

**INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION
ON THE LIFE AND CULTURE OF THE TSWANA TRIBE**

The author analyzes the influence of education on the life and culture of the Tswana tribe. The role of economic development in the growth of the prestige of education among Africans is studied. The evolution of the teaching profession, and the process of increasing its significance are traced. The author examines the characteristics of women's education of Tswana. In conclusion, the author points out that education has influenced the change in social statuses in Tswana society. Educated Africans began to identify themselves with the Europeans.

Keywords: Tswana, education, tribal system, the community, the kraal, the teacher profession.

**Малгоржата Цецилия Джевенцка
Влияние образования на повседневную жизнь и культуру тсванов**

Автор анализирует влияние образования на повседневную жизнь и культуру южноафриканского племени тсвана. Изучена роль престижа образования среди африканцев в связи с ростом экономического развития общества, эволюция профессии учителя. Автор рассматривает особенности женского образования в среде тсвана. В заключение автор отмечает, как образование повлияло на изменение социальных статусов в традиционном обществе тсванов. Образованные африканцы отождествляют себя в аспекте внешности и амбиций с европейцами, заставляя самих европейцев смотреть на них с другой точки зрения и признать за ним право следовать этим новым социальным ценностям.

Ключевые слова: тсвана, образование, родовой строй, община, крааль, учитель, профессия.

**Вступительное слово
к публикации М. Ц. Дживенской**

Для большинства людей из народа тсвана значительные изменения начались лишь несколько десятков лет назад. Солидарность народа была основанием для выживания. Ни один человек не мог думать о своей собственной выгоде, не принимая во внимание благосостояние всей группы. Крааль [1] фокусировал в себе всю социальную жизнь, и все мероприятия, в особенности хозяйственного характера, были связаны именно с ним.

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Племенные законы и обычаи тсвана были созданы скотоводами. Рождаемость была важна для увеличения племенных армий, поэтому многоженство и брак вообще играли значительнейшую роль. Крааль управлялся патриархальным советом.

Со временем новая экономическая система определила необходимость в получении африканцами образования. Современность вынуждала общинников к признанию индивидуальных усилий, ограничению земельных угодий и разделению пастбищ.

Образование было направлено на превращение африканцев в производителей, потребителей и рабочих, способных трудиться за пределами заповедников. Христианские миссионеры изначально учили тсвана индивидуальным отношениям Бога с человеком. При этом тсвана довольно быстро заметили, что познание обычаев и идей европейцев через изучение их в церкви весьма удобно для работы на них, и следование традиционным нормам, получившим новые имена, стало очень полезным.

Уроки шитья в миссионерских школах были введены довольно быстро. Вначале учителя были просто новообращенными мужчинами или женщинами, которые рассматривали школу как свое собственное представительство для распространения новой религии. Некоторые более прогрессивные школы стали называть «туземными учебными заведениями».

Постепенно профессия учителя стала необходимой для доступа африканцев к более высоким уровням образования.

Учительская профессия была очень привлекательна, потому что открывала возможность жить независимо от крааля, но при этом не покидать свой регион, оставаясь, например в Нгамиленде. Учитель часто был другом вождя и его советников из-за широкого знания мира, приобретенных навыков чтения и письма. В 1980-х гг., учитель в отдаленном поселке осуществлял функцию переводчика, друга, и советника местного старосты поселка.

Профессия медсестры стала популярной среди девушек. Они составляли большинство в школах, потому что родовой строй позволил им проводить больше времени в классе, чем мальчикам. Образованные женщины стали двигателем изменений в краале и в племенной жизни.

Религиозный служитель («морути») прежде чем стать главой прихода, как правило, служил учителем.

Этот пост, как правило, был довольно ответственным, потому что «морути» приходилось устанавливать образцы новой морали и учить свой народ соглашаться не только с церковной дисциплиной, но и с обычаями представителей европейского среднего класса.

Образованные африканцы стали отделять себя от необразованных, поскольку последние теперь воспринимаются как принадлежащие к более

низкому социальному слою. Образованный африканец отождествляет себя в аспекте внешности и амбиций с европейцем, заставляя самих европейцев смотреть на него с другой точки зрения и заставляя признать за ним следование этим новым социальным ценностям.

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Она жила и работала в Боливии и Перу, на Мальдивских и Сейшельских островах, в континентальной Индии, в Ботсване. За 25 лет, проведенных в Африке, она работала на радио Свободная Европа, делая репортажи о Ботсване и других африканских странах, народах, культурах, собрала внушительный корпус полевых материалов – интервью, разнообразных этнографических, исторических, экономических и политических сведений о народах Африки, часть из которых вошла в ее большую книгу о Ботсване «Жизнь и время Нгамиленда. История Мауна». Другая ее книга «Лето в Польше. Дневник 1992 года» хороша известна в Польше.

