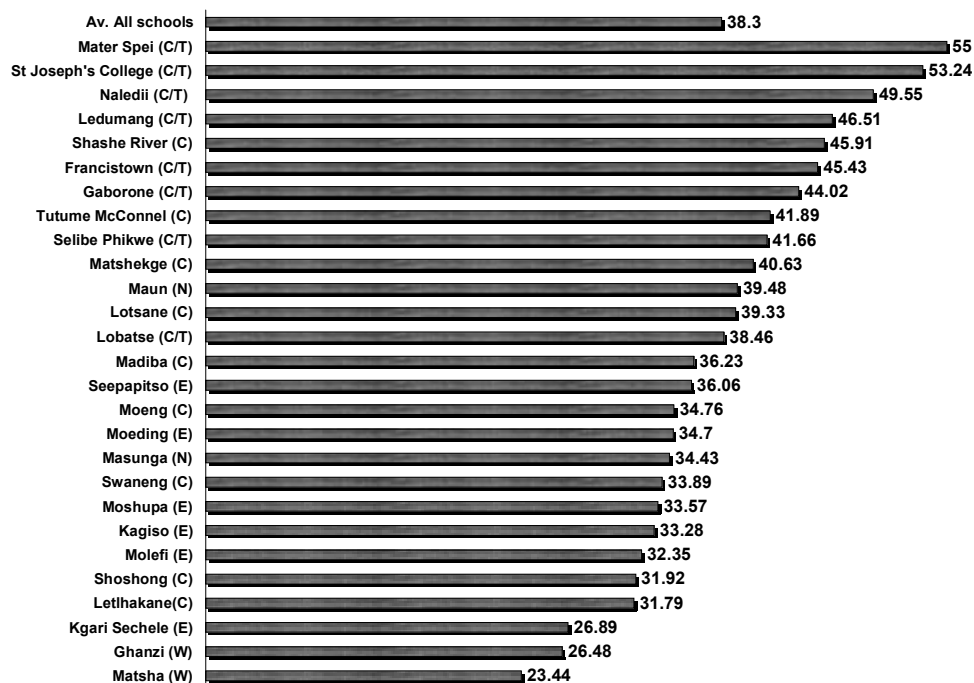
Table 4: School Region by Quartiles of Achievement

		Quartiles of Achievement				Total	
		Lowest achievers	Second lowest	Second highest	Highest achievers		
School region	Cities/towns	Count	79	72	122	128	401
		% within School region	19.7%	18.0%	30.4%	31.9%	100.0%
Eastern	Count	68	33	55	38	194	
		% within School region	35.1%	17.0%	28.4%	19.6%	100.0%
Central	Count	89	52	73	60	274	
		% within School region	32.5%	19.0%	26.6%	21.9%	100.0%
North	Count	16	7	26	16	65	
		% within School region	24.6%	10.8%	40.0%	24.6%	100.0%
West	Count	12	7	2	1	22	
		% within School region	54.5%	31.8%	9.1%	4.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	264	171	278	243	956	
		% within School region	27.6%	17.9%	29.1%	25.4%	100.0%

This regional disparity in schools' performance becomes even more apparent when the school's actual performance in the senior school certificate, BGCSE, is taken into account. Although it has not been possible to obtain results of elite private schools, they tend to perform well above public schools. The 2006 academic results of three elite private schools (available on the internet) that recruit citizen middle class students other than expatriate children illustrate this point. In 2006 'A' level results, the oldest elite private school in the country, Maru-A-Pula, had a 100% pass rate, with A and B grades at 76.5% and A, B, and C grades at 89.8% (Maru-A-Pula, 2007a). The school reports that unlike other international schools, it purposely recruits a high percentage of local citizens as over half its students are Batswana (Maru-A-Pula, 2007b). A school with a similar recruitment pattern, Legae Academy, posted 89.4% credit pass rate and 99.9% overall pass rate for the 2006 IGCSE (Legae Academy, 2007). On the HIGCSE the school obtained a credit pass rate of 98% (Legae Academy, 2007). Similarly Rainbow school obtained a 100% pass rate in the 2006 IGCSE and the best Mathematics results in the region (Rainbow School, 2007). Even though these are results for different certificates, anecdotally, if we consider that they are all entry qualifications for TE and HE, as is the government BGCSE, these schools perform better than public schools. Similarly, low status private schools perform well below public schools (Ministry of Education (MoE), 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006).

Figure 7 presents results of computed average performance of public schools as sourced from the MoE. This includes both government and Government Aided Mission schools. In this chart, letters in parenthesis denote the school regions. As can be observed, high performing schools in the BGCSE are cities and town schools (C/T). The only school in that regional category that does not seem to be doing well is Lobatse at 38.46%. Even then, it is in the middle range of performance and performs slightly above average. At the lowest end are two schools in the west. These perform well below average. Similarly, all schools in the east perform below average. It is also important to note that the highest performing schools are the Government Aided Mission schools. Mater Spei, St Joseph's, Maun and Moeding are Government Aided Mission schools. Therefore, Moeding is the only Government Aided Mission School whose average performance in the six year period is below average (34.7%)

Figure 7: Average Percentage of Candidates Awarded 5 Grade Cs or Better 2001-2006



