

A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF POLICY REFORMS TO ADDRESS YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN BOTSWANA

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Abstract

This paper examined the relationship between learning, teaching and youth unemployment. It argues that even though Botswana has and continues to enact a wide range of policies and programmes aimed at reducing unemployment among the youth, unemployment rate remains high. The paper utilized existing literature on youth unemployment and official policy documents on youth and employment. It is argued that education reforms are an attempt to prepare young people for the labour market. The general assumption is that practical subjects help to inculcate flexible and transferable skills such as team-work, problem solving, enterprise and communication and interpersonal skills. The outcomes of the education reforms are however disappointing as the education system continues to produce graduates who are more oriented towards theory than the acquisition of practical skills. The paper concludes by acknowledging that education is one of the critical components in addressing youth unemployment. There is therefore the need for a well-articulated link between the supply of education and the labour market demands. Part of the answer lies in looking into the nature of the curriculum as well as the teaching and learning processes and reflecting on ways through which schools could produce graduates who are either employable or can be self-employed, thus contributing to the reduction of youth unemployment.

1.0 Introduction

Sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by high levels of youth unemployment (Akoojee, 2005) which is partly attributed to the increasing demand for secondary education. Atchoarena (2008) observes that “for more than a decade, education policies in Sub-Saharan Africa have been driven by a commitment to expand access to basic education and to improve its quality” (p. 111). In fact, there is a lot of evidence that Sub-Saharan African economies are failing to cope with the increasing number of youth who are unemployed largely due to increased access to basic and general education (Akoojee, 2005). Botswana is not spared the scourge arising from the growing problem of youth unemployment. For the record, Botswana is credited with the sustenance of political stability, democracy and planned economic growth since independence in 1966 (Weeks, 2005; Maipose, Somolekae & Johnson, 1997). Despite the sustained economic growth, the country is grappling with challenges of unemployment. The Botswana Government recognizes the youth as playing a pivotal role in national development. Youth development is guided by the 1996 National Youth

Policy, the 2010 Revised National Youth Policy and the 2001-2010 National Action Plan for youth. There is also a deliberate move to align the National Youth Policy frameworks to national, regional and international youth policies and conventions (Republic of Botswana, 2010).

Botswana has a population size of about 2 million people. The unemployment rate for 2010 stood at 17.8% as compared to 20% in 2013 (Trading Economics, 2015; Central Statistics Office, 2015). Statistics Botswana (2013) puts the current unemployment rate for the population aged 18 years and above at 19.8% of the total population. In Botswana, the unemployment rate measures the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labour force (Trading Economics, 2015). The figures are based on Botswana AIDS Impact Survey IV (BAIS) conducted in 2013 by the Statistics Botswana in conjunction with the National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA). The unemployment rate for persons aged 15 years and above (i.e. youth unemployment) is estimated at 20%. Botswana's unemployment is largely concentrated among the youth aged 18 to 34.

This paper looks at the efficacy of using education reforms to tackle youth unemployment in the context of a developing country such as Botswana. Since independence in 1966 the government of Botswana has enacted a wide range of youth policies, programmes and education reforms with the hope of empowering the youth with labour market skills. Despite the implementation of these measures the rate of youth unemployment remains unsustainably high. Conventional explanations of youth unemployment revolve around the supposed mismatch between the education supply and labour market demands and poor implementation of youth projects. What is often ignored is the need to interrogate the extent to which education reforms do actually contribute in terms of minimizing the impact of youth unemployment. Below we locate youth unemployment in Botswana within the framework of the national youth policy.

2.0 Botswana's National Youth Policy

Youth development in Botswana is guided by the National Youth Policy framework and the National Action Plan for youth. The Botswana Government sees the youth as critical to national development (Republic of Botswana, 2010). The Revised National Youth Policy of 2010 defines the youth as young men and women falling within the ages 12 to 29 years (Republic of Botswana, 2010). Upon completing their primary school cycle, the majority of the youth proceed to secondary education and ultimately to tertiary education. Learners who drop-out of the school system also constitute the youth category. The Revised National Youth Policy also rightly observes that the youth are not a homogenous group. In other words, some of the youth are more vulnerable than others and these include: youth living with disabilities; youth in dysfunctional families; out-of-school and unemployed youth; youth in violent situations; child labourers; teenage parents; youth living in streets; youth living with HIV and AIDS or other life threatening diseases; orphans; youth sex workers; youth in remote areas; illiterate youth; juveniles, adolescent caregivers; youth in conflict with the law and youth who engage in alcohol and substance abuse (Republic of Botswana, 2010). The Revised National Youth Policy observes in passing that:

Education and training remain a critical tool in addressing the mismatch between skills production, entrepreneurship and the job market demands. These are concerns that the school curriculum does not prepare the youth successfully for 'life after school' (Republic of Botswana, 2010, 59).