В 1993 году ТВ Польши создает документальный фильм «Нашедшие себя в Окаванго», посвященный ее пребыванию и работе в Ботсване. Польские ученые и публицисты О. Будревич («С Польшей в сердце. Истории о необычных людях», 2009) и А. Знайдерский («Необычное», 2013) посвятили специальные главы своих книг этому удивительному исследователю культуры.

Настоящая статья является частью книги: Dziewiencka M. *The life & Times of Ngamiland. The story of Maun. Poland, Torun, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszalek, 2012. P. 277-283.* Публикуется с согласия автора.

А. В. Крюков

For the majority of Tswana people, the great changes only began some tens of years ago.

Life of Tswana was based on solidarity.

National sentiments did not exist which is proven by the fact that part of a tribe easily broke-off in case of a quarrel or lack of pastures, yet without difficulty, and often joined another tribal group. Solidarity was based on survival. No individual could think about his own profits without taking the welfare of the whole group into consideration.

A kraal [1] was the social focus and all activities, for instance ploughing, sowing, harvesting, bogadi etc. were to benefit the kraal. This way the bigger the cattle herd and the more grain, the greater the chances of survival during the times of hunger or defence against an enemy attack [2].

The tribal laws and customs of the Tswana (so also those of the Batawana of Ngamiland) were created by pastoralists. Possibilities for personal gain did not exist in the kraal. Specialization and professions were superfluous. When it was

needed all necessary work was done by unskilled men or women. When circumstance permitted, goods were exchanged but not on a regular trade basis.

Fertility was important (to enlarge the army) so polygamy and marriages played an important role. The kraal was governed by a patriarchal council. Grazing land was necessary to make it possible for such an organization to function.

The colonial period established limits to movements: land not claimed by the tribe at that very moment was declared "crown land" (which meant British) for the purpose of white settlement. There was the need for education of the Africans for the new economical system, in which agriculture and cattle rearing on a small scale were the reason for being proud. But such a system demanded knowledge and more work, and to awaken interest this in every kraal member was impossible. Why? Because it would mean the end of the easy time of abundance and recognition of fertility [3]. The new time compelled recognition of individual effort, limitation of land and division of grazing land.

Ngamiland was bound to Bechuanaland and Bechuanaland was bound to the Cape Colony. The law of taxation - the Hut Tax, enforced in these territories to ensure that there is manpower for the mines, farms and domestic service, which was also compulsory in Ngamiland. Any changes within the Colony also concerned Ngamiland but arrived late and advanced slowly.

The demand for manpower for work in South Africa caused the outflow of 45 -75% of the adult men from the reserves of Bechuanaland [4]. Education was necessary and due to the situation described above, it was aimed at turning Africans into producers, consumers and labourers to perform work outside the reserves.

Missionaries who were teaching the Tswana the individual relationship of God with a man, demanded from the baptized men a personal obedience to the laws of church, even if it was against tribal law. Church, demanding the recognition of one almighty God, gathered all converts regardless of age, sex, class, clans, tribe, in this way breaking tribal and status segregation. These religious demands were transforming lifelong socialists into individualists ready to stand in opposition to their own ancient group in the name of the new belief. This anti-socialist influence of conversions was reinforced by the efforts of missionaries to make their newly baptized "Christians" behave the same as Europeans did in those days which is in the 19th century.

Missionaries were sure of their wisdom and righteousness because they looked upon the black as wild, and it is why they presented European moral standards and customs to Africans as part of Christianity. It often meant a total break with tribal customs [5]. The Tswana observed rather quickly that knowledge of the customs and ideas of Europeans by learning them in church was very handy when working for Europeans, and to follow the old customs under new names

was very useful among people. For instance, in case of sickness it was (and still is) good to undergo treatment of the missionary-doctor as well as to visit the traditional doctor, whom the wind of changes called healer. "The Batawana, it seems, were concerned more with the material benefits brought by missionaries and Europeans, than with the new religion" [6].

Missionaries introduced the iron hoe which eased the life of the women and improved the productivity of the field. But the plough pulled by oxen revolutionized Tswana agriculture. The work on the field was a woman's task in a pastoral tribe, a necessity to complement the diet but seen by men as a humiliating activity. By ploughing with an ox-drawn plough forced a change to prejudice because man now had to join in the fieldwork too. Also, the cultivated area grew. With time men started to weed land equally with women [7].