Source: Ministry of Education Examinations, Research and Testing Division

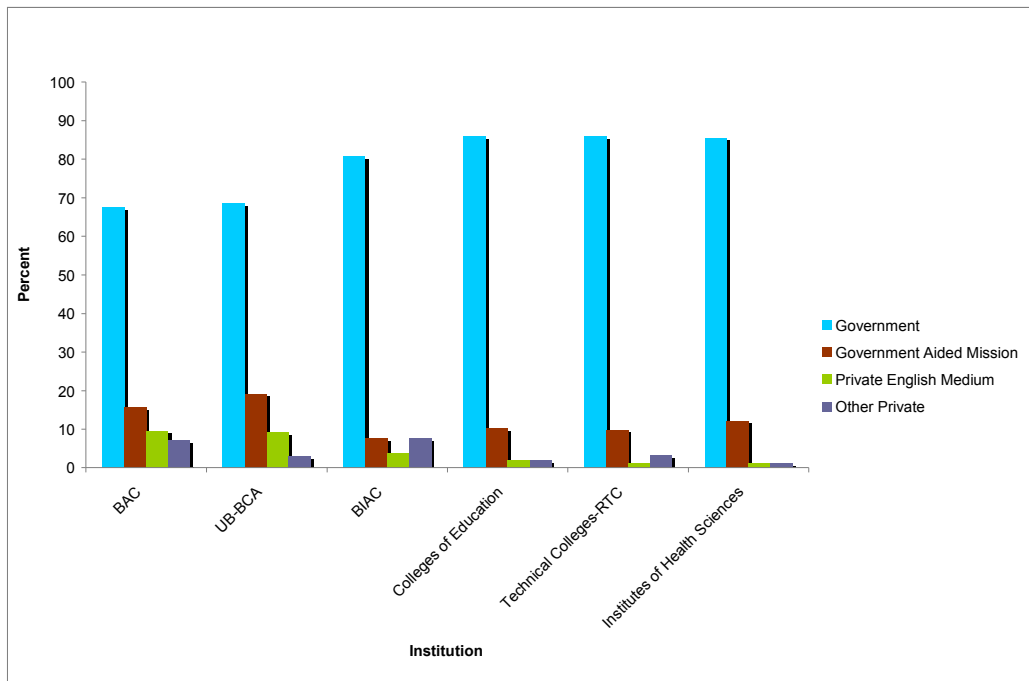
SCHOOLS AND THE STRUCTURING OF RECRUITMENT FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION

In Botswana, the largest pool of students that graduate from the school system are from the state system, followed by government aided mission schools which receive subsidies from the government. At government level, a distinction is not made between government aided mission schools and government schools except in terms of governance structures. These schools do not only receive funding from the state but are equally staffed by state trained and employed teachers. But the two types of schools and private schools, position students for TE differentially. Despite their small number, elite private schools tend to channel students to the higher streams of the system. As can be discerned from **Figure 8** the students from elite Private English Medium schools congregate in the UB-BCA and BAC (high status institutions) and are virtually absent from other institutions. We see that government school students

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

dominate in all institutions. However, BAC and UB-BCA have higher proportion of Government Aided Mission and Private English Medium school students than do other institutions. In the UB-BCA 68.6% (394 of 574) of the students are from government schools, followed by 19.2% (110 of 574) Government Aided Mission, 9.2% (53 of 574) Private English Medium and 3% (17 of 574) Other Private. In Botswana Accountancy College they are 67.5% (56 of 83), 15.7% (13 of 83), 9.6% (8 of 83) and 7.2% (6 of 83) in that order.

Figure 8: School Types and Placement in Tertiary Education Institutions

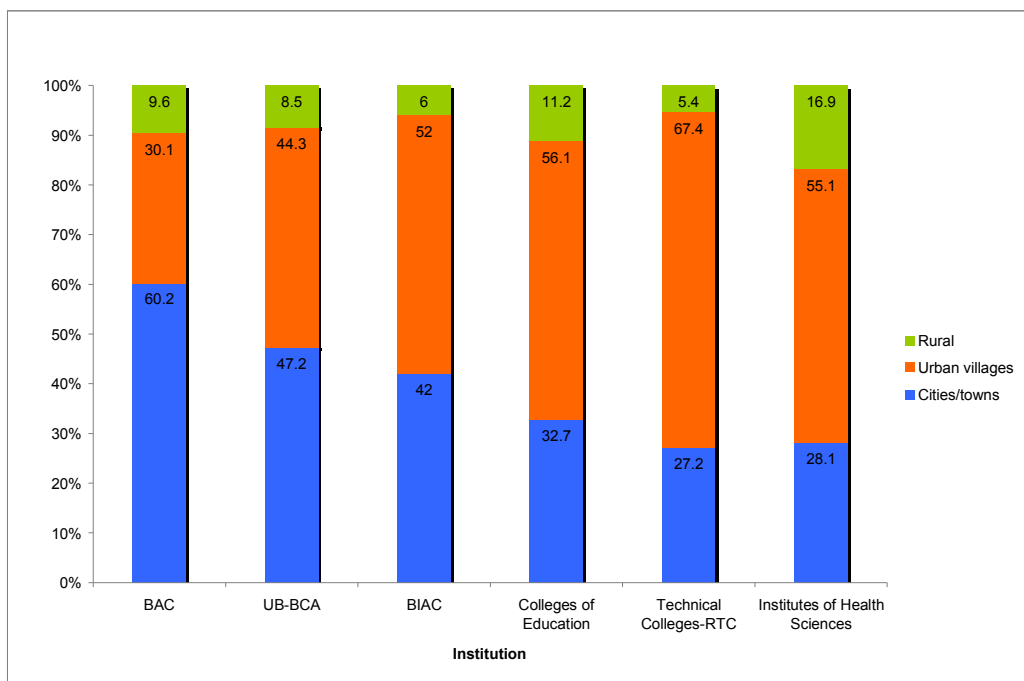


A chi-square test was performed to test the null hypothesis of no association between school type and placement in the UB-BCA and other types of institutions. An association between school type and placement in either UB-BCA or some other institutions was established, $\chi^2(3, N=998) = 28.3, p < 0.001$.