The youth policy document focuses on factors that account for the high youth unemployment prevalent in the country. These include: limited internship; work experiences and job opportunities;

inadequate access to finance, land and skills, insufficient life-skills to facilitate lifelong learning and low self-esteem. What is striking though is the failure of the National Youth Policy to explore these factors within the framework of the goals of national education, training and skills development as articulated in the 1994 Revised National Policy on Education.

3.0 The problem: Youth Employment and Education

The discussions on the challenges of youth unemployment often focus on the general quality of education and skills mismatch between labour market supply and demand. Too often we take for granted how the actual teaching and learning in the schools and classrooms in particular contribute to the generation of unemployment. There is limited scholarship which seeks to establish the extent to which the schools are helping to bridge the gap, the acquisition of theoretical knowledge and practical skills. Similarly, it is important to establish whether or not students are able to transfer classroom knowledge and practical skills to the world of work and/or daily life experiences. It is important to situate the debate around the successes or failures of the schools to balance theory and practical skills by making reference to past and current educational reforms in Botswana.

4.0 First National Commission on Education

Atchoarena (2008) observes that since attaining political independence, many Sub-Saharan African countries have been reforming their education systems with the hope of equipping the youth with the requisite skills required by the labour market or for self-employment. For example, in December 1975, the Botswana Government set-up the first National Commission on Education (NCE) whose mandate was to undertake a broad-ranging review of the country's education system (Republic of Botswana, 1977). In 1976, the Commission submitted to the Government the report titled: Education for Kagisano, translated to mean education for social harmony. This was the first deliberate attempt to articulate Botswana's educational goals and link these to the national principles namely: development, self-reliance, unity and democracy. The recommendations of the first NCE called for substantial changes to the curriculum through the provision of relevant education and making formal education more practical in orientation (Boikhutso, 1993, 2013; Republic of Botswana, 1977).

The Botswana Government accepted the recommendations of the NCE report through the adoption of the White Paper No. 1 titled "National Policy on Education" in 1977. This provided a national framework for educational planning and subsequent national development plans. The White Paper noted the need to adapt the education system to the national principles—a task which required substantial reforms to the education system and the development of new school curricula. The White Paper categorically stated that the:

Purpose of the schools at all levels will be to prepare children for useful, productive life in the real world. They should have the basic skills of literacy, numeracy and the knowledge that will make them self-reliant later in life, whether they continue full-time schooling, study on their own, find employment, or become self-employed (Republic of Botswana, 1977, 3).

In the post 1979 period, Botswana's educational objectives were based on the need to prepare the youth for useful and productive lives and training to meet human resource needed by the rapidly growing national economy (Boikhutso, 1993). As part of implementing some of the recommendations of Education

for Kagisano, community junior secondary schools (CJSS) were separated from senior secondary education. There was the reduction of junior secondary education from three to two years in 1986. More importantly, the CJSS provided an important link with the primary and senior secondary education. According to Plank (1987), the main goal for reforming the junior secondary curriculum was an attempt to provide:

Better fit between the outputs of educational system and occupational structure in Botswana, in order to avert the related problems of unemployment among school leavers and the shortages of qualified manpower (sic) in specific sectors (p. 121).

The curricula reforms sought to increase the employability of the youth through the provision of relevant education, and in particular, the inclusion of practical subjects into the school curriculum. According to Crossley (1984), similar attempts of using the school curricula to address social problems were prevalent in other developing countries. However, the trajectory of using education to solve youth unemployment proved disastrous. In the Botswana context there was widespread dissatisfaction and disappointment with the two-year junior secondary education programme especially among the critical consumers of education including students, parents and potential employers (Rowell & Prophet, 1990). The reduction of junior secondary education was perceived as compromising academic standards. In 1993, the Botswana Government instituted another review of the education system (Republic of Botswana, 1993).