For evangelists, spiritual development of men can only be done through knowledge of the Bible. This is why it was important for missionaries that adults and children could, first of all, read. At the beginning it was not about the general education of the African but about making the missionary's life easier. It was a means, not an end [8]. Sewing lessons were introduced quite quickly into mission school's teaching. At last, to ensure the financial support of the Government, the mission schools entrusted education into the care of education departments, leaving for themselves the post of director, as the mission was the owner of buildings and equipment. In such a system, where the mission established a school and brought it to such a size and level that the Government could decide on endowment, there was no difference in the education programs between the schools for Europeans and for Africans [9].

The demand for teachers grew together with the success of the school. At the beginning, teachers were simply converted men or women who treated school as their own agency for spreading the new religion. From among them soon emerged the professional teacher, the evangelist and the minister of religion, which means the head of the local church. Some more progressive schools began to be named "native training institutions".

In their pupil-teacher system, a black pupil could copy his white teacher, what in practice was valued higher than theory or knowledge. This way an African, apart from basic knowledge, received practical teaching knowledge, which gave him the skills of organization and to give orders. He learnt to live according to the clock of everyday work and to note down facts. At last, the teaching profession became saturated and necessary to create access for Africans to higher school levels and to Universities.

The teaching profession was very attractive, because it opened the possibility of living independently from the kraal and yet without the necessity of leaving his/her home area, for instance Ngamiland. Teachers and ministers of religion were the only ones who while remaining at home, which means in the reserve, were receiving salaries.

The teacher, in theory, could become a rich man quite quickly because he had access to grazing land like everybody else and had his own field. But the teacher did not get rich because he spent his money on furniture, on soap and more varied food, on school for his children, he bought cattle and goats, friends eternally borrowed money from him and his extended family expected him to share his money and sent their children to him [10].

The teacher often became a friend of the Chief and his councillors because of his broader knowledge of the world, his reading and writing skills and his knowledge of the language of the Europeans (that is to say English) [11]. In Ngamiland, still in the 1980s, a teacher in a remote settlement carried the function of translator, friend, and advisor of the local Headman of the settlement [12].

When to find employment as a teacher began to be very difficult, the profession of nurse became popular among the girls. Work as a domestic servant did not give the chance of education for girls because European women preferred an illiterate girl, paying her little for her work, teaching her domestic work and some sewing. Girls were in the majority at schools because the tribal system allowed them to spend more time in the classroom than boys, who often and for long stayed outside the kraal, looking after the cattle.

This is why the number of women at schools was higher than the number of men. Often the ambition of a girl was supported or forced by her parents who thought "economically": education of their daughter not only could bring in money but also a bigger bogadi her future husband would have to offer.

Educated women were a motor of changes within the kraal and in tribal life. During studies outside the reserve and travelling to other schools, they observed a different way of living, for them often easier and more attractive. For instance clothing, household equipment, church organization, cooking, baby care, different standards of hygiene and a different approach to diseases. If she as a student received medical help with chemical drugs, she would bring her children also to the doctor instead of the herbalist or witch doctor [13].

A minister of religion, moruti, before becoming the head of the congregation was usually a teacher, and then as time passed, and usually much later than his European colleagues, he could perform the functions of a spiritual leader [14].

This post was usually difficult because moruti had to set the example of the new morality and to teach his people to agree not only to the church discipline but also to agree to European middle class conventions.

Usually, they had a salary and a house in the village, but their house and purse were treated by the congregation as belonging to them. Many local pastors were examples of spiritual and practical life to others. For instance, they had

vegetable gardens or were applying more modern tools or methods of cultivation and fertilizing.

The educated African began to separate himself from the non-educated as he was now perceived as being of a lower class. The educated African identified himself in his appearance and ambition with the European, forcing the European to look at him from another point of view, forcing this one to recognize in him these new values of society.

Black architect from Gaborone, Botswana:

You, Europeans, can allow yourselves carelessness in your appearance at work but we, Africans not, because immediately we will be seen as people of a lower class [15].

White settler from Maun village, Botswana:

According to me the quick changes of Maun are caused by education, which makes local youngsters say: we are equal. But they, local blacks, do not want to be equal with whites, they want to be higher. They want to be superior [16].

References and notes:

1. Крааль — особый тип поселения у народов Южной и Восточной Африки, занимающихся скотоводством. Для него характерна кольцевая планировка, обычно укреплённая изгородью, в центре находится загон для скота. У народностей банту крааль также представляет собой отдельное домохозяйство или поселение; является наименьшей ячейкой в социальной организации, состоит из главы семьи, его жены (или жен), детей и родственников, живущих в этом же краале (прим. редактора).
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