PATTERNING RECRUITMENT INTO TERTIARY EDUCATION THROUGH SCHOOL LOCATION

In the previous sections, it was observed that there are regional variations in achievement of students in TE. It was observed that the schools located in cities and towns have higher proportions of the highest achievers. It may therefore be necessary to determine if this achievement difference corresponds with students recruited into TE by school location and region. **Figure 9** shows that most students in TE institutions are from schools in the cities/towns and urban villages, with the rural schools least represented. It must be noted that most schools are located in cities/towns and urban villages. Out of 27 public schools, only 4 are rural, 15 are in urban villages and 8 are located in cities/towns. The majority of private schools are in the cities/towns. But as can be seen in this chart, it is the institutions that are highest in the hierarchy of Botswana's TE that recruit proportionally more students from the schools in cities and towns. Teacher Education Colleges and Institutes of Health Sciences, institutions that offer traditional career paths such as nursing and teaching, are more likely to recruit rural school students than are BAC or UB-BCA, even though all institutions recruit mainly from the cities/towns and urban villages.

Figure 9: Students Distribution in Tertiary Education Institutions by School Location

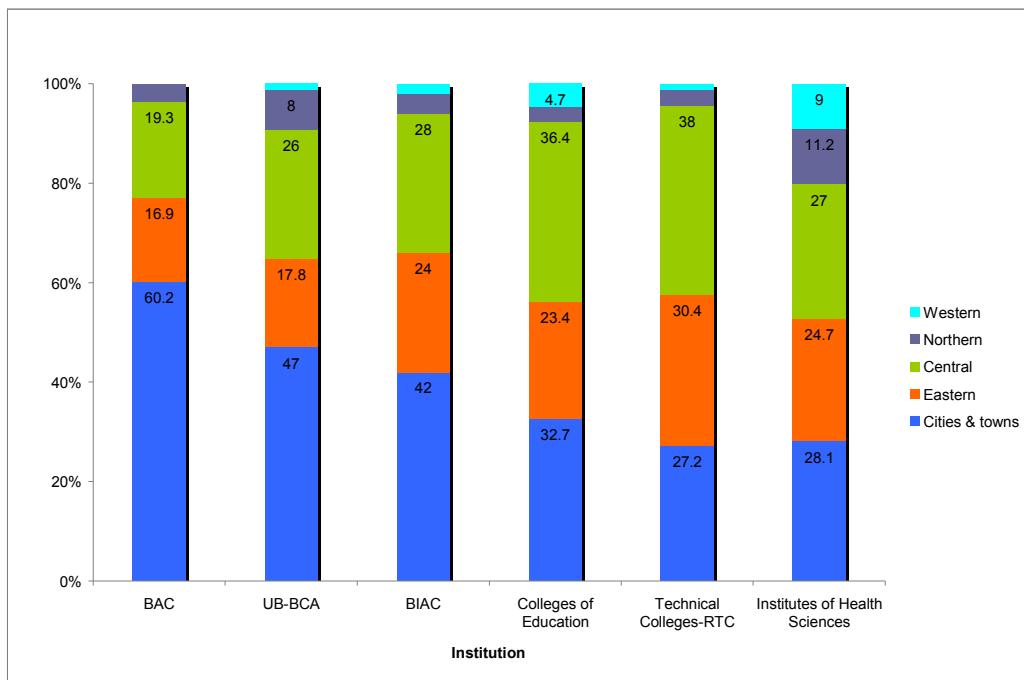


Schools, Examinations and Social Power

The relationship between school locality and tertiary institution is a strong one. Differences in the pattern of recruitment between UB-BCA and other institutions, for example, are statistically significant (Pearson chi-square 10.230 –Sig. 0.006).

On the other hand **Figure 10** indicates that the regions that send most students into the system are the cities/towns, central and eastern. The western region is the least represented. Although this may be explained by the distribution of schools regionally, it has already been established that achievement is a significant factor. While most public schools are in the central district, it can be seen that most students are from the cities and towns.

Figure 10: School Region and Distribution of Students in Tertiary Education Institutions