5.0 Revised National Commission on Education

The second national commission on education of 1993 resulted in the adoption of the 1994 Revised National Policy on Education. The Ministry of Education envisaged that the pre-vocational education would change the orientation of secondary schools such that they are better placed to equip learners with the skills needed to enter the world of work (Ministry of Education, 1999). The Commission was set up at a time when there was widespread dissatisfaction that secondary schools were not doing enough to vocationalize the school curriculum. The public feeling was that the secondary curriculum was too academic and not helpful in effectively tackling youth unemployment. The underlying assumption in the view of Weeks (2005) was that training for employment had to start with sound academic and general education. According to the RNPE, the goal of preparing senior secondary students for transition to further education and the world of work was consistent with the principles of general education (Republic of Botswana, 1993, 175). Bacchus (1988) and Weeks (2005) note that too often politicians want to use vocational education to solve problems that are not educational such as youth unemployment.

6.0 Secondary Education and Labour market: Contextualizing Practical Subjects

Globally there is the general consensus by most governments, politicians, young people, teachers, parents and potential employers that the introduction of practical subjects in the school curriculum is a desirable goal (Lucas, Claxton & Webster, 2010). It is hypothesized that practical subjects are more likely to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Similarly, the Botswana Government opines that education and training is critical in addressing the mismatch between skills production, entrepreneurship and the job market demands (Republic of Botswana, 2010). Practical subjects are credited for promoting learning by doing in an endeavor to solve real-world problems. It is assumed that practical subjects have the potential to help prepare young people for the labour market. Embedded in this line of thinking is that practical subjects help to inculcate flexible and transferable skills such as team-work, problem solving, enterprise

and communication and interpersonal skills. This explains why Botswana's secondary school curriculum contains a large dose of practical subjects: Agriculture, Commerce, Principles of Accounts, Business Studies, Computer Studies, Design and Technology, Art and Design, Home Economics, Food and Nutrition, Fashion and Fabrics and Home Management. However, at the junior secondary school level, practical subjects are mostly generic compared to the senior secondary school level which are more aligned to the labour market demands (Weeks, 2005). The main goals of the junior secondary school curriculum include the need for the learners to be ready for the world of work; proficient in the use of Setswana and English language as tools for effective communication; engage in study and work; computer literate; able to use computation skills for practical purposes; appreciate technology and acquire basic skills; understand business and everyday commercial transactions and soft skills such as critical thinking, problem solving and interpersonal skills (Republic of Botswana, 1993; Weeks, 2005). At senior secondary school level, practical subjects are tailored such that there is greater articulation with tertiary education and the labour market demands. For example, Home Economics is offered as a unified subject in the junior secondary curriculum whereas in the senior secondary schools it is divided into three separate subjects namely: Food and Nutrition, Fashion and Fabrics and Home Management (Weeks, 2005).

In line with the implementation of the recommendations of the RNPE and the introduction of the Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education (BGCSE) in 1999, 50% of the student's final grade of the practical subjects is calculated from continuous assessment such as portfolios, practical activities and the student's individual project (Week, 2005). These new assessment processes are consistent with Botswana's Vision 2016 which sees human resource development as critical in producing learners who have the capacity to solve problems and are empowered to face the world of work (Week, 2005). It remains to be seen if the reorientation of the assessment processes for the practical subjects is yielding the desired results of ensuring close alignment between educational provision, labour supply and labour market demands.

7.0 Combating youth unemployment: Intervention Strategies

The Government of Botswana has come up with strategies to combat youth unemployment. These include out of school initiatives, apprenticeship, national internship, back-to-school programmes, new Tirelo Sechaba, graduate volunteer scheme and youth funded projects.

8.0 Youth Employment Skills: Out-of-School Initiative

The Youth Employment Skills (YES) initiative was established in 2012 targeting youth aged 18 to 35 years who are unemployed and have limited education training (Powell & Short, 2013). YES is funded by the Botswana Government through the Department of Youth and Culture. YES frequently operates short-term 'boot camps' in partnership with the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, Ministry of Education and Skills Development, Ministry of Housing and Lands and the private sector (Powell & Short, 2013). The 'boot camps' are meant to give the youth participants job-seeking, entrepreneurship and work readiness skills (Powell & Short, 2013). The YES initiative is still in the formative stages and its impact is yet to be felt and evaluated.

9.0 Apprenticeship Programmes: On-the-job Training and Institutionalized Training

The International Labour Organization (ILO) sees apprenticeship as a systematic long-term training for recognized occupations such as craftsperson, artisans and technicians (Powell & Short, 2013). Apprenticeship programmes are based on established occupational standards and governed by legislation and binding contracts between the apprentice and the employer. For their part, Powell & Short (2013) see apprenticeship as training programmes which combine vocational education with work-based learning for an intermediate occupational skill and specified trade skills. In the Botswana context, apprenticeships programmes are part of lifelong learning, hence play an important role in supporting learning in the workplace. Put differently, apprenticeships programmes combine on-the-job training with institutional-based training and target the out of school youth especially those possessing junior certificate (Powell & Short, 2013). A number of apprenticeships programmes are in place targeting different segments of the youth. Previously apprenticeships programmes were coordinated by Botswana Training Authority (BOTA) (Powell & Short, 2013) which was replaced by the Botswana Qualifications authority (BQA) in 2013. Testing and certification of apprenticeships programmes is administered by Madirelo Training and Testing Centre (MTTC) on behalf of BOTA/BQA. The apprenticeships programmes for technical colleges are administered through the Botswana Technical Education Programme (BTEP). Originally the Brigades were established as community-based and managed training centres with a focus on developing artisans and craftsperson skills (Powell & Short, 2013). Over the past five years or so the Brigades have been centrally managed by the Ministry of Education and Skills Development as part of the provision of general education programme with emphasis on vocational education.

10.0 National Internship Programme: Human Capital Approach to Youth Unemployment?

Countries across the world, developed and developing, are grappling with the growing challenges associated with youth unemployment. Similarly, Botswana is currently experiencing an increasing number of young people who are unable to find work including those who possess post-secondary and graduate level qualifications (Powell & Short, 2013). The irony is that most of the unemployed graduates cannot gain meaningful employment either because they lack practical experience or cannot get practical experience as they do not have a job (Powell & Short, 2013). It is against this background that in 2008, the Botswana Government launched the National Internship (NIP). NIP is a two year programme which seeks to “provide a framework for transferring skills for youth employment and in doing so provide a seamless integration of graduates into the economy” (Powell & Short, 2013, 2). Graduates from tertiary institutions are placed in various government departments and private organisations to acquire skills in their areas of specialization. Internship programmes differ from country to country and in some contexts they are referred to as work experience internship or graduate internship (Powell & Short, 2013). Even within the same country, there can be different permutations of internship programmes. For example, the University of Botswana administers its own internship programme for undergraduate students in professional and applied subjects like education, health sciences, engineering and social work (Powell & Short, 2013). Powell and Short (2013) further observe that whatever form or shape they take, internship programmes are short-term measures premised on the assumption that “students at all levels of the education system will acquire ‘employability or work readiness skills’ in order to successfully enter the labour market and obtain gainful employment (p.9)”. Embedded in this assumption, is the thinking that the education that is provided to the youth does not sufficiently equip learners with appropriate work ethics and work readiness skills. The

introduction of NIP is supposedly meant to prepare graduates, who are flexible, work ready, possess knowledge, skills and competencies required by employers (Powell & Short, 2013).

There is a lot of anecdotal evidence suggesting that young people in Botswana generally do not have the appropriate attitudes and are not work ready (Powell & Short, 2013). Hence, it is not surprising that the implementation of NIP is problematic and riddled with many challenges. For example, many of the youth often complain that during internship, some host organisations and/or departments give them jobs that are not related to their areas of specialisation. At the end of the two- year internship period, those who are not offered jobs by their hosts leave without having acquired any relevant skills and experience they could use to apply for other jobs or for self-employment. Other departments and organisations are accused of not deliberately absorbing their interns after two years knowing that the government will send them a new batch every year. In this regard, the cycle of unemployment repeats itself. Both private organisations and government departments continue to benefit from the cheap labour of interns and therefore youth unemployment rate keeps on escalating. Without effective monitoring and evaluation, unemployment rate is not reduced. Despite the shortcomings alluded to, in its current form, NIP undoubtedly provides short-term relief in minimizing the impact of youth unemployment in Botswana. However, whether or not NIP is making a significant contribution in terms of human capital and human resource development remains to be seen.