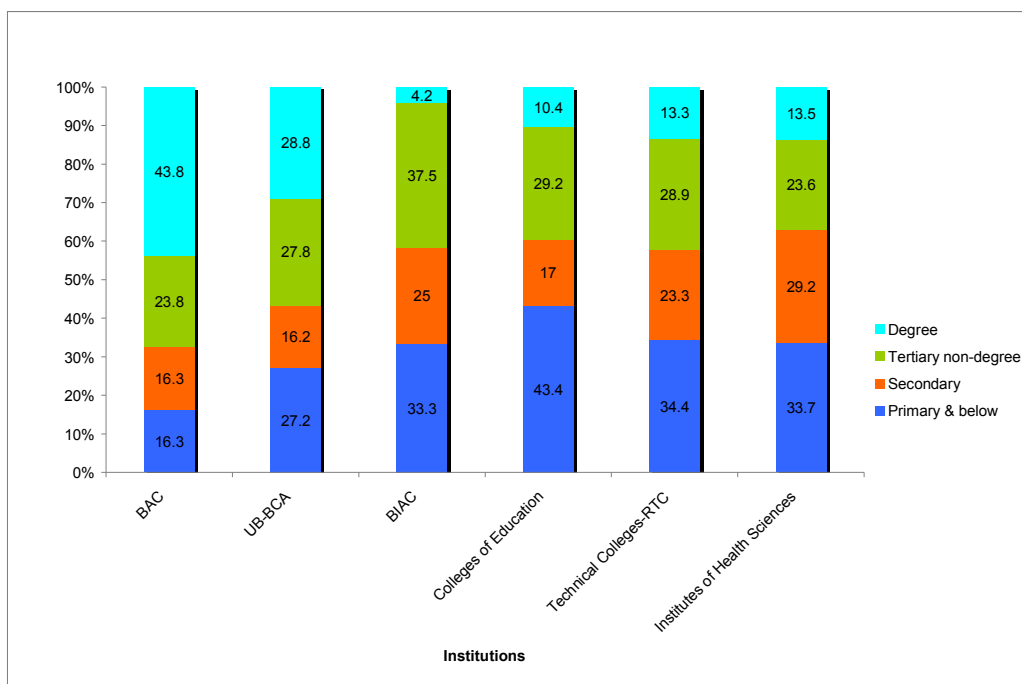


RECRUITMENT PATTERNS OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

STUDENTS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

In correspondence with what was established in the previous sections that there is a relationship between students' academic achievement and their parents' educational background, it can be seen in **Figure 11** that institutions at the top end of Botswana's TE structure have more students whose parents are degree holders, with the BAC and UB-BCA recruiting proportionally more students from that background. These two institutions also have the least students whose parents have lower educational qualifications. Students from such backgrounds are predominant in Colleges of Education and other institutions.

Figure 11: Placement in Tertiary Education by Parents' Educational Qualifications



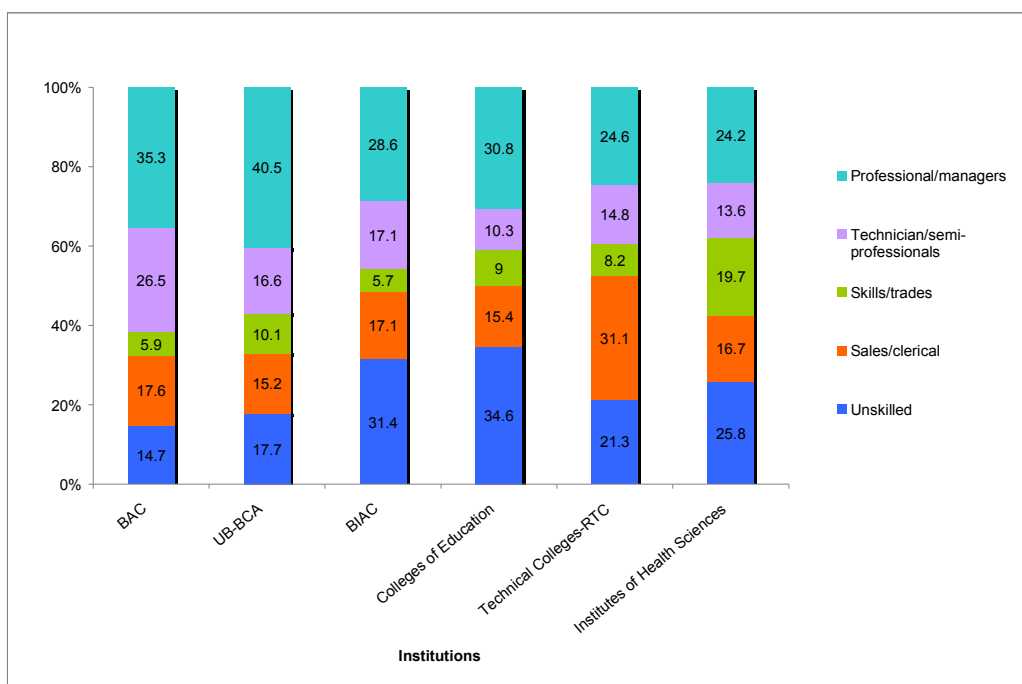
These findings are reflected in an analysis of intake by parents' occupation. **Figure 12** shows that the UB-BCA is the institution which recruits the highest proportion of students from a professional background. It is the Colleges of Education that are most likely to recruit students whose parents have unskilled jobs, followed by BIAC, and the IHS. The Technical College students largely come from the Sales/clerical

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

occupation group. As such, the low income students congregate in these institutions and are least represented in the high status institutions. But among all the occupation groups, the least represented in the UB-BAC is the Skills/trades group. It also worth noting that even though the professional background students are predominant in the top end institutions, they are still well distributed in all the other institutions. They are the second most represented group in other institutions.

It was also observed that the SES of students entering UB-BCA is different from those entering other institutions. When parental education is used as a measure of SES, the difference is statistically significant, with a Pearson chi-square value of 19.509 (Sig .000). Even when parental occupation is used as a measure of SES, it is still statistically significant as indicated by a Pearson chi-square value of 11.353 (Sig .023).