11.0 Back-to-school Programme

In 2013 the Botswana Government introduced the “Back to School” programme to give young people (aged 35 years and below) the opportunity to re-enter the education system so that they get the necessary education and skills that can enable them to make the necessary move into the world of work. Young people who either failed academically or dropped-out-of-school, are absorbed into primary, junior, senior secondary schools and tertiary education. There are four possible routes of ensuring that the out-of-school youth are re-absorbed into the school system. These are i) back to class initiative targeting youth who dropped out of school due to various reasons ii) youth are encouraged to enrol at a trade school or brigades/technical colleges iii) youth are also encouraged to enrol with Botswana College of Distance Education (BOCODOL) to upgrade or improve their junior certificate (JC) or Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education (BGCSE) grades in readiness for the next level and iv) post-secondary youth are encouraged to enhance and upgrade their existing qualifications in their preferred fields of specialization. For example, a youth may choose to upgrade his/her academic qualifications from certificate to diploma or diploma to degree level (Ministry of Education & Skills Development, 2013). The Back-to-School programme is still in its formative years and is yet to be evaluated. Hence it is too early to conclude whether or not it has produced positive results in reducing the rate of youth unemployment in the country.

12.0 From Tirelo Sechaba (TS) to Botswana National Service Programme

Tirelo Sechaba (TS) was launched in 1980 as a voluntary and community service programme targeting the secondary school graduates (Morton, Ramsay & Mgadla, 2008; Boon, 2007). The programme was however made compulsory in 1985. Tirelo Sechaba which literally means ‘to work for the community’ promoted citizenship skills and engaged the youth in the development of their communities. The main purpose of Tirelo Sechaba was to temporarily employ secondary school graduates in developmental and educational projects prior to admission to universities and other tertiary institutions. One of the key

successes of Tirelo Sechaba was its ability (especially in the early stages) to promote the spirit of self-reliance and harness the principle of Ubuntu (respect for other people) in nation building and the world of work (Boon, 2007). However, over the years, Tirelo Sechaba lost its 'sparkle' and was no longer relevant to emerging needs of the growing constituency of the youth. Hence discontinued in 1998 (Morton, Ramsay & Mgadla (2008),

In 2014, Tirelo Sechaba was revived and re-packaged as the Botswana National Service Programme (BNSP) targeting youth in the age group 20 up to 30 (Moeng, 2014). It added to the growing list of youth programmes including Youth Empowerment Scheme and Youth Development Fund all administered by the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. BNSP was re-introduced as part of the acknowledgement of the growing levels of unemployment, poverty and diseases particularly among the youth (Moeng, 2014). According to the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture "BNSP takes a multi-sectoral and integrated approach to creating opportunities for unengaged youth to gain skills and experience, while simultaneously contributing to the development of their communities (Moeng, 2014, n.d.). Youth who enroll for BNSP are posted as assistants in a wide range of fields such as: agricultural extension, health education, community policing, poverty eradication, civil and national registration campaigns, facility maintenance, voter education, and road maintenance and disaster management. It remains to be seen whether or not engaging the youth as assistants is sufficient enough to equip them with the practical skills, work experiences, leadership skills and appropriate attitudes for self-reliance which are supposedly at the core of BNSP.

13.0 Graduate Volunteer Scheme

The Graduate Volunteer Scheme (GVS) is a new initiative introduced by the Botswana Government in early 2015. GVS is a desperate attempt to addressing the growing problem of unemployed graduate youth. The new scheme targets youth who are not employed and at the same time not benefiting from the National Internship Programme (NIP). Graduates are attached to organizations that have opportunities for volunteer work. GVS seeks to: i) facilitate skills development and transfer to young graduates ii) contribute to community development iii) promote the spirit of volunteerism iv) improve the resilience of graduate and enable them to withstand the challenges of being unemployed and v) reduce idle time by providing graduate youth opportunities to put their skills to good use (Botswana Student Network, 2015). It is very early to make an informed comment on the GVS given that we are few months down the line since its inception.