Figure 12: Placement in Tertiary Education by Parents' Occupation



Previously, it was observed that SES is a significant factor in determining achievement. It was established that students from professional backgrounds and higher education backgrounds are more likely to be the highest achievers recruited

into tertiary education. Here, these results show that it is the same category of students who access institutions that offer the most prestigious programmes. This advantage is twofold. They do not only access high status institutions but are well represented in all other institutions. Their low income counterparts, however, settle for teaching in Colleges of Education, nursing and other health related programmes in the IHS, lower administrative/secretarial programmes offered by BIAC, and the vocational education programmes in the Technical Colleges.

STUDENTS' HOME LOCATION AND ENTRY INTO TERTIARY EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Having shown a relationship between SES and recruitment into Botswana's TE institutions, this paper now seeks to determine the home location of TE students to discern if this produces variations in the routes that they take into the different institutions. It must be pointed out that even though students personally reported the location of their permanent homes, on the basis of the location name given, this was cross-checked using the 2001 census location classification. Corrections were made where necessary. In **Figures 13** and **14** it can be seen that most students in TE institutions describe their permanent homes as urban and rural villages. But the BAC and UB-BCA have proportionally more students from the cities as compared to other institutions.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Figure 13: Institution by Students' Home Location

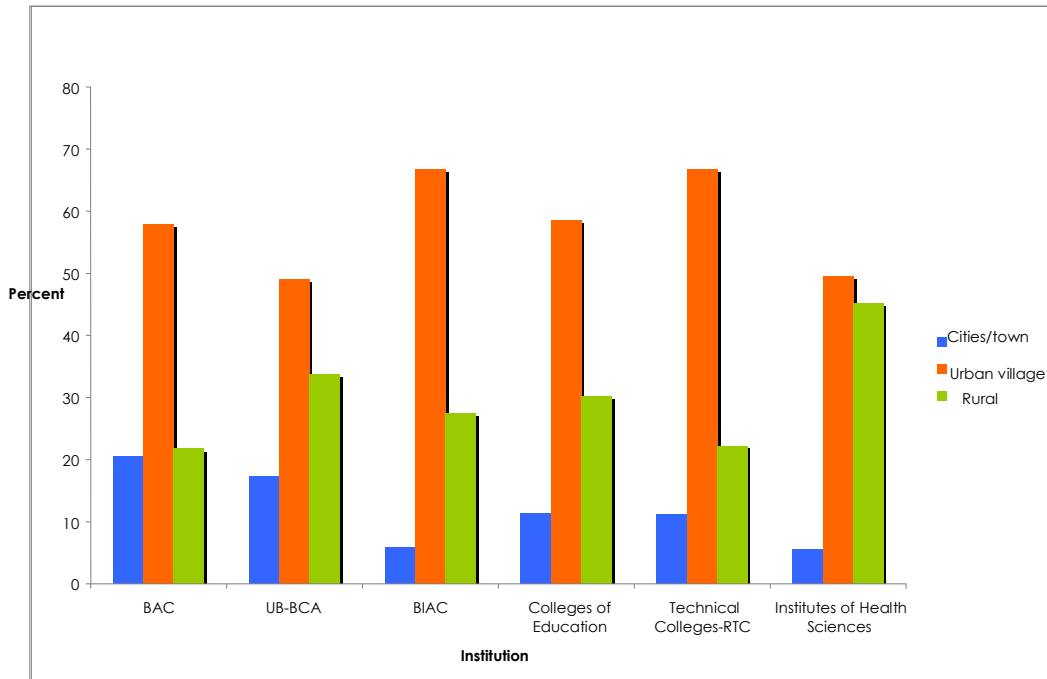
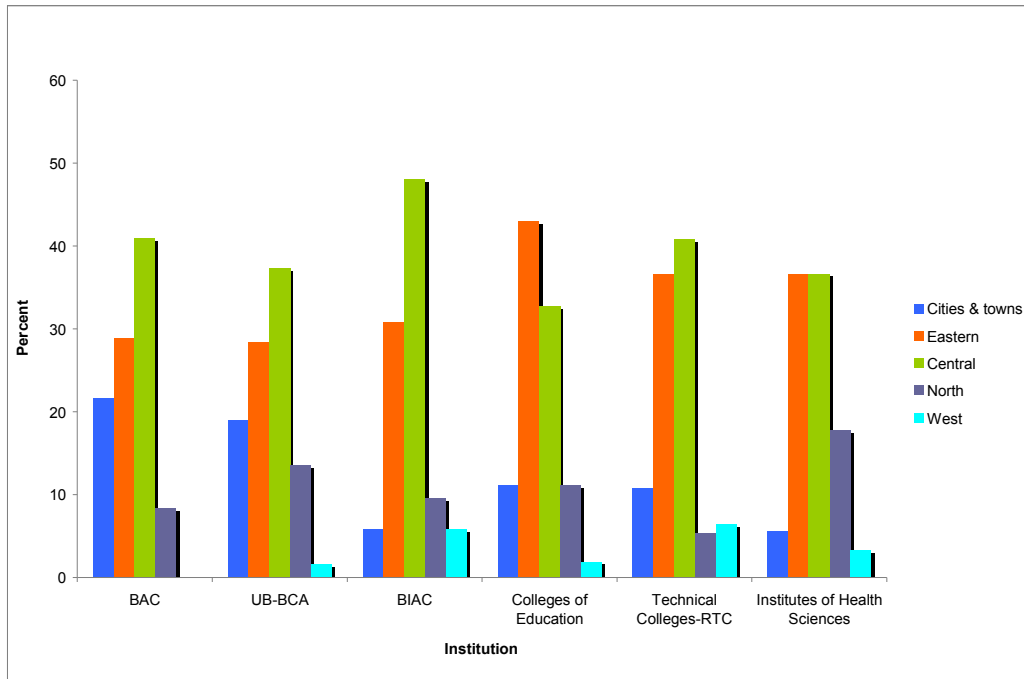


Figure 14 shows that most students in tertiary education institutions are from homes in the central and eastern region. However, the more prestigious institutions, BAC and UB-BCA, are more likely to enrol students from the cities/towns than are the remaining institutions. Furthermore, students from the north are well represented in the UB-BCA and IHS. The least represented region in all the institutions is the west. All this neatly links with achievement patterns that were examined previously. But this must also be viewed in relation to the population and the availability of senior schools in that region. There are only two senior schools in western Botswana.

Figure 14: Institution by Students' Home Region



GENDER AND PLACEMENT IN TERTIARY EDUCATION

Unequal access cannot just be explained by how students of different SES, regions and schools navigate their way into different streams of TE and institutions. It is the programmes of study to which they are admitted that determine where they will ultimately fall in the labour market. These programmes offer different economic rewards and employment opportunities. Like the institutions that offer them, they are also hierarchical and are likely to select students not just on the basis of achievement as is often assumed in supposed meritocratic systems. **Table 5** shows the cross tabulation of field of study by gender. Almost all the fields are dominated by females except Engineering and Technology, Science, and Computer Science/ICT. What is pleasing is that even in the prestigious programmes like Medicine and Law, females appear to be doing well. As such these results depart from those of other parts of the developing world and may reflect the more equal opportunities that males and females have in accessing the lower levels of the education system.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

Table 5: Distribution of Students in Fields of Study by Gender

Field of study		Gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Accounting, finance, marketing and management	Count	90	61	151
	% within Field of study	59.6%	40.4%	100.0%
Agriculture and animal science	Count	17	4	21
	% within Field of study	81.0%	19.0%	100.0%
Computer science/Information Technology	Count	28	38	66
	% within Field of study	42.4%	57.6%	100.0%
Education	Count	121	80	201
	% within Field of study	60.2%	39.8%	100.0%
Engineering and technology	Count	9	41	50
	% within Field of study	18.0%	82.0%	100.0%
Humanities	Count	62	18	80
	% within Field of study	77.5%	22.5%	100.0%
Health sciences	Count	63	37	100
	% within Field of study	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
Law	Count	33	21	54
	% within Field of study	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
Medicine	Count	13	8	21
	% within Field of study	61.9%	38.1%	100.0%
Office administration and secretarial services	Count	8	1	9
	% within Field of study	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%
Science	Count	23	36	59
	% within Field of study	39.0%	61.0%	100.0%
Social science (other)	Count	75	35	110
	% within Field of study	68.2%	31.8%	100.0%
Vocational and technical education	Count	46	31	77
	% within Field of study	59.7%	40.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	588	411	999
	% within Field of study	58.9%	41.1%	100.0%
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

But over the years, males have been performing better than females in the BGCSE. The BGCSE results for the 2003-2006 academic years show that although there are fluctuations in the performance of males and females, the achievement of males as measured by the percentage of Grade Cs or better, is significantly better than that of their female counterparts (MoE, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). Furthermore, there are variations in achievement for Languages, Mathematics and the Sciences. While the females consistently performed better than males in Languages, males performed very much better than females in Mathematics and the Sciences (MoE, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). This may partly explain the under-representation of females in Engineering

and Technology, Computer Science/IT and Science reported in **Table 5**. In the same period, males outperformed females in all the subject groupings (MoE, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). **Table 6** shows that although males are more likely to fall in the highest achievement quartile, there are proportionally more females in the second highest achievement quartile.

Table 6: Gender by Achievement

		Quartiles of Achievement					
		Lowest achievers	Second lowest	Second highest	Highest achievers	Total	
Gender	Female	Count	143	103	185	131	562
		% within Gender	25.4%	18.3%	32.9%	23.3%	100.0%
	Male	Count	124	68	92	114	398
		% within Gender	31.2%	17.1%	23.1%	28.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	267	171	277	245	960
		% within Gender	27.8%	17.8%	28.9%	25.5%	100.0%

DISCUSSION

Botswana has committed itself to increasing opportunities for educational participation. In Botswana, every child who completes primary education is guaranteed a place at junior secondary school through the ten years of basic education. But as progression is made to the senior secondary level, constituted by the last two years of the secondary cycle, participation falls to 67%, according to the latest figures (Botswana, 2008). When progression is made to the upper level of tertiary education participation shrinks even further, to 6.8%. Tertiary education is therefore the preserve of a few as the number of 18-24 year olds not enrolled has been increasing over the period under consideration. This is not helped by the decline of students funded for tertiary education against increasing demand. The alternative for early school leavers is employment. But the population weeded by the system from junior secondary level upwards cannot necessarily be said to be working as the 2005/2006 Labour force survey reports that the youth constitute a significant percentage of the population of the unemployed, with the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

ranking above all age groups at an unemployment rate of 26.8% and 35.2% respectively (Botswana, 2006).