14.0 HRDC and BQA: rethinking youth employment through improved quality education?

The Human Resource Development Council (HRDC) and Botswana Qualifications Framework (BQA) need to be understood in the context of the development of the national qualifications framework (NQF). The NQFs were formulated as a response to the emergence of the knowledge-based economy and have "prompted the need for a unified system which...cater for the requirements of education and training systems and...allow for the portability of learning across the world" (Allgoo, n.d.). In the view of Young and Allais (2009), the creation of NQFs is an attempt to establish a common understanding of educational outcomes. NQFs use levels of descriptors to make objective judgements on the quality of education. Tau

and Modesto (2011) observe that for a long time Botswana was an exception as it did not have in place a national qualification framework until 2013.

The enactment of the Vocational Training Act in 1998 and the subsequent creation of the Botswana Vocational Qualification Framework (BNVQF) marked the early stages of the development of the qualification framework in the country (Tau & Modesto, 2011). However, this was far from an inclusive framework as it focused on vocational education and training.

Still in 2013 the Botswana Government established the Human Resource Development Council (HRDC) and the Botswana Qualifications Authority (BQA) as part of implementing a national qualifications framework, which in the view of Young (2003) and Allais (2009) include all forms and levels of learning within the national education system. This was an attempt to systematically address and coordinate the provision of quality education such that it meets the demands of the rapidly growing national economy and at the same time facilitating lifelong learning. HRDC replaced the then Tertiary Education Council (TEC) and was established as an independent statutory body with the mandate to “turn around Botswana’s education and training system from a supply-led into a demand-driven system” (Human Resource Development Council, 2015). This is a significant step meant to address the problem of skills-mismatch which makes it difficult for the youth to penetrate the labour market in Botswana. In addition, HRDC is responsible for advising the MOESD on all human resource development policy issues. More specifically, the objectives of the HRDC include i) providing policy advice on issues relating to national human resource development ii) coordinating and promoting the implementation of the national human resource development strategy iii) preparing national resource development plans and iv) planning and advising on tertiary education financing and workplace learning (Human Resource Development Council, 2015).

There is no doubt that in the long-term the HRDC will play a pro-active role in combating youth unemployment and in particular the management, planning and financing of internship, apprenticeship and workplace learning. For example, Powell & Short (2013) noted that HRDC will lead to improved coordination of the different programmes in Botswana which have similar goals but are competing for providing the youth with workplace experience. More importantly, the implementation of the HRDC strategies will address the problem of poor quality education and skills mismatch by ensuring the provision of comprehensive education that responds to labour market’s needs (Atchoarena 2008).

The Botswana Qualifications Authority (BQA) was established to replace the Botswana Training Authority (BOTA). The objectives of BQA include i) developing and maintaining the National Credit and Qualifications Framework (NCQF) and ii) coordinating education, training and skills development quality assurance system (BOTA, 2015). In order to achieve its mandate, BQA is charged with the responsibility of generating, awarding and maintaining learner records, credits and certification. It is anticipated that records of learning will provide details of the extent to which learners attain individual unit standard achievements at the same time recognizing their qualifications. The issuing of qualification certificates will also take into account the work experiences of the learners (BOTA, 2015). Although it is still early to make pronouncements on the future directions of BQA, it remains a viable tool that is at the disposal of the national policy makers in ensuring that there is synergy between the quality of education and the labour market demands. Powell and Short (2013) observe that the qualifications framework for example, provides an opportunity for the National Internship Programme (NIP) to establish enhanced linkages with BQA.

15.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

There is no doubt that education reforms and public policies are critical components in addressing youth unemployment. It is yet to be seen if Government initiatives and strategies such as the Human Resource Development Council (HRDC), the Botswana Qualifications Authority (BQA) and the National Internship programme are facilitating the on-the-job skills that are needed by the students to fully penetrate the labour market. This article however, has demonstrated that there is poor synergy between the supply of education and the labour market demands. Too often the link between the supply and demand for education is glossed over by policy makers, education practitioners and politicians. This article therefore suggests that it is important to re-examine the nature of the curriculum, teaching and learning processes and also reflect on ways of making schools and higher education institutions enhance the employability of the youth.

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