These results indicate a relationship between students' academic achievement and SES. Students who come from home backgrounds where one of the parents possesses a higher educational qualification are more likely to be high achieving. In students' homes where parents have degrees, 43.2% of the students are in the highest achievement quartile as compared to 16.7% in the lowest achievement quartile. But in homes where parents have primary school certificates or below, 35.1% are in the lowest achievement quartile as compared to only 17.4% in the highest achievement quartile. A similar pattern emerges if parental occupational background is employed as a measure of SES. Nearly 4 in 10 students (38.7%) from a professional/managerial background fall in the highest quartile of achievement. This is in stark contrast to the unskilled occupational group amongst whom fewer than 2 in 10 (17.5%) fall in the highest achievement quartile. As such this evidence, like that of studies in other developing countries reflects a TE system that replicates social hierarchies. The system is not only characterised by hierarchies that privilege the already privileged, but is also an agency through which elitism is constructed, a typical trait of a conditioned small state. The privileged that enter the system are sorted and slotted into different streams of the system through achievement that is in itself determined by the schools, homes, and localities from which they originate.

These results show that Botswana's TE and education in general is preparing low SES and high SES students for different kinds of jobs, with higher status institutions reserved for high SES students. Tertiary education institutions are open markets for auctioning class advantages and the lowest bidders are students from the lower SES strata, low performing schools and regions, and government and low status private schools. It has been established that the lowest achieving students are virtually unrepresented in the HE sector of TE. It is the highest achieving students who are found in this sector and are also well represented in other types of institutions. Low achieving students seek refuge in the lower streams of TE represented by low status institutions such as the Technical Colleges, Roads Training Centre, BIAC, IHS and the Colleges of Education. These results also show how Botswana's TE institutions, like others in the developed and developing countries, select students along social

class lines. The UB-BCA and BAC, institutions that have programme diversity and offer high status programmes, largely recruit students from the upper SES background. Low SES students are mainly channelled to colleges and other institutions.

Although the majority of students in Botswana's TE are from state schools, elite private schools are more likely to channel their students to high status institutions. The results also reflect the fact that most students in TE institutions are from schools located in the cities/towns and urban villages. Despite the concentration of Botswana's senior secondary schools in urban villages, it is the students from schools within cities/towns that dominate in the higher education streams of Botswana's TE as represented by UB-BCA. Colleges are more likely to recruit rural school students.

There are also regional variations in this selection process. Most students are from the urban and rural villages, the Central and Eastern Region. However, students who are more likely to attend UB-BCA and BAC identify their home locations in the cities/towns. Students admitted in UB-BCA and the IHS are more likely to be from the North. Those from the West are the least represented in these institutions. Therefore Western region homes and schools send least students into tertiary education. This is a region that is not only remote but is populated by indigenous minorities, the Basarwa (Bushman or the San) and other remote area communities whose poverty levels are very high and occupy the lowest rung of Botswana's linguistic, social and economic ladder. Also, schools in that region have high dropout rates and are generally not student friendly (Polelo, 2005, Polelo & Molefe, 2006).

What is pleasing though is that gender differences in placement in the fields of study are not great. Nonetheless, the key areas of Science, Engineering and Technology, and Computer Science/ICT still reflect significant gender differences in access, as females are less represented in these fields.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the recruitment patterns of Botswana's TE show that the scale is tilted in favour of privileged social groups. It is a system that functions as an elite formation agency. The TE system, an agency that propels individuals and groups to different social positions in the socio-economic hierarchy, is implicated in the construction of elitism. It has been observed that students from high income backgrounds, middle class recruiting schools, and metropolitan areas, are more likely to access the higher education sub-sector of Botswana's TE system. It is this sector that positions them for more economically rewarding occupations like those of their parents. But SES intersects with urbanity, rurality and regionalism in explaining this difference, as evidenced by the lower representation of students from the west and rural areas in that sector.

REFERENCES

- Alston, M. M., & Kent, J. (2003). Educational Access for Australia's Rural Young People: A Case of Social Exclusion. *Australian Journal of Education*, 47(1), 5-17.
- Archer, L., & Hutchings, M. (2000). 'Bettering Yourself'? Discourses of Risk, Cost and Benefit in Ethnically Diverse, Young Working Class Non-participants, Constructions of Higher Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 21(4), 555-574.
- Archer, L., Leathwood, C., & Hutchings, M. (2002). Higher Education: A Risky Business. In A. Hayton & A. Paczuska (Eds.), *Access, Participation and Higher Education: Policy and Practice*. London: Kogan Page.
- Archer, L., & Yamashita, H. (2003). 'Knowing their Limits'? Identities, Inequalities and Inner City School Leavers' Post-16 Aspirations. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(1), 53-69.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2005). *Australian Social Trends*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Ball, S. J., Davies, J., David, M., & Reay, D. (2002). 'Classification' and 'Judgement': Social Class and the 'Cognitive Structure' of Choice of Higher Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23(1), 51-72.
- Ball, S. J., & Vincent, C. (1998). 'I heard it on the grapevine': 'hot' knowledge and school choice. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19(3), 377-400.
- Botswana Government. (2008). *Budget Speech Delivered to the National Assembly on the 4th February 2008 by Honourable Minister B. Gaolatlhe, Minister of Finance and Development Planning*. Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Botswana Government. (2006). *Preliminary 2005/06 Labour Force Survey Results*. Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, Botswana Government.
- Coates, H., & Krause, K. (2005). Investigating Ten Years of Equity Policy in Australian Higher Education. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 27(1), 35-47.
- Dabalén, A., Oni, B., & Adekola, O. A. (2001). Labour Market Prospects for University Graduates in Nigeria. *Higher Education Policy*, 14(141-159).
- Fisher, G. (1998). Policy, Governance and the Reconstruction of Higher Education in South Africa. *Higher Education Policy*, 11, 121-140.

- Griesel, H. (1999). *Access and the Higher Education Sector: A South African Case Study on Policy and Programme Achievement*. Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) & South African National Department of Education (DoE).
- Hall, D., & Thomas, H. (2005). Links Between Higher Education and Employers in Malawi: The Need for a Dialogue. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 27(1), 67-69.
- Hayton, A., & Paczuska, A. (Eds.). (2002). *Access, Participation and Higher Education: Policy and Practice*. London: Kogan Page.
- Hopkin, A. G. (2004). Frame Factors and a Quality Assurance Agency in an 'Embryonic' Higher Education System. *Quality in Higher Education*, 10(3), 181-195.
- James, R. (2007). Social Equity in a Mass, Globalised Higher Education Environment: The Unresolved Issue of Widening Access to University. Faculty of Education Dean's Lecture Series , University of Melbourne, 18 September 2007.
- Jansen, J. D. (2002). Political Symbolism as Policy Craft: Explaining Non-reform in South African Education After Apartheid. *Journal of Education Policy*, 17(2), 199-215.
- Kariwo, M. T. (2007). Widening Access in Higher Education in Zimbabwe. *Higher Education Policy*, 20, 45-59.
- Leathwood, C., & Hayton, A. (2002). Educational Inequalities in the United Kingdom: A Critical Analysis of the Discourses and Policies of New Labour. *Australian Journal of Education*, 46(2), 138-153.
- Legae Academy. (2007). *Legae Academy: Principal's Report*. Retrieved January 05, 2008, from http://www.info.bw/~legae/principals_report.htm
- Levy, S., & Murray, J. (2005). Tertiary Entrance Scores Need Not Determine Academic Success: An Analysis of Student Performance in an Equity and Access Programme. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*,
- Lynch, K., & O'Riordan, C. (1998). Inequality in Higher Education: A Study of Class Barriers. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19(4), 445-478.
- Macrae, S., & Maguire, M. (2002). Getting in and Getting on: Choosing the Best. In A. Hayton & A. Paczuska (Eds.), *Access, Participation and Higher Education: Policy and Practice* (pp. 23-39). London: Kogan Page.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

- Maru-A-Pula School. (2007a). *Maru-A-Pula: Academic Results*. Retrieved January 05, 2008, from <http://maruapula.org/pages/at-a-glance/academic-results.php>
- Maru-A-Pula School. (2007b). *Maru-A-Pula: Brief History and Organizational Overview*. Retrieved January 05, 2008, from <http://maruapula.org/pages/at-a-glance/history.php>
- McCowan, T. (2004). The Growth of Private Higher Education in Brazil: Implications for Equity and Quality. *Journal of Education Policy*, 19(4), 453-472.
- McCowan, T. (2007). Expansion without Equity: An Analysis of Current Policy on Access to Higher Education in Brazil. *Higher Education*, 53, 579-598.
- Mckenzie, K., & Schweitzer, R. (2001). Who Succeeds at University? Factors Predicting Academic Performance in First Year Australian University Students. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 20(1), 21-33.
- Ministry of Education. (2003). *Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education 2003 Examination Summary Results*. Gaborone: Examinations Research and Testing Division.
- Ministry of Education. (2004). *Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education 2004 Examination Summary Results*. Gaborone: Examinations Research and Testing Division.
- Ministry of Education. (2005). *Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education 2005 Examination Summary Results*. Gaborone: Examinations Research and Testing Division.
- Ministry of Education. (2006). *Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education 2006 Examination Summary Results*. Gaborone: Examinations Research and Testing Division.
- Mogae, F. (2007). *State of the Nation Address to the Fourth Session of the Ninth Parliament, 5th November 2007*.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2005). *Education Policy Analysis*. Paris: OECD.
- Office of National Statistics. (2005). *Social Trends*. Houndmills: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- Polelo, M. M. (2005). School Dropout Among Remote Area Dwellers of Western Botswana: A Socio-cultural Analysis. *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 19(1), 85-102.

Schools, Examinations and Social Power

- Polelo, M. M., & Molefe, D. B. (2006). Minorities on the Margins: Gendered School Dropout in Remote Area Dweller Settlement Schools of Botswana. *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 20(2), 126-139.
- Rainbow School. (2007). *Rainbow School: Curriculum*. Retrieved January 05, 2008, from http://www.rainbowschool.ac.bw/curriculum_exam_results.htm
- Scott, D. (2005). Retention, Completion and Progression in Tertiary Education in New Zealand. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 27(1), 3-17.
- Shiner, M., & Modood, T. (2002). Help and Hindrance? Higher Education and the Route to Ethnic Equality. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23(2), 209-232.
- Siphambe, H. (2000). Rates of Return to Education in Botswana. *Economics of Education Review*, 19, 291-300
- Teese, R., & Polese, J. (2003). *Undemocratic Schooling: Equity and Quality in Mass Tertiary Education*. Council. (2006). *Towards a Knowledge Society: A Proposal for a Tertiary Education Policy for Botswana - Technical Report*. Gaborone: Tertiary Education Council.
- Tertiary Education Council. (2007). *Just the Facts: Tertiary Education Student Demographics - A Report to Stakeholders*. Gaborone: Tertiary Education Council.
- UNESCO-UIS. (2006). ISCED-97. UNESCO. from www.uis.unesco.org
- World Bank. (2002). *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education*. Washington D.C: World Bank.